The Liturgia Sacra and Professio
Fidei Catholicae of Valerandus
Pollanus (Valérand Foullain),
first minister of the Reformed
Church at Frankfort, 1554:
transcribed and translated with
a historical introduction and notes
by
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The Liturgia Sacra and Professio Fidei of Valerandus Pollanus
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I. The external history of Poullain's 'Liturgia Sacra' etc., down to the publication of Knox's Liturgy.

To trace the history of the Liturgy and Confession of Valérand Poullain it is necessary to recount the wanderings of a little company of French and Walloon weavers, exiles for the Reformed faith, who are first heard of at Strassburg in 1525. In April of that year William Farel, the fiery apostle of the early Reformation in southeast France and Switzerland, having been compelled to leave Basel and Montbéliard on account of the riots that attended upon his preaching, came to Strassburg and gathered the exiles into a congregation. A few months later he left them, and pushed south again to Bern.

Thirteen years later, in 1538, when John Calvin was banished from Geneva, he was invited by Bucer, head of the German Reformed church at Strassburg, to go there to minister to the French refugees. Calvin accepted the invitation, and for the next three years was in charge of the church that Farel had founded. In 1541 he was recalled to Geneva; and his successor in the French pastorate at Strassburg was Valérand Poullain, or as the name was latinized, Valerandus Pollanus. Poullain was a nobleman of Lille who had embraced the cause of the Reformation. He was a learned theologian and a devoted pastor. He afterwards translated into Latin, for the Basel edition of Foxe's Ecclesiastical History, Archdeacon Philpot's account of the disputation held at the Convocation in the beginning of Mary Tudor's reign. Through his marriage Poullain became related to Anne Hooper, and to Dryander the Spanish Reformer. 1

A description is given below of the Liturgy which Poullain afterwards published as that used in his church at Strassburg. It should however be noted that before Calvin came to them in 1538 the Strassburg

Congregation had possessed an order of worship for Sundays, and an order for the celebration of the Lord's Supper; and that Calvin used these Strassburg forms with very slight alterations in 'La Forme des Prières et Chants ECClesiastiques', which he prepared on his return to Geneva and published in 1542 for the use of his congregation there. Further, the Marriage Service in the Liturgies of Calvin and Poullain, from the words 'Nostre aide soit' to the end, is taken from Farel's 'Le Maniere et Fasson' etc., published at Neuchâtel in 1533.

The course of events was about to render Strassburg no longer a safe asylum for the exiles. The Emperor Charles V's defeat of the Protestant Schmalkaldic League near Mühlberg in 1547 placed Protestant Germany in his power. Charles desired to make a peaceful religious settlement in Germany. The Diet assembled at Augsburg proclaimed on 16th May, 1548, certain temporary ('interim') terms of agreement between the mother Church and the Protestant (Lutheran) Church, which the Protestants were ordered to recognize. On the one hand, concessions were granted in regard to the marriage of priests, the Cup to the laity, the less rigid enforcement of fasting, and the doctrine of Justification by Faith; on the other hand, the headship of the Pope was affirmed, and the acceptance demanded of the seven Sacraments and Transubstantiation, the adoration of the Saints, and other mediaeval usages.

This 'patchwork creed', known as the Augsburg Interim, was by its very nature doomed to fail in its object of promoting religious unity in Germany. Threatened however by the Emperor's displeasure, princes and magistrates throughout his dominions yielded before the strong measures that were taken to enforce the acceptance of the Interim. Yet many pastors of the Lutheran and Reformed churches gave up their office and livelihood rather than surrender the freedom of their faith. It is computed that four hundred Lutheran ministers were driven into exile, and the position of ministers and congregations of the Reformed faith would of course be still more precarious.

For the next few years many of those who fled from the continent on account of the Interim found refuge in England. Archbishop Cranmer sent invitations to some of the most eminent of the continental Reformers, and several of them became his guests. A Lasco, who afterwards ministered to the Dutch refugees in the church of the Austin Friars in London,
and John Utenhove of Ghent, who became A Lasco's assistant in that
church, were in England in 1548. Until October 1548 Strassburg refused
2.
to accept the Interim, but the pressure became too strong to resist.
Bucer and Martyr fled from Strassburg and were hospitably entertained
by Cranmer at Lambeth. On Utenhove's warm recommendation, Cranmer had
sent an invitation to Valerand Poullain, who arrived in England with
his flock a little later than Bucer. In Strype's opinion Poullain
was one of the learned foreign divines whom Cranmer 'harboured in his
own house', and who by their presence and their scholarship were
doubtless a source of strength and assistance to the Archbishop in
the work of the Reformation in England.

In 1550 the Duke of Somerset settled Poullain and his congregation
by indenture in the dissolved abbey of Glastonbury in Somersetshire,
promising to lend them money to buy wool to carry on their trade of
weaving kersey cloth. On Somerset's fall, their work came to a
standstill for lack of money, until some further encouragement was
granted them by the Privy Council, in response to the earnest petition
of their minister to the secretary of the Council, Sir William Cecil.
Three holograph letters from Poullain to Cecil written in November 1551
are preserved in the British Museum, and printed in the Appendix to
Strype's 'Cranmer'. They bear eloquent testimony to Poullain's untiring
zeal in his congregation's interests. In one of these letters, dated
27th November, 1551, he says of himself 'totis 15 mensibus sumptus
incredibiles, et labores incomparabiles pertuli, nec obolum accepti',
and wishes that he might obtain a stipend of fifty pounds, with which
he would consider himself repaid for all his expenses and trouble.
He signs himself 'Valerandus Pollanus, superintendens peregrinorum
ecclesiae Glascon'; this title having been given to him and to
A Lasco in London, perhaps, as Strype surmises, in order to exempt
them and their churches from the jurisdiction of the bishops of their
respective dioceses.

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3.
Pollard (Camb. Mod. Hist. II. p.478) considers that their actual
influence on the English Reformation has been overrated; but even
in regard to doctrine and worship that influence is evident in the
Second Prayer Book of Edward VI.
Strype quotes orders of the Privy Council in 1551 and 1552, confirming Somerset's promises to the 'church of strangers at Glastonbury', and agreeing to provide 'so much ground as may keep two kine' for each of thirty-six households of the exiles. In December 1551 the Council granted 'a free denizenship to Valerandus Pollanus, born under the Emperor', and ordered letters patent to be made out conferring the same privilege upon sixty-nine of his congregation. The congregation must therefore have comprised at that date seventy adults who were naturalized citizens.

In 1551 Poullain translated into Latin the Liturgia Sacra, or order of Divine Service, which his congregation had used at Strassburg, and published it in London, with a dedicatory preface to Edward VI. In 1552 he published, also in London, a French edition of the same order, dedicating it no longer to the King but to the Catholic Church, and adding the Confession of Faith of his church at Glastonbury.

On Queen Mary's accession in 1553, the peaceful life of the exiles was once more interrupted, and again Poullain and his congregation were compelled to seek a new home. They embarked for Emden in the beginning of 1554, went from there to Cologne, and finally arrived at Frankfort on the Main, where they received the hospitality that had been refused to them at Emden and Cologne. There now existed in Germany a state of religious truce, but some of the Lutheran towns refused to harbour Protestants of the Reformed or Calvinistic type. Frankfort, however, the ancient and wealthy commercial city, which since 1152 had been the place of the election of the emperors, and had embraced the Lutheran Reformation as early as 1530, showed toleration to all Protestants; and one of the councillors, Johann von Glauberg, appears to have favoured the Reformed faith. The council granted the right of domicile to the exiles, with liberty for 'their whole ecclesiastical ministry both of the Word and Sacraments,' and assigned to them for their use the Church of the White Ladies, or Cistercian nuns. They entered it on 19th April 1554, 'when', as Anne Hooper wrote to Bullinger, 'master

4 Parker Soc. Letters, I, Letter L1, pp.110,111. The author of 'the Marian Exiles' (Froude) Edin. Review, April 1847, errs in giving the date as 20th April, which is the date of the letter.
Valerandus Pollanus, the husband of my relative, and the chief pastor of the church, preached a sermon, and baptised his young son in the Rhine.

The exiles were now to be closely associated for a time with the English refugees who arrived at Frankfort soon after them, and with the notorious liturgical disputes that broke out among the newcomers. The story of 'those unseemly branglings among the English exiles there' is told from the Puritan point of view in 'A Brief Discourse of the Troubles begun at Frankfort' etc., the only extant contemporary account of the controversy, with the exception of a passage in Knox's 'History of the Reformation' and another passage by Knox preserved in the Calderwood manuscripts.

On the 27th of June, 1554, as the 'Brief Discourse' informs us, there arrived at Frankfort a company of English exiles, one of their leaders being the celebrated William Whittingham, who had escaped to France at the end of 1553. 'The same night,' says the 'Brief Discourse', 'came one Maister Valaren pullan Minister, unto their lodgings, and declared howe he had obtained a churche there, in the name of all suche as shuld come owte off Englände for the Gospell, but Especially from Glassenbury which were all french men'. The Englishmen, however, did


6. 'A Brief discourse off the troubles begonne at Franckford in Germany Anno Domini 1554. Abowe the Booke off common prayer and Ceremonies / and continued by the Englishe / men theyre / to thende off Q. Marias raigne' etc. LDLXXV.

A German black letter quarto, in the Advocates' Library. It may have been printed at Geneva, as is commonly supposed, or at Zurich. McCrie (in the preface to Petheram's reprint, 1846) and Laing ascribed it probably to the authorship of Whittingham, but in a copy in the British Museum the words 'by M.O.' have been added on the titlepage, and 'M. Coverdale' subscribed to the preface, in imitation of the type. An interesting peculiarity of the typography of the first edition, which may possibly have some bearing upon the question as to where the book was printed, is that wherever the combination 'sh' occurs, as it frequently does in words like 'Englishe', there is one letter's space left between the 's' and the 'h'.

The book has been several times reprinted, and Laing in his edition of Knox's works gives all the portions of it that deal with the controversy over Liturgies.
not accept Poullain's invitation to join his congregation, because, as
they replied to him, few of them understood the French tongue, and there-
fore 'it would be small commoditie to them'. On the advice of Morellio,
another minister of the French church, and Castalio, 'a Senior of the same'
- both of them 'learned and godly men, who duringe their lyves shewed them
selves fathers to all Englishe men' - a petition was presented to the
magistrates; and through von Glauberg's influence, the English exiles
were on the 14th of July granted permission to use the church for their
worship alternately with the French: 'the frenche one daie and the
English an other daie, and upon the Sundaie, to chuse also them houres as
they could agree amongst them selues'. The council made the conditions
'that the English should not dissent from the frenche men in doctrine, or
ceremonies, lest they should thereby minister occasion of offence'; and
'that before they entered their church, they should approve and subscribe
the same confession of faith, that the frenche men had then presented,
and abowte to put in print, to the which all the afore named (and others
which were by this time come thither) did subscribe.'

This Confession of Faith, which had been presented to the Frankfort
city council and was about to be printed in July 1654, was a Latin version
made by Poullain of his French Confession of 1552. It is the version
that is reproduced and translated below. It was appended to a revised
edition of Poullain's Liturgy. The Liturgy and Confession had been
approved by the council and subscribed by Poullain, as minister of the
French church, and four of his elders, in the name of their church.7

It was now subscribed by John McBrair or McBrae, the Galloway ex-priest,
as minister of the English church, and by four elders, the last to sign
being Whittingham: these signed in name of their whole church. Although
the 'Brief Discourse' does not mention the fact, it is evident that McBrair,
being in orders, had been chosen by the English as their first minister.
Whittingham was not ordained till 1559. The use of the perfect tense,
'subscripserunt', in connection with the names of Poullain and his elders,
seems to indicate that they had previously signed the Confession, doubtless
before it was presented to the council; they had probably already signed
the French Confession of 1552, as all members of Poullain's church were
required to do. The present tense, 'subsribunt', is used of the English
signatories.

7. See p.2 below, 'Senatui ...approbatam'; pp.125,163; and Appendix B.
Poullain's Liturgy and Confession, thus approved by the council and signed by the leading men of both congregations, was published at Frankfort on the 1st of September, 1554. It contains an interesting preface, and between the Liturgy and the Confession there is an 'Admonitio ad lectorem' - a defence of the Liturgy, especially in regard to the abolition of many ceremonies of the medieval Church.

Professor Mitchell found in J. Hildebrand Withof's 'Vertheidigung' (1753) an account of the exact terms upon which the Council granted to the English exiles the use of the Church of the White Ladies. As this account has not appeared before in English, a translation is appended.

Now on the arrival of the English, there was a church in Frankfort that had been granted for the use of some French Protestants, for which a proposal was made on behalf of the English also, and which was actually assigned to them on the 14th of July. The Council however made exact conditions, and sought to arrange the business in such a manner that the way was barred to all kinds of disputes which might chance to arise. The principal conditions were these:

(a) That the English and French must observe the same doctrine and ceremonies; and
(b) That the English must therefore subscribe the Confession of Faith of the French, which the latter had presented to the Council.
(c) The English agreed that at Common Prayer the people should no longer say the Amen aloud, as is customary in the Church of England; and
(d) That the preachers should leave off the white surplice, together with many other ceremonies introduced in England, which could not be thrust upon the inhabitants, to whom such things would be strange.

And there were some other similar arrangements, into which the English willingly entered, in order to arrive the sooner at a standing.'

This extract confirms the narrative of the 'Brief Discourse', and gives the Order of the Council in almost the same words. It agrees with the 'Brief Discourse' even in omitting the name of the church, and refers to it merely as 'eine Kirche in Frankfort, die einigen französischen Protestanten zum Gebrauch eingeräumt war'.

8. The original German is in Mitchell's 'The Scottish Reformation', and is quoted also in Hume Brown's 'Knox', II.p.289.
The English refugees now required a form of service in their own language, which should fulfill the conditions imposed upon them by the Council. The 'Brief Discourse' says that they were told that they were not strictly bound to the ceremonies of the French, 'but that if the one allowed of the other it was sufficient.' It goes on to say that they therefore took their own Liturgy, the Second Prayer Book of King Edward, and unanimously decided to omit from it 'the answering aloud after the minister', the litany, the use of the surplice, and many other things, 'for that in those reformed churches such things would seem more than strange.'

But the very important description of their morning service, which is given next in the 'Brief Discourse', shows that the exiles adopted a form greatly differing from that of the English Prayer Book. There are not a few obscurities in the narrative given in the 'Brief Discourse,' no doubt principally due to its omissions; and one of them, which does not appear to have been previously remarked upon, consists in the assertion that the English congregation thought in July of fulfilling the conditions by using a mutilated form of the Prayer Book, similar to the 'Liturgy of Compromise' taken on trial in the following February; whereas the description given immediately afterwards of the first order of service that they actually adopted shows that that order was the continental form of Calvin and Poullain. The description is as follows, the spelling being modernized.

'It was farther agreed upon, that the minister, in place of the English Confession, should use another, both of more effect, and also framed according to the state and time. And the same ended, the people to sing a psalm in metre in a plain tune, as was, and is accustomed in the French, Dutch, Italian, Spanish and Scottish churches; that done, the minister to pray for the assistance of God's Holy Spirit and so to proceed to the sermon. After the sermon, a general prayer for all estates and for our country of England was also devised, at the end of which prayer was joined the Lord's Prayer and a rehearsal of

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9. So in Withof, (d) above, ....'den Einwohnern, die solcher Dinge ungewohnt waren'.

the articles of our belief; which ended, the people to sing another
psalm as before. Then the minister pronouncing this blessing: The
Peace of God, etc., or some other of like effect, the people to depart."

The service here described agrees so closely with Poullain's
service for the morning of the Lord's Day that it must have been trans-
lated and adapted from the Strassburg order used by Poullain at Strass-
burg, Glastonbury and Frankfort, and by Calvin at Strassburg and Geneva.
It may have been taken from Poullain's Latin version, which was at hand;
or possibly use may have been made of the Latin version of Calvin's 'La
Forme des Prieses' etc., first published at Geneva in 1552, a copy of
which is preserved in the Frankfort Town Library. There was however
already in existence an English translation of Calvin's 'La Forme' etc.,
with his Catechism, made by William Huycke and published at London in
1550; and this may have been the source of the Englishmen's service.
It was however a translation of the 1545 Strassburg edition of Calvin's
Liturgy, and was therefore practically identical with Poullain's 1551
Liturgy rather than with his Frankfort revision of 1554; while the
summary of the morning services given below shows that the first Liturgy
of the English exiles at Frankfort more closely resembled Poullain's
1554 revision.

In any case, the remarkable fact is that they had advanced so far
in the direction of Puritanism that they set aside their accustomed
order of Morning Prayer, and adopted in its stead a form that must have
been practically equivalent to a translation of that used by Poullain's
congregation. The similarity between the two services is shown by the
following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The morning service of the French congregation (from Poullain's Liturgy).</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The morning service of the English congregation as described in the 'Brief Discourse'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10. See under 'Sources and Bibliography'.
Precentor and people sing the Decalogue in Marot's metrical version before the minister begins.

The Confession.

The Confession (not the Anglican; doubtless the 'Genevan', i.e. the same as Poullain's).

The Absolution.

A metrical psalm.

Prayer for the help of the Holy Spirit.

Prayer for the help of the Holy Spirit.

Sermon.

Sermon.

Intimations and Collection of alms.

Intercessory Prayer, ending with a paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, or with the Lord's Prayer itself.

Intercessory Prayer, ending with the Lord's Prayer.

The Creed.

The Creed.

A metrical psalm.

A metrical psalm.

The Blessing.

('The Lord bless you,' etc.)

('The Peace of God', etc.)
The only important difference is the omission in the English service of Poullain's form of Absolution, which is merely the repetition of some sentence of Holy Scripture touching the remission of sins. This is omitted also in Calvin's 'La Forme,' etc., except in the Strassburg edition of 1545; and it is omitted in the 'Book of Geneva'. Calvin appears to have been dissuaded from inserting in his Genevan Liturgy the Strassburg rubric upon the Absolution, on the ground that it would be an innovation. The natural inference is that the English refugees at Frankfort were following the Genevan form; while Poullain's Liturgy, in this as in other instances pointed out in the notes, agrees with the Strassburg edition of 'La Forme,' etc. Some of the English congregation must have been favourably impressed by the first item in Poullain's service; for Whittingham afterwards produced an English version of the Decalogue in the metre used by Marot, and set it to the tune sung by the French, the tune known ever since as 'Les Commandemens de Dieu' or 'Commandments'. Whittingham's version was first published in the Genevan Psalter of 1556.

It will be seen from the notes that Poullain had somewhat shortened and simplified the service for Sunday morning that he had used at Glastonbury, so that it now resembled more closely the ordinary editions of 'La Forme' and the 'Book of Geneva'. It is impossible to say whether he may have consulted the opinions of the leaders of the English congregation on this matter or not; for there is no evidence as to whether he made the alterations before or after their arrival on the 27th of June. It is only his Confession of Faith that is said to have been already presented before that date to the city Council; but as subscribed and published on the 1st of September it is preceded by the Liturgy.

The English congregation having also omitted 'sundry things' from the services for the administration of the Sacraments 'as

11. 'Brief Discourse', and Witsch of supra (t). Witschf's words are 'Daher sollten jene der Franzosen Glaubensbekanntnis, das diese N.B. dem Rath überreicht hatten, unterschreiben.'
superstitious and superfluous,' chose their minister - MacBrair, as
has been shown above - and deacons 'to serve for a time', and entered
their church on the 29th of July 1554.

The unanimity that characterized their settlement was of short
duration. The 'Troubles begun at Frankfort' broke out when their
numbers were augmented by the arrival of other English exiles, many
of whom were attached to the Prayer Book. Their brethren who had
found refuge at Zurich and Strassburg sent letters in which they
insisted that the Frankfort exiles had done wrong to abandon the
use of the Prayer Book, and urged them to return to it. Soon the
Frankfort congregation was split into two hotly contending parties,
one of which wished to use the 1552 Prayer Book without material
modification, and the other to adhere to the adaptation of the
Strassburg or Genevan Liturgy upon which they had previously agreed.
The 'Troubles', of which the 'Brief Discourse' tells, had now 'begun
at Frankfort'. The struggle was bitter, and its consequences far-
reaching, but only an outline of it need be given here.

The Strassburg exiles had suggested a superintendent to their
Frankfort brethren, but the latter, according to the 'Brief Discourse',
were fully determined at that time to have the church governed by
two or three grave, godly and learned ministers of like authority,
as is accustomed in the best Reformed churches.' Some of the exiled
clergy whom they invited refused to accept the call. Chambers came
from Zurich about the 4th of November, and went back again because
'they could not assure him the full use of the English book without
the hazarding of their church'. Knox, to whom a call signed by
McBrair, Whittingham and 19 others had been sent on the 24th of
September, accepted it and arrived from Geneva in November. The
congregation agreed in December to adopt what the 'Brief Discourse'
calls 'the Order of Geneva.... already printed in English': this
was certainly Huycke's translation mentioned above. It would differ
but little from their order agreed upon in July; as it has been
already shown, that order apparently resembled Poullain's revised
Liturgy and the ordinary editions of Calvin's 'Les Prieres' and the
'Book of Geneva'; while Huycke's version followed the 1545 'Les
Prieres' and Poullain's earlier form.

Knox however, aware that a portion of the congregation still
desired the Prayer Book, and no doubt fearing a complete rupture with
some of the other churches of English exiles, dissuaded the congredation from adopting the 'Order of Geneva' at once, and even refused to administer the Communion according to the Genevan rite, until a Latin summary of the Prayer Book, drawn up by Whittingham and himself, had been sent to Calvin for his opinion. Then Knox, Whittingham, Foxe, Gilby and Cole were asked by the congregation in January 1555 to draw up a suitable order: 'which thing', says the 'Brief Discourse', 'was by them accomplished and offered to the congregation, being the same Order of Geneva which is now in print.' A little obscurity has been caused by the fact that the 'Brief Discourse' refers to this and to the order agreed on in December in almost exactly the same words; but it seems clear that, as has been said, the 'Order of Geneva...already printed' in December was the 1550 London edition; and that that order was now subjected by Knox and his colleagues to a revision on the lines of Poullain's 1554 Liturgy, which made it 'the same Order of Geneva which is now in print,' that is, from the point of view of the author of the 'Brief Discourse'. In other words, it was this order of January 1555 that became with little modification the Liturgy of the English church at Geneva - the 1556 'Book of Geneva,' reprinted in Edinburgh by Lekprevik in 1562; and it was a new edition of it, with supplementary matter, printed at the same place in 1564, and enjoined by Act of Assembly, that became known as the 'Book of Common Order' of the Church of Scotland, or 'Knox's Liturgy.'

The Liturgy adopted by the Scottish Reformers was therefore that of the English exiles to whom Knox ministered in Frankfort and afterwards in Geneva; and Professor Mitchell is justified in saying that 'their Book of Common Order is founded on Farel's and Calvin's services, but is so after these services have passed through the alembic of Pollanus and been modified and supplemented by him.'

This 'Order of Geneva' of January 1555, though it pleased those who may be called the Puritan party, was rejected by those who wished

12. McCrie, 'Knox', p. 72n., says that the orders of Dec. 1554 and Jan. 1555 were 'different'; but the difference consisted only in their being, along with the July order, translations and revisions of different editions of the original Strassburg or Geneva Liturgy.
14. The name 'Puritan' seems to have been first applied about 1564 to those clergy in the Church of England who refused to conform to the worship and discipline of the Church as arranged by Elizabeth and Archbishop Parker.
the Prayer Book. The congregation awaited Calvin's report upon the
Prayer Book. He sent it on 20th January, stating that he had found
in the Prayer Book many 'tolerabiles ineptias', follies that might
be borne with, but were better put away; and counselled the exiles
to compose their differences.

The result of Calvin's letter was that Knox and Whittingham, of
the Puritan party, together with Lever and Parry of the Anglican
party, were appointed a committee to devise a form that might, if
possible, be acceptable to both sections of the congregation. They
drew up a 'Liturgy of Compromise', as it is aptly named by its editor,
Dr Sprott, 'some parts taken forth of the English Book and other things
put to'. This mutilated version of the Prayer Book was approved by
the congregation, who agreed to make a trial of it from the 6th of
February till the end of April; and Knox celebrated the Communion.

But the peace was broken on the 13th of March, when another party
of exiles arrived at Frankfurt, headed by Dr Cox, the deprived Bishop
of Ely, who had been tutor to King Edward and the princess Elizabeth.
The newcomers refused to be bound by the compromise. They insisted on
reading the Litany in church, and repeated the responses when the
'Liturgy of Compromise' was being used. Knox replied at the after-
noon service on the same Sunday by preaching a sermon against the
Prayer Book. The 'troubles' had broken out again with greater
virulence than ever. The 'Liturgy of Compromise' had met the usual
fate of such compromises; it probably did not really satisfy either
party, and its day of usefulness was over.

After a fruitless attempt by the Council to reconcile the contend-
ing parties through Poullain's mediation, they issued an order on the
22nd of March, exacting the observance of the original agreement of
the previous July, and commanding the congregation to conform to
Poullain's Liturgy on pain of having the church shut against them.
Knox was, however, accused of treason and got rid of on the 26th of
March. He returned to Geneva. Cox and his party were then vic-
torious; for they persuaded the Council to rescind the order imposing
the use of Poullain's Liturgy on the English congregation, and the

Sprott, 'Liturgy of Compromise', bound with Motherspoon, 'Second
Prayer Book of Edward VI,' Blackwood, 1905. The MS is now in the
British Museum.
Prayer Book was reinstated.

During 1555 Poullain published a second Latin edition of his revised Liturgy and Confession, omitting the names of those of the English congregation who had signed it the year before. This was really the third Latin edition of his Liturgy.

In the autumn most of those who had supported Knox in objecting to the Prayer Book followed him to Geneva, where, in the absence of Knox in Scotland, the English Church of Geneva was erected on the 1st. of November, 1555. They must have brought with them from Frankfort the 'Order of Geneva', which was printed as their Liturgy in February 1556, and used by Knox during his ministry among them from September 1556 till February 1559. Their Confession of Faith, printed along with their order, may be regarded as a condensed form of Poullain's Latin Confession of 1554, subscribed already by some of their number.

The importance of the Frankfort controversy lies in the fact that it brought into sharp conflict the two great types of Reformed Liturgy - the more conservative type exemplified by the Prayer Book, and the more advanced continental model seen in its purest form in Poullain's Liturgy. The bitterness of the struggle would have the natural effect of confirming the allegiance of the partizans to the type that they preferred, and rendering difficult, or rather, well-nigh impossible, any future attempt to devise one Liturgy that would be acceptable to both sides. Knox in particular, who until his unhappy experience at Frankfort had not been wholly adverse to the Prayer Book, appears from that time as its uncompromising opponent, and as a steadfast adherent of the continental model, both in its form of worship and in its Presbyterian polity. And it was largely owing to the weight of his authority that the Prayer Book of 1552, which he found, to some extent at least, in use in Scotland when he returned in 1559, was displaced there in favour of the 'Book of Geneva'.

A new Scottish Confession of Faith, drawn up by the six Johns - Knox, Winram, Spotswood, Willock, Row and Douglas - was adopted by the Scottish Parliament of 1550, and substituted afterwards in the 'Book of Common Order' for the Genevan Confession borrowed from Poullain. The Scottish Confession resembles the older one in its general plan, but only to a small extent in its language. The Genevan Confession was however incorporated in the Baptismal Service of the Scottish Liturgy as an exposition of the
Apostles' Creed.

See notes 2 and 6 to Poullain's 'Professio Fidei' below.
There were at least partial Service Books existing in the Reformed Churches of Switzerland from an early date. The well-known Confession of the Sunday morning service in Calvin's and Poullain's Liturgies is said to occur in a Zurich book of 1525, the year that Farel was at Strassburg. It has already been mentioned that the Marriage service of these Liturgies was published, probably by Farel, at Neuchatel in 1533. Bern had forms for Baptism, Marriage, and the Lord's Supper, before 1528. The mode of worship in the Reformed French church at Strassburg, which may have been given to it by Farel in 1525, is thus described in a letter written in that year by Gerard Roussel: 'A table is prepared in a place well in view of the whole congregation. They do not call it an altar, to avoid any resemblance to those who call the Supper a sacrifice. The table, however, is not otherwise different from ordinary altars. The minister approaches it, but with his face, not his back, turned to the people...He reads some short prayers drawn from Scripture. Then the whole congregation sings a psalm. That done, the minister again prays, mounts the pulpit, and first reads a passage from Scripture, and then explains it so that all may understand it. The sermon finished, the minister returns to the table, and then the whole congregation sings the Creed. After that an explanation is given of the purpose for which Christ gave us the Supper...While the Communion is being celebrated, each one partaking of the Supper, the whole congregation sings the "Kyrie Eleison", to return thanks for the benefit received. The minister partakes of the Supper last...After this, they all go home, to return after dinner, about midday, to hear the sermon preached by a pastor.'

It is evident therefore that Calvin's Liturgy, which he prepared on his return from Strassburg to Geneva and published for the use of the Genevan church in 1542, was not to any great extent an original

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17 Ebrard, quoted by Sprott, in the appendix to his edition of 'The Book of Common Order'.

18 See Lindsay, 'Hist. Reform.' II. P.69.
work, but was rather, as Ericson says, 'a legacy of the Alsatian city to the Reformed churches.' Colladonus, the greatest authority on Calvin next to Beza, wrote in regard to the year 1543 (see below on the second edition of 'La Forme' etc.): 'He collected - recueillit - in this year, for the use of the Church of Geneva, the form of the church prayers, with the manner of administering the Sacraments and celebrating Marriage, and the visitation of the sick...with a fine preface by himself, in which he speaks of the use of singing in the public assembly of the Church.' In October 1538 Calvin himself wrote: 'We have celebrated the Supper for the first time in our little church, according to the form used here, and have decided to repeat it monthly.' On the other hand, Calvin said on his death-bed that when he had come to the church at Geneva, there was nothing but preaching. 'As for the prayers for Sundays,' he continued, 'I took the Strassburg form and borrowed the most of it. As for the others, I could not take them from those (of Strassburg), for there was not a word of them, but I took all Scripture. I was compelled also to make the formula for Baptism, being at Strassburg, and as they brought me the children of the Anabaptists from five and ten leagues around to be baptized. I made then this rude form, but such as it is I counsel you not to change it.'

Calvin then does not claim sole authorship of his Liturgy; he acknowledges his debt to other sources, and in particular to the forms which he found at Strassburg, and doubtless helped to mould during his ministry there; his Marriage service is extant verbatim, from the words 'Nostre aide soit' etc., to the end, in the Neuchâtel book of 1533, and was almost certainly in use both at Strassburg and at Geneva before he published it as part of 'La Forme' etc.; the only form that he expressly claims as being of his own composition is the service for Baptism. Nevertheless it would be a mistake to infer, either from his own words or from the expression 'recueillit' employed by Colladonus, that Calvin was a mere compiler. The credit is his of having been the first to shape the materials, which to a large extent existed already in use at Strassburg, into a complete Liturgy, bearing the impress of his powerful personality; a Liturgy, moreover, which through
his great authority became, and still remains, that of all French-speaking Reformed churches.

Calvin's Genevan Liturgy may be regarded then as the source of the prayers and some of the rubrics in Poullain's Liturgy down to the end of the rubric concerning the Visitation of the Sick, where 'La Forme' etc., concludes. To Poullain may be ascribed the majority of the rubrics in his Liturgy, by no means the least interesting part of it; and all that follows the rubric with which Calvin ends — that is to say, the rubrics on the Communion of the Sick, on a Funeral, on the Election and Ordination of Ministers, Elders and Deacons, and on Discipline, the 'Admonitio ad Lectorem', and the Profession of Faith. Doubtless Poullain was not without previous material to work upon; but it is permissible to say that in the parts found only in his Liturgy there appears a high degree of originality of thought and style, and that rubrics such as the very interesting one on the Use of Forms of Prayer, the whole of the 'Admonitio', and even to a considerable extent the Profession of Faith, together with the touching yet manly Preface, stand out as the individual work of a learned theologian possessing an acute and practical mind.

Calvin's 'La Forme des Prières' etc.

The title of the earliest edition of Calvin's French Liturgy known to the editors of the 'Corpus Reformatorum' is:

'La Forme des Prières et Chants Ecclesiastiques avec la maniere d'administrer les Sacremens, et consacrer le Mariage: selon la coutume de l'eglise ancienne'. Ps.149.1, and Ps.150.6 are next quoted (Ps.149.1 appears also on Poullain's title-page), and after these texts there follows the date alone, MDXLII.

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'Corpus Reformatorum', Vol.xxxiv, Calvini Volvi, Brunsvigae 1867, contains the text of 'La Forme' etc., with the variations. The account given above is mainly taken from the 'Prolegomena' to the volume. Some of the titles of the early editions of the 'Book of Geneva', and information as to the libraries in which they and the editions of Poullain's Liturgy exist, are taken from the Bibliography to Martin's 'Les Protestants Anglais refugies à Geneve au temps de Calvin', Genève 1915.
It was probably printed by Jean Gerard at Geneva. It contains an 'Epistre au lecteur' without name or signature, followed by 35 psalms, the Song of Simeon, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed and the Decalogue, all turned into French verse, with the tunes to which they were to be sung in church; and then 'La Forme des Prières Ecclesiastiques.' This text, as the most ancient, is given in the 'Corpus', but all variants in the other editions are noted. There is a copy of this first edition in the Royal Library at Stuttgart.

The second extant edition has the same title as far as the word 'ancienne', and then the second clause of Colossians 3.16 is quoted, followed by the words 'Imprime a Strasbourg, L'an 1545.' The preface is now signed by Calvin, four pages are added to it, and it is dated from Geneva 1543. It is to this preface that Colladonius refers in the letter quoted above. It may therefore be conjectured that there was another edition published between those of 1542 and 1545, which has disappeared. This 1545 edition contains 48 metrical psalms, the same canticles that appeared in the 1542 edition, an additional version of the Decalogue, making two versions of it in this edition, and a 'Salutation to Jesus Christ', with the melodies to each. These psalms and canticles are ascribed in a title to the authorship of Clément Marot. Then follows 'La Forme des Prières Ecclesiastiques', containing a considerable number of variations from the Genevan editions. These differences may be due to Poullain, or to Jean Garnier, pastor of the French church in Strassburg from 1544. At all events, they represent the usage of Strassburg; for, as the editors of the 'Corpus' point out, this edition was peculiar to the church there. It will appear from the quotations given in the notes that Poullain's Liturgy, especially in the first edition, follows this Strassburg edition of 'La Forme' rather than the Genevan editions in most of the instances where differences occur; but there are a number of places in which Poullain displays independent judgement. The unique copy of this 1545 edition is in the Municipal Library of Strassburg.
The only other edition of 'La Forme' etc., that need be mentioned here in relation to Poullain's Liturgy is what may be called the third edition, dated 1547. From internal evidence it was published at Geneva by Jean Gerard. It exhibits a new and final revision by Calvin, and its variant readings are followed by practically all the later Genevan editions. There are no psalms or canticles bound up with 'La Forme' in this edition, as a separate volume of the same form and type was published in the same year by Gerard at Geneva, containing 68 psalms by Marot, and the canticles as in the 1545 edition, but omitting the Song of Simeon and the version of the Decalogue published in 1542. The tunes are not given.

Of the few metrical psalms that are specially prescribed in Poullain's Liturgy, Ps.113, used in the Marriage service, is found in the 1542 edition of Calvin's 'La Forme'. The other psalm used in the Marriage service, Ps.128, first occurs in the 1545, or Strassburg, edition. Ps.119, required in the children's Catechizing, or Afternoon service, is not found even in the 1547 edition, but must have been added to the French metrical Psalter before it was prescribed by Poullain. Of the canticles, the Apostles' Creed, sung during the Communion service of Poullain's Liturgy, is found in the 1542 edition of 'La Forme'.

The most interesting of these canticles is the metrical version of the Decalogue, sung by precentor and people at the beginning of Poullain's Sunday morning service. There is a version of the Decalogue in the 1542 and 1545 editions of the French psalter, ascribed by the editors of the 'Corpus' to Calvin, and beginning

'Oyons la Loy, que de sa voix
Nous a donné le Createur'.

In the Strassburg edition of 1545 it has 'Kyrieleison' after each quatrain, so that this may well have been the canticle which Roussel, according to the letter quoted above, heard the congregation at Strassburg sing during the Communion in 1525; if this surmise is correct, the canticle was in use at Strassburg too early to be the composition of Calvin.

In the 1545 edition a second version of the Decalogue appears along with the first, and this version has passed alone into the succeeding editions. It is by Marot, and begins

'Leve le cœur, ouvre l'oreille'.

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The words 'Praecantor incipit clara voce, Leve le cueur', used almost at the beginning of Poullain's Liturgy, mean that the precentor announced this canticle before leading the congregation in singing it. Strype in his summary of the 1551 edition of Poullain's Liturgy says 'First, Sursum corda', and is followed by Dr Sprott, who states that the service began with 'Sursum corda'; neither Strype nor Dr Sprott apparently being aware that the words used by the precentor, 'Leve le cueur', were merely the beginning of Marot's canticle. It has already been mentioned that Whittingham made an English versification of the Decalogue for the English Genevan Psalter of 1552, modelled on Marot's and set to the same tune; it begins

'Attend ye my people and give ear:
Of ferlie things I will thee tell.'

The Church in the Channel Islands, which uses a French version of the English Prayer Book, still used in the 19th century the old Genevan Psalter with its tunes (see La Liturgie etc., Brouard, Guernsey 1833).

The well-known Latin version of Calvin's Liturgy requires little notice here; for it was first published at Geneva in 1552, the year after Poullain's first Latin edition of his Liturgy. Reference may possibly have been made to it by the English exiles at Frankfort in 1554, but as it has been pointed out above, they had Poullain's Liturgy at hand, and probably also Huycke's English version of 'La Forme'. Although Calvin himself made the Latin version of his French Catechism, that of his Genevan Liturgy was made by someone else - 'ab alio quopiam' as the title of this 1552 edition says. Even in the same prayers, its style and language are strikingly different from Poullain's. It is an exact translation of apparently the third edition of 'La Forme', correct in syntax, approximately classical in vocabulary, and as far as possible periodic in structure: a version such as might be made to-day by a good student of Latin prose. Poullain's Latin, on the other hand, is the freely moving, sometimes loose and unclassical but always vivid Latin of the middle ages, used as a living tongue, with clause added to clause in the modern manner; and with a sprinkling of such mediaeval constructions as the 'quod', 'que' or even 'quia' in the sense of 'that' introducing noun clauses, the origin of the many uses of 'que' in French...
and 'che' in Italian. Further reference is made in §VI to some of the peculiarities of Poullain's Latin; here it may be noted that in many places he shows a certain redundancy, a fondness for repeating the same thought in different words, as contrasted with the more concise mode of expression found in Calvin's 'La Forme'.

The title of the earliest English translation of 'La Forme des Prieres' may be given here, in consideration of the important part that this 'Order of Geneva' seems to have played at Frankfort in the compilation of the 'Book of Geneva' of 1556. It is as follows:

The forme of common prayers used in the churches of Geneva:
The mynystation of the sacramentes of Baptisme and the Lordes supper: The vysitacion of the sycke: And the Cathachisme of Geneva: made by master John Calvyne.

In the ende are certaine other Godly prayers privately to be used: translated out of frenche into Englyshe.

By William Huycke!

Graces before and after meals are added at the end, and the colophon states that the book was printed at London by Edward Whitchurch on 7th June 1550. Copies are in the British Museum and in Cambridge University Library.

The next published English version, the 'Book of Geneva' of 1556, is well known; but it is not so generally known that in 1556 there was also published at Geneva by Crespin a Latin translation of it, in order that the continental Protestants, and especially Calvin, who was ignorant of English, might be informed as to the mode of worship used by the English church in Geneva.

It was for a similar reason that Poullain five years before had published the first Latin version of the Liturgy that he used at Glastonbury.

The late Professor Mitchell expressed his strong conviction that 'the words and matter of Knox's Latin Prayer Book of 1556,' as he called this Genevan translation, 'were derived directly from the Liturgia Sacra of Pollenae', that is, from the 1554 or 1555 Frankfort edition. On this point Dr Mitchell entertained 'no doubt whatever.'

