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THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, 1549

The origins and printing of 1549 are traced in the Introduction, pp. xxii–xxxI, and the Note on the Texts, pp. liii–liv.

PREFACE

Cranmer's Preface is based on the preface to the reformed breviary by Cardinal Francisco Quiñones, undertaken on the order of Pope Clement VII and first printed in 1535. Cranmer's Latin draft of the Preface survives in his first (undated) attempt at a daily office, the *Festivale et horarum canonicarum series*, in BL MS Royal 7B.IV (*Cranmer's Liturgical Projects*, ed. J. Wickham Legg, Henry Bradshaw Society (London, 1915)). Cranmer contrives to borrow the authority of the Roman rite while also surreptitiously undermining it. The English version in the BCP is abridged from this draft (*Cranmer's Liturgical Projects*, 15–17) and tones down some of Cranmer's more outspoken adaptations of Quiñones.

- 4 *hath not been corrupted*: Cranmer reverses the sense in Quiñones (which is a defence of church tradition in liturgy combined with a justification for revising it), and uses the idea of revision to mount an attack on the 'uncertain stories, Legendes, Respondes, Verses, vaine repetitions' (these terms are not in Cranmer's Latin draft, p. 15) that he claims have been allowed to adhere to scriptural sources.

- 4 *daily hearyng of holy scripture read in the Churche*: Cranmer's Latin draft for a reformed Prayer Book provided for the order of holy scripture to be presented in sequence 'entire and unbroken' through the year, with a scheme for reciting all 150 Psalms in each month. Two lessons are assigned for both Matins and Evensong, the OT beginning at Genesis in both cases, the NT at Matthew in Matins and at Romans in Evensong. The Psalter was printed in 1549 in editions for use in churches by Whitchurch, Grafton, and Oswen. Not until the Elizabethan period was a Psalter published to be bound in with a BCP.

in Latin to the people, whiche they understoode not: Cranmer began experimenting with the idea of English forms of service in the late 1530s (see Introduction, p. xxii). A single Primer in English was proposed under Henry VIII in 1545. A proclamation of 6 May 1545 (*TRP* i. 248) desired that 'our people and subjects which have no understanding in the Latin tongue . . . may pray in the vulgar tongue'.

a nocturne: a unit of psalms and lessons from the Bible (and other sources) used in Matins; the term is derived from the practice of saying this office at midnight in monasteries.

- 5 *the rules called the pie*: a term for a medieval Latin Ordinal (a book giving the order of rituals in the year), so called because it was printed in black-and-white ('magpie'), not in red.

here is drawn out a Kalendar: the Calendar in the medieval liturgy set out the sequence of scriptural readings through the church year, including major festivals and saints' days. The 1549 Kalendar greatly diminished the number of saints' days from the Roman rite, leaving the apostles and evangelists and other figures from the New Testament (see pp. 752–3).

some folowynge Salisbury use: by the sixteenth century the use of Salisbury ('Sarum'), a variant of the Roman rite, was by far the most common in English use: its relative importance can be gauged by the fact that printed editions of Sarum outnumbered the other uses by around ten to one.

the whole realme shall have but one use: an Act of Parliament of January 1549 prescribed 'Unyformytie of Service and Admyinstracion of the Sacramentes throughout the Realme' (2 & 3 Ed. VI c.1, *Statutes of the Realm*, iv. 37). A proclamation of 25 December 1549 (*TRP* i. 353) ordered that all service books following the use of Sarum, Lincoln, York, Bangor, Hereford, and elsewhere should be turned in and destroyed, to reinforce the 'godly and uniform order which by a common consent is now set forth'.

MORNING PRAYER

The BCP orders for Matins and Evensong comprise a unit which corresponds to the Latin Breviary, the book which contained the divine Office (or 'hours'). Cranmer's scheme for a daily office of worship worked by collapsing five of the medieval hours into two forms of service, for morning and evening.

from the way that the BCP seemed in some places explicitly to endorse the use of vestments. See also *Of Ceremonies*, originally printed in 1549 directly before *Certain Notes*, and in this edition included in 1662. The line adopted by Cranmer, however, seems to be that ornaments, including vestments, are neither necessary to faith nor incompatible with it. They are part of what was known as the *adiaphora* of doctrine—things which are not needed for salvation but can be helpful in conducting a good Christian life.

his rochette: a ‘rochet’ is a special vestment like a surplice, worn by bishops (*OED*).

