

A STUDY OF THE COLLECTS IN 1549 BOOK  
OF COMMON PRAYER

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.

MICHIGAN STATE COLLEGE

Daisy S. Kimber

1952

This is to certify that the

thesis entitled

*A Study of the Collects  
in the 1549 Book of Common Prayer*

presented by

*Daisy S. Kimber*

has been accepted towards fulfillment  
of the requirements for

*the M.A. degree in English*

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Date *December 9, 1952*



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OF COMMON PRAYER

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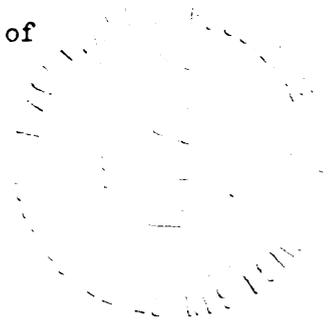
A Thesis

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of  
Michigan State College of Agriculture and  
Applied Science in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of English

1952





1/8/53

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#### ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I wish to express my indebtedness and gratitude for the invaluable assistance generously rendered at every step of this study by Professor Anders Orbeck.

D.S.K.

December, 1952

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## INTRODUCTION

This is a study of the rhetorical figures in the collects of the day in the 1549 Booke of the Common Prayer, prepared by Thomas Cranmer and his associates. Especial reference is made to the Latin versions from which some of the collects are translated.

The Booke of the Common Prayer first appeared on March 7th, 1549, in the reign of Edward VI, and at the session of Parliament prorogued on March 14th following, announcement was made that use of the new book was to begin not later than the following whitsunday, June 9th. It had already received parliamentary sanction in the Act of Uniformity passed on January 21, 1549, which mentioned "the Archbishop of Canterbury and certain other learned men" as having been appointed by the king to "draw and make one convenient and meet order, rite, and fashion of common and open prayer and administration of the sacraments." This was the same committee, with some changes and several additions, which had been appointed in 1542 from the Convocation of the Church by Henry VIII to revise the Latin service books of the church. These were Missal or Mass book, Breviary, Manual, Processional, Ordinal, Antiphoner, Grayle, Legend, Pontifical, and the Pie, which directed the use of the others. The question of their translation into English was not raised at the time: rather reform of the sort then taking place in various European countries, both Catholic and Protestant, was contemplated. This committee had issued the Litany in English in 1544 - Cranmer's work and still used in practically its original form - and a Communion Service in English, to be used for part of the Latin Mass, as the means of a doctrinal reform which would permit Communion in both kinds for the laity.

Probably because composition of the committee varied somewhat during its seven years of work, the lists of its members at the time the 1549 Book was published differ slightly. Blunt's list names, besides Cranmer, Bishops Thomas Goodrich of Ely, Henry Holbech of Lincoln, George Day of Chibester, John Skip of Hereford, Thomas Thirlby of Westminster, and Nicholas Ridley of Rochester; Deans William May of St. Paul's, Richard Cox of Christ Church, John Taylor of Lincoln, and Simon Heynes of Exeter; also Archdeacon Thomas Robertson of Leicester and John Redmayne, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. <sup>1</sup> The historical events and the circumstances of the English reformation which led to the activities of this Commission are well known and variously interpreted, and have been touched upon but lightly here, since they have little or no bearing upon this study.

It was of the greatest importance to the English language and literature of succeeding generations, however, that the man who headed this commission and is credited with having done most of the work on the 1549 Booke was Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556), <sup>2</sup> a man of great learning, unusual literary ability, and a faith in his native tongue as a medium of religious instruction. A fellow at Jesus College, Cambridge University, he was first educated in the old scholasticism; then, as the intellectual atmosphere at Cambridge changed under the influence of the Renaissance, Cranmer turned his attention to a study of the Scriptures. He was ordained a priest

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<sup>1</sup> John Henry Blunt, Annotated Book of Common Prayer, LXII.

<sup>2</sup> A.F. Pollard, Thomas Cranmer, 215.

and became an examiner in Divinity. <sup>3</sup> In 1529 began his famous connection with Henry VIII, which led to his somewhat unwilling elevation to the Archbishopric of Canterbury on March 30, 1533. The nature of Cranmer's learning is shown by the extent of his library, which was larger than the library Cambridge had had when he studied there. It contained more than three hundred and fifty printed books and a hundred manuscripts, including a Hebrew Bible interleaved with a Latin translation in Cranmer's own hand, nearly complete works of the Greek and Latin fathers, the best of the scholastic writers, and commonplace books containing extracts from continental reformers of every stripe. He knew Hebrew, Latin, Greek, German, French, and Italian. <sup>4</sup> One biographer sees him as probably influenced by Erasmus, because the year in which Cranmer turned to the new learning, 1511, is the year Erasmus started teaching his Greek class at Cambridge, and the year in which Cranmer turned to the study of theology, 1516, is the year Erasmus published his Greek New Testament. <sup>5</sup> Such an influence could have implications for the present study, since Erasmus was the author of the Dialogus Ciceroniamus, a satire on the Ciceronianism of the Renaissance. In both the scholastic and the neo-classical scheme of studies, Cranmer would have studied rhetoric, but his enthusiasm for it might have been tempered by the influence of a man like Erasmus, and this might have moderated his style.

Cranmer's literary ability may be attested by one authority, who speaks of the Book of Common Prayer along with the English Bible, as

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 19-23.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 318-320.

<sup>5</sup> A.C. Deane, Thomas Cranmer, 19.

"a great steadying, unifying tradition, and by their popular acceptance, one of the implicit conditions of all later use of English speech." 6

Cranmer's interest in the vernacular instruction of the people was part of a long tradition in England of vernacular aids to the Latin services of the church, including such works as the Prymers of 1390, 1535, 1539, and 1545, and the English translations of the Bible, going back beyond Wyclif to the Old English period. And from 740 A.D. onwards there were episcopal injunctions about instructing the people in the sense of the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments. 7 Cranmer's attention to this matter is shown by his inquiries during a diocesan visitation in 1548:

Inquires were made...concerning the plain reciting the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and Ten Commandments in English immediately after the Gospel, as often as there were no sermon...concerning moving the parishioners to pray rather in English, than in a tongue unknown. 8

His concern for beauty, and his practice of conscious art in translating the services of the church, is shown in a letter which he wrote October 7, 1544, to Henry VIII about the English Processional which he had just translated:

...I have translated into the English tongue, so well as I could in so short a time, certain processions...In which translation, forasmuch

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6 George P. Krapp, Rise of English Literary Prose, 270.

7 Blunt, op. cit., XXII.

8 John Strype, Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, I, 259.

as many of the processions, in the Latin, were but barren, as me seemed, and little fruitful, I was constrained to use more than the liberty of a translator: for in some processions I have altered divers words; in some I have added part; in some taken part away...As concerning the Salve festa dies...I made them /the verses/ only for a proof, to see how English would do in song. But by cause mine English verses lack the grace and facility I wish they had, your Majesty may cause some other to make them again, that can do the same in more pleasant English and phrase. 9

With the publication and adoption of the 1549 Booke Cranmer's great work was done. whether it ever received the approval of Convocation, or indeed was even submitted to it can only be conjectured, since the official records of Convocation for that period were destroyed in the great fire of 1666. 10 Proof one way or another has never been found. But proof of the 1549 Book's merit is found in the fact that except for two brief periods during which its use was forbidden, under Mary and under Oliver Cromwell, the prayer book used throughout England from 1549 until the present has been essentially this same Book, its language characteristics remaining unchanged in all important respects through the revisions of 1551, 1559, 1662, 11 and even into modern times. So it happens that when you study the Booke of 1549 you are studying a living work, and when you study the modern American Book of Common Prayer you are studying something very ancient.

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9 Jenkyns, Cranmer's Remains, I, 315, quoted in Blunt, op. cit., XXII, XXIII.

10 Brightman and Mackenzie, "The History of the Book of Common Prayer down to 1662", in Clarke and Harris, Liturgy and worship, 155.

11 This revision did change a few individual collects and add to the whole corpus, however.

The eighty-three collects of the 1549 Book, which are the materials of this study, are the brief prayers attached to the other "propers" or "variables", the Epistles and Gospels, appointed to be read before the Epistle in the Communion Service on the Sundays and holy days of the church year. The Collect for the Day is also read in Morning and Evening Prayer, before the groups of prayers at the end of the Office, where it "not only enriches its association with the current themes of the Church season, but also serves as a reminder of the Church's central act of corporate worship in the Eucharist."<sup>12</sup> Thus, the Collect of the Day is one of the most frequently heard parts of the ritual.

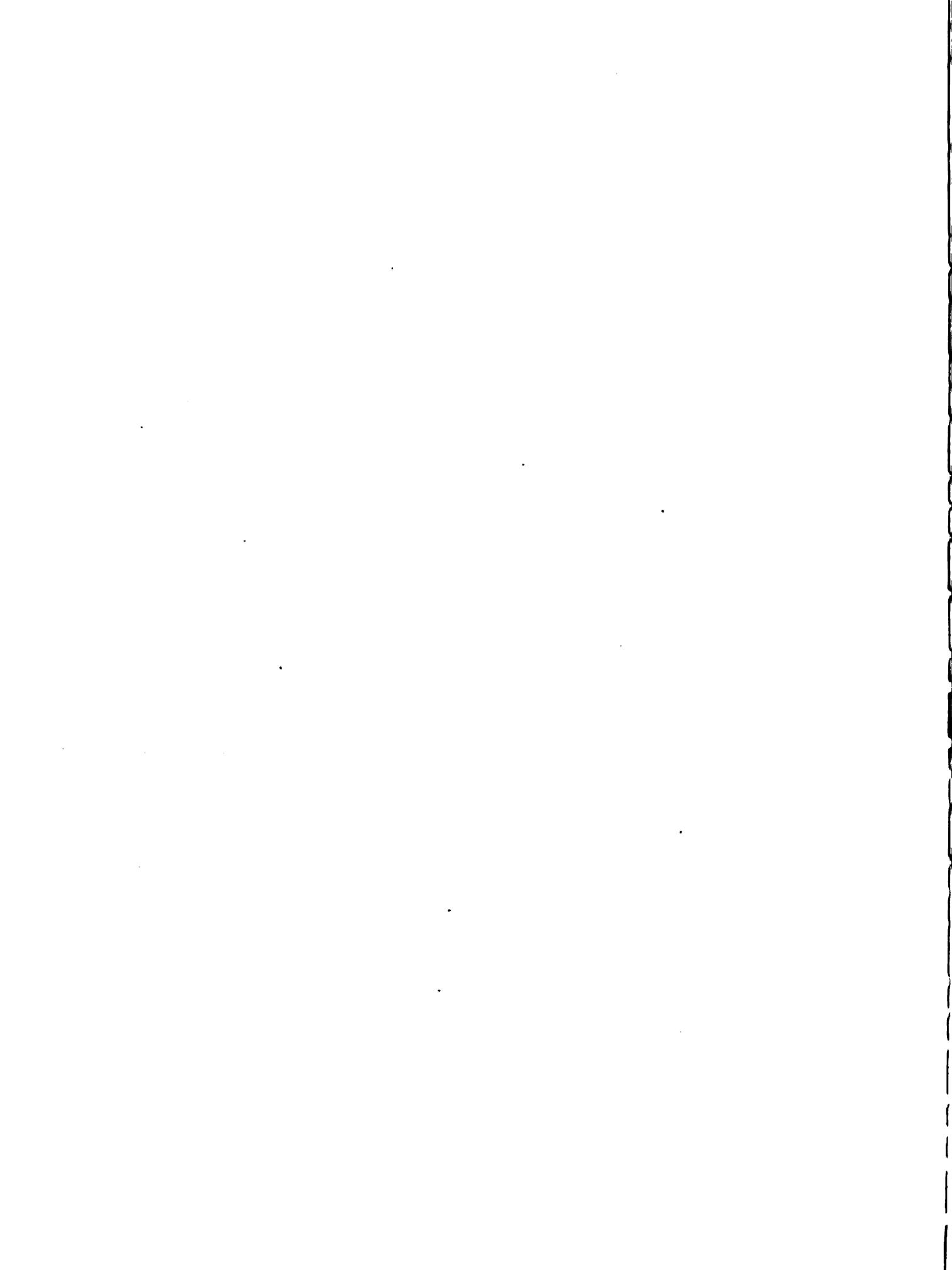
The origin of the word collect, like the origin of its peculiar form, is hidden in obscurity, but a description of the various theories advanced as to its etymology may throw light upon the nature and history of these brief but distinctive compositions.

One explanation, which is based upon a usage in the early Roman Church, would have collect a shortened form of oratio ad collectam, which is the designation of these prayers in the Gregorian Sacramentary (see below). In this phrase Collecta means the assembly or gathering of Christians who were about to go in procession to another place, where the Eucharist was to be celebrated. In this sense it appears several times in the Latin Vulgate, where it denotes the "solemn assembly" with which a Jewish festival closed. Goulburn prefers this derivation of the word, as he thinks the others "too subtle to be probable."<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Massey Hamilton Shepherd, Oxford American Prayer Book Commentary, 17.

<sup>13</sup> Edward Meyrick Goulburn, Collects of the Day, V, 14.



However, the fact that the Roman Service Books do not use the word collecta is held elsewhere to indicate its non-Roman origin. <sup>14</sup>

The other widely current explanation is that the word designates a "collection" of the silent petitions of the congregation which the priest offers up on its behalf. Thus the prayer would have been a collectio, or a collecta, which the New Oxford Dictionary gives as a Late Latin form of collectio. Blunt quotes the Micrologus (Eleventh Century) as interpreting the word in this way:

Oratio quam Collectam dicunt, eo quod  
sacerdos, qui legatione fungitur pro  
populo ad Dominum omnium petitiones ea  
oratione colligit atque concludit. <sup>15</sup>

This is said to be the Gallican sense of the word, since it comes from the western, non-Roman rite which developed in France, or Gaul, and neighboring regions, independently of Rome for some centuries. That the word existed in Old French as colloite, coulloite, collete, and collette, <sup>16</sup> is testimony of its frequency in the vernacular in France, since these are the worn-down forms of popular use. Collecte, the modern French form, is due to etymological reaction, and the development that we should expect in a word with learned connections. Other evidence in favor of the Gallican origin of the word collect is the frequency of the occurrence of collectio in the Gallican service books, where it is the normal word for a prayer. <sup>17</sup>

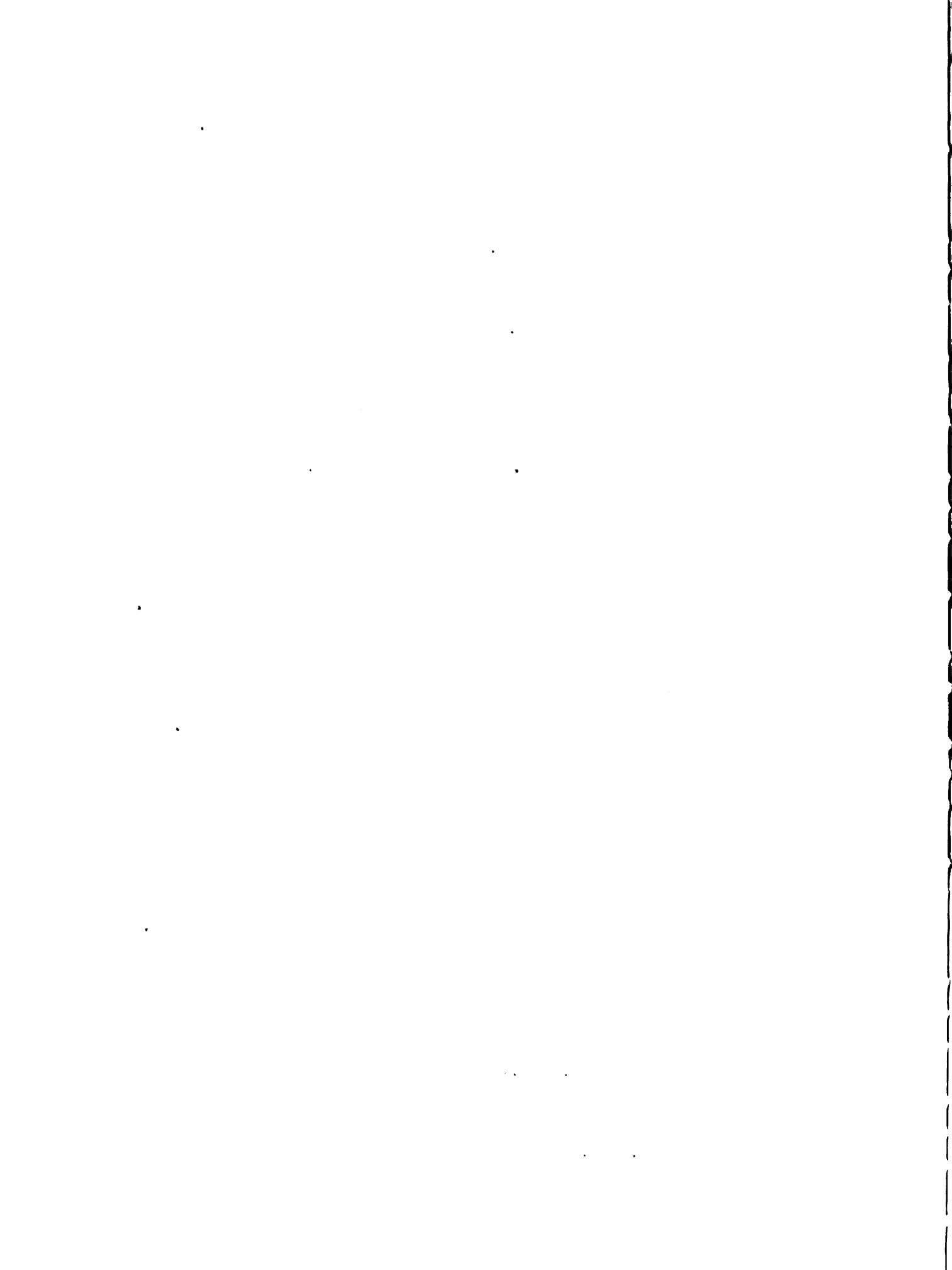
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<sup>14</sup> J.G. Carleton, "Collect", in Encyclopaedia of Religion and Social Ethics, III, 713.