The title of the first edition of Poullain's Liturgy is:

'Liturgia sacra, seu Ritus ministerii in Ecclesia peregrinorum profugorum propter evangelium Christi Argentiniae. Adiecta est ad fines breuis Apologia pro hac Liturgia, per Valerandum Pollenum Flandrum'. Psalm 149.1 is then quoted, and the date, 1551, is given.

The colophon again quotes Ps.149.1, and goes on: 'Impressum Londini per Stephanum Hierdriann. 28 Februar. An. MLI. S 17. S 17. S 17.' There is a copy in the French Protestant History Society's Library at Paris, and in Cambridge University Library.

Poullain prefaces this edition with an 'Epistola dedicatoria' addressed to Edward VI., in which he says that he has thought it worth while to translate the Liturgy of his church of strangers into Latin, in order to clear them of slanderous imputations; promises soon to publish aphorisms on their discipline; and affirms that both in worship and in discipline no church is purer or approaches more nearly the church of apostolic times.

This edition contains no Confession of Faith; and Poullain appears to have expanded his 'breuis apologia' afterwards into the 'Ad lectorum candidum pro Liturgia admonitio,' which takes its place in the 1554 edition.

It is the 1551 edition that is described by Stryge. It followed the Strassburg 'La Forme' of 1545 pretty closely.

The second extant edition of Poullain's Liturgy was published in the following year, in London also. It is in French, and was therefore the form actually in use in his church. The Confession of Faith, apparently composed at Glastonbury, is now added. The title is:

'L'Ordre des Prieres et ministere Ecclesiastique avec La Forme de penitence pub. et certaines Prieres de l'Eglise de Londres, et La confession de Poy de l'Eglise de Glastonbury en Somerset.' Luke 21.36 is quoted, and then comes 'A Londres. 1552'.

The preface is addressed: 'A l'Eglise de Jesus Christ Catholique,' and signed 'V. Poullain. Salut.'

Copies exist in Cambridge University Library and Frankfort Municipal Library.

The third extant edition, the second in Latin, is that transcribed and translated below, from a copy in Glasgow University Library. There are copies also in the British Museum, Zurich Municipal Library, and the Library of the French Church at Frankfort. It is a small octavo, cut close, of 94 pages, the page measuring 33/8 in. by 57/8 in. The Glasgow copy is bound up in a volume with four other Reformation pamphlets dated between 1554 and 1611.

As it has been already said, this edition was published at Frankfort on the 1st of September 1554. On the 22nd of the same month Anne Hooper wrote from Frankfort to Bullinger at Zurich: "Pollainus...sends you this little book, from which you may know the constitution and general order of our little church: in which should there be any thing which you think requires correction, you will exceedingly oblige by letting him know." The changes in the Sunday morning service which Poullain introduced in this edition are described in the notes.

In the following year, 1555, Poullain published at Frankfort yet another edition in Latin, of the same book, enlarged to 126 pages, the names of the English subscribers being omitted. This is the fourth extant edition, and the unique copy of it exists in the public Library of Geneva.

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III.

THE RELATION BETWEEN POUILLAIN'S WORK AND THAT OF A LASCO.

John a Lasco, a Polish baron, was minister and superintendent of the Dutch and other refugees, who came to England on account of the Augsburg Interim, and were granted in 1550 the use of the Church of the Austin Friars in London for their worship. Like Poullain, in 1551 a Lasco also published in London with Wierdamm, and dedicated to Edward VI, a summary of the doctrine of his church, with a short edition of their public prayers, containing only the order of service for Sunday morning. The title of his book is:

'Forma ac Ratio tota Ecclesiastici Ministerii, in peregrinorum, potissimum uero Germanorum, Ecclesia observaudi, instituta Londini' etc.

This work was afterwards enlarged and published at Frankfort about the end of the year 1555, when a Lasco's church, expelled like Poullain's from England, had obtained from the council of Frankfort the same privilege that had been granted the year before to the French and English exiles, of worshipping in the Church of the White Ladies; the only condition made in their case being that they should not dissent from the Augustan Confession.

A Lasco said in the preface to his 'Forma ac Ratio' that in regard to the constitution of his church he had taken an example from the Genevan church and from the Church of the Strangers in Strassburg. It should not be forgotten that the completed edition of the 'Forma ac Ratio' was published after a Lasco had been associated for a time with Poullain in Frankfort, and had had the opportunity of studying the Liturgy of the Church of the Strangers in Poullain's 1554 and 1555 editions.

The Liturgies of Poullain and of a Lasco resemble each other in regard to many of the prayers which have their common origin in the Strassburg or Geneva forms; but differ considerably in

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Kuyper, 'Works of a Lasco,' Amsterdam 1866; especially vol.I. pp.LXXVII - LXXVI; 243-269; vol.II. pp.50,81,294-333.
regard to the orders of service adopted by the two ministers as suited to the usages of their respective churches. Only the service for Sunday morning need be considered here, as it was the only order of service given in the 1551 edition of the 'Forma ac Ratio.'

A Lasco begins the service with a prayer by the minister for the illumination of the Holy Spirit, ending with the Lord's Prayer; Poullain with the singing of the Ten Commandments by precentor and people. The daily service in Poullain's Liturgy commences similarly with the singing of a psalm. The old Scottish custom of the 'gathering psalm,' whether derived from Poullain or not, was the usage of Poullain's church. Further reference is made to this subject in § V below.

After the sermon, a Lasco directs the Ten Commandments to be read; then he gives the general confession of Calvin's Liturgy, which in Poullain's order comes at the beginning of the service; a Lasco's version, however, differs considerably from the usual form. A Lasco next gives a form of absolution, ending with the Apostles' Creed; Poullain prescribes no form. Then comes the prayer of Intercession, bearing only a general resemblance to that given by Calvin and Poullain; this prayer ends with the Lord's Prayer again, not with the long paraphrase of it given in the other Liturgies. It is at this point that Poullain has the Creed recited. The service concludes with a psalm and the Benediction.

The 'summary of Christian doctrine', which a Lasco published in the 1551 edition of the 'Forma ac Ratio' as the Confession of his church, bears little resemblance to Poullain's Confession which appeared later; and neither of these Confessions seems to have had much influence on the other. Poullain's is in the form of an exposition of the Apostles' Creed; A Lasco's is not. According to a Lasco there are three chief ministries in the Christian Church: the ministry of the Word, that of the sword, and that 'of tables for the poor.' These are performed by the ministers, the magistrates and the deacons respectively. Poullain, however, says that Discipline, the 'fourth mark of the Church', is twofold: an ecclesiastical ministry and a political ministry, the power of the sword being entrusted to the latter. This instance will suffice
to show how differently Poullain and a Lasco treat the same subject. In his later and enlarged edition, however, a Lasco gives four principal functions of the ministry: the ministry of the Word, of the Sacraments, of tables or alms, and of ecclesiastical discipline; and this has a certain resemblance to Poullain's four marks of the Church, which are the ministry of teaching and of the Word, the worship of God through Christ, the Sacraments, and the twofold discipline already mentioned.

A Lasco's later edition gives a full description of the election of ministers and other office-bearers, and of ecclesiastical discipline, and includes forms of excommunication and restoration to Church privileges. Poullain's treatment of these matters is in comparison a mere sketch of the procedure, but contains the later work, as it were, in germ.

The influence of a Lasco upon the Scottish Presbyterian polity of the First Book of Discipline was considerable. Knox and his colleagues borrowed from the 'Forma ac Ratio' the sections on the election of superintendents, and on the weekly Assemblies or Prophecyings; and followed a Lasco rather than Calvin or Poullain in the section on discipline. In Geneva the right of electing ministers lay with the other ministers; the First Book of Discipline followed Poullain and a Lasco in giving that right to the congregation. The election was supplemented by an oath of fidelity, in Geneva to the council, in a Lasco's 'Forma ac Ratio' to the King; The First Book of Discipline, like Poullain, makes no mention of such an oath. Ordination in Poullain and a Lasco is by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery; but here the First Book of Discipline follows Calvin, who, like Farel, had received no ordination by the laying on of hands, and did not regard the imposition of hands as necessary to ordination.
IV.

POULLAIN'S LITURGY AND THE SECOND PRAYER BOOK OF EDWARD VI.

How far, if at all, the Prayer Book of 1552 was directly influenced by Poullain's Liturgy of 1551 is a debatable question. The Second Prayer Book certainly exhibits the high water mark of the influence of continental teaching upon the English Liturgy; and the presence in England of learned exiles such as Poullain and a Lasco cannot have been without considerable effect in strengthening Cranmer's hands for the removal of these continental Reformers held to be superstitious elements in the First Prayer Book.

There are one or two instances in which it is permissible to trace the influence of Poullain's Liturgy in the Second Prayer Book. Morning and evening service in the Prayer Book of 1549 began with the Lord's Prayer. The sentences, exhortation, general confession and absolution, which now precede the Lord's Prayer, were introduced in 1552; and the idea of them may be found in Poullain's form. Similarly, the Decalogue formed no part of the Communion Service of 1549, but was introduced, almost at the beginning of the service, in 1552; its introduction may, with a good deal of probability, be ascribed to Poullain's use of it at the commencement of his Sunday morning service. The responses after the Commandments seem also to be due to Poullain, who in his 1551 edition subjoined to the singing of the Decalogue a very short prayer or collect 'that God would give them grace to keep the commandments' (see p.8, note 11). Then the same collect was sung.

In regard to other changes made in the Second Prayer Book, it is impossible to say whether these were the result of any direct imitation of Poullain's Liturgy. Cranmer had consulted Bucer and Martyr; and the changes were such as brought the Prayer Book more into line with the continental type of Reformed Liturgy to which Poullain's book belonged. The Prayer of Consecration in the 1549 Communion Service contained the words: 'and with thy Holy Spirit and word vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these thy gifts, and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved son, Jesus Christ;' these were omitted in 1552, and the words still used were substituted: 'and grant that we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine, according to thy Son our Saviour.

Jesu Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed body and blood.' These words may be thought to go even farther in the direction of Zwinglianism than those used by Calvin and Poullain (p.52): 'that we may be able ... to receive from Him so great a benefit: to wit, that being imbued with assured faith we may be made partakers of His own body and blood, yea even may enjoy Him wholly and entirely, Who is truly God and man, and is also that holy bread from heaven, given to us for the sustenance of life.'

Other instances in which the Second Prayer Book is in agreement with the Liturgies of Calvin and Poullain are the omission, in the Communion Service, of the Introit, of the name of the Virgin Mary, of the thanksgiving for the saints, of the sign of the Cross in the Consecration, and of the admixture of water with the wine. In 1549 the bread was to be put into the communicant's mouth; it was now to be given into his hand. In Baptism the form for exorcising the evil spirit from the child was omitted, and also the anointing of the child, investing it with the chrism or white robe of purity, and the trine immersion; in the Marriage service the sign of the Cross and the giving of money to the bride were omitted; in the Visitation of the sick, an allusion to Tobias and Sarah, the anointing, and the direction about private confession; and in the funeral service, prayers for the dead and the office for the Eucharist. All these usages were in the First Prayer Book and were left out of the Second; the vestments also were much simplified. It cannot, of course, be said that the publication of Poullain's Liturgy was directly responsible for these alterations; but it may at least be asserted that the revisers of the Prayer Book must have been encouraged and confirmed in their course of action by the appearance of Poullain's book, in the preface to which he commended his church so strongly to the king for purity of worship and discipline.

There are a few passages in Poullain's 'Admonitio,' in the 1554 edition, which bear a close resemblance to parts of Cranmer's preface 'Of Ceremonies' etc., in the Prayer Book. These similarities, which are pointed out in the notes, are probably due to the fact that both Reformers were dealing with the same subject.
It should be observed at the outset that most of the rubrics appear to be due to Poullain himself. This feature makes his Liturgy much more interesting to read than Calvin's 'La Forme', the 'Book of Geneva,' or 'Knox's Liturgy,' which employ virtually the same prayers, but give little information about the actual services in which these prayers were used. From Poullain's rubrics, on the other hand, the reader can construct a vivid picture of ministers, precentor and congregation actually engaged in the conduct of the services.

Mention is made in the notes of all cases in which Poullain differs materially from Calvin's 'La Forme' etc. (referred to as 'Calvin'), or where he agrees with one edition rather than another. On the whole he follows the Strassburg edition of 1545, but he frequently displays independent judgement, and sometimes follows the definitive edition of 1547.

Occasionally the 'Book of Geneva' and Knox's Liturgy appear to agree with Poullain rather than with 'La Forme'. Such places are pointed out in the notes.

In the next few pages, some account is given of special features of the Liturgy, in the order of the contents.

The Preface is in the form of an Epistle addressed to the Christian reader. It is a short but eloquent defence of the position of Poullain's church, as agreeing with the Catholic Church and following the doctrine of the prophets and apostles as the Word of God. There is a tribute to the 'Senate' of Frankfort for their kindness in harbouring the exiles. It is dated from Frankfort 1st September, 1554.

The Service for the morning of the Lord's Day has already been referred to. It begins at 8 a.m. with the singing of Marot's 'Leve le cuer' by precentor and congregation. Then 'one of the ministers', after the introductory sentence 'Our help', etc., exhorts the people to confess their sins, and leads them in the well-known prayer often called 'Calvin's Confession'. Then the Absolution is pronounced, the people standing or kneeling, evidently in the posture that they had adopted during the prayer of confession. The minister having invoked the help of the Holy Spirit, gives out his text from the New Testament, taking the books in order, and preaches for one
hour. Then come intimations, and the alms are collected by two deacons who stand at the door. The long intercessory prayer that follows ends with a long paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, or, if time presses, with the Lord's Prayer itself; and then the Apostle's Creed is recited. The precentor gives out the concluding psalm, and the minister pronounces the Benediction from Numbers.

In the exhortation before the confession in this service, Calvin uses the words "chacun de vous....suyvant de son coeur mes paroles", and thus seems to imply that the congregation kept silence. Poullain however inserts a rubric in which he says that the minister "leads (praeit) them in these words"; and in the exhortation, instead of asking the people to follow his words in their heart, the minister bids them, "Follow me among yourselves as I lead you in these words " The order of the Latin is still more emphatic: "among yourselves, me, leading you, follow in these words." It seems almost certain, therefore, that Poullain's congregation repeated the Confession along with the minister, just as in the Church of England. The fact that Poullain never uses the verb "praeeo" in regard to any other prayer is corroborative of this view.

The Lord's Prayer was not repeated by the people. Even in the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI it was to be said by the minister alone.

The Lord's Supper was celebrated on the first Sunday of every month at the end of the ordinary morning service, the usual closing psalm and the Benediction being omitted, and the pre-communion prayer being appended to the prayer after the sermon. The prayer being ended, the people sing the Apostle's Creed, doubtless in the metrical version published as early as 1542 in "La Forme", etc. Meanwhile the deacons bring the bread and wine to the table, and after the Creed has been sung, the minister recites the words of the Institution from I Cor. XI, subjoining a fencing, and then an exhortation concerning the use of the Supper, as in Calvin. Poullain however allows the minister to employ any other suitable form of exhortation at his discretion. Then the minister gives the bread, and hands the cup, to his assistant minister, and receives them from him in turn. The people come up to the table, first the men and then the women, and each receives the bread from the first minister and then the wine from the other; a psalm being sung, or Scripture quoted, while the Communion
is going on. In delivering the bread the minister addresses each communicant in the words: 'The bread which we break is the communion of the body of Christ: take, eat, remembering that Christ's body was broken for thee for the remission of thy sins'; and the other minister uses a similar form in delivering the wine. It is noteworthy that the ministers address each communicant separately, as in the Prayer Book service; the ordinary editions of Calvin give no form of words to be used at this point, and even the Strassburg edition, which gives a different form from Poullain's, employs the plural number in addressing the communicants. The service ends with the prayer of Thanksgiving and the Benediction.

Some deviations from Poullain's Communion order are found in the Book of Geneva and Knox's Liturgy, which draw part of the exhortation from the Prayer Book, although Knox takes the "fencing" from Calvin or Poullain. The Communion rubric in the Book of Geneva and in Knox is: 'The minister breaketh the bread, and delivereth it to the people, who distribute and divide the same among themselves, according to our Saviour Christ's commandment, and likewise giveth the cup', etc.

The Afternoon Service, and the Evening Service, are described in rubrics peculiar to Poullain. The first is held at one o'clock, and takes the form of a catechizing of the children, at which the congregation are present. A canto of the 119th Psalm is sung, and the children are catechized and instructed in the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments, the service lasting not more than an hour. Calvin's Catechism would doubtless be used.

After the catechizing is over, the 'Evening' service begins at two o'clock with the singing of a psalm. Then the minister goes on with the systematic exposition of any book of Scripture that he has taken up. He prays for all estates of men, not in a prescribed form, but according to his own discretion. Another psalm is sung, and the people are dismissed with the Benediction. This service also must last no longer than an hour, in order that time may be left before supper for a meeting of the minister and the elders.

The Daily or week-day Service is next described in a rubric to which there is nothing corresponding in Calvin. On Tuesday and Thursday mornings the people assemble, and sing a psalm, after which the minister invokes the Holy Spirit, preaches a sermon, concludes with a short prayer 'as his heart is moved', blesses the people, and dismisses them to their work. In the 'Admonition' Poullain says that this service was held at daybreak: his weavers kept early hours.
The Service of Repentance was a more solemn form of the Thursday morning service. After the sermon, the minister admonishes the people of their sins, and concludes with the prayer composed by Calvin, for a fast-day, incorporating in it the paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer from the Sunday Service, but only if it 'seems good to him', and then adding the intercessions from the Sunday service. After this very lengthy prayer the service ends with a psalm and the Benediction.

One of Poullain's most interesting rubrics follows, that upon the use of Forms of Prayer, in which he says that the minister is not rigidly bound to these forms, if the Holy Spirit suggests better words to him.

The Order of Baptism is preceded by an introduction in which Poullain lays down the rule that, like the Lord's Supper, this sacrament must be administered only in church, and 'after sermon from the Word of God'. He differs from Calvin in requiring the presence of sponsors, in addition to the father; these represent the whole Church, and stand along with the father as sureties for the Christian upbringing of the child. Poullain appears to be the author of this introduction.

This service is the only one of which Calvin expressly claimed the authorship, saying that he composed it at Strassburg, where many children of the Anabaptists were brought to him for baptism. Poullain incorporates the service in his Liturgy without much alteration, but his additions are characteristic.

After the sermon, the minister intimates to the congregation that a baptism is to take place, and begins the service with the sentence 'Our help', etc., and a preliminary question to the father and sponsors. Then an exhortation is given, which to-day would scarcely be called a short one, though Poullain uses that adjective. He prefixes to it a rubric of his own, in which he states that the minister is to use the form 'unless he can do aught better of himself.'. Throughout the exhortation Poullain displays a greater exuberance of language than Calvin: for example, the first words of the exhortation in Poullain, 'Our Lord hath abundantly testified to us', are in Calvin simply 'Notre Seigneur nous monstre'. In several places where Calvin makes no specific mention of the Holy Spirit's work in man's regeneration, Poullain does; and he lays much greater stress on the aspect of Baptism as the sign and seal of an engagement or pledge between God and the members of His Church, using in this
connection a number of legal technical terms which do not occur in Calvin. In the notes, reference is made to these additions by Poullain.

After the exhortation or address there is a prayer for the child ending with the Lord's Prayer; and in both Calvin and Poullain the minister bids the people pray along with him, though whether this means aloud or not is an open question. The parents and sponsors are then made to promise that the child will be brought up in the Christian faith, which is summed up in the Apostles' Creed. It is at this point that the Strassburg 'La Forme' of 1545 inserts an exposition of the Creed, which Poullain does not employ in the order of Baptism, but seems to have taken as the groundwork of his 'Professio Fidei'. The Genevan Confession of 1556 is also an expansion of it, much shorter than Poullain's 'Professio'; and Knox, who here makes the father or godfather repeat the Creed, directs the minister to expound it, in the terms of the Genevan Confession.

The baptism is then performed in the usual manner, and the service concludes with a short prayer for the child, and the words 'Depart ye in peace'. Calvin's note, at the end of this service, about the omission of the mediaeval ceremonies at Baptism, is expanded by Poullain in part of his 'Admonitio'.

The Marriage Service is beautifully termed the 'Service for the Blessing of a Marriage'. The name must be due to either Poullain or Farel; for Calvin does not use it. There is an introduction taken from the 1545 'Calvin'; as it does not occur in the other editions of 'La Forme', it may be conjectured that it is the work of Poullain, or of Garnier, who also was a minister of the French church at Strassburg, from 1544, and to whom the editors of the 'Corpus' are inclined to attribute most of what is peculiar to the 1545 edition.

The introduction directs that marriage is to be celebrated in presence of the full congregation. The 128th Psalm is sung while the betrothed couple are entering, and then the minister preaches a sermon and prays 'according to custom'. The couple standing before him, he begins the marriage service, from Farel's Neuchâtel Liturgy, with the sentence 'Our help', etc. He exhorts them upon the holiness of marriage, calls the congregation to witness their compact, bids them join hands, and exacts their promise of fidelity. Then he blesses them, and reads the Gospel from s. Matthew 19. 3 - 6. The whole congregation kneel, while the minister prays for the married couple, and blesses
The service concludes with the singing of the 113th Psalm and the Benediction.

The rubric concerning the Visitation of the Sick is taken from 'La Forme', which ends with it.

Poullain next gives a rubric on the Administration of the Communion to the Sick, which does not appear to have anything corresponding to it in other Reformed Liturgies, with the exception of the Prayer Book. Poullain says: 'But if the sick person desireth the Eucharist, on the very day on which the Supper is celebrated by the Church, one of the Ministers is sent, with a few godly people, to communicate with the sick.'

The last rubric in the Liturgy proper, 'At a Funeral', directs the minister to head the procession to the grave, and after the interment to give an address and a prayer. He is to end with an admonition to the people to give alms for the poor. The service is apparently to be held at the grave. The 'Book of Geneva' omits the prayer, and directs the minister to go to the church and give an address there. Knox's Liturgy likewise omits the prayer, and allows the minister to give an address if he is present and required to do so, and if the church is not far off.

The next division of Poullain's book deals with the order and discipline of his church. It begins with a rubric on the weekly meeting of the congregation for discussion and settlement of difficulties. At this and all such meetings there must be reading of Scripture and prayer for the Holy Spirit.

The three rubrics that follow, on the Ordination of Ministers, on the Election of Elders, and on the Election of Deacons, taken along with the last, on Discipline, contain one of the earliest accounts of the Presbyterian polity; and it is hardly possible to say whether Poullain or a Lasco deserves the credit of having been the first to describe that polity in what is virtually its present form. It is at least highly probable that it was Knox's close association with Poullain at Frankfort in 1554 - 5, and his intimate knowledge of Poullain's organization of his church on the model here described, that finally convinced him of the excellence of the Presbyterian system of church government; for it is from that time that Knox appears as the unwavering champion of that system, which he was afterwards one of the chief instruments in establishing in Scotland.
The ministers and elders nominate some suitable men for the office of the ministry, and the congregation have the right to propose others. The election is made by a secret ballot, in which all who have made profession of their faith are entitled to take part; the profession that constituted full membership of Poullain's church being a public acceptance of his 'Professio Fidei'. There is a most interesting account of the method of voting. The candidate who has the majority of votes is nominated minister by 'the elders and other pastors', and then examined by them as to his gifts; just as the modern Presbytery takes a probationer 'on trial' for ordination. Then at a full meeting of the congregation the ministers and elders ordain him by the laying on of hands.

The election and ordination of elders is carried out in a similar way. These also are ordained by the laying on of hands, with prayer. It is recommended that they should be at least twelve in number.

The deacons, who have charge of the alms and attend to the poor and infirm, are to be four in number, or as required. Their election is carried out in the same manner as that of the elders; but there is no mention of the imposition of hands, and their office is held only for a year. It will be observed that Poullain's elders are ordained in the same way as ministers; the modern elder corresponds in this respect rather to Poullain's deacon, but is appointed for life, and performs some of the duties of his mediaeval prototype. The 'Council of the Elders', and the 'Presbytery', apparently mean the same thing in Poullain; ministers and elders were alike presbyters or elders in the New Testament sense.

A rubric on Discipline and Excommunication ends the Liturgy. It is conceived in the spirit of S. Matthew 18. 15 - 17. Poullain promises shortly to publish a fuller treatment of discipline, and seems to have done so in his 1555 edition. He concludes with another tribute to the kindness of the Council of Frankfort.

The next section of the work is Poullain's 'Admonitio', a defence of his Liturgy and of the practice of his church, with special reference to the abolition of mediaeval ceremonies. The position of the Reformed Church is stated, firmly yet with great courtesy to opponents, in regard to the use of the vulgar tongue, the restoration of the reading of the Scriptures, the abolition of prayers to saints and for the dead, the regulation of church music,
the frequency of Communion, and other such matters of general importance
in the worship of the Church. Poullain's guiding principle, 'Nullius
libertati praescribitur', which he lays down in his rubric 'On the use of
forms of prayer', is kept in view throughout the 'Admonitio', with the
proviso that all must be done agreeably to the Word of God, 'decently and
in order'. There are paragraphs dealing with the abolition of the Roman
ceremonies in Baptism and in the Eucharist. The 'Admonitio' concludes
with an eloquent prayer that the Spirit of Christ may dispel the darkness
of ignorance, in order that 'Christ may be acknowledged as the sole Head
of His Church, and reign in the hearts of all for ever'.

In the 1554 edition an index to the Liturgy is inserted at this point,
which would be the end of the book before the 'Professio Fidei' was added.
It is omitted in this transcription, being incorporated in the 'Contents'
at the beginning. In the original text this index is not quite complete;
for it omits mention of the rubrics entitled 'On the Use of Forms of Prayer',
'On the Administration of the Eucharist to the Sick', and 'At a Funeral'.
It would seem probable that these rubrics were published for the first
time in this edition, and that the index was reprinted from the 1551 edition,
which did not contain them.

The Confession of Faith, which takes up the remainder of the little
volume, is rightly called 'Professio' because the members of Poullain's
church were required to profess their approval of it publicly, and confirm
the profession with their signature. As published in this edition it has
at the end the historically important subscription by the leaders of the
French and English congregations.

It is a compendium of the Reformed doctrine as to Christian belief,
and affirms that that belief is founded on the Scriptures and summed up
in the Apostle's Creed. It therefore takes the form of an exposition of
the Creed, under four heads, concerning I. God the Father; II. Jesus
Christ the Son; III. the Holy Spirit; and IV. the Church. This
division is found in Calvin's 'Institutio' and in his Catechism.

Under the first head it deals with Election, Calling, and the New
Birth; God's omnipotence in Creation and Providence; idolatry, man's
end, and original sin.
Under the second it treats of Christ as both God and man, although
free from sin; and of His offices of Prophet, Priest and King.

The third head treats of the Holy Spirit's work in Sanctification;
and of the Spirit as the sole source of efficacy in the ministry of the
Word, of Sacraments or of Discipline.

The fourth head treats of the Church as the Communion of Saints;
and of the visible Church, a calling into which is a sign of Election.
Four tokens or marks of the visible Church are given: I. The Ministry
of teaching and of the Word; II. The simple invocation of God through
Christ; III. The two Sacraments; IV. Discipline, which is two-fold,
Ecclesiastical and Political.

The 'Professio' concludes with an abjuration of various anti-
Trinitarian heresies, and of the doctrines of the Church of Rome, the
Pope being renounced as 'the Roman Antichrist'.

In addition to many references to Knox's Liturgy in the notes, some
striking Scottish analogies with the usages of Poullain's church may be
mentioned here.

Although both Knox's Liturgy and the Westminster Directory followed
a Lasco in prescribing prayer as the first act of public worship, it was
common in Scotland for the people to entertain the time with the singing
of psalms till the congregation had gathered; hence the first psalm was
often called 'the gathering psalm'. Poullain's services all begin with
singing: the precentor is mentioned as giving out the canticle with which
the Sunday morning service began; and he seems also to have started the
week-day service with a psalm. In Scotland the 'readers' appointed
under the provisions of the First Book of Discipline conducted the first
part of the service, consisting of the confessional prayer, the singing of
a psalm, and the reading of Scripture. When there was a minister as well
as a reader, this part of the service was conducted by the reader, who
began it one hour before the minister entered. William Cowper, Bishop of
Galloway under the 'First Episcopacy', when 'Knox's Liturgy' was in use,
thus describes the Scottish Sunday morning worship about 1612 in his

26 See Edgar, 'Old Church Life in Scotland', p.67. Most of the extracts
from kirk session records quoted in the next few pages are taken from Edgar,
or from Leishman, 'The Ritual of the Church', in 'The Church of Scotland,
Past and Present'.
'Conference between a Catholic Christian and a Catholic Roman'. (Cowper's Works, 1629, pp. 680, 681). After the reader's service as described above: 'You hear the third bell ringing, and in this space the reading ceaseth, and at the end of the bell ringing the preacher will come....First he will conceive a prayer'. Then follow the sermon, ending with a thanksgiving; the singing of a psalm, and the Benediction.

Long after the Westminster Directory had abolished the reader's office, the precentor continued to begin the service. Thomas Morer, an English chaplain to a regiment stationed in Scotland during the Revolution, gives the following description of the service as it was usually conducted towards the end of the second period of Episcopacy.

'First, the precentor, about half-an-hour before the preacher comes, reads two or three chapters to the congregation, of what part of Scripture he pleases, or as the minister gives him directions. As soon as the preacher gets into the pulpit, the precentor leaves reading, and sets a psalm, singing with the people till the minister by some sign orders him to give over. The psalm ended, the preacher begins, confessing sins', etc. After this prayer comes the sermon, the prayer of intercession ending with the Lord's Prayer, another psalm 'named by the minister, and frequently suited to the subject of his sermon', and the benediction. Morer makes the comment:

'This is the Churches way. in Scotland, and it seems to us Presbyterian.'

It certainly differs little from Poullain's order, except that in 1688 the precentor began with reading instead of singing; the minister's service is virtually the same as Poullain's with the omission of the reading, of the absolution, and of the Creed said after sermon.

Poullain's direction to the minister to take a book of Scripture and expound it in regular order may be compared with the First Book of Discipline, chapter XI, section VI, where it is stated: 'We

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27 After the Reformation three bells were commonly rung on Sunday morning: the first to warn the people that the hour of worship was near, the second for the 'reader's service, and the third for the sermon, or minister's service. The ringing of the first bell, though at a later hour than of old, is still kept up in many Scottish towns.

28 Morer, 'A Short Account of Scotland,' London, 1702 (Signet Library), p. 60. In his preface, Morer states that his account is made from notes taken when he was called to Scotland about fourteen years before, i.e. about 1688.
think it most expedient that the Scripture be read in order, that is, that some one book of the Old or New Testament be begun and orderly read to the end; and the same we judge of preaching....for this skipping and digression from place to place of Scripture, be it in reading or be it in preaching, we judge not so profitable to edifie the Kirk as the continual following of one text.'

Although the catechizing of the young was not confined to the afternoon service in Scotland, the First Book of Discipline says that 'after noone must the young children be publicly examined in their Catechism in the audience of the people'; just as is directed by Poullain. The General Assembly enacted in July 1580 that 'for as meikle as ... the people are not dewlie instructed in the Catechism and rudiments of religion, all pastors and ministers sall diligently and zealously travell with their flocks to convene to the afternoones sermones', etc. And in 1604 the kirk session of Aberdeen ordained that 'every Sabbath afternoon, between the second and third bell, two scholars of the English school sall stand up before the pulpit, the one demanding, the uther answering with a loud voice in the audience of the people, the short catechism and form of examination of children'. Similarly, the rubric at the end of the Catechism in the Prayer Book directs that 'The Curate...shall...after the second Lesson at Evening Prayer, openly in the Church-instruct and examine so many children... in some part of this Catechism.'

In the draft of a revised Book of Common Order, prepared by a committee of the General Assembly of 1616 under an instruction from James VI., there is a rubric which recalls Poullain's use of the 119th Psalm in his afternoon service of catechizing. 'It was the ancient custom of our Church,' says this rubric, 'upon the Sundays at afternoon, to sing the 119th Psalm, which we think best to be still retained in use, by singing a section of the same before sermon and another after.'

The rubrics in which Poullain directs that all services, including those for Marriage and the administration of the Sacraments, should

comprise the preaching of the Word, find their echo in the First Book of Discipline, which says: 'Neither judge we that the sacraments can be rightly ministered by him in whose mouth God hath put no sermon of exhortation'.

The Scottish Reformers always kept in view the principle laid down by Poullain in his rubric on the use of forms of prayer, and frequently repeated by him, that these forms were to be followed by the minister at his own discretion. The common confession in the first part of the Sunday morning service long retained its place in Scotland; but the right of free prayer before the sermon, as appointed by Poullain, was jealously guarded, and it was extended to free prayer after the sermon also, a usage actually sanctioned by Poullain's rubrics upon the evening and daily services.

In regard to the attitude adopted during common prayer, some interest attaches to Poullain's rubric which states that all through the confession and absolution the people may either stand or kneel as each is inclined. Kneeling was the Scottish usage after the Reformation, until, as Leishman says, 'in time it changed into sitting, the most careless and irreverent of all postures, and that was afterwards amended by borrowing from Episcopacy the more decent attitude of standing');

In the Benediction Poullain uses 'you', and is followed by the Book of Geneva; although Knox's Liturgy gives 'us' as in the Anglican Prayer Book. Notwithstanding Knox's 'us', the doctrine of the Church of Scotland has always been explicit on the point that the solemn blessing of the people is a function pertaining to the ordained minister, who therefore follows Poullain in saying 'you'. Unordained readers would of course be required to use 'us', as licentiates are still directed to do, and this probably explains the 'us' in Knox's Liturgy.

In reference to the old Latin version of Calvin's 'La Forme' in 
III., some mention has been made of the vivid and natural style of 
Poullain's Latin, as contrasted with that modelled on the Classical 
prose style exemplified by Cicero's philosophical works and speeches. 
The Latin of the Golden Age is to a large extent a somewhat artificial 
product of the study of the Attic orators, antithetic in style, highly 
periodic in the structure of the sentences, and intended to be read 
by cultivated litterateurs; and much of the Latin of the Silver Age is 
even more artificial in its use of rhetorical devices. Mediaeval 
Latin, on the other hand, has its affinities with the vernacular 
speech of Rome elevated into literary use in the Comedies of Plautus 
and Terence and in the Letters of Cicero. These writers, as well as 
Horace, Ovid, and Vergil, were studied by Calvin; and Poullain, who in 
a letter to Calvin written from London in 1552 signs himself 'Your ever 
most attached pupil,' uses some words peculiar to Plautus and Terence, 
such as 'apprime,' 'especially', and 'tantillus,' 'so little', as well 
as a number of legal technical terms usually found only in such works 
as the fragments of Ulpian (3rd century) and the 'Digest'. But in 
the course of its growth right down to the middle ages as a living 
organism, the vernacular Latin absorbed many new elements. In 
particular, Jerome's revision, known as the Vulgate, of the Old Latin 
version of the Bible, had great influence on the Latin style of all 
Christian writers from the fifth century onward. Legal, philosophical, 
and other abstract terms were added as they were required. The Revival 
of Learning helped to correct many mediaeval barbarisms, but did not 
take away the power of writing Latin in a style much more resembling 
that of a modern language than that of the masters of the Classical 
periodic style.

31.
A handy conspectus of mediaeval Latin usage is to be found in Nunn's 
'Introduction to Ecclesiastical Latin', Cambridge 1922.

32.
Lindsay, 'Hist. of the Reformation', II., p.96.

33.
Parker Society Letters, II., Letter CCCXLVIII.
Ecclesiastical Latin as employed by Poullain differs from Classical Latin chiefly in the following respects.

The use of many new abstract nouns, compound nouns, legal technical terms, 'agent' nouns in -tor, and diminutives: e.g. omnipotentia, commixtio, innovatio, idolomania, abactio, patrinus, subeptor, fideiusser (and the verb fideiubeo), iusticia, maner wight, 'momentum', innocatio, terms, 'agente persuaendo', 'quae', 'quomodo', 'imperio', 'omne genus tentationes', a kind of accusative of respect, is an extension of a not uncommon Classical use; it is like Chaucer's 'unto no manner wight,' in line 70 of the 'Prologue'. 'Ad eiusmodi', for 'unto such' in the Baptismal service, is from the Vulgate. 'Inui cem', for 'one another' is also from the Vulgate; 'mutus' is similarly used.

An extended use of prepositions, partly due to translation of the Greek prepositions in the Vulgate, partly to the natural tendency to substitute prepositional phrases for the simple cases of a synthetic language: e.g. 'cum' with ablative, not only of manner but of instrument, where the simple ablative would be used in Classical Latin; 'cum omni justicia' (p.13) is a Vulgate use = (grow) in all righteousness; 'ad momentum' (p.20), where 'ad' = Gk. 'pros' in Vulg. John 5.35, 2 Cor. 7.8.

The disappearance of long periodic sentences with dependent clauses embraced within their structure, and the substitution of shorter sentences loosely joined together by coordinate conjunctions; or by the mediaeval 'quo', 'quod', or in one or two cases 'quia' directly from the Vulgate.

This 'quo', 'quod' or quia' construction introducing noun clauses of all kinds, even after verbs of 'saying', is very common in mediaeval Latin, and is a direct imitation of Greek. Poullain is however almost free from the barbarism of using it instead of the accusative and infinitive construction with verbs of saying and thinking, and employs 'quo' more legitimately as a general equivalent of 'ut' with the subjunctive.

Poullain has a very free use of the infinitive as a noun, an extension of course of the Classical use: e.g. 'hoc renasci', 'illud credere', near the beginning of the 'Professio'.

The subjunctive is more freely used than in Classical Latin: e.g. 'postquam creasset'; 'quamuis' once with indicative (both in the 'Professio'.

Other examples of liberties taken by Poullain which would not be allowed in Ciceroian Latin are: the personal use of 'persuasus', 'being persuaded', and 'pertaesus', 'thoroughly disgusted'; 'iubere' with 'ut', uncommon in Classical Latin; 'promitto' with future infinitive or participle but with the subject accusative omitted. These licenses however occur so seldom that they affect but little the general purity of Poullain's Latin style.

'Omne genus tentationes', a kind of accusative of respect, is an extension of a not uncommon Classical use; it is like Chaucer's 'unto no manner wight,' in line 70 of the 'Prologue'. 'Ad eiusmodi', for 'unto such' in the Baptismal service, is from the Vulgate. 'Inui cem', for 'one another' is also from the Vulgate; 'mutus' is similarly used.
Miscellaneous late words, occurring once or twice in Poullain, are 'immediate', 'omnimodus' (adj.), 'allrego' (allege'), 'puta', 'for instance' (in Persius and Martial, properly 'suppose'); 'mane hora octaua', at the beginning of the Sunday morning service, and 'hora prima' in the rubric on the afternoon service, are used, just as in Italian, to mean 'at eight o'clock in the morning', and 'at one o'clock' in the modern sense; and the use more than once of 'certus esse' for 'to be certain' of something, is hardly Classical.

But it must be remembered that in many of the above instances where a license is taken which to the writers of the Golden Age would be a barbarism, Poullain is using conventional liturgical phrases coloured by the Vulgate, and often due to previous writers. Where his original composition appears, as in some of the longer rubrics, in the 'Admonitio', and in his letters, of which a number survive, little fault can be found with his style on the ground of barbarism; and there are not a few passages in which he rises to real eloquence. As an example of dignity, conciseness, and an artistic sense of the effective use of words, such a passage as the following from the 'Professio', upon sin, is worthy to stand beside the work of the best writers of Latin prose.

'Verum enim vero dignitatis ac praecellentiae huius saeae parum aequis aestimatore primo homo, cum saea (quae tum liberirima fuit) potius, quam voluntati Dei obtemperare malusset, astutia satanae et muliebris illecebris incitus mandatum quod a Deo suo acceperat uiola. Quo iratus Deus, mox illum (uti antea minatus fuerat) morti addixit. Etenim anima quamprimum dotibus omnibus iusticiae et sanctitatis, quas supra memoramus, exuta est relict a tamen immortalitate: qua nihil quam miserior uideri potuit, nisi liberator aduenisset.'

