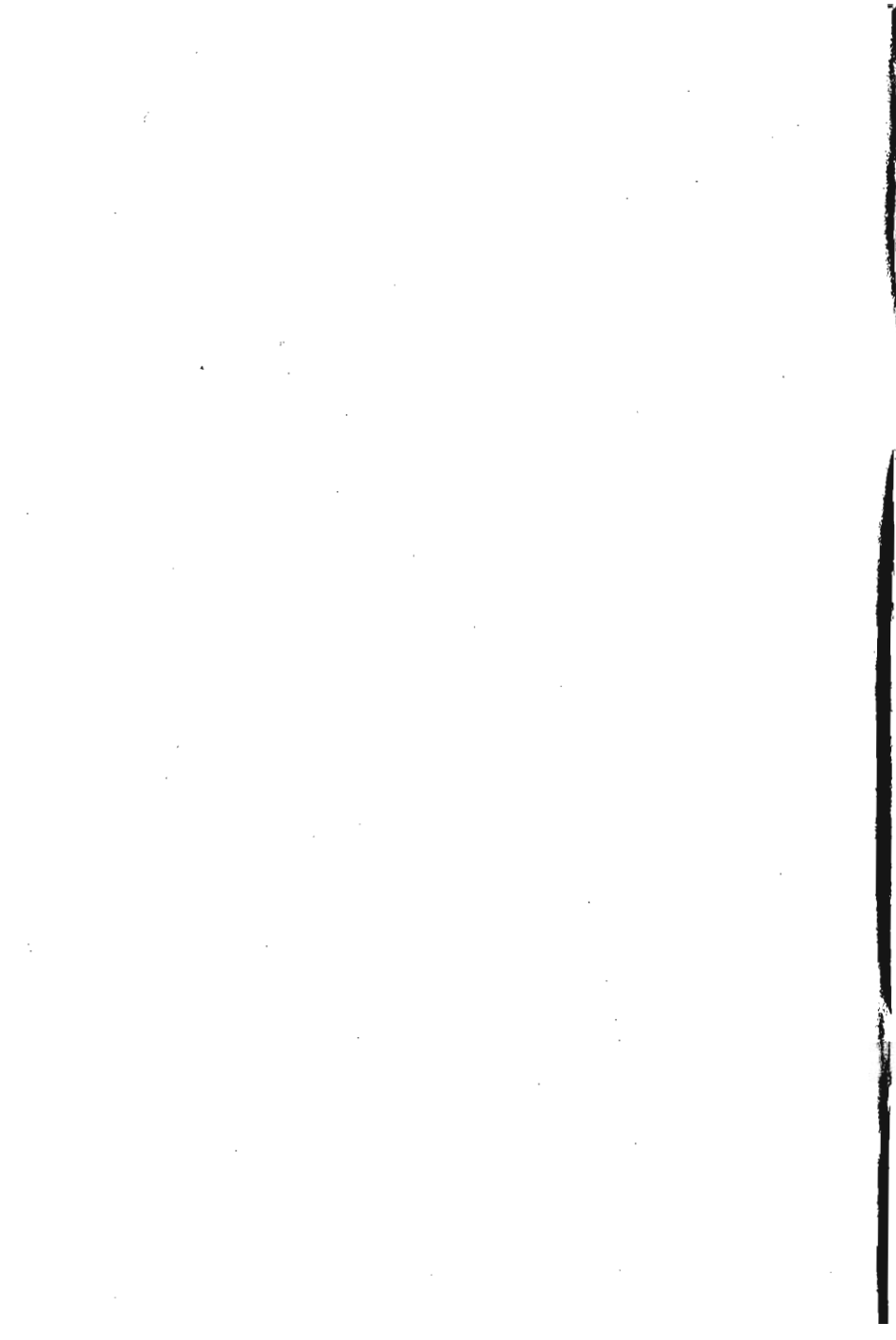


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PRAYER BOOK STUDIES

V
THE LITANY



Prayer Book Studies

V

THE LITANY

THE STANDING LITURGICAL COMMISSION
OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH
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THE STANDING LITURGICAL COMMISSION

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The Litany

The Litany occupies a place of its own among the 'general services of public worship' set forth in the Book of Common Prayer. It is a service which is composed of nothing but prayer, without canticles or lessons. Moreover, it is all one *kind* of prayer, since it comprises a General Intercession, without the other varieties of devotion in the form of praise, penitence, and thanksgiving, such as we find developed in the *Te Deum*, the General Confession, and the General Thanksgiving.

Yet in spite of its sameness of content, the Litany is neither tedious nor monotonous. This is because it is unique among General Intercessions in that it is in dialogue form. A long unbroken general prayer inevitably has a distinctly soporific effect upon the hearers. But the Litany keeps their attention closely knit to the intent of the prayer at every point: since after each petition proclaimed by the Minister, there is a constantly recurring response by the people. This antiphonal method imbues the lengthy Intercession with the rhythm, the lightness, and the celerity of the responsive recitation of a Psalm.

I

HISTORY

1. *Source*

The Litany-form arose as a special development of the General Intercession in the eucharistic Liturgy.

A universal supplication for all estates of men in the whole Church is explicitly indicated in I Timothy 2:

I exhort therefore, that, first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men: for kings, and for all that are in authority, that we may lead a

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quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and devotion. For this is acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour, who will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth. . . . I will therefore that men pray everywhere, lifting up holy hands, without anger and disputation.¹

Accordingly, in the first written description of the Liturgy in Justin Martyr, about the year 150, we read that the newly baptized person was brought to 'where the "brethren," as we call them, are gathered together to make common prayers earnestly for themselves, and the newly "enlightened" one, and all others everywhere.' The Kiss of Peace and the Offertory of the Baptismal Eucharist followed immediately.² Likewise, these 'earnest common prayers' were also a feature of the corresponding place in the normal Sunday Eucharist, where they followed the Lessons and Sermon, and preceded the *Pax* and Offertory.³

2. *The Problem of 'Leading in Prayer'*

The way in which the specialized structure of the Litany was evolved from the primordial Intercession of the Liturgy is very interesting, and most illuminative as to the character and functioning of the several forms and methods of prayer employed by the Church.

It seems to have been realized from the first that there is a real problem in the effectual rendering of public prayer, to insure that the supplication should be offered by all as well as on behalf of all, and to secure the wholehearted singleness of mind set forth as its goal in I Timothy, and the 'earnestness' mentioned by Justin. In terms of the significant phrase of our day, there is no real 'leading in prayer' when the officiating minister voices a general supplication in however telling terms, if the congregation is paying little attention to what he is saying. They must bear their part in appropriating his petitions, and in offering them from their own hearts along with their

¹ I Tim. 2:1-4, 8.

² I Apology, c. 65.

³ *Ibid.* c. 67.

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spokesman. And a very practical solution of this problem was found in the use of some form of 'bidding,' to tell the people the subject for which their prayers were desired, and then to provide for some sort of spoken response from them.

This sound general formula was applied by two quite different methods. In Egypt, and throughout the West, the mechanism employed might be called that of *parallelism*. The constituent subjects of a long prayer were taken one at a time. Each one was prefaced by an explicit Bidding addressed to the people. Then there was a pause for each one to make silent prayer in his own heart, with his particular application of the theme. Then the officiant *gathered up* all those unspoken petitions in a summary *Collect*: to which the people replied with the ancient Hebrew response, *Amen*. And so the chain of supplications went on, in the form of paired Biddings and Collects, to the conclusion of the whole pattern.

This procedure was especially characteristic of the Gallican Rite, where it affected virtually every constituent of the Liturgy. The word 'Collect,' indeed, is peculiar to the Gallican sphere of influence. It was unknown to the old Roman Rite, and Rome does not use it now. They always say *Oratio* ('Prayer') for this sort of short summary petition. The temporary use of the term *Oratio ad collectam* in the time of Innocent III at the beginning of the thirteenth century to indicate a 'Prayer over the congregation assembled' to go in procession to the church of a papal 'Station' was never the source of this Gallican expression.⁴ Nor did it get its name from the idea of 'collecting' the teaching of the day in the Epistle and Gospel, though that rationalization was also current for a time, and some of our Reformation Collects were written to do so.

But though the term was never understood at Rome, the function of this method was native there. The best of all examples of this form is to be found in the chain of intercessory Biddings and Collects in the special order of service for Good Friday in the Roman Missal. And the original procedure

⁴ Innocent III, *De sacro altaris mysterio* II. xxvii.

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has left its mark upon all the Western Collects, where the initial 'Let us pray' survives from a former Bidding which once mentioned the subject of the prayer, in the brief and summary character of the Collects, and of course in the final *Amen*.

3. *The Eastern Litany-Form*

A distinctly different application of these same fundamental principles originated in Syria, whence it radiated to all the Eastern Churches in the great domain of Antioch, and eventually throughout the world. Instead of the rhyming couplets of paired Biddings and Collects, this Syrian form followed the pattern of a 'periodic' sentence, which does not pause until the whole of its elaborate course of thought has been completed, and presented all the heads of a General Intercession in a single unbroken series, and only then concluded by gathering up the intentions in the minds of all by a final summary Collect.

If this were all, we would have found a Bidding Prayer, like the one on pp. 47-48 of our Prayer Book. The thing that created the characteristic Litany form was the bringing in after each suffrage of the fixed response of 'Lord, have mercy!' by the people. It is of course possible that the Litany may have originated as a Bidding Prayer, to which the people made spontaneous response. If so, we would have expected that the acclamations of the people would have been somewhat varied. This is a characteristic which the later Litanies do indeed display; but the earliest ones do not.