<sup>15</sup> Quoted in Blunt, op. cit., 69.

<sup>16</sup> Godefroy, Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française

<sup>17</sup> Carleton, op. cit., III, 1713.



A third explanation is related to the one just given, but it refers to the prayers in the other part of the service, rather than to the prayers of the people, as being collected. It is known that anciently a litany preceded the Epistle and Gospel in the liturgy, <sup>18</sup> and the short, terse prayer which developed into the collect is thought to have been a collectio of the petitions of the Litany. Sometimes, also, the collectio is explained as recapitulating the Epistle and Gospel which follow, an explanation which accounts for the "keynote" character of most collects. Both of these uses of collectio have some basis in the fact that the word had, in Classical Latin, a definite rhetorical use, to designate "a brief recapitulation." <sup>19</sup>

Still a fourth possibility has been suggested: that the term is derived from cum lectione, because the Epistle is always called the Lectio Epistolae, and the accompanying prayer could have been called the oratio cum lectione, or "prayer with the reading." I mention this because it is phonologically possible that the phrase cum lectione might give some of the vernacular forms mentioned above.

Beginning in 1225 with collecte in the Ancren Riwe, Middle English furnishes many examples of the word, some of them in the Old French forms, such as colette, colett, etc., <sup>20</sup> indicating that the word had probably come over from France with the Gallican Rite in both popular and learned forms. The 1549 Book uses collect and collecte nearly always; collette occurs twice that I know of: in The Visitation of the Sick and in the Burial Service.

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<sup>18</sup> K.D. Mackenzie in Clarke and Harris, op. cit., 375.

<sup>19</sup> Leverett, Latin Lexicon.

<sup>20</sup> New English Dictionary.

The sources of the pre-Reformation collects are well known, however. They are found in the fifth and sixth century compilations of proper prayers which are called sacramentaries, and bear the names of the Popes who were responsible for their making. It is thought that their labors were more editorial than creative, since most of the prayers had existed for some time, some probably going back even to Apostolic times. The Leonine sacramentary is due to the efforts of Leo the Great, Bishop of Rome from 440-461, famed for his bravery in undertaking an embassy to Attila the Hun, and for defining the two-fold nature of Christ. In the 1549 Book one of the seven collects from the Leonine Sacramentary is that for XIV after Trinity, which I mention as being an unusually close translation and hence exhibiting the pristine qualities of the prayers in this earliest collection. The next to oldest compilation is the Gelasian Sacramentary, collected by Pope Gelasius, Bishop of Rome, 492-498, a period of revolution and waning power for the Roman Empire, which reflects its features in the imagery of the collects that are original in this collection. These are the ones mentioned in the discussion of warlike metaphors, below. Twenty and a half (the first half of the first Easter Day collect) of the variable collects in the 1549 Book are translations of Gelasian collects. The third great compilation is that of Gregory the Great, Pope from 590 to 604, and the man whose missionary spirit sent Augustine to England in 597, and who gave the latter permission to retain in the churches he established there Gallican usages, which had already reached England from France. Thirty and one half of the 1549 Collects can be traced to the Gregorian Sacramentary for their first appearance, although it also contains many from the other sacramentaries in altered forms. These three Sacramentaries have thus accounted for fifty-nine

of the eighty-three collects in the 1549 Book. The others were composed especially for the English book, although some of these were adaptations from their ancient sources.

The men (or probably the man - Cranmer) who translated the collects for the 1549 book did not work directly from these Sacramentaries, but rather from the Missal of the Sarum Use.<sup>21</sup> This was the rite of Salisbury Cathedral which had been defined and regulated by St. Osmund, Bishop of Sarum and nephew of William the Conqueror, and hence in a position to secure some unity in the rite used in England. This newly codified rite was adopted by the diocese of Salisbury in 1085 and then introduced elsewhere until it became "the principal Rule of the Church of England and continued so for four centuries and a half."<sup>22</sup> No copies of the original form of the Sarum use remain, and it is not known how much that existed in it in 1549 represented accretions of the years, but we do know that it was formed in the first place from a ritual showing the Gallican influence mentioned above.

In structure the collect form may go back to Scripture itself. A passage in Acts I, 24, 25, is sometimes cited as the original model:

Thou, Lord, which knowest the hearts of all men, show whether of these two Thou hast chosen, that he may take part of this ministry and apostleship, from which Judas by transgression fell, that he might go to his own place.

This prayer has four discernible parts which are considered necessary to the collect form: (1) Invocation of God's name, (2) A relative clause which describes one of His attributes, (3) the petition

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<sup>21</sup> Goulburn, op. cit., I, 47

<sup>22</sup> Blunt, op. cit., XVIII

and (4) a purpose clause which gives a reason for the petition, or a result that is hoped for. A fifth part, the close, is here lacking. The second or fourth part may be omitted, but four parts are required to make a true collect. The permissible variations have been carefully analysed.<sup>23</sup> The Scriptural collect quoted (there is another in Acts IV, 24-30, but its length disqualifies it, although Blunt cites it, has another important qualification: all of its parts are woven into one sentence. This characteristic, present in all true collects, has made it the terse, succinct prose form that it is. This brevity has been referred to the injunction in Ecclesiastes V, 2: "Be not rash with thy mouth, and let not thine heart be hasty to utter anything before God: for God is in heaven and thou upon earth: therefore let thy words be few."<sup>24</sup>

Thus through the circumstances of its provenance the collect form, by the fifth or sixth century, had become an instrument of worship characterised by terseness of expression and tightness of sentence structure, yet enhanced by those rhetorical devices which had been carried over from the classical period into the Latin of the Christian era. The collects had remained unchanged in these respects when their translation into English was undertaken in the sixteenth century. It is noteworthy that in a period when most English authors were writing lengthy, rambling sentences, and seemed to lack command of subordinating devices, the translators of the collects produced complex sentences which matched the Latin models in brevity, simplicity, and comprehensiveness.

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<sup>23</sup> John W. Suter, Book of English Collects.

<sup>24</sup> G. Hulburn, op. cit., 13.

How this was accomplished might be the subject of some future study. How the translators were able, in their English way, to match the effectiveness of the Latin rhetorical devices is what this study will attempt to demonstrate. This will be shown by a comparison of the English and Latin versions and a description and classification of the various figures.

The text used is that in the Everyman edition entitled The First and Second Prayer-Books of King Edward the Sixth, with an introduction by Bishop Gibson, in the 1932 reprint of an edition first published in 1910. This follows strictly the original text of the first edition of the 1549 Book, which has been established on the basis of internal evidence as that printed by Edward Whitchurche in London on March 7, 1549.<sup>25</sup>

The materials of this study are taken from the eighty-three Collects which together with Epistles and Gospels form the "provers" that go with the communion service for the Sundays and Holy Days of the church year. There are other collects identical with these in form and style, which are invariable prayers attached to the daily offices, including the Collects for peace and for grace in Matins; the Collects for peace and for "ayde agaynste all perils" in Evensong; the "constant" collect and the collects for the king of the Communion Service, and a few others. These are excluded from consideration only because the study had to be somehow limited. Any collect from which an example is cited is indicated in an abbreviated manner. Thus, "IV after Trinity" means "Collect for the Fourth Sunday after Trinity," and so on. The

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<sup>25</sup> Anton A. Prins, The Book of Common Prayer, 1549, x.

headings of the propers in the 1549 Book vary greatly as to style, but actually include many which use Roman numerals in the way I have used them here.

The Appendix at the end contains the complete texts of the 1549 English collects and their Latin originals, and is indexed so that the reader may readily find a collect if he wishes to see a quotation in context.

CHAPTER I

As was noted above, the extreme brevity and terseness of the collect form existed side by side with rhetorical effectiveness. Indeed, it may be that the combination of simplicity and shortness of form with some of the rhetorical features of classical "copiousness" is a distinctive mark of collect style. In it certain definite devices are used to overcome what might have been an excessively plain style<sup>1</sup> and what therefore would not have been an appropriate substitute for the Latin style.

The first of these devices, word pairs, is of two sorts, synonymous and non-synonymous. By a synonymous word pair, the kind to be discussed first, I mean one whose members are synonymous in meaning, or nearly so, or which at least refer to the same thing, although possibly emphasizing different aspects of it.<sup>2</sup> Thus there are varying degrees of synonymity between the members of such pairs, the most clearly synonymous probably being those where recently borrowed words which had not yet gathered connotations in English were placed beside native words, as in mortifye and kyll (Innocents' Day), creat and make (Ash wednesday). At the other extreme of synonymity are word pairs whose members are farther apart in meaning than the above, yet close enough so that one could be omitted without radically altering

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<sup>1</sup> "The shortness of these documents [the Collects] invites, and in fact compels, brevity of clause and sentence...and to any good craftsman must suggest an adroit use of balance. But brevity has the Scylla and Charybdis of obscurity and of baldness ever waiting for it; and balance those of monotonous clock-beat and tedious parallelism. The ship is safe through all these..." George Saintsbury, A History of English Prose Rhythm, 126.

<sup>2</sup> Goulburn expresses the commentator's usual attitude toward synonyms: "...if you wish to understand your Bible and Prayer Book, you must never suppose that two words are used with exactly the same meaning, where one would have conveyed all that is intended." Collects of the Day, II, 51.

the sense of the collect. Such are truelye and godlye (Good Friday, Second), succour and defende (St. Michael and All Angels) and newe and contrite (Ash Wednesday). The latter two words are close in meaning in a rather special way, newness being thought of as a result of contrition.

The synonymous word pair was, of course, not new in the language in 1549. As Kellner points out, this tautology is of two sorts in English, (1) synonymous word pairs, both native words, found in Old English prose and poetry, and (2) synonymous word pairs, one native and one borrowed, characteristic of Middle English.<sup>3</sup>

The first type of word pair was characteristic already of the earliest Old English poetry and prose, where it was used for rhetorical purposes, for emphasis, for alliteration, for metrical padding, etc.

In Beowulf one finds such pairs:<sup>4</sup>

rēoc ond rēpe, 1. 122  
fyrene ond faehðe 1. 153  
æpele ond eācen 1. 198  
hynðu ond hrāfyl 1. 277  
frōd ond gōd 1. 279  
wæpen ond gewæðu 1. 292  
fah ond fyrheard 1. 305  
ār ond ombiht 1. 336  
mæg ond magoðegn 1. 408  
idel ond unnyt 1. 413

Synonymous word pairs were also common in Old English prose. In the account of the poet Caedmon, in the Alfredian version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, we find the following:

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<sup>3</sup> Leon Kellner, Historical Outlines of English Syntax, 21, 22.

<sup>4</sup> The examples are from Klaeber's Beowulf, Third edition, 1-413, passim.

halette ond grette  
onswarede...ond ~~ewæð~~  
~~cyðe~~ ond sægde  
gelæredestæn men ond þa leornaras  
rehton...ond sægion  
clyppan ond lufigean  
monade ond lærde  
stæres ond spelles  
song...ond leof<sup>5</sup>

During the Middle English period this tendency was reinforced by the habit of pairing a borrowed hence newer word with a native word, probably for the purposes of clarification,<sup>6</sup> as in the following:

command and bid (Cursor Mundi)  
declare and show (Chaucer, Boethius)  
encline and bow (Chaucer, Melibeus)  
chuse and perceive (Caxton, Blanchardyn)  
fede and norysche (Chaucer, Boethius)  
lord and maister (Robert of Gloucester)  
might and vertu (Cursor Mundi)<sup>7</sup>

Although this new kind of word pair was frequent in Middle English literature, so were pairs where both words were native, and pairs where both words were foreign.<sup>8</sup>

By the time of early Modern English, the use of synonymous word pairs as an ornamental stylistic device was characteristic of many writers. Examples from Thomas Elyot's Gouernour, 1531, must suffice:

rule and moderation  
grosse and ponderous  
facele and easy  
concépt and opinion  
radde and perused  
persist and continue<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>For this purpose I have used the selection in Bright's Anglo-Saxon Reader.

<sup>6</sup>Otto Jespersen, Growth and Structure of the English Language, 96.

<sup>7</sup>Examples from Kellner, "Abwechselung und Tautologie: Zwei Eigentümlichkeiten des Alt- und Mittelenglischen Stiles," Englische Studien, XX, (1895), 1-24.

<sup>8</sup>Kellner's article, cited above, has equally long lists of all three kinds of combinations.

<sup>9</sup>J.T. Moore, Tudor-Stuart Views on the English Language, 64.

That synonymous word pairs in the Collects are useful for securing emphasis is obvious, since repetition in its various forms has always been a rhetorical principle followed to obtain emphasis, and the pairing of a word with its synonym is nothing but a way of repeating its essential meaning with varying overtones and in a different form. For instance, in synnes and wickednes (IV in Advent) both words refer to the same acts, but it is surely more emphatic to refer twice to them, first by a specific noun which suggests the specific acts, and secondly by a general term which suggests attitude and character.

In another way, also, the word pairs are useful for securing emphasis. The long, multisyllabic Latin words of the originals were probably impressive to their hearers for psychological reasons: they gave more time for dwelling upon the ideas expressed, for reflecting more deeply, and for feeling more strongly. Jespersen notes this as an advantage of imported Latin words in heightened prose.<sup>10</sup> The prose of the Collects is heightened prose, and the models before Cranmer and his associates would have made it easy to resort to a highly Latinized diction; but they seem always to have preferred to render the long Latin words or phrase in a pair of short English words, thus securing "a language and order, as is most easy and plain for the understanding."<sup>11</sup> The use of word pairs incorporating short and sometimes native words has some of the psychological benefits of longer words, and does not tax the understanding. A glance at some of the phrases which are translated by word pairs will show how this principle

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<sup>10</sup> Jespersen, op. cit., 141.

<sup>11</sup> Preface to the 1549 Booke of the Common Prayer.

of time is followed: indulgentia tuae propitionis becomes grace and mercy (IV in Advent); vitiorum incentivis becomes worldly and carnal lustes (Circumcision); ad protegendum nos becomes helpe and defende us (III after Epiphany); purificatis becomes pure and cleare (Purification of Saint Mary). Thus, in respect to the time element, word pairs are a traditional English device for providing the English Collects with a degree of emphasis matching that in the Latin.

Many of the synonymous word pairs in the Collects are of the Middle English type, where a native word was placed beside a French or Latin word for the purpose of clarification. Whether these pairs were used from habit, or because the native word was really needed to explain the foreign word, is difficult to determine, as we cannot know much about the vocabulary of the congregations for whom the Prayer Book was designed. The date of the first citation of a borrowed word in the N.E.D., however, should give us some notion of whether the reading public might have been familiar with it.<sup>12</sup> In the list of word pairs which follows, this date appears beside each foreign word in the list:

embrace [1545] and holde faste<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> According to Baugh [History of the English Language, 246], "In Shakespeare's London, though we have no accurate means of measurement, it is probable that not less than a third and probably as many as half of the people could at least read." But the 1549 Service Book was designed for rural parishes as well as for city parishes. And 1549 was at least forty years before Shakespeare's time - a long time in the rapidly increasing literacy of the Renaissance. Can we assume more than 20% literacy among churchgoers?

<sup>13</sup> The N.E.D. gives 1545 for the first citation of embrace in the sense of "to accept a doctrine". In the literal sense of "to surround or clasp" it is cited for 1360.

confessed / 1340 / and shewed forth (Innocents' Day)  
mortifye / 1382 / and kyll (Innocents' Day)  
worldly and carnal / 1470 / (Circumcision)  
perceave / 1300 / and know (I after Epiphany)  
helpe and defende / 1250 / (III after Epiphany)  
lasse / 1340 / and overcome (IV after Epiphany)  
creat / 1549 / and make (Ash wednesday) <sup>14</sup>  
remission / 1225 / and forgevenes (Ash wednesday) <sup>15</sup>  
assault / 1450 / and hurte (II in Lent)  
malyce / 1297 / and wickednesse (Second Easter)  
communion / 1382 / and fellowship (All Saints)

For the reading public, these N.E.D. dates are significant; for the illiterate public they may or may not be. In the case of recently borrowed words quite possibly the native words were added for clarification, but if the Latin (or French) word had been in the language for some time then it is less likely that the native word was added for clarification, although it might have been necessary in an earlier day, as when remission and forgiveness were first paired. In such instances the linguistic tradition might have played a considerable part. Reinforcing the view that the word pairs quoted above are actually clarifying combinations is the fact that ten out of the twelve have the borrowed word first.