The Chiasmus in 'astutia satanae et muliebris illecebris' will be observed; Poullain frequently uses this device of rhetoric.

In this transcription, a few obvious misprints have been corrected, and nearly all the contractions, which are especially frequent in the 'Professio,' have been extended. Some of these contractions may be recorded:

öia for omnia; öis for omnis; aüo for animo; aüt for autem;
tandem; ho for home; atq; for atque; deniq; for denique; ita; for itaque; sup for super; tps for tempus; corpe for corpore; p for per; q for pro; qd for quid; ato for quanto; q for quam; g; for quo; Spiritus. with a period stands for 'spiritu sancto'; spiritus. for 'spiritus sanctus', or 'spiritus sancti'.

Most superlatives are contracted as -iss., and since this gives no information regarding the case, some of these have been left; where different interpretations are possible, the translation will show which has been preferred.

It has been thought best to retain in this transcription the eccentric spellings indulged in by the writers and printers of the sixteenth century. 'uendico' is found for 'uindicco'; 'meseria' for 'miseria'; 'ceremonias' for 'c(a)erimoniiis'; 'iusticia' as well as 'iustitia'; 'precipit' and 'presentia' for 'prae - '; 'felix' for 'felix'. 'Namque', 'quandiu', 'quencunque' are invariably used; not 'namque', etc. 'Praecor' occurs for 'præcor', 'sincerus' for 'sincerus', 'uiunt' for 'uiunt'. In such matters the transcription is a faithful one.
in Ecclesia peregrinorum
Francofordiae ad Moenum.

Addita est summa doctrinae seu
fidei professio euisdem Ecclesiae.

Psalm. CXLIX
Laudem Deo canite in Ecclesia
Sanctorum.
Joan. I.
Veni et 'uide.

FRANCOFORDIÆ. 1554.

in the Church of the Strangers, at
Frankfort-on-the-Main.

To which is added, a Sum of the
Doctrine, or Profession of Faith of
the same Church.

Psalm 149. Sing praise to God in
the congregation of the Saints.

John I. Come and see.

FRANKFORT 1554.

1 In an old MS Table of Contents at the beginning of the volume in which
this book is bound up with other works, the latest dated 1611, the Liturgy
is entitled 'Liturgia Anglorum Francfurti'. The congregation of French-
speaking exiles to which Poullain ministered had come to England from
Strassburg in 1549 and had resided at Glastonbury only till shortly after
the death of Edward VI in 1553. This is the second edition of the Latin
version of the French Liturgy and Confession of that congregation; and it
was subscribed by the first English refugees before the 'Troubles at
Frankfort' had begun, according to the conditions laid down by the Frankfort
magistrates on 14th July 1554. The use of the word 'Anglorum' may be
regarded as early testimony that the first Service Book of the English
refugees was known to be a translation of this Latin Liturgy.
TO THE CHRISTIAN READER.

The Church of the Strangers that is gathered at Frankfort wisheth Salvation through CHRIST.

CHRISTIANO LECTORI.

Ecclcsia Peregrinorum quae est Francofordiae collecta S. per CHRISTUM.


2. 'Der Rath' in Witchof, i.e., the Town Council.

3. So Calvin in the Preface, dated 1557, to his Commentary on the Psalms tells us that he was driven to publish his 'Institutes' at Basel in 1536 to vindicate his countrymen, the French Protestants, who were being persecuted by King Francis as Anabaptists and perverse men who would overturn not religion only but all political order.
EPISTOLA NUNCUPATORIA.

pio rum omnium submittentes: parati semper monitis et consiliis melioribus: astemperare, modo sine super: silio et cum Dei uerbo conjunctis.


S. D. S. M.4

EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

ourselves and our doctrines to the judgement of all godly men; being ready always to obey admonitions and better counsels, provided they are given without arrogance, and are agreeable to God's Word. May Christ, the Best and Greatest, grant that all may set themselves to imitate this illustrious example of compassion to: wards Christian exiles afforded by the most noble Council: whereby the Kingdom of Christ may be advanced, and not so many poor souls perish, whom we see in all places where Popery still flourisheth, carried away by every wind of doctrine and falling into Anabaptism and divers heresies; because they are destitute of fit masters and teachers, and ravenous wolves bear rule instead of shepherds. Do thou therefore, most loving Reader, love this Church, and the most holy Council of Frankfort, through whose kindness we have gained peace and Christian liberty in this place. Fare well.

Given at Frankfort-on-the-Main, on the First of September, 1554.

Glory to God alone, the Wisest and Greatest.

4The letters 'S.D.S.M.,' which occur also at the end of the 'Admonitio', p. 124. cannot have any particular reference to the 'Senate' of Frankfort, because they were in the London edition of 1551 which was dedicated to Edward VI. (see Ames, 'Typogr. Antiq. ', ed. Herbert, II. p. 770). They probably stand for 'Soli Deo Sapientissimo (or Summo) Maximoque (gloriam damus)'. Cf. the Marriage Service below, p. 82, for 'Sapientissimo Maximo'.
LITURGIA SACRA
Ritus Ministerii in Ecclesia, quae est peregrinorum exulum causa Evangelii Christi Francofordiae.

LITURGIA DOMINI.
Die domino mane, hora octava, cum iam adest populus, Praecentor incipit clara uoce, Leve le cœur. x

As populus accinit cum modestia et graviitate summa, ut ne quid

x

This is the Decalogue, turned into metre.

The Forms of Divine Service in the Church of the Strangers, exiles for the sake of the Gospel of Christ, at Frankfort.

THE SERVICE FOR THE LORD'S DAY.
On the Lord's Day at eight o'clock in the morning, the people being already assembled, the Precentor be-
gineth in a clear voice, Leve le cœur ('Lift up your hearts') x and the

x


But the precentor was merely announcing the opening words of Clement Marot's French metrical version of the Ten Commandments, 'Leve le cœur, ouvrez l'oreille'. This was first published in Calvin's 'La Forme des Prières et Chants Ecclesiastiques' (referred to as 'Calvin' in the following notes) in the Strassburg edition of 1545 (Corpus Reform. Vol. XXY, pp xviii, 221), along with another version attributed to Calvin, and beginning 'Cyron la Loy, que de sa Voix', which had appeared in the 1542 edition. Marot's version 'Leve le cœur' passed alone into the succeeding editions. It was sung to the tune published by Louis Bourgeois in 1547 at Lyons ('Psaluer cinquante ... traduitz en vers francois par Clement Marot et mis en musique par Loys Bourgeois'), afterwards adapted to Whittingham's English version of the Decalogue in the Genevan Psalter of 1556, and still known as 'Commandments' (H.A.M. 336; Eng. Hymnal 277).

The first verse was:

Leve le cœur, ouvrez l'oreille, Peuple endurcy, pour escouter De ton Dieu la voix nonpareille Et ses commandements gouter.

1
LIT. DICI DOMIN.

LITUOPLATI AURIAM,2 sed serviet omnis reuerentias Dei, et acadificationi, tan canentium, queam audientium, si qui forteasse adsint non canentes.

Cum absolverint, tum unus ex ministris e suggestu3 sic incipit.

4 Adiutorium nostrum in nomine Domini, qui fecit coelum et terram. Amen.

Deinde clara et distincta uoce populum admonet de confessione peccatorum, hisque uerbis praecipit:

Then with a clear and distinct voice he admonisheth the people concerning the Confession of sins, and leadeth them in these words.

1 (Contd.)

In Poullain's 1551 edition the second Table of the Decalogue was to be sung after the second Absolution (Strype ut supra). In the Strassburg (1545) edition of Calvin the Decalogue was similarly divided, and sung before and after the one Absolution. Here Poullain shortens the Service and has the Canticle sung right through at the beginning. See note 11, p.8.

The dependence of Poullain upon the Strassburg Calvin is obvious from the outset, though it is also obvious that his Liturgy is not a verbatim copy. In a few places he seems to follow rather the 1547 edition.

2 Cf. p. 112.

3 'Suggestus' is a raised place, platform or tribune, and here may mean the pulpit, Cf. p. 97, 'apud mensam aut suggestum'. In the first edition, according to Strype (ut supra), 'the pastor, standing at the table, turning to the people, thus begins, Our help, &c. He goes up into the pulpit for the sermon.

4 Calvin, La Forme des Prieres et Chantz Ecclesiastiques (Corpus Reformatorum, Vol. XXXIV., p. 172), begins the Service here, as do the 'Book of Geneva' and the 'Book of Common Order'. Calvin however has 'Nostre aide soit' etc. a 'Let our help be,' etc.

5 This rubric is not in Calvin.
Fratres, cogitét nunc uestrum unusquisque, se corám Déo sisti, ut pecáta et delicta sua omnia simplici animo confiteatur atque apud ussuepitpos me praeuentum se:quimini his uerbis.6

CONFESSION PECCAT7
Ps.51.
Domine Deus Pater aeternae et omnipotens, agnoscoimus et fatemur ingenua apud sanctissimam Maiestatem tuam, pecatores esse nos misereros, adeoque a prima origine, qua concepti et nati sumus tam ad omne malum esse pronos, quam ab omni bono alienos : quo uti6 tuas peccata et delicta sua omnia simplici animo confiteatur atque apud ussuepitpos me praeuentum se:quimini his uerbis.6

CONFESSION OF SIN.
Ps.51.
O Lord God, eternal and al-
mighty Father, we frankly
acknowledge and confess before Thy
most holy Majesty, that we are miserable
sinners, and that even from our first
origin wherein we were conceived and
born we are as prone to all that is
evil as we are strangers to all that
is good: through which imperfection we continually transgress Thy most holy laws, and by Thy just judgement procure for ourselves destruction. But yet, O Lord God, we repent of having thus offended against Thy goodness, and therefore we condemn ourselves and our too sinful deeds, praying Thee of Thy compassion to succour this our ruinous estate. Have mercy upon us all, therefore, O God and Father, most pitiful and merciful, through the name of Thy Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, we beseech Thee. blot out our faults and wash away all our stains; bestow liberally and increase from day to day the power and gifts of Thy Holy Spirit in us, that truly and earnestly understanding our misery and acknowledging our unrighteousness we may truly repent, and so being dead to sin may abound henceforward in the fruits of righteousness and innocence, whereby we may please Thee: through Jesus Christ Thy Son, our only Redeemer and Mediator. Amen.

9 Calvin: 'afin que reconnoissant de tout nostre coeur nostre injustice, nous soyons touchez de despleaisir, qui engendre droicte penitence en nous'.

10 The passage beginning 'Not for the worthiness thereof', in Knox's Liturgy, seems to be an addition by Knox, not being found in Calvin's Form.
Thereafter the Minister readeth to the people out of Holy Scripture some sentence touching the remission of sins. And all this while the people, with great reverence, either stand, or kneel upon their knees, as each of them desireth.

The Absolution having been pronounced, the Minister, after invocation of the Name of the Lord, to the end that, aided by the Holy Spirit, may make this doctrine fruitful, and concludes with the Lord's Prayer.

Poullain's 1551 Edition followed this more closely than ours does. After the Confession 'the pastor rehearseth to the people some sentence out of the Scripture of the remission of sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, the people either kneeling or standing all this while. Then the Gospel is read. Then the absolution is again repeated. Then the rest of the Decalogue is sung. Then the pastor exhorteth them to pray. Then follows a very short prayer, like one of our collects, that God would give them grace to keep the commandments. Then the same collect is sung. And the pastor goes up into the pulpit; where he first prays, and then preaches upon the New Testament, beginning some one book of it, and going on till he hath ended the whole book in several sermons'. (Strype ibid. p. 379).

In our edition Poullain has shortened the Service by having the whole of the Canticle 'Leve le coeur' sung at the beginning, and omitting the Gospel, the second Absolution, and the collect before sermon. A similar form of Service in English was agreed upon in July 1554 by the English refugees at Frankfort.
LIT. DIBI DOMIN.

ex novo Testamento textum aliquem, pergens in eo libro quem semel erit aperissus exponere Ecclesiae; Neque amplius recitat, quam interpretari instituerit.

Concionem horae spatio absolvit, ac subiecta precatione conclusit. Admonet auctor prius Ecclesian, si quae sunt digna aut necessaria. Nempe si sponsalia sint, si baptismus, si quis pauper, aut aegrotus se commendat precibus Ecclesiae, et caetera ejusmodi.

Intererea Diaconi duo ad ostium singulis eleemosynam postulant in pauperum usus.13

ORATIO.

Deus omnipotens Pater coelestis, Ghost, he may be able to speak things worthy of God and profitable to the Church, readeth from the New Testament some text, going on with the Book that he hath before begun to expound to the Church; but he readeth only so far as he hath resolved to interpret.

Within an hour's space he finisheth the sermon, and concludeth with the subjoined prayer, first however giving notice to the Church of anything proper or needful to be intimated; such as a betrothal or a baptism, or if any be poor, or if any sick person commendeth himself to the prayers of the Church; and all other such matters.

Meanwhile two Deacons standing at the door ask alms of each person for the benefit of the poor.

PRAYER.14

Almighty God, Heavenly Father,

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13. Among the curious relics belonging to Glastonbury Church, is a large brass dish of circular form, 16½ inches in diameter, having a rim 2 inches wide, on which are two borders, one within another, richly chased. It has the following inscription "Ich bart gelick alzeit", and was probably brought to Glastonbury by the Walloons. Its use was doubtless to collect the alms at the door of the church. - Philps' Somersetshire, p. 504, quoted by J.S.Burn, History of the Foreign Protestant Refugees, Longman, 1846.

14. Given in Knox's Liturgy as 'used in the French Church of Geneva'. It serveth for Sunday after the Sermon. This prayer is not in the 1556 'Book of Geneva' except a few sentences of it, but appears in Lekprevik's Edinburgh edition of 1562. It is a translation of the Prayer after Sermon in Calvin.
LIT. DILEI DOMIN.

as Thou hast promised to hear our prayers touching anything that we shall ask of Thee in the Name of Thy beloved Son our Lord Jesus Christ: so hath He taught us to hold holy assemblies among ourselves in His Name, inviting us also with liberal promises, that in these our assemblies He will be in the midst, by Whom, the one Mediator and Intercessor, we shall obtain from Thee whatsoever with one mind we shall ask upon the earth.

And first of all Thou biddest us pray for all whom Thou hast been pleased to set in authority over us: and thereafter for those things which pertain to the necessities of Thy people and of all men. In obedience to this Thy command, confiding solely in Thy most holy ordinance and trusting to Thy promises, we are here met

15 Calvin adds: 'par la doctrine de luy et de ses Apostres'. Knox 'by Him and His Apostle'.


17 Calvin omits 'Mediator and', but Knox has 'our only Saviour and Mediator'.

18 Calvin 'pour impetrer et obtenir': from the 1547 edition onwards 'et obtenir' is omitted.

19 I Tim. 2. 1.

20 'Instituti': in the sense of 'thing appointed', 'ordinance', so that Knox's translation 'word' is adequate: 'forasmuch as our faith is grounded on Thine holy word and promises'. Calvin has simply: 'Parquoy, en confiance de ta sainte doctrine et de tes promesses'.

tu quidem promisisti exaudire usta nostra, quacunque de re te appellans aperimus in nomine dilecti filii tui Iesu Christi Domini nostri: nos quoque ille sic docuit, sanctos coetus inter nos habere in nomine suo, promissa liberalibus etiam imitantes, quod his coetibus nostris adfuturus sit medius, quo uno mediatore et intercessore abs te impetremus quicquid unanimes petierimus super terram.

In pr amis autem iubes nos orare pro omnibus quocunque in potestate supra nos esse uoluisti: ac deinceps pro iis rebus quae ad usus necessarios populi tui, atque omnium hominum pertinent. Cui mandato tuo obtemperantes, sola fiducia sanctissimi instituti tui ac promissorum tuorum freti, huc ooram te
conuenimus in nomen Christi filii
tui Domini nostri, rogantes ex animo
supplices, O Deus idemque Pater
optime, in nomine liberatoris unici,
eiusdemque mediatoris nostri, liber-
aliter nobis pro tua clementia con-
dones omnia peccata21 nostreque
corda, mentes, cogitatus ac uota
omnia22 sic ad te flectas et per-
:trahas, qui ualeamus te inuocare
utra et simplici oratione, quae tibi
grata sit et accepta.23

R24 Oramus itaque tuam clementiam
O Pater coelestis pro principibus et
hominibus cunctis potestatem gerenti-
bus seruis tuuis, quibus abs te
mandatum est ius dicere populo tuo:
ominatim uero pro COSS. et Senatu
huius ciuitatis, ut ipsis largiri
digneris spiritum tuum, 24qui uerè
princeps est et voluntatum moderator,
together before Thee in the Name of
Christ Thy Son, our Lord, humbly and
from our hearts, asking of Thee, O
God and Father of all goodness, in
the name of our only Deliverer and
Mediator, freely of Thy mercy to
forgive us all our sins, and so to
turn and draw unto Thyself all our
hearts and minds, thoughts and desires
that we may be able to call upon Thee
with the true and single-hearted
prayer that is pleasing and acceptable un-
to Thee.

R Wherefore we entreat Thy mercy,
O Heavenly Father, for Princes and all
who bear authority, Thy servants to
whom Thou hast given charge to minister
justice to Thy people: and especially
for the Magistrates and Council of this
City, that Thou wouldst deign to enrich
them with Thy Spirit, Who is indeed the
Prince and Governor of men's wills, and

21Calvin 'noz offences'; 1545 edition 'nos fautes et offences'.

22Calvin has only 'noz pensées et noz desirs'; Knox 'our hearts and affec-
tions'.

23Calvin 'que de tout nostre coeur nous te puissons requérir et invoquer
('et invoquer' being omitted from 1547 onward), voire selon ton bon plaisir
et volonté, laquelle seule est raisonnable!'

24The letter R in the margin, probably for 'relatio', 'reference', appears
only in the 1547 Edition of Calvin. See Service of Repentance, ad finem.
that Thou wouldst day by day increase upon them more and more His gifts and strength and grace; that they may both truly acknowledge Thy one and only Son Christ our Lord to be King of kings, and Prince over every power, and being with sure faith persuaded that all power hath by Thee been given unto Him in heaven and in earth, may study with their whole minds to establish themselves in His sight by a true and spiritual worship, and to forward and extend His kingdom among their subjects, whom also they rule according to Thy will written aforetime in Thy law, even as they know of a truth that they and these have been made and fashioned by Thee, and so are indeed the sheep of Thy flock: that thereby we may of Thy bounty enjoy peace wherein to serve Thee with all holiness and honesty, and being delivered from our enemies may be able to render unto Thee thanks and praises.

25 Calvin: 'seul bon et vrayement principal, iournellement leur augmenter'.

26 Calvin adds 'estre'. The Scripture references are to 1 Tim.6.15; Rev.17.14 and 19.16; S.Matt. 28.18.

27 'By a true and spiritual worship' is not in Calvin.

28 Calvin: 'conduisant et (these two words are omitted from 1547 onwards) gouvernant leurs sujetz, qui sont les creatures de tes mains, et brebis de ta pasture, selon ton bon plaisir'.

29 Calvin adds 'tant icy, que par toute la terre'.

30 Calvin 'paix et tranquilité': 'et tranquilité' is omitted after 1547.

31 Calvin 'et estans delivrez et assurez de la crainte de nos ennemis, te puissions rendre louenge en toute nostre vie, Amen.' 'Et assurez' and 'Amen' are omitted from 1547 onwards. Cf. S.Luke 1.71, 74, 79.
Oramus etiam, Pater uerax et liberator unice, pro his quoce Ecclesiae tuae dedisti pastores, et salutis animarum procurationem ac sacrosancti Evangelii tui ministerium commendasti: eos tuo spiritu sic regas et adiueas, ut sint fideles ministri gloriae tuae, huc studia omnia conferentes, quod palamundus aedux uatum tuarum grex in unum coeas ad Iesum Christum uerum ac summum pastorem, Principemque Episcoporum: ut in eo et per eum indies magis atque magis crescant omni iusticia et sanctimonia vitae.

Rursum dignare Eclesias omnes tuas uindicaret et eripere e luporum faucibus ac mercenariorum omnium unguibus qui ambitioni suae serviant, et compendii sui gratia faciant omnia, nihil minus solliciti, quam ut sacratissimum nomen tuum celebre ac sanctum ubique sit; et grex tuus salutem consequatur.

Insper te rogamus O Deus clementissime et Pater Misericors,

32 Cf. 1 Pet. 5. 4.

33 'Unguibus' is not in Calvin. He ends the paragraph thus: 'qui cherchent leur ambition ou profit, et non point l'exaltation de ton saint Nom tant seulement, et le salut de ton troupeau'.
for the whole race of mankind: Thou that wouldest have all men in the whole earth to acknowledge Thee to be the only Deliverer, by the redemption purchased through Christ Thy Son; vouchsafe also that as many as to this day are far off from the same Christ Thy Son, sitting bound in darkness and entire ignorance of salvation, may be enlightened by Thy Spirit through the preaching of the Gospel and brought back into the right way of salvation, to wit, that they may acknowledge Thee the true God, and Jesus Christ Whom Thou hast sent. But as for those whom Thou hast now so highly favoured as to shine into their minds by the manifestation of Thy word, grant that they may daily be increased and enriched more abundantly with every good gift and with the blessing of Thy Spirit: until at length we may all be enabled with one consent truly and heartily to worship and extol Thy Majesty, and finally to give ourselves up entirely to the service of Thine only-begotten Son, Whom we acknowledge to be our

34Calvin: 'estans en tenebres et captivité d'erreur et ignorance': 'erreur et' is omitted from 1549 onwards.

35Calvin: 'qui est de te connoistre seul vray Dieu, et celuy que tu as envoyé Jesus Christ'. Knox's translation of the latter half might be preferable here: 'and that He whom Thou hast sent is Jesus Christ'. Cf. S. John 17, 3.

36Calvin refers to Ephes.1,18. From this point to the end of the para-
graph, followed by Knox, he gives the much shorter version: 'croissent journellement en bien, estants enrichis de tes bénédictions spirituelles: afin que tous ensemble t'adorions d'un coeur et d'un bouche, et dominions honneur et hommage à ton Christ, nostre Maistre, Roy et Legislateur'.
Legislatorum nostrum.

Ad haec, eos tibi commendamus etiam, O Deus consolator, quos visitas ut castiges crucé uel quocunque afflictionis genere, et populos quos tu iam peste, bellōque aut fame urges: singulos denique quos aliquo per te premit inopia, uel carcer aut morbus, aut exilium, aut quaescunque tandem calamitas seu corporis illa sit seu animi: Da ut intelligant tuam erga illas uerò paternam benevolentiam, nempe quod idēò castiges et corriges, ut omendari reuerentur ad te ex toto corde suo, eo plenam consolationem reportent liberati ab omnibus malis.

Vnìcò uerò tibi commendatos volumus fratres nostros electos tuos, quotquot sub tyrannide Anti-christi uiunt adhuc dispersi,

Only Lord, King, and Lawgiver. Moreover, we commend also unto Thee, O God of consolation, those whom Thou dost visit for their chastening with the cross or with any kind of affliction, and the peoples whom at this time Thou dost beset with pestilence, war or famine; and finally every one that Thou dost suffer to be afflicted with poverty, or prison, or sickness, or exile, or any distress whatsoever of body or of mind: grant that they may understand Thy goodwill toward them to be as a father's in their chastisement and correction, and to the end that being cleansed from their faults they may turn again unto Thee with their whole heart, and obtain full consolation, being delivered from all evils.

Most of all would we commend unto Thee our brethren Thine elect, as many as are living under the tyranny of Antichrist, yet scattered abroad,

Calvin has nothing corresponding to the following clause till the 1547 edition, from which time he adds 'les peuples que tu affliges par peste, ou guerre, ou famine; les personnes battues de poverete'.

Calvin 'connoistre et entendre': the first two words are omitted after 1547.

The whole of the following paragraph, from 'Vnĩcò' to 'in morte', does not appear in Calvin until its insertion in the editions of 1558 onwards. It is in Knox.
pabulo utiæ spiritualis definiti, atque libertate illa filiorum tuorum, ut pub. possint nomen tuum invocare: in primis autem eos qui unicti sunt, aut qualicunque modo oppressur apud hostes Evangelii tui: digneris O Pater indulgentissime robur spiritus tui in illis augere: qua quæ firmiores sine nec unquam deficiant, sed constanter perseverent in sancta uocatione tua. Velis illos tuo semper auxilio sustinere ac fulcire, quantum opus esse post simulque consolari in adversis omnibus, tuaque cura tueri adversus luporum rabiem: quo per ipsos nomen tuum illustrius fiat, tam in uita quam in morte.

Da denique, O Deus et Pater, nobis iam collectis in unum in nomine Iessu Christi filii tui ad audiendum uerbum Evangelii et communicandum sacrosanctae ipsius coena mysterioris ut uerè agnoscamus, serioque sentiamus, bereft of the sustenance of spiritual life, and of the liberty that belongeth to Thy children of calling openly upon Thy name; especially those that are in bondage or in any way oppressed among the enemies of Thy Gospel: vouchsafe, O Father of all grace, to increase in them the power of Thy Spirit, that they may be the more constant and may never fail, but may endure steadfastly in Thy holy calling. Be pleased to sustain and uphold them with Thy continual help, as Thou knowest their necessity; comfort them in all adversity, and protect them with Thy care against the fury of wolves: that through them Thy Name may be made more glorious, both in life and in death.

Finally, O God and Father, grant to us now gathered together into one in the name of Jesus Christ Thy Son, to hear the word of the Gospel and to partake together in the mysteries of His holy Supper that we may truly recognize and earnestly feel how

\textsuperscript{40}Calvin simply 'à cause de sa Parolle (et de sa sainte Cene)', with a similar marginal note.
quàm miserè simul ac perditì iam
indo à prima nostra origine, 41
inde magis atque magis iudicium
tuum in nos provocantes uitae im-
:probitate: itaque uti perspex-
:erimus42 quàm nihil in nobis in-
sit boni, quàdque nostra caro et
sanguis regni tui hereditatem
conseguì handquaquam possint, tum
animà totis nos ipea dedamus
unique 43 dilecto filio tuo Iesu
Christo liberatori nostro unico,
Ut ita nos possideat et corda
nostra inhabitet, quò mortuo, ac
planè deletà ueteri Adamo inno-
mur in uitae puritatem;

1. Qua nomen tuum: uti parest,
 supra omnia ubique laudibus ex-
tollatur et magnifiat.
2. Siniu îetiam et imperium-
que obtineas, imò exerceas etiam
in nos omnes, ut magia magisque
indices condiscamus uera obedientia
et digna reverentia tuam majestatem

miserable and lost we are even from
our first estate, provoking more and
more each day Thy judgement against
us by the wickedness of our life.

Wherefore understanding clearly
that there is no good thing in us,
and that our flesh and blood can in
no wise inherit Thy Kingdom, may we
with our whole hearts give ourselves
up entirely to Thy beloved Son Jesus
Christ our only Deliverer, in order
that He may so possess us and dwell
in our hearts, that the old Adam be-
ing dead and wholly destroyed we may
be renewed into purity of life.

1. Thus may Thy Name, as is most
meet, be praised and magnified every-
where over all.

2. Likewise do Thou take to Thys-
self power and authority, yea ex-
ercise them upon us all, that we may
learn daily more and more to worship
Thy Majesty with true obedience

Note: This is a paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, which however is omitted
for lack of time if the pastor thinketh proper: in which case it will
suffice to recite the words of the Lord’s Prayer itself. (See Service of
Repentance, note 30).

41Calvin: 'en quelle perdition nous sommes naturellement'.
42Calvin: 'afin que voyant et entendant': the last two words are omitted
after 1547.
43Calvin: 'du tout' but after 1547 'entierement', followed by 'a ton cher
Fils' &c. Otherwise it would be more natural to take 'unique' along with
'dilecto', and translate 'give ourselves up to Thy dearly beloved'.
44'et .... inhabitet': not in Calvin.
LIT. DIXI DOMIN.

uenerari.

3. Tuque adeo solus ubique regnes omnium Dominus: ac populum tuum scepbro uerti tui et uirtute spiritus tui regas et moderare, omnesque qui tibi aduersantur ueritatis ac iustitiae tuae potentia debellatos expugnes. Ita fiet ut potestas omnis atque etiam quae gloriae tuae obliviscatur, sensim destruatur fundamentumque evertatur, donte pateat tu solus Rex satis et Dominus, qui ad judicandum accessurus es. Nos quoque cum creaturis uniuersis tibi per omnia obterperemus, sicuti noshmus Angelos sanatos, qui tecum coelos incolunt nullunuelle aliud habere, quam ut quiescidos soli gratum et placitum fuerit statim absque remora pro tuae voluntatis arbitrio perficiatur: nos ita tibi quoque placere studemus neglectis ac posthabitis cunctis nostrae carnis desideriis et placitis.47

and worthy reverence.

3. So mayest Thou alone reign everywhere Lord of all: rule and govern Thy people with the sceptre of Thy Word and the virtue of Thy Spirit: vanquish and subdue all Thine adversaries by the might of Thy truth and righteousness. Thus shall it come to pass that all power and loftiness that striveth against Thy glory shall gradually be destroyed and utterly overthrown, until Thy Kingdom shall come openly: for Thou alone art King and Lord, Who shalt come to be our Judge.

46May we also, with the whole creation, obey Thee in all things, even as we know that the holy Angels that dwell with Thee in heaven have no other wish than that whatsoever is acceptable and pleasing unto Thee shall forthwith be accomplished without hindrance, at the bidding of Thy will: so also may we study to please Thee, putting away and contemning all desires and pleasures of our flesh.

45Calvin 'quand tu apparaistras en jugement'. Knox's addition 'in the person of thy Son' appears first in the 1558 edition of Calvin.

46The following passage, from 'May we' to 'of our flesh', appears here first in the 1547 and succeeding editions of Calvin (followed by Knox). Before 1547 it appears at the beginning of the second petition ('2' above).

47Calvin (and Knox) in the third person: 'et que tous se regent à te servir et complaire, renonceant à leur propre vouloir, et à tous desirs de leur chair'.
4. Donec autem nos coram te ambulamus cum amore et timore nominis tui, Tu pro tua bonitate nutrias et passas, omnia sufficiens quae utae huic sint necessaria, qui panem nostrum cum paece comedamus, qua tua cura et sollicitudine nostri persuassis, nobis sit te patrem esse, a qua uno expectanda sint omnia, deposita omni fiducia nostri ac creaturarum omnium, ut in tua unius bonitate ac benevolentia acquiscamus.

5. Quoniam uerò quandiu uita haece manet, nos miseris peccatores in morte media uersamur, ac fragiles adeò sumus, ut perpetuō prolabamur impingentes ad omnia, semperque abviarrentes discedimus ad recto, nobis hae in parte sic est proprius, ut coniones haece delicta omnia, quibus iudicio tuo iustissimo nos fecimus obnoxios: cadémque condonationes liberes a morte aeterna, cui nostro merito addici sumus. Ergo malum hoc quod circumferimus ne nobis

46 Calvin: 'quæ neque deœllions assiduellement, et nous forvoyons de la droite voie, qu’il te plaice nous pardonner nos fautes'. 'Discedimus' in the text is either coordinate with 'uersamur' and 'sumus', or possibly an error for 'discedamus'. In Classical Latin 'impingentes' would require an object 'nos'.

SERVICE FOR THE LORD'S DAY.

4. And while we walk before Thee in the love and fear of Thy Name, do Thou of Thy goodness nourish and feed us, supplying all things needful for this life, that we may eat our bread in peace, and be fully persuaded by this Thy care and solicitude for us that Thou art our Father, from Whom alone we are to look for all things, putting away all trust in ourselves and all created things, that we may rest in the goodness and loving kindness of Thee alone.

5. But since as long as this life remaineth we miserable sinners dwell in the midst of death, and are so frail that we continually stumble, dashing against all things, and do always err and stray from the right way, look favourably upon us in this plight, and forgive all these offences whereby we have incurred Thy most righteous judgement; and by the same forgiveness deliver us from eternal death, under the power of which we lie by our own desert. Impute not to us therefore this evil that we bear about
IMPOTES quaeaddmodum nos quoque
tuo iussu iniuriamus obliviscimur
ac uindicatae loco bona omnia
nostis inimicis praescamur.

§. In posterum denique
nos tua virtute fulcis, ne
numum carnis infirmitate pro-
:lapsete offendamus. Cunque
ca sit nostrarum urium imbecill-
itas, ut ne ad momentum quidem
temporis perstare ualeamus, atque
ades cincti unique crudeliss. hostibus, perpetuam
putiamur à diabo, mundo, et
carne, quibus cum nobis con-
tinuum est bellum: nos tuo spir-
:itu corrobora, et gratiarum
:uarum donis munies, ut possimus
:onstanter perstare adversus omne
genusa tentationes, inique spirituali
:ali hac lucte sie pergero, ut
tandem victoria plema potiti

with us: forasmuch as we also at Thy
behest forget our wrongs, and instead
of vengeance pray for all good unto
our enemies.

6. Finally do Thou uphold us
henceforward by Thy power, that we may
not again fall away and offend Thee
through the weakness of the flesh. And
since the frailty of our own strength
is such that we cannot stand fast even
for a moment, yea since we are encom-
passed on every side by most cruel
enemies, and suffer continual assaults
from the devil, the world and the flesh,
which cease not from warring against us:
strengthen us by Thy Spirit, and fortify
us with the gifts of Thy grace, that we
may be able to stand firm and steadfast
against all manner of temptations, and
so to persevere in this spiritual wrestl-
ing that at last, having obtained full
victory, we may triumph in Thy kingdom

49Editions of Calvin until 1547 begin this sentence with 'Qu'il te plaise
donc destourner ton ire de nous, et ne nous imputer'. From 1547 the words,
'destourner ton ire de nous, et', are wanting, as they are here and in Knox.

50Calvin 'nous ne tresbuchions', without any word corresponding to 'offendamus'.
Knox omits this whole sentence.

51For 'crudelissimis' Knox gives 'so dangerous'. Calvin has simply 'de tant
d'ennemis'.

52Calvin adds 'le peché', followed by Knox.
triumpum agamus in regno tuo una cum duce et capite summ quoque et unico protectore nostro domino Iesu Christo, Amen.5a

Huius precationi immediate Symbolum additur, quo recitato praecentor statim Psalmum incipit, cui deinde populus accinit ad finem usque: quo decantato Pastor populum dimittit haec bona imprecatione

BENEDICTIO populi in discessu.

Num. 6.

Dominus nobis benedicat, idemque uos tueatur. Dominus respiciat uos hilari uultu, ac misereatur uestri. Dominus placatus uultum suum ad uos conuerat, omnique felicitate uos becat, Amen.

5aCalvin has only 'avec nostre Capitaine et Protecteur, nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ'. The text may mean: 'Leader and Head, our chief and only Protector'. The Strassburg (1545) edition of Calvin gives this shorter form of the following Rubric: 'A la fin on chante un Psaulm apres lequel le Ministre envoye l'assemblee disant: Le Seigneur vous benisse' etc. The other editions have 'Le iour qu'on doit celebren la Cene on adjoute au precedent ce qui s'ensuit,' and add the Communion prayers, as in the following service, before the Benediction from Numbers.

together with our Leader and supreme Head and only Protector, our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

To this prayer there is added straightway the (Apostles') Creed, and when it hath been recited, the precentor forthwith beginneth the Psalm, which the people sing along with him to the end; and when it hath been sung the Pastor sendeth them away with this good prayer over them.

THE BLESSING of the People at their departure.

Numbers, 6.24-26.

The Lord bless you and keep you.
The Lord regard you with a cheerful countenance, and be merciful unto you.
The Lord turn to you his face in peace, and bless you with all felicity, Amen.
THE CELEBRATION OF THE LORD’S SUPPER.

But on the day when the Supper is celebrated, to the foregoing prayer there is immediately added the following PRAYER.

And as the Lord Jesus hath not only offered unto Thee in the one oblation His own body and blood for the remission of sins, but wisheth the same to be imparted unto us for the sustenance of life eternal: shew unto us such favour that by Thy help we may be enabled, with sincerity of heart and ardent desire, to receive from Him so great a benefit; to wit, that being imbued with assured faith we may be made partakers of His body and blood, yea even may enjoy Him wholly and entirely; Who is truly God and man, and is also that holy bread from heaven, given to us for the sustenance of life; that henceforth we may no longer live to ourselves, to obey our too corrupt and tainted nature, but that He alone may live in us, and lead us on to the life that is holy, blessed and
nobilis uiuat, atque in uitem perducat sanctam, beatam et aeternam.

Porrò deinceps facti participes testamenti sui noui atque aeterni, quod est foedus gratiae, certiss. nobis id persuasum sit et te patrem nostrum case beneuolum, qui nulla peccata aut delicta nobis imputes, quin etiam uti haeredibus ac filiis dilectissimis necessaria omnia uitae prospecias atque subministres om corpori, tum animae, quò tibi gratias agamus immortales sine fine laudantes nomen tuum cum uerbis et oratione, tum factis et tota uita. 57

Moreover, being henceforth made partakers of His new and everlasting Testament, which is the covenant of grace, may we be most surely persuaded of it, and that Thou, our Father, art gracious, seeing that Thou imputest unto us no sins or transgressions, may even, as to heirs and well-beloved sons, dost provide and supply all that is needful for life, both to the body and to the soul; that we may give unto Thee immortal thanks, praising Thy Name without end, not only by words and prayer, but also by our deeds and our whole life.

Grant therefore, heavenly Father, that on this wise the remembrance of Thy beloved Son may be stirred up this day within us, and we ourselves exercised thereby to shew forth the benefit of His death; to the end that being increased straightway by new accessions of faith we may be strengthened for all that is good; and with peculiar and

57 Calvin: "afin que incessament nous te rendions gloire et action de grace, et magnifions ton Nom, par oeuvres et par paroles."
in nomine tuo gloriæur, per Imum
Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Huic orationi symbolum
Apostolorum subjicitur quod ipse
populus canit. Interes Diaconii

Huic orationi symbolum
Apostolorum subjicitur quod ipse
populus canit. Interes Diaconii

To this prayer is added the
Apostles' Creed, which the people
themselves sing. Meanwhile the

Calvin ends the prayer thus: 'afin que recevant nouvel accroissement et
fortification en Foy et en tout bien, de tant plus grâce fâme nous te
renommions nostre Pere, et nous glorifions en toy. Amen'. 'Accessus',
in Classical Lat. 'approach', seems to be used here in the sense of
'accessio', 'addition'.

Instead of the rubric that follows, the 1545 edition of Calvin has a
shorter rubric, and then adds the prayer, p.13,fin.'Perse celeste plein de
toute bonté et miséricorde', &c., subjoining to it the Lord's Prayer,
before the Minister reads the words of Institution. The other editions
of Calvin, after a short introduction, end as follows: 'Puis après avoir
fait les prières et la confession de Foy, pour testifier au nom du peuple
que tous veulent vivre et mourir en la doctrine et Religion chrétienne,
il dit à haute voix: 'Ecoutez' &c.

Only one minister is mentioned in Calvin. While the congregation
sings the Apostles' Creed, he 'prepares the bread and the wine upon the
Table'.

The direction to sing the Creed at this point was given only in the
1545 (Strassburg) edition of Calvin, and Poullain continued the same custom.
Marot's version, 'Les Articles de la Foy', was used; it began:

Et en son filz unique Jesus Christ,
Notre Seigneur, conceu du sainct Esprit.

This version, with its tune, not being used at Geneva, disappeared from
the later editions of the Genevan Psalter. Perrin's edition, Geneva 1564,
a reprint of Olivetan's edition of 1546, does not contain it, but says that
'Les Commandemens de Dieu' ('Leve le cœur') is sung after the Venison when
the Communion is celebrated, and the 'Cantique de Simon' at the 'Action de
graces'.

THE LORD'S SUPPER.

perfect trust call upon Thee and
acknowledge Thee our Father, that we
may glory in Thy Name, through Jesus
Christ our Lord. Amen.
INSTITUTIO COENAB DOMINI.
I Cor. XI.

THE LORD’S SUPPER.