There are traces of this kind of responsive prayer in pagan and Jewish use.⁵ The respond of *Kyrie eleison* is certainly pre-Christian: our first record of its ritual use is in a pagan context.⁶ And on the whole it seems probable that the Litany form may have been borrowed from pagan devotions.

As to the date of this development, we do not have any certain indications. The first written Litanies are found in the

⁵ Eisenhofer, *Handbuch der katholischen Liturgik* (Freiburg: Herder, 1932), I. 198.

⁶ Epictetus (c. 60-140 A.D.), *Dissertations* II. 7.

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Apostolic Constitutions of the fourth century. But there they are already fully developed, and differentiated into a number of forms. Manifestly they are of long standing in the Church. St. Basil the Great, who was born about 330, and Archbishop of Cæsarea 370–379, observed that the litanies which were in use in his day had not been known in the reign of his predecessor St. Gregory 'Thaumaturgus,' who died in 254.⁷ If the rise of the Litany form had taken place in his own lifetime, he would hardly have gone back so far as the year 254 for a point of reference. It therefore seems entirely possible that the Syrian litanies may have originated in the third century; at the latest, early in the fourth.

It may be noted that the Antiochene device of a Litany structure had some distinctive qualities of its own. The Egyptian and Western arrangement of repeated pairs of Bidding and Collect, Bidding and Collect, kept all the constituent supplications pretty much on the same emotional level. The 'periodic' character of the Litany had cumulative force, and was capable of building up to great climaxes of really remarkable power.

Another characteristic of this kind of a dramatization of the Great Intercession in dialogue form was that it made the Litany into a sort of action, complete in itself: and thereby it became, as it were, *portable*. The original Offertory Litany was so effective in uniting the congregation with the officiant in a really coöperative act of prayer, that this form was freely utilized at other portions of the Liturgy, where it was desired to engage the attention of the people in what the Byzantine Rite calls a 'fervent supplication'⁸ — cf. Justin's expression of 'earnest common prayers.'

Some of these diaconal Biddings were very brief, consisting of little more than the opening and concluding clauses of a normal Litany, and of little more significance than the Salutation, 'The Lord be with you,' which the Western rites em-

⁷ Basil, *Ep.* 207.

⁸ Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1896), 373b.4.

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ploy to call the congregation to attention at a significant prayer. Sometimes they were specialized in content, such as the Litanies for the Dismissal of the Catechumens, or as an introduction to the Lord's Prayer or the Post-Communion Thanksgiving: cf. the suffrages 'for the newly enlightened one' which Justin indicates at a Baptismal Eucharist. But in one guise or another, the present Byzantine Liturgy contains no less than ten Litanies, or shreds of Litanies. Each Litany is accompanied by a Collect; though nowadays time is saved in an overlong service by having the Celebrant say the Collect silently within the closed sanctuary, while the Deacon is proclaiming the Litany aloud outside.

As early as the time of the *Apostolic Constitutions*,⁹ the Litany form was used also in the general services of Morning and Evening Prayers; and now it is a prominent constituent of all the offices of the Eastern Church. The next step was for this self-contained and self-complete form to free itself entirely of its original liturgical context, and to be carried about from one Church to another, and eventually to be used as an Office by itself.

4. Early Western Litanies

Accordingly, from the fifth century on, we find that Litanies of obviously Syrian provenance and content were imported into the Egyptian and the Western rites, which originally did not contain them, and where they were freely employed, both as constituents of the Liturgy, and as supplications during solemn processions.

Until the end of the seventh century, the only form of the Litany used in the West was one derived directly from the Byzantine Litany after the Gospel.¹⁰ It did not have the varied structure of the later 'Litany of the Saints,' since it was composed of Intercessions alone. We have almost identical texts of this form preserved in the *Stowe Missal* from Ireland, and

⁹ A. C. VIII, xxxvi-xxxix.

¹⁰ Brightman, *LEW.*, 373.

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from an old codex from Fulda in Germany; and a closely allied version remains in use to the present day in the Ambrosian Rite at Milan on the Sundays in Lent.¹¹

This form seems to have been introduced into France in the first part of the fifth century – early enough for it to have come into use, fallen into neglect, and been vigorously revived by Mamertus of Vienne about the year 468 for use in the processions on the Rogation Days, which he then instituted.¹² Pope Gelasius (492–6) adopted it at Rome at the beginning of the Mass. In the following century, however, the introduction of the joyful chant of *Gloria in Excelsis* to this same part of the service brought a certain conflict of mood with the more somber tone of the Litany. It was probably a realization of this situation which caused Gregory the Great (590–604) to reduce the Liturgical Litany to its final triple *Kyrie eleison*, which the Roman form had retained in untranslated Greek; and which Gregory modified by altering the middle repetition to *Christe eleison*. Hence the term ‘Lesser Litany,’ which ever since has designated the *Kyries*.

The use of this ‘Gelasian’ Litany at the Mass has left behind it the legacy of the use of a Litany, which nowadays of course is a version of the ‘Litany of the Saints,’ at the Liturgy upon such occasions as the Vigil services of Easter and Pentecost, and at Ordinations and the Consecration of Churches.

Another inheritance of this Litany is that during the period when it was generally employed, it assimilated to its own purposes a feature of the service which was older than itself. This was the initial prayer of the Liturgy, which we find in the middle of the fourth century in the Sacramentary of Serapion under the title, ‘The First Prayer of the Lord’s Day,’ and which still survives in the Coptic Rite in Egypt as ‘The First Prayer

¹¹ Texts of these forms are conveniently printed in F. E. Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1881), 229 f., 252, 254; summarized in English in Parsons and Jones, *The American Prayer Book* (N. Y.: Scribners, 1937), 127 ff.

¹² Cf. the interesting account in J. H. Blunt, *Annotated Book of Common Prayer* (London: Rivingtons, 1866), 46.

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of the Morning.' ¹³ Like most other constituents of the service, in the West this became a variable prayer, changing with the occasion: and we call it 'The Collect of the Day.' It is because the Liturgical Litany appropriated this prayer to be its Litany-Collect, to gather up its devotional thoughts in a round and comprehensive expression, that so many of our Collects in the course of the year are in such very general terms. Most of those in Epiphany- and Trinity-tides display no particular appropriateness to the occasions to which they are assigned, and could be freely exchanged with each other in any order.

5. *The Litany of the Saints*

In the years 687-701 the Roman Church was presided over by Sergius I, a Greek-speaking Pope from the region of Antioch. He is remembered for having advocated two cults at Rome, that of the Holy Cross, and that of Christ as the 'Lamb of God': he introduced the singing of the *Agnus Dei* in the Mass. Now both of these originated at Jerusalem, and were features of the 'Liturgy of St. James,' which by this time had supplanted the older Liturgy as found in the *Apostolic Constitutions* throughout the Antiochene Patriarchate.

Modern investigation attributes to Sergius the introduction of the new form of the 'Litany of the Saints,' which from the eighth century on enriched, absorbed, and eventually supplanted the relatively simple Byzantine form hitherto used throughout the West.

We are so fortunate as to have preserved for us two versions of this Sergian Litany, which present it virtually *in statu nascenti*, in the *Stowe Missal*, and in Alcuin's *Officia per ferias*.¹⁴ These primordial texts are in the barest possible outline; but the essentials of the present varied and highly organized structure are all there.

This Litany begins with the penitential Antiphon 'Spare us';

¹³ Brightman, *LEW.*, 147.3.

¹⁴ Warren, *op. cit.*, 226 and 228 f.; *P.L.* 101. 522 ff.; given in a conflated translation in Parsons and Jones, *op. cit.*, 129 f.

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it continues with the Invocation of the Saints, which comprise the great bulk of this form; it includes representations of each of the major structural divisions of the present developed text, although there is only a single Deprecation ('From all evil'), a single Obsecration ('By thy Cross'), and a single Intercession ('That thou wilt grant us peace'); and it concludes with the Invocations of Christ as the Son of God and the Lamb of God, triple *Kyries*, Lord's Prayer, suffrages, and Collect.

The arrangement of this material is Sergius' own. So is the idea of an 'Obsecration,' calling upon our Lord to deliver his people by a kind of *Anamnesis* of the mighty acts of his Redemption. And so is the importation of the *Agnus Dei* into the Litany form. 'By thy Cross,' and 'O Lamb of God,' are, indeed, as it were, Sergius' thumb-prints upon this composition.

Yet all these features had their roots in the rite of Jerusalem-Antioch. The *Agnus Dei* was drawn from the communion devotions;¹⁵ but the pleading of the power of the Holy Cross is found in one of the litanies in 'St. James.'¹⁶ So are the 'Deprecations' or petitions for deliverance from evil, which have sometimes been thought to be peculiar to the Western Litany.¹⁷ And like all Eastern litanies, Sergius' supplication is distinctively a *prayer to Christ*.¹⁸ (This is still true of our Litany to the present day, between the initial Invocations of the Holy Trinity and the appended Collects addressed to the Father.)

