

A STUDY ON THE USE OF THE PSALMS
IN CHRISTIAN WORSHIP, AS REFLECTED
IN THE PRE-REFORMATION LITURGIES
AND SERVICE-BOOKS.

A THESIS

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Abbreviations and Notes.....	iv.
I. INTRODUCTION: THE PSALMS IN THE JEWISH CHURCH.....	1
Origin of the Psalter.....	2.
Types of Psalms.....	4
Titles of Psalms.....	6
Rendering of Psalms.....	9
Instruments.....	10
The Psalter and the Temple.....	12
The Psalter and the Synagogue.....	15
Methods of Use of Psalter.....	18
General Use.....	18
Proper Psalms.....	18
Versicles.....	19
Triennial Cycle.....	19
Responses.....	20
Source-book for prayers.....	22
II. THE PSALMS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.....	23
The texts.....	23
Quotations in New Testament.....	26
Synagogue and Church.....	27
Rendering of the Psalms.....	28
III. THE PSALMS IN THE EARLY CHURCH.....	29
1. The Apocryphal New Testament.....	30
2. The Apostolic Fathers.....	32
3. The Fathers. a. Ante-Nicene.....	32
b. Post-Nicene.....	35
4. The Ancient Church Orders.....	40
5. Methods of Use of Psalms.....	45
a. Position of Psalms in Services.....	45
b. Proper Psalms.....	47
c. The Occasional Offices.....	48
6. The Rendering of the Psalms.....	51
Methods of Singing.....	51
Responses.....	55
The Music.....	56
Unaccompanied.....	58
Sung standing; known by heart.....	59
The Singers.....	60
IV. THE PSALMS IN THE WORSHIP OF THE EASTERN CHURCH...62	
The Liturgies classified.....	63.
1. The Psalms in the Eastern Liturgies.....	64.
Quotations.....	64
Divisions of the Liturgy.....	65
i. Preparation of the Bread.....	66
ii. Preparation of the Minsiters....	67

iii. The Prothesis.....	67.
iv. The Enarxis.....	68
v. The Missa Catechumenorum.....	70
vi. The Missa Fidelium.....	73
Table of Eastern Liturgies in two parts between pages 75 and 76.	
2. The Psalms in the Daily Offices.....	1.76
Origin of Daily Offices.....	76
Psalms in Early Offices.....	78
Growth of Monasticism.....	80
Cassian.....	81
Developed form of Hours.....	84
The Hours.....	84
Technical names for Psalms.....	84
Psalms in the Greek Offices.....	85
Psalms in the East Syrian Offices.....	89
Psalms in the Armenian Offices.....	92
3. The Psalms in the Occasional Offices...	95
a. Baptism and Confirmation.....	95
b. Matrimony.....	98
c. Funeral Offices.....	100
d. Rites of Ordination.....	103
e. Consecration of Churches.....	105
4. The Rendering of the Psalms.....	108
The Music.....	108
The Singing.....	109
Same methods of use still in evidence.....	109
V. THE PSALMS IN THE WORSHIP OF THE WESTERN CHURCH.....110.	
1. The Psalms in the Liturgies.....	110
Historical Background.....	110
Classes of Psalmody.....	112
The Antiphon.....	113
i. The Preparation of the Ministers.....	116
ii. The Introit.....	117
iii. Gradual-Alleluia-Tract.....	122
iv. The Offertory Psalm.....	128
v. Psalm at incensing of Oblations.....	129
vi. The Lavabo.....	129
vii. The Confractorium.....	130
viii. Psalm at Priest's Communion.....	132
ix. The Communion Chant.....	132
Table of Western Liturgies between pages 134 and 135.	
2. The Psalms in the Daily Offices.....	135.
S. Benedict.....	135
S. Columbanus.....	137
<u>Liber Diurnus</u>	137
Amalarius.....	138

Gregory VII.....	142
John Beleth.....	143
New Offices introduced.....	143
Decadence of Offices.....	144
Revision of Offices.....	146
Quignonez.....	146
Breviary of 1568.....	150
Neo-Gallican Breviaries.....	151
Tommasi's Reformed Breviary.....	152
Breviary of 1911.....	154
Ambrosian Breviary.....	155
Mozarabic Breviary.....	156
The <u>Horae B.V.M. or Prymer</u>	157
The Rhymed Psalters.....	158
The Invitatory.....	158
The Responds.....	159
3. The Psalms in the Occasional Offices.....	161
The <u>Rituale</u> and <u>Pontificale Romanum</u>	161
a. Baptism.....	161
b. Confirmation.....	163
c. Matrimony.....	164
d. Funeral Offices.....	165
e. Rites of Ordination.....	167
f. Consecration of Churches.....	169
4. The Rendering of the Psalms.....	171
Methods of Singing.....	171
Gregorian Music.....	171
<u>Scholae Cantorum</u>	173
Order of Psalmist.....	174
Posture, etc.....	175
Same methods of use still in evidence.....	175
VI. CONCLUSION.....	177
Bibliography.....	181

ABBREVIATIONS.

BONA. DDP.....	Bona. <u>De Divina Psalmodia.</u>
BONA. RL.....	Bona. <u>Rerum Liturgicarum Libri Duo.</u>
CE.....	<u>The Catholic Encyclopaedia.</u>
DACL.....	<u>Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie.</u>
DAER.....	Martene. <u>De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus.</u>
DANIEL.....	Daniel. <u>Codex Liturgicus.</u>
DCA.....	<u>Dictionary of Christian Antiquities.</u>
DENZ.....	Denzinger. <u>Ritus Orientalium.</u>
DIX.....	G. Dix. <u>The Shape of the Liturgy.</u>
HDAC.....	Hastings. <u>Dictionary of the Apostolic Church.</u>
HDB.....	Hastings. <u>Dictionary of the Bible.</u> 5 vols.
HDCG.....	Hastings. <u>Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels.</u>
HERE.....	Hastings. <u>Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.</u>
HITT.....	<u>De Divinis Ecclesiae Catholicae Officiis.</u> (Hittorp).
JE.....	<u>The Jewish Encyclopaedia.</u>
JTS.....	<u>Journal of Theological Studies.</u>
LEW.....	Brightman. <u>Liturgies Eastern and Western.</u>
MWR.....	Cabrol. <u>Mass of the Western Rites.</u>
PG and PL.....	Migne. <u>Patrologia Graeca; Patrologia Latina.</u>
ZAW.....	<u>Zeitschrift für alt-test. Wissenschaft.</u>

NOTES.

Books are published in London, unless otherwise stated.

If dates and places of publication are not given in the notes at the foot of pages, see the Bibliography.

All Psalm numbers are as in A.V., unless otherwise stated.

I. I N T R O D U C T I O N :

THE PSALMS IN THE JEWISH CHURCH.

No religious book has been ~~so~~ universal in use as the Book of Psalms, whether for purposes of private devotion or for those of public worship. Both in Judaism and in Christianity, every sect looks to this collection of sacred poems with reverence and with gratitude, and uses it, and in some cases uses it alone, as a source book for the praise of God. Tributes to the value of the Psalter have abounded in every century of its existence(1). There are many reasons for this attitude, some of which will appear more clearly in the course of this study.

Meanwhile we may emphasise the simplicity of the language of the Psalter. The words can be understood of all and their import is always clear. We note too the timelessness of the language, that is, the infrequent mention of historical event. Moreover the language is adequate. Men of all classes and races, passing through every kind of human experience, have found here something suited to their need, apt for the expression of emotion and desire. Further the Psalter has a quality which no other book outside the Bible possesses in the same degree, namely, that it is equally suited to personal and to corporate religious experience. Even if a psalm has come out of individual experience, it has so often, sometimes indeed because of careful editing, proved its suitability to corporate worship. And those psalms which seem most apt for common worship can so often meet the needs of the individual heart. These are among the reasons which have given the Psalter its place in the religious life of mankind.

The Psalter was of course in origin Hebrew, and it will be therefore advisable, before actually entering on the consideration of our proper study, to devote some time to an examination of the place taken by the psalms in Jewish worship. That is of great interest in itself.

(1) See John Ker. The Psalms in History and Biography. 1886. R. E. Prothero. The Psalms in Human Life. 1903, etc. A.S. Rappoport. The Psalms in Life, Literature and Legend. 1935. J.T. Stoddart. Psalms for Every Day. 1939.

But it is recognised that there was a very close connection between Jewish and the first Christian worship, and that, in fact, Jewish worship, and perhaps especially that of the synagogue, had a profound and far-reaching influence upon the form and content of Christian worship. And in particular we find that many uses of the psalms are similar in the two forms of worship.

Originally then the Psalter came out of the religious experience of the Hebrew Church, and that is in itself one of the marvels of religion. For both the earlier Israelite religion and the later Judaism were in some respects exclusive and narrow in their outlook. But the Psalter, excepting only few verses, soars high above all narrowness, breathing the same atmosphere of universalism and rising to the same spiritual heights as the great prophets. Indeed it has been said that "it is the Christian spirit which shines out from the canonical Psalms" (1).

The details of its origin are wrapped in the mists of obscurity and there is no general consensus of opinion as to when the psalms were first composed. Tradition ascribed the book to David, and even yet one hears it referred to as "The Psalms of David". Yet the Psalter itself suggests Davidic authorship for only 72 out of the 150 pieces, and it is probable that some of these are late in origin. Some commentators admit the possibility of Davidic elements; others have held that the great majority of the psalms belong to the post-exilic or even the Maccabaeian period. There is indeed great variety of view (2).

(1) C. Guignebert. The Jewish World in the Time of Jesus. p.73.

(2) Thus Cheyne (The Book of Psalms. 1888. The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter. 1891) and Duhm (Die Psalmen. 1899 and 1922) say that most psalms are post-exilic. Briggs (The Psalms. ICC. 1906-7) and Stärk (Lyrik. 1911) say that some are pre-exilic. Kittel (Die Psalmen. 1914) thinks that some are Davidic. Among the more recent commentators, Herkenne (Die Psalmen. 1936) and Schmidt (Die Psalmen. 1934) argue that there are no Maccabaeian psalms, while Kittel and Mowinckel (Psalmen. Wien. i-vi. 1921-4) believe there are some. Gunkel (Die Psalmen. 1925-6) and Gunkel-Begriff (Einleitung. 1933) regard this as doubtful.

On the whole, it seems probable that there are pre-exilic elements in the Psalter, for Hebrew poetry existed at an early period (1), and it is fairly certain that psalms or sacred songs of some kind were used in the first Temple. David had the reputation of being "the sweet psalmist of Israel" (2), and there is nothing inherently inconceivable in the idea that some pieces originally composed by him were handed down from generation to generation till they were incorporated, no doubt much edited, in the official Psalm-book. On the other hand, it is not likely that there were many psalms as late as the Maccabaean age, which lasted from 166 to 63 B.C. The Septuagint was probably completed by about 100 B.C. (3), and the Psalter had reached its canonical form by that time. One may safely believe that the psalms come from many ages and many varied circumstances, that collections were formed from time to time, and that from such collections the present Psalter developed.