Hear how the Lord Jesus instituted this His holy banquet, as we have received it handed down by Paul.

I have received (he saith) of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, that the Lord Jesus the same night in which He was betrayed took bread; and after He had given thanks, He brake it, and said, Take, eat: this is My body, which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of Me.

After the same manner also He took the cup, the supper being finished, saying, This cup is the new Testament in My blood: this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of Me. For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink of this cup, ye proclaim the Lord’s death, till He come.
LIT. COLONIA DOMINI.

Itaque quisquis ederit panem hunc, aut biberit de pisco co Domini indignè, reus erit corporis et sanguinis Domini. Probet autem homo seipsum, et sic de pane illo edat, et de pisco illo bibat. Nam qui edit et bibit indignè, judicium sibiipsi edit et bibit, non dijudicans corpus Domini.

THE LORD'S SUPPER.

Wherefore whosoever shall eat this bread, or drink of the Lord's cup unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. But let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup. For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily eateth and drinketh judgement to himself, not discoerning the Lord's body.

His subiecit interdictionem summa gravitate, cuius haec est formula:1

Audiimus, fratres, quonam modo Dominus noster Coenam fecit cum discipulis: quo docemur nullis externis aut alienis ab Ecclesia locum hinc esse. Itaque hoc exemplo edoctus, per nomen et autoritatem Domini nostri Iesu Christi admono idololatras omnes, blasphemos Deique

Brethren, we have heard in what manner our Lord made the Supper with His disciples: from which we learn that none who are without the Church or strangers thereto have any place here. Wherefore taught by this example, in the name and by authority of our Lord Jesus Christ I warn all idolaters,

59 Calvin has 'ou', as in Beza, confirmed by Tischendorf. Knox, following the 'Genevan' Bible, has 'and'. Perhaps the 'and' was preferred in order to destroy a possible argument for Communion in one kind. A Lasco agrees with our text.

60 Calvin 'de ce Calico'.

61 This rubric is not in Calvin.
contemptores, haereticos, quique sectis uariis Ecclesiæ seindunt, blasphemers and despisers of God, heretics, and those that by divers schisms rend the Church, which ought to possess the greatest concord and unity, false swearers, and those that are disobedient to parents and all in authority, seditious persons, and disturbers of peace, strikers, murderers, those that persist in strife, talebearers, whoremongers, thieves, robbers, covetous persons, drunkards, gluttons, and finally all such as by the evil example of a dissolute life cause scandal to the Church, charging them to keep afar off from this table, lest they profane the holy feast, which our Lord Jesus Christ desireth to be imparted only to them that are of the family and household of faith.

62 This clause is wanting in Calvin.

Calvin 'tous seditieux, mutins, bateurs, noisieux, adulteres, paillers, larrons, ravisseurs, avaricieux, yvrongnes, gourmens', &c., the Latin edition having 'secticos, factiosos, sicarios, concitos ad rixam, adulteros, stupris, furtis, rapinae, avaritiae, vino, gulae ventrique deductos'. 'Plagiarios', coming between words equivalent to 'factiosos, sicarios', is probably as translated, from plage, 'blow; not the classical word from plage, 'net', meaning 'kidnapper', 'man-stealer', like Jerome's 'plagiator', 'seducer'. 'Litistator = qui in lite stat. 'Susurro = 'whisperer'.

64 Calvin: 'de pucr de polluer et contaminer les viandes sacrées'. 
Huic addit exhortationem de Coemc usu suo arbitrio, modo sit ueritati et Evangelio consensiens. Non autem feret uti solet,  

Proinde, quemadmodum hortatur D. 66 Paulus, probet atque examinet unquisque suam conscientiam et animum, num uera poenitentia ante actae uita tangatur,  67 ac uerè ex animo optet sanctius porro uiuere ad praescriptum legis divinae. In primis autem illud, num fidel miscricordia Dei, atque in uno Christo Iesu spem salutis universam ponat, positoque omni odio et simulitate, certè iam apud se statuat in omni dein:ceps uita concordiam cum fraterna dilectione colere. 

Hoc si nobis coram Deo apud nostrae conscientias probè constat, nil dubite:mus nos nunc pro fillis ab ipso ag:nosci, cum Dominus Iesus nos ad suam 

To this he addeth an Exhortation concerning the use of the Supper, according to his own discretion, provided only it be agreeable to the truth and the Gospel. But generally he useth this form:

Accordingly, as S. Paul exhorteth, let each one prove and examine his own conscience and mind whether he is touched with true repentance for his former life, and truly and from the heart desireth to lead a more holy life from henceforth, according to the precept of the divine Law. But especially whether he trusteth in God's mercy, and placeth his whole hope of salvation in Christ Jesus alone, and putting away all hate and and enmity now firmly resolveth with himself in his whole life henceforth to follow after concord with brotherly love.

If we are well agreed upon this in our consciences before God, let us not doubt that we are now acknowledged by Him as sons, seeing that

65 This rubric is wanting in Calvin.

66 D'is for 'Divus', medieval Latin for 'Sanctus', as at St. Peter's in Rome, where 'Divus Petrus' can be seen. Poullain's use of the prefix in this place only may indicate that he is following some earlier form. Cf. Order of Baptism, note 27; Marriage Service, note 10.

67 Calvin: 'pour savoir s'il a vrayes repentance de ses fautes, et se déplaisit de ses pechés'.

LIT. COEMAE DOMINI. 

THE LORD'S SUPPER.
THE LORD'S SUPPER.

the Lord Jesus inviteth us to His table, there to receive this sacred Symbol, which He distributeth unto His disciples that they may partake thereof in communion together.

And although we feel in ourselves much frailty, together with the deepest misery, forasmuch as we are not endued with complete and firm faith, but prone to all unbelief and doubt of the divine promises, and too slothful in the service of God: for even now war with the flesh and its desires breaketh out anew in us daily and even hourly: yet, when our Lord so highly favoured us by implanting in our hearts His Gospel, that we might withstand this unbelief, and by kindling in us an ardent desire to bid farewell to all the affections and desires of our own will, and to seek His righteousness and the decrees of His Law: we ought to be most surely persuaded that these faults of our imperfection can in no wise hinder Him from acknowledging us as His own, and

Calvin simply: 'et nous presenter ce saint Sacrement, lequel il a communiqué à ses disciples'.

Calvin 'Et combien que nous sentions en nous beaucoup de fragilité et misère, comme de n'avoir point la Foy parfaicte: mais estre inclins à incredulite et defiance': the words 'de divinis promissis' are not in Calvin. Below, 'in cultu Dei' represents 'à servir à Dieu' in Calvin.

Calvin 'et nous a donné ce désir et affection, de renoncer à nos propres desirs'.
et legis eius decreta sectaremur: certissime persuasos nos esse oportet nihil haec utia nostra imperfectionis obstare posse, quin is pro suis nos agnoscat, dignos-que habeat ac faciat per-:patione spiritualis huius mensae. Neque enim huc ideò accedimus, ut testemur ullam in nobis iusticiam aut perfectionem: 71 quin imo uitan nostram agnoscentes in Christo. absconditam, inibi quaer-:emam esse fatemur, ac nos ipse totos in ipsa morte uersari. Dis-:camus itaque sacramenti huius usu aegris animis mederi. Nam ita demum digni erimus, approbante nos Domino nostro, si nosipacos agnos-:camus71, ac pertaesi peccatorum et uitiorum nostrorun in ipso uno acquiescamus.

counting and making us worthy to par-
:take of this spiritual table. For we approach not hither to testify to any righteousness or perfection in our-
selves: nay verily, but acknowledging that our life is hid in Christ we con-
fess that it must be sought there, and that we ourselves lie in the midst of death. Let us learn therefore that by the use of this Sacrament sick souls are healed. For so at length shall we be worthy, and our Lord shall approve of us, if we recognize our very selves, and loathing our sins and faults find rest in Him alone.

71 Calvin: 'mais aucontraire en cherchant nostre vie en Jesus Christ, nous confessons que nous sommes en la mort. Entendons done, que ce Sacrament est une medicine, pour les paoures malades (from 1558 malades spirituals): et que toute la dignite, que nostre Seigneur requiert de nous, o'est de nous bien recongoistre', etc.

The next section from 'Primum itaque uerbis' to 'dignos protinus faciat' on p. 32 is omitted by Knox.
LIT. CONNE DOMINI.

First therefore let us believe those words wherein the Lord Jesus, Who is truth most sure and deceiveth never, hath Himself promised to make us partakers of His body and blood, that so we may possess Him wholly, that He Himself may wholly live in us and we in Him.

And although we see here no-
:thing but bread and wine, yet it must not be doubted that spiritual-
:ly, that is to our minds, there is really exhibited all that is signified or shewn forth under these outward things and visible signs, yea even that Christ Himself is that true bread sent down from heaven to nourish and sustain our souls unto everlasting life.

Let us therefore not be unthank-
:ful towards this supreme and infinite goodness of our Saviour, wherein He poureth forth upon us the treasures of His riches.

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72 Calvin: 'qu'il accomplit spirituellement en nos cœurs, tout ce qu'il nous démontre extérieurement, par ces signes visibles'.

73 Calvin adds: 'en ceste Table pour nous les distribuer'.
For when He giveth Himself to us He openly testifieth that whatsoever He Himself possesseth is wholly ours. Let us therefore receive this Sacrament as a memorial and pledge of His death and all His sufferings, that their worthiness may be imputed to us for righteousness, even as though we had suffered the same things, or by suffering them could have made satisfaction. Let us not then be so imprudent concerning our own salvation as to reject the Lord with scorn when He inviteth us so lovingly by His Word; but rather let us so embrace His liberality and esteem it so highly as to give ourselves up wholly and heartily unto Him, that He may forthwith make us worthy of Himself.

Therefore with hearts and minds let us rise up to heaven, where Jesus Christ liveth and reigneth in the

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74 Calvin: 'comme un gage que la vertu de sa morte et passion nous est imputée à justice, tout ainsi que si nous l'avions souffert en nos propres personnes', 'Aut patientio potuissemus satisfacere' is not in Calvin. Then he proceeds, 'Que nous ne soyons point daquies si pervers de nous reculer, où Jesus Christ nous convie si doucement par sa parolle'.

75 Calvin: 'capables de le recevoir'.

76 Calvin: 'çà est'. This section is an expansion of Sursum Corda, 'to which words the Reformers were wont to appeal, as a proof that the ancients did not hold the doctrine of a local presence'. (G.W. Sprott, Book of Common Order, p.146).
LIT. COENAE DOMINI.  

THE LORD'S SUPPER.


77 Calvin: 'et ne nous amusons point', etc.

78 Calvin adds: 'Contentons nous doncques d'avoir le pain et le vin pour signes et témoignages: cherchans spirituellement la verité, où la parole de Dieu promet que nous la trouverons'. But on the whole Calvin's version of this address is more concise.

Instead of the following rubric, the ordinary editions of Calvin give (with no mention of the 'administer' or 'Diacre'): - "Ce laic, les Ministres distribuent le pain et le Calice au peuple, ayant adoré qu'on y vienne avec reverence et par bonne ordre. Cependant on chante quelque Psalms, ou on lit quelque chose de l'Ecriture, convenable à ce qui est signifié par le Sacrement. En la fin on use d'action de grace, car il a esté dict'. Then the Service ends, with a note about the disuse of the Mass, and the substitution of a simpler Service.

But the 1545 edition has this: -
Hereupon the Minister first breaketh the bread for his assistant, and handeth to him the cup, and receiveth from him in turn. Then do the people with great reverence come up to the Table in order, the men first and then the women, and each receiveth first the bread from the one Minister, and then at the other corner of the Table the wine from the other assistant Minister, the rest of the Ministers and elders standing by the Table. In the meantime some Psalm of Thanksgiving is sung through by the whole Church, while the Communion is proceeding, or some text is recited out of Scripture.

Minister cum panem ministrat, his uerbis singulos alloquitur, I. Cor. 10.

Panis quem frangimus, Communion est corporis Christi:

78 (Contd.) 'Ce fait, le Ministre ayant adverti le peuple qu'on vienne à la sainte Table avec reverence par bon ordre et modestie Chrestienne, il reçoit le premier le pain et le vin, puis le donne au Diacre et conséquemment à tout l'Eglise, disant:

Prenez, mangez, le corps de Jésus, qui a été livré à la mort pour vous. Et le Diacre presente le Calice en disant: C'est le Calice du nouveau Testament au sang de Jésus, qui a été ressuscité pour vous. Cependant l'Eglise chante le Psaume: Louange et grace te, &c. (Ps. 119).

Poulain differs from Calvin in addressing each communicant separately. N.B. 'singulos', and the words 'accipe', 'pro te', &c. all in the singular.
THE LORD'S SUFFER.

take, cat, remembering that Christ's
body was broken for thee for the
remission of thy sins.

And the other Minister giveth
them the wine to drink with these
words.

The cup which we bless is the Communion of the
blood of Christ: take, drink, remem-
bering that Christ shed forth His
blood for thee for the remission of
thy sins.

After all have communicated
followeth the Thanksgiving.

Let us give thanks unto God.

Heavenly Father, we render unto
Thee immortal thanks, praising this
Thy liberality to usward, in that
Thou hast vouchsafed so great a favour
as to call and draw us, though sinners,
to be on the side of Christ Thy Son,
Whom Thou didst give once unto death

70 Calvin (1545): Graces apres la Cene'. In the 4th line possibly 'quos'
should be read instead of 'qua': 'whom Thou hast deemed worthy of such
favour as to call', &c.

80 Calvin: 'en la communion de'.
LIT. CONSECR DOMINI.

quidem dediti, iam vero cubinde stiam das in alimeniun vitae aeterne. Largire nunc nobis ne unquam obliviiscì possimus tautarum rerum, sed imò cas sic inseras cordibus nostris, ut in dis adolescentis magis, augesaturque in nobis robur fidei, quae efficax sit ad omne opus bonum, que uitam nostram totam instituamus ad gloriem nominis tuí, et edificationem proximi. Per eundem Jesus Christum filium tuum, qui in unitate sancti spiritus, te:cum vivit et regnat in aeternum, Amen.

Domum, benediceo πτο, ut supra, populum dimittit. 81

THE LORD'S SUPPER.

for us, but now continually give Him also for the sustenance of life eternal. Grant now unto us that we may never be able to forget those great things, but rather do Thou so engraft them in our hearts, that we may daily grow up more and more, and that there may be increased in us the power of faith, that may be effectual unto every good work, whereby we may order our whole life to the glory of Thy Name and the edification of our neighbor:

Through the same Jesus Christ Thy Son, Who livest and reignest with Thee in the unity of the Holy Ghost, world without end, Amen.

Finally, with the Blessing, as above, he dismisseth the people.

81 Calvin, 1545, has this rubric: 'Les graces finies, on chante le cantique de Symon: Maintenant Seigneur Dieu, etc. Puis Le Ministre envoie l'assemblée faisant la benédiction comme le Dimanche'.

The other editions of Calvin give no form of words for the distribution of the bread and wine, only the rubric quoted in Note 78.

There is nothing in Calvin corresponding to the three rubrics that follow.

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The Afternoon Service.

After dinner, at one o'clock a Catechising of the children is held, for which a full church assembleth. A Psalm (to wit a canto of Psalm 119) having been sung, the children range themselves standing before the Catechist, and are questioned concerning the separate Articles of the Faith, the Law, and the Lord's Prayer: those things to wit which they have heard on the last Lord's Day. Then the Catechist proceedeth to explain other Articles in the Catechism, to the children in a more familiar way, but to the people in a strain more full of strong meat. Nor doth he keep the congregation longer than an hour.

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82 I.e. The Apostles' Creed. It is so called in Calvin's Catechism, which would be the catechism used at this Service.

Strype's summary of the Service is: 'At noon, after the singing of a psalm, the children are catechised and instructed in the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, for an hour'. (Eccl. Mem. II, part II, p. 380).

A similar service is described in A Lasco's Liturgy (Kuyper, Works of A. Lasco, II. p. 91).

Ps. 119 is not among the metrical versions in the 1542 and 1545 editions of Calvin. It occurs first in the 1547 Genevan Psalter, and the version is by Beza. The first double verse ran thus:
Bienheureuse est la personne qui vit Avec entière et saine conscience,

Et qui de Dieu les sainetes loix ensuit. Heureux qui met tout soin et diligence

A bien garder ses statuts précieux, Et qui de luy pourchasse la science.
LITURGIA VESPERTINA.

Finito Catechismo hora secunda habetur concio. Minister post descantatum Psalmum pergit in suo libro, quomunque sumpserit exponendum. Concludit orationes, quam pro suo arbitrio dicit, commendans Deo omnes status. Ac denique rursum descantato Psalmo populum fausta precatus dimittit. Nec plusquam horae spatio concio destinetur. Vt tempus habeant ante coenam Pastor et seniores ad colloquendum et consultandum de rebus Ecclesiae.

THE EVENING SERVICE.

The Catechizing ended, at two o'clock a Sermon is preached. The Minister, after a Psalm hath been sung, proceedeth with his Book (of Scripture) whatsoever he hath undertaken to expound. He concludeth with a Prayer, which he saith according to his own discretion, commending all estates (of men) to God. And finally, another Psalm having been sung, he blesseth the people and sendeth them away. The service lasteth no longer than an hour, in order that the Pastor and the elders may have time to speak and consult together before supper concerning the affairs of the Church.
LITURGIA QUOTIDIANA.

Per hebdomadam habetur etiam mane diebus Martis et Louis concio. 82 Quae accedente Ministro constituerit, a Psalmo incipit, quo de cantato, ille invocato spiritu sancto textum sacrum recitat, per gens, uti supra monstramus, in eodem libro, quam semel enarrandum sumptavit. Post horae spatium concludit precatio aliqua breuior, prout animus tulerit, deinceps populum benedicens dimittit ad operas.

83 But in Strype's summary of the 1551 edition: 'Every morning a psalm is sung, a prayer, a sermon, a prayer and benediction in the pulpit.'

In the Session Records of Elgin, so late as 1683, apologies are entered if for any cause there was no preaching on a Tuesday or lecture on a Thursday. Gramond, 'Records of the Kirk-Session of Elgin', p 276 seq.

In A. Lasso's Church Thursday was the usual day for the mid-week Service (Kuyper, works of A. Lasso, II, p. 91).

'Contio', 'meeting', 'service', was also the regular word for 'sermon', because with the Reformers the Service was regarded as a preaching, and a sermon or exposition always formed a principal part of it.

In the second sentence 'constituerit' appears to be a misprint for 'constituta' (or with less probability 'constiterit'). Just as the Precentor began the Sunday Morning Service by giving out the Canticle 'Leve le Cœur', so here, he would give out the Psalm before the Minister ('ille') commenced his part of the Service.
LITURGIA Poenitentialis

Quoniam ueste assiduis fere cal-
imitatibus Ecclesia Dei flagellis-
tur ob sceleris et peccata:
aequissimum uidetur iuxta ac
sanctissimum, die iouis precem
celebris haberi, ad quas tota
Ecclesia convenit, ut ad poenit-
tiam seae compararet. Concionem
claudit hac precatione,
postquam satis coetum
commonefecit irae
ac iudicii Dei,
ac peccatorum
quibus noster ipsos obnoxios, ob
quae sic ira Dei in eos desaeuiat.

THE SERVICE OF REPENTANCE.

But whereas the Church of God
is being scourged with almost con-
tinual calamities on account of
crimes and sins; it seemeth to be
at once must and holy that on
Thursday prayers of a more public
character should be held, where to
the whole Church doth convene, to
prepare themselves for repentance.

He closeth his Sermon with this
Prayer, after he hath sufficiently
admonished the assembled people of
the wrath and judgement of God,
and of the sins whereof he knoweth
them to be guilty, on account of
which the wrath of God so rageth
against them.

ORATIO

Deus omnipotens Pater coe-
lestis, agnoscimus et fatemur,
we acknowledge and confess that we

1. A shorter form of the rubric which in Calvin follows the Benediction from
Numbers 'au depart du peuple'.

2. Calvin: 'il est bon d'avoir un jour ordonné toutes les septaines . . . . Pour
le commencement du sermon, il y a la confession générale des Dimanches, cy
dessus mise.

En la fin du sermon, ayant fait les remonstrances, comment Dieu afflige
maintenant les hommes à cause des choses, qui se commettent sur toute la
terre, et que le monde est abandonné à toute iniquité: après aussi avoir ex-
horté le peuple à se réveiller et amender sa vie, pareillement à prier Dieu,
pour impeter mercy: on use de la forme d'oraison qui s'ensuit.'

In Strype's summary of the 1551 edition: 'The service of repentance.
Every Tuesday was a day of more solemn devotion, to deprecate God's judg-
ment, and confess their sins, in this form: a psalm, the confession, a
sermon, a long prayer, the same as above.' - Eccl. Mem. II, II, p.381.

3. The prayer 'was composed by Calvin for a special fast in 1541, and in the
Dutch Liturgy was adopted as the regular morning prayer, where it remains
a striking memorial to the Netherlands of the sufferings and heroic
struggles of their ancestors'. (Sprott.) It is given by Knox as 'very
proper for our estate and time, to move us to true repentance, and to turn
back God's sharp rods which yet threaten us'. It is not in the Book of
Geneva.
are in no wise worthy to lift up our eyes unto heaven, to appear before Thee sitting on Thy judgement-seat, nor dare we so much as hope for ourselves that Thou wouldest hear our prayers, if Thou shouldest look upon us, even upon/wordiest that is ours. For conscience itself accuseth us, and the sins which we have committed convict us of our uncleanness. Also we know that Thou art Thyself a righteous and true Judge, Who dost never justify ungodly sinners, that Thou shouldest pronounce them righteous, but verily art wont to deal most strictly with such transgressors of Thy laws. Therefore, O Lord, when we consider the whole course of our life, we are indeed ashamed of ourselves, yea being filled with despair we look for nothing but destruction, being now tossed as in the whirlpools of death. Nevertheless, O Lord God, seeing that it hath seemed good unto Thee of thy singular mercy and
Iubere, ut te inuocemus, etiam ad inferos demersi, atque, uti nosti quod magis peccamus hoc tua misericordia magis opus esse, ita etiam uis ut ad tuam unius clementiam, quae summa est, confugiamus: 

ne hoc contentus iussisses, quod magis illices nos ad te, promissis etiam blandissimis egisti, ne dubium sit nostra uota exauditum: 

8 Calvin: 'et d'autant plus qui nous defail lions en nousmesmes, que nous ayons nostre recours et (the last two words are wanting from 1547 onwards) refuge à ta souveraine bonté.'

9 Calvin from 'nee hoc': 'puis aussi, que tu nous as promis de recevoir nos requestes et supplications'.
Primum, Domine, praeter innumera quae in nos contulisti beneficia in commune cum caeteris hominibus, singularem etiam fauorem erga nos multis in rebus declarasti, adeo quod minime ualeamus commemorare, ac ne cogitatione quidem dignè complecti quae in nos contulisti.

Illud porro magnum in primis meritò uideri debet, quod dignatus sis tuo Evangelio uindicare a diali seruitute, qua premebamur miseris: eximensque abominandis idolorum cultibus et superstitionibus, quibus immersi irretitiquell eramus, adduxeris in plenissimam luzem ueritatis tuae. "At, quae nostra est nimia ingratitudo, et incogitantia, quasi beneficiorum immensorum quae de tuo manu acceptimus obliti, declinauimus ad

First, O Lord, besides the innumerable benefits which Thou hast bestowed upon us in common with all mankind, Thou hast also manifested unto us in many ways such special favour that we cannot reckon up, nor even properly conceive in our minds, Thy benefits to usward.

And especially is it our bounden duty to remember this great thing, that it hath pleased Thee by Thy Gospel to take us out of thraldom to the devil, whereby we were oppressed and in misery; and that delivering us from the abominable idolatries and superstitions in which we were plunged and ensnared Thou hast brought us into the fullest light of Thy truth. Yet, so great is our ingratitude and thoughtlessness, that as if forgetful of the countless

10. Calvin, 'où nous estions.'
11. irretitique: not in Calvin.
12. plenissimam: not in Calvin.
LIT. POENIT.

nostrae carnis desideria, fraudantes (quantum in nobis fuit13) ministram tuam honore debito, uerbumque tuum obedientia digna, sed nec tuum nomen, uti par erat, celebrauimus, quamuis nunquam desieris monere nos sedulò uerbo tuo per ministros tuos:14 quibus monitis neque auscultauimus, neque paruimus.

Peccauimus itaque Domine, teque offendimus, ac proinde pudore confundimur, ignominiam patimur, agnoscamusque nos uerè apud tuum tribunal reos esse, quibusum si pro nostra ipsorum dignitate agere instituas, quid praeter exiitum, damnationem, ac mortem15 expectemus? Quamuis etenim excusare conemur, semper tamen conscientia damnat, nostraque iniquitas coram te nos coarguit. Certè Domine iam satis uidemus, intelligimus et sentimus16 benefits that we have received at Thy hand, we have turned aside after the lusts of our flesh, defrauding, as far as lay in our power, Thy Majesty of due honour, and Thy Word of rightful obedience; neither have we glorified Thy Name, as was meet, and though Thou hast never ceased to warn us continually by Thy Word through Thy servants, we have neither given ear unto these warnings nor obeyed them.

We have sinned therefore, O Lord, and offended against Thee, so that shame and confusion take hold upon us, we suffer disgrace, and we acknowledge that we are verily guilty before Thy judgement-seat; and if Thou shouldest resolve to deal with us according to our desert, for what could we look but destruction, damnation, and death? For although we try to make excuse, yet conscience doth ever condemn us, and our iniquity conviceth us in Thy

13 quantum ... fuit: not in Calvin.
14 per ... tuos: not in Calvin.
15 Calvin 'que mort et damnation'. The text has 'exilium' here and towards the end of this paragraph.'Exilium' seems to be required, at least in the second place, though the circumstances may have led Poullain to write 'exilium'.
16 Calvin: 'Et de faict, Seigneur, nous voyons'.

SERVICE OF REPENTANCE.
ex his flagellis, quibus nos cas-
tigasti, te iustiss. iram aduer-
sum nos concepisse. Iustus etenim
cum sis, et aequi amantissimus,
haud unquam temere aut immeritō
affligis tuos.

Itaque flagra irae tuae sent-
ientes, te meritō infensus nobis
sentimus et agnoscimus. Quin
manum tuam adnuc exorrectam cern-
imus; ut maiores poenas de nobis
sumas: quibus enim telis agere
uindictam soles, eadem te nunc sum-
ere in manum uidemus: nec illa
omnia quae grauissimē comminatus es
peccatoribus impis, nisi maturē
resipiscamus, procul absunt, sed
imo in exitium nostrum paratiss-
ima. Quaquis autem grauissimē
in nos desaeuires, ac longō grau-
iores, ac centuplo etiam maiores
poenas, quam consueuisti imponeres,
attamen iustissimē id facturum
agnoscimus: merulimus etiam male-
dictiones illas, quibus cilm in
presence. Surely, O Lord, we do now
sufficiently see, understand and feel
by these whips wherewith Thou hast
chastised us, that Thou has conceived
most righteous wrath against us. For
seeing that Thou art righteous, de-
:lighting in justice, Thou dost never
afflict Thy people hastily or without
cause.

Wherefore, inasmuch as we feel these
strokes of Thy wrath, we feel and
acknowledge that Thou art justly in-
: censed against us; yea, we perceive
Thy hand still stretched forth to punish us
more grievously; for we see Thee now
taking up the weapons with which Thou
art wont to execute vengeance, and all
those deadly ills which Thou hast
threatened upon ungodly sinners are
close at hand, unless we speedily
return to a right mind, yea they are even
made ready for our destruction. But
although Thine anger should rage most
furiously against us, and Thou shouldest
lay upon us punishments far more griev-
ous, even an hundred-fold greater than
Thou hast been wont, neverthe-
less we

17 'merito' and 'sentimus et': not in Calvin. Similarly, 3 lines before,
'temere aut immerito' represents 'sans cause' in Calvin.

18 'nisi ... resipiscamus' and 'sed imo ... paratissima': not in Calvin.
LIT. POMNIT.

Israel populum tuum iratus desaeulisti.


SERVICE OF REPENTANCE.

acknowledge that Thou wouldest do therein most justly; yea we have deserved the curses that once in the fury of Thine anger Thou didst send upon Thy people Israel.

Yet truly, O Lord, Thou art our Father, and we are earth and clay; Thou art our Creator, we are the work of Thy hands; Thou art our Shepherd, we Thy flock; Thou art our Deliverer, we Thy people whom Thou hast made free; Thou art God, and we Thine own heritage.

Be not therefore so wroth against us as to chastise us in the heat of Thy rage; but rather do Thou forget our iniquities, that Thou mayest no longer even desire to punish, being content to have chastised and corrected us with great mercy.

By our sins we have kindled Thy wrath against us; yet shouldest Thou remember that under Thy name we are all enrolled, yea also we bear Thy token and Thy marks.

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19 Calvin 'tu es nostre Redempteur, nous sommes le peuple, qui tu as racheté.'

20 Calvin: 'mais qu'il te souvienne, que ton Nom est invoqué sur nous'.

21 Calvin 'enseigne' (Knox, 'badge'). The previous word 'tessera' is no doubt used with reference to the 'tessera hospitalis' of the ancient Romans, a token divided between two friends as a bond and sign of friendship.
LIT. EISERT.

Quin tueris potius, absoluim
et auge opus gratiae tuae aequum
in nobis:22 quod agnoscat orbis totus
us ore tu Deum, ac liberatore nostrum. Seis mortuos nequeuham
laudes tuas apud inferos, nec quos perdideris funditusque
deieris: at facient animi tristes, moestii, ac deiecti, corda:
:aque conuulsa, et mali sui sensu perculsa
:scientiae, iam inde pauidae expectantes
tuae clementiae favorem:24 hi te laudabunt, hi Te brabunt; hi
:gratias agent.25

Israel populus tuus persaepe
suis flagitiis tuam iram prouo-
cuit, atque eum ideo iustè
afflixiisti: attemen quoties ad
te reuersus est, toties illum summa
clementia exceptisti. Et quamuis
grauissima essent peccata, propter
foedus tamen tuum, quod cum
Abrahame, Isaaco, Jacoboque pactus
eras, at illo urgas amouisti tuas,
malique omnia quae praestò erant
amertisti: imò nec uota eorum nec
preces unquam frustratus es.26

SERVICE OF REPENTANCE.

Do Thou rather then maintain,
finish and increase the work of Thy
grace begun in us; that the whole
world may acknowledge that Thou art
truly God, and our Deliverer. Thou
knowest that the dead will in no wise
speak Thy praises in the grave, nor
those that Thou hast destroyed and
utterly blotted out; but the souls
that are sad, mournful and cast down,
hearts that are rent, and consciences
brought low by the sense of their own
evil, now in fear awaiting the favour
of Thy mercy: they shall praise Thee,
they shall glorify Thee, they shall
render thanks.

Thy people Israel by their shame-
ful deeds oftimes provoked Thine
anger, and Thou didst justly afflict
them for the same: but nevertheless
as often as they returned unto Thee
Thou didst receive them back with ex-
ceding great mercy. And although
their sins were very grievous, yet for
the sake of Thy covenant which Thou
hadst established with Abraham, Isaac
and Jacob, Thou didst withdraw from
them Thy rod, and turn away all the
evils that were nigh at hand; yea

22: Calvin: 'Entretiens plustost l'oeuvre que tu as commence' en nous par ta
grace.
23: Calvin 'Sauveur'.
24: Calvin 'et affamées du desir de ta grace.'
25: 'hi gratias agent': not in Calvin.
26: Calvin 'tellement que leurs oraisons n'ont jamais esté repoulsees de toy'.
LIT. FOSMIT.

Never didst Thou bring to nought their vows or prayers. Moreover unto us Thou hast vouchsafed a far more excellent covenant, wherein we would put our trust before Thy judgement-seat: to wit, that which Thou hast established with us by the hand of Jesus Christ Thy Son our Saviour, and ordered to be written down in His blood, and sealed, ratified and confirmed by His death. Therefore, O Lord, putting away all confidence in our own worthiness, and hope of human aid, whatsoever, any may dare to hope for, we flee for refuge to this unique covenant whereby our Lord Jesus Christ, with His own body making a sacrifice unto Thee, hath reconciled us.

Look therefore O Lord upon the face of Thy Christ, not upon us; that by His intercession Thy wrath being assuaged Thou mayest turn again Thy face with healing and peace, and receive us back to be ruled and governed henceforward by Thy Spirit:

Respice igitur Domine in faciem Christi tui, non in nosip sos: quipius intercessu sed ata ira faciem tuam salutarem et placidam reducas, nosque recipias in posterum regendos ac gubernandos tuo spiritu: quo renati in

SERVICE OF REPENTANCE.

Nos porro longe praestantiori foedere dignatus es: quo saneti nit apud tuum tribunal volumus:27 nempe quod nobiscum popigisti per manum Iesu Christi filii tui servato:oris nostri, atque ipsius sanguine describi, morteque obsignari, ratum et firmum esse28 iussisti. Proinde Domine fiduciam omnem dignitatis nostrae, ac apem humani praesidii, quocunque quis sperare audeat, ponimus, ad hoc unicum foedus confugientes, quo Dominus noster Iesus Christus corpore suo sacrificium faciens, nos reconciliavit29.

27 Calvin 'que nous te pouvons alleguer'.

28 Calvin 'et ratifiée par sa mort et passion'.

29 Calvin 't'offrant son corps en sacrifice, nous a reconcilié à toy'. Poullain does not shrink from the expression 'making a sacrifice unto Thee', but Knox, taking 'tibi' with the last verb only, gives 'through the offering up of his body in sacrifice, hath reconciled us unto thee'.

Respice igitur Domine in faciem Christi tui, non in nosip sos: quipius intercessu sed ata ira faciem tuam salutarem et placidam reducas, nosque recipias in posterum regendos ac gubernandos tuo spiritu: quo renati in
uitam meliorem nomen tuum
sanctificemus. 30

His subiicitur tota paraphrasis orationis Dominicae, quae suprâ
habetur in oratione diei Dominici
signata N., uti uisum fuerit Pastori.
Denique haec addit.

Although therefore we are unworthy
even to open our mouth before Thy
Judgement-seat to implore Thy help
in our great adversity; nevertheless
because so it hath seemed good unto
Thy Majesty that we should pray for
one another, we humbly entreat Thee
on behalf of our brethren, members of
the same body, whom at this present
time Thou dost chastise with Thy rods:
turn Thou away Thy wrath from them.
Especially do we pray for N. and N.—

30 Calvin 'qui nous regenere en une meilleure vie, etc.' The 'etc.' is
wanting from 1547 onwards. The editions from 1558 to 1566 give here the
Lord's Prayer, as does Knox, connected with the preceding by the words,
'meilleure vie, par laquelle ton Nom soit sanctifie'; except that the
1559 edition reproduces the entire paraphrase.

The rubric that follows is in Calvin, but the 1547 edition alone has
the phrase as here 'depuis ceste marque N.' The other editions have
instead 'apres qu'on a dict le sermon'. See Service for the Lord's Day, p.17.

'Utì uisum fuerit Pastori' is peculiar to Poullain.

31 Calvin 'pour tous nos paovers freres et membres.'
Memento, Domine, quòd ii tui sunt quoque filii quemadmodum nos, quorum offensis ne sic irascaris, ut solitum fauorem, benevolentiam, ac misericordiam exuas: nunquam enim facturum promisisti omnibus te fidentibus.32

Respice etiam cunctas Ecclesiæ tuas propicius ac populos omnes, quos uariis urges calamitates, peste, bello, fama et id genus aliis uiris: ne sinas Christiamum populum interire, tuique nominis gloriam et memoriam aboleri in terris. Ne permittas, ut in quibus nomen tuum, invocatum est ii male pereant, ac eorum interiori exultantes turcae, barbari, infideles et papistæ

Remember, O Lord, that these also are Thy children, even as we are: be not so wroth against their offences as to lay aside Thy wonted favour, loving-kindness and mercy; for Thou hast promised never to do thus unto all who put their trust in Thee.

Regard with Thy favour also the whole body of Thy Churches and all the peoples that Thou dost oppress with divers calamities, with pestilence, war, famine, and other such rods; suffer not the Christian people to perish, and the glory and remembrance of Thy name to be blotted out upon the earth; permit not that those among whom Thy name hath been invoked should be utterly destroyed, and that Turks, barbarians, infidels and papists should glory in their

32 Calvin 'laquelle tu as promis devoir estre perpetuelle envers tous tes fidèles'. But Knox says 'towards thine elect'.

33 The editions of Calvin from 1553 add some 15 lines given also by Knox.

34 Calvin 'la Chrestiente' (Knox 'Thy kingdom of Christians').
LIT. PONNIT.

sacratissimum nomen tuum blasphement.35

R Reliqua inuenies supra signata R.

36 Qua oratione finita et de: cantato Psalmo, populo benedicitur, ut supra, et dimittitur.

SERVICE OF REPENTANCE.

destruction and blaspheme Thy most sacred Name.

R The rest will be found above, at the place marked R.

This Prayer being ended and a Psalm sung through, the Blessing is given to the people as above, and they are dismissed.

35 Calvin omits 'infideles et papistae', and reads 'et que les Turcs et Payens se glorifient, en te blasphemant'. Poullain is followed however by Knox - 'the Turks, Pagans, Papists and other Infidels' - and by the Latin version of Calvin - 'Turcae, Ethnici, Barbari, Papistae, aliique infideles.'

The 'R' is from the 1547 edition of Calvin. From 1558 onwards the text of the prayer for Sunday after sermon is reproduced here. Knox follows Poullain and the earlier editions of Calvin in giving only a reference. See Service for the Lord's Day, note 24. p.11.

36 This Rubric, and the next section on Forms of Prayer, are not in Calvin.
TOUCHING THE USE OF FORMS OF PRAYER.

These are fixed forms of prayers in the Services, which, nevertheless, the minister followeth according to his own judgement, as time alloweth and the circumstances demand. For the Spirit of God is not to be bound, by any prescription of forms, to a fixed number of words, which may not be added to or changed, if He suggesteth better. Indeed Paul commandeth the former speaker to be silent in the Church, if aught hath been revealed to one of those sitting by.

These forms serve only the less educated: no man's liberty is abridged. Only let no departure be made from that manner (of prayer) which Jesus Christ hath prescribed to us. For the Holy Spirit, Who at other times, when we are silent and indeed know not what we ought to pray for, ceaseth not to make intercession for us to the Father with groanings which cannot be uttered;

Hae sunt praecationum in Liturgiis certae formulae, quas tamen sequitur minister suo arbitrio, ut tempus fert, et res postulat. Neque enim ulla praescriptione formularum alligandus est spiritus Dei ad cum uerborum numerum, cui non liceat subiicere uel supponere, si meliora sugerat. Sane Paulus iubet in Ecclesia tacere priorem, si cui ex sedentibus reuelatum sit.37

Hae formulae servunt tantum rudioribus: Nullius libertati praescribitur. Tantum ne ab ea ratione discedatur, quam nobis Iesus Christus praescripsit.38 Spiritus enim sanctus, qui aliqui tacentibus nobis, atque adeo ignorantibus quid orare nos oporteat, non desinit patrem interpellare gemitibus inenarrabilius,

37. 1 Cor. 14.30.

38. S. Matt. 6.9.
cumque is apud tribunalia sub-
ministret, quae dicenda sint,39
non decrit nobis cùm uera fide
coram Deo nos sistemus sensu
orationis excitati.

Who also supplieth the words that we
are to speak before judgement seats;
He will not be wanting to us when
with true faith we present ourselves
before God, stirred up by a sense of
prayer.

In Baptismo id cautetur in primis, ne alibi quam in Ecclesia ministretur, dum ipsa comenit ad auditendum verbum Dei. Omnia enim (inquit Apostolus) verbo Dei sanctificantur. Quanto igitur magis sacramenta administrare oportet cum verbo, quo sine nihil sunt. Siquidem ipsae Christus ita etiam iubet, Coenam fieri in sui memoriam, id quod Apostolus praedicare mortem ipsius interpretatur: quando autem baptismam instituit, disertè praecipuit praedicare Evangelium non alií quam in Ecclesia et post concionem verbi Dei habitam.