It seems probable that another characteristic feature of Sergius' Litany of the Saints may have been derived from a constituent of an Eastern Liturgy, though this time it is that of Constantinople. The long lists of the Saints invoked by classes and by name with which the Western Litany opens, correspond with the commemoration of the Saints by categories with which every Eastern Litany concludes. Now in the Byzantine Liturgy, the 'Great Litany' of General Intercession no longer occurs after the Gospel, as it certainly did in the

¹⁵ Brightman, *L.E.W.*, 62b.24.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 37.21.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 34a.27.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 40.6.

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early fifth century, when the West borrowed that form,¹⁹ but most of its content has been transferred to a new Litany at the very beginning of the Liturgy proper.²⁰ And this in turn has been prefaced by an 'Office of Prothesis,' in which the Elements are prepared with a very elaborate ritual which makes commemoration of the Saints by category and by name.²¹ Sergius could not have been ignorant of this arrangement in what even then was the dominant Eastern Rite: and it is presumable that it was this knowledge which inspired him to open his Litany with the Invocations of the Saints.

The new format of the Sergian Litany proved extremely popular, and proliferated in innumerable local forms throughout Europe. It absorbed the content of the previous 'Gelasian' litanies of Byzantine type; it continued to assimilate ingredients from Eastern sources; and it freely added new phrases, and elaborations of existing expressions. The Roman Liturgical Litany (which we find in the service for Easter Even in the Missal) was rather conservative about such additions, and the Processional Litany (in the Breviary) only less so; but the North European tradition is very rich.²²

6. *Cranmer's English Litany*

The Processional Litany was a favorite service in England. It had been familiar to the people in the English versions of the Primers since about the year 1400.

¹⁹ Verbal identities make it unmistakable that the 'Gelasian' Litany was derived from the Byzantine Litany after the Gospel, but its content covers the later Enarxis Litany as well. The Western version is valuable evidence for the original text of the Byzantine before the initial Litany came into existence.

²⁰ Brightman, *L.E.W.* 362 f.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 357.27-359.3.

²² Yet this tradition is seldom if ever extravagant. An obviously manufactured pleasantry, instancing a supposed Deprecation 'From ghoulies, and ghostes, and things that go *boomp* in the night,' mendaciously alleged to hail from 'an old Scottish Litany,' periodically makes the rounds of newspaper miscellany. It ought to be superfluous to point out that this was made up out of whole cloth. Yet the clergy are continually pestered with inquiries on this subject; and even some of them are taken in.

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Cranmer put forth his official rendering in 1544, five years before the First Prayer Book. Thus the Litany was the first service in the Book of Common Prayer to appear: as it was likewise the only service to continue in use in the reign of Mary, when the Prayer Book was suppressed in favor of a revival of the Sarum books.

Cranmer's work was based primarily upon the Processional Litany of the Sarum Breviary: but he freely enriched this with congruous material from quite a variety of other sources, some of them rather remote.

One main source of contributions was Martin Luther's Latin Litany of 1529 — much the best liturgical work Luther ever achieved, entirely orthodox in every respect, and especially valuable for gathering up many details in the uses of Northern Europe. Luther's work included also some distinctive Roman phrases which were not in the Sarum form, and which were incorporated by Cranmer. Other such Roman expressions seem to have infiltrated into the English text from the Litany in the reformed Breviary of Cardinal Quiñones which appeared in 1535-7, and which furnished the starting-point for Cranmer's revision of the Daily Offices.

Other constituents were adopted from other English Uses besides that of Sarum, such as York, Westminster, and even Brixen. And Cranmer levied upon other forms, such as the Sarum Litany for the Dying, the special supplications In Time of War, and the Office for the Unction of the Sick.

Still farther afield, Cranmer recurred to the Byzantine Liturgical litanies for two phrases, and for the so-called 'Prayer of St. Chrysostom.' Dowden has identified the precise source of this matter in the 1528 Venice edition of the Byzantine Liturgy which printed the 'Anaphora of St. Chrysostom' in its place in the framework of the service *without* giving the alternative 'Anaphora of St. Basil.' This induced Cranmer to attribute the Prayer to 'St. Chrysostom,' whereas it really is part of the general framework, not of either of the Anaphoras. Likewise

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the English version of the Prayer is from the parallel Latin translation in that edition, not from the Greek.²³

But it may justly be said that the Greek rites had a much more extensive effect upon the English Litany than these few details, for Cranmer followed the Greek method of grouping congruous clauses together in one suffrage, instead of taking them singly as the Latin does. This resulted in greatly enhancing the grandeur of the style of the Litany, which continually builds itself up to noble climaxes.

All this material from these divers and sometimes distant sources is by no means a magpie collection, but a real integration by a master hand. As Dr. Brightman remarked, 'Cranmer was not original, but, as the Litany is enough to prove, he had an extraordinary power of absorbing and improving upon other people's work.'²⁴

7. *Revisions of the Litany*

The comprehensive scope of the Intercessions of the Litany, their remarkable incisiveness and moving power, and the balanced perfection of their organizing form, have had their effect in the fact that the Litany has undergone fewer revisions than any other office in the Prayer Book.

In his first draft of 1544, Cranmer reduced the number of the Invocations of the Saints (which in some medieval examples ran to as many as 200 names) to three suffrages, embracing the same summary classes as in the origin of this feature in the Syrian Litanies. Even these three were eliminated in 1549.

The Elizabethan Litany of 1559 dropped the uncharitable and undignified Deprecation against 'the tyrannye of the bisshope of Rome and all his detestable enormities.'

The Restoration Prayer Book of 1662 amended the original

²³ John Dowden, *The Workmanship of the Book of Common Prayer* (London: Methuen, 1899), 227-9.

²⁴ F. E. Brightman, *The English Rite* (London: Rivingtons, 1915), I. lxxvii.

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Lutheran phrase for 'all Bysshoppes, pastours, and ministers of the Church' to the more accurate and traditional form of 'Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.' This was a corrective of the 'Presbyterian' theories which had sought to extinguish the Church's essential threefold ministry during the fifteen years of the Commonwealth. The addition of the mention of 'rebellion' and 'schism' to the Deprecation beginning 'From all sedition' was no doubt also in retrospect upon those days.

The first American Prayer Book of 1789 made a number of verbal changes, such as 'those who' for 'them that'; 'from all inordinate and sinful affections' for 'from fornication, and all other deadly sin'; 'in all time of our *prosperity*' (as in the Scottish Book of 1637) to restore the obsolete sense of the word 'wealth' in this context; 'to love and fear thee' for 'to love and dread thee'; and 'all women in childbirth' (as in the American 'Proposed Book' of 1785) instead of 'all women labouring of child.'

The only major change of the text of the Litany in 1789 consisted of substituting for four suffrages for the King and the Royal Family the single petition 'That it may please thee to bless and preserve all Christian Rulers and Magistrates, giving them grace to execute justice, and to maintain truth.' This is a condensed paraphrase of the passage from the Prayer for the Church in the Liturgy, 'to direct and dispose the hearts of all Christian Rulers, that they may truly and impartially administer justice, . . . to the maintenance of thy true religion, and virtue.'

This book also provided for shortening the Litany by omitting at discretion the old Sarum Supplication In Time of War. Cranmer had incorporated this into the Processional Litany of 1544 which was issued by Royal Authority on the specific occasion of the war with Scotland and France; and it had been retained ever since, more by conservative inertia than because this Supplication was ever really a part of the normal Litany, or made any actual contribution to it. This matter, to be sure, is entirely congruous in style, and even displays the same art-

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less combination of 'responsive' portions addressed to Christ, with prayers directed to God the Father, which characterizes the Litany proper. In such troubled times as gave it birth, the Supplication has a particular poignancy. But under more tranquil conditions and upon all ordinary occasions, it serves only to underscore the note of 'Deprecation,' of prostrate petition for delivery from calamities beyond our control. This theme exists in the normal Litany, but there it has been dealt with, and done with. It is actually a structural fault that it should be renewed here, when the cycle of Intercessions has been brought to a triumphant completion, and its symphonic form is obviously demanding the final major chords of its concluding Collect.

However, the manner of the shortening in 1789 was not happy. It allowed the omission of everything from 'O Christ, hear us,' through the *Preces* ending 'As we do put our trust in thee.' This eliminated the *Kyries* and the Lord's Prayer from the Litany. This was very well when the Litany was used with Morning Prayer and the Liturgy, as it always was in those days, since the Lord's Prayer occurred in both the other services, and the *Kyries* in the Decalogue in the Liturgy. But the Litany could not be used by itself in the shortened form without mutilating the service.

The one change in the Litany made in the Revision of 1892 met an old criticism that this form of General Intercession contained no petition for the extension of the Church, or the increase of the ministry. This missing element was supplied in the pregnant form of 'That it may please thee to send forth labourers into thy harvest.' This suffrage had in fact been found in Luther's Litany of 1529,²⁵ and in Marshall's Primer of 1535.²⁶

The last American Revision of 1928 simplified the initial In-

²⁵ P. Drews, *Beiträge zu Luthers liturgischen Reformen* (Tubingen, 1910), 28.

²⁶ W. E. Burton, *Three Primers of Henry VIII* (Oxford: Univ. Press, 1834), 127.