That the Psalter has been made up from earlier collections seems clear from internal evidence. It is divided into five books, viz., Pss. 1-41, 42-72, 73-89, 90-106, 107-150. There is a doxology at the end of each of the first four books, and perhaps Ps. 150 is meant to be the doxology for the last book. But there is also a doxology after Ps. 135, so that the fifth book may originally have consisted of two parts. It is possible that this five-fold division was made in imitation of the five-fold Pentateuch, though one book may have been added to another as a supplement. Zunz, however, holds that the division is not a later arrangement but is derived from the history of the book (4).

Moreover within these books there are evidences of other collections. The Davidic psalms, for example, number 72, viz., Pss. 3-9, 11-32, 34-41, 51-65, 68-70, 86, 101, 103, 108-110, 124, 133, 138-145. That there was at least one collection of Davidic psalms is shown by the closing words of Ps. 72 - "The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended". The original collection to which these words were appended must have differed from the present 1-72, some of which have no inscription, while others are attributed to other sources. For these

(1) See A. Causse. Les plus vieux chants de la Bible.

(2) II Samuel 23:1.

(3) R. R. Ottley. Handbook to the Septuagint. 1920. p. 35.

(4) Die gottesd. Vorträge. p. 16.

and other reasons (1), it is believed that there was at first more than one collection ascribed to David.

Again there are psalms ascribed to "the sons of Korah" (42, 44-49, 84, 85, 87, 88), others ascribed to Asaph (50, 73-83), the collection of Songs of Ascents (120-134), and the Hallelujah Psalms (104-106, 111-113, 115-117, 135, 146-150). These also may have been originally separate collections. From such collections then and perhaps from others not so readily identified, the present Psalter was made up. And the question arises, For what purpose were these collections made? Was it for the worship of the Temple, or for that of the synagogues, or was it for private devotion?

There are two points which may yield some evidence to help us to an answer - the first has to do with the Types, and the second with the Titles, of the psalms.

There are many different types of psalms, which vary in their character and content, though it is not always easy to be quite sure to which type a given psalm belongs. Thus owing to the difficulty of the use of the Hebrew tenses, different interpretations may be given. The Hebrew perfect tense sometimes has a present significance, and so a psalm may be regarded as a lament over present trouble, or as a thanksgiving for deliverance from past affliction, Psalms 41 and 116 being examples. Moreover Hebrew poetry is very concentrated verbally; few words are used, and that often without any indication of causal connection. Then, again, commentators differ in their criteria for distinction, and we have in consequence different methods of division. Some of these may be noted.

Thus Stärk (2) groups the kinds of psalms thus:-

- I. Hymnen, 1. Kultische Dichtungen (Chorlyrik).
 - a. Prozessions Hymnen.
 - b. Fest- und Siegeshymnen.
 - c. Liturgische Hymnen.
 - d. Eschatologische Hymnen.
- 2. Individuelle Dichtungen (Monodische Lyrik).
- II. Gebete. A. Dankgebete.
 - 1. Öffentliche Dankgebete (Chorlyrik).
 - 2. Monodische Dankgebete (Individuallyrik).

(1) See Oesterley. A Fresh Approach to the Psalms. pp. 61-63.

(2) Lyrik. vi-vii.

B. Bittgebete.

1. Öffentliche Bittgebete (Chorlyrik).
2. Monodische Bittgebete (Individualllyrik).

C. Trostgebete.

- III. Lieder. A. Geistliche Lieder.
B. Didactische Lieder.

The classification suggested by Gunkel (1) is simpler. He says the four main classes (Gattungen) are

- a. Hymns of Praise (Hymnen).
- b. Private Hymns of Thanksgiving (Danklieder des Einzelnen).
- c. National Hymns of Sorrow (Klagelieder des Volkes).
- d. Private Hymns of Sorrow (Klagelieder des Einzelnen).

In the Introduction to the Commentary of Gunkel, completed by Begrich, the classification is different, being as follows :-

1. Congregational Psalms, including Hymns, national dirges, pilgrim songs, songs of national victory, and national thanksgivings;
2. Psalms of the Individual, including dirges, thanksgivings, etc.;
3. Miscellaneous - blessings on Yahweh, royal psalms, prophetic psalms, wisdom psalms, etc.(2)

Now the point of this is that in such methods of classification, it is recognised that some psalms can be called congregational, that is, they were meant to be sung in the sanctuary, perhaps by a priest or trained soloist, or by the body of Temple singers, or by the whole company. Others can be called individual psalms, since their purpose seems to have been for personal use(3). Some of these might be recited during the performance of sacred rites, as when one, delivered, say, from sickness or other affliction, returned thanks in the sanctuary, either with his own voice or through the agency of the priest. Others again seem to have had little connection with public worship - they are more like poems of meditation, such as some that praise the Torah, and especially the acrostic psalms. It is clear however that a large number of the psalms did have to do with the common worship of the people, and are to be regarded as liturgical. Thus there is justification for saying that the Psalter was

(1) In Old Testament Essays. 1927. pp. 124 ff.

(2) See Oesterley. Op.cit. pp. 71 ff.

(3) The question of the 'I' psalms and their relation to worship is discussed in Balla. Das Ich der Psalmen. 1912. Cp. Oesterley. Op.cit. pp. 148 ff.

a hymnbook for public worship.

There is little doubt that many of the psalms were edited in a liturgical direction to make them more suitable for congregational use. Some of the psalms regarded as individual have been worked over in this way, e.g., Pss. 17, 86, 90, 102, 142. The words of Briggs (1) may be quoted as a summary of this liturgical adjustment.

The simplest and most natural (glosses) are liturgical in character, petitions, intercessions, calls to worship, expressions of praise and the like. Psalms expressive of piety and protestations of integrity are modified by the insertions of confessions of sin and pleas for forgiveness. Protestations of innocence are inserted in Psalms which lament the sufferings of the people of God from vindictive and cruel enemies. Personal, local and earlier national relations are generalised so that earlier psalms might with propriety be used in the public worship of late times..... Thus the editor of the various Psalters did exactly what the editors of prayer-books, liturgies, and hymn-books have always done. They had greater interest in editing the Psalms for public worship than in preserving their original literary form and meaning. Accordingly, many of the Psalms have lost their original form. They express varied states of mind, differences of experience, inconsistent situations; there are sudden and unexpected changes in tenses of verbs, and in person and number of pronouns and suffixes. All this makes the Psalms richer in the expression of religious experience, and in this respect more suited to the varied needs of the congregation, but greatly injures their literary and historical value.

To this it might be added that, as Keet points out (2), changes might and likely would be made owing to a growing spiritual insight, or in order to keep up with developing theological and religious ideas. Enough however has been said to draw attention to this editing of the psalms in a liturgical direction. This seems to confirm the idea that the Psalter had a specifically liturgical use.

The second point to which we refer is the Titles of the psalms. It is not likely that many of the titles were contemporary with the psalms themselves. The titles would be attached by the editors of the psalms or psalm-collections. Yet we may infer from certain of them

(1) The Psalms. I. p. 1. cp. p. xcv.

(2) A Liturgical Study of the Psalter. p. 43.

something of the way in which the particular psalms were used, even though the meanings of many titles are obscure.

First we note the general title of the book. In the Hebrew Canon the Psalter is called Tehillim, hymns of praise. Curiously one psalm only, Ps.145, is called tehillah, though certainly many of the psalms cannot be called hymns of praise. In the MSS of the Septuagint various titles are found - Book of Psalms, Psalms, Psalter. The last title is probably the same as Psaltery, a stringed instrument, and the word came to represent the song accompanied by that instrument. Psalterion is probably the translation of the Hebrew mizmor, which is the title to fifty-seven psalms, and which is used only for worship-song. The inference from the use of such words in the general title is surely that the book includes pieces which could be used for public worship, with the suggestion that some of them were to be sung to the accompaniment of instruments.

As to the titles of the individual psalms, we need not deal with them all. But some contain directions as to the music, some of them dealing with the method of rendering the psalms and others naming the secular melody to be used.

The title laminzeach occurs fifty-five times, and is rendered in RV "for the chief musician", on the analogy of the use of the corresponding verb in I Chron.15:21. Gunkel follows Haupt's suggestion and reads laminzach, "regarding the musical rendering". This suits some titles, as when it is followed by bineginoth, "with stringed instruments", but does not suit others so well. Mowinckel says this is not a musical direction at all. Indeed he tends to assign to the titles a cultic significance, indicating the ritual use to which the poem or form was to be put(1).

The terms bineginoth (Pss.4, 6, 54, 55, 57) and 'al-neginoth (Ps.61) mean that the psalm is to be accompanied by string instruments, only two of which, viz., the kinnor (lyre) and nebel (harp), are mentioned in the Old Testament.

The term 'al-ha-sheminith (Pss.6,12), translated "set to the eighth", and the term 'al-'alamoth (Ps.46) have also probably some musical reference (2).

(1) See Psalmenstudien. iv. pp.17 ff.

(2) See infra. p.10 .

There is only one reference to wind instruments in the titles, in Ps.5, where the word nechiloth is used, and is translated "with wind instruments". Mowinckel says this means "concerning sickness" and is not a musical term. The Septuagint translates ὑπὲρ τῆς κληρονομότητος, and S. Jerome has "pro hereditatibus", meaning "to the inheritances", thus suggesting the name of the melody to be used.

Another term which has been regarded as musical is "set to Gittith" (Pss.8, 81, 84). The Targum supposes this refers to a musical instrument that came from Gath. But there is a Hebrew word gath which means 'winepress', and the title in the Septuagint is ὑπὲρ τῶν ληρῶν, "according to the winepress". That is, the psalm was to be sung to the melody of a vintage song.

In several other titles there are suggested the melodies to which the psalms were to be sung. These are - (a) al-tashcheth (Pss.57, 58, 59), "Destroy not", which words are the opening words of a vintage song quoted in Isaiah 65:8. (b) Set to 'ayyeleth ha-shachar, "the hind of the morning" (Ps.22). (c) Set to shoshannim, "lilies" or anemones (Pss.45, 69). (d) Set to jonath 'elem rechokim or rather jonath 'eylim rechokim, "the dove of the far-off terebinths" (Ps.56)(1).

To such popular melodies psalms could be sung, and this use of secular melodies has been common, not only in later Jewish worship (2), but also in the worship of many Christian Churches.

Another word of interest is Selah, which appears at certain points in some psalms. Various suggestions have been made as to the meaning of this term. Some have said it is the sign for a musical interlude, some that it calls for louder singing, some that it marks the place where the closing benediction might be made (3). The general idea however is that selah is a musical term(4).

These points with regard to the psalm-titles suggest that the psalms were used for congregational singing, often accompanied by musical instruments, usually stringed, and that in certain cases secular melodies were used.

(1) C. Sachs believes that many other titles refer to the melodies. Hist. of Musical Instruments. N.Y. 1940. pp.124ff.

(2) See Oxford History of Music. I. pp.55 ff.

(3) Briggs. Op.cit. I. p. lxxxiv.

(4) See Stainer. Music of the Bible. 1914. p.82, 90f.

At this stage it may be suitable to deal with THE RENDERING OF THE PSALMS. From what has just ~~be~~ said it is evident that there was an important musical element in the rendering of the psalms. It is unfortunate that there is little evidence as to the precise nature of Hebrew music. One thing however seems pretty certain, that in Hebrew music the idea of rhythm was predominant. Most primitive peoples lay great stress on this. In particular modern Arab music is probably of a nature not much different from the ancient Bedouin music, which in turn was perhaps similar to the music of the Hebrews(1). All these were of strongly rhythmic character. The melody would at first be of less importance than the rhythm, and it would be contained within a small compass. "Indeed, melody, in the music of the early Hebrews, may be described as a kind of declamatory recitative, as among the Arabs"(2). It is further stated that the intervals between adjacent notes were smaller than those in our western scales. Probably too the melodies themselves were very short, and would be repeated again and again.