As touching kneeling: sensitivity to gestures of body and the use of material objects in divine service can be seen throughout 1549. This note attempts to patch up a consensus, but the royal Injunctions of 1547, and the promulgation of the BCP itself, hardly provoked either tolerance or conformity. Bodily ritual remained controversial through all the versions of the BCP represented in this edition.

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, 1559

Movements to reform the 1549 Book of Common Prayer began almost as soon as it was printed. Different parties, often arguing vociferously, divided over points of ceremony and doctrine. By December 1549 Bishop Hooper was rejoicing over the destruction of the altars in planned acts of iconoclasm, even though the use of altars was directed in the text of 1549. To manage criticism, continental divines including Peter Martyr Vermigli and Martin Bucer were invited to comment on the new liturgy. Revision was discussed at Convocation in December 1550. Bucer’s *Censura*, a full-scale book on the BCP, was delivered in January 1551. Discussion continued for a year. The Act to promulgate the second BCP was passed on 14 April 1552 and a deadline set for its production of All Saints’ Day (1 November). Whitchurch and Grafton retained their monopoly on the printing of the BCP. 1552 made substantial alterations to 1549 throughout, with significant changes including adding confession and absolution to Morning and Evening Prayer, turning these services into a collective act of penitential Protestant devotion; a radical transformation of Communion, with the Canon removed, reference to the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist severely reduced, and stone altars replaced by a wooden ‘Lord’s table’; the excision of anointing and other bodily actions in Baptism and the Visitation of the Sick; and a drastic reduction in the Burial of the Dead. Vestments and ceremonies were reduced or effaced throughout.

After Edward’s death in June 1553, his sister Mary restored the Catholic religion and abolished the BCP. The Latin Mass and other rites returned, along with the church year of the cult of the saints, and images, roods, etc. On Elizabeth’s succession on 17 November 1558 all of the places of ecclesiastical power were therefore occupied by Catholics, and there was good hope in that party that the Roman rites would remain. While a decision on religious polity stalled, a private committee of Protestants gathered in the house of Sir Thomas

Smith to discuss revisions to the BCP. This committee included returning exiles from Geneva and elsewhere, as well as divines loyal foremost to the queen. At this point there was support both for 1549 and 1552. There was a debate at Westminster in March 1559 which considered, *inter alia*, whether authority in matters of faith belonged only to the clergy; whether liturgy should be in the vernacular; vestments and ceremonies; the church calendar; and details of doctrine, especially concerning the nature of sacraments, the sacrifice of the Mass, and the real presence (*Conferences*, 23–9; documents, pp. 55–92). The result of these debates was decided by the queen finding in favour of the Protestants; the Act of Uniformity of April 1559 (see p. 186), however, was still only narrowly passed. It restored the BCP and prescribed a fine of 12*d.* (equivalent to £11 in 2010) for failure to attend church on Sundays. Matthew Parker was made archbishop of Canterbury. The printing history of 1559 is as confused as the religious settlement which provoked it. John Cawood, the royal printer under Mary, was eventually retained by Elizabeth, in conjunction with Richard Jugge, who had printed a NT in 1550. In the meantime Grafton, one of the two main printers of 1549 and 1552, seems to have attempted to reclaim his position as royal printer by beginning work on 1559. Imprints survive of 1559 bearing both his mark and that of Jugge and Cawood; one copy of Grafton has the names of the other printers pasted in on an error slip. Jugge and Cawood in due course assumed a monopoly of the printing of BCP, but Grafton's edition is the only one of 1559 to incorporate all of the decisions of the 1559 Act of Uniformity and is used here. In haste, the word 'King' was used in 1559 editions.

1559 is a close relation to 1552, with small yet significant changes, e.g. to the words of distribution of the Eucharist and to the Litany. The Explanatory Notes for 1559 comment on the changes between 1549 and 1552 as well as these alterations in 1559. The 'Black Rubric', part of the text for 1552 that was eliminated in 1559, is included in Appendix A as a separate text. The Explanatory Notes for 1549 may also usefully be consulted in relation to the following.

MORNING PRAYER

In the reign of Elizabeth the services of Morning and Evening Prayer were already becoming the most familiar aspects of religious life using the new liturgy. There were complex reasons for this. In late medieval religion the Mass was the central experience of worship, yet it was common to take Communion only once a year at Easter; on other occasions seeing the host was sufficient. Among Protestants, although the desire of the clergy and the godly was for parishioners to take regular Communion, congregations were culturally reluctant to do so. Since the elevation of the host was now forbidden, Communion required the taking of the elements of bread and wine; this must have taken place regularly only in larger churches and cathedrals. In smaller parishes Morning Prayer took on the character of the major service on Sundays. This may be reflected in some of the additions to Morning Prayer in 1552.