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vocations of the Holy Trinity into closer correspondence with the Latin originals, and divided them between Minister and People, instead of having the congregation repeat the entire 'O God the Father of heaven, have mercy upon us miserable sinners,' etc. 'From earthquake, fire, and flood' was added to the Deprecation beginning 'From lightning and tempest,' no doubt inspired by the addition of 'fire and flood' in the Canadian Book of 1922. A new suffrage for the President of the United States was derived from one of the petitions for the King omitted in 1789, but conformed to the phrasing of the Prayer for the President in Evening Prayer. 'Or by air' was added to the suffrage for 'all who travel by land or by water.' And the provisions for shortening the Litany by omitting the Supplication In Time of War were improved by making the break come after the Lord's Prayer — leaving the Litany complete in itself under all circumstances. The matter of duplicating the Lord's Prayer was taken care of by a rubric in Morning Prayer providing for the omission of the Lord's Prayer from that service when the Litany is to follow.

The English revision proposed in 1928 directs that the Litany shall end with the *Kyries* when the Holy Communion is to follow: otherwise, the Lord's Prayer must be said. Then the remainder of the present Litany is printed under the subtitle, 'A Supplication.' Rubrics indicate that this 'Supplication' may be appended to the Litany; or if not, one may use 'one or more of the Occasional Prayers and Thanksgivings, ending with the Prayer of Saint Chrysostom and The Grace.' The 'Supplication' may also be used separately 'on the Rogation Days, at penitential seasons, and in times of trouble.'

The directions of the Scottish Prayer Book of 1929 are much the same, except that the prayer 'We humbly beseech thee, O Father,' which is the proper terminal Collect of the Supplication, is removed from it and printed in the Litany; and the rubric adds that the Supplication may be used at any other service.

Both the English and the Scottish books give some considera-

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tion to further shortenings of the Litany. The English rubric is: 'The Minister may, at his discretion, say such of the Suffrages as he thinks convenient, provided that some are drawn from each section, and that all are concluded by "Son of God: we beseech thee to hear us, &c."' This is a rather loose rubric. Apparently the term 'Suffrages' is intended to comprise the Deprecations and Obsecrations of the Litany, as well as the Intercessions which have hitherto been specifically designated by this word.

The present Scottish Prayer Book evidently considered these provisions too lax, and perhaps too much of a demand upon the supposed 'discretion of the Minister,' for it prints out a 'Shorter Litany I,' which is the full normal Litany, abbreviated only by the omission of two Deprecations, eight Suffrages, and (as the English rubric implies) the invocations of Christ as the Son of God and the Lamb of God. Also, 'Saint Chrysostom' is made an alternative to the terminal Collect.

The Scottish Book also sets forth a 'Shorter Litany II,' which is an adaptation of the Litany at the beginning of the Byzantine Liturgy. It consists of nothing but Intercessions, with the unvarying respond, 'Lord, have mercy.'

8. *The Use of the Litany*

There has been a marked reduction in the use of the English Litany in recent times. To a considerable extent, this has been due to reaction from an extended period when a wooden interpretation of rubrics brought this service into a constant, conceivably an excessive, employment in the regular worship of the Church. The history of this development is informative.

In the medieval Latin rituals of the Church of England before the Reformation, there were two uses of the Litany: as an introduction to the Mass, and really an integral part of it; and as a separate office of devotion.

In its liturgical connection, it was a direct inheritance of the 'Gelasian' Litany. In the Vigil services of Easter and Whitsunday, and upon the Rogation Days, the Litany was actually tied

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in to the liturgy, since its terminal *Kyries* were solemnly sung by cantors in ninefold form, to be at once the conclusion of the Litany and the exordium of the Mass, leading up (after an interpolated *Gloria* of later origin) to its original goal of the Collect of the Day. The same things were once true of the Litany at Ordinations; though the rearrangements which were made in order to interpolate the conferring of all the Orders, minor and major, into successive stages of the Ember Mass, caused the Litany to be displaced with relation to the text of the Mass, and its integrating connection broken.

As a separate service, the Litany was used in solemn procession on days appointed for special supplications for rain or fair weather, and in time of war, famine, pestilence, or any other public necessity. And it was also employed as an extra office, to be said in choir after Nones on Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent, in the Sarum Breviary.

Cranmer's Litany of 1544 was such a war-time intercession, appointed for use on Wednesdays and Fridays, after the Lenten pattern. But in 1547 Cranmer, displeased at the people's vying for places in the procession, ordered the English Litany to be sung by the clergy and choir kneeling in the midst of the church before High Mass on Sundays. No doubt he got this idea from the use of the Bidding Prayer in cathedral churches as part of the Procession before High Mass — just as in turn this place for the Bidding Prayer was a reminiscence of a 'Gelasian' Litany before the service; — though in parish churches this feature occurred in its most ancient location between the Sermon and the Offertory.

But in his First Prayer Book in 1549, Cranmer made markedly different provisions:

Vpon wednesdaies & frydaies, the Englishe Letanie shalbe saied or song in all places And thoughbe there be none to communicate with the Prieste, yet these daies (after the Letany ended) the Priest shall put vpon him a plaine Albe or surplesse, with a cope, and saie all thinges at the Altare

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(appoynted to bee sayde at the celebration of the lordes supper) vntill after the offertory.

This was the only direction for the use of the Litany in this Prayer Book. And the service was printed after the Communion, as if by way of afterthought, and for employment only with the 'Ante-Communion.' Just what did Cranmer have in mind?

Wednesdays and Fridays were the ancient Fast Days, which were observed in every week in the time of Tertullian at the beginning of the third century, and which are mentioned even in the *Didaché*. But ever since, there has been a continuous tendency to lighten the once heavy obligations of fasting, abstinence, and devotion: and Wednesdays, even in Lent, have now disappeared from the picture, except in the four Ember Weeks of the year. Their use as Litany Days in the Church of England is the last reminiscence of their former significant place in the devotional pattern of the week. Cranmer in fact restored them to every week with his Litany of 1544, from the Sarum employment of them in Lent only; abolished them in 1547; and reinstated them in 1549. Why?

The explanation is that Cranmer recognized one fact about the use of the Litany in conjunction with the Eucharistic Liturgy of which all subsequent revisers of the Prayer Book have seemed to be entirely unaware. This is that the Litany is an absolute duplication of the whole cycle of thought and expression of that completely equivalent form of the Great Intercession found in the Prayer for the Whole State of Christ's Church.

This is a factor which did not need to be taken into consideration as long as the Mass was in Latin. There, the Intercessions were recited inaudibly in their place in the 'Silent Canon,' while the choir was singing the *Sanctus*. Therefore a Processional Litany could be sung, or even a Bidding Prayer in the vernacular recited, in connection with High Mass, without reiterating anything heard by the congregation. That was

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still true in 1547, when Cranmer ordered the singing of the Litany before the Sunday Mass.

But the situation was entirely altered when both the Litany and the Intercession were said aloud in English. Cranmer revoked the direction for a prefatory Litany, and provided instead an elaborate system of whole Psalms for Introits. But he revived the use of Wednesdays and Fridays as Litany Days, and gave more substance to the service by adding the first portion of the Liturgy through the Offertory. It is presumable that Cranmer knew that this use of a part of the Liturgy without a Consecration was an early custom of the Church of Alexandria upon Wednesdays and Fridays, from the well-known mention in the church historian Socrates;²⁷ and indeed such a use continued throughout the Middle Ages under exceptional circumstances when no celebration was possible.²⁸ But it must be noted that in the First Prayer Book the order for the Ante-Communion stopped short of the Prayer for the Church, which was still part of the Canon. It is more than coincidence that Cranmer cancelled the use of the Litany with the Liturgy as a whole, where it would duplicate the Intercession, and restored it with the Ante-Communion, where it would not.

This conclusion becomes inevitable when we note that in the Second Prayer Book of 1552, which transferred the Intercession to become the last constituent of the Ante-Communion, he not only dropped all directions for the use of the Litany with that service, but he eliminated all provisions for the use of the Ante-Communion upon the traditional Litany Days.

In the Second Prayer Book, the Litany was printed in a more congruous place, after Morning and Evening Prayer, under the rubric: 'Here foloweth the Letanye, to be vsed vpon Sundayes, Wednesdayes, and Fridayes, and at other times, when it shal be commaunded by the Ordenarye.' The mention of Sundays is a reminiscence of the Injunctions of 1547, and rep-

²⁷ *Hist. Eccles.* V. xxii.

²⁸ W. E. Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica* (London: Rivingtons, 1876) 815 ff.

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resents the only possible loophole in an otherwise foolproof program of excluding the duplication of Litany and Prayer for the Church. This would happen if the Litany were conjoined with either Communion or Ante-Communion. Cranmer may not have supplied that rubric. If he did, he may have reasonably, if fallaciously, hoped that his successors would recognize and profit by the principles which he had built into the services.

This rubric of 1552 stood in the Prayer Books in both England and America until their revisions of 1928; and, partly because of its indefiniteness, it gave rise to some considerable distortions of Cranmer's intentions.

It seems that at first, the original interpretation of this rubric was in accord with the customs in force before the Reformation. Morning Prayer was said in the first hour of daylight, normally between six and seven o'clock. Then, about mid-morning, the Litany was used in its traditional function of prefacing the celebration of the Holy Communion.

But in 1571, the Puritan Grindal, at that time Archbishop of York, issued an Injunction ordering Morning Prayer, the Litany, and the Holy Communion or Ante-Communion to be said together, without any intermission between them. Later, as Archbishop of Canterbury, he enforced this order upon the whole Church.