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Can we say anything as to how the psalms were actually sung to such melodies? Once again we have but little evidence to go on, and it is somewhat difficult to get any view of the development of the music - if it is to be assumed that the music must have developed in the centuries between, say, the Exodus and the Maccabean age. A study of certain words used in the psalms, e.g., words for singing, playing, shouting, and so forth, as well as those used for the accompanying instruments, would be of interest. But we can refer only to a few points.

As to the question whether everyone present at worship joined in the singing of the psalms, or whether it was left to the priest or to a trained soloist, or to a choir or guild of singers such as the Korahites or later the Levites, one answer would not probably cover the whole period of Hebrew worship. The practice almost certainly varied, but it is likely that in later times the singing was done mainly by trained singers. But even so, it is probable that those present joined, if not in the actual singing, at least in a shout of Hallelujah or some similar ejaculation at appropriate points. It has been said that the word teru'ah (shout) is a "technical one in connection with worship"(3), and

(1) Some contest this, e.g., A.Z. Idelson. Jewish Music. N.Y. 1929; L. Saminsky. Music of the Ghetto and the Bible. N.Y. 1934.

(2) Oesterley. Op.cit. p. 109.

(3) Oesterley. Ibid. p. 120.

this word occurs in several places(1).

Again, was there any antiphonal singing, where either a soloist alternated with choir or congregation, or two parts of the choir sang alternately? There ^{to be indica-} ^{seem} ^{necessarily} indications that antiphonal singing was practised, though not for all the psalms. In I Samuel 18:7 we read that "the women answered one another as they played, and said, Saul hath slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands". The two phrases, one referring to Saul and the other to David, would certainly suit antiphonal singing. Again, Ps.118:1-14 and Ps.136 are clearly composed for antiphonal or responsive singing, with the repeated refrain, "For His mercy endureth for ever". It has also been suggested that some of the Psalms of Ascent (Pss.120-134) may have been sung antiphonally, as between a group of pilgrims approaching Zion and a choir within the walls(2).

It can be added that the singing would be almost entirely unison, for at this primitive stage there was no harmony. The nearest approach to harmony might be where certain voices sang an octave apart. A. R. Gordon (3) suggests that one band might have the harps tuned al-alamoth, after the manner of maidens, that is, in a soprano key, and a second tuned al-hasheminith, on the eighth, or the base octave(4). Whether these terms can bear this interpretation or not, the women's voices and the men's voices would naturally be separated by an octave. But it is believed that Hebrew theory had no idea of octaves.

The vocal music was regularly accompanied by instruments. There are many references to this both in the Psalter and elsewhere. Indeed it is probable that the main use of musical instruments was to accompany the singers, rather than for solo or concert work. Originally many instruments were probably "intensifiers of the hand-clapping, stamping and clashing that accompanied primitive song and dance"(5). The instruments were of three kinds, percussion, wind and string, and we may make a brief reference to these(6).

(1) E.g., I Chron. 15:28; Ps.47:5(Heb.6); Ps.89:15(Heb.16).

(2) Cp. Gunkel in Old Testament Essays.1927.p.132.

(3) The Poets of the Old Testament.p.65.

(4) Cp. I Chron.15:20f.

(5) A.R. Gordon. Op.cit. p.55.

(6) See Stainer. The Music of the Bible. 1914.

The percussion instruments are all primitive in their nature, and several are mentioned in the Old Testament. There was the toph or tambourine, struck by the hand. Its use in worship is mentioned in Ps. 68:25 (Heb. 26), and we may compare Ps. 81:2 (Heb. 3); Ps. 149:3; and Ps. 150:4. It is usually mentioned along with other instruments. Then there were the zelzelim or cymbals, the meziltaim, somewhat similar, the shalishim, perhaps triangles, and the menacane'im, probably a kind of rattle. The cymbals alone were used in the Temple (1).

The wind instruments included the shophar or ramshorn. At first it was not so much used in worship as for an alarm, but it became the recognised instrument on certain ceremonial occasions. Its use in worship is referred to in Ps. 47:5 (Heb. 6); Ps. 81:3 (Heb. 4); Ps. 98:6; Ps. 150:3. This instrument is the only one used in the Orthodox synagogues today. There was also the chazozerah, a silver tube or clarion, mentioned in Ps. 98:6. Another was the chalil, pipe or flute, which is never mentioned in connection with worship. The last wind instrument was the 'ugab, perhaps a kind of bagpipe with two pipes, one for the notes and the other for blowing through. The only reference to this as used in worship is in Ps. 150:4.

As to the stringed instruments, there were only two mentioned in the Old Testament, the kinnor or lyre, and the nebel or harp. Both were used in Temple worship (2).

There is an interesting reference to the use of such instruments in II Chron. 5:13, which reads, "The trumpeters and singers were as one, to make one sound to be heard in praising and thanking the Lord, and ... they lifted up their voice with the trumpets and cymbals and instruments of music and praised the Lord". This suggests that the music and singing were in unison, and that the choir sang in time with the instruments in perfect rhythm.

Some of the Psalms also speak of instrumental accompaniment. Thus Ps. 43:4 suggests that the Temple singers sang to their own accompaniment - "I will give thanks to Thee with the harp (kinnor)". Compare also Ps. 71:22 - "I will also praise Thee with the psaltery (nebel)... unto Thee will I sing with the kinnor (harp)". Sometimes L. A. V. a fuller instrumental accompaniment is indicated, as in

(1) I Chron. 25:6.

(2) I Chron. 16:5; Neh. 12:27.

Ps.81:1-3(Heb.2-4), where the timbrel (toph), harp (kinnor), psaltery (nebel), and trumpet (shophar) are mentioned; and Ps.150:3-5, where we read of the use of the trumpet (shophar), psaltery (nebel), harp (kinnor), timbrel (toph), stringed instruments in general (minnim), pipe (ugab), and cymbals (zelzelim).

We find that such instruments might be used not only purely for accompaniment of song, but also in processions and dancing. Processions might lead the way up to the Temple, or they might take place within the precincts of the Temple, as at the "compassing of the altar", mentioned in Ps.26:6. Singing was also often accompanied by dancing(1), and this apparently even in the Temple(2).

THE PSALTER AND THE TEMPLE.

Several authorities have said that the Psalter was the hymn-book of the Second Temple(3). This is denied by some outstanding critics. Duhm for example says that the Psalter was meant to be a kind of religious textbook and to act as a manual of meditation and devotional reading(4). Stärk(5) expresses a similar opinion. At the other extreme there are some who hold that nearly all the psalms were originally composed for the Temple worship (6). Some again tend to think of the Psalter not so much as a hymn-book but rather as a book of ritual poems to be used in various ritual acts whether in private or in public(7). It may be safest to say that if we speak of the Psalter as the hymn-book of the Second Temple, it must be understood not necessarily that the whole book was so used, but that it includes pieces for such use.

But is it possible to say anything of the relationship between the Psalter and the First Temple? Those who incline to a late date for the Psalter must of course

(1) Cp. Exod.15:20; Jud.11:34; I Sam.10:5ff; I Sam.18:6; etc.

(2) Cp. Ps.149:3; Ps.150:4. On Hebrew music see also HERE. IX.39ff; HDB.III.457ff; also the Bibliography, section on Music.

(3) E.g., G.H. Box. HERE.XII.p.791.

(4) Die Psalmen.1922.p.xxvii.

(5) Lyrik.1911.pp.7-8, etc.

(6) Gunkel-Begrich. Einleitung.1933.pp.407ff.

(7) Mowinckel. Psalmenstudien. vi. 1924.p.27. Causse. Les plus vieux chants de la bible.128ff.

deny any such relationship. On the other hand there are those who hold that many psalms were very early. Zunz, for example, says(1), "There can be no question as to the high antiquity of several individual psalms. A great part (e.g., Pss.2, 3, 16, 18, 20, 21, 23, etc.) belong unquestionably to the time of the first Temple". The whole problem of the dating, as we have seen, is very difficult. But even if there is no direct evidence of the use of psalms in the First Temple, there seems no reason for denying that psalms were in existence by that time.

For one thing, there are in the Old Testament poems which are of the same literary structure, showing the same parallelisms, as the canonical psalms. The Song of Deborah (Jud.5:1-31) and David's Lament over Saul and Jonathan (II Sam.1:19-27) are both secular songs. But others are of a sacred type such as the psalm ascribed to Moses in Exodus 15:1-18, and the Song of Hannah (I Sam.2:1-10). And in the early prophetic books there are pieces of the same nature as the psalms(2). Such pieces are fairly early, most of them pre-exilic, and there is little doubt that many purely religious poems existed then, and there is no reason why some^{of} them, edited and amended, should not now be in the Psalter. Indeed H. Gressmann says, "The religious festivals, the sacrifices and rites, the whole of the public and private sacrificial worship, are inconceivable if the sacred ceremonial was not accompanied by psalms"(3). Moreover, in Ezra 2:41 and Nehemiah 7:44, there is reference to a body of singers among those who returned from the Exile, and they are called "the singers, the children of Asaph". These must have been the descendants of those who were formerly on the staff of the Temple, presuming the reference is reliable.

Further there are texts which mention accompanied singing in worship. In a passage in Amos (5:23) dealing with formal worship in the Northern Kingdom, Yahweh says, "Take thou away from me the voice of thy songs; for I will not hear the melody of thy viols (nebel)". Again, we read in Isaiah 30:29, "Ye shall have a song, as in the night when a holy solemnity is kept, as when one goeth with a pipe (halil) to come into the mountain of the Lord". In

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- (1) Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden. p.16. Cp.pp.16-18.
 (2) See the discussion in A. Causse. Op.cit.
 (3) The Psalmists. Ed. by D.C. Simpson. p.11.

both these passages the use of musical instruments is indicated (1). The conclusion must be that, even if the psalms in their present form were not used in the First Temple, there must have been compositions of a similar nature.

The case of THE SECOND TEMPLE is much clearer. In the Daily Service, when the daily sacrifices were offered, priests blew on trumpets and the Temple singers sang psalms to musical accompaniment. After the sacrifices, the psalm for the day was sung. This was done both at morning and at evening sacrifice. The psalms for the day are given in Mishna, Tamid, vii. as follows (2):— the first day, Ps. 24; the second, Ps. 48; the third, Ps. 82; the fourth, Ps. 94; the fifth, Ps. 81; the sixth, Ps. 93, and the seventh or Sabbath, Ps. 92. It is not known what psalms were sung during the offering.

Special psalms were sung on feast and other important days. Thus the Hallel (Pss. 113–118) was sung at the Passover Feast (3), at the Feast of Tabernacles (4), at the Feast of Weeks, at the Feast of Dedication, and at the New Moon Festivals. The Songs of Ascents (Pss. 120–134) were sung by those who came up to Jerusalem for the three Festivals of Unleavened Bread, of Weeks, and of Tabernacles (5). Ps. 30 was sung at the dedication of the Temple by Judas Maccabaeus after its desecration by Antiochus Epiphanes in 165 B.C. (6). Ps. 81 was sung at the celebration of the New Moon, when special sacrifices were offered. The most important occasion of this observance was the Feast of Tabernacles, celebrated at the full moon of Tishri, the seventh month. Ps. 135, which refers to singing in the Temple, was sung on the morning of the Feast of the Passover.