1. Cf. Calvin 'La forme d'administrer le Baptisme', Corpus Reform. XXXIV. pp.185 seq. The 1545 edition has an introduction containing a sentence which, if Calvin is its author, shows how he could, at least on occasions speak of election, 'Et pour ce il faut qu'ilz prient le Seigneur voulant aider et assister à cest enfant, et qu'il le ramene de la damnation éternelle, en la vie éternelle, selon sa volontaire et gratuite election'. But the author is very probably Garnier or Poullain (see p. xlv). It is a different introduction from that given by Poullain here.

2. Cf. the Book of Geneva, and Knox's Liturgy. 'It is evident that the Sacraments are not ordained of God to be used in private corners, as charms or sorceries, but left to the congregation, and necessarily annexed to God's word as seals of the same. Therefore the infant which is to be baptized shall be brought to the Church on the day appointed to common Prayer and Preaching'.

3. 1 Tim. 4. 4, 5.

4. 1 Cor. 11.26.

5. S.Matt. 18, 19, 20.
baptisare oportet, nisi forte in occasionalibus tali cuiusmodi legimus Actorum 8. Quid enim aliud est baptismus quam auctoramentum quoddam, quo infans ab Ecclesie Christi membrum agnoscit, simulque ipse et signaculum accipit iusticiae fidei ac renouationis per Christum, et toti Ecclesiae commendatur?

... and therefore Baptism ought not to be administered elsewhere than in the Church and after Sermon from the Word of God, unless perchance such an occasion arise as that whereof we read in the eighth chapter of Acts. For what else is Baptism but a kind of pledge where-by the infant is acknowledged by the Church as a member of Christ, and receiveth at the same time the sign of the righteousness of faith, and of renewal through Christ, and is commended to the whole Church?

There are present therefore at the Sermon the father, and sponsors whom we call god-fathers, if their faith hath been testified to the Church, or they are prepared to testify the same. For if on this ground most of all we think that infants are to be baptized, that the

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6 Cf. the continuation of the quotation from the Book of Geneva and Knox's Liturgy (note 2 above): 'accompanied with the father and god-father'. And after the Address: 'Then the father (or in his absence the god-father) shall rehearse the articles of his faith'. Calvin makes no mention of sponsors.
LIT. BAPTISMI

pertineat, quis dubitat parentum saltem alterum, ac fideiussores (qui ibi totius Ecclesiae nomine astant) debere agnoscī membra Christi ab universa Ecclesia? Nam inibi fideubetur ac spondetur pro infante in eam fidem ac doctrinam religionis, quam Ecclesia tenet et profitetur. Tum sancta igitur res cum sit baptismus, ne cui mirum videatur si sanctē ministretur in Ecclesia.

Finita concione Minister Ecclesiæ admonet de infantulo baptizando, ut cuncti maneant. Tum sic incipit, mensae astans cum reliquis Ministris et senioribus.

Adiutorium nostrum in nomine Domini, Amen.

BAPTISM.

covenant of God with their parents belongeth also to them, who may doubt that one at least of the parents, and the sureties who stand there in name of the whole Church, ought to be recognized by the Church universal as members of Christ? For there surety is given and promise made on behalf of the infant unto that faith and doctrine of religion which the Church holdeth and professeth. Since therefore Baptism is a thing so holy, let no one marvel if it be holily ministered in the Church.

Sermon being ended, the Minister informeth the Church that a little infant is to be baptized, in order that the whole congregation may remain. Then, standing at the Table with the other Ministers and the Elders, he beginneth thus.

Our help is in the name of the Lord. Amen.

7 'Anglican Books - 'at the Font'. Neither Calvin nor Knox specifies the place. Calvin has 'Le Sermon achevé, on présente l’enfant. Et lors le Ministre commence à dire'.

8 'Calvin adds 'qui a fait le Ciel et la terre'.

Hic Minister subiicit brevem monitionem de Baptismo. Cuius haec est formula, nisi quid ille' sua sponte possit melius.

Dominus noster abunde testatum nobis fecit quam inopes et miser nascamur omnes, cùm docet, quod renasci oporteat. Etenim magnum argumentum est inde a prima origine prorsus uitiatos et corruptos esse ac maledicto chnnoxias, si non ante regno Dei potiri liceat, quàm re- nati ac renuati simus. Cùm igitur huius humiliationis nos admonet, ut toti nobis displaceamus

Nota quod si plures sint pueri, simul omnes sistuntur, tumque hic et in sequentibus ubique mutandus numerus.

Note, that if there are more children than one, they are all brought forward at once; also here, and in all that followeth, the number must be changed.

Calvin. So also Knox, but the latter adds 'earnestly desiring that he may be ingrafted in the mystical body of Jesus Christ?'.

The Rubric and marginal note are peculiar to Poullain. The Address which follows is from Calvin, whose language is less redundant. Thus for 'abundee -- facit' Calvin has 'nous monstre'. Calvin's second sentence is: 'Car s'il fault que notre nature soit renouvelée, pour avoir entreé au Royaumme de Dieu: c'est signe, qu'elle est du tout perverse et maudictie.' And so throughout.
ipsi, certe imputat, inoque excitat etiam ad misericordiam ipsius totis uotis exponendam, qua uitiositas illa nostrae originis, ac male-dictae peitutis tollatur. Neque enim prius haec frui datur, quam omnem illam fiduciam nostri depositum, dico opinionem omnis uirtutis, iusticiae, aut sapientiae cuiusquam: quod nosipsos, nostraque omnia damnata esse cognoscamus.

Porro autem non solum huius nostrae miseriae nos admonet, sed simul consolatur sua misericordia, renascentiam hanc per spiritum suum promittens, quo spiritu accepto in uitam aeternam trans-feramur, atque huius translationis institutum à Christo obsignaculum in Ecclesia accipimus.\(^{11}\)

the end that we may be altogether displeased with ourselves, He yet inviteth, may even stirreth us up to entreat His mercy with all our power of prayer, that thereby the original corruption of our nature and its curse may be wholly taken away. For it is not given us to enjoy this mercy until we have put away all that trust in ourselves, to wit, the opinion that any hath of his virtue, righteousness, or wisdom; that we may recognize ourselves and everything of ours to be under condemnation.

Yet further, He doth not only remind us of this our misery, but at the same time consoleth us with His mercy, promising this new birth through His Spirit, to the end that having received this Spirit we may be translated into life eternal; and we receive in the Church the seal that Christ instituted of this translation.

\(^{11}\)The last clause is not in Calvin. 'Obsignaculum' is a legal term meaning the seal of a witness. In the primitive Church the Greek word 'sphragis', 'seal', i.e., of the Lord, was very widely used to denote Baptism. Cf. note 19 below.
Again, this regeneration consists mainly of two things. The first is that we renounce ourselves, that is, rely no longer on our own reason, to obey its behests, and to follow after the desires of our own will; but that we bring these all into subjection to the wisdom and righteousness of God; wherein lieth the mortification of ourselves and the neglecting of our flesh and of all that is in us.

The other is that we follow the light of God, and please and obey Him only, as He teacheth us by His Word, and leadeth us in that same way by His Spirit. And both these things are supplied to us and perfectly fulfilled in Christ alone; in Whose death, to wit, there is such power that...
if we are made partakers of it, it straightway followeth that we, as it were, die and are buried unto sin, the flesh with all its desires being mortified. But then by the power of His resurrection we are stirred up to another life, wherein we may live unto God only, when, stirred up with His Spirit, by the same Spirit we shall be led and governed in all things; whereby all our works shall be most pleasing and acceptable to Him.

Nevertheless the chief point in the procuring and effecting of our salvation is this, that He, of His mercy, pardoneth all our sins, that they may no longer be imputed to us; and that the remembrance of them is so utterly blotted out that there is no place found for them at His judgement-seat. Nevertheless these

15 'Statim' has no representative in Calvin.
16 Calvin 'qui est de Dieu'.
17 Calvin 'pour faire en nos les œuvres, lesquelles luy sont agréables'.
18 Calvin 'remette et pardonne'; 'remette' alone from 1547.
...things are sealed and conveyed to us, when by Baptism, as by an engagement entered into, we are received into the body of His Church; since God by this Sacrament willeth nought else than to make the remission of all sins as strongly attested to us as possible.

And therefore He took water to be the symbol of this, in order to signify with sufficient clearness that just as the filth of the body is washed away by water, so by the blood of Christ are our minds washed, and purged from all corruption. Moreover, here also as by an instrument He worketh and accomplisheth an entire change in us, which (as hath already been said) lieth in this, that, our flesh being mortified to sin, we are stirred up by His Spirit into a new life, namely a spiritual life.

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19 Calvin has nothing corresponding to 'obsignantur', nor to 'ueluti autoramento quodam': 'Toutes ces graces nous sont conferées, quand il luy plaist nous incorporer en son Eglise par le Baptesme'. Cf. note 20 below.

20 There is nothing in Calvin for 'quasi instrumento quodam'. 'Instrumentum', like 'autoramentum' above, means a legal or formal pledge or contract. Cf. notes 11, 19, 26 in this Service.
Itaque duplex initii beneficium consequimur et gratiam geminam a Deo nostro: tantum ne Sacramenti huic usum enercemus ulla perfidiam aut diffidenti ingratiudine.

Certi enim his accipimus a Deo testimonium, quod uelit ipse nobis esse pater, molitque ulla peccata aut offensas uallas amplius imputari. Nec id solum, uerum etiam suo spiritu ferre suppeditias, quod possimus fortiter aduersus diabolum, peccatum, et affectue nostrae carnis depugnare, ac tandem victores euadere in libertatem regni sui, quod est iusticiae regnum.

Cum haec ita habeant, sintque ista omnia nobis praestita, perfecta et absoluta per gratiam Iesu Christi, consequitur, in ipso uno

Therefore we obtain here from our God a double benefit and a twofold grace: provided only that we do not weaken the force of this Sacrament by any unfaithfulness or unbelieving ingratitude.

For here we receive a sure testimony from God, that He Himself willeth to be a Father to us, and willeth not that any sins or offences be any more imputed. Nor this only, but also that He will bring help by His Spirit, that we may be able bravely to do battle against the devil, sin, and the lusts of our flesh, and at last to come forth victors into the liberty of His Kingdom, which is the Kingdom of righteousness.

Since this is so, and all these things are offered, accomplished and made complete to us through the grace of Jesus Christ, it followeth that all

21 Calvin 'au Baptisme'. The preceding section is in Knox's Liturgy, and the substance of it is in the Book of Geneva.

At the end of this sentence, for 'ulla......ingratiudine', Calvin has 'par nostre ingratitude'.

the strength and substance of Baptism are contained in Him alone. For there is no other laver given besides His blood; nor any other means of re-
newing our life, than through His death and resurrection. And verily, as He conveyeth to us all the gifts of His grace and mercy through His word, and accomplisheth them all in our minds by the inner working of His Spirit: so no less He offereth the same thing through the Sacraments and the Holy Spirit.

Moreover to our most good God it was not enough to have adopted us to be His sons, and received us into His Church: but He hath extended His kindness still further: to wit, when He promiseth not only to be our God, but the God also of our offspring even unto a thousand generations.

22Calvin 'la verite' till 1558, from which date 'vertu' is substituted, apparently from 'vim' here, 'vertu' and 'uis' being used as equivalents.

23This clause ('perficit...omnia'), and the final words 'et spiritum sanctum', are not in Calvin, who makes no explicit mention here of the Holy Spirit. Cf. notes 16, 26, and 31 in this Service.

24The Address in the Book of Geneva and Knox's Liturgy begins with this paragraph much abbreviated.
Although therefore the children of the faithful are the corrupt and
tainted seed of Adam, nevertheless He counteth this covenant so sure
even to the thousandth descendant, that He acknowledgeth for His sons
this whole line of descendants. And for that reason at the beginning
nascent of His Church He commanded not adults only, but even little infants to re-
ceive the seal of circumcision:
whereby indeed He testified or fore-
shewed nought other than that which
He doth to-day by Baptism. And that
command to be circumcised, and to
circumcise infants, was a testimony
and most notable sign of the adoption
of sons, and as it were an undertak-
ing of God Himself towards us, that
He would be a God to us, as He was
to our fathers, His Spirit meanwhile
really working out in our hearts and
minds all the things contained in
the outward action.

25 Not in the French of Calvin; but the Latin version of Calvin has 'ab
initio nascentis Ecclesiae'. Cf. Genesis 17, 7, 10.

26 Calvin has nothing corresponding to the legal technical term 'obligatio':
cf. 'autoramentum' and 'instrumentum', notes 19, 20. Here again he makes
no specific mention of the Holy Spirit (cf. note 23). The whole sentence
in Calvin runs thus: 'Et comme il commandoit qu'ilz fussent circoncis:
aussi il les advouoit pour ses enfans, et se disoit esteur leur Dieu, comme
de leurs peres'.

Quamuis igitur fidelium liberi sint
corrupta et utiitata Adami propago,
nihilominus tamen foedus hoc ratum
sic habet in milleniam usque nepo-
tem, ut totam hanc seriem nepotem
pro filiis suis agnoscat. Atque
ca de causa principio nascentis
Ecclesiae sua 25 iussit non adultos
solum, sed ipsos etiam infantulos
circumcisionis tesseram accipere:
quo certe nihil aliud testabatur
sunt portendebat, quam qued hodie
per baptismà. Atque illud itubre
circuncisi, ac circumcidero infantes
testificatio fuit et notissima
tessera adoptionis filiorum, atque
ipsius Dei quaedam quasi obligatio
erga nos, se nobis Deum fore, ut
parentibus nostris, spiritu interim
suo omnia reuera peragente in anim-
is et montibus, quae extema
actione continebantur. 26

LIT. BAPTISMI.

BAPTISM.
But after the Lord Jesus had come down to us on earth, was the favour of God and Father diminished to usward? Did He not rather fulfill that covenant of salvation, and make common to the whole world what before concerned the Jews only? And doubt we that now our sons are in the same place wherein were the children of the Jews, and are heirs of the promise of life? Indeed Paul expressly claimeth that now even from their mother's womb they are sanctified, whom by this one proof above all he hath distinguished from the children of unbelievers. Jesus testifieth the same thing concerning the little children whom He embraced. For so Matthew (19. 13, 14) relateth:

Then were brought unto Him

Evangeliwm quo infantes Christo offerendos comprobatur.

Tum (inquit) oblati illi
Lit. Baptism.

Fuerunt puelli, ut ipsis imponeret manus, et fausta precearetur, ac benediceret. Verum discipuli eius obiurgabant eos. Quibus Iesus: Sinite (inquit) puellos uenire ad me, nec prohibeatis eos, nam ad eiusmodi pertinet coelorum regnum.

Haec sunt Christi uerba, quibus ad puellos regnum coelorum pertinere asserit, atque eo nomine commendandos Deo Patri censet, imo etiam manuum impositione sibi illos uendicat. Quo sanè docemur, nequaquam puellos fidelium ab Ecclesias excludendos. Huic pròinde doctrinae assentientes, puellum hune in Ecclesiam eius cooptabimus, uti participem eorum omnium, quae ipse suis promisit. Itaque pro hoc puelle Deum orate mecum. 29

Baptism.

Little children, that He should put His hands on them, and pray for them, and bless them. But His disciples rebuked them. Jesus saith unto them, Suffer the little children to come unto Me, and forbid them not, for unto such belongeth the Kingdom of heaven.

These are the words of Christ, by which He declareth that the Kingdom of heaven pertaineth to little children, and deemeth that they are to be commended on that account to God the Father, yea even claimeth them for Himself by laying hands on them: whereby we are assuredly taught that the little children of believers are in no wise to be excluded from the Church. Assenting therefore to this doctrine, we shall receive this little child into His Church, as a partaker of all the things that He hath promised to His own. Do ye therefore pray to God along with me for this little child.

29 Calvin: 'Et premierement, le luy presenterons par nostre oraison, disans tous de coeur humblement'. In both Calvin and Poullain the Minister bides the people pray along with him.
LIT. BAPTISMI.

Domine Deus pater aeterne et omnipotens, Quandquidem nobis pro tua immensa clementia promisisti, et testatus es, te Deum nostrum fore ac liberorum nostrorum: Roga: mus pro hoc puello, eum haec tua benevolentia et favore digneris, ut cum ipso foedus etiam tuum firmes, qui parentibus natus est, quos tu quoque dignatus es Ecclesiae tuae consortio. Dignare puellum hunc in tuam clientelam recipere, ut sis illi Deus ac salvator, condonato peccato originis, cui omnes qui ex Adamo nascentur obnoxii sunt: sanctifica eum tuo spiritu, ut cum adoleuerit te Deum suum agnoscat et adoret, gloriarmque det nomini tuo per omnem uitam, et quotiescumque te rogauerit peccatorum suorum remissionem gratuitam impetret.

Sit itaque insitus Domino nostro Iesu Christo, ut tanquam corporis ipsius membrum hauriat inde abundé de bonis eius omnibus. Exaudi nos, O Pater misericors, ut quemadmodum iuxta mandatum tuum, iste a nobis hoc baptismi symbolo abluitur, et

BAPTISM.

O Lord God, eternal and almighty Father, forasmuch as of Thy unbounded mercy Thou hast promised and given pledge to us that Thou wilt be our God and the God of our children: we ask on behalf of this little child, that of this Thy goodness and favour Thou wouldst deign to confirm Thine own covenant even with him, who is born to parents that Thou hast also honoured with the fellowship of Thy Church. Deign to receive this child into Thy protection, to be to him a God and Saviour, having forgiven him the original sin whereof all are guilty who are born of Adam. Sanctify him by Thy Spirit, that when he groweth up he may acknowledge and adore Thee as his God, and all his life give glory to Thy Name; and as often soever as he shall ask of Thee the forgiveness of his sins, may he freely obtain the same. May he be so planted in our Lord Jesus Christ, that as a member of His body, he may draw from Him abundantly of all His benefits. Hear us, O merciful Father, that as according to Thy command he is washed

30 'Et testatus es': not in Calvin or the Book of Geneva or Knox.
adoptatur, sic operante intus spirito tuo fructum capiat omnium bonorum\(^{31}\) quae hoc Sacramento assigns in nobis didicimus ex Evangelio\(^{32}\) Domini nostri Iesu Christi, cujus unius fiducia te inuocamus supplices, sicuti illo nobis orandi formulam praescripsit, Pater noster, qui &c.

Tunc Minister parentes et fideiiussores rogat.

Vultis ne hunc puellum baptizari in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti? Respondetur illi. Sane ita cupimus.\(^{33}\)

Tunc Minister

Siquidem admittendus hic puer in Ecclesiae sodalitium, Vos fidem datis ac promittitis totius Ecclesiae nomine, cum astas postulabit datus operam ut plene instituatur

and adopted by us with this sign of Baptism, so by the inward operation of Thy Spirit he may reap the fruit of all the good things which are sealed to us by this Sacrament, as we are taught in the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ; trusting in Whom alone we call upon Thee as humble suppliants, in the form of prayer He hath prescribed to us, Our Father, etc.

Then the Minister asketh the parents and sponsors

Will ye have this child baptized in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost?

Answer.

Yea, this is our desire.

Then the Minister saith

Forasmuch as this child is to be admitted into the fellowship of the Church, ye give your word and promise in the name of the whole Church, that when his age demandeth it ye will do

\(^{31}\) Calvin makes no mention of the Holy Spirit: 'afin que le Baptême, que nous luy communiquons selon ton ordonnances, produise son fruit et sa vertu'. Cf. note 23 above.

\(^{32}\) Calvin 'par ton Evangile', followed by the Lord's Prayer. But the 1545 edition has 'en l'Evangile par Iesus Christ ton Filz, nostra Seigneur, au Nom duquel nous te prions en disant'.

\(^{33}\) Rubric, Question and Answer are from Calvin, Ed.1545 only; but as elsewhere throughout the Service 'fideiiussores' are not mentioned in Calvin. Strype says 'The Service of baptism is the same which is used by the French, except that the parent and godfathers brought the child. The minister asked them (the question as above) They answered, 'This we desire'.
Deinde fideiussores sic alloquitur

Vos. neigitur promittitis daturos operam, ut puer hic studio in his omnibus institutatur, quae tota scriptura ueteris et noui Testamenti continentur, ut ea credat, his nitatur, nempe certus esse uerbum Dei quod coelo demissum est?

Respond. Ita.

As at the Afternoon Catechizing the definition of the Sum of the faith and doctrine of God's people is the Apostles' Creed. So also Calvin, 'la doctrine laquelle est receue au peuple de Dieu, comme elle est sommairement comprise en la Confession de Foy, que nous avons tous. Je croye en Dieu le Pere, &c'. And Knox's Liturgy, from the Book of Geneva, 'Declare here before God and in the face of His Congregation, the sum of that Faith wherein ye believe, and will instruct this child. Then the Father, or in his absence the Godfather, shall rehearse the Articles of his Faith'. Knox adds to this: 'which done the Minister expoundeth the same as after followeth. The Christian Faith, whereof ye have now briefly heard the sum, is commonly divided in Twelve Articles .... We shall divide it into four principal parts'. Knox then inserts an exposition by the minister of the Apostles' Creed, abbreviated from that in the Confession of Foulain below. A much shorter summary is given at this point in the 1545 Calvin: see the Professio Fidei, note 2, below.
Ye will exhort him, moreover, to order his life after the precept of God's Law; which is contained chiefly in these two heads. First, That we love God with our whole mind, with our whole heart, and with all our strength. And second, That we love our neighbours as ourselves. So ye will teach, exhort, admonish and chasten him, as it is the duty of all Christians to admonish one another. Do ye promise this?

Answer. We do.

This promise being made, the name is given to the child either by his father or by the sponsors. Then the Minister, before whom there hath been set upon the table clean water in a basin, baptizeth the child, casting water with his hand upon his head, with these words:

'Here, if more than one are brought for baptism, he nameth and baptizeth each one in succession. After 'nosipros' Calvin has a different ending. That of Foullain is abbreviated from the ending found only in the 1545 edition of Calvin. Calvin gives the succeeding rubric thus: 'Après la promesse faite, on impose le nom à l'enfant: et lors le Ministre (the 1545 edition adds 'luy mettant de l'eau pure et nette sur la teste') le baptise'.
N. Ego baptizo te in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti.

N. I baptise thee in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.

Denique sic puero fausta precatur atque Ecclesiam dimittit.

Finally he prayeth in this manner for a blessing on the child, and dismisseth the congregation.

Dominus Deus noster huic puello, quem ad imaginem suam creavit et fecit, det ut uerum membrum Christi sit, et atque fructus dignos adoptione filiorum Dei. Abite in pace. 36

May the Lord our God grant to this little child whom He hath created and made after His own image, that he may be a true member of Christ, and bring forth fruits worthy of the adoption of the sons of God. Depart ye in peace.

Postea nomen infantis et parentum ac fideiussorum in libro Ecclesiae inscriptur.

Afterwards the infant's name and those of the parents and sponsors are inscribed in the register of the Church.

x Rursus mutatur numerus si plures sint.

x The number is again changed if there be more children than one.

36 This prayer is in the 1545 edition only of Calvin. The final rubric is peculiar to Poullain. Calvin appends here a note which is expanded in the 'Admonitio' below; see notes 5 and 18 to it.
Sanctissimo ac honestissimo
more a Christianis receptum est, et
nuo usque seruatum, ne coniugi,
nisi publice et solemni quodam ritu
insanque hominum, ut sua dignitas
susque honor coniugio maneat, nec
fraus uilla dolusue intercedat, sed
bona fide omnia inter coniuges
fiant: deinde etiam ut tota
Ecclesia nouas coniuges Deo preclu-
bus suis commendet.

Proinde si quos Deus ad hoc uitae
genus uocavit, postquam inter
ippos aut parentes eorum\(^*\) ita con-
stitutum et ratum fuerit, dataque
fide firmatum, pastor certior
factus, tribus Dominicis diebus de
eo commonefacit Ecclesiam, ut orent
omes pro desponsis, et si quis
\(\text{Si sint adhuc in patria potestate}\)
\(\text{If they be still under the authority of their parents.}\)

\(^1\) Calvin has 'La Maniere de celebrer le saint Mariage', but after 1547
simply 'Le Mariage'. The Introduction is in the 1545 edition only. Knox
gives it, from the 'Book of Geneva', with the preface 'Dearly beloved ....
state of innocency' from the English Prayer-Book, omitting, with the 'Book
of Geneva', 'Our help is in the name of the Lord!', &c.

Calvin took the form from a book printed in 1533 'Mercooi apud Petrum
de Wingle', entitled 'La Maniere et fasson qu'on tient es lieux que Dieu ...
a visite', which Baum assigned to its author William Farel (Corpus
Reform. XXXVI. p. XVIII) and reprinted at Strassburg in 1659.
LIT. ENNEXDICT. CONIUG.

aliquid intelligat quod minus iungit possint, in tempore admoneat.

Denique Diem ipsum populo denunciavit, quod coeptum coniugium solenni ritu absoluatur coram tota Ecclesia. Adsumque omnes frequentes, cum ut orant pro desponsis, tum ut audiant et discant semper usum coniugii, et officium coniugum.

Cauetur id in primis etiam ne quicum praeter decorum fiat, aut modestia Christiana negligatur. Absque igitur citharis, tibiis et tympanis, et cum modico et honesto appareatu, qui Christianos deceat accedunt ad audiendum Dei verbum, quod sine nil sanctum, per quod sanctificantur omnia nostra instituta et opera.

Ingredientibus igitur sponsis, ab Ecclesia decantatur

BEASING OF A MARRIAGE.

that if any knoweth of aught that hindereth them to be joined, he may declare it in time.

At length he announceth to the people the exact day upon which the marriage that is commenced is to be completed by a solemn rite in presence of the whole Church. The full congregation is present, not only to pray for the betrothed, but to hear and learn always the true use of marriage, and the duty of married persons.

Care is taken also in the first place lest aught be done unseemly, or Christian modesty be disregarded.

Therefore without lutes, pipes, or drums, and with modest and chaste apparel such as becometh Christians, they approach to hear the Word of God, without which nothing is holy, through which all our purposes and works are sanctified.

While therefore the persons about to be married are entering, the congregation singeth the whole of

2 Calvin (1545 edition only) 'devant toute l'assemblée'. Cf. the rubric in the Book of Geneva and in Knox (also from Calvin) 'the parties assemble at the beginning of the sermon'.

LIT. BENEDICT. CONIUG.

PSALMUS 128

Then the Minister preacheth a sermon as usual, or, if it seemeth good to him, lectureth upon a passage out of Scripture, befitting the time and the occasion. And then he discourseth upon the whole institution of marriage, as it is found in Gen.2, Matt.19., 1 Cor.7., Coloss.3., 1 Tim. 2., Tit.2., 1 Pet. 3: from which and other places he bringeth forth some what that serveth to admonish, to ex short, to comfort and to teach. When he hath finished, and said the prayers according to custom, forthwith from the tribune he addresseth the couple standing before him, in these words:

Our help is in the name of the Lord, &c.

BLESSING OF A MARRIAGE.

PSALM 128.

This Psalm is not mentioned in Calvin's Service, but is sung at the end of the Service in the Book of Geneva and in Knox's Liturgy, at the point where Poullain prescribes Ps. 113 (note 13 below). A version of Ps. 128 appears first in the 1545 edition of 'La Pomme' etc. It begins thus:

Bien-heureux est quiconque Sert à Dieu volontiers,
Et ne se lasse onques de suivre ses sentiers.
Du labeur que eguis faire Vivras commodement:
Et ira ton affaire Bien et heureusement.
After God our Father had created heaven and earth and all that is therein, He created man after His own image and likeness, to have dominion over the beasts of the earth, the fishes of the sea, and the birds of the air. But when He had created man He said: It is not good that man should be alone: let us make him an help like unto himself. And then by God's command sleep came upon Adam, and as he slept He took away a rib from him, and formed from it Eve: doubtless signifying thereby that man and wife are one flesh and one blood. For which cause a man shall leave his father and mother and join himself unto his wife, and love her as Christ loveth the Church for which He died. But the woman shall obey her husband, and be subject unto him in all holiness and chastity. For she is under the power of the man as long as he liveth.

4 With 'Nostre aide soit', &c. the service begins in all the editions of Calvin but that of 1545. The Book of Geneva and Knox's Liturgy begin at 'Deus Pater', after the introductory sentence from King Edward's Prayer Book.

5 Calvin 'tant qu'elle vit avec luy'.

Dr. for the whole passage Gen. 2.18-24; 6.Matt. 19.4-9; 1 Cor. 3.17; 6.15,19; 7.2,4; Eph. 5.28; Col. 3.18; 1 Pet. 5.7.
Moreover marriage, being at once most holy and most worthy of all honour, hath in it this: that the husband hath no right over his own body, but the wife; and likewise that the wife hath none over hers, but the husband. Therefore they whom God hath joined together can never be torn asunder, save on account of fornication, or by mutual consent for a season, that they may fast and pray, taking heed that they be not tempted by Satan through their own incontinence. Therefore they are bidden to return presently to their wonted companionship and usage. For in order to avoid fornication each man ought to have his own wife, and each woman her own husband; so that the incontinent are bidden to marry, lest the holy temple of God, which is our body, be defiled or stained.

Seeing then that our bodies are the members of Christ, it were too dreadful a crime, to make them the members

6 'Nisi fornicationis causa' is not in Calvin, nor in the Book of Geneva.
meretricis membra fierent. Oportet igitur illa sanate asserui et coli. Si quisquam templum Dei violauerit, perdet illum Deus. Vósne N. et N.* intelligitis hanc esse Dei voluntatem, atque ita uiuere instituistis in hoc uitas genere, quod scimus tam cumuiaté Deum exornasse? Id ne apud uos ita decretuistis, ac coram tota Ecclesia testament, petentes etiam ea comprobante uеstrae uoluntates iam ratae haberai?

Respondetur: Ita.

Rursum pastor

Vos omnes quotquu adestis testes huius facio, ac memores esse iubeo. Tamen si quisquam est, cui notae sint causae, cur minus isti junsi possent, rogamus, palam enunciet.

*Blessing of a Marriage.*

of an harlot. They ought therefore to be kept and cherished in holiness. If anyone defile the temple of God him shall God destroy.

Do ye, N. and N.* understand that this is the will of God, and have ye undertaken so to live in this kind of life, which we know God hath so abundantly adorned? Have ye so resolved with one another, and do ye testify the same in presence of the whole Church, asking also that your desires be now ratified with their approval?

They answer: We do.

Then the pastor saith:

I make you all, as many as are here present, witnesses of this and bid you to be mindful thereof. Nevertheless, if there is any to whom causes are known why these persons could not be joined, we ask him to declare them openly.

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* Si plures erunt, omnes ordine appellabit.
* If there be more couples than one, he shall address them all in order.
* Calvin more fully: 'qui sache quelque empeschement, ou que aucun d'eux soit lie par Mariage avec autr'e'.

The succeeding rubric in Calvin is simply 'Si personne n'y contredit, le Ministre dit ainsi'.

Nemine quicquam allegante, Minister coniuges acceandas iu-:
ret manum dextram iungere, tineaque his uerbis eos allo-
quitur.

Cum nihil obstet, nemo etiam
quidquam contradicat, confirmat
uestrum hoc institutum ac sanctis-
:simo nexo uos iungat Deus qui
fecit coelum et terram, Amen.8

Tum singulas alloquitur, ac
sponsam prius.

Tu N. fateris hic coram Deo et
sancta eius Ecclesia, quod accepisti
ac iam etiamnum accipias in uxorem
N. quam hic prae sentem aspicis, cui
cum fide coniugi polliceris omni-
:modam cum summa sedulitate tutelam,
uti maritum decet pro uxore esse
:solicitum, ut cum ea uivas sanctè
iuxta verbum Dei et Evangelii
ipsius?

Respond. Ita.

Deinde sponsam huius sic al-
:loquitur.

No one alleging ought, the Minister
approaching the couple biddeth them
join their right hands, and then
addresseth them in these words:

Since nothing hindereth, and no
man hath ought to object, may God Who
made heaven and earth confirm this your
undertaking and join you in a most holy
bond. Amen.

Then he addresseth each in turn,
and first the bridegroom.

Dost thou, N., confess here in
the presence of God and His holy
Church, that thou hast taken and even
now takest to wife N. whom thou be-
:holdest here present; and dost thou
promise her to be faithful in wedlock
and to protect her in all ways with
the utmost diligence, as it becometh
a husband to take thought for his wife,
that thou mayest live with her in holli-
:ness according to God's word and His
Gospel?

He answereth,
I do.

Next he addresseth the bride in
these words:

8 This echo of the prefatory words 'Our help' &c. (Ps 124.8) is in Calvin,
but not in the Book of Geneva nor in Knox.
Tu quoque N. fateris coram Deo et Ecclesia eius sancta, quod accepisti, et nunc etiam accipias in uirum et maritum legitimum N. quem hic coram aspicio. Cui praeter coniugii fidem polliceris omnem obedientiam, officium atque obsequium quod cum uitae castimonia, uti decet sanctam et piam foeminam iuxta verbum Dei et ipsius Suan-gelium?

Respondetur, Ita.

Deinde ordine omnes similii modo rogantur, si forte plures adsint sponsi et sponsae.9

Rogatione haec facta Minister ita bene precatur.

Pater omnis misericordiae, qui ad hoc uitae institutum usus uocavit, idem uobis benedicit, et suum spiritum largiatur in nomine filii sui Iesu Christi, qui etiam presentia sua ao primo miraculo, quod in uita coram discipulis fecit, sanctissimum hunc ordinem ornare voluit, det etiam ut illum glorificetis per omnem uitam, Amen.

Dost thou also, N., confess in the presence of God, and his holy Church, that thou hast taken and now also taken, to be thy lawful husband, N., whom thou beholdest here present; and dost thou promise to him not only faithfulness in wedlock but all obedience, duty and respect, with chasteness of life, as becometh an holy and dutiful woman, according to God's word and His Gospel?

She answereth, I do.

Then all are asked in order in like manner, if there be present more than one couple to be married.

When he hath finished asking them, the Minister prayeth for a blessing in this wise.

May the Father of all mercy, Who hath called you to this manner of life, bless you and pour out His Spirit upon you in the name of His Son Jesus Christ, Who also by His presence and the first miracle which He did when He lived with His disciples was pleased to adorn this most holy state; may He grant also that ye may glorify Him unto your lives' end. Amen.

9 Rubric not in Calvin.
Hear ye the Gospel, that ye may learn how faithfully God would have marriage kept, and how firm and indissoluble a bond it is: as it is contained in the 19th Chapter of Matthew.

The Pharisees came unto Him to tempt Him, asking: Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife for any cause whatsoever? And He answered and said unto them, Have ye not read that He Which created man from the beginning made them male and female, and said: For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, to cleave unto his wife, and the two shall become one flesh, so that they shall no longer be twain, but one flesh? Wherefore God hath joined let not man put asunder.

Then after taking a breath:

Believe ye these words of our Lord Jesus Christ; and doubt not that

10 Calvin (followed by the Book of Geneva and by Knox) 'saint Matthew'.


Audite Evangelium, quò dicatis quanta fide usit Deus coniugium colli, quamque firmum sit ac insolubile. Ita enim habetur Matt.19.10.

Phariseae accesserunt ad eum, ut tentarent, rogantes: Nam licet uiro quamunque ob causam repudiare uxorem? Quibus respondens, dixit: Nam legistis, quod qui hominem ab initio creauit, fecit eum marem et foeminam, et dixit: Ideo relinquet homo patrem et matrem, ut adhaeret uxorri suae, et erunt duo in carne unam, adeoque non amplius duo, sed una caro? Quos igitur Deus iunxit, homo ne separat.

Deinde post respirationem aliquam.

Credite his verbis Domini nostri Iesu Christi. Nec dubitate
us ab ipso iunctos. Vivite igitur sanctè et castè, cum summa dilectione, pace, et concordia, colentes in primis ueram ac sinceram charitatem et fidem coniugalem iuxta uerbum Dei.

Hierà tota Ecclesia procumbit in genua: Tum pastor 61que inquit. 11

Oremus unanimes Deum.

Deus omnipotens, optime, maxime et sapientissime, qui ab initio prae-
sciuit non expedire homini esse soli, ac proinde adiutricem illi adiunxisti cum mandato, ut duo essent in carne unam, Regamus te et humil-
iter deprecemur, quando ita uisum est tibi, uocare istòs ad hunc sanct-
issimum uitas ordinem, digneris pro tuo clementia et bonitate spiritum tuum sanctum illis conferre, ut in uera et solida sìde ita sanctè uivant, uti gratum et acceptum tibi est, superatis omnibus affectibus, 12 ad

ye are joined by Him. Therefore see that ye live an holy and chaste life, in all love, peace, and concord, cherishing in the first place true and sincere affection and faithfulness in wedlock, according to God's Word.

Here the whole Church fall upon their knees: then the pastor saith:

With one mind let us pray God.

Almighty God, the best, the greatest, and the wisest, Who from the beginning didst foreknow that it was not good for man to be alone, and therefore didst join unto him an help-
mate, commanding that the two should become one flesh: we pray and humbly beseech Thee, since it hath seemed good unto Thee to call these two unto this holy estate of life, that Thou wouldest vouchsafe of Thy mercy and goodness to bestow upon them Thy Holy Spirit, in order that in true and un-
broken faith they may live thus in

11 Calvin has not this rubric, nor the one preceding. The following prayer is omitted in the 'Book of Geneva', and in Knox's Liturgy.

See p. 83 for note 12.
BLESSING OF A MARRIAGE.

holiness, as it is pleasing and acceptable unto Thee, having overcome all their desires, to the edification of the rest of the elect in all honesty and chastity of life.

Bless them as Thou didst Thy faithful servants Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, that being increased with holy offspring they may serve Thee and ascribe unto Thee all praise, and finally so bring up and instruct the offspring that they have begotten that by them also Thou mayest be praised, and Thy Church may be built up.

Hear us, O merciful Father, through Thy beloved Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

The Lord bestow upon you all the gifts of His grace abundantly, and grant you long to live together in happiness and holiness.

12 Calvin 'l'aumontans toutes mauvaises affections, et vivam purement', the last three words being omitted after 1558.

13 Calvin's service ends here.
The version of Ps. 113 was by Marot (cf. Note 3 in this Service), and the first stanza was as follows: -
LIT. BLESSING. CONJUG.

His dictis canitur ab Ecclesia Psalm. 113
que decantato dimittit Pastor Ecclesiam cum fausta precatione.

Nomina porro coniugum et dies libro Ecclesiae scribuntur.

BLESSING OF A MARRIAGE.

After these words the Church singeth Psalm 113,
and when it hath been sung the Pastor dismisseth the Church with a Blessing.

Afterwards the names of the married persons and the day are inscribed in the register of the Church.

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Note 13 (Continued)

Enfans qui le Seigneur servez, Louez-le, et son Nom d'elevez:

Louez son Nom et sa hautesse: Soit presché, soit fait solennel,

Le Nom du Seigneur Eternal, Par tout en ce temps et sans cesse.
DE VISITATIONE AEGORORUM

Veri Pastoris et fideliis Ministri officium est, non solu publica populo, cui praebet, instituire, sed totis uiribus urgere singulos, monendo, he is placed, but to be instant in cogitando, castigando, et consolando. warning, exhorting, chastening and comforting each one singly with all his power.

Nunquam porro, magis necessaria est homini Christiano doctrina tota et disciplina Domini nostri IESV, quam cum visitt cum Dominus, et castigat morbo aliquo vel quibus ali male, Maximè autem omnium imminente morte. Tun enim magis quam unquam antea suos aculeos conscientia exerit, stimulante iudicio Dei, coram quo iam sibi se uidet infirmus, tum Satan impressionem urget.