This action linked up the Litany with Morning Prayer, with which it had never previously been considered to have any liturgical connection; an understanding confirmed in the Prayer Book of 1662, when Cosin inserted in the rubric 'to be sung or said *after Morning Prayer.*'

This 'accumulated' combination of the three services became the standard Morning Service of the Church, imposed by a universal custom more difficult to breach than any rubric. In the nineteenth century, the clergy who instituted an early service alone, or who presumed to say Morning Prayer without its wonted adjuncts of Litany and Ante-Communion, were assailed as lawbreakers. The literal-minded refused to be per-

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sueded that the rubrical expression 'To be used' might mean 'available for use,' and did not necessarily assert 'must always be used.' Tardy relief came in a new General Rubric 'Concerning the Service of the Church' in the American Prayer Book of 1892, incorporating a pronouncement proposed at the Convention of 1877:

The Order for Morning Prayer, the Litany, and the Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion, are distinct Services, and may be used either separately or together; *Provided*, that no one of these Services be habitually disused.

But however desirable such a stipulation might be, in the nature of things it was not enforceable. The General Rubric went on to try to give more scope for the use of the Litany by indicating that it might be substituted for the prayer after the Third Collect of either *Morning or Evening* Prayer. But the moment they were free to choose, it became apparent that most clergy prefer the briefer and more flexible provisions of the Prayers of Intercession in the Daily Offices to the fixed solemnities of the Litany. Little use of this combination of services is made at any time of the year outside of Lent, and only sparsely then.

Hence the American revision of 1928 was only realistic in dropping from this General Rubric any mention of the stipulation that the Litany must not 'be habitually disused,' and in contenting itself with classifying the Litany along with Morning and Evening Prayer and the Communion as 'the regular Services appointed for Public Worship in this Church.' And the rubric before the Litany now reads: 'To be used after the third Collect of Morning or Evening Prayer; or before the Holy Communion; or separately.'

The English draft of 1928 has similar flexibility, in substituting for the 'To be used' rubric the statement that it 'may be sung or said after Morning Prayer upon Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and also upon any day at the discretion of

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the Minister. It shall be used on the Rogation Days, and at other times when it shall be commanded by the Ordinary.' The Scottish Book of 1929 incorporates these same provisions, but adds that 'it shall be said at least on one Sunday in the month, and on Ash Wednesday and Good Friday.'

All this has been a rather remarkable reversal in the place of the Litany in the public worship of the Church. For nearly three centuries and a half, it was considered to be a required element in every principal service. Now, it has been relegated to a marginal and optional position. Our present American Prayer Book does not demand its employment upon any occasion, except at Ordinations; and even then, the Great Litany has been almost entirely supplanted by a new alternative, the briefer and more specialized Litany for Ordinations. In many parishes, it has vanished from the principal services; and in some, it is not heard from one year's end to the other. It is a *terra incognita* to the majority of the present generation of Seminarians. We have seen that the Scottish Prayer Book has taken alarm at such a situation, and tried to take some steps to avert the extinction of the Litany entirely.

Manifestly, the pendulum has swung too far. Reaction against the impositions of grim old Grindal should not drive us to a neglect of a service which all commentators have always agreed is to be ranked in the same exalted class as the *Te Deum*, as the most perfect and most affecting form of words which the spirit of devotion has ever devised. The impressive and expressive powers of the Litany have never been exceeded. No other form of intercessory prayer is to be compared with it: the sequence of supplications at Morning Prayer, the Prayer for the Church in the Communion, worn to triteness by much handling and many paraphrasings in the course of the ages, the rhetorical periods of the Bidding Prayer — none of these can approach the incisiveness and the vivid appeal of the Litany, which has come down to us enriched and enhanced, but blunted of none of its poignancy, from the ardent devotions of the Primitive Church.

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The Litany was quite strictly a 'popular' service in its origin — deliberately composed in the first place to give wings to the 'earnest common prayers' of the people. And 'popular' it still is, whenever the people are given opportunity to participate in it. The decline in its use is chiefly the fault of the clergy — not indeed because they are slack, but rather because they are overzealous, filling up a Sunday morning with a very tight schedule of a multiplication of other services until one more thing cannot be fitted into the plan; or because they are oversolicitous about the staying powers of a modern congregation. Anyone who has seen a congregation emerge fresh as daisies from the solemnities of an Ordination of a Priest lasting nearly two hours, perfectly content with a long rite composed of many constituents, which does and says things of importance at every point, will realize that no congregation is going to be intimidated by a service which has been lengthened by ten minutes by the inclusion of a Litany.

So the Roman Church since the sixteenth century has seen the evolution of four more official Litanies, those of St. Mary, St. Joseph, the Holy Name, and the Sacred Heart; besides an innumerable swarm of such forms employed in private devotion.

Current Protestantism likewise has quite abandoned the scornful attitude toward the Litany held by the Puritans at the time of the Restoration. Then they objected to all forms of 'repetitions and responsals,' holding that the 'Minister' was 'appointed for the people in all Public Services appertaining to God: and the Holy Scriptures . . . intimating the people's part in public prayer to be only with silence and reverence to attend thereto, and to declare their consent in the close, by saying *Amen*.'²⁹ Now, with the way perfectly prepared by a universal use of 'Responsive Readings,' all denominations have taken eagerly to the Litany form, and invented numerous variants of their own. The Presbyterian *Book of Common*

²⁹ 'Exceptions of the Ministers': E. Cardwell, *Conferences* (Oxford: University Press, 1849), 305.

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Worship of 1946 contains no less than five Litanies. It is really rather extraordinary that at the very time when we have been showing ourselves neglectful of this element of our liturgical heritage, our former critics have been rediscovering its value and power. It seems just possible that we may not be quite so 'up-to-date' as we should like to think; still more possible that the very latest fashion in opinion or custom may not necessarily present a new pinnacle of human wisdom.

II

PROPOSED TEXT

1. *Title*

It is no longer satisfactory to speak of 'The Litany,' as it was when the Prayer Book contained only one composition in that form. Our revision of 1928 brought into the picture two more Litanies, those for the Dying, and for Ordinations. We are now proposing to include two more Litanies — the Litany for the Church, from the 1949 *Book of Offices*, and a 'Litany of Saint Chrysostom,' which is an adaptation of the Byzantine Litany as found in the Scottish Prayer Book of 1929. We recommend that we follow the solution which the Greek Church has found for a parallel problem. They distinguish their most comprehensive Litany of General Intercession from the numerous other adaptations of this form in the Liturgy by calling it 'The Great Litany.' This seems an adequate designation for the historic Western Litany which we have inherited — which always has been, and doubtless always will be, the principal use of this method of General Supplication in the Church.

2. *Initial Rubric*

No revolutionary change in the current customs as to the use of the Litany can be hoped for from any modification of the directive rubric at the head of the service. We have thought it quite worth while to review the history of the use

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of the Litany, to emphasize its value, and to deprecate the decline in its employment in the devotions of the Church; but it is the lesson of liturgical history that the most that rubrics can do is to interpret living customs—they cannot create them. Therefore no important changes are advocated in the present perfectly lucid provisions. It would seem sufficient to add only some minor clarifications and suggestions.

For instance, there does not seem any point in trying to revive the ordering of the use of the Litany on Wednesdays and Fridays throughout the year. Even the Sarum Rite used those Litany Days only in Lent. Cranmer doubtless knew that he was restoring a feature of the Primitive Church when he ordered this observance in every week. But while it was perfectly practicable to secure the addition of the Litany to a scheme of Morning and Evening Prayer performed publicly and daily in the parish churches, it is not possible to enforce it in present-day America, where the Daily Offices are said in so few places.

We have to recognize that the Litany is a 'votive' addition to the regular pattern of services: either an extra office, or a substitute for another form of General Intercession in one of the regular services. The only occasions on which it can really be said to be indispensable are the Rogation Days, and at Ordinations: and for the latter, another version has effectively supplanted the Great Litany. There are, however, other seasons to which the Litany is particularly appropriate. Though it is not in itself primarily a 'Penitential Office,' its primitive heart-searching 'earnestness' makes it especially harmonious with the penitential season of Lent, and with the solemn grandeur of the preparation season of Advent. Accordingly, these are suggested in the rubric.

At the same time, it is one of the glories of the Litany that it attains to great heights, as well as penetrating to great depths, of feeling. In these respects, it parallels the *Gloria in Excelsis*—and in many ways is just as suitable to festal use. This is especially brought out when the Litany is sung in procession.

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Much of the somber coloring of the rendition of the Litany, much of the idea that it is primarily a penitential exercise, has flowed from Cranmer's impatient action in 1547, in abolishing its processional use, and ordering it to be said kneeling. But processional Litanies have been revived during the last century, and used with great effect. Therefore these suggestions also have been incorporated into the rubric.

Although we have noted that it was a historical mistake to tie the Litany to Morning Prayer, and a greater breach of tradition to use it with Evening Prayer, there seems no reason to try to keep them apart now. The only cause for deprecating their conjunction by Archbishop Grindal was that it overloaded the required Sunday service. Upon occasion, and in particular in Lent, it may be very useful to substitute the most solemn form of General Intercession in the Litany for the concluding prayers of the Offices.