Mention might be made here of the important contribution to the liturgical study of the psalms made by Mowinckel, who has already been mentioned. In particular he deals with the psalms which celebrate the ascent of Yahweh upon his throne (7). The principal psalms ~~concerned~~ concerned here are 47, 93, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, and 100. All of these declare that Yahweh has become king. In most

(1) Cp. also II Sam. 6:15; Ps. 47:5.

(2) Cp. Sopherim, xviii. 1.

(3) Sopherim, Müller's ed. p. 288.

(4) The rite is described in Sukkah, iv. 9, 10.

(5) Cp. Deut. 16:16.

(6) Sopherim, xviii. 2. Cp. I Macc. 4:52–59.

(7) Psalmenstudien, ii. Das Thronbesteigungsfest Yahwäs, 1922.

cases the idea is that Yahweh has ascended upon his throne, and his people, and sometimes also other peoples, and even the world of nature, are called upon to rejoice and give thanks. Whether Mowinckel's ideas are to be accepted or not, these psalms have a strongly dramatic liturgical character (1).

Altogether then there can be little doubt that the Psalter was used liturgically in the Temple, and indeed the use of the psalms must have been very carefully regulated. The existence of the Levitical singers and other guilds of Temple-singers is clearly proved at least for the later Temple services.

THE PSALTER AND THE SYNAGOGUE.

As to the origin of the synagogue, various theories have been suggested. According to the Jews of the time of Jesus, the founder was Moses (2). But the tendency was to ascribe to Moses anything of value. Some have said with Wellhausen (3) that the synagogue dates from the exilic period and arose in Babylon as a substitute for the Temple. Another idea is that it was founded by Ezra on the occasion of "the great assembly" (4). Others, like Friedländer (5), suggest that it was the creation of Hellenic Judaism, taking its origin in the Diaspora and being introduced into Palestine later, perhaps by the Essenes. Guignebert (6) believes the first steps were taken during the Exile by pious men like the Hasidim, but thinks it was in Palestine during the Persian period that the institution took definite form. It is not likely that proof can be obtained for any of these theories. Neither the Old Testament nor the Apocryphal books to the Maccabaean age give any information (7).

Yet in the time of Jesus the synagogue was a recognised and flourishing institution. So far archaeology gives no indication of synagogues in Palestine before the

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- (1) See the criticism in A Companion to the Bible. Ed. by T.W. Manson. Edinburgh.1939.p.441.
- (2) Josephus. C. Ap. ii.17. Philo. Vita Mos. iii.27.
- (3) Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte. Berlin.1914.p.193.
- (4) keneseth-haggedolah. Neh.9-10. keneseth was the usual later Jewish word for synagogue.
- (5) Synagoge und Kirche in ihren Anfängen. Berlin.1908.
- (6) The Jewish World in the Time of Jesus. p.74.
- (7) See Arts. "Synagogue" in HDAC, HDB, and HDCG.

Christian era (1). The earliest documentary evidence tells of Jewish synagogues in Egypt, spoken of as places of ~~prayer~~ prayer (προσευχή), and this of date 247-221 B.C. (2). The earliest documentary evidence for Palestine is found in the Book of Enoch 46:8; cp. 53:6. The date is approximately 94-79 B.C. So far nothing is said of its purpose.

For that we turn to Philo (3) and Josephus (4). Here the main emphasis is laid on instruction in the Law and the tenets of Judaism, but Philo refers to synagogues as houses of prayer, and in one place (5) he says that chants, hymns and songs were sung (παιάντες, ὕμνοι, ᾠδαί), and it is likely that these would include psalms. The New Testament also lays chief stress on the element of instruction - teaching, preaching, and reading of the Scriptures being often mentioned; prayer is mentioned only once (6), while singing is never spoken of in connection with the synagogue.

It appears, however, that though at first meant chiefly for instruction, the reading and expounding of the Law, the synagogue gradually became more and more used for general purposes of worship. This process would be quickest furthest away from the Temple. Blau says that "the earliest elements of synagogal worship were developed from the Temple service and the custom of sacrificial watches (ma'amad), as well as from private and public worship, from psalms and prayers, which were composed at different times and for special occasions" (7). Now the singing of psalms was an important part of the Temple liturgy, and it is believed that the custom was taken into the synagogue liturgy.

The Tractate Sopherim gives many details as to the use of psalms in synagogue worship. For particular feasts there were 'proper' psalms. Ps.7 was chosen for the Feast of Purim; Ps.12 for the eighth day of the Feast of Tabernacles; Ps.30 for the Feast of Dedication; Ps.47 for the Festival of the New Year; Pss.98 and 104 for the Festival of the New Moon; and for the Day of Atonement, penitential psalms, especially 103 and 130. These obviously follow

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- (1) On the archaeology, see E.L. Sukenik. Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece. Schweich Lectures. 1930.
 (2) Schürer. Hist. of Israel. 1907. ii.499f.
 (3) Circa 20 B.C. - A.D. 40.
 (4) See quotations in Friedländer. Op.cit. pp.61 ff.
 (5) In Flacc. 14.
 (6) Matt.6:5. But cp. Acts 4:31.
 (7) JE. viii. p.137 a.

the practice of the Temple. This Tractate is admittedly of late date, probably about the seventh century A.D., and we cannot determine how many of its statements apply to the synagogue prior to or as early as the beginning of the Christian era. Yet the synagogue services were regarded as taking the place of the morning and evening sacrifices of the Temple (1), and it would therefore be very surprising if there were no singing in the ancient synagogue.

The modern synagogue makes great use of the Psalter, not only for direct purposes of praise, but also as a source-book for the prayers, the language of which is largely drawn from the psalms. Reference to the Authorised Daily Prayer Book of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Empire (2) makes both these uses quite clear.

Psalms appear in all the services. In Shacharith or Morning Prayer, for instance, there are three sets of psalms, separated by prayers, lessons from scripture, readings from the Mishna, and so on. The daily psalms are still in use in the synagogue, viz., 24, 48, 82, 94, 81, 93, 92, while the Hallel (113-118) is used at the great festivals - New Moon, Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles, and Chanukkah (3). At the last of these, Ps.30 is recited, its title showing its appropriateness; and it may be added that on the eve of Sukkoth pious Jews would recite the whole Psalter.

At many points in the services, verses of psalms are quoted. Thus in the Morning Service, after the tallith is put on, Ps.36:7-10 is read. When the leader in prayer carries the Scroll from the Ark to the platform, he holds up the Scroll and says, "Ascribe greatness to the Lord with me, and let us exalt his name together" (Ps.34:3). On returning the Scroll to the Ark, he recites Ps.148:13-14 (4).

Another point is that the prayers are largely made up of quotations from the Psalter. It is indeed striking how much of the language of the prayers is drawn from the psalms. Thus, the prayer to be said on entering the synagogue (5), is made up from Psalms 5:8; 55:15; 5:8; 26:8; 95:6 (modified); 69:14, with one quotation from Numbers. Again the prayer to be said after the lesson (6)

(1) Cp. Meg. iv.3.

(2) Trans. by Singer. Annotated by Israel Abrahams.

(3) Singer-Abrahams. Op.cit. pp.219-224.

(4) Ibid. pp, 15, 67, 70.

(5) Ibid. p.2.

(6) Ibid. pp.18-19.

includes Pss. 99:5, 9; 78:38; 40:12; 25:6; 68:35; 94:1, 2; 3:9; 46:8; 84:13; 20:10; 28:9; 33:20; 85:8; 44:27; 81:11; 144:15; and 13:6. The same thing occurs time and again throughout the Prayer Book.

Thus the synagogue has for long, if not always, used the Psalter in worship. It is true that, in mediaeval times, the psalms were, if not less favoured, at least less used. Many piyyutin were composed for use in the Prayer Book at that period. These were mediaeval poems - the word is derived from the Greek poietes - and for a time they were very popular. Owing to the comparatively late date of their composition, those in the Sephardic ritual differ from those in the Ashkenazic (1). Some of these are still to be found in the Prayer Book (2), but usually much curtailed. In these also there are many reminiscences of the psalms (3). When liturgical worship was radically reformed towards the end of the eighteenth century A.D., many piyyutin were either dispensed with or much shortened, and a return was made to a more frequent use of the psalms (4).

THE USES OF THE PSALTER IN THE JEWISH CHURCH.

We shall now sum up with regard to the use of the psalms in Jewish worship. There are six different ways in which the psalms are employed, and these same methods will be found also in the Christian Church.

1. There is the general use of the Psalter in which complete psalms were sung in the services. The Psalter was used like a hymn-book, in the same way as our modern hymn-books are used. Whole pieces were chosen and sung to the praise of God. This is a natural and a wise use, inasmuch as most psalms have each a certain unity, and when only a selection of verses is sung, something will probably be lost. The Psalter has been used in this way in every branch of the Christian Church.

2. There is the use of 'proper' psalms, and here we note not merely the fact, but also this, that there were often special reasons for the choice of these proper psalms. We have seen that a certain psalm was apportioned

(1) These rituals differ also in the psalms fixed for various festivals and other occasions. See Oesterley and Box. Op.cit. pp. 98 ff.

(2) Singer-Abrahams. Op.cit. pp. 63f, 64f.

(3) See Dembitz. Jewish Services in Synagogue and Home. pp. 222ff.

(4) See Oesterley. The Psalms in the Jewish Church. pp. 153-4.

to each day of the week, and also that for the festivals special psalms were selected. We note here some of the reasons alleged for these choices.

So far as the Daily Psalms are concerned, the Mishna Tamid. vii. gives the reasons for their choice. On the first day of the week, Ps.24 - "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof" - was sung in commemoration of the first day of Creation, and the psalms for the other days of the week were supposed to have some connection with the corresponding day of the week of Creation. But it is difficult now to perceive any cogent reason, except in the case of the first day, and perhaps the sixth, the psalm for which is 93 - "The Lord reigneth.... The world is set firm that it cannot be moved"(1).

As to the proper psalms for the feasts, reasons for their choice are given in Sopherim. xviii and xix. Thus the choice of Ps.47 for the Festival of the New Year was probably due to verse 5 (Heb.6), "God is gone up with a shout, the Lord with the sound of the trumpet (shophar)". The blowing of the shophar is one of the important ceremonies of this festival. The shophar was sounded also at the New Moon, and it is referred to in Ps.98:6 and in Ps.81:3 (Heb.4), where the trumpet and the New Moon are both mentioned. It is of course difficult to know whether the psalms were actually chosen for these reasons, or whether the reasons were annexed after the choice was made.

3. There is the use of 'versicles'. Some examples have already been given (2). A further two are the versicles said before and after the prayer Amidah. It is prefaced by Ps.51:15 (Heb.17), "O Lord, open thou my lips and my mouth shall show forth thy praise". It concludes with Ps.19:14 (Heb.15), "Let the words of my mouth and the meditation of my heart be acceptable in thy sight, O Lord, my Rock and my Redeemer"(3). Often such versicles are really short prayers or aspirations suited to the matter or the action in hand.