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<sup>14</sup> 1549 is given here because the N.E.D. quotes Shakespeare, 1590, as first using the finite form create, and says that the word had appeared previously only in the preterite and past participial forms. The present instance, of the imperative, was evidently overlooked. The making of new verbs from Latin past participles was a favored practice in 16th century English.

<sup>15</sup> This citation is from the Ancren Riwle and includes the whole pair: "in remission and in vorziveness of all þine sinnen."

As ornament, synonymous word pairs sometimes have a rather special function in the Collects, that of rhythmical "filler" for the trochaic cadences adopted by Cranmer as a substitute for the typical Latin cursus.<sup>16</sup>

Slightly over half of the word pairs counted reveal a definitely trochaic metre when scanned. Examples are: pacience and coumfort (II in Advent); synnes and wickednes, lette and hindred, grace and mercye (all IV in Advent); Churche and housholde (V after Epiphany); author and gever (VII after Trinity); ordred and guided (St. Matthias). If, as we might infer from Croll's article, the basic rhythm of English prose cadence is trochaic in effect, with accents of diminishing strength,<sup>17</sup> it will be seen that these word pairs, with their unaccented and, were very useful in contributing to the rhythmical effects in the Collects.

As will be seen from the Latin phrases quoted on page 18, the English word pairs are not translation of Latin word pairs, but expressions of ideas found in various syntactic groups in the Latin. Sometimes, also, a pair translates one word: tantis becomes so many and great (IV after Epiphany); fideliter becomes truelye and godlye (Second Good Friday); mente becomes heart and mind (Ascension Day); multiplica becomes increase and multiply (IV after Trinity). In only two instances are there Latin words for both members of synonymous

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<sup>16</sup> The English rhythms in the Collects are fully discussed by Morris W. Croll in "The Cadence of English Oratorical Prose," Studies in Philology, XVI, (1919), 1-55. According to him, the Latin Collects had on their English versions a "general, purely aural, and in some degree unconscious influence"; hence the statement above is not intended to imply a regularized substitution of English cadence for Latin cursus, collect by collect.

<sup>17</sup> Croll, op. cit., 51.

word pairs: te Rectore, te Duce becomes ruler and guyde (IV after Trinity) and refugium...et virtus becomes refuge and strength (XXIII after Trinity). Even here, however, the Latin does not have a complete counterpart of the English device, since in the first instance the conjunction is lacking, and in the second instance a word intervenes between the first word of the pair and the conjunction. Word pairs, then, were not a feature of the Latin Collects. They do exist in the Vulgate, however, and have been carried on into the English versions of the Bible.<sup>18</sup> In one case where the English Collect was first composed for the 1549 Book, and is based upon the Epistle for the Day, its two word pairs are variations of expressions found in that Epistle (from the Great Bible, which is the text of all Scriptural quotations in the 1549 Book, and is still used for the Psalms and incidental sentences): in the second collect for Easter Day, the scriptural (I Cor. V) maliciousnes and wickednes becomes malyce and wickednesse in the Collect, and bread of purenes and trueth in the Epistle becomes purenesse of living and trueth in the Collect.<sup>19</sup>

The collects abound in another type of word pair also, the non-synonymous kind, which, while unlike synonymous pairs in origin and function, have yet the same aural effect. These could be classified as parallelisms of structure, but aurally their similarity to the other

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<sup>18</sup> Edwin Wintermute

<sup>19</sup> This, and other instances of wording which foreshadows that of the Authorized Version, indicates that Cranmer sometimes chose, from a version previous to the Great Bible, the expression later adopted in 1611.

word pairs seems so strong as to call for their consideration together. There is another similarity between the two kinds of pairs: the connection in thought between the members is so strong that the coordinated group seems a unit. In this second type of pair, both words are necessary to the meaning; they often translate a similar coordinated group from the Latin; and they frequently express important theological themes of Scripture, the early Fathers, or the Prayer Book. This use of a coordinated pair of words to express a moral or theological theme is part of a long tradition of gnomic or sententious phrases in Old and Middle English, such as worda and worca, found in Beowulf and elsewhere; weole and...wunne, in the Ancren KIWLE; booi and soule in Wyclif's Sermon on the Nativity; and moste and leiste in Petrus Comesior. The two members of such a pair frequently alliterated, or were antithetical in meaning, and these characteristics are present in many of the pairs from the 1549 Collects, quoted below:

the quicke and the dead (I in Advent, with no Latin)  
adoption and grace for gratia...adoptione (Second  
Christmas)  
heven and earthe for coelestia simul et terrena  
(II after Epiphany)  
body and soule for mentis et corpore (IV after  
Epiphany and XX after Trinity)  
will and dede for voluntate et actione (I after  
Trinity)  
thinke and doe for cogitandi...et agendi (IX  
after Trinity)  
preuente and folowe for praeueniat et sequatur  
(XVII after Trinity) <sup>20</sup>  
pardon and peace for indulgentiam...et pacem  
(XXI after Trinity)

As can be seen, other words frequently intervene between the coordinated members in the Latin. There are also a few non-synonymous

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<sup>20</sup> St. Augustine's discussion of preventing and following grace is quoted in Goulburn, op. cit., II, 135, and shows the importance of this theme. Prevent in the sense of go before is one of the archaisms of the modern Prayer Book.

word pairs in the English Collects which translate single Latin words, such as folowe and fulfill for gradiamus (Conversion of St. Paul); grace and power for convalescant (I after Epiphany) and helpe and goodnes for munere (XVI after Trinity). This type of word pair, therefore, although it usually reproduces the thought of the Latin, does not always have a formal counterpart there.

It would seem, then, that both the synonymous and non-synonymous word pairs are strictly English rhetorical devices in the 1549 collects.

The importance of the word pair as a distinguishing mark of collect style may be shown by the frequency of its occurrence, as indicated by these figures: of the 83 collects examined, 53 or about five eighths contain one or more word pairs of either type; 28 have non-synonymous pairs only, two to a collect being the limit; 22 have synonymous pairs only, three to a collect being the limit; and three collects, those for I and IV after Epiphany, and the second Good Friday collect, have pairs of both sorts, the latter, of all the collects, being best furnished with word pairs. It has two synonymous and three non-synonymous word pairs. (It is also a good example of the similarity of effect of the two kinds.) In the eighty-three collects, then, we count 41 synonymous word pairs and 35 non-synonymous word pairs, or a total of 76 word pairs of any sort. These figures, of course, might be susceptible of some variation on the basis of a different classification of some of the pairs, which is possible since it is sometimes a matter of opinion whether two words shall be regarded as synonymous or not. In any case it is obvious that word pairs are an outstanding feature of the language of the Collects.

CHAPTER II

Perhaps more striking than word pairs although not quite as frequent is the use of antithesis - balance in the 1549 collects. Antithesis is the juxtaposition of two ideas in such a way as to emphasize the contrast between them; balance is the parallelism in order, structure or sound of the sentence parts that express these opposing ideas. Antithesis refers to content, balance to form, and it is the two together that constitute a rhetorical device. The figures here considered are those which have both these characteristics.

The ancient Greek rhetoricians made much of this figure: it was one of Aristotle's three "essential elements" <sup>1</sup> and a favorite preoccupation of the ancient sophists, who handed it on with the other Gorgian figures to the rhetoricians of the Second Sophistic, in the second, third and fourth centuries A.D. <sup>2</sup> when Graeco-Roman rhetoric was studied everywhere in the civilized world. This was the period of the great preachers Augustine in Latin Africa <sup>3</sup> and Gregory Nazianzen in the Greek east, and of the unknown writers of the first collects in the Roman sacramentaries. However, "urgency of subject matter" returned Early Christian preaching to the sound ancient tradition of rhetoric, that of Aristotle, which emphasized

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<sup>1</sup> Charles Sears Baldwin, Ancient Rhetoric and Poetic, 31.

<sup>2</sup> Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic, 8, 9, 43.

<sup>3</sup> Baldwin, ibid., 6.

giving effectiveness to truth rather than to the speaker.<sup>4</sup> This "urgency" must have been as effective in the writing of prayers as of sermons, and would have made for a more restrained use of antithesis-balance, and other figures, than was characteristic of the Second Sophistic.

Also, the tradition of terseness and brevity in the collect form made over extension and involvement of these figurae verborum impracticable. Used wisely, they clarify ideas strikingly in a few words, but as a preoccupation they would result in verbosity. The fact that sophistic use of antithesis-balance led to the faults of padding and superficiality cannot be denied.<sup>5</sup> and one naturally inquires if sincerity of thought and accuracy of emphasis in the collects was sacrificed to this stylistic device. An examination of those ideas which are expressed antithetically, however, reveals that they are all fundamental concepts of the Church's teaching, widely accepted by the Fathers and grounded in Scripture. They are such ideas as lend themselves naturally to a division into parts which have elements of contrast with each other. If this contrast had been forced for the sake of the balanced form, it is doubtful whether these compositions would have endured for so many centuries unchanged.

while it is true that a given antithesis may be repeated in several different collects, this is obviously because repetition of the idea was thought necessary, and not because it so readily furnished a rhetorical figure.

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<sup>4</sup> Baldwin, ibid., 6.

<sup>5</sup> Baldwin, ibid., 43.

While antithesis is a natural feature of all languages, it was not the prevalent, conscious device in Old English that it was in the classical languages. Klaeber<sup>6</sup> mentions an example of it in the Beowulf as an indication of Latin influence. In Middle English translation of classical works must have given greater acquaintance with this figure. But it is in the century following the appearance of the 1549 Book that antithesis was to become a prominent mark of English literary style, reaching its greatest extravagance in euphuism.<sup>7</sup> Whether or not the language of the collects influenced subsequent literary development in that respect, it certainly did not hinder it, since it accustomed English ears to the same figures that later became the preoccupation of Lyly and others.

It may be true that the best examples of antithesis-balance must be sought in Greek and Latin<sup>8</sup> because there inflections permit greater word correspondence, and lack of dependence on word order permits figures of transposition (such as chiasmus). Yet an examination of the way in which these figures were transferred from the Latin to the English versions of the collects reveals a remarkable correspondence of features, and that without sacrifice of idiom in the English.

In the collect for the Innocents' Day, we have not in speakyng:  
but in dying for non loquendo: sed moriendo, which shows correspondence

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<sup>6</sup> Beowulf, LXVIII.

<sup>7</sup> In a critical note on sentence structure, in his Works of John Lyly, 540, R. Warwick Bond calls it Lyly's "Dominant artistic principle".

<sup>8</sup> Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic, 44.

in word order and parts of speech. The rhyme is missing as we should expect, prose rhymes being rather rare in English. One does occur near the end of this same collect, however, in another figure of antithesis: oure lyfe maye expresse: with owre tongues we doe confesse, for lingua nostra loquitur: vita fateatur.<sup>9</sup> Here is not the neat syntactic correspondence that there was in the first figure, and it may be that the rhyme was an effort to compensate for this lack. There is also repetition of oure. This antithesis also receives point from being part of the larger pattern, which is noteworthy, and occurs elsewhere. That is, the ideas of talking: doing are expressed briefly first, then in greater detail. The order of the antithetical elements here is talking: doing, doing: talking in English, and talking: doing, talking: doing in Latin.

In the propers for the second Sunday in Lent occurs the clearest and most effective antithesis in the collects. Outwardly in oure bodies: inwardly in oure soules translates interius: exteriusque, where the English reproduces the Latin paronomasia with exactly equivalent adverbs whose balance is further emphasized by the two prepositional phrases of equal weight - not makeweight, but legitimate expansion containing the favorite English pair of contrasting words: bodies: soules. The last part of this collect consists of a more detailed expression of this first antithesis, as in the Innocents' Day collect, but here the correspondence of the antithetical parts is

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<sup>9</sup> Only those parts of both English and Latin versions which are directly involved in the antithesis are quoted, here and elsewhere.

much greater. All adversities which maye happen to the body: all euill thoughtes which maye assault and hurte <sup>10</sup> the soule translates omnibus adversitatibus uniamur in corpore: pravis cogitationibus mundemur ~~in~~ mente. Although the English cannot reproduce the paronomasia of the verbs, it compensates by repetition in all: all and whiche maye: which maye. It is interesting that here the English order of antithetical elements is outward: inward, outward: inward. Whether this chiasmic arrangement of the four members of the two antitheses is itself a "figura verborum" in the Latin is not certain but from this and the collect discussed in the preceding paragraph one can see that the translators felt no obligation to transfer the Latin order of antithetical elements to the English.

Two other collects show this expansion of an original antithesis. That for St. Matthias' day has no Latin source, being composed for the 1549 Book. It has traytor Judas: faythfull servaunte Matthias, and false Apostles: faythfull and true pastors, where the methods of emphasis are parallelism of structure and alliteration. The collect for St. Michael and All Angels has angels: men for Angelorum: hominumque, and thee...in heavene: us in earth for tibi in caelo: in terra vita nostra. The latter is an example of chiasmus (within the antithesis, not between the two antitheses) not reproduced in the English, where perhaps slightly greater parallelism compensates.

Other collects contain more than one antithesis but not in the same relationship to each other as in the four collects considered

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<sup>10</sup> Note that this synonymous word pair does not injure the effect of balance.

above. In IX after Trinity we find thinke: doe for cogitandi: agendi where the only correspondence is in parts of speech; and without thee: by thee for sine te: secundum te and cannot be (i.e., cannot exist): be able to liue (i.e., can exist) for esse non possemus: vivere valeamus, both being marked by word repetition in English.<sup>11</sup>

In XI after Trinity we have all thyngs that maye hurte us: those thyngs thou wouldst have doen, which are nearly parallel in structure and have repetition of thyngs, for universa nobis adversantice: quae tua sunt, which are not parallel at all. Between the elements of this antithesis, in the English, are so many modifiers, including the familiar body and soule, that the force of the longer antithesis is somewhat dissipated.

Among those with several antitheses, the collect for XII after Trinity has much more striking antithesis-balance in the English than in the Latin. Thou...ready to heare: we to praye and [thou] wont to giue: we desyre or deserue are both without formal counterparts in the Latin. Forgeuing us: geuyng unto us translates dimittas: adjicias, which are followed by parallel quae clauses whose English counterparts are not parallel, but the English compensates by the paronomasia of forgeuing: geuyng.

Two of the collects having more than one antithesis have no Latin originals, but base their figures on Scripture. That for the first Sunday in Advent has more antitheses than any other collect.

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<sup>11</sup> The use of be in two different senses makes the English less satisfactory here than the Latin. The revision of 1662, however, has not sharpened the antithesis, but abandoned it, except for the without thee: by thee.

The first two, cast awaye: put upon, and workes of darknes: armour of light are from Romans XIII, 12, part of the Epistle for the day. Both have perfect syntactic parallelism. In the next one, now in the tyme of this mortall lyfe: in the last daye, lyfe and daye both have modifying relative clauses which are structurally parallel except that the second has an infinitive phrase added to it. Within these clauses are the prepositional phrases in great humilitie: in his glorious maiestye, which have alliterating g's and paronomasia to help the parallelism. Scriptural, of course, but in a more general way than the above antitheses. Quicke: dead is another antithesis and mortall lyfe: lyfe immortal, with chiasmic word order, still another. Although forty-two words intervene between the two members of this last antithesis, the repetition of words is sufficient to emphasize the contrast. We count therefore six antitheses in this one collect, expressed in parallel structures and enhanced by alliteration, paronomasia and chiasmus, having antithesis within antithesis.

The second collect for Easter Day also takes an antithesis directly from the Epistle for the day. Leauen of malyce and wickednesse: purenesse of liuing and truth is only a slight variation of I Corinthians V, 8. In the same collect to dye for our synnes: to rise againe for our justification has as Scriptural ~~basis~~ the idea and some of the vocabulary found in Romans V, 24, 25, but not there expressed as an antithesis.