Liturgical purists have always opposed the use of the Litany as or with the evening service, maintaining that its proper function was to lead up to the Eucharist. That was true in the days before Gregory the Great, when the Litany was an integral part of the Mass. But in England, it was true only in the years 1547 to 1549, for anything that any authoritative regulations had to say about it. In both of his Prayer Books, Cranmer took pains to avoid directing the combination of the Litany with the Holy Communion, or even with the first part of it, if this would bring two forms of the General Intercession into the same service. The Second Prayer Book did indeed open Sundays to the use of the Litany. But the custom of saying the Litany immediately before the Communion, which seems to have originated unthinkingly, and to have been hardened into an immutable decree by Grindal's Injunctions, held its sway in defiance of the basic principles Cranmer thought he had established for the proper employment of the General Intercession. The liturgiologists never seem to have recognized this, and urged as the chief justification for the use of the Litany its conjunction with the Eucharistic Liturgy which had given it

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birth. But the users of the services could not help feeling the repetition of this important constituent; and their largely unconscious resentment for that reason has a great deal to do with the present reaction which has seen the Litany so generally disused now. All this furnishes a very infirm basis for a doctrinaire eschewing of the Litany as an evening service.

As a matter of fact, one of the most useful, and therefore probably most frequent, employments of the Litany is at an afternoon or evening service on a Lenten weekday, when it is not possible to have the assistance of a choir. The Litany ranks itself along with the Holy Communion as a service which loses nothing of its quality as a satisfactory congregational ritual when it is deprived of the adornment of music. Though the clergy of course are thoroughly habituated to saying the Daily Offices without music, the people regard them as very flat. But the Litany retains its vitality under all circumstances.

It remains true that the noblest and most effective use of the Litany is as an introduction to the Eucharist. It is essential that we should take account of that matter of the doubling of the Great Intercession which Cranmer recognized perfectly, but which no subsequent reviser has faced. This cannot be done by any alteration of the rubrics of the Litany. But our Committee on the Eucharistic Liturgy is proposing measures in the rubrics of that service which should be sufficient. They provide that a Litany may be substituted, if desired, for the Prayer for the Church; or, if a Litany has already been said, then this Prayer may be reduced to the dimensions and function of an Offertory Collect by employing its first and last sentences only. Some such arrangements seem to be the only way to open the door to a wider use of the Litany in connection with the Eucharist, which is certainly so desirable, but which is so little practicable now.

It may be noted that in recent times one combination of services has sprung up and come into fairly wide use, which has considerable significance. Though it is not directly suggested by our rubrics, many clergy have taken to varying the routine

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of the Sunday services by substituting the Litany and Ante-Communion for Morning Prayer upon occasion. This is especially true in the Southern States, and the occasion is commonly the Fifth Sunday of the month. This move seems to be entirely spontaneous, and not from archeological reasons at all, though its effect is precisely to reconstitute the service which Cranmer prescribed for Wednesdays and Fridays in the First Prayer Book. In the American Prayer Book, as in 1549, the Ante-Communion comes to an end *before* the Prayer for the Church. This leaves the Ante-Communion, even if combined with Morning Prayer, as a service without any General Intercession; which is one reason why it is so little used. The Litany supplies that lack. And it shows that the clergy are conscious of that principle of the undesirability of duplicating the Great Intercession in the same service, which Cranmer realized, and his successors ignored, since though they tend to avoid the use of the Litany with the Holy Communion, they have reached out to make this employment of it with the Ante-Communion: a combination to which that objection does not apply. Its users find it a well-balanced and satisfactory service.

3. *Arrangement*

The chief defect of the Litany — perhaps its only appreciable flaw — and the principal source of dimly felt dissatisfactions with its use, is a certain lack of organizing plan in the order of the intercessory Suffrages. There is quite a little repetition of very similar devotional ideas, which keep recurring without any particular reason for their arrangement. This gives an effect of eddying around in circles, instead of a stream flowing directly to its destined goal. In spite of the vivid brilliancy of the Litany's expressions, and the free fluency of its phrases, the form seems to drag.

Most of the offending clauses upon examination turn out to be those which Cranmer derived from Luther's Litany. That is nothing against them: we must realize that we owe much of

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the most deeply moving and spiritually inspiring elements in this service to constituents which are *evangelical* in the highest and truest sense, which Cranmer drew from his German sources. But they do badly stand in need of rearrangement, to fit them in to the clear traditional plan of the primitive Litany form, so that there will be a consistent forward development of thought throughout, and so that at every point there will be a sense of *progress*.

This primitive plan is quite simple: I. For the Universal Church, with its Rulers, its Clergy, and its Laity; II. For all those in any Affliction or Necessity; III. For the whole World; and IV. For the Faithful Departed.

The last-named is an addition to the Litany, to conform its content with that of the Prayer for the Church. It is also a return to the most ancient form of the Litany and the General Intercession; and furnishes a most logical conclusion and *terminus ad quem* for the thought of such a general supplication.

The addition of this fourth section relieves the present 18th Suffrage from the duty of fulfillment a terminal function, and enables us to transfer it to a place after the sixth (present eighth), where it will be in logical progressive sequence. Then the ninth Suffrage may well be omitted, since 'to hear meekly thy word, . . . and to bring forth the fruits of the Spirit' is too obviously a doublet of 'to endue us with the grace of thy Holy Spirit to amend our lives according to thy holy Word.'

The seventh Suffrage, for the peace of the world, may profitably be put in the 14th place, in the intercessions for All Mankind; and the 10th, for the Erring, after the 15th (present 16th), for our Enemies.

These relatively simple rearrangements would give us four suffrages for the Church and the Clergy; four for the Laity, introduced by 'to bless and keep all thy people'; three for Those in Necessity; six for the World in general, beginning 'to have mercy upon all men'; and two for the Faithful De-

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parted and the Saints. It is hoped that they will clarify the structure of thought, and lend purposiveness and movement to the office.

4. *Alterations*

A few expressions have been altered, either to give a more Christian meaning to certain Old Testament phrases, or to make the sense clearer. So far as possible, this has been done without disturbing the familiar rhythm.

In the penitential Introduction 'Remember not,' the expression 'neither take thou vengeance of our sins' — a somewhat exacerbated translation of Tobit 3:3 — has been altered to 'neither reward us according to our sins,' taken from the Sarum versicle (Ps. 103:10) after the Lord's Prayer on p. 58. 'Be not angry with us for ever' is another resounding phrase from the Apocrypha, from II Esdras 8:45. No doubt our present age does not think enough of the reality of God's wrath against sin. The fact remains that to most people such an expression would imply only his hatred of sinners — which is not true at all. Since this phrase provokes only incomprehension and revulsion, it may be well to substitute some intimation of God's saving care, such as 'by Thy mercy preserve us for ever.'

The first Deprecation, 'From all evil and mischief,' contains similar difficulties. The word 'mischief' was intended in its classical sense of 'harm.' Unfortunately, its modern connotation is trivial, that of 'vexatious annoyance.' 'The crafts and assaults of the devil' is too close to the following 'deceits of the world, the flesh, and the devil.' 'Thy wrath' is misleading, as we have said. And 'everlasting damnation' voices a medieval idea which to few people nowadays has any semantic reality at all. We recommend that after 'From all evil; from sin': the first Deprecation should go on to include the third, 'from all inordinate and sinful affections; and from all the deceits of the world, the flesh, and the devil.'

The order of the Deprecations would be more logical if this combination of the first and third were succeeded by the sec-

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ond, 'From all blindness of heart,' the fifth, 'From all sedition,' and the fourth, 'From lightning and tempest.'

In the last Deprecation, the expression 'sudden death,' bracketed as it is with 'battle and murder,' has given rise to an idea that a *speedy* death is to be deplored: which is in no wise the case. The Latin original was 'a subitanea et *improvisa* morte.' Unfortunately, that does not translate well into English: 'unprepared for' is an impossible qualification of the word 'death.' There is in fact no satisfactory substitute for the present phrase, which has made itself a part of the English language: and we have been constrained to leave it as it is.

The second intercessory Suffrage, for Rulers, belongs exactly where it is, as part of the primeval supplication for the Peace of the Church. However, the present paraphrase of the corresponding passage in the General Intercession of the Liturgy has lost all sense of this meaning. It is a little difficult to recover it in phrases which will be distinctive, and which will not duplicate existing expressions to this effect in other prayers. We propose 'that thy Church, being hurt by no persecutions, may serve Thee in security and peace': taking the salient note from the Litany-Collect, 'O God, merciful Father,' which we propose to omit from the Litany.

In our third (present fourth) Suffrage, it might be as well to substitute the word 'enlighten' for 'illuminate,' because the latter is sometimes disconcertingly misread as 'eliminate'!

In the 16th Suffrage, the word 'kindly' is intended to convey the archaic sense of 'after their kind.' The impression actually conveyed by the word to modern ears is pleasing, but fallacious. Since in all the old Intercessions this is intrinsically a prayer for Plenty of the Fruits of the Earth, perhaps we can somewhat enrich instead of apparently impoverishing the graciousness of the phrase, by substituting the word 'bountiful.'

On the other hand, we do not propose any change in the expression 'and finally to beat down Satan under our feet' in our eighth (present 11th) Suffrage. The question has been raised as to whether the word 'finally' means 'conclusively,' or

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'eventually.' It might be nice to think it is the former; but the best that the original in Rom. 16:20 can offer us is 'shortly.' We have to face the fact that the perfecting of our human nature is an arduous and gradual process. It is a salvation painfully wrought *in* us, rather than one instantaneously accomplished *for* us. The present phrase is true to the facts, and accurate in either sense in which it may be understood.