4. There is the possibility of the use of the Psalter in a triennial cycle. It is now recognised that in Jewish Palestinian synagogues, the Pentateuch was read through publicly in continual course Sabbath by Sabbath, the process being completed in three years.

(1) For the interpretation given by Rabbi Akiba, see Talmud. Rosh-Hashana. 31a. This is quoted in Singer-Abrahams. Op.cit. p. xcvi.

(2) Supra.p.17.

(3) Cp. Dembitz. Op.cit. p.119

In time each Sabbath came to have its particular Seder or portion of the Law, and also its Haphtaroth or portion from the prophets. The Sedarim were consecutive portions of the Pentateuch, while the Haphtaroth were chosen to suit the Sedarim by reason of some coincidence or correspondence in word or idea. These readings had become established by New Testament times (1).

Now it has been suggested that a three-year course for the Psalter was made to correspond with these courses of Sedarim and Haphtaroth (2). The Midrash for Ps.1:1 reads, "Moses gave the Israelites the five books of the Law, and to correspond to these David gave them the Book of Psalms in five books". Snaitz says (3), that this correspondence is "exact: book for book, and psalm for seder". He concludes that "Exodus was commenced on the 42nd Sabbath of the triennial period, Leviticus on the 73rd, Numbers on the 90th, and Deuteronomy on the 117th" (4). Thus each book of the Pentateuch was begun on the same day on which a book of Psalms was begun, with the exception of the fifth book of the Psalms. But there seems to be reason for believing that the division between Ps.106 and Ps.107 is not correct. Snaitz believes that Ps.119 was begun on the Sabbath on which the Book of Deuteronomy was begun, and he points out how full this psalm is of deuteronomic phrases and ideas.

It may be interesting to take in here the scheme drawn up by R. G. Finch (5) for the three-year course for the Psalter.

	1st year.	2nd year.	3rd year.
Nisan.	Pss.1-4	49-52	100-103
Iyyar	5-8	53-56	104-107
Sivan	9-12	57-60	108-111(112)
Tammuz	13-16	61-64	113-115
Ab	17-20	65-68	116-119
Elul	21-24	69-72	120-123
Tishri	25-28	73-76	124-127
Cheshwan	29-32	77-80	128-131
Kisleu	33-36	81-84	132-135
Tebeth	37-40	85-88	136-139
Shebat	41(2)-44	89(90)-92	140-143
Adar	45-48	93-96	144-147
Second Adar		97-99	148-150

(1) Cp. Lk.4:16; Acts 13:15,27.

(2) For the literature see the next page.

(3) ZAW.1933.p.304.

(4) Ibid.p.303.

(5) R.G. Finch. The Synagogue Lectionary and the New Testament. p.84.

In the discussion (1) many points of contact or of correspondence in word or idea between any one psalm and the readings for the day - seder or haphterah or both - have been pointed out. To give one example - Ps.4 is a psalm of rest and sleep. The corresponding Seder is Gen.5:1-6,8, which contains the interpretation of the name Noah as 'rest', and the Haphterah is Isaiah 30:8-15, which includes the passage, "In returning and in rest ye shall be saved". Fuller details will be found in the literature mentioned below.

Now if we can accept this idea which is of considerable interest, we have an early example of a practice which became very widespread in the Christian Church. For the idea of a regular course found expression in the Monastic Daily Offices both in the Eastern and in the Western Church, where the Psalter was sung in course often within the week, while the Book of Common Prayer has arranged a course to last a month. There is a difficulty, however, about this idea, that there seems to be no evidence of a triennial course in the Jewish Prayer Book today. Indeed not all the psalms are used in synagogue worship. Thus Elbogen (2) says that only 84 psalms are in liturgical use in Jewish worship. If the whole Psalter had been at one time in regular use, it is difficult to see how all trace of that use could have disappeared.

5. We notice next the use of Responses, e.g., the Doxology, the Hallelujah and the Amen. In Jewish worship there seem to have been many responses made by the people to prayers, benedictions and other parts of the services. Such responses, as Dembitz says (3), make the chief difference between public and private worship for the modern Jew. Singer-Abrahams (4) says similarly, "Public worship still takes mainly the form that one speaks and the other responds". But the use of responses is very old, and there are several references to them in the Old Testament (5). We may draw attention to the following points in connection with the psalms.

At certain points in synagogue worship, doxologies

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- (1) See E.G. King. JTS. V.pp.203ff.; St John Thackeray. JTS.XVI.pp.177ff.; N.H. Snaith. ZAW. 1933. Heft.3-4. pp.302ff. Cp. R.G. Finch. The Synagogue Lectionary and the New Testament. Also Keet. A Liturgical Study of the Psalter. p.82.
- (2) Der jüdische Gottesdienst. Frankfurt.1931.
- (3) Op.cit.p.75.
- (4) Op.cit.p.x1.
- (5) Cp. I Chron.16:36.

taken from the Psalter are said, and Blau has suggested (1) that the doxologies which "conclude the closing chapters of the five books of psalms (41, 72, 89, 106, 150), all being in substance one and the same eulogy, may represent synagogal formulae from the time of the Temple, which the people intoned after completing the singing of the several books". Briggs (2) says the Doxology was designed to be used at the conclusion of every psalm in the liturgical service.

The word Hallelujah or Hallel was frequently said in certain services. In Sopherim xvi.11,12, we read that Hallelujah was said 123 times by the people in the singing of the Hallel Psalms, and the Talmud, Sukkah. 38b. explains that it was said as a response after each verse of the Hallel. Blau (3) suggests that the Hallel may have become a liturgical formula with which divine worship was generally concluded (4).

The response Amen also had an important place in Jewish worship (5). It was said by the people at the end of many doxologies, and at the close of psalms and of prayers.

6. Lastly, the Psalter is above all other books of the Bible used as a source of prayers and of prayer-phraseology. Some details have already been given. This use is not at all surprising, for the psalms have so fully expressed the spiritual experience, and have also entered so deeply into the spiritual experience, of the worshippers of God, that they have provided thought and inspiration for all who lift up the heart to God.

(1) JE. viii. p.134b.

(2) Psalms. I.p.lxxxiii f.

(3) In loc. cit.

(4) E.g., Ps.68:26.

(5) See Art. on Amen in Jewish Quarterly Review. IX.p.1.
Also Art. on Amen in HDB.I.p.80.

II. THE PSALMS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

There is little evidence upon which to found opinions with regard to the use of the Psalms in the worship of New Testament times. Psalms are actually mentioned in very few texts, and it is not always explicitly stated that these refer to public worship. There are five texts which require consideration, and we shall deal with these first.

1. Matt.26:30=Mark 14:26. καὶ ὑμνήσαυτες ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἑλαιῶν. This is the hymn sung after the Institution of the Lord's Supper, and is not a reference to public worship. There has been much debate about the precise nature of the meeting at which this Institution took place. Some have accepted the idea that it was a Passover-meal. If that were so, then there could be no doubt that psalms were used, for the Hallel was the regular part of the Psalter chosen for that service. Others have suggested that this was a Passover Kiddush or "sanctification", held on the eve of the Passover feast (1). If this view is accepted, it cannot be so definitely stated what the 'hymn' was. But it is most likely that it would be a selection from the canonical psalms, for at this stage it could not be a Christian hymn, neither would it be, on so solemn an occasion, any piece not hallowed by long use. However this was a private gathering, and therefore need not be further considered.

2. I Cor.14:26. ὅταν συνέρχῃσθε, ἕκαστος ψαλμὸν ἔχει, διδασκῆν ἔχει, ἀποκαλύψιν ἔχει, γλῶσσαν ἔχει, ἑρμηνείαν ἔχει. This text has a direct connection with public worship. In this chapter S. Paul is speaking of the use of spiritual gifts or charismata in a service, and he pleads for order and decency. Each worshipper may contribute something, but let each contribute to the general edification. "Let all things be done unto edifying". Here then is the use

(1) Cp. Oesterley. The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy. pp.156ff; T.W.H. Maxfield. The Words of Institution. Cambridge, 1933; J.W. Hunkin in The Evangelical Doctrine of Holy Communion. Ed. by A. J. Macdonald. Cambridge. 1933. pp.1ff.

of, among other things, a psalm in the Christian service of worship. But what was this psalm? Various views have been held. A. E. Burns suggests (1) that S. Paul "assumes members of the congregation will bring their assembly psalms which they have composed or learnt and wish to sing with or before others". He does not give any indication whether the psalm might be a canonical psalm or other psalm such as one of the Psalms or Odes of Solomon, learnt by heart and then recited or sung. Another suggestion is that here we have "a hymn in praise of Christ, or of God and the Lamb, such as are preserved in the Book of Revelation" (2). There is no real evidence for this latter suggestion, and it seems simpler to suppose that S. Paul here referred to the use of the canonical psalms, as indeed some authorities believe (3). Nothing is said as to whether the psalm was sung or read. No doubt the method of rendering the psalm would depend on the gifts of the person concerned. It is suggested that the psalm is the contribution of an individual rather than a common act. Yet it is possible that the individual might act as a leader in song, and that the rest would join in or make responses upon occasion.

3. Eph. 5:18-19. *πληροῦσθε ἐν πνεύματι, λαλοῦντες ἑαυτοῖς ψαλλοῦσιν καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς, ᾄδοντες καὶ ψάλλοντες τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν τῷ κυρίῳ.*

4. Col. 3:16. *διδασκαλοῦσθε καὶ νοθετοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς ψαλλοῦσιν, ὕμνοις, ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς, ἐν χάριτι ᾄδοντες ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν τῷ θεῷ.*

These two passages may be taken together, as the words of chief import occur in both. Here there is no explicit reference to public worship. It appears that the use of psalms and hymns and spiritual songs is in the one case to be an expression of the joy that animates the Spirit-filled heart, this joy turning to the praise of God. In the other case, the psalms and hymns and spiritual songs are to be used for mutual teaching and admonition between Christians, possibly as a consequence of the indwelling in them of the word of Christ. In both cases, that is to say, there is no direct reference either to public or to private worship. If these verses stood alone and if we had no other source of information, we might be unable to draw any inference from them. As it is, since the use of psalms is suggested elsewhere, we may be

(1) HDAC. II. p. 287a.

(2) A. B. Macdonald. Christian Worship in the Primitive Church. Edinburgh. 1934. p. 21. Cp. p. 114.

(3) Oesterley. Jewish Background. p. 148.

justified in supposing that the Christians, filled with the Spirit, would express their joy, not only in secret, not only in family groups, but most of all in the fellowship of public worship.

However that may be, another question arises here. Are these three words, psalms, hymns, spiritual-songs, to be regarded as synonymous; or are they meant to be differentiated forms of praise; or is the group of words simply an all-inclusive phrase, embodying all kinds of praise? Lightfoot's remark may be quoted (1): "While the leading idea of ψαλμ. is a musical accompaniment, and that of ὕμν. praise of God, ᾠδὴ is the general word for song, whether accompanied or unaccompanied, whether of praise or of any other subject. Thus it is quite possible for the same song to be at once ψαλμὸς, ὕμνος and ᾠδὴ". He accepts the definition of S. Gregory Nyssen, and takes the references in both texts to be the acts of praise offered to God in the early Christian assemblies. Some have suggested that the first word refers to the Old Testament psalms, the second to the Old Testament canticles, and the third to the new Christian hymns (2). It seems likeliest that the words are a generally inclusive phrase, used to suggest all kinds of religious song. But surely one must feel that a Hebrew like S. Paul (if indeed he was the author of these two epistles) could not use the word 'psalms' without having in mind the canonical psalms, so hallowed by long use in Temple and synagogue, and so fitted for the praise of God in Christian worship.