102 *in the accustomed place of the churche, chapel, or chauncell*: the initial rubric for 1549 had been cursory, directing only that the priest should be in the

- 176 *The woman that commeth to give her thanckes*: changed from 'is purified' (1549); the offering of the baptismal chrisom is removed.
and if there be a Communion: in practice this seems hardly ever to have been observed (Hunt, 'Lord's Supper', 45).

COMMUNION

The service (Ash-Wednesday) was not altered from 1549 save for the title, made at the suggestion of Bucer, with the additional rubric recommending its use at 'divers times in the yere': the evidence of Grindal's Visitation Articles suggests that in the Elizabethan period the service was sometimes used on the three Sundays before Easter, and on one of the two Sundays immediately before both Pentecost and Christmas.

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, 1662

The progress towards the revised version of the BCP after the Restoration is described in the Introduction, pp. xiii–xvi and xli–xlv. The Civil War took away bishops, deans, cathedral chapters, and traditional feast days, as well as the BCP. A fifth of clergy were deprived of their livings; although in a contrary direction, many that remained covertly used the BCP. In the summer of 1660 the presbyterian *classes* (synods) were disbanded, and episcopacy was reintroduced. Churchwardens' accounts show that around half of the nation's parishes purchased the pre-war Prayer Book in the first 18 months of the new regime (Ronald Hutton, *The Restoration* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 172). In rural parishes old copies could readily be dusted down, but in London, more severely presbyterian, only one copy is recorded in the inventories of 1659. In the autumn following the introduction of 1662, the bishops' visitations show a patchy progress in its reinstatement: in Buckinghamshire 79 of 183 parishes had no surplice, and 25 no BCP; whereas in the whole province of York the majority had no surplice or book of homilies or Canons, and a third no Prayer Book. Many churches were still in ruin, and churchwardens did not always reply. Up to a quarter of parishes reported continuing nonconformism (*ibid.* 177–8).

ACT FOR THE UNIFORMITY OF COMMON PRAYER (1559)

Acts of Parliament have been used to promulgate the BCP since 1549, and every edition since has been authorized by a new Act. To this day, the BCP is a statutory artefact, and its copyright belongs directly to royal prerogative. The authority invested in the book combined regulation of religious practice in conjunction with textual monopoly. The first Act of Uniformity (2 & 3 Edw. VI c. 1) ordered 'one convenient and meet order, rite, and fashion of common and open prayer and administration of the sacraments to be had and used in his Majesty's realm of England and in Wales' (*Statutes of the Realm*, iv. 37). All of this is contained 'in the said book and none other or otherwise'. In 1552 the second Act of Uniformity was printed in the BCP (5 & 6 Edw. VI c. 1).

This was replaced in 1559 with the 1559 Act (1 Eliz. I c. 2), which remained in all subsequent editions of the BCP up to the Civil Wars (in preference to subsequent Acts under the Stuart kings). It was retained with pride of place in 1662, as the Act which provided unbroken statutory authority (Edward VI's Acts having been repealed by Mary I in 1553) in matters of religion.

187 *with one alteration, or addition*: the 1559 Act here lists the principal changes made in 1559 to the text of 1552.

the profit of all his Spiritual Benefices: ecclesiastical benefices were the dues and fees provided for clergy through lay donations; effectively the source of income for ministers. This and the following penalties outlawed the ministering of Catholic ritual in England, laws pursued with even greater rigour in the 1580s and after.

188 *without Bail or Mainprise*: money or person standing surety for a person's appearance in court on a specified day (*OED*).

in any Enterludes, Playes, Songs, Rimes, or by other open words: one of a variety of statutory attempts at censorship of religious dissent in popular culture (as well as in print publication) which were a feature of Tudor and Stuart law, beginning with the Act for the Advancement of Religion in 1543 (34 & 35 Hen. VIII, c. 1).

189 *for the first offence an hundred marks*: the mark was a monetary unit equivalent to two-thirds of a troy pound of pure silver or two-thirds of a pound sterling (13s. 8d.). The measure was used especially in determining exact legal fines (*OED*).

having no lawful, or reasonable excuse to be absent: religious conformity was thus protected by a simple test of attendance in church, rather than any more difficult or dubious legal definition of doctrine or belief. Parishioners as well as clergy made charges against their neighbours, who were examined in the church courts. As well as attendance, a charge could concern failure to take Communion or failure to use the ceremonies of the BCP correctly (Maltby, 20–1). Those who failed to attend church became known from the 1570s onwards as 'recusants', used mostly of Catholics who thus refused to take what they considered unlawful sacraments; but Puritans and other dissenters were also thus covered by the Act.