The word 'comfort' is repeated in our present 11th and 12th Suffrages. In the first of these, it bears the sense in which it is exclusively understood in modern times, 'to comfort and help the weak-hearted,' and therefore may be left unchanged. But in the second, 'to succour, help, and comfort all who are in danger, necessity, and tribulation,' it calls for the more vigorous, but now wholly archaic, meaning of 'strengthen.' Moreover, the word 'succour' has fallen out of spoken English, and public speakers have learned to avoid it on account of its unfortunate coincidence with a slang word. We propose instead 'to help, support, and strengthen,' a phrase with identical rhythm.

5. *Additions*

The English and Scottish versions of the Litany have now adopted our present fifth Suffrage, 'to send forth labourers into thy harvest,' which appeared in our Prayer Book of 1892, and have added to it petitions for missionaries, and for the extension of the Church. We in turn have followed their lead as to these additions, but have not copied their language.

We propose a new Suffrage, the first after the petition for 'all men,' for the various vocations of human life.

The present seventh Suffrage, 'to give to all nations unity, peace, and concord,' which we propose to transfer to this section of Intercessions for the World in general, may profitably be expanded by supplications 'to make wars to cease in all the world,' and 'to bestow upon all peoples the liberty to serve thee without fear.' It would appear that the great 'Fourth Freedom' of the Atlantic Charter may be a long time in being

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realized upon earth: and this seems a suitable contribution for our times to offer to the General Supplication of the Litany.

The concluding Suffrages for the Faithful Departed and the Communion of the Saints have been put in simple and unexceptionable language: 'to grant to all the faithful departed eternal life and peace,' and 'to grant that with all thy Saints we may attain to thy heavenly kingdom.'

The *Agnus Dei* in the Litany has been restored to the familiar threefold form in which it is traditionally used in the Liturgy. There does not seem to be any sufficient reason to require the congregation to be alert to transpose the responses in the reverse order from that to which they are most accustomed, as is the case at present.

The fine but little used Collect, 'Almighty God, who hast promised to hear the petitions of those who ask in thy Son's Name,' from p. 50 of the Prayer Book, has been substituted for the prayer 'O God, merciful Father,' on p. 58, which is structurally the proper Litany-Collect of our present arrangement — although the final Collect 'We humbly beseech thee, O Father,' which concludes the Supplication In Time of War, is now directed when the Litany is shortened. The new Collect is really a more adequate summation of the Litany as a General Supplication than either of the present Collects, which have done much to overstress the quality of the Litany as a penitential exercise.

6. *Conjunction with the Liturgy*

When Morning Prayer is to be followed by the Litany, the rubrics direct that the Lord's Prayer shall be omitted from Morning Prayer, and said in the Litany. This requires no rubric in the Litany.

But when the Litany is said before the Liturgy, then, as Dr. Frere pointed out,¹ the proper point of junction of the two services is the *Kyries*, which in Roman use are solemnly sung

¹ *Some Principles of Liturgical Reform* (London: Murray, 1911), 156 ff.

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in a dual function, as we have noted.² A rubric after 'Son of God, we beseech thee to hear us,' intimates that at that point one may proceed at once to the *Kyries* of the Liturgy: avoiding duplicating the *Agnus Dei*, *Kyries*, and Lord's Prayer in the combined service. A correlative rubric in the Liturgy will provide for omitting everything in that service before the *Kyries*.

7. *The Supplication*

The most useful change which can be made in the use of the Litany, the one which best brings its overlong extent into manageable compass, which best integrates its progress toward a purposed goal, and which thus furnishes the most cogent inducement for its more frequent use, is to be found in the proper treatment of the Supplication In Time of War which Cranmer added to his inherited material in 1544, and which has continued to lengthen and weight down the Litany form ever since, even at times when its original justification has been completely lacking.

We have seen that the American Prayer Books since the beginning have found means to leave it out. Similar steps were taken in the English and Scottish revisions of 1928-9. But in none of these have the revisers understood the structure of the forms upon which they were attempting surgery, and in none of them are the results satisfactory.

The Litany proper extends through the prayer 'O God, merciful Father,' on p. 58, which is its terminal Collect. The Supplication begins with the Antiphon, 'O Lord, arise, help us,' and continues through its own terminal Collect, 'We humbly beseech thee, O Father,' on p. 59. The American and Scottish books treat this Collect of the Supplication as the Litany-Collect. No doubt this is a matter of taste and judgment: but in any case we propose to substitute another Collect as the terminus of the Litany. But both English and Scottish forms begin the Supplication as a separate office with the versi-

² P. 15 above.

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cle and Collect after the Lord's Prayer, which organically are part of the Litany itself. This badly obscures the lucid structure of the Supplication, as Dr. Frere describes it:

It consists properly of an opening Antiphon ('O Lord, arise,') and processional Psalm (reduced to a single verse, 'O God, we have heard') together with the *Gloria Patri* in the primitive shape which is elsewhere retained in the introits, these followed by a set of choir versicles, a priest's versicle, and the Collect of the occasion. This form is eminently suitable for its purpose; and in fact it was much used as an intercession during the Boer War.⁸

Dr. Frere recommended that this 'group of prayers intended for use in time of war and national anxiety,' which is 'unsuitable for perpetual use, . . . should be removed bodily from the Litany, restored to its proper form, and set in the collection of Intercessions.' This recommendation was adopted in general at the last English and Scottish revisions: but they did not 'restore it to its proper form.' We trust that our proposal does so.

The Supplication is of great value in such 'times of war and national anxiety' as overshadow the world at present. It is perhaps too brief to be usable as a separate office. It can be added to the Litany, as of old; or used after the Third Collect of the services of Morning or Evening Prayer; or inserted before the Sermon at the Liturgy. These uses are therefore suggested by its rubric.

III

'THE LITANY OF SAINT CHRYSOSTOM'

We have noted that the Scottish 'Shorter Litany II' has a kind of adaptation of the Byzantine Liturgical Litany. Its style and arrangement are Eastern, but it is rather freely supple-

⁸ Some Principles of Liturgical Reform, p. 169

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mented by congruous supplications: it might be called a sort of 'St. Chrysostom up to date.'

We on the other hand have had the idea of reconstructing the full original form of the Byzantine Litany-Intercessions. We have observed that in the time of Justin Martyr the General Intercession occurred after the Sermon and before the Offertory: and in the fourth-century text of the parent Liturgy of Antioch as recorded in the *Apostolic Constitutions* we find the Great Litany in exactly that place. Also, that in the early fifth century, when forms of the Litany first appeared in the West, this was apparently still true in the Liturgy of Constantinople, from which these forms were derived, since the structural framework is that of the present Litany after the Gospel, though the content of the supplications covers that of the Great Litany as well. It seems to have been since that time that the Litany has been duplicated at the Offertory, and at the beginning of the service: and the latter of these, the so-called Enarxis Litany, has absorbed the majority of the heads of intercession, and thus become the 'Great Litany' of that rite. To recover the full text of the Byzantine Litany as it stood about the year 400, one must collate the three present variants.

Evidence for this is found in the Litanies in the Stowe Missal, the Fulda Codex, and the Ambrosian Missal. When we find one or the other of the Byzantine variants supported by these, and also attested by the parent form in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, we may be fairly sure that it was present in the original form at Constantinople. The Western texts in fact furnish direct evidence for the state of the Byzantine Litany at the start of the fifth century, though no Greek texts have come down to us from that period.

We have therefore added to the basic text of the Great Litany at the Enarxis of the Byzantine service the following expressions:

From the Byzantine Litany after the Gospel:

With all our heart and with all our mind, let us pray

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to the Lord, saying, Lord, have mercy. (Stowe, Fulda, Milan.)

For all who bring forth fruit and do good works of mercy (AC, Stowe, Fulda, Milan: though 'of mercy' is not in the Byzantine).

From the Byzantine Litany at the Offertory:

For things good and profitable to our souls and bodies (AC, 'St. James').

That the end of our lives may be Christian, without suffering and without reproach (AC, Stowe, Fulda).

From the parent rite of Antioch:

and the loving-kindness of God (James).

and all those in authority (AC, Stowe, Fulda).

for the aged and infirm (AC, James).

for widows and orphans (AC, Stowe, Fulda, Milan).

The two phrases derived from the original Antiochene sources, and not supported by the Western versions, cannot, of course, be certified as ever having been in the Byzantine text, though we deem their inclusion in our form to be desirable. Otherwise, we consider we are on firm ground in our undertaking to restore the content of the original Great Litany of Constantinople.

As to our proposed title for this form, of course it is true that this is a 'Litany of St. Chrysostom' only in the same sense that the Collect at the end of Morning Prayer is a 'Prayer of St. Chrysostom.' Both belong to the common framework of the Byzantine Liturgy, into which the Anaphoras of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom are inserted on different occasions. But the latter is much the dominant form, used on all but a few occasions of the year. To speak of 'the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom' when referring to the major rite of the Eastern Orthodox Churches is much more convenient than to say 'Byzantine' or 'Constantinopolitan,' and as natural as to say 'Sarum' instead of 'pre-Reformation English.'

Furthermore, there is a strong possibility that the Great Lit-

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any of Constantinople was actually composed by the author of the Anaphora of St. Chrysostom. Compared with the parent forms of Antioch, in the *Apostolic Constitutions* or even in 'St. James,' this Litany has an extraordinary condensation. All the 'result-clauses' are left out, and the text reduced to the minimal heads of intercession. This is all entirely in the spirit of the Anaphora of St. Chrysostom, which reduced the long Thanksgiving for the Redemption to — John 3:16!