Often a recurrent theme of the Prayer Book has been expressed antithetically in more than one collect with but slight variations in meaning. "Thinking" as opposed to "doing", for example, is

expressed in several ways:

speaking: dving (Innocents' Day)  
to know: to fulfill (I after Epiphany)  
good desires: good effects (First Easter)  
maye tynke: maye performe (V after Easter)  
will: dede (I after Trinity)  
thinke: doe (IX after Trinity)

The idea of the temporal or bodily as opposed to the spiritual is expressed in these ways:

law for man: circumcision of thy spirite (Circumcision)  
outwardly in oure bodies: inwardly in oure  
soules (II in Lent)  
thinges temporall: thinges eternall (IV after  
Trinity)

Sin as opposed to virtue or purity is expressed in these ways:

sacrifice for synne: example of Godly life  
(II after Easter)  
thinges...contrary: thinges...agreable  
(III after Easter)  
hurtfull thinges: thinges...profitable  
(VIII after Trinity)  
thynges that maye hurte us: thynges that  
thou wouldest have doen (IX  
after Trinity)  
leauen of malyce and wickednesse: pureness of  
liuing and trueth (Easter Day, second)

In a few instances the 1549 collects have failed to reproduce antitheses in the Latin originals, although the sense of the Latin is obviously acceptable. This might indicate that the translators were at least not using these figurae for their own sakes. For instance, in the collect for XV after Trinity, abstrahatur a noxiis: ad salutaria dirigatur, an antithesis with paronomasia and chiasmus, has become kepe us euer by thy helpe, and leade us to al thynges profitable to our saluacion, a coordination which does not match the neat Latin figure. The English was either felt as unsatisfactory,

or the 1662 revisers did not wish to miss the opportunity for a figure, because they added a phrase which resulted in a reproduction of the Latin features: Keep us ever by thy help from all things hurtful, and lead us to all things profitable to our salvation, with structural parallelism and word repetition. In another case (the collect for Epiphany) both the English and Latin collects seem to have missed a chance for antithetical expression of a striking contrast in the Scriptural text upon which the prayer was based, that of faith as opposed to sight (II Cor. V, 7), for while the Latin has both fide and speciem, these words have no parallelism in their settings, and the English has a rather elaborate metaphor, fruition of thy glorious Godhead, in place of "sight". The commentators generally regret this failure to use the great Scriptural theme.<sup>12</sup> These two collects are, however, exceptions, for the general tendency of the 1549 collects is to reproduce by comparable means the antitheses in the Latin originals, and where there is no Latin, to make full use of Scriptural antitheses.

A summary of the means used for the expression of antithesis in the English collects includes parallelism of syntactic groups, repetition of words, paronomasia, alliteration, one example of rhyme (Innocents Day) and two examples of chiasmus (I in Advent and VIII after Trinity). These are of course the very devices used in the Latin collects, but as has been seen there is not exact correspondence between the two versions of feature for feature.

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<sup>12</sup> Massey Hamilton Shepherd, Oxford American Prayer Book Commentary, 108, Goulburn, op. cit., I, 186.

A summary of the extent to which antithesis-balance is used in the 1549 collects reveals that of the eighty-three collects examined thirty-one, or roughly three eighths, have figures of antithesis-balance. Most of these have one or two figures per collect, only three having more. (There is some leeway in these numbers because sometimes a decision as to whether there is one or two figures is necessarily subjective.) Twenty-four collects base their antitheses on similar figures in the Latin originals. Seven have no Latin originals, but two of these (discussed above) base their antitheses directly on New Testament Scriptural figures.

CHAPTER III

Another outstanding characteristic of the collects' language is metaphorical expression. I use this term to include two separate figures, tropes and extended metaphors, which I concede to be terms often used interchangeably, and which I use even here to designate two things which are of the same basic nature. But there is a distinction sometimes made by rhetoricians which will be useful here: a trope is a metaphor expressed in a single word. But in both trope and metaphor one thing is named or implied where another is meant.<sup>1</sup> In this discussion, then, a trope is a single word applied in something other than its original, literal signification, implying similarity between the two things involved, whereas a metaphor is a more extended, implied comparison, using more than one word, but not using like or as.

Tropes have long been recognized as having their beginning in necessity during the primitive stages of a language, when concrete terms are extended to abstract ideas, for which specific terms are developed relatively late in a language's growth. Through this necessary activity, users of figurative language are thought to have discovered pleasure in the use of metaphor as ornament. Cicero

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<sup>1</sup> John F. Genung, Outlines of Rhetoric, 149.

described the process thus:

Modus transferendi verba lati patet; quam  
necessitas primum genuit, coacta inopia  
et angustia; post autem delectatio,  
jucunditasque celebravit.<sup>2</sup>

This was, of course, true of the original Hebrew and to a lesser degree the Greek, of the Bible.<sup>3</sup> This language, through the various sixteenth century English translations, influenced the language of the collects in the use of tropes. These expressions in the collects, although they seldom reproduce specific passages, are nearly always words used tropically somewhere in English Scripture, usually in several places.

In "whiche haste knitte together thy electe" (All Saints), knitte is a trope used in Judges XX, 11, I Samuel XVIII, 1, I Chronicles XII, 17, Ephesians IV, 16, Bishops Bible (the Authorized Version has joined), and Colossians II, 2 and 19. In the latter passage the English trope in translating an unfigurative Greek word, has apparently added to the meaning of the original.<sup>4</sup>

The passage "mortifye and kyll all vices" (Innocents' Day) uses kyll tropically as part of the word pair which translates the Latin mortifica, probably a trope itself. Kill is used tropically in Job V, 2, Proverbs XXI, 25, and II Corinthians III, 6. Mortifye is

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<sup>2</sup> De Oratore, Book III.

<sup>3</sup> John Livingston Lowes, "Noblest Monument of English Prose" in Essays in Appreciation.

<sup>4</sup> Goulburn, op. cit., II, 375.

a trope in Romans VIII, 13, and Colossians III, 5, and is probably always tropical in modern usage.

In "blast of vaine Doctrine" (Saint Mark's Day) the trope blast is substituted for wind, used as a trope in the day's Epistle, Ephesians IV, on which this collect is based. Blast is used tropically five places in the Old Testament.

In the word pair "embrace and euer holde fast" (II in Advent) embrace is probably a trope. Certainly embrace must have still had a strong literal meaning in 1549, since the Oxford Dictionary gives as its first citation for the sense of "adopting or accepting a doctrine", which is essentially the meaning of embrace in this instance, the use of the word in Brinklow's Lament, in 1545.

The trope clense occurs in the collects for XVI and XXI after Trinity and abundantly in Scripture. In the Latin originals of both collects it is a form of the verb mundiare, which in classical Latin already had the extended meaning to purify and hence may or may not have been used tropically in the Latin collects. Similarly, powre seems to be a trope in "powre down upon us" (XII after Trinity) and powre thy grace into our heartes (Annunciation), in all of which powre translates effunde or infunde, which had by the time of classical Latin acquired its extended meaning. This English trope has extensive Scriptural use, occurring seven times in the Psalter alone.

Other words in the collects may be regarded as tropes and especially may have been so regarded in the sixteenth century, but we have chosen to consider here only those whose literal meaning is still in modern English so strong as to suggest a figure, and which we may therefore consider to have been used for effectiveness. What tropes are used

appear to have been Scriptural, with the exception noted above. As there are few tropes in the Latin collects, the originals may have exerted a restraining influence in this respect.

The other type of metaphor, the more extended implied comparison, is much more plentiful in the English collects. Nearly all of the metaphors occur several times each, and it will be convenient to discuss all instances of each metaphor in one place.

Most frequent of all are metaphors using the imagery of battles. This frequent allusion to war is sometimes explained by the troublous times during which the Latin originals were written, when the Roman Empire was breaking up in the west and the dangers of invasion were ever present. But one can also find ample suggestion of this sort in the Bible, and particularly in the Psalms, where war and battles are possibly the most frequent source of imagery. When the time came for translation of the Bible into English, a long tradition of the transfer of warlike epithets to Christian concepts already existed, such as Godes andsaca,<sup>5</sup> moncynnes weard.<sup>6</sup>

This ancient imagery has, of course, been carried on into modern Christian literature and particularly into the militant hymns.

Usually these metaphors of war are applied, in the Collects, to the struggle between good and evil. We may cast away the workes of darknes, and put upon us the armour of light (I in Advent) is a military metaphor (as well as a metaphor of darkness and light, as noted below), which is borrowed from Romans XIII, 13, 14, in the Epistle

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<sup>5</sup> Beowulf, l. 1682.

<sup>6</sup> Caedmon in Bright, op. cit., 10.

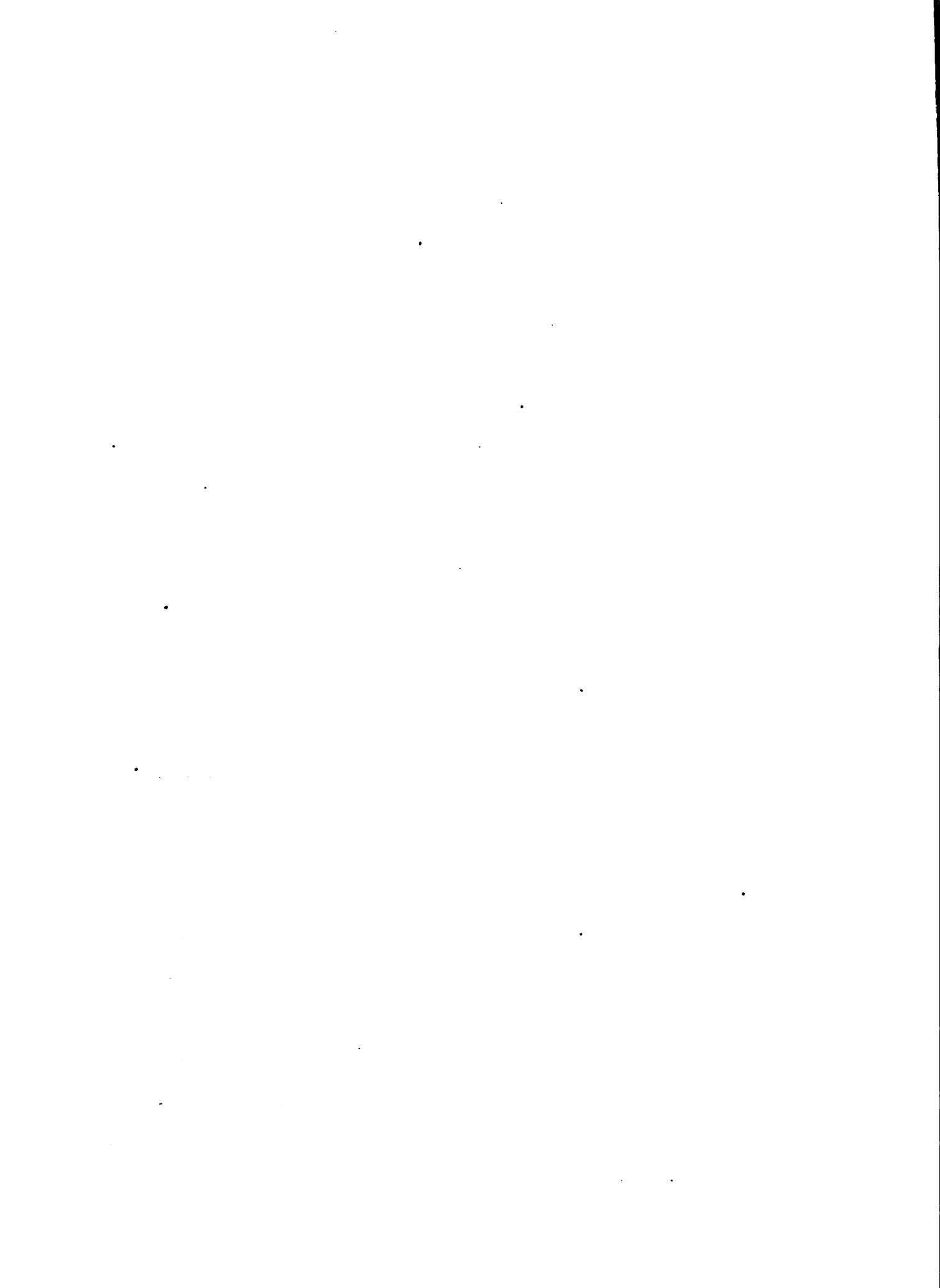
for the day, with the difference that Cranmer has gone back to Wyclif's word works, instead of deeds, which is the word used in the 1549 version of the Epistle. Possibly works had a military connotation more harmonious with armour. If development of the military metaphor were uppermost in the writer's mind, that might have suggested this choice. In any case it is interesting that the words used by the 1549 collect are those eventually adopted by the 1611 translators of the Bible. The metaphors are also antitheses, which are discussed in Chapter II. The collect has no Latin original.

In the collect for II in Lent the "enemy" is again evil. All euell thoughtes which maye assault and hurte the soule presents the figure of the besieged fortress. This metaphor like the one in the collect above, is part of the larger figure of antithesis. This is one of the collects thought to reflect the wars of the times in which it was written.<sup>7</sup> The specific part under consideration, however, seems to be a war metaphor in the English but not at all in the Latin, where it is a pravis cogitationibus mundemur in mente.

The other war metaphors do not seem to suggest aid against an enemy which represents evil, so much as aid against actual worldly enemies. Yet it is possible to interpret these references as being to spiritual enemies, also. Such are (1) stretche foorthe the right hande of thy maiestie to bee oure defense against all oure enemies (III in Lent), which again is a stronger metaphor in the English than in the Latin, which has no mention of enemies; (2) defended against al aduersitie (Sexagesima) and (3) be defended from all aduersitie

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<sup>7</sup> Shepherd, op. cit., 127.



(Trinity Sunday) both of which are nearly literal renderings of similar Latin passages; (4) by thy mightie ayd we may be defended (III after Trinity) which considerably expands the Latin tribue defensionis auxilium, but was further expanded in 1661, when it became we...may by thy mighty aid be defended and comforted in all dangers and adversities; (5) let thy continual pitie cense and defende thy congregation...it cannot continue in safety without thy succour, preserve it...by thy help (XVI after Trinity), where the English version by the use of safety, succour, preserve and help, has suggested the figure of a military rescue, whereas the Latin has only the word munit to suggest such an image, and in its latter part suggests the idea of the church's spiritual health (salva)<sup>8</sup> at least as strongly as its military safety; and lastly (6) our refuge and strength (XXIII after Trinity), which translates closely refugium nostrum et virtus and also possibly foreshadows the A.V. translation of verse 1 of Psalm XLVI, which has "God is our refuge and strength", rather than Coverdale's "God is our hope and strength". It is interesting that development of the war metaphor in this collect has produced a passage which may have influenced the 1611 translators of the Bible. We have referred to eight war metaphors in all, enough to make this subject the greatest source of imagery in the collects. On the whole they are more explicit in the English than in the Latin, and have appeared to be based on Scripture in the main.

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<sup>8</sup> Christian Latin had developed this word to mean "saved from sin", or "spiritually healthy", from which it developed the word "Salvator". See Christine Mohrmann, no, "Le Latin commun et le latin des chretiens", in Vigiliae Christianae, I, No. 1, Jan. 1947. The fact that Old English uses the word haelend to translate Salvator is interesting, since OE haelend never refers to one who brings military salvation, but means "healer".

Metaphors using light, or light versus darkness are second in number in the collects. These, of course, are distinctly Scriptural and in three out of the five occurrences are based directly upon the Epistle for the day. The figure caste away the workes of darknes and put upon us the armour of light (I in Advent) is from Romans XIII, 12, 13, and is the darkness versus light metaphor within the war figure. The metaphor lighten the darknes of our hearte (III in Advent) is also suggested by a passage in the day's Epistle: "until the Lord come, which will lighten things that are hid in darkness", I Corinthians IV, 5. This very brief collect had no Latin original and in the 1662 version was replaced by a lengthy and complicated one, which does not retain this metaphor.

The most extended metaphor of light in the collects is that for St. John the Evangelist's Day: cast thy bryght beames of lyght upon thy churche, that it beeyng lightened, which perhaps expands and strengthens <sup>the</sup> the metaphor in the Latin, which has Ecclesiam tuam... illustra...ut...illuminata. Illusara and illuminata had already lost much of their figurative power in classical Latin, but the English words give a definite image. The Epistle for the day also gives a basis for this metaphor in the passage in I John I, 5-7, beginning "...God is light". Shepherd notes the suitability of this figure: "The metaphor of 'light' which suffuses this collect is especially appropriate, for it is constantly so used in the Gospel and the First Epistle of John to describe not only the nature of Christian experience, but also the nature of God Himself. 9

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9 Shepherd, op. cit., 101.

This is one of the metaphors which was further extended in the 1662 revision which added the phrases "light of thy truth" and "light of everlasting life" in the last part, and changed the word lyghtened to enlightened, possibly because the former had already undergone semantic change by 1662.

The light of thy truth (III after Easter) translates veritatis tuae lumen, and the lyght of thy Holy Spirit (Whitsunday) translates Sancti Spiritus illustratione, but neither of these is based upon a specific phrase in the Epistle as in the case of the other "light" metaphors, ~~and Cranmer's simile metaphor of light confusing or inaccurate.~~

Metaphors of physical health or strength are also five in number. For mannes fraylnes we cannot always stand uprightly; Graunt ...health of body and soule (IV after Epiphany) is a close translation of the Latin collect, which suggests the metaphor through the words fragilitate and salutem. The latter word, whose Christian development was similar to that of salva, mentioned above, has here both its spiritual and physical meanings included, since it occurs with mentis et corporis. Stand uprightly, a picturesque phrase in the English, makes a much stronger metaphor there than subsistere does in the Latin. No specific passage of Scripture furnishes all the details of this metaphor, and its connection with both the Epistle and Gospel for the Day is lacking or very indirect. We know that Cranmer changed the Epistle for the day, but even the older Epistle, Romans XIII, 8-10, from the Salisbury Use, lacks the close connection with the collect seen in other instances.