And never is the whole doctrine and discipline of our Lord JESUS more necessary to a Christian than when the Lord visiteth and chastiseth him with some disease or other calamity; but most of all when death is nigh. For then more than ever before conscience thrusteth forth her stings, and he is tormented by the judgement of God, before Whom he seeth himself now appear in his weakness; then doth Satan assault and

1. From Calvin 'La Forme des Prieres', &c.

There is an interesting parallel to the second paragraph in the Injunctions prepared for Edward VI's visitation in 1547, signed by Cranmer and others of the Privy Council, Cranmer being the only bishop among them. In all probability the words are from Cranmer's pen. 'Because those persons which be sick and in peril of death be oftimes put in despair by the craft and subtlety of the devil, who is then most busy, and especially with them that lack the knowledge, sure persuasion, and steadfast belief that they may be made partakers of the great and infinite mercy which Almighty God of his most bountiful goodness ... hath offered freely .......' therefore that this damnable vice of despair may be clearly taken away, and firm belief and steadfast hope surely conceived of all their parishioners being in any danger, they shall learn and have always in a readiness, such comfortable places and sentences of Scripture as do set forth the mercy, benefits, and goodness of Almighty God towards all penitent and believing persons, that they may at all times, when necessity shall require, promptly comfort their flock with the lively word used, which is the only stay of man's conscience'. - Strype's 'Cranmer', Eec. Hist. Soc. edn., II, p. 123.
LIT. VISITAT. AEGROT.

La validez arietibus, quò miserum (si possit) de gradu aliquo pietatis, fidei, et constantiae delectum prosternat, pessundet, atque ad inferos proruat.

Episcopi igitur, seu Ministrorum omnium officiorum est aegrotos inuisere, et solari uerbo Dei. Nempè ut intelligant, quaecumque acciderunt à Deo esse, qui pro sua providentia clementi nihil sui imponit, nisi salutare et bonum. Huc adducuntur ex scripturis quaecumque tempus et persona postulant.

Quòd si cum periculo etiam aegrotare compexerit, tum consolatione longius progredietur, orationem semper ad aegri mores, fidem, et pietatem accommodans, ut ut affectum uiderit. Etenim si sentiat mortem horribi esse, hoc

batter him with his mighty engines, that (if he may) having cast down the wretched man from any standing-place of piety, faith and steadfastness, he may subvert, destroy and thrust him down to hell.

It is therefore the duty of a Bishop or of all Ministers to visit the sick and comfort them with the word of God; to the end that they may understand that whatsoever hath befallen them is from God, Who in His gracious providence layeth nought upon His children but what is salutary and good. To this end he citeth from the scriptures ought that is required by the occasion and the person.

But if he perceiveth the sick man to be in danger, then he shall go to a greater length in consoling him, always suiting his discourse to the man’s character, faith and piety, according as he seeth him affected.

For if the terror of death hath come

2 There is no mention of the Bishop in Calvin: 'Et pourtant le devoir des Ministres (after 1547 'd'un Ministre') est'.
cuniculos diriget, ut hanc hostis impressionem auertat: infirmumque docebit, in morte nihil triste aut depiorandum contingere fidelibus, quibus est Christus uiae ductor, ac certissimus adiutor et defensor, quo ductore non alius quidquam sit mors, quam transitus ad uitan carmem, quam ipse est ingressus. Huiusmodi consolationum argumentis horrorem ilium discutiet. Et ubi senserit conscientias ob iudicium Dei terratas, statim hoc admonet omnia auxilia ad fulciendum animum aduersus tantum impetum. Sin paruo, aut leni sensu peccatorum affici senserit, iudicium Dei, in quo nunquam possit subsistere, nisi per misericordiam Dei, cuius tamen haudquaquam esse particeps quaeat, nisi per misericordiam Dei, totum peccatoribus omnibus quantumcumque miseris (modo de se desperent non

upon him, he shall lay mines against it, in order to turn aside this assault of the enemy; and shall teach the ailing man that in death nought sad or woeful befalleth the faithful who have Christ for their leader, on the way, their sure help and defender, and that when He leadeth them death is nought else but the passing to the same life into which He Himself hath entered. By such like comfortable arguments he shall dispel the terror of death. And when he perceiveth consciences in dread of God's judgement, he shall straightway remind them of every help that may uphold the soul against so mighty an attack. But if he seeth the man moved by a small or feeble sense of his sins, he shall not disguise from him the judgement of God, wherein he can never stand except through God's mercy; nevertheless he shall show him that in no wise can he partake of that mercy unless, stirred up by earnest repentance, with entire faith he embrace Jesus Christ with his whole heart and with both arms, and acknowledge Him alone as Saviour and Deliverer. But if on the contrary

3After 'misericordiam', Calvin gives only 'embrassans Iesu Christ pour leur salut'.


he shall see the man tormented by the sense of his sins, let him now show him, and bring before his eyes, Jesus Christ, in Whom all sinners however miserable (provided only they despair of themselves and not of Christ) have a defence most sure and very present salvation. A good Pastor therefore will devise the plan that seemeth best and most fitted to comfort the sick person, according as he seeth how he is affected; and he shall adduce nought but the Word of God. And if he hath the means, and the sick man is poor, he himself shall give him an alms, or shall see to it from some other source, that the needs of the body also may be ministered unto. For he must spare no labour, and draw back from no duty, that he may be an example unto all.

'This is the point where Calvin's Service-Book ends ('La Forme des Prieres', &c).

Knox, after a summary of the preceding 'Visitation of the Sick', adds a lengthy prayer which is not in Calvin nor in the 'Book of Geneva'.

LIT. VISITAT. AEGROT.

VISITATION OF THE SICK.
DE EVHARISTIA MINISTRANDA AEGROTIS

Quod si aegrotus petat Eucharistiam, Ipsa die quo ab Ecclesia celebratur Coena, mittitur unus ex Ministris cum piis aliquot, qui cum aegroto communicet.

THE MINISTRATION OF THE EUCHARIST TO THE SICK.

But if the sick man ask for the Eucharist: on the very day on which the Supper is celebrated by the Church, one of the Ministers is sent with some godly persons, to communicate with the sick man.
**IN FUNEBRE.**

Furus effertur a certis hominibus extra urben in cemeterium. Sequuntur proximi ac fata Ecclesia magna cum modestia, praecunte Pastore, vel aliquo ministro. Vbi ad locum mortem est, condito humanae habetur breuis concio de morte et resurrectione mortuorum, cum commendatione defuncti, si quas habuerit virtutes, quarum exemplis possit Ecclesia edificari. Tum facta oratione pro Ecclesia, ut Deus det sic uita transigere, ut per mortem transseamus in regnum ipsius, ac tandem in ultimo die per Christum omnes resurgamus ad beatam immortalitatem, dimittitur populus cum admonitione, ut eleemosynam aliquam conferat in usus pauperum.

**AT A FUNERAL.**

The dead body is carried forth by trusty men to the cemetery without the city, followed with great reverence by the next-of-kin and the whole Church, the Pastor or some minister going in front. When they have come to the place, the corpse having been laid in the ground, a short discourse is given touching death and the resurrection of the dead, and the deceased is commended if he hath possessed any virtues by the example whereof the Church may be edified. Then a prayer is offered for the Church, that God may grant us so to accomplish this life that through death we may pass into His Kingdom, and that at length in the last day we may all rise again through Christ to blessed immortality; and so the people are dismissed with an admonition to bestow an alms for the benefit of the poor.

1. *A rare poetic extension of the meaning of 'funus', as in Aen. IX. 491. 'Proximi' below may mean 'the neighbours'.

2. *Book of Geneva*: 'which being buried, the Minister (Knox adds 'if he be present, and required') goeth to the Church, if it be not far off', &c. The prayer is not mentioned, only the exhortation being permitted. Knox held it no part of a minister's duty to conduct services at funerals. A Lasco gives a form of exhortation and a prayer.
OF THE ORDER OF THE MINISTERS, AND
THEIR INSTITUTION, AND OF ECCLESIASTIC
ICAL DISCIPLINE.

OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE CHURCH.

It should be known in the first
place that no assembly of the Church
is ever held (and there is one every
week) without the reading of a passage
from Scripture, and prayer for the
gift of the Holy Spirit. Next the
Pastor layeth before the whole meeting
the cause wherefor they are assembled;
and the others in turn bring up any
matter that they have. Then the
Pastor asketh each one for his opinion,
and care is taken that satisfaction
be given to every one; unless per-
chance when the people have assembled
some one is seen to be acting too
obstinately: in such a case truth is
required and authority lendeth her aid
against frowardness.

1 Indexed at the end of the Liturgy as 'De Ordinatione'.
DE ELECTIONE MINISTRI.

In the first place the Minister is chosen by the votes of the whole Church. The Ministers and Elders themselves assemble along with the remaining or at least the principal pastors of the other Churches of the city; they give notice to the whole Church there present that a new Minister is to be elected, and at the same time with the utmost gravity impress upon them their duty in the election, that first of all they pray to God, and not disclose or communicate their vote to any but Him; and they propose two or more whom they themselves deem to be fit. Nevertheless they do not compel the Church to elect one of those proposed; for no one is deprived of his right to vote: only let him look to it that he choose one fitted for so great an office. And for that reason especially the elders themselves propose a certain number, lest haply the people be led astray by the impulse of their feelings, or err through ignorance and lack of judgement.

2So in A Lasco, and in the First Book of Discipline. In Geneva the right of electing ministers lay with the ministers. In A Lasco’s church the votes of the congregation were collected by the Ministers and Elders during the week before the day of election; and the election was preceded by a fast.

3‘Affectus’ in 01. Latin means merely ‘a feeling’, but in silver-age Latin inclines to the meaning of ‘affection’, as once in Juvenal, 15. 150.
Thereafter in order to collect the votes, each man in the Church who hath made profession of his faith is given a voting-counter. Next there are set in full view of the Church the same number of urns as there have been persons proposed by the Elders for this office, each urn having the name of one candidate inscribed on it. Then going forward in order each putteth his voting-counter into whichever urn he willeth. But that it may be known by no man into which exactly he hath put it, he putteth his hand into each urn in turn. Then he whose urn shall contain the larger number of counters is regarded as the Minister. There is also one other urn bearing no name, for the counters of those who do not wish to vote for any of those proposed by the Ministers and Elders. And they will roll up their counter in a paper upon which they shall write the name of him for whom they would rather vote. Then

4 'Calculus' lit. 'pebble'; a very ancient method of voting in Greece and Rome. The voter puts his hand right into the upper part of the urn. See Smith's Dict. Antiq. s. v. Peephos, Cadiscos, Suffragium.
DE ELECT. MINISTRI.

parem habet consentientium in alium non propositum, qui caetera idoneus esset: tum propositis rursum omnibus toti Ecclesiae repetendae essent sortes istae suffragatoriae.

Postquam suffragia sic collacta erunt, tum in quem plures consenserint, si caetera idoneus uidebitur is a Senioribus et aliis pastoribus Minister ei Ecclesiae nominatur. Deinceps certo quodam die iste nominatus a Ministris et Senioribus Ecclesiae examinatur, num iis dotibus praeeditus sit, quae Ministrum decent. Interea populo etiam ius est si quid dignum reprehensione cognitor, opponere. Tandem die aliquo celebriori, puta die Dominico, ab aliis Ministris et Senioribus et Pastore aliquo reliquirum Ecclesiariis: um coram tota Ecclesiae Minister

ELECTION OF A MINISTER.

if this urn should happen to contain a number as great as the others, of those who support another candidate suitable in all other respects although he was not proposed: then all must be proposed anew, and the whole Church must resort again to the decision of the ballot.

After the votes have been thus collected, then he who hath won the support of the majority, if in all other respects he seemeth suitable, is nominated Minister of that Church by the Elders and other pastors.

Thereafter on a day appointed he is examined by the Ministers and Elders of the Church, as to whether he be endowed with the gifts that become a Minister. In the mean time the people also have the right, if they have learned of aught blameworthy, to bring it up against him. At length on some day when the people are wont to resort together, as on a Lord's

5 A Lasco adds the Deacons.
Day, the other Ministers and Elders, along with a Pastor from the other Churches, in presence of the whole Church nominate and greet him as Minister, and with the approval of all ordain and confirm him by the laying on of hands. Now this is a summary of the ordination of a Minister of this Church; and when the Church hath need, and its means allow, it shall be lawful for it to add one or even more assistant ministers, by voting in the very same manner.

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6 So in A Lasco, but the First Book of Discipline here followed Calvin, Corpus Ref. Calv. Op. X. part i, p. 18, in deeming the laying on of hands unnecessary.

In the 'Book of Geneva' and the 'Book of Common Order' a second vote of the congregation is taken on the selected nominee.
Seniores sunt ex tota Ecclesia praesentissimi uiri, digni quos etiam privatos omnes reuereantur, qui Ministris adiunguntur in administratione, ut causes omnes iudicent et praesint omnibus in rebus, quae ad Ecclesiasticam politiam pertinrent. Atque hi sunt numero duodecim aut plures etiam, si tot possint reperiri hoc loco et ordine digni totius Ecclesiae iudicio. Cùm igitur euenerit ut huius numero desint aliqui, tum Minister cum reliquis Senariibus consilio habito dispensiunt num nam aliqui hoc loco digni sint in Ecclesia. Voi ipsi conservent, Minister die Dominico pro concione Ecclesiam admonet opus esse presbyterio sociis aliquot: et si duobus opus est aut pluribus, duplum numerum proponit, eorum quoque ipsi idoneos iudicarint. Postquam admo-
Seniores oporteat, iubet aliquot diebus, ut minimum 15, diligenter uidere et iudicare apud se unum: quaque quos ex toto coetu dignos censeat suo suffragio. Ac post trinam eiusmodi admonitionem, aut minimum secundam, proximo die Dominico iubentur ad esse hora Catechismi.

Tum unus ex Ministriis apud mensam aut suggestum cum reliquis Ministriis et Senioribus considerens, paulo tetam Ecclesiam admonet sui officii, ac eorum quos iam cooptaturi sunt in ordinem Seniorum. Deinde singuli accedunt ac sua suffragia per sortes missas dant, uti antea in electione ministri prae scriptum est Quibus recensitis, in quos plura consenserint, il presbyteri nominantur. Interea tamen datur illis ad deliberandum tempus, ac toti Ecclesiae quoque. Post octiduum iussi adesse nominati post conscientiam matutinam cingentibus Ministerum reliquis Ministriis et Senioribus rogantur, num hoc ministerium in se recipiant. Quamuis non temere quiaquam sese potest excusare aut eximere, nisi magnis de causa, fit. And after he hath reminded the Church what sort of men the Elders ought to be, he biddeth them each one observe and judge with diligence during at least fifteen days those from among the whole congregation whom they deem worthy of their vote. And after a third similar admonition, or at least a second, they are bidden to be present on the following Lord's Day at the hour of the Catechizing.

Then one of the Ministers sitting at the Table or on the platform along with the other Ministers and Elders briefly admonisheth the whole Church of their duty, and of those whom they are now about to receive into the order of the Elders. Then they come up one by one and give their votes by casting lots, in the manner that hath been already prescribed in the election of a minister. The votes having been counted over, those who have a majority are nominated presbyters. But meanwhile time for consideration is given both to them and to the whole Church. A week later those that have been nominated are bidden to be present, and after morning service, the Minister being accompanied by the rest of the Ministers and Elders, they are asked whether they take this ministry upon themselves:
quoniam in fidei professione singuli se ita obstringunt Ecclesiae. Deinde rogatur tota Ecclesia, num in hos consentiat. Vbi silentio assensum significant, Ministri et Seniores manus imponunt, et hos in ordinem presbyterii cooptant, commandantes Deo, ut suo spiritu ampliore augat, quò possint huic functioni satisfacere.

Ipsí Seniores ex suo numero duos nominant, qui componendis liti:bus praesint: ne teñérè suum cons:cilium rebus leuioribus turbent, atque à gravioribus rebus gerendis senect. Ad Seniores tandem illi causas referunt, si tentatis omnibus nullam concordiam inire quesant. In omni electione id seruatur: Ne quis suffragium ferat, nisi qui fidem antea sit professus. Nam reliqui mulo numero, mulo ordine consentur.

Although none may lightly excuse himself or be rid thereof, except for weighty reasons, seeing that in the profession of his faith each man so obligeth himself to the Church. Next the whole Church are asked whether they are agreed upon these men. When they signify their assent by silence, the Ministers and Elders lay on them their hands, and receive them into the order of the Eldership, commending them unto God, that He may bestow on them His Spirit more abundantly, to enable them to discharge this office.

The Elders themselves nominate two of their number to have the charge of settling disputes; that they may not heedlessly trouble their assembly with trivial affairs, and distract it from matters of greater importance. These men in the end refer the causes to the Elders if after trying every expedient they can find no way of peace. In every election the rule is strictly observed, that no one may vote, unless he hath made profession of his faith beforehand. For no others are counted members, or reckoned in any order, of the Church.

8 Cf. Note 6 above.

9 'Censere', and 'accensere' in the second paragraph of 'De Disciplina' below, and in the title of the 'Professio Fidei', mean to enrol as regular members of the Church.
Diacronos habent quatuor, aut quot Ecclesiae opus erunt, qui eleemosynis praesint, et pauperum ac infirmorum in prinis curam gerant. Nec minore gravitate aut alio modo horum electio fit, quàm Seniorum. Tantum hoc interest, quàd hoc ministerium non est nisi annuum. Nec libetum sit ad finem anni Ecclesiae, rationibus Eleem. auditis, vel illos in sequentem annum confirmare, vel alios in eorum locum substituere.

They have four Deacons, or as many as the Church hath need of, to have charge of the alms, and to take care especially of the poor and infirm. Their election is conducted with the same serious spirit and in the same manner as that of the Elders. Only there is this difference: that this office is held but for a year; that the Church may have liberty at the end of the year, after they have given account of the Alms, either to confirm them in office for the following year or to appoint others to take their place.

10 A Lasco does not give this rule.
Moreover just as much as the breath and respiration are necessary to the life of the body, so if they be checked a man must needs die immediately; so is the use of discipline and brotherly correction in the Church; and it is exercised in earnest upon all rebellious, froward and obstinate men or women, who being admonished refuse to return to wisdom and repent of their former life. In public accusations public repentance would be required forthwith, or else the excommunication of the offender if he should be perverse. But in those that are not made public he is admonished at first secretly and in private, next in presence of the witnesses, and lastly in the council of the Elders. If after these things it appeareth that no amendment is being made, the Pastor discloseth the charge and the man to the Church, in order that even by this means he may be brought to a sense of shame. Finally if after a third such warning he continueth to act obstinately, on the fourth Lord's Day he is excommunicated.

priusim agent et ad poenitentiam hortentur. Cuius si signa certa desiderit, tum conumocata Ecclesia, sedetem culpem criminis agnosere, ae deinde consensus universae Ecclesiae ad precem et sacramentorum communionem admittitur. Verum de hac disciplina nos plura propediem adiuuante Christo. Itaque haec missa faciemus.

Id autem ad disciplinam pertinet, quod nemo huic Ecclesiae accensetur, nisi prius publicius fidei professus. Aliquid non admittitur quisquam ad ullius Sacramenti communionem, ac ne baptismus quidem ullis confertur, nisi parentum alter ita sit fidei professus: nec coniugio benedictionis, nisi prius fidei professis sint coniuges.

Nomina porro eorum qui fidei profittenetur libro Ecclesiae inscribuntur.

and interdicted from all holy things, to wit, the Sacraments and prayers: for on those occasions he is ordered to withdraw from the Church. He is never excluded from public Sermons. Indeed there are always some to deal with him privately and exhort him to repentance. If he giveth sure tokens thereof, then the Church is summoned to meet and he is ordered to acknowledge his guilt of the charge, and thereupon with the unanimous consent of the Church he is admitted to communion in prayers and Sacraments. But of this discipline we shall shortly have more to say, Christ helping us: which therefore we will here omit.

It belongeth however to discipline that no one is enrolled a member of this Church unless first he hath made a public profession of his faith. Otherwise no one is admitted to communion in any Sacrament; and not even baptism is bestowed on any unless one of the parents hath thus made a profession of faith; nor is a Marriage Blessing granted unless the couple have first made profession of their faith.

Moreover the names of those who profess faith are inscribed in the register of the Church.
Atque ea est tota ratio Liturgiae et disciplinae universae huius Ecclesiae, quam Dominus Deus conservet. Benedicat etiam et benefaciat amplissimo Senatori Francofordiano, qui tanta humanitate in modis hisce procellis pice exules ayud sc sustinent, ac fuent, omnique studio et favore prosper
:sequuntur. Fuit Christus ut qui-cunque læse legerint intelligant, atque ex animo incumbant in plenior cm instaurationem Ecclesiae Dei, atque horum exemplo peregrinos et exules ament, ac fousant.

Amen.
AD ELECTOREM CAUDIDUM PRO
LITURGIA ADEMPIENTIO.

Hanc poter Liturgiam non omni-
bus probari haud equidem ignore,
iisque plurimis, quae scio, si ali-
quando uidissent, aut certe
audiendo intellexissent, non iniques
judices fore. Alii sunt qui odio
Evangeli, se legem Dei, hoc solo
nomine quocum est corum, qui hoc
e Evangelium Christi profitarunt,
dammant et excorantur: tametsi ayud
sae conscientias probè intelligunt,
non posse uituperari, aut solidis
argumentis omnino (uti clament)
hacrescere. His nihil est quod
respondeam. Uerum eis qui igno-
santia peccant (etsi non omino ex-
cusandi sint, quinimo reprehendendi,
quod res non intellectas damment,
alienis praecuudiciis freti) tamen
quia errore peccant, non malicia,
respondendum aliquid putamus.

Si multas ceremonias lauda-
bles clamant abolitas, quaee tamen
uidebantur magna niti auteritate
octustissim. patrum: si ordinem et
decorum confundi: si dignitatem
ministerr proportion, et contemni

A WORD TO THE CAUDID READER IN
DEFENCE OF THE LITURGY.

I am not ignorant, moreover, that
this Liturgy doth not commend itself
to all, yea that very many disapprove
of it, but I know that if they had
ever seen it, or at least heard it
read, they would not be unjust judges.
Others there are who, hating the
Gospel and the law of God, on this
account alone condemn and curse all who
to-day profess the Gospel of Christ:
yet in their consciences they know
right well that these cannot be found
fault with, nor by solid proofs con-
viected of heresies, as they loudly
claim. It needeth not to answer
these men. But to those who sin
through ignorance, (although they be
in no wise to be excused, but rather
blamed in that they condemn things they
do not understand, relying on the
preconceived opinions of other men,
nevertheless) because they sin through
error, not of malice, we think that
some answer should be made.

If they cry out that many praise-
worthy ceremonies have been abolished,
which nevertheless seemd founded on
high authority of the oldest fathers;
if they were to say that order and
decency are thrown into confusion, and that
the dignity of the ministry is prostituted and despised; this would be no small matter: but with us it is not so. For as regards the dignity of the Ministry, we have a clear recollection that their outcry is not because the dignity hath been done away by us, but the pomp and luxury. Moreover when Ministers discharge their office faithfully the Holy Spirit will furnish them abundantly with dignity, praise, glory and every honour: as we see happened to so many holy men after the Apostles, who without these pompes ruled the Churches of Christ in the utmost holiness. For what greater dignity or authority requirest thou than that which Paul commendeth to the Corinthians? Further that order and decency are confounded is evidently untrue: for they make a false accusation when they raise their

X Probably a printer's error for 'dicunt', by assimilation to ' clamant' above.

1 2 Cor. 10. 8.

2 From this point compare the preface to the English Prayerbook, 'Of Ceremonies, why some be abolished, and some retained'; also a few passages in the Preface, ascribed to Whittingham, given in the earliest editions of the 'Book of Genova' (Laing's 'Knox' iv. pp. 157 seq.). 'Calumnia' is a legal technical term.
AD LORITIO AD LECTORUM.

adim tantà ut estutatis dignitas, uel patrum autoritate, quae quidquam uelat adversus Dei autoritatem, uel Ecclesiæ aedificationem. Esto itaque, multa sit in illis ceremo-nonis (quas aboleri indignè ferunt) autoritas aetussatis; Attamen siquid ab aliquo excogit-atum aut usurpatam sit temerò: non ca debet Ecclesia servitute premi, ut corrigere nefas sit, aut mutare ac deponere. Quid si.

plaint that praiseworthy and ancient ceremonies are abolished; and charge this Church with treason against the divine Majesty. For there is no dignity of antiquity, or authority of the fathers, so great as to have any force against the authority of God or the edification of the Church. Let it be conceded then that there is much authority of antiquity in those ceremonies, at the abolishing of which they wax indignant: yet notwithstanding, if ought have been conceived or employed by any without due consideration, the Church ought not to be so fettered that it may not correct it or alter and rescind it. What if even something foolish or wicked hath been allowed? to wit, either without the authority of the Word of God and without any edification, or contrary to the Word and the will of God (and this though it may not be clearly proved by Scripture, is nevertheless made evident by the result, seeing that it hath been followed by so vast a sea of superstitious, and so many dreadful frenzies of idolatry). Why should the Church, or they whose concern it is, be remiss in removing such things

A barbarism apparently due to the printer, who has assimilated the ending of 'personis' to those of 'omnibus temporibus'.

A WORD TO THE READER.
tempora et morae? Sed quid multum opus? Docunt isti ordinem aliquid, aut mutatum, aut correctum contra Dei urbum, parata erit Ecclesia illa consilium sequi et obedire.

Nam in illis, quae nulla autoritate urbi Dei nituntur, credit summae sibi datam autoritatem tollendi vel retinendi. Tantum ne quid in Ecclesia usurpetur, quod non ad edificationem, et Ecclesia Christi dignum ordinem pertineat. Nam si quid tale non sit, tollendum omnino est, nisi Paulum malum

as they see to be stumbling-blocks to the weak? Whatever turnseth aside or even keepeth men back from Christ they should be zealous to remove.

Besides as they know well that not all things suit all times and persons, what guilt will there be in changing even the most sacred institutions of the fathers, if times and customs so require? But why make many words?

Let them point out aught that hath been omitted, or changed, or corrected contrary to the Word of God, and this Church will be ready to follow and obey their counsel.

For in matters which depend upon no authority of the Word of God, she believeth that the highest authority hath been given unto her to abolish or to retain. Only let nothing be used in the Church, which maketh not for edification and the order worthy of Christ's Church. For if there be aught that is otherwise, it must be

3 English Prayer Book, 'Of Ceremonies': 'worthy to be cut away, and clean rejected'.

Cf. for this whole paragraph 1 Cor. 14. 26; 40; 2 Kings 18. 4; Num. 21. 6-9; 1 Cor. 5. 13; Rom. 12. 9.
preceptisse fatemur, omnia ad sedificationem, et decore ordine fieri.
Quanto magis si quid successu temporis scandalos esse incipiat tollendi, exemplo Ezechiae, qui non dubitaret serpentem illum tantum miraculos clarum deifico. An non merito hic haecres bonus princeps debuit, cum serpentem ad Deo fieri iussum? cum illius aspectu tanta beneficis consuetus Israelitas meminisset? At debere populum iussisset, atque ab superstitione et idolomancia illa resovisset: serpentes allicubi asservari tanquam membraculum divinae benitatis iussisset. Imb vero non tanti hase fuerunt pio regi, quin occasionem idololatriae tolleret à populo.
Malum (inquit Apostolus) de medicastri tollite: et, malum odio persequimini. Iem igitur dabitn
utterly abolished; unless we admit that Paul erred when he directed that all things be done unto edifying, and in orderly order. How much more, if in course of time anything begins to be a cause of stumbling, should it be removed, after the example of Hesekiah, who hesitated not to cast down the serpent that was famous by reason of such mighty miracles? Or would not the good prince have done well to stay his hand, remembering that the serpent had been made by God's command, and that by looking on it the Israelites had received such benefits? But then he would have ordered the people to be instructed and turned them from that superstition and idolatry, and commanded the serpent to be preserved in some place as a memorial of the divine goodness. Nay verily the good king

4 An example frequently quoted by the Reformers, as e.g. by Calvin in 'Que doit nair un homme fidele entre les Papistes', 1555 (Corpus Reform. xxxiv, Calv. vi, p. 255). Calvin says there of 'le serpens d'airain..... forges..... par le vouloir de Dieu': 'C'estoit non seulement un memorialis du bonsifice que Dieu avoit fait au peuple d'Israel: mais un sanct Sacremont de Jesus Christ (Jean 3.14)'.

The same example is given in Cranmer's 'Catechism' of 1546, translated from the Latin of Justus Jonas, who had written it originally in German. - Strype's 'Cranmer', Oxford edn. 1854, II p. 46, III p. 278, notes.
ADMONITIO ADLECTORUM.  A WORD TO THE READER.

hoc, credo, boni urit: tollendum
non dicam, quin quidquid scandalo esse potest,
in quo seculorum accusantur, facere
qui de scandalo, quoniam, seculum
acd pius adhuc infirmis.
Quicumquid idolomaniæ, instrumentum,
est; qui quidem denuo et falsas
opiniones gignit et stabilit, toll-
endum est.

Sed singula videamus, quae
isti reprehendunt. Primum est
saepe vernacula pro peregrino
institutus. Hoc autem nimirum
held not these things of such account
that he should not remove an
occasion for idolatry from the people.
"Put away the evil," saith the Apostle,
"from your midst"; and, "Asheth that
which is evil". Honest men, then,
will doubtless allow that we ought to
put away utterly anything that may be
a cause of offence. I do not say to
the ungodly (as now commonly certain
persons' make answer that they do this
or that, of which foreseeth they are
accused, in order that they may not
cause offence to any, meaning of course
to the world), but to the godly who
are yet weak. Whateover is a means
of idolatry; in short, whatsoever
doeth beget and establish false opinions,
must be put away.

But let us examine the separate
charges made by our adversaries. The
first is our use of the vulgar tongue
instead of a foreign language. Now this

5What follows may be compared with Calvin's 'Epistre au Lecteur' in the 1542
and 1545 editions of 'La Forme des Prièes, &c'. But there is little verbal
agreement. At this place Calvin refers to 1 Cor. 14 and has the words
'Parquo, ce a esto une trop grande impudence à ceux qui ont introduict le
langue Latine par les Eglises, ou elle n'estoit communément entendue'.
Cf. also the rubric at the end of the Baptismal Service in Calvin,
Corp. Ref. Calvin vi., p. 191: 'Le tout se dit à haut voix, en langue
vulgaire: d'autant que le peuple qui assiste là, doit entre entendre de ce
qui s'y fait, et quoy est requise l'intelligence: et aussi, afin que tous
soyent edifices'.
Admissio ad lectorum.

Quia si non sunt contenti: quid acquis, quam singulas in Ecclesia, quocid ibi fit aut dicitur intelligere, quod sedificantur, consolentur, instituantur? Erratum itaque et stultum nimis hoc fuit, homines, si uel orarent, uel laudes Deo canerent, eo uti sermone, quem non intelligerent. Rodera pertinet ipse cantus seu nodulatio, cui nullus locus esse debet in Ecclesia, nisi ita moderato ut ab omnibus intelligi possit, non enim est in Ecclesia inutilandum, sed canendum.

Lectionem autem Evangeliorum et Epistoliarum Ecclesia non amisit, sed restituit. Illi cotius omnes erunt, qui sic tractatim legerunt, uti uidentur in Ecclesiis, quae sub papatu sunt adhuc fieri. Iam hanc charge is utter foolishness; for it is at variance with the express Word of God. And if they are not content with that, what is more reasonable than that every one in the Church should understand all that is done or said there, to the end that they may be edified, comforted, and instructed?

It was therefore too wicked and foolish that men, in praying or singing praises to God, should use a tongue that they understood not. In the same case is the singing or melody itself, which ought to have no place in the Church unless kept so strict that it may be understood of all; for in Church we must not make a display of flourishes with the voice, but sing.

The reading of the Gospels and Epistles, however, the Church hath not lost, but restored. Rather did they leave it off, who read them in such a mutilated fashion as we see still done in the Churches that are under popery.

5 See Appendix A.

7 Compare the preface 'Concerning the Service of the Church' in the English Prayer Book; and the passage in a Lasso (Kuyper II p.52) beginning 'Quae uero frustulatim explicantur scripturae, &c.'
Eccelesia, et si quod sunt ullos re-
formatae, Evangeliorum et Epistol-
erum, in totius sacri libri
scripturas omnes ordine populo
praelegunt et expoundunt. Id quæm
sit Ecclesiae utilius, quàm quod
fieri solutat, est facilè intelli-
gere, qui judicium s.ecnerun sine
ullo affectu attulerit. Et si
quies historias legerit, facilè in-
telliget hunc modum suisse in
priore Ecclesia seruatun quamdiu
uguit cum prophetie linguarum
donum. Tandum his cessantibus,
et eruditione fecdata à Barbaris,
copit hic usus frustulatim re-
citandì portiuncules quædam
Evangelii, cum homilias. Atque
id tolerabile utcumque fuit ali-
quàm quid: donec extinctis omni-
bus his donis, pro scripturis
sanctis legi coperunt scripta
patrum uctustiorum, ac denique
recentiorum, ut Gregorii et
aliorum similium.

How this Church, and any others that
are Reformed, read and expound in
order to the people all the scriptures
not only of the Gospels and Epistles
but of the whole Bible. How much
more profitable this is to the Church
than the former practice, he can
easily understand that shall bring to
the matter sincere judgiment without
any bias. And if any one readeth
history he will easily understand that
this custom was preserved in the early
Church as long as the gift of tongues
with prophecy flourished. When these
were at length failing, and learning
had been fouly laid low by Barba-
rians, this usage began of reciting
in fragments certain small portions
of the Gospel, with homilies.

However, that could be tolerated for
a time; until, all these gifts be-
ing extinct, instead of the Holy
Scriptures men began to read the
writings of the older fathers, and
finally of the more recent, such as
Gregory and the like.

'Est' should probably be 'potest'.
PERPETUO: CCLESIA ROMANA FRAUSTA OMNIA ACCEPERAT HABET IN NOMINE CHRISTI PETER, ET HANC UNAM MEDIATORIAE AGNOSCERE, ET QUAE ETIAM EXEMPLAR USTAE PROPOSITUM SEGUI ET IMITARI.

Cum vero haec in re et superiore, puta, in lectione scripturarum, et in precibus, quae præcipe potest simplicitatem Apostolorum sequitur, nullius alterius Ecclesiae morum damnet. Tantum nequid usquam sit contrarium usque Dei, vel quod dignitatem Christi mediatoriae obrucare quiescat. Aliaque in illis externis summa est Ecclesiae libertas, nemo ut id sequantur omnes Episcopi et Ministri, quod suae Ecclesiae maxime expediat ad edificationem, et ad primum gloriae Dei. 

Nam hic cautus est, ne superciliosaque quidquid imponas Ecclesiae, putantes admodum sapere. Nec enim data auctoritas in Ecclesiam nulliusulla, nisi ad edificationem.
(2 Cor. 10:6). Id est inaequandum, ne uilli coetui sua libertas eripiatur, sed fit, si sicut altera alterius exemplum acquir aliter quae in Christo. Exemplo id fieri clarius: aliqua Ecclesia cantu utitur nudo, non jubilatorio, optimo, et sum exemplo sanctissimum Ecclesiae: modus his modis in sinistra medium, et gravitas, qua debeat Ecclesiam Dei. 9

Alii enim modi decet Ecclesiam in Sacris parergasia, ubi sum Deo nobis res est: alii mensam, ubi voluntas curium servire licet. 10 Alius rumorum uides, quae nullo cantu utitur. Hic sine altera ab altera iudicanda?

except for edification. Care must also be taken that no congregation be deprived of its liberty, which is done if one Church is compelled to follow the example of another, otherwise than in Christ. An example will make this clearer: a Church useth a plain style in the singing, not a display of flourishes: in this it doth passing well, and hath the example of the most ancient Church; provided there be in these measures the strictness and gravity that becometh the Church of God.

For some measures become the Church in the performance of Divine Rites, where we have to do with God: others become the table, where it is lawful to serve the pleasure of the ears. Again, one may see another Church that useth no singing. Is the one to be judged herein

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9 So Calvin, *L'apotre au Lecteur* (Corpus Ref. Calvin vi., p. 109): 'Il y a toujours a regarder, qui le chant ne soit pas legier et volage: mais est pois et majeste, comme dit saint Augustin.' Et ainsi il y est grande difference entre la musique qu'on fait pour resiouyr les hommes a table et en leur maison: et entre les psalmes, qui se chantent en l'Eglise, en la presence de Dieu et de ses anges'. For 'modus' and 'nullo cantu', see Appendix A ad fin.

10 Cf. the Morning Service, note 2.
Ibid communi utraque alterius studium, quâ quae naturalis edificationem pertinet utraque pro meritis suorum hominum spectat.

Communi enim fiden, non violat, ceremoniarum externarum in Ecclesiis varietas. Vt non minus doctè quam più docuit Irenæus in compendia illa tristi discordia die Paschae, quam Satan excitavit inter Asianos Episcopos et Europaeos.

Rursum quibudam Ecclesiis satis est quater in anno ocean celebrare: aliis frequentius.

The churches of Asia Minor celebrated the death of Christ on the 14th day of Nisan, and closed the day with the paschal communion. The Roman church, on the other hand, celebrated the death of Christ always on a Friday, and His resurrection on the Sunday following the first full moon after the vernal equinox. An open rupture took place at the end of the 2nd century, when Victor, bishop of Rome, demanded conformity with the Roman practice, and excommunicated the Asian churches. Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, wrote a letter to Victor, in which, while agreeing with him that the resurrection should be observed on the Lord's day, he rebuked him for 'cutting off whole churches of God which observed the tradition of an ancient custom' (Irenæus, 'Church Hist.' V. 24).

The Roman practice gradually prevailed, and at the Council of Nicæa, 325 A.D., was declared to be binding on the whole Church, the Eastern usage being branded with the name of the Quartodeciman heresy.

Calvin in 1537 recommended that the Lord's Supper should be administered every Sunday or at least once a month; but Geneva adopted the Zürich practice of having it only four times a year, on the Sunday nearest to Christmas, at Easter, at Pentecost and on the first Sunday in September. The First Book of Discipline prescribes four times a year, the old festivals being avoided. The Book of Common Order states that the Lord's Supper 'commonly is used once a month'; at the beginning of the Communion Service Peuflain says that it 'is celebrated on the first Sunday of every month'.

by the other? Nay rather, each com-
memor eth the other's zeal, in that each
looketh to the things that make for
edification, in accordance with the
practice of its own members.

For variety in outward ceremonies in
Churches doth no violence to faith, but comemor eth it: as Irenæus showed
with no less learning than piety in
the settlement of that unhappy dispute
about the date of Easter which Satan
had stirred up between the Bishops of
Asia and those of Europe.

Again, it is sufficient for
certain churches to celebrate the
Supper four times a year: others
celebrate it more frequently.
What occasion hath one herein against the other, that the one which communicateth more frequently should condemn that which doth so more rarely, or contrariwise? Provided that on the part of both the glory of God and the edification of the Church have been looked to, naught hindereth them. Nevertheless, almost all Churches have left off the daily use, not unadvisedly, in my opinion; for by such frequent use the thing itself would easily revert to the ancient superstition: to the people, otherwise occupied with the affairs of this life, so frequent a use would be in no wise expedient; and it is not wise to revert to the ancient superstition, if the Ministers and Presbyters alone communicate, for then it may be thought that their act hath efficacy for others, and thus the opinion may prevail that grace is conferred by the sacramental act itself. But no godly person will find fault with the Daily Service. The objection alleged

13 Opus operatum was the term applied to the Roman belief in the mode of the sacramental act, and its efficacy to confer grace of itself.
Evangelica moniti fidelius ad diligentius suum agent officium, et sanctificati per verbum Dei invocationem facilius agent.

Mihil de ostibus hinc praeconis fortasse aliqui murmurabunt. Id una verbo illis respondent uelim. Cum de ostibus ad ministerium adhibitum Paulus nihil uspem docet: Ne tum quidem cum de Eucharistia acturus multisribus suum ornatum praeceptum: quid hic Ecclesiæ Dei iugo uis premere? quanque de dicti festi parte, neque de cibo, neque de potu invidari mult Paulus. In quotidianis usu sit ministerum uestitus modestus ac grauis, ab omni luxu et festu alienis. In eodem ministret populus.

by some, that scribes are called away from their tasks, is nothing: for the service is held for them at dawn, so as to be a good start for the day; to the end that they may do their duty more faithfully and diligently because they have been admonished by the teaching of the Gospel, and more happily because they have been sanctified by the Word and by calling upon God.