190 *every Justice of Oyer and Determiner, or Justise of Assize*: 'oyer and terminer' (law-French, 'to hear and determine') is the authority to hold a court in English law; an 'assize' is a sitting or session of a legal body (*OED*).

191 *shall at the costs and charges of the Parishioners of every Parish*: responsibility for the procurement of copies of the BCP was thus laid at the door of the people not the state.

192 *such ornaments of the Church and of the ministers thereof shall be retained, and be in use*: this controversial statement was invoked up to 1662 (and beyond) to justify the use of all kinds of vestment, artefact, and ceremony in the performance of the liturgy, although its precise meaning was consistently

disputed in almost every respect. At the heart of the controversy is what actions or words are required for salvation, and what the limits are of the state in adjudicating and regulating their observance.

ACT FOR THE UNIFORMITY OF PUBLICK PRAYERS

This new Act of Uniformity (14 Chas. II, c. 4) restored the 'one uniform order' of common religion in the state and once again embodied the BCP as the living instrument for 'settling the peace of the Church, and for allaying the present distempers which the indisposition of the time hath contracted'. It resumed the terms for revising the BCP through a commission of bishops and divines (first set out in the Worcester House Declaration of 1660), and approved the new edition of the BCP which had resulted. As in 1559, the presence of the new Act within the covers of 1662 represents a kind of mutually binding textual authority. The BCP provides the divine testimony which gives validity to the Act of Parliament which in turn gives the BCP political legitimacy. In effect, the Act is the Book, and the Book is the Act.

- 193 *following their own sensuality, and living without knowledge and due fear of God*: the second Act of Uniformity in 1552 already condemned the 'sensuality' of those who 'wilfully and damnably' refuse the sacraments ordained in the BCP. The new Act extends this reference to the large number of sects which grew up in the political turmoil of the 1640s and 1650s, including (as well as the presbyterians) independents, Baptists, familists, Quakers, 'Ranters', Muggletonians, and so on.
- 194 *during the times of the late unhappy troubles*: a direct reference to the Civil Wars and the Commonwealth of 1649–60. 'Troubles' was a commonplace post-1660 euphemism.
- have made some Alterations which they think fit to be inserted*: rather than the risk of a wholly new edition, authority was preserved by making the new BCP strictly a revised version of the old, instead of a new, book.
- 195 *the said Book, annexed and joyned to this present Act*: the authorized version of the BCP is thus neither the book printed for the use of the revisers in 1661 nor the one printed under royal authority in 1662, but the individual copies known as 'Sealed Books' (see Introduction, p. xlv) corrected in manuscript and preserved in parliament and in the great cathedrals under seal.
- 196 *I A. B. Do here declare my unfeigned assent*: oaths were used throughout the early modern period in England to signify public subscription to authority. See also the Ordinal, p. 629.
- 197 *sale of the goods and chattels of the Offender*: in law, 'goods and chattels' is a comprehensive phrase for all kinds of personal property forfeit when a previous legal penalty is unpaid (*OED*).
- 198 *commonly called the Solemn League and Covenant*: this was an agreement made in 1643 between the Scottish Covenanters and the leaders of the English parliamentarians in the first Civil War. It laid out common

principles in the practice of religion, broadly in line with presbyterianism (although not formally defined as such) and virulently opposed to ‘popery’ and ‘prelacy’—thus including the BCP as well as Catholicism. It was approved by the Long Parliament and used as a form of subscription to the parliamentary army (although some radicals, such as John Lilburne, refused to take the oath). The exiled Charles II signed the Covenant at the Treaty of Breda (1650) in order to gain Scottish support for his fight to regain the kingdom; in the Sedition Act (1661) the Covenant was declared unlawful and was publicly burned.

every publick Professor and Reader in either of the Universities: conformity in religion by means of the BCP had been established in Oxford and Cambridge from Elizabeth’s reign onwards.