The 1928 American revision chanted the Gospel for the day, which now includes two miracles of physical healing, so that the metaphor in the collect now bears closer relation to the Gospel. In the 1662 revision strength was substituted for health and other changes were made in the last part of the collect, but the original metaphor remained unchanged.

Very similar is the metaphor in the collect for XV after Trinity: the frailtie of man without thee cannot but fall translates the Latin sine te labitur humana mortalitas, where again the English image seems more vivid than the Latin, frailtie at least being more pictorial than mortalitas. The original Latin of this collect has been explained as expressing the anti-helagianism of its writer, Gelasius, who wished to emphasize man's inability to save himself,<sup>10</sup> and the English metaphor is not inharmonious with this idea.

The most extended metaphor in this class is, as might be expected, in the collect for St. Luke's Day: Luke the phisician...a phisician of the soule...by the holesome medicines of his doctryne, to heale all the diseases of our soules. It has no Latin original and no connection with the Epistle and Gospel for the day, but combines the fact of Luke's profession, explicitly stated by St. Paul, and indicated by his Gospel, with the many metaphorical allusions in Scripture to "healing" of the soul, as in Psalm CIII, 2-3: "Bless the Lord, O my soul...who healeth all thy diseases." It is interesting that the American revision of 1928 replaced this collect with one that prayed for bodily as well as spiritual healing powers, in accordance

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<sup>10</sup> Goulburn, op. cit., II, 120.

with the idea of a healing ministry, then being emphasized by the church. <sup>11</sup> The 1549 metaphor, accordingly, was not retained.

Two other expressions might be called metaphors of health: infirmities (III after Epiphany) a word still having chiefly physical connotations in English, for infirmittatem, and infeccions of the Deuil (XVIII after Trinity) for diabolica contagia. The latter was definitely suggested by the Latin, since no Scriptural reference to the devil as a source of "infection" can be found. <sup>12</sup>

Agriculture, which supplies so many metaphors in the Bible, is the source of three metaphors in the collects. Graff in our heartes... increase in us...norishe us... (VII after Trinity) translates the equally suggestive Latin words insere...praesta augmentum...nutrias. The metaphor of a growing tree or vine could have been suggested by the Epistle's words, "Wh t fruit had you then..." There are two other expressions which can be placed in this class. Plenteously bringing furth the frute of good workes (XV after Trinity) is probably a more vivid figure than the Latin divini operis fructum...exequentes, which, using meanings well established by the time of classical Latin, could mean "accomplishing the result of divine work", and hence may not have been a mixed metaphor, as Goulburn suggests. <sup>13</sup> In any case, the English metaphor could have been suggested by the verb parcipiant,

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<sup>11</sup> Shepherd, op. cit., 254.

<sup>12</sup> So far as I know, "infections of the Devil" is a phrase peculiar to this collect, but C.S. Lewis, modern Anglican writer, in Beyond Personality, uses the phrase "Good Infection" as a chapter heading and to designate a concept.

<sup>13</sup> Goulburn, op. cit., II, 190.

which has gather as one meaning. References to "fruits of the Spirit", etc., abound in Scripture. Fruicion of thy Glorious Godhead occurs in the Epiphany collect and may be intended to present the image of gathering fruit, but if so, it seems inappropriate here, since the "faith" versus "sight" idea is what is expected, and what the Latin collect has. <sup>14</sup>

Two other figures occur three times each, both of them being so much a part of Christian ideology that they hardly seem metaphorical. One is the figure of the "way", or the footsteps of one walking a path. In the collect for III after Easter we have all men that be in errour ...that they maie returne into the waye...and folow all such thinges, which takes all its metaphorical elements from the Latin: qui errantibus, ut in viam possuit redire...et...sectari. If the English word error be taken in its literal sense of "wandering", which is the meaning of its Latin counterpart, the figure is more complete. This prayer was originally intended for the day on which the newly baptized catechumens were admitted to the church, and it is they who, redeemed from original sin, are likened to the wanderers. While the figure is not found in the Epistle or Gospel of the day it has ample Scriptural basis elsewhere. The collect for the Sunday before (II after Easter) has a similar metaphor: to follow the blessed steppes of his moste holy lyfe. This collect has no Latin original, but the metaphor has connections with a line in the Epistle for the day: "For ye were as sheep going astray" (I Peter 25). The fact that these similar metaphors occur on consecutive Sundays, in one instance translated from the Latin, in the other in free English composition, suggests

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<sup>14</sup> See discussion of this collect in the chapter on antithesis.

that they were one means of giving unity of thought to the post-Resurrection propers in the English book.

In the collect for St. Philip and St. James's Day the Scriptural passage, John XIV, 6, which has placed this metaphor at the heart of Christian teaching, is quoted: to know thy Sonne Jesus Christe to be the way, the trueth, and the lyfe. As happened in several instances, the 1662 revision of this collect greatly expanded the metaphor.. It adds these words: following the steps...we may stedfastly walk in the way...

Metaphorical description of the church as God's "household" or "Family" is equally important in Christian teaching. It occurs in this thy famely (Good Friday, First), literal translation of familiam tuam; thy household the church (XXII after Trinity), for familiam tuam; and thy church and household (V after Epiphany) for familiam tuam. Goulburn notes about the last collect: "there is no 'church' in the original: people who use the Collect are supposed to understand that God's household is the Church".<sup>15</sup> where church is added in the two English phrases above, it may have been for sake of rhythm; or it may have been from a wish to be more explicit about this concept of the church. This metaphor abounds in Scripture.

Two collects use the figure of shackles or bonds for sins. In the collect for IV in Advent the English words derive a complete image from relatively slight suggestion in the Latin: soore lette and hindred with its emphatic adverb and word pair translates praepediunt; spedily

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<sup>15</sup> Op. cit., VI, 220.

deluere, again with the adverbial element added, and with the suggestion of "untying" in the verb, translates acceleret. This metaphor was evocative enough as it stood; the 1662 revision, apparently to extend the metaphor, added "in running the race that is set before us," words which are Scriptural, Hebrews, XII, 1, but which make an insertion too complicated and lengthy to be in true Collect style. The other collect using this metaphor is that for XXIV after Trinity: that...we may be delivered from the bands of all those sins for ut a peccatorum nostrorum nexibus quae contraximus...libere-  
remur. One explanation of the Latin figure would give it more meaning than has been transferred to the English.<sup>16</sup> According to it, nexus could mean, besides band, the liability, in Roman law, of a citizen to become a slave to his creditor if he were unable to pay his bills. Contraximus meant we have contracted [debts?]. Therefore, liberemur would mean "we are freed from slavery resulting from our sins." The parable of the servant who was forgiven his debts, Matt. XVIII, 27, could be the Scriptural basis of this interpretation.

There are two metaphors of sheep and shepherd in the collects. The third collect for Good Friday has: fetche them home...to thy flocke, that they maye bee...made one folde under one shepherde, but neither of the three Latin collects which furnished elements of this collect contains any suggestion of this metaphor. Nor is it found in the Epistle or Gospel for the day, although there is abundant

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<sup>16</sup> Goulburn, op. cit., II, 185.

Scriptural example of it elsewhere, especially John X, 16. The other instance of this metaphor is in the collect for St. Peter's Day: commaundeste him...to feede thy flocke; make...all bishops and pastors diligently to preache...and the people obediently to folowe. There is no Latin original for this and no such metaphor in the Epistle and Gospel for the day, but Scriptural basis is found in John XXI, 16, where the reference is directly to St. Peter. Twice seems a relatively infrequent occurrence for the pastoral metaphor, considering its prominence in the Bible, and its extended use in other Christian communions.

One metaphor alone, in the 1549 collects, has something of ambiguity in its expression. This is the figure of a lord of a household distributing treasure to his retainers, who run to receive it. Or perhaps it is a picture of men running a race to receive the prizes. For the latter, a number of New Testament passages could have furnished the suggestion. These are explained as "allusion to the custom in their races, of hanging up a crown or garland at the goal, and such as first laid hold on it and took it down had it as a reward." <sup>17</sup> The collect for XI after Trinity has: we, running to thy promises, may be made partakers of thy heavenly treasure, a close translation of the Latin, which has bonorum, a word which hardly suggests prizes for a race. The metaphor in XIII after Trinity has we may so runne to thy heauenly promises that we faile not finally to attayne the same, for ad promissiones tuas sine offensione curramus, with again no Latin word for "treasure". The difficulty of interpreting this figure seems to be the words "running to promises",

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<sup>17</sup> Cruden, Concordance to the Holy Scriptures, 500.

whether the "promises" are figured as prizes or a share of treasure. Since the two collects occur only one Sunday apart, it is natural to suppose that the same image was intended in each case, but exactly what the image was is not clear. This is unusual, since as a rule the picture suggested however lightly by a metaphor in the collects is quite specific. At any rate, in 1662 this expression was changed to the more Scriptural "running the way of thy commandments" in XI after Trinity, and to "attain thy heavenly promises" in XIII after Trinity, possibly because of the uncertainty about the metaphor. The changes, however, represent not a clarification of the original metaphor, but a substitution for it. The modern collect for XI after Trinity has "we, running the way of thy commandments, may obtain thy gracious promises;" the modern collect for XIII, after Trinity has "Grant...that we may so faithfully serve thee in this life, that we fail not finally to attain thy heavenly promises."

One metaphor of building occurs, an unusually extended one, in the collect for St. Simon and St. Jude's day: O Almighty God, whiche hast builded the congregacion upon the foundation of the Apostles and prophetes, Jesus Christ himselfe being the head corner-stone... graunt us so to bee ioyned together in unitie of spirite by their doctrine, that we maye be made an holy temple acceptable unto thee... There is no Latin original, but the words are very close to Ephesians II, 19-22, a passage which in the American revision of 1928 has replaced the traditional Epistle of the day from the book of Jude. This metaphor, because of its detailed development and almost word for word use of scriptural phrases, reminds us of the metaphors in the collects for St. Luke's Day and St. Peter's Day.

In addition to tropes, we have discussed thirty-three metaphors, which means that roughly 40% of the 83 collects have this figure of speech. Eight of these metaphors are in collects without Latin originals. In two cases, Epiphany and the third Good Friday collect, although there are generally accepted Latin originals for these they furnish no basis for the metaphors in the English. All the other metaphors could have been suggested by words in the Latin originals, but usually the figure has been more fully developed in the English than in the Latin, by the use of more words, and particularly of more modifiers, and by the addition of more concrete details. Even granting that the Latin words had more connotations for sixth century Christians than we can possibly know about, we must conclude that the Latin metaphors seem barely suggested figures beside their English developments. Most of the Latin words used had had abstract meanings for centuries before the collects were written; and sometimes the Latin versions can be translated almost without metaphorical suggestion.

This degree of vividness in the English metaphors is probably due to their Scriptural nature, for although they have been suggested by the Latin originals they have taken their phraseology from English Scripture, and we know that sixteenth century English has been adjudged a good match for the original Hebrew and Greek of the Bible,<sup>18</sup> in the matter of vividness and concreteness. At the same time, however, the English versions show the restraining influence of the Latin in this matter. We can see this by contrasting them with the

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<sup>18</sup> Lowes, op. cit.

metaphors in those collects composed new in 1549, especially the saint's day collects mentioned above, where extended metaphors are reproduced from Scripture almost word for word, and where the results are nearly twice the length of the translated collects. But however the Scriptural source has been used, it is the only source used, and the metaphors are those found not once or twice but usually many other times in the Bible. This is in accord with a principle formulated in modern times: "Scriptural phrases and images have, therefore, peculiar authority for the Church, and their use in worship, especially public worship, has a unique appropriateness." <sup>19</sup>

That the writers of the collects and subsequent revisers of the Prayer Book were conscious of the imagery they used is evident, since several times a particular metaphor, by its repetition on consecutive Sundays, seems to have been used as a means of giving unity to a particular season; and in several instances revisions following 1549 have changed the Epistle or Gospel to include a passage which has the Scriptural basis of the metaphor in the collect.

As to their place in literary history, the 1549 metaphors are unlike the earliest English metaphors, the picturesque kennings of Old English poetry, nor are they anything like the novel and outré metaphors in which the Euphuistic style of the period immediately following, delighted. They are also less complicated and more terse than those of the 1662 revision of the Book of Common Prayer. They are, in short, strictly according to Scriptural convention, concrete,

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<sup>19</sup> Doctrine in the Church of England, The Report of the Commission on Christian doctrine appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York in 1922, 34.

but limited in extension; and modern writers who would add collects to the service should be especially careful that the metaphors they use are perfectly harmonious with those in the original 1549 collects. Otherwise a false note is struck.

CHAPTER IV

A number of minor rhetorical devices distinguish the language of the collects. These are parallelisms of structure other than those used to express antitheses, series, paronomasia and alliteration.

Parallel syntactic groups occur in several places. Our hearts may surely there be fixed: whereas true joys are to be found (IV after Easter) shows an effort to render the Latin parallelism ibi nostra fixa sint corda: ubi vera sunt gaudia. There is perhaps some straining for effect in the position of there in the English, although this may not have sounded out of place in 1549. It is worthy of note that the Latin word play in ibi: ubi and sint: sunt, which cannot be reproduced in English, is compensated by the alliteration of fixed: found, which are parallel grammatical forms. The collect for Ascension Day has a parallelism much more marked in the English than in the Latin, which has no parallelism here, - in heart and mind thither ascend: with him continually dwell. It is interesting that the three syntactic elements, prepositional phrase, adverb, and verb, give an effect of perfect balance in English, without any correspondences other than syntactic weight. Thus, the objects of the prepositions can be compound and single, the adverbs need not be formed in the same way, and the verbs need not correspond in any way except tense and number. This is not always the case in the English parallelisms, however. In the collect for IV after Trinity we find word repetition added to syntactic correspondence: nothing is strong, nothing is holy translates nihil est validum, nihil sanctum,

where ellipsis prevents as complete correspondence as the English has, unless the inflexional endings of the adjectives are considered to contribute greater parallelism than does repetition of the verb. In fact, it may be that the possibility of play with inflexional endings in Latin contriouted to development of the habit of parallelism there; certainly those in the Latin collects, including the many used in antitheses, have inspired their English translators to imitation in so far as the nature of the language permits.

Another device, one which is responsible for some of the most striking and oft-quoted collects, is the series. It is a kind of parallelism but always involves more than two units. Unlike parallel groups of two units, it seems not to have been a feature of the Latin collects, for only one such group occurs there, and that one is taken from Scripture. Most famous of these passages is probably the series from the collect for II in Advent, commonly known as "Bible Sunday": graunte us that we maye in suche wise heare them, read, marke, learne, and inwardly digeste them. Like all the series in the collects, the various members of this one seem to be arranged in ascending order of importance of meaning, in this case "to give the idea of a gradual progress from a superficial acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures to the profoundest reception of them in the inner man." <sup>1</sup> These words cannot be found as a series in Scripture, but have been separately ascribed to various passages in the New Testament. (The collect has no Latin original, and took its theme from the Epistle for the day.) The success of this series is due partly to its comprehensiveness of meaning

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<sup>1</sup> Goulburn, op. cit., VI, 119.

and partly to its rhythmical pattern, which has unity because it begins and ends with a trochaic foot, but has in between these feet an interesting distribution of accented and unaccented syllables: / u // u / u u / u

This is accomplished by insertion of an object with the first verb and an adverbial modifier with the last, two words which save this series from monotony, and are evidently used for that purpose, since they are unnecessary to the meaning. A similar insertion, before the last verb of the series, occurs in the collect for VII after Trinity: graffe in our hartes the loue of thy name, increase in us true religion, norishe us with all goodnes, and of thy great mercy kepe us... Here a series takes the place of the Latin anaphora: quae sunt bona metrias...quae sunt nutrita custodias.

The third Good Friday collect has two series, but the first is a simple enumeration and without rhetorical significance: all Jewes, Turkes, Infidels, and heretikes, which was replaced by an inclusive designation in the 1928 American revision. The other one has its members arranged in ascending order of importance: take from the all ignoraunce, hardnes of heart, and contempt of thy word, which has been explained as referring to the "roots of unbelief" in mind, heart, and will.<sup>2</sup> It has no counterpart in any of the three Latin collects upon whiche this one is based.

Two of the remaining three series in the collects are Scriptural. Geve unto us the increase of faythe, hope, and charitie (XIV after Trinity) is a close translation of da nobis fidei spei, et charitatis

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<sup>2</sup> Goulburn, op. cit., VI, 337.

augmentum, the only series in the Latin collects, and one which is obviously Scriptural. The other Scriptural series is in the collect for S. Philip and S. James: Graunt us perfectly to knowe thy sonne Jesus Christe to bee the way, the trueth, and the lyfe, a direct quotation from John XIV, 6, in the Gospel for the day.