Perhances some will murmur because ought hath been her enjoined touching vestments. To such I would make answer in a word, seeing that Paul nowhere teacheth ought concerning the use of vestments for the ministry: not even when being about to treat of the Eucharist he prescribeth to women their proper attire: wherefore wouldst thou in this matter lay a yoke upon the Church of God? which Paul would have no man judge, either in respect of an holiday, or in meat, or in drink. In daily use let the apparel of the ministers be modest and sober, free from all pomp.

14 Cr. 1 Cor. 11.5-15; 2 Tim. 2.9; Col. 2.18.
AD HagiIs AD IECTIOREM.

Nam non est usitibus (nisi iis admodum modestis, et remotis ab omni luxu) dignoscendus & sui; sed uere Dei potestas ac sollicita sedulitate, et omni morum comitate etque benignitate: ut armentarius aliquis non usque à suis quibus agnoscitur, sed sibi, 15 sed cura sedula, et psabulo, et fide custodia. Cùm uerú uideamus quantus abusus sit in usitibus illis, quas nisi carminibus horrendis infectas non admittunt Papistae: 16 aliqui ut sacrar perfag posse putant: nec facilè examinatur hominum anima superstitio, nisi tollentur irritata monta omia: dignum censeo and arrogance. In the same let them minister unto the people. But a minister is to be distinguished from his people not by his garments (save in their exceeding modesty and lack of pomp); but by his power and consent seal in the Word of God, and by his great gentleness and kindness: as a shepherd is known of his sheep not by his garb, but by his call to them, by his diligent care, his feeding of them and his faithful watching over them. But since we see the great abuse that existeth in the case of these vestments, which Papists do not allow unless they have been dyed with dreadful incantations (otherwise they hardly think that


16 An allusion to the blessing of the Eucharistic vestments by th. Bishop, enjoined by the Church of Rome for the alb, maniple, stole and chasuble; and also to their colours, which vary with the season, whilst being worn on the great festivals of our Lord, of the Virgin Mary, of saints who did not suffer martyrdom; red on the festivals of martyrs and of the Holy Cross, and at Whitsuntide; violet on fast days, and so on. The Reformers, in abolishing the Mass, did away with the Mass vestments as well, and substituted a dress taken from daily life. The Church retained till the 18th century the alb or surplice and the chasuble for the celebration of the Communion. In England, the Prayer Book of 1549 still permitted the surplice, alb, chasuble, cappa and tunica; the same bishop the second Prayer Book of Edward VI. allowed only the red girdle (formerly bishop or archbishop) and surplice; and although Elizabeth's Prayer Book of 1559 restored the regulations of 1549, in practice those of the Second Book prevailed.
I in Sacramentorum administratione uidemus quid omissum uidiri possit. In baptismo in primitivus non ignoro quan multa omissa sint, quae etiam antiquissima fuerunt. Sed nulla antiquitas maior est uerbo Dei, quod est antiquitatis ipsa antiquius. Quid autem miratur, si statim post tempora Apostolorum crevit superstitione in Ecclesia, cum ipsis Apostolis iam facessent negotii. Nam si interea haeresici? Cum his adeo gravibus in causis essent contentio doctissimis et sanctissimis uiris

ADMONITIO AD LEKTORUM.

Ecclesiæ Dei summa simplicitate


A WORD TO THE READER.

Divine Service can be conducted; and since the minds of men are not easily purged of superstition except all incitaments be removed: I deem it proper that the Church of God should use the utmost simplicity in this matter. However let it be of more concern to us if one, even the least, be given cause to stumble than ten thousand enemies, who except they were very evil, would in no wise be offended.

Now let us see what may appear to have been left out in the administration of the Sacraments. In Baptism first of all I am well aware how many things, even of great antiquity, have been left out. But there is no antiquity greater than the Word of God, which is older than antiquity itself. Need we wonder, however, that immediately after the times of the Apostles superstition arose in the Church, seeing that heretics were already causing trouble to the Apostles themselves? The most learned and holy Bishops had such controversy with these men over matters

ADMONITIO AD INCOGNITOS.

Episcopus, ut non mirum sit, illos subinde neglectisse quasdam, quae nihil a quibus fuerant toleraturi.

Ne sunt Satanæ arctes.

A WORD TO THE READER.

of grave importance that it is no wonder that they now and again passed over certain things that at another time they would never have tolerated. Such are the arts of Satan.

Nevertheless, as it hath been said, this Church hath left off nothing that is founded on the Word of God. Nor hath it kept aught beyond this, except it tended to edification: as for example that sponsors or sureties present a child for Baptism along with the parent. Now this is very ancient, yet hath no authority of Scripture; but it hath a sufficient reason. For these in name of the Church testify to their faith on behalf of the child, and pledge themselves to the charge of his upbringing. But we have left off any practice thoughtlessly followed by the people, or devised by any one without due consideration, which by the lapse of time had been turned into superstition: such are the tapers, chrism.

The Section that follows is a paraphrase of the rubric of the end of the Baptismal Service in Calvin, C. R. 2. 4. 11: except that Calvin nowhere mentions the sponsors.
ADMIINITIO AD HECTOREM. A WORD TO THE MOTHER.

oil, breathing upon the child, exorcism, and consecration of the water. We see that all these practices were held in such repute and had so increased in number that Baptism itself was now not only invested but well-nigh blotted out, and made of less account than these things. For its whole power was supposed to lie in the exorcism, the consecration of the water, the oil and the chrism.

19 A lighted taper given to the child, or to the godfather, was a sign that he must walk by the light of faith.

Chrysost. means a mixture of oil and balsam, blessed by the Bishop, with which the newly baptized person was anointed, to signify the gift of the Holy Spirit, or to indicate that he was prepared, like a wrestler, to fight the good fight of faith. Oil would have the same meaning if chris:.-. not available. The word 'chrism' is also used to mean the anointing, with oil or chrism.

The breathing upon the baptized person was to signify the gift of the Holy Spirit. Cf. St. John 20, 22.

Exorcism, the ceremony of expelling evil spirits, was used from the 5th century immediately before Baptism. Following the Roman practice Luther retained it; and the Prayer Book of 1549 contained a formula for it, which was omitted in 1552 at Bucer's request.

The giving of milk and honey to the baptized person, which is mentioned below, was in token of his spiritual youth and of his reception of the gifts of the Spirit. Its pagan origin may be inferred from the ancient Roman libatio, in which the Flamen tasted honey with his finger and sprinkled it to the other ministers at sacrifices; and similarly with milk, which was offered instead of wine in a sacrifice to Fortune. Cf. Ben Jonson's 'Sejanus', Act V., Sc.4, where the ancient authorities are quoted.

The white robe or chrisom with which the baptized person was clothed after Baptism signified the innocence and purity of the Christian life upon which he had entered.

In the Prayer Book of 1549, not only was there the formula of exorcism, but anointing, the chrisom, and trine immersion were enjoined; and the baptismal water was to be consecrated once a month. In 1552 these rulings were omitted, and the water was ordered to be consecrated for the occasion, as at the present day.
AMONSTIO AD LECTORUM.  

Seeing then that these errors are so gross, there is no one, unless he be blind, or utterly alienated from God, but seeth that they ought to have been removed. So in times past the fore-taste of milk and honey, the wearing for eight days of a white garment by those who had been baptized, and other such like customs were introduced into the Church very soon after the days of the Apostles: yet no one findeth fault with their omission by those that came after. All the more unjust are they who complain because certain absurdities thoughtlessly employed of late have now been removed by this holy Church for grave reasons. I say no more: it is not for the present time to discuss all points in the institution more precisely. For seeing that this Church followeth as closely as possible the institution of Christ, and the example of the Apostles: what manner of justice will there be in condemning her because she is unwilling to seem wiser than Christ our God and Saviour?
20 In Eucharistiae celebratione, non solum multa evissa, sed toto
sum Messam queruntur abolitam. At
usque ita necessitati, que unque
ebant insanes et Ecclesia Romana,
ut praeterea Christi institutione,
placita hominibus ab
haccerat: in toto Domini nostri
Iesu institutionem sic superisset,
us nihil cuius iam non Sacramentum
populio ministeraretur, sed idolum
popus adorandum extuleretur. An
hac sacrilegium ullam reverentiam
merebatur, ut quiaque illius re-
tineri aut attingi religiosius
(uti normalis uidetur) deberet?
Non hoc dignandum honesto ut quid-
quam inde petitum aut seruatum
laudemus: Itaque Ecclesia ista
cum multis alii spiritum Christi
secula esse retulit ad ipsum divi-
nam institutionem: ut eam quae
simplicissime et fidelissim posset
in usum revocaret. Princi non

In the celebration of the Eucharist
they complain not only that many things
have been left out but that their
whole Mass hath been abolished. But
verily so it was necessary, since the
Church of Rome had come to such a pitch
of madness that passing over Christ's
institution she clave to the opinions
of puny men; nay, she had so seemed
the whole institution of our Lord Jesus,
that with wicked daring she no longer
ministered the Sacrament to the people,
but thrust upon them an idol of bread
to worship. Was this sacrilege de-
serving of any reverence, that ought
of it should have been retained, or
touched with scrupulous hands, as some
are of opinion? It is not to be count-
red worthy of such honour that we should
praise aught derived or retained from
it. Therefore this Church, along
with many others, following the spirit
of Christ, returned to the divine in-
stitution itself; in order to bring it

20 The following section somewhat resembles the note at the end of 'La
Maniere de Celebrer la Cene' in 'La Forne des Priores Se', ut supra (Corpus
Ref. Calvin VI. p 201). Calvin has there the words: 'ce est une chose
bien estrange, que vous l'ayons abolie (la messe)...... C'est voyant le
Sacrament de nostre Seigneur corrompu de tant de vices et horribles ains
qu'un ait ordinatie: nous avons esté contraints, pour y remedier, de
changer beaucoup de choses lesquelles avoyent esté mal introduictes ou pour
le moyen destournad en mauvais usage. Or pour ce faire, nous n'avons
trouve meilleur moyen, ne plus propre, que de revenir a la pure institution
de Jesus Christ'.
ADMONITIO AD LECTIONUM.

possit his diutius immovari, aut
tempest Sword accufando factum,
quod summa laudem mertur, quod-
quique comes quotquot Christi esse
volunt seulo imitari debent.

Proinde hortor et obsacro
pro uisera misericordiae Domini
nostri Jesu Christi; quotquot
conservi nomine ipsius uelint, Reges,
Principes, Episcopos, Pastores, et
Magistratus, quos tangit ulla
munda Dei seuerentia, ne temor 1
Ecclesiam istam, uel quotquot sunt
pi1 fidei eiusdem (adnec tamen sub
ipsorum imperio agentes) damnare
velint: sed potius hoc examplum
tanquam sibi à Deo datum diligent-
ur intuentur, ac sibi imitansum, atque
easiam superandum proponat.

Quod si nonium impietrari pot-
ies: saltem Traianum illum
Romam auorum Imperatorem imitentur,
et iras remittant:21 desinantque

A WORD TO THE READER.

back again into use as simply and as
faithfully as she could. Accordingly
I can no longer tarry upon this sub-
ject, nor waste time in making
excuse for a deed which deserves the
highest praise, and which all who
wish to be Christ's ought diligently
to imitate.

Therefore by the bowels of mercy
of our Lord Jesus Christ I exhort and
beseech as many as are willing to be
enrolled under his name, Kings, *
Princes, Bishops, Pastors and Magis-
trates, who are touched with any
reverence for the will of God, that
they will not rashly condemn this
Church, nor any godly persons of the
same faith still living under their
authority; but rather that they may
diligently consider this example as
given them by God, and set it before
themselves, to be imitated and even
surpassed.

But if this cannot yet be granted,
may they at least imitate the Roman
Emperor Trajan, and abate their wrath;
and may they cease from cruelly

21 The younger Pliny whom proprie of Pontus and Bithynia in 103-105 A.D.,
consulted Trajan as to how he might stop the spread of the Christian
'superstition'. The Emperors replied that Christians were not to be sought
out, nor punished upon anonymous accusations, but were to be punished when
formally accused and convicted. Those who recanted and invoked the gods
were to be pardoned.

Tertullian ('Apology', Ch.2.), followed by Eusebii ('Church History',
III, 33), considered Trajan's 'Rescript' favourable to the Christians. This
opinion is scarcely warranted by Trajan's words. Poullain is here doubtless
quoting again from Eusebii. See the letters in Pliny's 'Letters', II,
27, 28.
AD IHRITIO AD LECTORUM.

porro nihil de ipsis meritur nullus Christi Ecclesiam crudeliter persecut, aut potius Christum ipsum insectori, cogitantes quæm sit difficile a percussi plegen contra stimulum calcitare.


Favit Christus Iesus ut suo spiritu de pulsis ignomianiis ten-chris, lux veritatis ita exor-isatur, ut filio perdicionis agnito, persecutando Christum Christi ecclesiam, neque Christus ipsum insectori, cogitantes quæm sit difficile a percussi plegen contra stimulum calcitare.

A WORD TO THE READER.

persecuting the Church of Christ which hath deserved no ill at their hands, or rather from insulting Christ Himself, considering how hard and how dangerous it is to kick against the pricks (Acts 9.5).

Peradventure we should have said somewhat concerning the remaining ceremonies found in the other Services for Marriage and Repentance and for the Ordination of Ministers of the Church, were not these matters so clear as to need no explanation; and per-chance they will be touched upon in our Aphorisms upon Church Discipline. Let it suffice only to have pointed out that nothing used differently by other Churches is condemned merely from the example of this Church, except it be contrary to the Word of God. For as we have shown above, in ceremonies and all external matters the Church hath the utmost liberty: provided only that all things serve edification, order and decency.

May Christ Jesus grant that the darkness of ignorance being dispelled by His Spirit, the light of truth may so spring up that the son of perdiction
ADMONITIO AD LECTORUM.

ac prorsus exturbato agnoscatur ab omnibus Christus verus pastor, ac caput unicum Ecclesiae suae, Idenque regnat in cordibus omnium in aeternum,

Amen.
S. D. G. M.

22

A WORD TO THE READER.

being recognized and utterly cast out, Christ may be acknowledged by all as the true Pastor and sole Head of His Church, and that He may reign in the hearts of all for ever.

Amen.

Glory to God alone, the Wisest and Greatest.

22 As at the end of the 'Epistola Nuncupatoria', q.v.
PROFESSIO FIDHII CATHOLICAE,

quam omnes publice approbare ac subscriptione confirmare oportet priusquam aut Ecclesiae acconsenttur, aut sacramentis ualla in partes communicent in Ecclesia Peregrinorum Francofordiae.

Cum nihil sit homine Christiano uel dignius, uel magis foélix, ad quem solum pertineat summum illud bonum, quod mortales omnes expetunt: operae pretium est, ut unusquisque certe sciat quo constet uerus Christianismus.

Non nascimur sed renascimur Christiani.

Porrò illud omnibus in confesso est, haudquaquam nos à prima nostra origine Christianos esse: sed fieri, aut, si mauis, renasci ac regigni. Namque primo illo nostro ortu cum toti simus damnati Decque aduersarij: certè ne tantillum quidem in nobis habemus opis ad consequendum Christianismum, nisi nos Deus regignat, ac totos reformat.

Ratio Christianismi: Ioan. I.

A PROFESSION1 OF THE CATHOLIC FAITH

which all must publicly approve and confirm with their signature before they can either be enrolled as members of the Church, or communicate in any way in the Sacraments, in the Church of the Strangers at Frankfort.

Seeing that there existeth nothing worthier than a Christian man, or more happy, since he alone possesseth that Highest Good which all mortals earnestly seek: it is well worth while that everyone should know for a certainty wherein true Christianity consisteth.

We are not born, but born again Christians.

Moreover it is acknowledged by all that we are in no wise Christians from our first estate, but become, or rather are reborn and begotten again as Christians. For since at our birth we are wholly under condemnation and at enmity with God, we have certainly no power at all in ourselves to attain to Christianity, except God beget us anew and reform us wholly,

The doctrine of Christianity: John I.

1 Or 'Confession'; and so throughout with the verb 'profiteor', which is used rather than 'confiteor' to imply that the confession was made publicly.
PROFESSIO FIDEI CATH.

Id quod luculentè satia Ioannes docet, simul quâ ratione Christianismum consequamur ostendens, cum dicit, Datum hominibus pro- testamentum, ut filii Dei flant, creditibus in nomen ipsius un- sanguine, aut ex voluntate carnis, aut voluntate uiri, sed ex Deo re- natis. Pernecssitatem itaque fuerit in prmis nosse, quid aut quale sit illud credere, quo à Deo regignimur, ac filii Dei, hoc est, Christiani efficiemur.

Credere quid.

Sic itaque dicimus. Credere, est certissimè persuasum esse de benevolentia et favore Dei erga nos, spiritu sancto mentes nostras lumine suo perfundente atque ob- signantes cordibus nostris hanc certissi. persuasione, quo simus adoptati in filios Dei per Christum.

Fundamentum fidei.

Atque huius fidei fundamentum unicum existit sacrarum literarum, quas nobis prophetae et Apostoli dictante spiritu sancto scriptas reliquum.

as John teacheth with sufficient clear- ness; shewing at the same time in what manner we attain to Christianity, when he saith, that power hath been given to men to become sons of God, even to them that believe on the name of His only begotten; which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but born again of God. It will therefore be most necessary first of all to know the substance or nature of that belief whereby we are begotten again of God, and made sons of God, that is, Christians.

What Belief is.

Therefore we say: To believe is to be most firmly persuaded of God's goodwill and favour toward us, the Holy Spirit shedding abroad His light in our minds, and sealing unto our hearts the sure conviction that we are adopted as sons of God through Christ.

The Foundation of Faith.

And the sole foundation of this faith is the Holy Scriptures left to us by the Prophets and Apostles, who wrote as the Holy Spirit dictated.
Cuius doctrinae estat in Ecclesia
compendium quoddam quod symbolum
Apost. usus est: quod tanquam grammatical
utentur rudiores ad iudicio et
deinque omnem doctrinam. Illud
pereat sic habet.

Symbolum Apostolorum.

Credo in Deum patrem omni-
:patentem, creatorem caeli et
terræ.

Et in Jesum Christum filium
cius unicum Dominum nostrum:
qui conceptus est de spiritu
sancto, natus ex Maria virgine,
passus sub Pontio Pilato,
 Crucifixus, mortuus, et sepul-
:crum est, descendit ad inferna;
tertia die resurrexit et mortuos:
ascendit ad coelos, sedet ad
dexteram Dei patris omnipotentis,
:inde venturus judicaret vivos et
mortuos.

Credo in spiritum sanctum:
Sanctam Ecclesiam Cathol-
:icam, sanctorum communionem,
remissionem peccatorum, carnis
resurrectionem, et uitam aeter-
:nam. Quam largiatur nobis
Deus per Christum.

Symboli secetio.

Symbolum istud cum universa

PROFESSION OF CATHOLIC FAITH.

There existeth in the Church a cer-
tain summary of this doctrine, called
the Apostles' Creed: which is to be
used by the less instructed as a guide
for the sifting of every doctrine in
turn. Now it is contained in these
words.

The Apostles' Creed.

I believe in God the Father
Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth.

And in Jesus Christ his only Son
our Lord, Who was conceived by the
Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary,
suffered under Pontius Pilate, was
crucified, dead, and buried. He
descended into hell, the third day
He rose again from the dead: He
ascended into heaven, and sitteth on
the right hand of God the Father
Almighty, from thence He shall come
to judge the quick and the dead.

I believe in the Holy Ghost:
The holy Catholic Church, the
Communion of Saints, the forgiveness
of sins, the resurrection of the
body, and the life everlasting: which
may God bestow upon us through Christ.

The divisions of the Creed.

This Creed, with the whole doctrine
PROFESSION OF CATHOLIC FAITH.

of Christianity, is properly divided into four parts, or principal heads.

The first is concerning God, and God the Father. The second is concerning His Son Jesus Christ. The third is concerning the Holy Spirit. The fourth is concerning the Church. We have now to speak of these as simply as possible in their order.

2 The Confession of the English congregation at Geneva, 1556, is a very short exposition of the Creed, dividing it as Poullain does into four heads, and under the fourth giving the first, third and fourth of his Marks of the visible Church. Calvin's Catechism contains the same fourfold division of the Creed.

The Scottish Confession of 1560 is a much longer and more polemical document than the Geneva one of 1556, though it is much shorter than Poullain's. (Cf. note 6 below.) It also begins with an exposition of the Creed. The Book of Common Order (Knox's Liturgy) incorporated into its Baptismal Service the Genevan Confession, which may be regarded as an abridged form of Poullain's 'Professio'.

The germ of these expositions of the Creed may be traced in the following passage from the Strassburg (1545) edition only of Calvin's 'La Doxome'. After the Creed in the Baptismal Service that edition inserts before the words 'Vous promettez Doncques, de mettre peine de l'instruire en toute ceste doctrine' this short explanation:

'Dont le sens est cet tel: Que nous protétons d'avoir un seul Dieu, lequel nous adorons: auquel nous rendons toute louange et gloire, lequel seul nous invoquons en toute nos nécessites et auquel nous rendons action de grace de tous les biens qui nous visent. En après qu'en une seule essence divine, nous reconnains le Père, le Fils et le saint Esprit. Parceillement que nous recevons pour certaine vérité l'histoire qui est escripte en L'evangile touchant la Conception, Nativité, Mort, Resurrection et Ascension de nostre Seul Dieu, et qu'il faut attendre une fois, fuge de tout le monde: et pour ce que tout ce qu'il a fait est souffert pour nous, ne doit pas estre vain ne inutile, il convient que nous tenant la somme et toutes les parties de nostre salut situees en ces choses qui sont icy recordes.

Item que par la grace et vertu du saint Esprit, nous sommes fait participans de nostre Seul Dieu et de tous ses biens. Et pour ceste cause nous adorons, que nous croyons la sainte Eglise: car Dieu nous regenera de son Esprit en son Eglise par le Ministeres de sa Parole et de ses Sacrements.

Item que nous esperons, que Dieu par sa misericorde restera toujours les fonde a tous les membres de son Eglise: Les entretienant et conservant jusqu'à la resurrection bien heureuse, par laquelle ils entreront en la vie eternelle.'
F'RIPIISSIO

PARS PRIMA.

Deus cognosci non potest, nisi per Christum.
Quae cognitio Dei in Christo
reuelata. Deus quid.

Quod hanc partem attinet, seire
illum in primis oportet, Nos neque
nuissse, neque adeo posse ad salu-
:tem cognoscere Deum nisi filio
: docente, et reuelante: in quo uidel-
:icet uno id de Deo discamus,
quanto favore, quanto benevolentia
: nos prosequatur patér coelestis.
Atque haestemos simus contenti. Dis-
:sums itaque quam simplicissimè
Deum definientes iuxta literas
sacras, Deus est spiritus aeternus
: ex se subsistens abshiue
: principio, fine
: carere, in quo omnis potencia,
: dominatus, bonitas, iustitia,
: sapientia, ea demique virtus omnis:
: qui cuncta e nihilo creavit solo
uerbo, atque codem sustinet, per-
:petuat, regit et moderatur solo
uerbo et providentia sua: qui pro
sua clementi misericordia, nobis
omnia peccata condonat:

Trinitas.

et quamvis unus idemque simplici-
:issimus existit, attamen est

PROFESSION OF CATHOLIC FAITH.

THE FIRST PART.

God cannot be known, save through
Christ. The nature of that
knowledge of God which is revealed
in Christ. What God is.

With regard to this part, it must
in the first place be recognised that
we neither know God nor are so much as
capable of learning to know God unto
salvation, save by the teaching and
revelation of His Son: in Whom alone,
to wit, we learn concerning God, what
favour and goodwill the heavenly
Father sheweth unto us; and with this
let us be content. We will therefore
give this definition of God, in the
simplest words possible, according to
the Holy Scripture: God is a Spirit,
 eternal, subsisting of Himself without
beginning or end, in Whom is all power,
dominion, goodness, justice and wisdom,
yea all virtue; Who created all things
out of nothing by His Word alone, and
sustaineth, preserveth, ruleth and gov-
erneth them by the same His Word and
providence alone; Who of His tender
mercy forgiveth us all our sins;

The Trinity.

and although He is one and indivisible,
yet He is distinct in the three Persons.
PROFESSIO FIDEI CATH.

of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, which Persons are so distinct that the Father is not the Son, neither the Son the Holy Spirit; nevertheless they are one God, of one and the same essence, power and wisdom, and of all virtue and eternity: 'Whom to know is life everlasting.'

'I believe in God the Father':
The reasons wherefore He is called the Father.

God the Father is neither the Son nor the Holy Spirit; but begotten of the Son by an eternal generation: although He Himself hath been begotten by none. And we believe in Him as our God, the Father Almighty, etc.

1.) By the name of Father we profess that He is the first beginning, the original source, and the first efficient cause of all things: and although all things subsist through Him, yet He Himself, subsisting through Himself, hath no other source whence He is than Himself.

2.) Besides, He is most truly called the Father in respect of His only-begotten Son, the second Person in the divine Trinity, Whom He hath begotten from eternity of His own essence.

PROFESSIO OF CATHOLIC FAITH.

tribus distinctus personis patris filij, et spiritus sancti sic distinctis, ut pater non sit filius, neque filius sit spiritus sanctus: sint tamen unus Deus, unus siudemque essentiae, potentiae, sapientiae, atque omnis virtutis et sempiternitatis: quem nosse est uita aeterna."

'Credo in Deum patrem' .
Caussa cur pater dicatur.

Deus pater
neque filius est, neque spiritus sanctus: sed dignit sempiterna generatione filium: cum ipse à nullo sit genitus. Atque in sum ipsum Deum nostrum credimus, patrem omnipotentem etc.

1.) Nomine patris profitemur, illum esse primum principium, fontem omnium principium, fontem omni fontem omnium omnium rerum: per quem cum subsistant omnia, ipse tamen por se subsistens haudi alimnde habet ut sit quam à seipso.

2.) Praetera pater uerissimè appellatur ratione filij sui unigeniti (qui est altera persona in d. triade) quem et aterno ex sua ipsius essentia genuit.
PROFESSION OF CATHOLIC FAITH.

2.) Denique patrem quoque nostrum agnosimus, non tantum qui simus ab eo creati, ut reliquae creatae: sed qui simus eius filii, non natura quidem, sicuti ille est, qui unus est cum ipso Deus, uerum adoptione.

Electio.

Hempe quodd nos per solam Clementiam suam ante mundi constitutionem elegerit, nulla ratione habita bonissimus quod in nobis forset: ac postea suo tempore iam ab asterno sic praecipito redemit per sanguinem filij sui:

Vocatio.

et postremo tandem cum mortui essemus per peccatum, atque adeo toti irae filij maledictoque obnoxij, ipsae pro sua tantum misericordia, qua nos elegerat uocatus per Evangelium praelectionem, semine spirituali usuri sui resigunt: ens in nouam creaturam, fecit ut essemus filij adoptionis, spiritum sancto haece omnia operante atque obsessante in nobis.

Reinascens. 1. Bonitas Dei.

Cum itaque credimus et

PROFESSION OF CATHOLIC FAITH.

3.) Finally, we acknowledge Him also as our Father, not only because we have been made by Him, like the rest of His creation, but because we are His sons, not indeed by nature, as He is that is one God with Himself, but by adoption:

Election.

for that of His mercy alone He elected us before the foundation of the world, taking no account of any good that might be in us; and afterwards in His own time, so determined already beforehand from eternity, He redeemed us through the blood of His Son:

Calling.

and finally at length, when we were dead through sin, yea wholly under the Son's wrath and the curse, He Himself, merely of His mercy wherewith He had elected us, called us by the preaching of the Gospel, and begatting us again into a new creature by the spiritual seed of His Word, made us sons of the adoption, the Holy Spirit working and sealing all these things in us.

The new birth. 1. The goodness of God.

Therefore when we believe and
PROFESSION OF CATHOLIC FAITH.

profess Him to be our Father, we feel and acknowledge in Him indeed His infinite goodness and goodwill towards us: so that without any distrust we dare to lean upon Him alone: not hoping or longing for any good save from Him only.

'Almighty'.

Furthermore we profess that He is almighty, seeing that He is able to do all whatsoever He willeth: and not only this, but by the name of His omnipotence I acknowledge also that there is no other power, dignity, or excellence in those that are in heaven or earth, save that which He Himself hath conferred.

2. The Power of God.

With the more boldness therefore we put all confidence in Him alone, being most surely persuaded that He not only wisheth well because He is the Father of all goodness, but also can perform it, since He is God almighty. Therefore now is all vain fear removed from our mind, and foolish trust in all creatures of whatsoever kind they be: which truly have no strength save God's will and commandment.

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PROFESSIO FIDEI CATH.

profitesur cum eas patrem nostrum, in eo sanè immensam eius bonitatem et benevolentiam erga nos sentimus et agnoscemus: ut abeque diffic.-

'Omnipotentem'.

Profiteamus insuper omnipotent-

em, qui omnia quaeconque usit posuit. Nique is modo, necum illud estiam nomine omnipotentiae agnosco: nullem praeterea esse potentiam,

cognitatem, seu excellentiam in coel-

2. Potentia Dei.

Quò sanè confidentiuss in illum unum fiduciam omnes collo-

:quam autem certius esse persuasi quod

non solum usit bunä quia pater est optimus sed et praestare illud posuit, cum sit Deus om-

:ipotes. Proinde iam animo nostro metus omnia eximitur

:umus, sulturque fiducia creatur-

:arum omnium quaelcumque iliae sint: quorum proreus est nulla

:uis, nisi volente ac iubente

Dec.
'Creatorem caeli et terrae'.

Denique profitemur creatorem caeli et terrae. No non solum agnoscentes illius incomprehensibilitatem, et infinitam potentiam; sed cum his etiam coniunctas sapientiam ac prudentialiam. Itaque quemadmodum de illius bonitate et omnipotentia persuasim nihil dubitamus quin ille nobis tantum velit quod est optimum idem:que possit suo tempore praestare:

3. Sapientia Dei.

Similiter de illius sapientiae certissimi sumus, quod ipse probo nonit quaecunque uoce nobis bona sunt, utilia, et salutaria, ideo quaeliaque sunt aut uidetur ea quae subinde nobis eueniunt: ille tamem nonit ea suis convertere in usum bonum et salutarem, et ad sui nominis gloriam.

4. Prudentialia Dei.

Postremo sic de prudentialia statuimus, quinque quae fiunt aut eueniunt esse ipsi Deo certissimae ab aeterno praecussa, cognita, et constituta, atque ad suo praesentia

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'Maker of heaven and earth'.

Finally we profess that He is maker of heaven and earth: thereby acknowledging not only that His goodness is incomprehensible and His power infinite, but also that His wisdom and providence are conjoined with them. Wherefore just as we are persuaded of His goodness and omnipotence, doubting not that He willeth us only what is best, and can perform the same at His own time:

3. The Wisdom of God.

so likewise touching His wisdom we are most sure that He Himself well knoweth whatsoever things are truly good, expedient and profitable for us. Nay, whatever may be or seem the nature of the things that continually befall us: nevertheless He knoweth how to turn them to His people's profit and salvation, and to the glory of His own name.

4. The Providence of God.

Finally, concerning His providence we hold that all things that are done or happen are most surely foreseen, known, and appointed by God Himself from eternity, yea even that they are present
professio fidei cath.

Priusquam reuera existant, siet, aut sio coniant; priindique mundum unicum sio regi at ipso uno, nihil ut in eo fiat, uel accidat, nisi Dei solius arbitratio et voluntate.

Deus non est ullius peccati auter.

Non qui peccati ullius proprietatis auter Deus faciamus, cum sit ipso is Deus, cui nulla placert possit iniquitates. Pecatum porro quod in factis hominum existit ab ipseorurn est voluntate prae, non a Deo iustissimo et iustissimis omnis annuntiisimo. Ex hoc porro tantam fiduciam concipimus, ut illi uni lubentiss. uitam hanc, et cuncta nostra coedam, quod nos suar arbitratu gubernet ad nostram salutem, et suam gloriam. Neque propertere unicum nobis coosias arbitrarium: sed laborandum nobis our sit in sua cuique vocatim, ut illi obediamus, omium nostrorum laborum, conseatum, consiliorum, atque operum finem, exitum, ac suoscessum at illo uno dare et concedi profiterur et credimus.

Obedience.

Quapropter lubentiss. illi

to Him before they really exist, are done or thus happen; and therefore that the whole world is so ruled by Him alone, that nothing is done or happeneth therein, save by the will and pleasure of God alone.

God is not the author of any sin.

This is not to say that we make God the author of any sin, seeing that He Himself is a God that cannot have pleasure in any iniquity. Moreover the sin that lieth in the deeds of men is from their own wicked will, not from God, Who is most righteous and loveth all righteousness. From this moreover we gain such confidence that we cheerfully entrust to Him alone this life and all that is ours, that He may govern us according to His will, for our salvation and His own glory. Nor do we deem that we should live at once on that account: but since we must labour each in his own calling, that we may obey Him, we profess and believe that the end, the issue and the success of all our labours, endeavours, plans and works are given and vouchsafed by Him alone.

Obedience.

Therefore we most cheerfully submit
professio fidelis cath.

nos subijicimus ad omem obedientiam
omnia quae cument (cum non aliunde
esse possint quum ab ipso) accipi-
endi et ferendi seque animo
indicantes. Inde quoque fiduciam
concipimus maximum: aduersus um
omem contrarium; ne quid forte
metuamus praeter unum Deum: ne
cuiquam fidamus nisi unum Deo.
Collocata sic omni fiducia salutis
in unico Deo nostro, nos ommem
potentiam, dignitatem, excellentiam,
sapieniam, bonitatem, virtutem
denique omem repudiamus, nisi quae
sit ab illo profecta et constitutæ.

Religio.

Qui uni servire et obsequi est ani-
mus: quem unum quoque decet omnis
honor et gloria: unalere iussis om-
nibus operibus morticinis pecati
in quibus olim uiximus:

Idolatria.

similque renunciamus Idolatriae
(quam esse interpretar quernus
cultum, quem hanc praecebit
praestare Deo absque ipsius uerbo,
cum fiducia uniuerse qualicunque
nostra in creaturas, aut quasuis
ipsarum dotes, ac in nostra

profession of catholic faith.

ourselves to Him in all obedience,
deeming that all things which happen
must be received and borne with pa-
ience, since they can come from no
other than Himself. Thence also we
gain the greatest confidence against
every opposing power: lest para-
venture we fear aught but God alone,
or trust in any save God alone. Hav-
ing thus placed all hope of salvation
in our God alone, we reject all power,
worthiness, excellence, wisdom, good-
ness, yea all virtue, save that which
hath been promoted and established by
Him.

Religion.

Our desire is to serve and obey Him
alone, to Whom alone also properly be-
longeth all honour and glory: and
we bid farewell to all the dead works
of sin in which we lived in time past.

Idolatry.

At the same time we renounce Idolatry:
by which we mean any worship that man
presumeth to offer to God contrary to
His Word, with our whole trust of any
kind whatsoever in creatures or in any
of their gifts, and in any works
whatsoever of our own; and we declare
PROFESSION OF CATHOLIC FAITH.

that we wish to serve the one God without whole heart in spirit and in truth throughout the whole course of this life, with the continual help of His Holy Spirit: Whom we pray that He may never forsake us.

Man's creation.

Now when we profess that all things were created by God, we wish it at the same time also to be understood that we were created and formed by Him; yet not after the common fashion, in order that He might shew forth in us, that is, in man, the excellence of His goodness, wisdom and providence far more effectually and eminently than in all the rest of the creatures, which He Himself was pleased to make subject unto the uses and necessities of men.

Finis.

Moreover He created man to the end that He should be worshipped and glorified especially by him.

The Image of God.

and therefore He made him after His own image and likeness, giving him, to wit, a soul which is a spirit, as

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Hominis creatio.

Hic dum & Deo creatae omnia profiteri: nam, simul id quoque uolumus intelligi: nos ab ipso creatos et formatos. Attamen non vulgariter, ut in nobis, hoc est, in hominem declararet suae bonitatis, sapientiae, et providentiae praestantium longe efficacius atque excellentius, quam in reliquis omnibus creatis quae ipse uoluit hominum usibus et necessitatibus esse subjecta.

Imago Dei

Ido6cjue ilium fecit ad imaginem et similitudinem suam: data scilicet anima, quae spiritus est,
ut ipsae Dei, atque etiam immortalis, tametsi principium habeat. Quam quidem animam dotibus omnibus excurvat sua bonitatis, potentiae, sapientiae, sanctitatis, iustitiae ac virtutum omnium, adeo quod in homine quasi occulo Deum ipsum cernere.

Pecatum.

Verum enimuerò dignitatis ac praecellentiae hulius suae parum sequus aestimator primus homo, cum sua (quae tum liberrima fuit) potius, quæm voluntati Dei obtenerère, machiasset, astutia satanæ et mulieris illestris incitatus mandatum quod A Deo suo accoperat violavit.

Mors.

Quo iratus Deus, max illum (uti antea minatus fuerat) morti addixit. Etenim anima quam-primum dotibus omnibus iustitiae et sanctitatis, quas suprà memorauimus, extra est, relicta tamen immortalitate: quæ nihil quam miserior uideri potuit.

God Himself is, and also immortal, albeit it hath a beginning. And this soul He adorned with all the gifts of His own goodness, power, wisdom, holiness and justice, yea of all His virtues, so that in man God Himself might be discerned as if by the eye.

Sin.

But of a truth the first man was but a poor judge of the worth of this his dignity and pre-eminence: for he chose to obey his own will, which was then most free, rather than the will of God; and being enticed by the craft of Satan and the woman's wiles he broke the commandment that he had received from His God.

Death.

Therefore God was angry, and as He had before threatened, presently delivered him up to death. For his soul was straightway stripped of all the gifts of righteousness and holiness before mentioned, yet immortality was left to it; whereby it could only have seemed more miserable, had not a
Deliverer come. His body itself also straightway lost the uncommon gifts wherewith it was endowed, being made subject to death, and to all those things that accompany death: such as diseases, old age, and every kind of weakness and corruption. This man became by far the most miserable, being stripped of innocence, righteousness and the other virtues, and sunk in blind ignorance of God and deep ingratitude:

Original sin or corruption in man,

whereby he is at all times wholly and utterly prone to all sin and rebellion against God; until the understanding and the will have become so corrupt in him that now he hath neither the knowledge nor the power, may nor even the will to raise himself; so far is he from being able to acquire any merit whereby he may in some measure call forth and turn to himself God's mercy. But now of his own accord obeying Satan and his own lust, he doth all things ill, and nothing well or righteously, as long as it is not vouchsafed him to be born again of the Holy Spirit and delivered from this corruption. Being thus changed through sin, not in
sed in sua ipsius natura, desiit esse ad imaginem Dei, diaboli imagine induta cui sese subiecit. Nam qui ante filius erat gratiae, iam factus est irae filius. Cui quamuis manerint intellectus et voluntas, nulla tamen superest facultas aut libertas, ut quaeat quod uerò bonum est eligere aut malum fugere: quinimo nono libero voluntatis ac mentalis sua arbitratio: tu malum amat, inque illud ruit: odi uerò ac fugit Deum atque quidquid est uerò bonum. Proinde homo quilibet a suo primo ortu corruptus, et uitiatus, reus est irae Dei mortisque aeternae. Id quod de meipso profiteor ac deploro.

Enim ergò Deus noster divus misericordia, sic prolapsum hominem:em miseratus filium suum unigenitum dedit, qui tantae miseriae suppetias ferret, atque hominem ab hoc maledicto liberatum, Satanaeque servitio uindicatum sibi reconciliaret iuxta decretum voluntatis suae iam anto iacta mundi fundamenta constitutum: ut perinde ac restituti respect of qualities, but in his own nature, he hath ceased to be in the likeness of God, and hath put on the likeness of the devil, to whom he hath made himself subject. For whereas before he was a child of grace, now he is become a child of wrath; and although his understanding and will have remained, yet hath he no power or freedom left, to be able to choose what is truly good or to flee from evil: nay rather doth he now love evil by the free choice of his own will and mind, and rusheth headlong thereinto; but he hateth and fleeth from God and whatsoever is truly good. Wherefore every man, being corrupt and marred from his very birth, is under condemnation of the wrath of God and of eternal death. That I myself am in this case I profess and bitterly lament.