- 200 *unless he have formerly been made Priest by Episcopal Ordination:* this clause attempts to remove any ambiguity about the status of the ministry created by the years of the Civil Wars, in which many incumbents were removed from their parishes or barred from taking services.
- 201 *the Nine and thirty Articles of Religion:* the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion were established in 1563 by Act of Parliament as the defining statements on doctrine in the Church of England (and remain in use today). A variety of doctrinal statements were issued under Henry VIII, including the Ten Articles of 1536, the Six Articles of 1539, and the King’s Book of 1543, which took a variety of more and less Reformed positions. In 1553, under Edward VI, the Forty-Two Articles written under Cranmer produced a distinctively Reformed statement in line with the continental Reformations, but the articles were quickly superseded by the king’s death and repealed under Mary I. The Thirty-Nine Articles revised some of the most Calvinist formulae of 1553 and were again revised in 1571; they were often printed with the BCP after 1662, although not formally part of it (see Appendix B, p. 674).
- 204 *this Act shall not extend to the University-Churches:* the universities were consistently allowed certain exemptions from the rule of uniformity in parishes; from the time of Elizabeth they were allowed to use a Latin order of service, and to perform special rites such as the commemoration of benefactors, including prayers for the dead (see note to p. 172).
- 205 *be truly and exactly Translated:* the status of the BCP is thus varied to include the authentic representation of the text in other languages, increasingly a feature of the life of the BCP with imperial expansion and the widening ministry of the Anglican communion particularly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (see Introduction, pp. xlvi–xlix).
- 207 *whosoever are Consecrated or Ordered according to the Rites of that Book:* the Ordinal (see note to p. 622) had previously been a separate (although parallel) book of services used in conjunction with the BCP; it is now incorporated within the one book of liturgy.

PREFACE

This new preface was added in 1662, alongside Cranmer's 1549 Preface (which had been used in all editions up to 1660). The writer was Robert Sanderson, bishop of Lincoln. Convocation instructed him to take into account 'satisfying all the dissenting brethren and other'; the tone is self-consciously irenic, and parallels in some ways the secular ends of the Act of Oblivion and Indemnity of 1660 (12 Chas. II, c. 11), which had declared 'a hearty and pious Desire to put an end to all Suits and Controversies that by occasion of the late Distractions have arisen and may arise between all His [Majesty's] Subjects'.

209 *the mean between the two extremes*: the idea of the Church of England as a 'middle way' between the Catholic and Reformed traditions was increasingly common in the mid-seventeenth century. Edward Stillingfleet, later bishop of Worcester, used the phrase *via media* in his *Irenicum* (1659), an attempt to reconcile the divisions in English Christianity at the end of the Interregnum.

things in their own nature indifferent, and alterable: a classic distinction existed in theology between doctrines 'necessary' to salvation (which all Christians must uphold), and the *adiaphora*, doctrines or practices which, while edifying and beneficial, are not essential. Stillingfleet had described no church order as 'unalterable'. Article 34 (see p. 684) considered 'Traditions and Ceremonies' to 'have been divers, and may be changed according to the diversity of Countries, Times, and mens Manners'. Laudians had argued that ceremonies are nonetheless central to Christian holiness.

vain attempts and impetuous assaults: a reference to the continuing campaign of the presbyterians. Some hoped still that a version of the *Directory*, which had replaced the BCP after 1645, might yet win out; Richard Baxter used his position at the Savoy Conference to continue to promote the idea of replacing the BCP rather than revising it.

their own private fancies and interests: these are highly-charged words in mid-seventeenth-century English, often implying a negative connotation. Jeremy Taylor, in *The second part of the dissuasive from popery* (1667), described Catholic sentiment as characterized by 'private fancy', a term often applied to the religion of opponents. On the other hand, ministers who had been turned out of their parishes in the 1640s and 1650s were sometimes accused of looking to their 'private interest' in their hope to reclaim lost benefices.

came, during the late unhappy confusions, to be discontinued: the BCP was abolished by parliament in 1645, and no editions were printed again until 1660.

210 *divers Pamphlets were published*: more than ten pamphlets attacking the BCP appeared in 1660 alone, including *Erastus Junior* and *The Common Prayer Unmasked*; there was an equal number of replies, including the

Aristophanic satire *An Anti-Brekekekex-Coax-Coax, or, A throat-hapse for the frogges and toades that lately crept abroad, croaking against the Common-prayer book*.