One other point may be mentioned. In the former text we have the words ἀλλήλους ἐμψαλίζετε, speaking to yourselves (A.V.), but rather, speaking one to another. The suggestion has been made that the text, referring to Christian worship, means that the psalms were "antistrophically arranged and rendered" (3). While there may be ground for supposing that the psalms were so rendered in New Testament times, it is unlikely that S. Paul was making reference to such a custom here. He probably meant simply, as Moffatt translates the words, "Converse with one another in the music of psalms".

5. James 5:13. κακοπαθεῖ τις ἐν ὑμῖν; προσευχέσθω.
εὐθιμῆ τις; ψαλλέτω.

This appears to be a general statement to the effect that

(1) Colossians. In loc. p.222f.

(2) E. Dickinson. Music in the Hist. of the Western Church. p.43.

(3) C. Wordsworth. Commentary on Ephesians. In loc. Cp.

also G. Currie Martin. Ephesians. Century Bible. In loc.

in whatever mental or emotional state a man finds himself, there is a possible religious occupation or exercise for him, or expression of his feeling. If he is afflicted or burdened, he can pray about his trouble; but if he has found some source of joy, he can express his emotion above all by the religious exercise of psalm-singing. This has therefore probably to do with the use of psalms in private.

These texts are the main references to the use of psalms in the New Testament, and perhaps we can infer that psalms were in common use in the forms of worship of the early Christians. But one or two general points may also be brought into evidence, though less direct in their bearings on the subject.

For one thing, it is noticeable that the writers of the New Testament were very familiar with the psalms. These early Christians, not only the writers, but also the speakers whose words are reported, seem to have had a detailed knowledge of the Psalter. This is the more striking if we make a list of quotations from and references to the psalms(1). In summary we may note that our Lord used the Book of Psalms oftener than any other part of the Old Testament, with fourteen quotations, not counting the parallels. In the Gospels, apart from our Lord's words, there are eight quotations, not counting the parallels, and the Canticles are full of reminiscences of the psalms. In the rest of the New Testament we find a similar state of things, the writers showing their appreciation of the Psalter as a guide and help in many circumstances of life(2).

One must ask, Where did these writers and speakers get their knowledge of the Psalter? No doubt S. Paul had special opportunities in his rabbinical training, yet in proportion the other writers make about as full an use of the psalms as he does. There were three possible sources for this knowledge. There was private reading of the Psalter, but, as copies are not likely to have been common except in the synagogues, this source may not have been of great influence. Again, there were the synagogue schools where the children would learn to read and write, and most probably the scriptures of the Old Testament, including the Psalter, would be used as a lesson-book. But there

(1) Such lists may be found in Briggs. Psalms. I. pp. ci f; W. Alexander. Witness of the Psalms to Christ and Christianity. London. 1877. pp. 257-264. Arts. on Quotations in HDB, HDCG, and HDAC.

(2) In Acts, 10 quots.; in S. Peter I and II, 4; in S. Paul, 20; in Heb., 14; in Revelation, many reminiscences in the hymns and incidental allusions, with one quot.

can be little doubt that the most important source for this knowledge would be the public worship of Temple and synagogue, and more particularly the latter. There, where pious Jews met for worship and for instruction, not only on the Sabbath but also on the other days of the week, they became familiar with the psalms and came to love them. And the consequence must have been that when the Christians were forced to gather in their own meeting places rather than in the synagogues, they would continue to use the Psalter in their worship.

The relation between the synagogue and the Church, here suggested, merits fuller reference. The first Christians were Jews who had all their life been accustomed to participate in both Temple and synagogue worship, and were thus accustomed to the use of the Psalter in their services. For a considerable time the Christians continued to attend these services. S. Paul and other missionaries appear, on their arrival at a new town, to have gone first to the synagogue, there to attempt to proclaim the new Gospel (1). And it was only when the Jews would no longer allow this that the Christians ceased to worship with them. (Of course the Christians had, in addition to the attendances at Temple and synagogue worship, their own meetings, at which they held celebrations of the Eucharist). And it was only to be expected that when they met for prayer and instruction and reading of the scriptures in their own meeting-places, they would continue their worship-habits. It can be shown that before long, psalms were being sung, lessons being read, expository and other sermons being preached, much along the lines of the old synagogue worship.

On the whole, then, we may infer that New Testament worship made use of the Psalter. Indeed it would be most surprising if the Christians for a time rejected the psalms from worship. It is true that hymns specifically for Christian worship were composed and were probably used in worship from a very early period. The New Testament contains many pieces which are regarded as fragments of Christian hymns. But it is not at all likely that these

(1) Presence of Christians in the Temple :- Acts 2:46f; 3:1; 5:12-14; 5:20, 21, 25, 42; 21:26; 22:17; 24:17f.
 Christians in synagogue :- Acts 22:19; 26:11 - both of these in Jerusalem. In Acts 4:23ff, the believers came "to their own company" and joined in singing Ps.2:1-2. In Damascus, Acts 11:20; in Salamis, Acts 13:5; in Antioch in Pisidia, Acts 13:14f.

works would displace the psalms, so long used and so greatly honoured. All that the hymns could do would be to supply the lack felt at the want of the explicit praise of Christ in the Psalter (1).

Can anything be said as to the rendering of the psalms at this time? Again there is no direct evidence. But we may be sure that at least the Christians of Jewish origin would use the same vocal methods as their forbears in the synagogue. And even Christians of Gentile origin would in many cases have been accustomed to attend the synagogues, whether or not they were actually proselytes, and would use the same type of music. More than this it is perhaps impossible to say. We have referred to the suggestion that the words in Eph.5:16 point to an antiphonal rendering of the psalms, and have remarked that while the psalms may have been so rendered, the text probably does not have this meaning.

(1) Examples of supposed fragments of Christian hymns in the New Testament are Rom.13:11-12; Eph.5:14; II Tim.2:11-13; I Tim.3:16; Phil.2:6-11; and Rev.1:4-7; 5:7-14; 12:10-12; 19:1-2,5-8; 21:23f. See further A. B. Macdonald. Op.cit. pp.113ff.

III. THE PSALMS IN THE EARLY CHURCH.

In this section we shall discuss the use of the psalms in the period between the end of the first century and the formation of the earliest liturgies. This is a difficult period for the history of the development of the liturgy. For one thing, there is not a great deal of documentary evidence available, and for another, it is sometimes not easy to decide upon the date of the particular documents, so that a clear view of the development in a chronological setting is not readily obtainable. The broad outlines are not difficult to deal with, but when we turn to details, such as the use of the Psalter, matters are not so easy. During these centuries, roughly from the second to the fifth, there was only a slow liturgical development. This was to be expected, especially for the period in which the Church was persecuted and unable to make much public progress. It is true that the general outline and order of the services, e.g., of the Eucharist, was much the same, so far as we can say, from first to last. This is quite noticeable in the Church Orders and allied documents, as well as in such descriptions of the Eucharist as we find in Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and the Peregrinatio Etheriae. But the actual words used, as in the prayers, varied, and in many cases the words are not given at all. It was long before any widespread agreement was reached about the details. As A.J. Maclean says (1), "The forms were in their nature experimental; some of them did not stand the test of usage; some contained not quite advisable phraseology; all were on their probation".

As to the place of the psalms in the services of the early Church, many writings make no mention of this at all, while in others there is little more than a mere reference to the fact that psalms were read or sung. These references we now proceed to examine more closely. We shall deal first with the Apocryphal New Testament, then with the Apostolic Fathers, then with the Early Fathers, and finally with the documents classed as Church Orders, together with such writings as can be associated with them.

(1) The Ancient Church Orders. p.7.

1. THE APOCRYPHAL NEW TESTAMENT.

This, though interesting from many points of view, need not detain us long. There are a few references both to baptismal and to eucharistic services, but there are only three places where the use of psalms is mentioned.

(a). The Acts of Paul, IX. Fragments: Scenes of Farewell(1).
 "And everyone took bread, and they were in joy, according to the custom of the fast, though....and the Psalms of David and.....he rejoiced".

This is unfortunately a very fragmentary quotation and there is no explanation of the mention of the "psalms of David". They are however evidently associated with the Eucharist, and seem to have been used after the "taking of the bread", i.e., after the communion.

(b) The Martyrdom of Matthew. Para.25 (2).
 After the martyrdom, "all night the brethren watched at the palace gate, and at dawn a voice came: Plate, take the gospel and the psalter and go to the east of the palace and sing Alleluia and read the gospel and offer of the bread and the vine, pressing three clusters into the cup, and communicate with me, as the Lord Jesus showed us the offering that is above, on the third day after he rose. So it was done, and the chanter went up on a great stone and sang: Precious in the sight of the Lord..... They read the gospel and made the offering".

M. R. James notes that "the interest in liturgy is quite prominent here". Although the story is fiction, it is most probable that the actual details of the Church's worship are in the mind of the writer, and that in his description of the Eucharist celebrated after the death of the martyr Matthew, he is following the order of the Eucharist to which he was accustomed. We note therefore three suggestions: first, that the psalms were contained in a book by themselves, the psalter; second, that the psalm was sung before the gospel, which was followed by the offering, i.e., the offertory or the communion itself; and third, that a special psalm was used to suit the circumstances, this Eucharist perhaps corresponding to what would in later days have been called a Requiem Mass. This was Ps.116:15, part of which is quoted, "Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints". This is really then a 'proper' psalm, and we shall find the same psalm referred to in other

(1) M. R. James. The Apocryphal New Testament. p.293.

(2) Ibid. p.461f.

documents in connection with funeral services.

(c). The Apocalypse of Paul. Para.29 (1).

The passage occurs in a description of a vision of Paradise.

"And I saw in the midst of the city an altar exceeding high. And there was one standing by the altar whose visage shone like the sun, and he held in his hands a psaltery and an harp and sang praises, saying, Alleluia". On asking who this was, the visionary was told it was David. This David, it was said, shall sing praises before the seated Christ in the seventh heaven. "And as it is done in the heavens, so likewise is it below: for without David it is not lawful to offer a sacrifice unto God; but it must needs be that David sing praises at the hour of the offering of the body and blood of Christ: as it is performed in heaven, so also is it upon earth". The visionary then asks, "What is Alleluia?", and in the explanation it is suggested that all present when an Alleluia is sung ought to join in it - "If any sing Alleluia and they that are present sing not with him, they commit sin in that ^{they} sing not with him". The qualification is made that "he that is able and singeth not" is "a despiser of the word".

There are some interesting points here. There is the suggestion that the singing of psalms is essential in a Eucharist, that is, supposing that the name David is used for the Psalter, which is the most likely interpretation. Further, there is the suggestion that all who are able to do so - the young and aged, for example, are mentioned as excusable - ought to join in the singing. It does seem that the writer is seeking to emphasise the value of psalm-singing in worship and especially in the Eucharist.