There is nothing in the very voluminous liturgical quotations of St. John Chrysostom to indicate that he ever used any liturgy at Constantinople except the parent rite of Antioch, in the ample form in which it is presented in the *Apostolic Constitutions*. He is the last man in the world to have composed the drastically abbreviated Anaphora which now goes by his name. Nevertheless, it may have been made in his time, and with his sanction: with the result that we have the name of the *imprimatur*, not the author. And there seems to be every reason to think that it was the same author who condensed the Byzantine litany-forms to their essentials.

Since therefore we have a Liturgy, and a Prayer, 'commonly called' after St. Chrysostom, it would seem entirely in order to use the same identification for the Litany. It would be a more convenient — to say nothing of being a more attractive — designation than the Scottish 'Shorter Litany II.'

We believe it will be a real enrichment to the Prayer Book to have this ancient form, which is at once so comprehensive, and so brief, trenchant, and vivid in its language. Upon occasion, it would furnish a useful alternative to the General Intercession in the Liturgy — a substitution which a rubric in that service proposes expressly to permit.

BAYARD H. JONES
MORTON C. STONE
For the Commission

IV
THE REVISED VERSION

THE GREAT LITANY

¶ *To be said or sung, kneeling, standing, or in procession; after the Third Collect of Morning or Evening Prayer; or before the Liturgy; or separately; especially in Advent, Lent, and upon the Rogation Days.*

The Invocations

- O God the Father, Creator of heaven and earth,
Have mercy upon us.
- O God the Son, Redeemer of the world,
Have mercy upon us.
- O God the Holy Ghost, Sanctifier of the faithful,
Have mercy upon us.
- O holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity, one God,
Have mercy upon us.

REMEMBER not, Lord, our offences, nor the offences of our forefathers; neither reward us according to our sins: Spare us, good Lord, spare thy people, whom thou hast redeemed with thy most precious blood, and by thy mercy preserve us forever,
Spare us, good Lord.

The Deprecations

FROM all evil; from sin; from inordinate and sinful affections; and from all the deceits of the world, the flesh, and the devil,

Good Lord, deliver us.

From all blindness of heart; from pride, vainglory, and hypocrisy; from envy, hatred, and malice, and all uncharitableness,

Good Lord, deliver us.

From all sedition, privy conspiracy, and rebellion; from

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all false doctrine, heresy, and schism; from hardness of heart, and contempt of thy Word and Commandment,

Good Lord, deliver us.

From lightning and tempest; from earthquake, fire, and flood; from plague, pestilence, and famine; from battle and murder, and from sudden death,

Good Lord, deliver us.

The Obsecrations

BY the mystery of thy holy Incarnation; by thy Baptism, Fasting, and Temptation,

Good Lord, deliver us.

By thine Agony and Bloody Sweat; by thy Cross and Passion; by thy precious Death and Burial; by thy glorious Resurrection and Ascension; and by the Coming of the Holy Ghost,

Good Lord, deliver us.

In all time of our tribulation; in all time of our prosperity; in the hour of death, and in the day of judgment,

Good Lord, deliver us.

The Intercessions

WE sinners do beseech thee to hear us, O Lord God, and that it may please thee to rule and govern thy holy Church Universal in the right way,

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee so to rule the hearts of thy servants, The President of the United States, and all others in authority, that thy Church, being hurt by no persecutions, may serve thee in security and peace,

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to enlighten all Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, with true knowledge and understanding of thy Word, and that both by their preaching and living they may set it forth, and show it accordingly,

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

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That it may please thee to send forth labourers into thy harvest; and to extend thy Church over all the earth,

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to bless and keep all thy people,

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to give us an heart to love and fear thee, and diligently to live after thy commandments,

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to give us true repentance; to forgive us all our sins, negligences, and ignorances; and to endue us with the grace of thy Holy Spirit to amend our lives according to thy holy Word,

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to strengthen such as do stand; and to comfort and help the weak-hearted; and to raise up those who fall; and finally to beat down Satan under our feet,

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to help, support, and strengthen all who are in danger, need, and tribulation,

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to preserve all who travel by land, by water, or by air, all women in child-birth, all sick persons and young children; and to show thy pity upon all prisoners and captives,

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to defend and provide for the fatherless children, and widows, and all who are desolate and oppressed,

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to have mercy upon all men,

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to bless all who serve in medicine or the law, all who minister in commerce, industry, or agriculture; and to guide with thy wisdom all who seek thy truth in art, science, or education,

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We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to make wars to cease in all the world; to give to all nations unity, peace, and concord; and to bestow upon all peoples the liberty to serve thee without fear,

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to forgive our enemies, persecutors, and slanderers, and to turn their hearts,

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to bring into the way of truth all such as have erred, and are deceived,

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to give and preserve to our use the bountiful fruits of the earth, so that in due time we may enjoy them,

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to grant to all the faithful departed eternal life and peace,

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to grant that with all thy Saints we may attain to thy heavenly kingdom,

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

SON of God, we beseech thee to hear us.
Son of God, we beseech thee to hear us.

¶ *When the Liturgy followeth immediately the Litany may end here, and the Liturgy may begin with the Kyrie eleison.*

Agnus Dei

O LAMB of God, who takest away the sins of the world,
Have mercy upon us.

O Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world,
Have mercy upon us.

O Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world,
Grant us thy peace.

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Kyrie eleison

¶ *Minister and People*

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Christ, have mercy upon us.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Lord's Prayer

OUR Father, who art in heaven, Hallowed be thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, On earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, But deliver us from evil. Amen.

O Lord, let thy mercy be showed upon us,

As we do put our trust in thee.

The Lord be with you,

And with thy spirit.

Let us pray.

The Collect

ALMIGHTY God, who hast promised to hear the petitions of those who ask in thy Son's Name; We beseech thee to incline thine ear to us who have now made our supplications unto thee; and grant that those things which we have asked faithfully according to thy will, may be obtained effectually, to the relief of our necessity, and to the setting forth of thy glory; through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end. *Amen.*

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THE SUPPLICATION

¶ *For use after the Great Litany; or after the Third Collect of Morning or Evening Prayer; or before the Sermon at the Liturgy, especially on penitential days and in times of war or national anxiety.*

Antiphon. O Lord, arise, help us; * *and deliver us for thy Name's sake.*

Psalm 44: 1. *Deus auribus.*

O GOD, we have heard with our ears, and our fathers have declared unto us,

The noble works that thou didst in their days, and in the old time before them.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost,

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.

Antiphon. O Lord, arise, help us; * *and deliver us for thy Name's sake.*

FROM our enemies defend us, O Christ.

Graciously look upon our afflictions.

With pity behold the sorrows of our hearts.

Mercifully forgive the sins of thy people.

Favourably with mercy hear our prayers.

O Son of David, have mercy upon us.

Both now and ever vouchsafe to hear us, O Christ.

Graciously hear us, O Lord Christ.

The Lord be with you,

And with this spirit.

Let us pray.

The Collect

WE humbly beseech thee, O Father, mercifully to look upon our infirmities; and, for the glory of thy Name, turn from us all those evils that we most justly

Great Litany

have deserved; and grant, that in all our troubles we may put our whole trust and confidence in thy mercy, and evermore serve thee in holiness and pureness of living, to thy honour and glory; through our only Mediator and Advocate, Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

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THE LITANY OF SAINT CHRYSOSTOM

¶ *For use in place of the Great Litany; or in place of the Prayer for the Church in the Liturgy; or separately.*

With all our heart and with all our mind, let us pray to the Lord, saying: Lord, have mercy.

FOR the peace from above, for the loving-kindness of God, and for the salvation of our souls, let us pray to the Lord,

Lord, have mercy.

For the peace of the whole world, and for the welfare and unity of the holy Church of God, let us pray to the Lord,

Lord, have mercy.

For the President of the United States, and for all those in authority, let us pray to the Lord,

Lord, have mercy.

For our Bishop, and for all the clergy and people, let us pray to the Lord,

Lord, have mercy.

For this place, and for all the faithful who dwell here, let us pray to the Lord,

Lord, have mercy.

For all who bring forth fruit, and do good works of mercy, let us pray to the Lord,

Lord, have mercy.

For deliverance from all tribulation, hostility, danger, and privation, let us pray to the Lord,

Lord, have mercy.

For those who travel by land, by water, or by air, and for all prisoners and captives, let us pray to the Lord,

Lord, have mercy.

For the aged and infirm, for widows and orphans, and for all the sick and suffering, let us pray to the Lord,

Litany of Saint Chrysostom

Lord, have mercy.

For seasonable weather, and for an abundance of the fruits of the earth, let us pray to the Lord,

Lord, have mercy.

For all things good and profitable to our souls and bodies, let us pray to the Lord,

Lord, have mercy.

That the end of our lives may be Christian, without suffering and without reproach, let us pray to the Lord,

Lord, have mercy.

In the Communion of Saints, let us commend ourselves, and one another, and all our life, to Christ our God.

O THOU who hast given us grace at this time with one accord to make our common supplications unto thee; and dost promise that when two or three are agreed together in thy Name thou wilt grant their requests; Fulfil now, O Lord, the desires and petitions of thy servants, as may be most expedient for them; granting us in this world knowledge of thy truth, and in the world to come life everlasting; through thy mercy, O Christ, to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost be all honour and glory, world without end. *Amen.*