One other series remains to be noted; that is, the collect for S. John Baptist's day: and after his example constantly speake the trueth, boldly rebuke vice, and patiently suffre for the truethes sake. There is no Latin original for this, and no corresponding series in Scripture, although Scriptural basis for each separate adjuration can be found. The third member of this series seems to be emphasized in this instance by attachment of a modifying phrase which is longer than the objects attached to the other members. This series has always seemed to me too heavy to be effective. As this is the only series where the syntactic key word in each member (here the verb) is preceded by a modifier, in each case a rather long adverb, this may be where the trouble lies. The whole collect is of unusual length, and compasses unusual quantity of matter, as noted by Goulburn.<sup>3</sup>

In general, the use of series in collect style is an aid to terseness. If three to five syntactic units can be made to depend upon one unit, something has been achieved in the way of condensation. Also, the use of series is an aid to emphasis, since a string of units permits building up to a climax, or the arrangement of items in order of importance. That it is a successful device is amply demonstrated

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<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., II, 289,

by the frequency with which some of the collects here cited are quoted.

There are several kinds of word play in the collects: repetition of the same word or another form of the same word; paronomasia, or repetition of word parts; and even a few instances of rhyme. The first of these, repetition, we should expect since it is an ancient device of emphasis in all languages, and is especially useful in compositions intended to be spoken, since it contributes repetition of sound as well as of sense. A few of the more striking examples in the collects must suffice. In the collect for II in Lent, we find: we have no power of ourselves to help ourselves, and then bodies...souls, body...soul, which has been mentioned in the section on antithesis. This collect has no Latin original. In XIX after Trinity occurs without thee we are not able to please thee, for tibi sine te placere non possumus, which cannot be said to inspire the repetition, since Latin uses more cases of the pronoun and hence has different words for it here. Again, plenteously bringing forth the fruit of good works, may of thee be plenteously rewarded (XXV after Trinity) gets no inspiration from the Latin: divini operis fructum propensius exequentes, pietatis tuae remedia majora percipiant. There is repetition in the Latin collects, however, as in nihil est validum, nihil sanctum (IV after Trinity), which becomes nothyng is strong, nothing is holy. But later in the same collect the Latin has te Rectore, te Duce, translated thou being our ruler and guide, without repetition, and per bona temporalia... aeterna which becomes through things temporal...things eternal, with repetition of things. We must conclude that repetition is used in

both languages, but not instance for instance.

Paronomasia, or repetition of word elements, which might be expected to be much more frequent in Latin than in English because of the presence of more inflexional endings in Latin, does very well in English, also. In the collect for XII after Trinity occurs eyther we desyre or deserue, where alliteration contributes to the word relationship, translating et merita...et vota which is hardly comparable as word play. In other instances, however, the English paronomasia is formed on nearly the same pattern as the Latin figure, as in outwardly in oure bodies, and inwardly in our soules (II in Lent) for interius exteriusque. It will be noticed that in the English figures native and borrowed Latin words work equally well, probably because the method of compounding words is the same in both languages, and it is the presence of compound words with recognizable elements that makes paronomasia possible. As this figure is nearly always the handmaiden of antithesis-balance, examples of it have been cited in the section on the latter figure, and there is no need for multiplying them here. Possibly as a consequence of using this device, an occasional rhyme has slipped into the prose of the collects: oure lyfe may expresse...we doe confesse (Innocents' Day) and truely repent, and lament (St. Mary Magdalene's Day). These may be considered accidental, since they are so rare and since rhyme has never been a characteristic of dignified English prose, although it did become a characteristic of Euphuistic style.

There remains only the purely aural figure, alliteration, to be discussed. Alliteration was of course a traditional feature both of prose and poetry in English, and of Latin literature, although in

Old English verse the alliteration is not an added suggestion, as in Latin verse, but an organic part.<sup>4</sup> In the latter half of the sixteenth century alliteration as a prose ornament was carried to the greatest extremes, as exemplified in the styles of Thomas Becon, George Pettie, and John Lyly.<sup>5</sup> The last named developed the most complicated patterns of alliteration in his Euphues, which are described by his chief editor and critic.<sup>6</sup> But as in the case of the other rhetorical devices, the 1549 collects observe restraint in the use of alliteration. Counting only those instances where the initial consonant is repeated three or more times, slightly over a third of the English collects have alliteration, with the new 1549 compositions having it as frequently as those with Latin originals. It is not quite so prevalent in the Latin collects as in the English, and where it does occur it most often is the letter p which is repeated. This is probably due to the large number of words beginning with this letter which occur in Christian Latin prayers, such as forms of pax, peccatum, peto, pietas, placeo, poenitentia, populus, praesto, preces, proemium, and propitioris. Since most of these are translated by English words beginning with p there are some English collects where that letter alliterates, but there is no preponderance of it, and no correspondence between the English and Latin alliterations of word for word or letter for letter. For example, power, pitie,

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<sup>4</sup> Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic, 148.

<sup>5</sup> Krapp, Rise of English Literary Prose, 338-347 passim.

<sup>6</sup> Bond, Complete works (Introductory Essay), 123, 124.

promises, partakers (XI after Trinity) has little correspondence with maxime, miserando, manifestas, multiplica in the Latin for the day. And sometimes there is no alliteration in the Latin original, as in the collect for St. John, Evangelist's, day, which has in the English beseche, bryght beames, lyght, beyng lyghtened, blessed [euer] lastyng. This example is noteworthy for the mixed alliteration it contains, which may foreshadow the later patterned alliteration of Euphues, mentioned above. And as has been noted in previous sections, alliteration is sometimes used in the collects to point up antitheses and other parallelisms.

A kind of internal consonant repetition sometimes occurs, also, as in the collect for I in Advent where r is repeated: workes, darknes, armour, mortall, great, glorious, imortal, and in the collect for Innocents' Day, where s is repeated: innocentes, witnesses, confessed, vyces, us, conversacion, expresse, confesse.

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CHAPTER V

In the preceding chapters I have discussed in some detail the way in which the rhetorical devices of word pairs, antithesis-balance, metaphors, parallelisms (including series), various kinds of word play, and alliteration were used in the 1549 collects. I venture to suggest several conclusions which one might draw from this examination.

In the first place one observes the constituent nature of these devices. Each collect-sentence is such a well-unified whole that all of its parts are necessary to its total effect. We can and must separate out its various features for analysis and classification; but we usually discover that any given figure is also part of another figure, and we find it difficult to discuss an antithesis apart from the syntactic parallelism, alliteration and paronomasia which express it, or a series apart from the metaphor it expresses. This interweaving is only possible because the figures are well chosen and have the appearance of spontaneity. In the Euphuistic literature of the period following 1549 this was not always the case, for antitheses were constructed where there was no real contrast in thought, metaphors were dragged in from faraway places, and alliteration was pursued at the expense of appropriateness in the alliterating words.<sup>1</sup>

The second observation is that although these rhetorical devices are usually called "ornamental" they in no way detract from the terseness of the collect style, but rather add to it. Metaphors are more

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<sup>1</sup> Bond, op. cit., 120-121, passim.

economical comparisons than similes, and since those in the collects are Scriptural they are a brief way of directing the listeners' attention to the Bible. Synonymous word pairs may seem unnecessary except for rhythm, but they are not of much greater syllabic length than inflected Latin words. Antitheses, by pointing up elements of contrast, bring to mind all the rest of the important theological concepts they emphasize. Therefore, in these and other ways the rhetorical features help the author to say more, as well as to say it more effectively.

Thirdly certain facts can be observed about the kind of influence which the Latin models exerted on the English translation. For one thing it was general rather than specific, except in the case of antitheses, which are usually transferred intact from Latin to English. But word play, for instance, at one place in a Latin collect might not be translated into an English figure of paronomasia, but might suggest such a figure for another place in the English version, or we can even say that the presence of word play in some Latin collects suggests its use in some English collects, and so with the other figures. This was a result of having the English do all that the Latin did, but in its own idiom, rather than forcing it into Latin molds.

Another and very important feature of this Latin influence was its restraining effect.

It was not enough that the service of the reformed church should be simple and uniform, they must also be beautiful in themselves. In satisfying this demand, with rare discretion Cranmer and his associates avoided the extravagances of the fashionable and ephemeral literary styles of the time, and

fixed their attention upon the purer and more permanent models of liturgical expression long traditional in the Latin services of the church.<sup>2</sup>

We have noted above that metaphors, to take one figure as an example, are more restrained in the Latin than in the English, and in the collects than in slightly later literature, which lacked Latin models. We can imagine how far the English might have gone without the ideals held before them by the Latin service.

In the fourth place, a study of the rhetorical devices in the collects emphasizes the Scriptural nature of the language of the collects, and inescapably of their thought. This influence has not only been specific, from the ancient practice of basing the collect upon a passage in the Epistle for the day (see Introduction), but general, through the influences of the Latin Vulgate carried through the Latin collects, and through the various English translations which were the object of intensive study by Cranmer and his associates. Thus in subjecting themselves completely to the influence of the early Church's prayers, and to all the available forms of Holy Scripture, the makers of the 1549 Book were subjecting themselves to the linguistic and rhetorical traditions of the Hebrew, Greek, Roman, and English peoples. These influences have produced a unified and describable collect-style, which has set a standard for all elevated and devotional prose in English. We might say it is the work of Cranmer's worthy right hand.

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<sup>2</sup> Krapp, Rise of English Literary Prose, 263.

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APPENDIX

The English and Latin Texts of the Collects

The English text of the collects here given is that of the 1549 version of the Book of Common Prayer as reproduced in the Everyman Edition, 1910, reprinted 1932, 32-210 passim. The Latin text, except for one collect, is taken from William Palmer's Origines Liturgicae, 1839, I, 317-363. Palmer gives in footnotes the manuscript sources of the Latin text. The Latin text of the first collect for Christmas Day is taken from John Henry Blunt, The Annotated Book of Common Prayer, 77.

The First Sunday in Advent

Almyghtye God, geue us grace,  
that we may cast awaye the workes  
of darknes, and put upon us the  
armour of light, now in the  
tyme of this mortall lyfe, (in  
the whiche thy sonne Jesus Christe  
came to visite us in great  
humilitie;) that in the last  
daye whē he shal come again in  
his glorious maiestye to judge  
bothe the quicke and the dead,  
we maye ryse to the lyfe immortal,  
through him who liueth and  
reigneth with thee and the holy  
ghoste now and euer. Amen.

The Second Sunday in Advent

Blessed lord, which hast caused  
all holy Scriptures to bee  
written for our learnyng;  
graunte us that we maye in  
suche wise heare them, read,  
marke, learne, and inwardly  
digeste them; that by pacience,  
and counfort of thy holy woorde,  
we may embrace, and euer holde  
fast the blessed hope of euer-  
lasting life, which thou hast  
geuen us in our sauour Jesus  
Christe.

The Third Sunday in Advent

Lord, we beseeche thee, geue  
eare to our prayers, and by  
thy gracious visitacion  
lighten the darkenes of our  
hearte, by our Lorde Jesus  
Christe.

The Fourth Sunday in Advent

Lorde rayse up (we pray the)  
thy power, and come among us,  
and with great might succour us;  
that whereas, through our  
synnes and wickednes, we be soore  
lette and hindred, thy bountifull  
grace and mercye, through the  
satisfaccion of thy sonne our  
Lord, may spedily deliuer us;  
to whom with thee and the holy  
gost be honor and glory, worlde  
without ende.

Christmas Day, First

God, whiche makest us glad with  
the yerely remembraunce of the  
birth of thy onely sonne Jesus  
Christ; graunt that as we ioy-  
fully receiue him for our re-  
demer, so we may with sure con-  
fidence beholde hym, when he  
shall come to be our iudge,  
who liueth and reigneth, etc.

Deus, qui nos redemptionis  
nostrae annua expectatione laet-  
ificas: praesta: ut Unigenitum  
tuum quem redemptorem laeti  
suscipimus: venientem quoque  
judicem securi videamus  
Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum  
Filius tuum. Qui tecum.

Christmas Day, Second

Almyghtye God, whiche haste geuen  
us thy onely begotten sonne to  
take our nature upon hym, and  
this daye to bee borne of a pure  
Vyrgyn; Graunte that we beyng  
regenerate, and made thy  
children by adoption and grace,  
maye dailye be renued by thy  
holy spirite, through the same  
our Lorde Jesus Christe who  
lyueth and reyneth etc.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui  
hunc diem per incarnationem  
Verbi tui, et partum beatae  
Mariae Virginis consecrasti,  
da populis tuis in hac cele-  
britate consortium, ut qui,  
tua gratia sunt redempti, tua  
sint adoptione securi. Per  
eundem.

Saint Stephen's Day

Graun e us, O Lorde, to learne  
to loue oure enemies, by the  
example of thy marter saincte  
Stephin, who prayed to thee  
for hys persecutors; whiche  
liuest and reignest, etc.

Da nobis, quaesimus, Domine,  
imitari quod colimus, ut dis-  
camus et inimicos diligere,  
quia ejus natalitia celebramus,  
qui novit etiam pro persecu-  
toribus exorare Dominum nostrum  
Jesum Christum Filium tuum  
qui tecum vivit et regnat P.

Saint John the Evangelist's Day

Mercyfull Lorde, we beseche  
thee to caste thy bryght  
beames of lyght upon thy  
Churches: that it beeyng  
lyghtened by the doctryne of  
thy blessed Apostle and  
Euangelyste John may attayne  
to thy euerlastyng gyftes;  
Through Jesus Christe our  
Lorde.

Ecclesiam tuam quaesumus Domine  
benignus illustra: ut beati  
Joannis apostoli tui et  
evangelistae illuminata  
doctrinis, ad dona perveniat  
sempiterna. Per Dominum.

The Innocents Day

Almyghty God, whose prayse  
this daye the yong innocentes  
thy witnesses hath confessed  
and shewed forth, not in  
speakyng but in dying; Mortifye  
and kyll all vyces in us,  
that in oure conuersacion oure  
lyfe maye expresse thy fayth,  
whiche with oure tongues we doe  
confesse; through Jesus Christe  
oure Lord.

Deus cujus hodierna die prae-  
conium innocentes martyres,  
non loquendo sed moriendo, con-  
fessi sunt; omnia in nobis  
vitiourum mala mortifica, ut fi-  
dem tuam, quam lingua nostra  
loquitur, etiam moribus vita  
fateatur. Per.

The Circumcision of Christ

Almyghtie God, whiche madeste  
thy blessed sonne to be circum-  
cised, and obedyente to the law  
for man; Graunt us the true  
circumcision of thy spirite,  
that our hertes, and al our  
membres, being mortified from  
al wordly and carnal lustes,  
may in al thinges obey thy blessed  
wil; through the same thy sonne  
Jesus Christ our Lorde.

Omnipotens Deus, cujus uni-  
genitus hodierna die, ne legem  
solveret, quam adimplere ve-  
nerat, corporalem suscepit cir-  
cumcisionem; spirituali cir-  
cumcisione mentes vestras ab  
omnibus vitiourum incentivis  
expurget; et suam in vos in-  
fundet benedictionem. Amen.

The Epiphany

O God, which by the leading of  
a starre diddest manifest thy  
onely begotten sonne to the  
Gentiles; Mercifully graunt,  
that we, which know thee now by  
faith, may after this life haue  
the fruicion of thy glorious  
Godhead; through Christe our  
Lorde.

Deus, qui hodierna die uni-  
genitum tuum Gentibus, stella  
duce, revelasti; concede pro-  
pitius, ut qui jam te ex fide  
cognovimus, usque ad con-  
templandum speciem tuæ cel-  
situdinis perducamur. Per  
eundem.

The First Sunday after Epiphany

Lorde we besече the mercyfullye  
to receiue the praiers of thy  
people which cal upo thee; and  
graunt that they maie both  
perceauē and knowe what thinges  
they ought to do, and also  
haue grace and power faithfully  
to fulfill the same.

Vota, quaesumus, Domine,  
supplicantis populi coelesti pie-  
tate proseguere; ut et quae  
agenda sunt, videant; et ad  
implenda quae viderint, con-  
ualescant. Per.

The Second Sunday after Epiphany

Almightie and euerlasting God,  
whiche doest gouerne all  
thynges in heauen and earthe;  
mercifully heare the supplicacion  
of thy people, and graunt us thy  
peace all the dayes of our life.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus,  
qui coelestia simul et terrena  
moderaris, supplicationes po-  
puli tui clementer exaudi, et  
pacem tuam nostris concede  
temporibus. Per Dominum.

The Third Sunday after Epiphany

Almyghtye and euerlastyng God,  
mercifullye looke upon oure  
infirmities, and in al our  
daungiers and necessities,  
stretche foorth thy ryghte hande  
to helpe and defende us;  
through Christ our Lorde.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus,  
infirmittatem nostram propitius  
respice, atque ad protegendum  
nos dexteram tuæ majestatis  
extende. Per Dominum.

The Fourth Sunday after Epiphany

God, whiche knoweste us to bee  
set in the midst of so many  
and great daungers, that for  
mannes fraynes we cannot al-  
wayes stande uprightly; Graunt  
to us the health of body and  
soule that al those thinges which  
we suffer for sinne, by thy helpe  
we may wel passe and ouercome;  
through Christ our lorde.