It may be that we should not lay too much stress on any points suggested ~~in~~ in these apocryphal books. Many of them are heretical in one way or another; their dates are not easy to determine; and so their value is difficult to assess. The three quotations we have made come from books which are dated approximately by James as, respectively, about A.D. 160, the fifth century, and the end of the fourth century. We may however believe that each book reflects the ideas or the order of the services current at the time of writing, and if that is a justifiable conclusion, we can say that these quotations demonstrate the regular use of the Psalter in the worship of the early Church.

(1) Ibid. p.541.

2. THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

The writings here include the Epistles of S. Clement of Rome, the Epistles of S. Ignatius, the Epistle of S. Polycarp, the Martyrdom of S. Polycarp, the Didache, the Epistle of Barnabas, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Epistle to Diognetus, the Fragments of Papias, and the Reliques of the Elders (1). In these documents there are about sixty quotations from the psalms, thirty-four being in I Clement, and sixteen in Barnabas, showing that, as before, the Psalter was well known. But there are no references to the use of the psalms in the worship of the Church. S. Ignatius (2) says that Christians sang, but does not say whether he means psalms or hymns. These writings therefore need not detain us longer.

3. THE FATHERS. (a) ANTE-NICENE.

The Ante-Nicene Fathers are only a little more informative than the Apostolic Fathers on the question of the worship-use of the psalms. Some of them have a good deal to say about liturgical usage and development, and there are a few fairly detailed descriptions of the Eucharist. Not a few points are mentioned which illustrate the vital connection between the liturgy of those days and the later forms both Eastern and Western. One must be careful in making inferences from similarities(3). Yet one must not neglect the likenesses and miss much that is of interest.

First, we may take S. Justin Martyr's descriptions of the Eucharist, found in the First Apology, chapters lxxv-lxxvii, of date about A.D. 150. Many points which are common to the liturgies are mentioned, such as lections, sermon, prayers, the kiss of peace, the Eucharistic prayer, and so on. But he does not mention psalms at all as being used in the service. Whether this is because the Eucharist

(1) Cp. Lightfoot's edition. London. 1893.

(2) Ad Eph.

(3) Thus Neale (Essays on Liturgiology and Church History. pp. 411ff) argues ~~that~~ from the likenesses in word and phrase in the New Testament Epistles and in the later liturgies, that the former were quoting from the latter, or from the antecedents of the latter, which, though no longer in existence, are presumed to have used the same diction.

was still in an unfixed state, with extemporising still the custom, or whether at this ^{time} psalms belonged to what was later known as morning prayer, may be difficult to say (1). But the negative evidence does not mean that psalms were not sung at this time. We may compare S. Cyprian's descriptions, which do not mention the kiss of peace, so definitely referred to by other writers.

Another writer who does not mention the psalms is S. Irenaeus, A.D. 140-202. He speaks of hymns (2), but does not use the word 'psalms' in connection with services. It is however possible that as early as this the word 'hymn' was sometimes used to include or even to denote a psalm, as was the case a little later (3).

S. Clement of Alexandria, A.D. 150-216, nearly contemporary with Irenaeus, is slightly more helpful. He speaks definitely of the singing of psalms as well as of hymns. Both are mentioned in Paedagogus.ii.4 (4), though perhaps this refers to private devotions rather than to a church service. Certainly the singing is to be "before going to sleep". Psalms are also mentioned in Stromata.i.i and vii.vii (5). In his Cohortatio ad Gentes.xii.240 (6), he speaks in a poetic manner of the singing of psalms by maidens, this having special reference to the Maenads spoken of earlier. But the words simply mean that in the Eucharist the people sing psalms.

(1) Cp. for example, Nitzsch. Prakt. Theol. Bd.2.2. Bonn. 1851.p.269. "Wenn Justin noch nichts vom liturgischen Gesange erwähnt, so war vielleicht in seinem Gesichtskreise derselbe noch den Agapen vorbehalten, oder seitdem das $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\chi\epsilon\delta\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota\upsilon$ aufgehört, noch nicht genug ausgebildet, um regelmässig statt zu finden. Man kann sich noch einen andern Fall denken; nämlich dass Justin den psalmedischen Gottesdienst unerwähnt lässt, weil dieser zur frühen Morgenbetstunde gehörte, welche wahrscheinlich schon bestand, aber wie im dritten und vierten Jahrhundert ganz sicher, von der eigentlichen Synaxe durch einen Zeitraum getrennt war".

(2) Adv. Haer. II.ix.1; II.xxviii.3. PG.VII.733, 806.

(3) See pp.49 and 80 infra. Cp. DCA.I.801b; II.1743a. Duchesne. Christian Worship. p.174 and n. Also S. Augustine. Retract. ii.11. PL. XXXII.63. "ut hymni ad altare dicerentur de psalmodiarum libro".

(4) PG. VIII.444.

(5) PG. IX.456,461.

(6) PG. VIII.240. Cp. Prebst. Liturgie der drei ersten Jahrh.p.131.

Origen, A.D.185-254, mentions the use of psalms and hymns (1), and also speaks of the melodies used for them (2). A. Fottescue (3) writes, "It appears that in Origen's time Ps.xxxiii.9 (A.V.xxxiv) was sung as a Communion Antiphon in Egypt, as it is in the Antiochene liturgy", but gives no reference.

Dionysius of Alexandria also says that psalms were sung in church (4), and this is about all that we can gather from the Ante-Nicene Greek Fathers.

The Latin Fathers give more information. Tertullian (A.D. 155-223) in particular is helpful. He refers in general terms to the singing of psalms in services. In the treatise De Anima.ix. (5), he speaks of a Montanist prophetess and her visions, "As soon as the scriptures are read, the psalms sung, the exhortation spoken, and the prayers ~~were~~ said, the object of her vision is granted". In his Ad Uxorem.ii.8 (6), he says that the psalms are sung alternately and even competitively by two cantors between the lessons and the sermon. This custom is mentioned elsewhere (7). The question has been asked whether this means that the psalms were sung between ~~in~~ a group of lessons and the sermon, or between the individual lessons as well(8). But it is likely that the Apostolic Constitutions.ii.57 (9) shows the actual custom, that the psalms were sung between the individual lessons. In the same work(10), Tertullian tells us that the psalms were taken over from the synagogue by the Christians and used in all parts of the world. Again it is suggested in the work De Oratione.xxvii (11) that after certain

(1) In Judic.Hom.vi.2. PG.XII.974; In Psalm.Hom. PG. XII.1070.

(2) In Psalm. Hom. PG. XII.1071.

(3) The Mass. p.33.

(4) Cabrol-Leclercq. Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica. No. 1524.p.243.

(5) "prout scripturae leguntur, aut psalmi canuntur..!PL. II.660.

(6) "Senant inter duos psalmi et hymni et mutuo provocant quis melius domino suo cantet". PL. I.1304.

(7) Cp. Apologia. xxix. PL. I.408.

(8) E.g., Probst. Lit. der drei ersten Jahrh.p.192.

(9) See infra .p.45

(10) "Diligentiores in orando subjungere Alleluia solent, et hoc genus psalmodi, quorum clausulis respondeant qui simul sunt". PL. I.1194. T. Harnack. Der christl. Gottesdienst. p.300n. says, "Dies ist der Ursprung des ~~später~~ später nach Wegfall der Psalmen allein übrig gebliebenen Halleluja-Gesangs nach der Epistel-Lection". Cp. Probst. Op.cit.p.362. This psalm later became the Gradual. q.v.

(10) Apol. xxxi.3. PL. I.507

prayers the simple Alleluia was said, or there were sung such psalms as have endings suited to responses. In Adv. Marc. iii.22, the use of Psalm 67 as a proper psalm is mentioned (1), while there is a reference to Psalm 133 as suited to group-singing in De Jejun. xiii. (2).

S. Cyprian might have been expected to give further information, but in fact he tells us nothing new.

So far then as the Ante-Nicene Fathers are concerned, we can confirm that psalms were in general use in the services of the Church, whether read or sung, and when sung, were on occasion sung by two cantors antiphonally or alternately, and at times in a responsive fashion, and that their place in the Eucharist was between the lessons. / most important

4. THE FATHERS. (b) POST-NICENE.

In this section it will be no longer convenient to take authors one by one in order to see what each has to say about the place of psalms in worship. The number of writers is too great and their references too numerous. We should be finding here and there examples of the same principle and usage, and this would lead to much repetition and thus to an obscuring of the facts. It will therefore now be better to deal with the methods of use and illustrate them from various authors.

That the psalms were well-known and much loved in this period is obvious from the frequency of reference and of quotation in the writings of the Fathers, and from the many homilies and series of sermons and expositions preached upon them. Long ere this the psalms had entered into the minds and hearts of Christian people. They were apparently not only regularly read but also learned by heart. Thus, S. Jerome tells of a girl who when seven years old and upwards "discat memoriter psalterium" (3). In Ep. iii ad Ruffin. Monach. (4), he says the psalter should be learned "ad verbum", i.e., by heart, and in the Apol. adv. Lib. Ruffin. II. xxx., he speaks of having himself learned

(1) PL. II.400.

(2) PL. II.102B. Quoting the psalm, he says, "Hoc tu psallere non facile nosti nisi quo tempore cum cum pluribus coenas".

(3) Ep. 128.3. PL. XXII.1098

(4) PL. XXII.333.

them in his youth (1). The practice was so highly thought of that S. Jerome even advised women and maidens to learn Hebrew, so that they might be able to read and sing the psalms in the original tongue (2).

This habit of reading and learning psalms was considered to be of the utmost value and importance for religious edification and for spiritual development. Thus S.

Augustine in Praefat. in Ps. l. Enarr. 7. says, "In libro psalmerum profectus est omnium et medicina quaedam salutis humanae.... Intra unum psalmum (Ps. 67. A. V. 68) totum paterna historiae seriem accipit comprehensam...." Similarly S. Chrysostom, speaking of Ps. 141, says this psalm was appointed by the fathers to be read as an evening psalm "as a sort of salutary medicine to cleanse us from sin" (3). The same writer praises the value of the psalms in many other places (4), and other writers follow his example (5). S. Gregory Nazianzen, for example, says that the psalmody with which newly baptised persons were received in church is a foretaste of the hymnody of the future life (6).

But we must turn to consider the use of the psalms in public worship, to which in fact the last quotation refers. Many who through their reading came to know the

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- (1) "Ego ne contra LXX. interpretes aliquid sum locutus, quos ante annos plurimos diligentissime emendatos, meae linguae studiosis dedi, quos quotidie in conventu fratrum ediscere, quorum psalmes jugi meditatione decantare? Tam stultus eram ut quod in pueritia didici, senex oblivisci vellem?" PL. XXIII. 474. Cp. also S. Chrysostom. Hom. ii in Matth. PG. LVII. 30.
- (2) Ep. 39. 1. PL. XXII. 466. Cp. Ep. 30. PL. XXII. 442.
Ep. 108: 19. PL. XXII. 896-7. Ep. 108. 26. PL. XXII. 902f.
- (3) In Ps. 140 (A. V. 141). PG. LV. 427. ὡς τε φάρμακον σωτήριον καὶ ἁμαρτημάτων καθάρσιον ἐνομοθέτησαν λέγεσθαι... φάρμακον γὰρ ἐστὶν πάντων τούτων ἀναίρετικόν.
- (4) E. g., In Ps. 41. PG. 157; In Ps. 134. PG. V. 388;
In Ps. 96. (Spurious?) PG. V. 603.
- (5) E. g., S. Ambrose. Praefat. in Ps. l. PL. XIV. 968;
S. Gregory of Nyssa. Tract. i. in Psalm. inscr. 3. PG. XLIV. 440. See also A. Harnack. Bible Reading in the Early Church. p. 126
- (6) Orat. xi. de Bapt. 46. PG. XXXVI. 426. ἡ ψαλμωδία μεθ' ἧς δεχθήσῃ, τῆς ἐκείθεν ὑμνωδίας προόμιον.

the psalms well would rejoice to sing them with their brethren to the praise of God, and no doubt many who heard the public singing were moved to seek a deeper acquaintance with the Psalter. The use of psalms was in fact very widespread if not universal (1), and few of the Fathers omit all mention of them.