- 211 *by the growth of Anabaptism*: the ‘anabaptists’, a variety of sects that limited baptism to adults capable of making a profession of faith, were among the most widespread radical groupings of the Reformation, and among the most bitterly persecuted. ‘Anabaptist’ is a deliberately polemical term: it connoted ancient forms of heresy, although in practice the sixteenth-century anabaptist movements such as the Mennonites were no longer current in seventeenth-century England. Here, the ‘Baptists’ were an offcut of Calvinism, an increasingly widespread group in the Civil Wars known for mass public adult baptisms (hence the name ‘Dippers’). Like the Quakers, the origins of Baptist groups lie in revolutionary sectarian nonconformism, which animates this section of the Preface. These groups should be distinguished from their later descendants in movements of the same name in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Evidence for the deep-rooted hold of Baptist beliefs was provided by Grant’s *Observations on the Bills of Mortality* (1665), which reported that during the plague it was harder than expected to keep proper records of age at death, because christening rates had been so low.

the baptizing of Natives in our Plantations, and others converted to the Faith: the question of the baptizing of populations with no knowledge of Christ had been widely debated in medieval theology, not least in Dante’s *Divina Commedia*. In one of the earliest English texts promoting the benefits of colonization, Richard Hakluyt’s *Reasons for Colonization* (1585), he places first ‘The glory of God by planting of religion among those infidels’. Thomas Hariot’s *Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1590) declared that ‘Manie times and in every towne where I came, according as I was able, I made declaration of the contentes of the Bible; that therein was set forth the true and onelie GOD, and his mightie woorkes, that therein was contayned the true doctrine of salvation through Christ’. The languages of America were examined for divine concepts: an early word-list for Algonquin lists an equivalent for ‘God’. The first translation of the BCP into a North American language was an abridged version in Mohawk (Iroquois) in 1715.

CONCERNING THE SERVICE OF THE CHURCH

This is Cranmer’s Preface to 1549. It is reprinted verbatim except for a small number of minor changes mostly involving archaisms in grammar; the replacement of the word ‘congregation’ with ‘Church’ (see note to p. 412); and the omission of two sentences about parish curates needing no other books for divine service than the Bible and the BCP. Cosin (or Overall in Cosin’s hand?) adds in his First Notes the bookish comment: ‘sure y^e more books, y^e more solemne wold Gods service be’.

OF CEREMONIES

Written by Cranmer for 1549 and placed as an appendix to the BCP just before Certain Notes (see note to p. 98). In 1552 Certain Notes was redistributed into two rubrics at the beginning of Morning Prayer, and this section was removed to its present position as an additional preface. It explains the attitude to old ceremonies within the BCP. The abolition of some is defended, both on practical and doctrinal grounds; the retention of others is justified on the grounds that some form of ceremonial is intrinsic to liturgy, and old ceremonies are better than new ones.

Like many parts of the BCP, this text was as complex in its afterlife as it was in its composition. While initially conceived perhaps as a rebuff to traditional Catholics and a vindication of Reformed attitudes in the sixteenth century, in the seventeenth it became the manifesto of the Laudians in defending the use of ceremonies as an essential part of Christian faith and practice. Cranmer's literary even-handedness was now employed for purposes he might have winced at.

- 215 *not in bondage of the figure or shadow, but in the freedom of the Spirit*: the distinction between body and spirit, and between literal and figurative, sums up the problem of 'ceremonies' in the Protestant liturgical controversies. Cranmer worries that undue deference to the body in ritual creates 'superstitious blindness', or (switching metaphors) that undue fixation on ceremony is a kind of 'dumb' figure without true meaning. Yet he also sticks to the view that a spiritual life can only find an expression in a bodily performance. After the Restoration the paradox was resolved by an argument in favour of ceremony as the 'outward' or 'speaking' sign of an inward religious reality (see note to p. 429), summed up by Thomas Bisse in *The Beauty of Holiness in the Common-prayer* (1716). In the intelligible difference between standing for the Gospel and sitting for the Epistle, the one expresses the proper attitude of the body to the 'words of the master', the other to 'the words of his servants'. Typically, Anglicanism came to imagine ritual in terms appropriate to social order.

THE ORDER HOW THE PSALTER IS APPOINTED TO BE READ

Included first in 1549 and reprinted unchanged over the next century; in 1662 there are some small clarifications but no substantial changes; the version of the Psalms used remains the Great Bible of 1540 rather than the KJV used for the Epistles and Gospels. Other scriptural citations and sentences in 1662 are intermittently revised in line with KJV.

- 217 *so as the most part thereof will be read every year once*: in 1549 this reads: 'shal bee redde through every yere once, except certain boke and Chapters, whiche bee least edifying, and might best be spared, and therefore are left unred.' This decidedly quirky sentence was queried by Matthew Wren, who commented it would 'rather incite the quarrelsome to a comparison' as to which parts of scripture were more or less edifying. Wren and Cosin