Deus qui nos in tantis peri-  
culis constitutos, pro humana  
scis fragilitate non posse sub-  
sistere; d, nobis salutem men-  
tis et corporis, ut ea quae pro  
peccatis nostris patimus, te ad-  
juvante vincamus. Per.

The Fifth Sunday after the Epiphany

Lord, we besече thee to kepe  
thy Church and housholde con-  
tinually in thy true religion;  
that they whiche do leane onlye  
upon hope of thy heauenly grace  
may euermore bee defended by  
thy mightie power; through  
Christ our lorde.

Familiam tuam, quaesumus,  
Domine, continua pietate cus-  
todi; ut quae in sola spe gratiae  
coelestis innititur, tua semper  
protectione muniatur. Per  
Dominum.

Septuagesima Sunday

O Lord, we besече thee  
fauourably to heare the  
prayers of thy people; that we  
whiche are iustly punished for  
our offences, may be mercifully  
deliuered by thy goodnes, for  
the glory of thy name, through  
Jesu Christ our sauior, who liu-  
eth and reigneth, etc.

Preces populi tui, quaesumus  
Domine, clementer exaudi, ut  
qui iuste pro peccatis nostris  
affligimur, pro tui nominis glo-  
ria misericorditer liberemur.  
Per Dominum.

Sexagesima Sunday

Lorde God, whiche seest that we  
put not our trust in any thyng  
that we do; mercyfully graunt  
that by thy power we may be de-  
fended against all aduersitie;  
through Jesus Christ our Lorde.

Deus qui conspicias quia ex  
nulla nostra actione confidi-  
mus; concede propitius, ut  
contra omnia aduersa Doctoris  
gentium protectione munia-  
mur.

Quinquagesima Sunday

O Lorde whiche doeste teache  
us that all our doynge with-  
oute charitie are nothyng woorth;  
sende thy holy ghost, and powre  
into our heartes that most ex-  
cellent gyft of charitie, the  
very bond of peace and al  
vertues, without the whiche who-  
soever liueth is counted dead  
before thee: Graunte this for  
thy only sonne, Jesus Christes  
sake.

The First Day of Lent

Almightye and euerlastyng God,  
whiche hatest nothyng that thou  
haste made, and doest forgeue  
the sinnes of all them that be  
penitente; Creat and make in us  
newe and contrite heartes, that  
wee worthely lamentyng oure  
synnes, and knowlegyng our  
wretchednes, maye obtaine of  
thee, the God of all mercye,  
perfect remission and forgeue-  
nes; thorough Jesus Christ.

Omnipotens sempiternus Deus  
qui misereris omnium et nihil  
odisti eorum quae fecisti,  
dissimulans peccata hominum  
propter poenitentiam.

The First Sunday in Lent

O Lord, which for oure sake dyd-  
deste faste fortye dayes and  
fourtie nightes; Geue us grace  
to use suche abstinence, that,  
oure fleshe beyng subdued to  
the spirite, wee maye euer obeye  
thy Godlye mocions in righteous-  
nesse, and true holinesse, to  
thy honoure and glorye, which  
lyueste and reigneste, etc.

The Second Sunday in Lent

Almightye God, whiche doest see that we haue no power of oureselues to helpe ourselues; kepe thou us both outwardly in oure bodies, and inwardly in oure soules; that we maye be defended from all aduersities which maye happen to the body, and from all euell thoughtes which maye assault and hurte the soule; through Jesus Christ etc.

Deus, qui conspicias omni nos virtute destitui, interius exteriusque custodi: ut ab omnibus aduersitatibus muniamur in corpore, et a pravis cogitationibus mundemur in mente. Per Dominum.

The Third Sunday in Lent

We besече thee, almighty God, looke upon the hartye desires of thy humble seruautes, and stretche foorth the right hande of thy maiestie, to bee oure defence against all oure enemies; through Jesus Christe oure Lorde.

Quaesumus, omnipotens Deus, vota humilium respice; atque ad defensionem nostram dexteram tuae majestatis extende. Per Dominum.

The Fourth Sunday in Lent

Graunte, we besече thee, almyghtye God, that we, whiche for oure euill dedes are worthely punyshed, by the comforte of thy grace may mercifully be releued; through our Lorde Jesus Christe.

Concede quaesumus, omnipotens Deus, ut qui ex merito nostrae actionis affligimur, tuae gratiae consolatione respiremus. Per Dominum.

The Fifth Sunday in Lent

We besече thee, almyghtie God, mercifullye to looke upon thy people; that by thy greate goodnesse they may be gouerned and preserued euermore, both in body and soule; through Jesus Christe our Lorde.

Quaesumus, omnipotens Deus, familiam tuam propitius respice; ut te largiente regatur in corpore, et te seruante custodiatur in mente. Per Dominum.

The Sunday next before Easter

Almightie and euerlastyng God,  
whiche of thy tender loue towarde  
man, haste sente our sauior Jesus  
Christ, to take upon him oure  
fleshe, and to suffre death  
upon the crosse, that all man-  
kynde shoulde folowe the example  
of his greate humilitie;  
mercifully graunte that we both  
folowe the example of his  
pacience, and be made partakers  
of his resurreccion; thoroughe  
the same Jesus Christ our lorde.

Omnipotens sempiterne De-  
us, qui humano generi ad imi-  
tandum humilitatis exemplum,  
Salvatorem nostrum carnem su-  
mere, et crucem subire fecisti:  
concede propitius, ut et pati-  
entiae ipsius habere documenta,  
et resurrectionis consortia me-  
reamur. Per eundem Christum  
Dominum.

Good Friday, First

Almightie god, we besече thee  
graciously to behold this thy  
famely, for the which our lord  
Jesus Christ was contented to  
bee betrayed, and geuen up into  
the handes of wicked men, and  
to suffre death upon the crosse:  
who liueth and reigneth, etc.

Respice, Domine, quaesumus,  
super hanc familiam tuam,  
pro qua Dominus noster Jesus  
Christus non dubitavit manibus  
tradi nocentium, et crucis sub-  
ire tormentum. Qui tecum  
vivit.

Good Friday, Second

Almyghtye and euerlastyng God,  
by whose spirite the whole body  
of the Church is gouerned and  
sanctified; receiue our  
supplications and prayers,  
whiche wee offre before thee for  
all estates of men in thy holye  
congregation, that euerye membre  
of the same, in his vocacion  
and ministerye, maye truelye  
and godlye serue thee;  
thoroughe our Lord Jesus Christe.

Omnipotens sempiterne De-  
us, cujus spiritu totum corpus  
ecclesiae sanctificatur et regi-  
tur; exaudi nos pro universis  
ordinibus supplicantes: ut gra-  
tiae tuae munere ab omnibus  
tibi gradibus fideliter seruiat-  
ur. Per.

Good Friday, Third

Mercyfull God, who hast made all men, and hatest nothyng that thou hast made, nor wouldest the deathe of a synner, but rather that he should be conuerted and liue; haue mercy upon all Jewes, Turkes, Infidels, and heretikes, and take from the all ignoraunce, hardnes of heart, and contempt of thy word; and so fetche them home, blessed Lorde, to thy flocke, that they maye bee saued among the remnant of the true Israelites, and be made one folde under one shepeherde, Jesus Christ our Lord; who lyueth and reigneth, etc.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui salvas omnes homines, et neminem vis perire; respice ad animas diabolica fraude deceptas, ut omni haeretica pravitate deposita, errantium corda resipiscant, et ad veritatis tuae redeant unitatem. Per.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui etiam Judaecam perfidiam a tua misericordia non repellis; exaudi preces nostras quas pro illius populi obcaecatione deferimus; ut agnita veritatis tuae luce quae Christus est, a suis tenebris eruatur. Per Eundem Dominum.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui non vis mortem peccatorum, sed vitam semper inquiris; suscipe propitius orationem nostram; et libera eos (paganos) ab idolorum cultura; et aggrega ecclesiae tuae sanctae ad laudem et gloriam nominis tui. Per Dominum.

Easter Day, First

Almightie God, whiche through thy onely begotten sonne Jesus Christ hast ouercome death, and opened unto us the gate of euerlasting life; we humbly beseeche thee, that, as by thy speciall grace, preuenting us, thou doest put in our mindes good desires, so by thy continual help we may bring the same to good effect; through Jesus Christ our Lorde who lyueth and reigneth, etc.

Deus, qui hodierna die per Unigenitum tuum aeternitatis nobis aditum, devicta morte, reserasti; vota nostra, quae praeveniendo aspiras, etiam ad iuvando prosequere. Per eundem Dominum nostrum P.

Easter Day, Second

Almighty father, whiche hast geuen thy only sonne to dye for our sinnes, and to rise againe for oure iustificacion; Graunte us to putte awaye the leaven of malyce and wickednesse, that we maye alwaye serue thee in purenesse of liuing and trueth; through Jesus Christe our Lorde.

The Second Sunday after Easter

Almightie God, whiche haste  
geuen thy holy sonne to bee  
unto us, bothe a sacrifice for  
synne, and also an example of  
Godly life; Geue us the grace  
that we maie alwaies moste  
thankfully receiue that his  
inestimable benefite, and also  
dayely indeuour ourselues to  
folow the blessed steppes of  
his moste holy lyfe.

The Third Sunday after Easter

Almightye God, whiche shewest  
to all men that be in errour  
the light of thy truth, to  
the intent that they maie re-  
turne into the waye of right-  
eousnes; Graunt unto all them  
that bee admitted into the  
fellowship of Christes religion,  
that they maye exchew those thinges  
that be contrary to their pro-  
fession, and folow all such  
thinges as be agreable to the  
same; through our Lorde Jesus  
Christ.

Deus, qui errantibus, ut in  
viam possint redire iustitiae,  
veritatis tuae lumen ostendis;  
da cunctis qui Christiana pro-  
fessione censentur, et illa re-  
spuere, quae huic inimica sunt  
nomini, et ea quae sunt apta,  
sectari. Per Dominum.

The Fourth Sunday after Easter

Almightie God, which doest make  
the myndes of all faythfull men  
to be of one wil; graunt unto  
thy people, that they maye loue  
the thing, whiche thou commaund-  
est, and desyre, that whiche  
thou doest promes; that emong  
the sondery and manifold  
chaunges of the worlde, oure  
heartes maye surely there bee  
fixed, whereas true ioyes are  
to be fouded; through Christe  
our Lorde.

Deus, qui fidelium mentes  
unius efficis voluntatis, da po-  
pulis tuis id amare quod praeci-  
pis, id desiderare quod pro-  
mittis, ut inter mundanas va-  
rietates ibi nostra fixa sint  
corda ubi vera sunt gaudia.  
Per.

The Fifth Sunday after Easter

Lorde from whom all good thynges do come; graunte us, thy humble seruauntes, that by thy holy inspiracion wee maie thynke those thynges that bee good, and by thy mercifull guydyng maye perfourme the same; thorow our Lorde Jesus Christ.

Deus, a quo bona cuncta procedunt; largire supplicibus tuis ut cogitemus te inspirante quae recta sunt, et te gubernante eadem faciamus. Per.

The Ascension Day

Graunte we besече thee, almightie god, that like as we doe beleue thy onely-begotten sonne our lorde to haue ascended into the heauens; so we may also in heart and mind thither ascende, and with him continually dwell.

Concede quaesumus omnipotens Deus, ut qui hodierna die unigenitum tuum Redemptorem nostrum ad coelos ascendisse credimus, ipsi quoque mente in coelestibus habitemus. Per eundem.

The Sunday after the Ascension

O God, the kyng of glory, which hast exalted thine only sonne Jesus Christe, with great triumphe unto thy kingdom in heaue; we besече thee, leaue us not comfortles; but sende to us thine holy ghost to comfort us, and exalte us unto the same place whither our sauour Christe is gone before; who lyueth and reigneth, etc.

O rex Gloruae, Domine virtutum, qui triumphator hodie super omnes coelos ascendisti, ne derelinquas nos orphanos, sed mitte promissum Patris in nos Spiritum Veritatis.

Whit-Sunday

God, whiche as upon this daye haste taughte the heartes of thy faithful people, by the sending to them the lyght of thy holy spirite; graunte us by the same spirite to haue a right iudgement in al thynges, and euermore to reioyce in hys holy coumforte; through the merites of Christ Jesus our sauour; who liueth and reigneth with thee, in the unitie of the same spirite, one God, worlde without ende.

Deus, qui hodierna die corda fidelium Sancti Spiritus illustratione docuisti; da nobis in eodem Spiritu, recta sapere, et de ejus semper consolatione gaudere. Per Dominum, in unitate ejusdem.

Trinity Sunday

Almightye and euerlastyng God,  
whiche haste geuen unto us  
thy seruantes grace by the  
confession of a true fayth  
to acknowledge the glorye of  
the eternall trinitie, and in  
the power of the diuyn  
maiestie to wurshippe the  
unitie; we beseche thee, that  
through the stedfastnes of  
thys fayth, we may euermore  
be defended from all aduersitie,  
which liueste and reignest,  
one God, worlde without end.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus,  
qui dedisti famulis tuis, in con-  
fessione verae fidei aeternae  
Trinitatis gloriam agnoscere,  
et in potentia Majestatis ad-  
orare Unitatem; quaesumus, ut  
ejusdem fidei firmitate ab om-  
nibus semper muniermur adversis.  
Per Dominum nostrum.

First Sunday after Trinity

God, the strength of all  
theym that trust in thee,  
mercifully accept our prayers;  
and because the weakenes of  
oure mortall nature can do  
no good thyng without thee,  
graunt us the helpe of thy  
grace, that in kepyng of thy  
commaundementes we may please  
thee, both in will and dede;  
through Jesus Christ our lorde.

Deus, in te sperantium forti-  
tudo, adesto propitius invoca-  
tionibus nostris; et quia sine  
te nihil potest mortalis infir-  
mitas; praesta auxilium gratiae  
tuae; ut in exequendis manda-  
tis tuis; et voluntate tibi et  
actione placeamus. Per Do-  
minum.

Second Sunday after Trinity

Lord, make us to haue a perpetu-  
all feare and loue of thy  
holy name: for thou neuer  
failest to helpe and gouerne  
them whom thou doest bryng up  
in thy stedfast loue.  
Graunt this, etc.

Sancti nominis tui, Domine,  
timorem pariter et amorem  
fac nos habere perpetuum;  
quia nunquam tua guberna-  
tione destituis, quos in solidi-  
tate tuae dilectionis instituis.  
Per Dominum.

Third Sunday after Trinity

Lorde, we beseche thee merci-  
fully to heare us, and unto  
whom thou hast geuen an heartie  
desyre to pray; graunt that  
by thy mightie ayde we may be  
defended: through Jesus Christ  
our Lorde.

Deprecationem nostram, quae-  
sumus Domine, benignus ex-  
audi; et quibus supplicandi  
praestas affectum, tribue defen-  
sionis auxilium. Per Domi-  
num.

Fourth Sunday after Trinity

God the protector of all that trust in thee, without whom nothyng is strong, nothing is holy; increase and multiply upon us thy mercye; that thou being our ruler and guyde, we may so passe through thinges temporall, that we fynally lose not the thinges eternall: Graunt this heauenly father, for Jesu Christes sake our Lorde.

Protector in te sperantium Deus, sine quo nihil est validum, nihil sanctum; multiplica super nos misericordiam tuam, ut te Rectore, te Duce, sic transeamus per bona temporalia, ut non amittamus aeterna. Per Dominum nostrum.

Fifth Sunday after Trinity

Graunte Lorde, wee besече thee, that the course of thys worlde maye bee so peaceably ordred by thy gouernaunce, that thy congregacion may ioyfully serue thee in all godly quietnes; thoroughe Jesus Christe oure Lorde.

Da nobis quaesumus Domine, ut et mundi cursus pacifice nobis tuo ordine dirigatu, et Ecclesia tua tranquilla devotione laetetur. Per Dominum nostrum.

Sixth Sunday after Trinity

God, whiche haste prepared to them that loue thee suche good thynges as passe all mannes understanding; Powre into our hartes such loue toward thee, that we louyng thee in al thinges, may obteine thy promises, whiche excede all that we canne desyre; Through Jesus Christe our Lorde.

Deus qui diligentibus te bona invisibilia praeparasti; infunde cordibus nostris, tui amoris affectum; ut te in omnibus et super omnia diligentes, promissiones tuas, quae omne desiderium superant, consequamur. Per Dominum nostrum.

Seventh Sunday after Trinity

Lorde of all power and might, whiche art the author and geuer of all good thynges; graffe in our hartes the loue of thy name, increase in us true religion, norishe us with all goodnes, and of thy great mercy kepe us in the same; Through Jesus Christe our Lorde.

Deus virtutum, cujus est totum quod est optimum; insere pectoribus nostris amorem tui nominis, et praesta in nobis religionis augmentum; ut quae sunt bona nutrias, ac pietatis studio quae sunt nutrita custodias. Per.

Eighth Sunday after Trinity

God, whose prouidence is  
neuer deceiued, we humbly  
beseche thee that thou wilt  
put away fro us al hurtfull  
things, and geue those things  
whiche be profitable for us;  
through Jesus Christe our  
Lorde.