But verily our God, rich in mercy, had compassion on man thus fallen, and gave His only-begotten Son to bring succour to such great misery, and to set man free from this curse, to deliver him from slavery to Satan, and to reconcile him to Himself, according to the decree of His own will already determined before the foundations of the world were laid: to the end that
PROFESSIO FIDEI CATH.

natalibus\(^4\) quotquot evangelium ipsius reciperunt regignantur in filios adoptionis aeterni dei, cumque filio suo haereditatem regni coelestis uitae immortalis adcant.

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as many as have received His Gospel may, even as if restored to their birth-right, be begotten again as sons of the adoption of the eternal God, and may enter with His own Son into the inheritance of the immortal life of the heavenly Kingdom.

PARS ALTERA DE FILIO IESU CHRISTO

'Et in Iesum Christum filium eius unicum'.
Jesus Christus unus Deus:
Christus homo factus.
'Qui conceptus est de spiritu sancto, natus ex Maria virgine'.

And in Jesus Christ His only Son'.
Jesus Christ is true God:
Christ became man.
'Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary'.

Idem quod prius dictum est pro-
:fitomur, filium esse Deum unum cum patre, genitus ab aeterno, coëssent-
:ialem, consubstantialem ac coetern-
:um, perque omnia aequalem. Ipse

We profess also what hath been said before, that the Son is one God with the Father, begotten from eternity, of the same essence, substance and eternity, and equal in all respects.

\(^4\) 'Natalibus restitutio' was the technical term in Roman Law for the process by which a libertinus or freedman received from the Emperor the full status of an ingenuus or free-born citizen. The use of the word 'restitutio' involved the legal 'fictio' that all were originally born free. Digest 40, tit. 10, 11; cf. Maine, 'Ancient Law', chaps. II and V, on legal fictions.
PROFESSIO FILII CATH.

He Himself is by nature the only Son of God, the true and proper image of the Father; yet to regain the inheritance lost by Adam's fall He disdained not to take upon Him our nature, that He might become a man, flesh of our flesh, like unto us in all points, but without sin. For verily when the time was come which God had determined before the beginnings of the world, He Himself, the Son of God, the second Person of the divine Trinity, was made man, being conceived and begotten by the power alone of the Holy Ghost performing it in the womb of the Virgin Mary out of her very substance or seed, without any man's agency or union.

Christus simul Deus et homo.

Credeo ac profitoer hunc Marian filium Iesum Christum hominem sincere etiam uerum Deum, qui orat etenim, altera uidelicet d. triadis persona, existentibus in una persona seu sponte naturis utrisque divina et humana, absque utraque mutacione, conversione, commixtione, aut confusione utrisque uel alterius naturae.

PROFESSIO OF CATHOLIC FAITH.

est unius naturae filius Dei, uera et propria image patris: qui non est designatus, quod perditam Adam lapsu haereditatem recuperaret, sibi aptare naturam nostram, ut homo fieret, cero de carne nostra nobis per omnia simillimus dempto pessato. Cum enim tempus a Deo ante mundi exordia constitutum ipsa Dei filius altera d. triadis persona factus homo est conceptus et genitus sole spiritus sancti uirtute agentis in utero virginis Mariae ex ipseisma eius substantiae seu semina nullius uiri adiuncta opera, vel commixtione.

5 See Fausanion 'On the Creed', Art. III, Chap. I, 10-12, for a discussion of the heresies here referred to regarding the two distinct natures of Christ.
Christ is free from all sin.

Moreover I believe and profess this man Jesus Christ (although He is of the same nature with us, and was made man of the same substance, which He took from the virgin) to be a new creature, pure and free from all stain of sin, no less than Adam was when he had been fashioned before sin.

Why Christ was subject to death.

Moreover although this Jesus Christ was thus pure, holy and just, and therefore free and exempt from all charge of sin, to which we are all by nature exposed: nevertheless after that He had taken upon Him our flesh with all its infirmities, save only sin, He willingly made Himself also subject unto death. But since there was in Him no stain or charge of sin, and He Himself was the Son of God, yea, God also: this man, being filled with the substance of the Godhead, and with every grace of the Holy Spirit, could not be vanquished by sin, as Adam was; He could not even be holden of death itself. Why though He submitted to death itself in the flesh, yet being quickened by the Spirit He...
nobilis aeternam redemptionem adoptus est apud thronum justitiae et misericordiae Dei, pro omnibus electis qui in ipsum crediderunt, aut credituri essent. Itaque factum est, ut quemadmodum Adamus sua praearicatione corruptit, utiamit, ac perdidit unà secum posteritatem suam universam, quae generatione carnali ex ipso ortum habet: sic Christus genus suum universum, nemptè omnes electos, qui ex semine ipsius spirituali uirtute spiritus sancti resuscitatus, in integrum restituit, idoneosque reddit adeundae immortalitati.

Profiteor igitur et credo Iesum Christum uerum et aeternum Dei filium secundum naturam divinam quae in ipso est, atque etiam secundum assumptam humanitatem uerum Mariae filium in tempore natum, apparuisse uenisseque in mundum in carne nostra: ut pro peccatis omnium satisfaceret, omnibusque uitam promeretur aeternam.

\[\text{'Passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus'.}\]

Atque id totum perfecit cum iudicio Pontij Pilati mortem

\[\text{'Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified'.}\]

And this He accomplished fully when by the judgement of Pontius

Therefore I profess and believe that Jesus Christ, the true and eternal Son of God according to the divine nature that is in Himself, and likewise the true Son of Mary, born in time, according to the human nature that He took upon Him, appeared and came into the world in our flesh, to make satisfaction for the sins of all, and to earn for all life eternal.
PROFESSION OF CATHOLIC FAITH.

Pilate He underwent a cruel and dreadful death, shameful, yea accursed (albeit by the same judgment the judge himself pronounced Him just and innocent), and was crucified like some malefactor; to the end that He Himself in His own body might bear the curse that was awaiting us, and having taken it wholly upon Himself might consume and destroy it. Finally in order that all men might have the greater certainty of His death, His lifeless body was openly taken down from the cross and laid in the sepulchre.

Dead, and buried, He descended into hell.

And last peradventure there should seem to be lacking aught of our curse that He had not taken upon Himself, He descended also into hell. For when He was dying He endured all the sharpness of death, with the weight of God's wrath, like unto a sinner; wherefore He cried out upon the cross that He also had been forsaken of God. But when He was dead, although in the body He lay in the sepulchre, His soul was in hell, that is, in the state of the dead, being truly separated from the body.
PROFESSION OF CATHOLIC FAITH.

'The third day He rose again from the dead'.

But when He had undergone all things to which by God's just judgment we had been condemned, in order that God's justice should be satisfied completely: by His own power He returned to life on the third day, taking again His body, which though laid in the sepulchre could not suffer corruption, even as His soul could not be kept in hell. Thereby He openly showed that He is truly God, and hath power over death, sin, and hell; and finally, that He is Lord over all. And I for my part acknowledge, confess and believe Him.

But since it was not seemly that He that was truly the Son of God should suffer so many things in vain: God the Father of mercies, harkening unto His Son Jesus Christ, hath ordained by an eternal decree that this death shall be imputed unto all that believe in His Son, for full and absolute discharge of all sins, and for justice fulfilled; whereby they may have a sure hope of returning again into the lost inheritance of eternal life.
PROFESSION OF CATHOLIC FAITH.

Christus Prophetæa.

Ergò factus est Iesus Christus nobis Emmanuel et Messias, hoc est, unctus propheta noster, qui nos quam certissimos faciat huius benevolentiae Dei patris, qua nos omnibus ad salutem necessariis rebus beare mult, nempe, peccatorum dimissione et justificatione plenissima.

Sacerdos.

Deinde sacerdos et pontifex qui non alienam hostiam sed semetipsum patri obtulit in sacrificium pro totius mundi peccatis omnibus.

Rex.

Denique rex noster, qui dominatum et potestatem habere se supra peccatum, mortem, et infernum atque omnes creaturas manifestissimè declaravit, suos omnes sibi afferens, ab omni aliena servitute spirituali uindicatos in libertatem filiorum Dei: ut sibi tantum sint obnoxij, serviant atque obedient. Proinde cum filius Dei factus homo se declarauerit verum prophetam,
Professio Fidei Cath.

Sacredote ac regem nostrum, qui unctus esset oleo non corporali illo et terreno, sed coelesti et spirituali, ipso nempe spiritu sancto: ego in hunc unum fidem ac spem et fiduciam ommem collocbo, eique soli honorem uniuersum uerae subiectionis atque obedientiae attribuo: valere iussis caeteris omnibus doctrinis peregrinis et sacrificiis ac mandatis qualibuscunque quae non sint ipsius Christi, neque ullo eius verbo doceri aut comprobari possint.

Ascendit in coelum, sedet ad dextram Dei patris omnipotentis.

Credo et profiteor Iesum Christum postquam omnia perfecisset ad salutem nostram necessaria quorum: unque gratia nostram ille carmem sumpepret, post denique confirmatam et comprobatam suae a mortuis resurrectionis veritatem: Ascendit in coelum, imo supra omnes coelos: ubi consedit ad dextram dei patris, omem adeptus potestatem et dominatum supra omnes creaturas, tum quae in coelis sunt, tum quae in terris degunt. Atque ita factus

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Himself our true Prophet, Priest and King, anointed not with material and earthly oil, but with heavenly and spiritual oil, to wit, with the Holy Ghost Himself: I place all faith, hope and confidence in Him alone, and ascribe unto Him alone the whole honour of true submission and obedience; bidding farewell to all other strange doctrines, sacrifices and commandments whatsoever, that are not of Christ Himself, and cannot be taught or proven from any word of His.

He ascended into heaven, And sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty'.

I believe and profess that after Jesus Christ had fulfilled all things necessary for our salvation, for the sake of which things He had taken our flesh; finally, after the truth of His resurrection from the dead had been confirmed and proven: He ascended into heaven, nay, above all heavens; where He is set down at the right hand of God the Father, having obtained all power and dominion over all creatures, both that are in heaven and that dwell on earth. And
Thus Jesus Christ is become Head of the Church itself, filling all in all.

'From thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead'.

But although in the body He hath left the earth, and ruleth this world in heaven, until He shall openly return from thence for our salvation in His own day, to judge the quick and the dead: nevertheless by His divine power He is ever present with the Church, ruling and governing, cherishing and protecting all His elect by His Spirit, and uniting them day by day more and more unto Himself.

"I believe in the Holy Ghost.

I believe and profess Him also to be truly one God, coequal and of the same substance with the Father and the Son, not begotten, but proceeding from the Father and the Son. Whom God of His clemency bestoweth and imparteth unto all His elect, in order that having cleansed them by the blood of His Son He may daily purify and sanctify them more and more, and likewise may quicken them,
idonei sint, usque antequam superato peccato, quod prius in ipsis dominato: abatur, iam servire Deo in sanctitate et iustitia per fudem, quod  illorum corda obsequiat haec persuasion: ione indubitata et fiducia certa, quod sint filij Dei, cohaeredes Christi in regno coelorum, quae uita esterna est.

Spiritus sanctus nos sanctificat.

Idem spiritus sanctus est, qui, ut singula membra, sic totam Ecclesiam sanctificat et regit, membra eius omnia in unum recolligens corpus, cui ipsae Christus caput: quod corpus est ipsa Ecclesia sancta et immaculata, a spiritu sancto sanctificata et semper conservata inde a primo parente Adamo ad extremum usque iudicii diem.

A spiritu sancto est universa uis et efficacia ministerij in Ecclesia.

Idem spiritus est, qui in Ecclesiam semper adiunactus externo legitimo ministerio iuxta uerbum Dei, efficit having begotten them again into newness of life: to the end that they, having overcome sin, which formerly reigned in them, may now be fitted and strengthened to serve God in holiness and righteousness through faith; whereby He sealeth their hearts with the undoubted persuasion and certain confidence that they are sons of God, joint-heirs with Christ in the kingdom of heaven, which is life eternal.

The Holy Spirit sanctifieth us.

He is the same Holy Spirit, Which sanctifieth and governeth the whole Church even as He doth each separate member, gathering all its members again into one body, whose head is Christ Himself. And this body is the Church itself, holy and spotless, quickened and continually preserved by the Holy Spirit, even from its first father Adam until the last day of judgement.

From the Holy Spirit cometh the whole power and efficacy of the Ministry in the Church.

He is the same Spirit, Which in the Church ever attendeth upon the external lawful Ministry, according to
ut illud uiuum atque efficax sit in singulis membris Ecclesiae suae, siue id sit uerbi, siue sacramentorum, seu denique disciplinae ministerium: ut credentibus et fide percipientibus prosint ad salutem.

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the Word of God, making it quick and powerful in each separate member of His Church, whether it be the Ministry of the Word, or of Sacraments, or of Discipline: to the end that these may be profitable for salvation unto them that believe and apprehend them by faith.

PARS QUARTA DE ECCLESIA.

'Sanctam ecclesiam catholicam'.

Credo et profiteor unam esse Ecclesiam omnium fidelium, et electorum à primo usque homine Adamo, ad ultimum mundi finem. Quae est ipsum Christi corpus unicum, sicuti caput eius unicum est Christus, estque universa illa societas et collectio fidelium omnium renatorum per spiritum sanctum consentientium in unitatem fidei atque unius Dei, et salvatoris unius Iesu Christi: qui est à Deo patre constitutus, ut sit caput unicum huic Ecclesiae: quam sanguine suo acquisitam et mun:datam: deinde suis omnibus donis the Word of God, making it quick and powerful in each separate member of His Church, whether it be the Ministry of the Word, or of Sacraments, or of Discipline: to the end that these may be profitable for salvation unto them that believe and apprehend them by faith.

THE FOURTH PART: CONCERNING THE CHURCH.

'I believe and profess that there is one Church of all the faithful and elect, from the first man Adam, even unto the end of the world. It is the sole body of Christ, even as its sole head is Christ, and it is the whole fellowship and company of all the faithful which are born again through the Holy Spirit, and agree in the unity of faith and of one God and one Saviour Jesus Christ: Whom God the Father hath appointed to be the sole Head of this Church, which He hath won and cleansed by His own blood, and thereafter adorneth with all His
PROFESSION OF CATHOLIC FAITH.

gifts, perfecting all things therein by the power of the Holy Spirit, the perpetual and unceasing Ruler, Governor and Preserver of this Church.

'The Communion of Saints'.

This Church I profess to be the Communion of Saints: both because it is itself that company of all saints in the one Head, Christ;

No salvation without the Church.

and because all the gifts of God, that Christ hath won for us by His death, are common to all that are gathered into this fellowship, and to none that is without it.

'The Forgiveness of sins; The Resurrection of the body, And the life everlasting'.

Such are: the Remission of sins through the blood of Christ, which sins are no longer imputed to the elect that are sealed by the Holy Spirit; and the Resurrection of the flesh. For although we all die, nevertheless the souls of the faithful live in Christ's bosom until His return, wherein He shall come to judgment; when they shall take again their own bodies and come to meet Him, in order that together with Him they may obtain possession of that last and highest good, which is the life everlasting.

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exornat cuncta perficiens in ipsa virtute spiritus sancti perpetui ac continuo rectoris gubernatoris, et conservatoris istius Ecclesiae.

'Sanctorum Communionem'.

Hanc Ecclesiam profiteor esse sanctorum communionem: tum quia ipsa est illa sanctorum omnium collectio in uno capite Christo:

Extra Ecclesiam nulla salus.

tum quia omnibus in hanc societatem collectis, ac nulli extra eam, communia sunt dona Dei omnia quaeo.

que nobis sua morte Christus acquisuit:

'Remissionem peccatorum, Carnis resurrectionem, Vitam aeternam.'

Quiusmodi sunt, Remissio peccatorum per sanguinem Christi, quae non amplius imputantur electis spiritu sancto obsignatis: Resurrectionis carnis. Quamuis enim moriamur omnes, animae tamen fidelium in Christi simi uiuunt usque ad ipsius reditum quo uenturus est ad iudiciuim, quando illae receptis corporibus suis propriis obulum illi uement, ut cum eo potiantur ultimo adsumo illo bono, quod est, Vita aeterna.
PROP. FIDEI CATH.

Ecclesia visibilis.

Atque haec quidem Ecclesiae quamuis uni Deo sit cognita, iuxta illud, Nout Domini qui sunt sui. Attamen agnostica quae Ecclesiam esse profitemur quacunqueque coetum hominum profitentium ueram doctrinam fidei, communicantium sacramentis à Christo institutis, ac uniuesam eius religionem, quae uerbo eius comprobata est, observantium. Quae quidem Ecclesiae uti est omnibus conspicua, ita saepe habet in se non solum bonos, uerum etiam malos: quorum tamen coercitio fit per disciplinam Ecclesiasticam, ut si admoniti non resipiscant, sanctorum coetu excludantur tanquam putrida membra, donec redeant ad mentem meliorem. In hac porro Ecclesia uisibilis totum ministerium uirtute spiritus sancti creandum est, ut per hunc semper sit ministerium uerbi, sacramentorum et disciplinae efficax ad salutem in electis, et condemnationem reproborum, iuxta illud, Non redibit ad me uerbum meum uacuum.

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The Visible Church.

And although this Church is known to God alone, according as it is written, The Lord knoweth them that are His: nevertheless we acknowledge and profess that the Church is any company of men professing the true doctrine of faith, communicating in the Sacraments instituted by Christ, and observing the whole of His religion that is proven by His Word. Now this Church, being manifest to the eyes of all, containeth often not only the good, but also the evil: nevertheless these are kept in restraint by means of the Ecclesiastical Discipline, to the end that if being admonished they return not to reason, they may be shut out from the assembly of the saints as rotten members, until they come again to a better mind. Moreover it must be believed that the whole Ministry in this Church is kept in vigour by the virtue of the Holy Spirit, to the end that through Him the Ministry of the Word, of Sacraments and of Discipline may always be effectual unto salvation in the elect, and unto the condemnation of the reprobate; according as it is said, My Word shall not return unto Me void.
Calling into the Church a sign of Election.

And therefore a calling into this Church, conjoined with due obedience to the Gospel, ought to be unto every one a most certain sign of his election. For in this Church it is through the Ministry of the Word and Sacraments that the remission of sins is given; and faith, together with the hope of the resurrection and of eternal life, is sealed in us by the virtue of the cooperation of the Holy Ghost. Therefore although there might have been mingled with this Church a great many hypocrites: nevertheless as long as they assent to the Profession of faith in the doctrine, and to the whole Ministry, causing no disorder, wherefor they may be excommunicated by the just judgment of the Church, we acknowledge them members of the Church; leaving unto God the rooting up of the hidden tares in His own day, and content to labour diligently to root up those that are manifest.

The Tokens whereby the Church is distinguished. The first Token.

Further, God hath set upon this Church His own marks, whereby it may

(Nota 6 - See page 154).
The Profession of Catholic Faith.

The first mark we affirm to be the Ministry itself of teaching and of the Word, wherein the foundation of the Church hath been laid by God through the Prophets and Apostles. With this teaching must be mingled no vain fancies or traditions of men: but it is to be retained alone, with a sound and sober interpretation, such as may be always in conformity with the faith, that is, derived from the Holy Scriptures themselves; lest peradventure in the Church aught of man's invention may ever be foisted upon the more simple as being necessary unto salvation.

The second Token.

The second mark we affirm to be the simple invocation of the one God
solum Christum. Nempè hic cultus est Dei proprius Ecclesiae, quo se Deum suum agnoscere profitetur, quo etiam ipsa à caeteris discernitur, qui uel non unum Deum uium, sed creaturas quoque: uel quamis unum Deum immoicare uideantur, non tamen per Christum, aut non per Christum solum immoquant, aut uelos denique cultus corporales seu externos sibi fingunt, uel ad iustitiam coram Deo comparandam, uel ad promerendum quamunque ipsius gratiam necessarios, Deum sibi fingentes alium, perindeque alios illi cultus exhibentes, quam quos uerbo suo à nobis exigit, nitentes uana specie recti, aut nescio cuius decori, homines praeposterè religiosi, plus tribuentes mandatis atque imuentis hominum, aut suis ipsorum:um, quam Dei iuuentis mandata.

Tessera 3. Sacramentum quid.

Tertiam notam dicimus esse Sacramenta, quae Christus Ecclesiae suae instituit, quibus tanquam through Christ alone. For this is the worship of God proper to the Church, whereby it professeth that it acknowledgeth God as its God; whereby also it is distinguished from all others, who either invoke not only the one living God but the creatures also; or although they seem to invoke the one God, nevertheless do not invoke Him through Christ, or not through Christ alone; or lastly, who invent for themselves any corporal or external modes of worship, as necessary either to acquire righteousness before God, or to merit any favour whatsoever from Him; fashioning for themselves another God, and likewise offering unto Him other forms of worship than those that He requireth of us by His Word; relying on a vain appearance of what is right, or, perchance, seemly; perversely pious, giving more heed to the commandments and devices of men, or of themselves, than to the commandment of the living God.

The third Token. The nature of a Sacrament.

The third mark we affirm to be the Sacraments, which Christ appointed for His Church, in order that thereby
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signaculis perpetuò certiores reddamur (spiritu sancto cooperante per fidel, quam nostris cordibus obsignat) de Dei benevolentia et feopre singulari erga nos, ac perfectione eorum omnium quae nobis per uerbum suum promittit.

Sacramenta 2.


Baptismus.

Baptismus est sacramentum regenerationis, uidelicet coniuncta cum praedicatione Evangelii externa aquae ablutio, qua tingimur in nomine patris et filij, et spiritu sancti, adeque certiores reddimur nostrae in corpus Christi et fideliuion coemptionis, etque etiam de misericordia Dei, qua nobis condonata sunt omnia peccata:

as by seals, we may be perpetually assured - the Holy Spirit working together with them through faith, which He sealeth to our hearts - of the singular goodwill and favour of God to usward, and the accomplishing of all the things that He promiseth unto us by His Word.

The two Sacraments.

Now we acknowledge that God hath commended to the Church two Sacraments only: Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

Baptism.

Baptism is the Sacrament of Re-generation, to wit, conjoined with the preaching of the Gospel, an outward cleansing with water, where-with we are washed in the Name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, and thus are assured of our adoption into the body of Christ and the assembly of the faithful, and also of the mercy of God whereby all

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7 As in Calvin's Catechism, A Lasco, etc.; although in the Scottish Confession as given in the Acts of the Parliaments of 1560 and 1567 the expression 'two chief sacraments' is used. On this point however see Mitchell, 'The Scottish Reformation', pp. 116, 117, 307.
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our sins are forgiven us; the Holy Spirit at the same time sealing this faith in our hearts, and supplying also strength and power to renew our life and enter upon a life of righteousness.

Infants are to be baptized.

But seeing that this Sacrament is a token of God's covenant, whereby when we are once begotten again He receiveth us into the adoption of sons: we profess that it belongeth unto all to whom the covenant itself also belongeth; and therefore with faith in this promise we baptize the infant children of the faithful presented to us by the faithful; because our God is the God not only of adults and of them that can profess their faith with their mouth, but also of infants. For albeit these are unable to profess in words the faith whereby they can be sealed by the Holy Spirit, nevertheless they are included in that covenant of God, and it is believed that the promise contained in baptism pertaineth unto them.

We baptize with pure water, over which no spells have been chanted, and with which nothing else.
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whatsoever hath been mingled: for we deem it not man's part to add aught to the Sacraments instituted by Christ. We are content in nothing to be wiser than Christ, and to do only that which He did and commanded us to do.

The Lord's Supper.

The other Sacrament is the Lord's Supper, the Sacrament of Reconciliation, wherein according to Christ's institution the remembrance of His death is celebrated, and by the distribution of the broken bread and of the cup of blessing there is a communicating and imparting of the body and blood of Christ to all that communicate with true faith, for the sustenance of eternal life: to the end that we may have assurance of the remission of our sins, by our fall into which we had rendered ourselves unworthy of eternal life, having broken the covenant made with our God in Baptism; and of complete participation in the other benefits that Christ hath gotten and procured for us, by delivering up His body, and likewise shedding His blood for us.

Tessera 4. Disciplina Ecclesiastica.

Quartam tesseram dicimus esse disciplinam Ecclesiasticam. Qua
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Morals are corrected and wickedness repressed, and all probity, justice and equity maintained between man and man.

Therefore in every rightly instituted Church we hold this ministry especially necessary;

A twofold Ministry. Ecclesiastical.

And we deem it to be twofold. The one ministry may be called Ecclesiastical or spiritual: it hath to do with doctrine, the use of the Sacraments, and that restraining or chastisement of morals and of faults by means of the Word of God, whereof we have just spoken; and expulsion from holy things if need be: of which matters we shall speak at another time. And we profess that all honour and obedience are due unto this Ministry.

Political.

The other Ministry is Political: and God hath entrusted it with the sword for all defence of righteousness and justice, and especially of the true worship of God: for the punishment also of all injustice and ungodliness: that thereby the
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good may live in security and peace,
but that the evil, if having been
chastised they mend not their ways,
may be removed out of the midst.

This is my faith, wherein I
deem myself to be in agreement with
this Church, and make request to be
admitted as a member of Christ,
promising all obedience to the whole
Ecclesiastical discipline as it is
in accordance with the Word of God,
and to the rest of the doctrine of
faith and true religion.

Therefore I abjure all assemblies
whatsoever, falsely called Churches,
that follow different doctrine or
religion: as those of the Mahometans,
Anabaptists, Libertines, Mennonists,
Davidists, Marcionites, Arians, and
any other like heresies that exist.

Note 8.

Mahomet (Mohammed) denied that Christ was the eternally begotten Son of God and equal with God. Pearson 'On the Creed', Art. II., Chap. III., 39.

Anabaptists: see Lindsay, Hist. of the Reformation, Bk.V, Chap. II, for a
description of these, the Protestant heretics most widely diffused over
Europe in the 16th century.

Libertines: antinomians who denied the Resurrection and held sin an illusion;
calling themselves Patriots at Geneva, they at first embraced the Reforma-
tion as a means to license, but became Calvin's bitterest opponents in 1538
in regard to discipline and excommunication; they were hated and dreaded
by him for their disorderly lives and their rejection of the fundamental
doctrines of the Christian faith. See Henry's 'Calvin' trans. Stebbing, or
Mitchell Hunter's 'Teaching of Calvin', passim.

(Note 8 continued on p. 161)
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Insuper Papae tanquam Anti-christo Romano renuncio, ac doctrinae ipsius et religioni universalis nominatim de transsubstantiatione panis in Eucharistia, de sanctorum invocatione, fiducia iusticiae propriae operum seu alterius cuiuscunque quam Christi, libero arbitrio, purgatorio, et satisfactione ualla pro peccatis alia praeeter Christi sanguinem, ac denique de omni cultura imaginum, et caeteris eiusmodi iminentis humanis quaecunque ipsius religionem et doctrina continentur. Favit

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Moreover I renounce the Pope as the Roman Antichrist, and his whole doctrine and religion: in particular, touching transubstantiation of the bread in the Eucharist; touching the invocation of saints, trust in the righteousness of works that belongeth unto ourselves or unto any other whomssoever save Christ, free will, purgatory, and any satisfaction for sins other than the blood of Christ; and finally, touching all the image-worship and all the other such-like human inventions that are contained in his religion and doctrine. God

Note 8 (Contd.)

Mennonists: followers of Menno (1492-1559), who was leader of the Frisian Anabaptists, and emphasized the central point of their communion, entire separation from the world, but held a Donatist view of the Incarnation - the heavenly descent of the flesh of Christ. See Dalton, 'A Lasco', pp. 265-271. They were granted protection by A Lasco at Emden, and were the ancestors of the modern Baptist Church.

Davidists: early Polish anti-Trinitarians, who under Francis Davidis repudiated the miraculous birth, and refused to worship Christ. Afterwards merged in the Polish Brethren or Socinians, the ancestors of the modern Unitarians. See Lindsay.

Marcionites: followers of Marcion, 2nd Century A.D., held the Gnostic doctrine (later called Manicheism) of two Creators, one of good, the other of evil. Regarding matter as evil, they were Docetists, holding that Christ's body was not truly human, but phantasmal.

Arians: followers of Arius; anathematized by the Nicene Council because they said of Christ 'There was a time when He was not, and before He was born He was not'. They denied Christ's true eternal Godhead, and that He is coessential (homousios) with the Father.
Deus ut haec fides in me augeatur, in eaque perseverare quaeam usque in finem. Det etiam omnibus ipsum adhuc ignorantibus uerum lumen fidei: ut agnoscentes unicum liberatorem mundi Iesum Christum filium eius unigenitum salui nobiscum fiant.

Finis.

grant that this faith may be increased in me, and that I may be able to persevere therein even unto the end. May He grant also to all yet ignorant of Himself the true light of faith: to the end that acknowledging the only Deliverer of the world, Jesus Christ His only-begotten Son, they may with us obtain salvation.

The End.
Subscripserunt Pastor et Seniores Ecclesiae Gall. quae est Francofordiae.

Valerandus Pollanus, Pastor Ecclesiae.

Ioannes Murellius. D.
Georgius Maupas.
Iacobus Crucius.
Ludouicus Castalio.

Subscribunt Etiam Angli ob Evangélium profugi totius Ecclesiae suae nomine.

Ioannes Makbraeus, M.
Ioannes Stannto.
Vnillierrmus Hamomus.
Ioannes Bendallus.
Guil. Vuhytinghamus.

Subscribed by the Pastor and Elders of the French Church at Frankfort.

Valérand Poullain, Pastor of the Church.

Jean Morellic, Doctor.
Georges Maupas.
Jacques Crucius.
Louis Castalio.

Now subscribed also by the English, exiles for the Gospel's sake, in the name of their whole Church.

John MacBrair, Minister.
John Stanton.
William Hammond.
John Bendal.
William Whittingham.

9 See Appendix B.
COLOPHON.

IMPRESSUM
FRANCOFORDIAE
apud PETRUM
BRUBACHIIUM.
1554.

IMPRINTED AT
FRANKFORT
at
PETE BRUBACH'S.
1554.
On the music of the Reformed Churches; with notes on 'cantus', 'modulation', 'iubilare', 'iubilatorio', 'modus', 'nullo cantu' (pp. 109, 112)

Although merbeek's 'Take of common praier noted' with plainsong melodies was published in 1550 it had no influence on the music used in Poullain's Services; and 'cantus' has not here its technical meaning of the ancient 'plainsong' of the Church. For plainsong as such disappeared along with the Roman Services from the Lutheran and Reformed Churches of the Continent, to make way for a new rhythmic and popular type of tune, which was however influenced by the 'modes' of the plainsong and perhaps even to some extent derived from it in the form of its melody. This new type is best exemplified on the one hand by the Lutheran chorals, the model for German hymnody; and on the other by the melodies compiled and composed for the Genevan Psalters by Louis Bourgeois when he was in charge of the music at Geneva from about 1541 till 1557. The Genevan tunes were set only to metrical psalms and the few Scriptural paraphrases or canticles that were included with the psalter: Marot's 'Les Articles de la Roy', sung at Strassburg and in Poullain's Church at the Lord's Supper before the words of institution, soon ceased to be inserted among the canticles, as it does not seem to have been used in any other of the Reformed Churches.

Some of Marot's Psalms, sung to familiar ballad tunes, had become popular at the French court several years before they were published in the Genevan Psalter of 1542. But after he came to Geneva they were under Calvin's influence set by Bourgeois to the more dignified type of tunes which originally came from Strassburg. Writing to Farel in 1539 (Epist. Calv.1576 p.41) Calvin said that he preferred the German tunes to those used by the French for sacred music: he may have had in mind a book 'Aulcuns Pseaumes' with German tunes published at Strassburg in 1539; and it was on the Strassburg model that Bourgeois set the Psalter to music.

The melodies of the Genevan Psalter became the sole music of the Reformed Churches. They were invariably written on the principle of only one note to one syllable, and the Reformers permitted them to be sung only in unison or octaves, singing in parts being forbidden in Church. 'Modulatio' therefore simply means 'tune' or 'melody'. The settings of some of these tunes in four parts that were published by Bourgeois in 1547 and also by Goudimel were not allowed in the Church of Geneva.

There was a characteristic feature of ancient melodies both sacred and secular, known as the 'figurac' or notes in ligature, also called in various connections 'melismata', 'tropes' and 'caudae'. These were florid phrases or
groups of notes sung to single syllables of text. 'Iubilare' in the
text is evidently employed with reference to these 'figurae': it cannot
here have the ordinary meaning of 'shout,' as in the first verse of the
100th Psalm.

The Reformers in forbidding such 'jubilations' were following the
example of those who at various times both before and after the Reforma-
tion tried to restore dignity to ecclesiastical music. Some of the most
important references are here given.

Pope John XXII issued a decree at Avignon in 1322 (Oxford Hist. of
Music, Vol. II p.89), forbidding florid discant 'with upper parts made
out of secular songs'; because by this, he said, the ecclesiastical
tones of the plainsong were obscured, devotion, the true end of worship,
was little thought of, and wantonness was increased.

In an early tract 'Of feigned contemplative life' (edited by
Matthew, E.E T.S., pp.161,162) John Wyclif says that the style of singing
that was usual in Church hindered men from attending to God's law, and hinder-
ed understanding of the words; 'and of short time then were more vain
japes found: discant, counter-note and organ and small breaking, that
stir men to dancing more than to mourning.' He describes how in a large
choir two or three sing and the rest look on; 'and then strumpets and
thieves praise Sir (i.e priest) Jack or Hob or William the proud clerk,
how small they smack their notes'. 'Knack' means to 'break' notes, to
sing with trills or runs, to sing in a lively or ornate manner (N.E Dict.)

The Catechism printed in 1552 by command of Archbishop Hamilton
(p.68, 1884 edition) forbids 'carreling and wanton synging in the Kirk'.

A Lasco, in 'De Fug. Papist. Sacris' (Kuyper, Works I. p.83), which
Kuyper dates about 1546, thus describes the Roman chanting of the Psalms:
'Ut de peregrinitate linguae taceam, quam Sct. Paulus in ordinaria coetus
condione rejecit...vel sic tamen stridor cantorum, crepitus, fragor, sibilus
atque clamor haud intelligibilium verborum omnem ejus, quod censur, inter
intellectum prohibet, adeo ut revera psalmi ibidem intonari potius atque
balari, quam decantari videantur, nedum ut legi atque pronunciari dici possent.'

And similarly, in the Preface (ascribed to Whittingham) to the Con-
fusion of the English congregation at Geneva, 1556, the Church of Rome
is charged with having disfigured the Psalmody, 'partly by strange
languages that cannot edify, and partly by a curious wanton sort, hiring
men to tickle the ear and flatter the phantasies'. - Laing's 'Knox', IV.
p.165.
Wooldridge (Oxford Hist. of Music, II, p.341) speaking of the first attempts of Tye and Tallis to produce suitable music for the Reformed Church in England, points out that the essential feature in Tallis' Dorian Service was the use of plain counterpoint, in unbroken notes and without points of imitation. 'The model', he says, 'was probably' given as early as the year 1544, in the Litany harmonized according to the directions of Cranmer; for those directions especially enjoin an absolutely plain treatment, note under note, and one syllable to each note. This method was probably suggested to meet one of the principal objections urged by the reformers, Catholic and Protestant alike, against the actual condition of ecclesiastical music; an objection based chiefly upon the practical extinction of the sacred text in the passages of running notes and in the overlapping phrases, inevitable in florid counterpoint.'

Calvin however, in forbidding not only florid melody, but also all harmony or polyphony, as unsuitable for sacred music, went a great deal further than either Cranmer or Luther in the direction of restricting what was after all the natural development of the art. Yet within the Genevan limitations there were produced strong and artistic psalm tunes, with a great variety of rhythm and metre, many of which passed into the Scottish Psalters of the 16th and 17th centuries and set the pattern for the best style of Scottish Psalmody.

The Church of Zurich had no singing - 'nullo cantu' (p.112) - but in that it was an exception to the custom of the Reformed Churches. In Geneva the singing of psalms was a great feature of the Service, and at Calvin's suggestion, made originally in the 'Articuli' of 1537, a master of singing was appointed by the Council to teach the melodies of the psalm to the children.

'Modus' (p.112) means in regard to ancient music (1) 'measure' in general, as in Cl. Lat.; so in this passage, in which 'modulatio', 'tune', is practically equivalent to 'modus'; (2) 'tempo' or division of the measure, originally of the 'Long' note into 'Breves'; (3) the 'mode' or scale of the plainsong. Here the first or general meaning alone is appropriate.
Notes on some of the subscribers to Poullain's Liturgy and Confession.

Morellio, a minister, and Castalio, an elder, of the French Church, showed great kindness to the English congregation when they arrived at Frankfort, and assisted them to gain the ear of the magistrates. -'Brief Discourse'.

John MacBrair, called also McBrair, McBriar, and McBray or McBray, from Galloway (Galvidiae), was incorporated (matriculated) at St. Salvator's College, St. Andrews, in 1531, and is mentioned in the Graduation Roll as a Determinant in the same year. From the list of preachers under Edward VI., quoted below, he appears to have taken his Master's degree.

He was a monk of the Cistercian Abbey at Glenluce in his native province, but renounced his vows in 1548 and became an early preacher of the Reformation in 'the westland' under the protection of Lord ochiltree. Archbishop Hamilton of St. Andrews caused him to be apprehended and imprisoned in Hamilton Castle in 1550 as an 'apostate heresiarch'. In May 1550 he was released by the armed help of John Lockhart of Barr and conveyed to the House of Barr, whence he escaped to England. 'John Mackbraier, Scott., Mr. of Arte', is the 65th name on the list of persons who obtained license to preach in England in the reign of Edward VI., the 64th being 'John Knox, Scott.' He became vicar of Snoreditch, escaped to the Continent in 1553, and having arrived at Frankfort was 'the first that preached the gospel to the English here, for about a year.' He is said to have written an account in Latin of the beginnings and progress of the English Church at Frankfort.


John Stanton may have been the 'Mr Stanton', a fellow of St John's College, Cambridge, mentioned by Strype, 'Annals' III.i.p.366 etc. He was one of the first deacons in the English Church erected at Geneva in 1555.
William Hammon was perhaps the 'Mr Hamond of Leachwould' who in Elizabeth's reign was appointed by the Bishop of Lincoln as one of the principal 'moderators'. One of these 'moderators' had always to be present at the 'exercises' among the ministers and curates of churches in Hertfordshire, called the 'prophesyings'. - Strype, 'Annals' II. i. p477. McCrie's 'Knox', note NN.

John Benda is mentioned along with McBrair and Whittingham in Strype's list ("Cranmer" III. chap.3) of preachers who fled to the Continent in 1553. Strype took the list from Cranmer. - Cranmer's Works, Parker Soc., I. p.9.

William Whittingham, 1524 - 1579, was educated at Oxford. After the 'Troubles at Frankfort' he followed Knox to Geneva, where he married Calvin's sister, and in 1557 was chosen by the English congregation to succeed Knox as their pastor. When Knox finally left Geneva in 1559, Whittingham, on Calvin's insistence, was ordained. He had a considerable share in the production of the Geneva Bible, and versified several psalms, including the well-known version of the 124th, 'Now Israel may say and that truly', and also the Ten Commandments, for the first English Genevan Psalter of 1556. These were set to the tunes provided by Bourgeois for the French Genevan Psalter, so that Whittingham's 'Ten Commandments' was set to the same tune as was sung by Poullain's congregation to Marot's 'Leve le cuer' at the beginning of Morning Service on Sundays.

Having returned to England in Elizabeth's reign, Whittingham was made Dean of Durham in 1563. Charges were made against the validity of his Genevan ordination, but the Commission that sat to decide the question of his deprivation was broken up, six months before his death, by Lord Huntingdon, Elizabeth's cousin, the chief lay Commissioner.

- Life in D.N.B.; Maitland, 'Essays on the Reformation', pp 104 - 109; Strype, 'Annals', II., p.521; the 'Brief Discourse' (of which McCrie thought Whittingham may have been the author: see Petheram's reprint, p.232n.).