Deus, cujus providentia in  
sui dispositione non fallitur;  
te supplices exoramus, ut noxia  
cuncta submoveas, et omnia no-  
bis profutura concedas. Per.

Ninth Sunday after Trinity

Graunt to us Lorde we be-  
seche thee, the spirite to  
thinke and doe alwayes suche  
thynges as be rightfull;  
that we, which cannot be without  
thee, may by thee be able to  
liue accordyng to thy wyll;  
Through Jesus Christe our  
Lorde.

Largire nobis, Domine, quae-  
sumus, semper spiritum cogi-  
tandi quae recta sunt, propitius,  
et agendi; ut qui sine te esse  
non possumus, secundum te  
vivere valeamus. Per.

Tenth Sunday after Trinity

Let thy merciful eares, O  
Lord, be open to the prayers  
of thy humble seruauntes;  
and that they may obtaine  
their petitions, make them to  
aske suche things as shal  
please thee; Through Jesus  
Christe our Lorde.

Pateant aures misericordiae  
tuae, Domine, precibus suppli-  
cantium; et ut petentibus de-  
siderata concedas, fac eos quae  
tibi placita sunt postulare.  
Per Dominum.

Eleventh Sunday after Trinity

God, which declarest thy al-  
mighty power, most chiefly  
in shewyng mercy and pitie;  
Geue unto us abundauntly thy  
grace, that we, running to thy  
promises, may be made partakers  
of thy heauenly treasure;  
through Jesus Christe our  
Lorde.

Deus, qui omnipotentiam  
tuam parcendo maxime et mi-  
serando manifestas; multiplica  
super nos gratiam tuam, ut ad  
tua promissa currentes, coeles-  
tium bonorum facias esse con-  
sortes. Per.

Twelfth Sunday after Trinity

Almightie and euerlastyng God,  
which art alwayes more ready  
to heare then we to praye,  
and art wont to geue more  
than eyther we desyre or  
deserue; Powre downe upon  
us the aboundance of thy mercy;  
forgeuing us those thynges  
wherof our conscience is afrayde,  
and geuyng unto us that that our  
prayer dare not presume to  
aske, through Jesus Christe  
our Lorde.

Omnipotens sempiternae De-  
us, qui abundantia pietatis tuae  
et merita supplicum excedis et  
vota; effunde super nos mise-  
ricordiam tuam; ut dimittas  
quae conscientia metuit, et ad-  
jicias quae oratio non praesumit.  
Per.

Thirteenth Sunday after Trinity

Almyghtie and mercyfull God,  
of whose onely gifte it cometh  
that thy faythfull people doe  
unto thee true and laudable  
seruice; graunte we besече  
thee, that we may so runne  
to thy heavenly promises,  
that we faile not finally to  
attayne the same; through  
Jesus Christe our Lorde.

Omnipotens et misericors  
Deus, de cuius munere venit,  
ut tibi a fidelibus tuis digne  
et laudabiliter seruiatur; tribue  
nobis quaesumus ut ad promis-  
siones tuas sine offensione cur-  
ramus. Per.

Fourteenth Sunday after Trinity

Almightye and euerlastyng God,  
geue unto us the increase of  
faythe, hope, and charitie;  
and that we may obtaine that  
whiche thou doest promise;  
make us to loue that whiche  
thou doest commaunde,  
through Jesus Christe our  
Lorde.

Omnipotens sempiternae Deus,  
da nobis fidei, spei, et chari-  
tatis augmentum; et ut mere-  
amur adsequi quod promittis;  
fac nos amare quod praecipis.  
Per.

Fifteenth Sunday after Trinity

Kepe we besече thee, O Lorde,  
thy Church with thy per-  
petuall mercye; and because  
the frailtie of man without  
thee, cannot but fall: Kepe  
us euer by thy helpe, and  
leade us to al thynges pro-  
fitable to our saluacion;  
through Jesus Christe our Lorde.

Custodi, Domine, quaesumus,  
ecclesiam tuam propitiatione  
perpetua; et quia sine te labi-  
tur humana mortalitas; tuis  
semper auxiliis et abstrahatur  
a noxiis, et ad salutaria dirigatur.  
Per.

Sixteenth Sunday after Trinity

Lord, we besече thee, let  
thy continual pitie clense  
and defende thy congregacion;  
and, because it cannot continue  
in safetie without thy suc-  
coure, preserue it euermore  
by thy helpe and goodnes;  
through Jesus Christ our Lorde.

Ecclesiam tuam, Domine  
quaesumus, miseratio continua-  
ta mundet et muniat; et quia  
sine te non potest salva con-  
sistere; tuo semper munere  
gubernetur. Per.

Seventeenth Sunday after Trinity

Lord we praye thee that thy  
grace maye alwayes preuente  
and folowe us, and make us  
continuallye to be geuen  
to all good workes thorough  
Jesus Christe our Lorde.

Tua nos Domine, quaesumus,  
gratia semper et praeveniat et  
sequatur; ac bonis operibus  
jugiter praestet esse intentos.  
Per Dominum.

Eighteenth Sunday after Trinity

Lorde we besече thee, graunt  
thy people grace to auoyde  
the infeccions of the Deuil,  
and with pure harte and mynde  
to folowe thee the onelye  
God; Through Jesus Christ  
our Lorde.

Da, quaesumus Domine, po-  
pulo tuo diabolica vitare con-  
tagia; et te solum Deum puro  
corde sectari. Per.

Nineteenth Sunday after Trinity

O God, for asmuche as without  
thee, we are not able to please  
thee; Graunte that the  
workyng of thy mercie maye in  
all thynges directe and rule  
our heartes; Through Jesus  
Christ our Lorde.

Dirigat corda nostra, quae-  
sumus Domine, tuae miseration-  
nis operatio; quia tibi sine te  
placere non possumus. Per  
Dominum.

Twentieth Sunday after Trinity

Almightie and merciful God,  
of thy bountiful goodnes,  
kepe us from all thynges that  
maye hurte us; that we, beyng  
ready bothe in body and soule,  
may with free heartes ac-  
complishe those thynges that  
thou wouldest haue doen;  
Through Jesus Christ our Lorde.

Omnipotens et misericors  
Deus, universa nobis adver-  
santia propitiatus exclude; ut  
mente et corpore pariter ex-  
pediti, quae tua sunt liberis  
mentibus exequamur. Per Do-  
minum.

Twenty-first Sunday after Trinity

Graunt we besече thee, merciful Lord, to thy faithfull people pardon and peace, that they maye bee clensed from all their synnes, and serue thee with a quiet mynde. Through Jesus Christ our Lorde.

Largire, quaesumus Domine, fidelibus tuis indulgentiam placatus et pacem; ut pariter ab omnibus mundentur offensis, et secura tibi mente deserviant. Per.

Twenty-Second Sunday after Trinity

Lorde we besече thee to kepe thy housholde the churche in continuall godlines; that through the thy proteccion it maye be free from al aduersities, and deuoutly geuen to serue thee in good workes, to the glory of thy name; Through Jesus Christ our Lorde.

Familiam tuam, quaesumus Domine, continua pietate custodi; ut a cunctis aduersitatibus te protegente sit libera, et in bonis actibus tuo nomini sit devota. Per Dominum.

Twenty-Third Sunday after Trinity

God, our refuge and strength, which art the author of all godlines, be ready to heare the deuoute prayers of thy churche; and graunt that those thynges which we aske faithfully we maye obtaine effectually; through Jesu Christe our lorde.

Deus, refugium nostrum et virtus, adesto piis Ecclesiae tuae precibus, auctor ipse pietatis; et praesta, ut quod fideliter petimus, efficaciter consequamur. Per.

Twenty-Fourth Sunday after Trinity

Lord we besече thee, assoyle thy people from their offences, that through thy bountiful goodnes we maye bee delyuered from the bandes of all those synnes, whiche by our frayltye we haue committed: Graunt this, etc.

Absolvere, quaesumus Domine, tuorum delicta populorum; ut a peccatorum nostrorum nexibus, quae pro nostra fragilitate contraximus, tua benignitate liberemur. Per Dominum.

Twenty-Fifth Sunday after Trinity

Stiere up we besече thee, O Lord, the wylles of thy faythfull people, that they, plenteously bringing furth the fruite of good workes; may of thee, be plenteously rewarded; through Jesus Christe our Lorde.

Excita, quaesumus Domine, tuorum fidelium voluntates; ut divini operis fructum propensius exequentes, pietatis tuae remedia majora percipiant. Per Dominum.

Saint Andrew's Day

Almyghtie God, which hast  
geuen such grace to thy  
Apostle saynct Andrew, that  
he counted the sharp and  
painful death of the crosse  
to be an high honour, and a  
great glory; Graunt us to  
take and esteme all troubles  
and aduersities which shal  
come unto us for thy sake,  
as thinges proffitable for  
us toward the obtaining of euer-  
lasting life; through Jesus  
Christ our Lorde.

Saint Thomas the Apostle

Almightie euerliuing God,  
whiche for the more con-  
firmacion of the fayth didst  
suffer thy holy apostle  
Thomas to bee doubtfull in  
thy sonnes resurreccyon;  
graunte us so perfectly,  
and without all doubt, to  
beleue in thy sonne Jesus  
Christe, that our fayth in  
thy syghte neuer be reprov-  
ed; here us, O Lorde, through  
the same Jesus Christe, to  
whome with thee and the holy  
goste be all honour, etc.

The Conversion of Saint Paul

God, whiche haste taughte all  
the worlde, through the  
preachyng of thy blessed  
apostle saincte Paule;  
graunt, we beseche thee, that  
we whiche haue hys wonderfull  
conuersion in remembraunce,  
maye folowe and fulfill the  
holy doctryne that he taughte;  
through Jesus Christ our Lorde.

Deus, qui universum mun-  
dum beati Pauli Apostoli tui  
praedicatione docuisti; da no-  
bis, quaesumus, ut qui ejus ho-  
die conversionem colimus, per  
ejus ad te exempla gradiamus.  
Per.

The Purification of St. Mary the Virgin

Almyghtye and euerlastyng God,  
we humbly beseche thy Maiestie,  
that as thy onelye begotten  
sonne was this day presented  
in the Temple in the substaunce  
of our fleshe; so graunte that  
we maie bee presented unto  
thee with pure and cleare myndes;  
By Jesus Christ our Lorde.

Omnipotens sempiterne De-  
us, Majestatem tuam supplices  
exoramus, ut sicut unigenitus  
Filius tuus hodierna die cum  
nostrae carnis substantia in  
templo est praesentatus, ita nos  
facias purificatis tibi mentibus  
praesentari. Per eundem Do-  
minum.

Saint Matthias's Day

Almyghtye God, whiche in the  
place of the traytor Judas,  
didst chose thy faythfull  
seruaunte Mathie to be of  
the number of thy twelue  
Apostles; Graunt that thy  
churche, being alway pre-  
serued from false Apostles,  
may be ordred and guided by  
faythfull and true pastors;  
Through Jesus Christ our Lorde.

Annunciation of the Virgin Mary

We beseche thee, Lorde, powre  
thy grace into our heartes;  
that, as we haue knowen Christ,  
thy sonnes incarnation, by  
the message of an Angell; so  
by hys crosse and passion,  
we maye be brought unto the  
glory of his resurreccion;  
Through the same Christe  
our Lorde.

Gratiam tuam, quaesumus  
Domine mentibus nostris in-  
funde; ut qui angelo nuntiante  
Christi Filii tui incarnationem  
cognovimus, per passionem ejus  
et crucem ad resurrectionis  
gloriam perducamur. Qui te-  
cum vivit et regnat Deus.

Saint Mark's Day

Almyghtie God, whiche haste  
instructed thy holy Church with  
the heauenly doctrine of thy  
Euangelist Sainct Marke; Geue  
us grace to be established  
by thy holy Gospell, that we  
be not, lyke chyldren, caried  
away with euery blast of vaine  
Doctrine; through Jesus Christ  
our Lorde.

Saint Philip and Saint James's Day

Almightie God, whome truely  
to knowe is euerlasting lyfe;  
Graunt us perfectly to knowe  
thy sonne Jesus Christe to bee  
the way, the trueth, and the  
lyfe, as thou hast taught saint  
Philip and other the Apostles;  
Through Jesus Christ our Lorde.

Saint Barnabas the Apostle

Lorde Almightye, whiche hast  
indued thy holy Apostle  
Barnabas with singuler giftes  
of thy holy goste; let us not  
be destytue of thy manyfold  
giftes, nor yet of grace  
to use them alway to thy honour  
and glory; through Jesus  
Christ our Lorde.

Saint John, Baptist

Almightie God, by whose  
prouidence thy seruaunte John  
Baptiste was wonderfully borne,  
and sente to prepare the way  
of thy sonne our sauour, by  
preaching of penaunce; make us  
so to folowe his doctrine and  
holy lyfe, that we may truely  
repent accordyng to his  
preachyng; and after his ex-  
ample constantly speake the  
trueth, boldly rebuke vice,  
and patiently suffre for the  
truethes sake; through Jesus  
Christ our Lorde.

Saint Peter's Day

Almightie God, whiche by thy sonne  
Jesus Christe haste geuen to thy  
Apostle saincte Peter many excellent  
giftes, and commaundeste him earnest-  
ly to feede thy flocke; make, wee  
beseche thee, all bishops and pastors  
diligently to preache thy holy woorde  
and the people obediently to folowe  
the same, that they maye receiue the  
croune of euerlasting glory; through  
Jesus Christ our Lord.

Saint Mary Magdalene

Mercyful father geue us grace,  
that we neuer presume to synne  
thorough the example of any  
creature; but if it shall  
chaunce us at any tyme to  
offende thy diuine maiestie;  
that then we may truely repent,  
and lament the same, after the  
example of Mary Magdalene, and  
by lyuely fayth obtaine re-  
mission of all our sinnes;  
through the only merities of  
thy sonne our sauour Christ.

Saint James, Apostle

Graunt, O merfifull God,  
that as thyne holy apostle  
James, leauyng his father  
and all that he had, without  
delay was obedient unto the  
calling of thy sonne Jesus  
Christ, and folowed hym; So  
we, forsakyng all worldly and  
carnal affecciions, may be  
euermore ready to folowe thy  
comaundementes; thorough  
Jesus Christ our lorde.

Saint Bartholomew the Apostle

O Almighty and euerlastyng  
God, whiche haste geuen grace  
to thy apostle Bartholomewe  
truly to beleue and to preache  
thy worde; graut, we beseche  
thee, unto thy Church, both  
to loue that we beleued, and  
to preache that he taught;  
thorough Christ our Lorde.

Omnipotens sempiterne De-  
us, qui hujus diei venerandam  
sanctamque laetitiam in beati  
Bartholomaei Apostoli tui fes-  
tuitate tribuisti; Da Ecclesiae  
tuae quaesumus et amare quod  
credidit, et praedicare quod do-  
cuit. rer Dominum nostrum.

Saint Matthew the Apostle

Almightie God, whiche by thy blessed sonne dyddest call Mathewe from the receipte of custome to be an Apostle and Euangelist; Graunt us grace to forsake all couetous desires, and inordinate loue of riches, and to folowe thy sayed sonne Jesus Christ; who lyueth and reigneth, etc.

Saint Michael and all Angels

Euerlastyng God, which haste ordayned and constituted the seruices of all Argels and me in a wonderfull ordre: mercifully graunt, that they whiche alwaye doe thee seruice in heauen, may by thy appoyntment succour and defende us in earth: through Jesus Christe our Lorde, etc.

Deus, qui miro ordine Angelorum ministeria hominumque dispensas; concede propitius, ut quibus tibi ministrantibus in coelo semper assistitur; ab his in terra vita nostra muniat.

Saint Luke the Evangelist

Almightie God which calledst Luke the phisicion, whose prayse is in the gospell, to be a phisicion of the soule; it may please thee, by the holsome medicines of his doctryne, to heale all the diseases of our soules; through thy sonne Jesus Christe our Lorde.

Simon and Jude, Apostles

Almightie God, whiche hast builded the congregacion upon the foundation of the Apostles and prophetes, Jesu Christ himselfe beyng the head corner-stone; graunte us so to bee ioyned together in unitie of spirite by their doctrine, that we maye be made an holye temple to thee; through Jesu Christe our Lorde.

All Saints

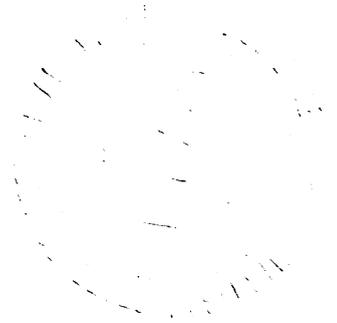
Almightie God, whiche haste  
knitte together thy electe in  
one Communion and felowship,  
in the misticall body of thy  
sonne Christe our Lord;  
graunt us grace so to folow thy  
holy Saynctes in all virtues,  
and godly liuyng, that we maye  
come to those inspeakeable  
ioyes, whiche thou hast pre-  
pared for all them that  
unfaynedly loue thee; through  
Jesus Christe.

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