We shall consider first a few references to the general use of the psalms. S. Chrysestom says that the ancient custom of meeting together and singing psalms was continued in his time (2). Again he says that people differing in sex and age could yet be one in spirit as in melody in their psalms (3). S. Basil speaks of children taking part in this singing (4), while S. Ambrose also mentions women and children singing or responding as well as the men (5), and elsewhere contrasts the silence of women in church in St Paul's time with the different custom of his time (6).

S. Augustine makes many references to the psalms in worship. Apparently at times he chose a particular psalm for the lector to read or sing, either to suit the subject of his sermon or because he meant to preach on the psalm itself (7). There were occasions when the lector took the wrong psalm. This might have disconcerted some, but S. Augustine changed his sermon or his subject, feeling that the lector's error might indicate the will of God.

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- (1) Cp. S. Augustine. Conf. IX. iv. PL. XXXII. 766. "Toto orbe cantantur".
- (2) Hom XXXVI. in I Cor. PG. LXI. 315. συνέσαν τὸ παλαιὸν ἅπαντες, καὶ ἐπέψαλλον κοινῇ· τὸτο ποιούμεν καὶ νῦν.
- (3) Hom. in Ps. 145. PG. LV. 521. καὶ γὰρ γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ πρεσβύτει καὶ νεοὶ διήρηνται μὲν κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἑνωδίας λόγον· τὴν γὰρ ἑκάστου φωνὴν τὸ πνεῦμα κεράσαν, μίαν ἐν ἅπασιν ἐργάζεται τὴν μελωδίαν.
- (4) Proem. in Psalms. διὰ τοῦτο τὰ ἐναρμόδια πάντα μέλη τῶν ψαλμῶν ἡμῶν. ἐπινερόνται, ἵνα οἱ παῖδες τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἢ καὶ ὅπως οἱ νεοὶ τὸ ἦθος, τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν μελοδοῦσιν, τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐκπαιδεύωνται.
- (5) Hexamer. iii. v. PL. XIV. 178. "Responsorius psalorum, cantus virorum, mulierum, virginum, parvulorum, consensus undarum frager resultat".
- (6) Exposit. in Ps. 1. PL. XIV. 968. "Mulieres apostolus in ecclesia tacere jubet: psalmum etiam bene clamant". Cp. also S. Hilary. In Psalm 65. for congregational singing. PL. IX. 424f.
- (7) Enarr. II. in Ps. 31. PL. XXXVI. 258. "Hunc psalmum ad eam gratiam pertinere qua christiani sumus, testatus est apostolus Paulus; unde ipsam lectionem vobis legi voluimus".

Thus he says, "We prepared for you a short psalm, which we ordered should be read by the lector; but at the time, apparently perturbed, he read another instead of it. We chose to follow in the error of the lector the will of God rather than our will in our proposal" (1). On another similar occasion the reading of Psalm 51 determined his subject as repentance (2).

It appears further that psalms might be sung during a service not only at the usual place in the regular order, but, under special circumstances, the ministers or congregation might set themselves to sing perhaps a sequence of psalms. In time of danger, for example, whether to the congregation or to the bishop, a course of psalms might be proposed. Thus S. Athanasius tells how when his church was attacked by Arian soldiers, the deacon was appointed to sing psalms, to which the people made responses (3). Sozomen tells us that while his congregation were singing psalms, S. Athanasius made his escape from the soldiers who were seeking him (4). Similarly S. Ambrose says that when his church was attacked by Arian soldiers, the people sang psalms all night and day (5). S. Augustine informs us that psalms might be sung in church at any time in a service, except when other items of worship were actually proceeding (6)

Yet it seems that, in spite of all the spiritual blessing accruing from the singing of the psalms, there might be a tendency to formality, to the feeling that the very singing of the psalms was in itself meritorious - a tendency which was to affect the Church adversely in later centuries. This tendency called forth warnings in

(2) Hom. xxvii in Ps. 50 = Sermo CCCLII. PL. XXXIX. 1550.

"Preinde aliquid de poenitentia dicere divinitus jubemur, neque enim hoc istum psalmum cantandum lectori imperavimus; sed quod ille censuit vobis utile ad audiendum, hoc cordi etiam ~~parit~~ puerili imperavit".

(3) In Psalm. 138. PL. XXXVII. 1784.

(3) Apol. ad Const. ii. PG. XXV. 598. καθ' ἑσθ' ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου, πρῶτον τὸν μὲν διάκονον ἀγαγινώσκειν καὶ λέγον· τοὺς δὲ λαοὺς ὑπακούειν, ὅτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ.

(4) Hist. Eccl. iii. vi, PG. LXVII. 1047.

(5) Ep. XXXIII. ad Marcellinam Sororem.

(6) Ep. LV. ad Januar. xviii. PL. XXXIII. 221. "Quando non est tempus, quum in ecclesia fratres congregantur, sancta cantandi, nisi quum legitur aut disputatur, aut antistes clara voce deprecatur, aut communis oratio voce diaconi indicitur?"

several places. Thus S. Jerome adjures his hearers to sing not only with their voices, but to make melody with their hearts to the Lord, and to avoid all kinds of theatrical singing (1). Nicetas Remesianus echoes the same idea in his work De Bono Psalmodiae, saying that both the tone and melody should be suited to holy religion, not aiming at the utterance of dramatic passages, but at "showing in us true Christianity, not in any way recalling the theatre, but rather producing compunction for sin". (2) S. Augustine himself acknowledged the temptation to be moved by the singing rather than the meaning of the words, and felt it might be better not to hear the singing at all (3). S. Chrysostom more sternly speaks of those who think that if they have joined in two or three psalms and have shared in the usual prayers, they have done all that is required for their salvation (4).

It is in S. Chrysostom that we find the well-known and eloquent encomium of the psalms, which is worth quoting here.

"If we keep vigil in the Church, David comes first, last and midst. If early in the morning we seek for the melody of hymns, first, last and midst is David again. If we are occupied with the funeral solemnities of the departed, if virgins sit at home and spin, David is first, last and midst. O marvellous wonder! Many who have made but little progress in literature, nay, who have scarcely mastered its first principles, have the Psalter by heart. Nor is it in cities and in churches alone that, at all times through every age, David is illustrious; in the midst of the forum, in the wilderness and uninhabitable land, he excites the praises of God. In monasteries, among those holy choirs of angelic armies, David is first, midst and last. In the convents of virgins, where are the bands of them that

(1) In Ephes. v. 19. PL. XXVI. 562. "Audiant hi quibus psallendi in ecclesia officium est, deo non voce sed corde cantandum: nec in tragoedorum modum guttur et fauces dulci medicamine colliniendas, ut in ecclesia theatrales meduli audiantur et cantica, sed in timore, in opere, in scientia scripturarum".

(2) Para. 13. Ed. by Burn. Cambridge. 1905. p. 80.

(3) Conf. X. xxxiii. PL. XXXII. 806. "Quum mihi accidit ut me amplius cantus quam res quae canitur moveat, ~~pena~~ poenitaliter me peccare confiteor, et tunc malle non audire cantantem".

(4) Hom. XI in Matt. PG. LVII. 300. Ὡς εὖς ψαλμοῦς ἢ τρεῖς ὑπηλάσαντες, ἢ τὰς συνήθειαις εὐχὰς ἀπλῶς, καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε, ποιούμενοι διαλυθῆτε, νομίζετε ἀρκεῖν τοῦτο εἰς σωτηρίαν ὑμῶν.

imitate Mary; in the deserts, where are men crucified to this world and having their conversation with God, first, last and midst is he. All other men are at night overpowered by natural sleep: David alone is active; and, congregating the servants of God into seraphic bands, turns earth to heaven and converts men into angels" (1)

4. THE ANCIENT CHURCH ORDERS.

These documents are of the greatest interest to all students of the Early Church, particularly to those who give special attention to constitution, canon law, liturgy, or archaeology. They are manuals of instruction and of worship, "attempts which were made in the early ages to provide the clergy and the faithful with liturgical and hortatory manuals, before the era of the great Liturgies began" (2). It is not easy to define the relation of these documents to each other, nor is it easy to fix their dates. Broadly however it may be said that they reflect for us the conditions of the fourth and fifth centuries. They deal with such matters as the selection and ordination of a bishop, the first Eucharist celebrated by him, with or without forms of prayer; the ordination of presbyters and deacons; the appointment of certain minor orders, such as readers and subdeacons; the reception of converts, their catechumenate, baptism, confirmation and first communion; the Agape, certain fasts, Hours of Prayer, Burials, and so on (3).

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Among the more important works are the following : Canons of Hippolytus; Egyptian Church Orders; Ethiopic Church Order; Hauer's Verona Latin Fragments. Part III; Testament of our Lord; and Apostolic Constitutions - all of which belong to the period A.D. 300-350, except the last which is rather later; the Didache (ca.A.D.150); Apostolic Church Order (ca.A.D.300); the Didascalia, (third century); Ethiopic Didascalia and Arabic Didascalia, (both late fourth century). To these may be added the Prayer-Book or Sacramentary of Sarapion, which probably contains the liturgy used in Thmuis in the Delta about

(1) De Poenit. Hom.vi. Male's Trans. in Commentary on the Psalms.i.p.1.

(2) Maclean. The Ancient Church Orders. p.1.

(3) For a useful comparative table of contents, see Maclean. Op.cit. pp.14-21. See also Wordsworth's description of the Orders in The Ministry of Grace.pp.12ff.

A.D. 350, partly written by Sarapion, Bishop of the see, and friend and correspondent of S. Athanasius. This however has no reference to the psalms.

These documents are all important, not only ~~for the~~ for the early history of the Church, but also for that of the liturgy(1). The period of their use was limited. They began to lose some of their influence not long after Christian public worship became lawful, though this influence lasted longer in the more remote parts. This was due to two causes. On the one hand, the fourth-century Councils began to draw up the statutes which became Canon Law, thus doing away with the need for the earlier manuals. On ~~the~~ the other hand, the liturgical texts themselves began to assume fixed form. As a matter of fact, some of the latest of the Church Orders, such as the Apostolic Constitutions and The Testament of our Lord show this liturgical expansion taking place. When we reach the fifth century the Orders have lost most of their influence.

In these Church Orders there is not a great deal of information given about the use of the psalms. That psalms were sung, not only at the Eucharistic services but also at the daily services - these Hours of Prayer which later developed into the Divine Office - and also at other gatherings, such as the Agapae and the Lucernaria, is made clear. We shall now detail the notices.

In the Testament of our Lord we have a description of a church building, and in one place the direction is given, "Let the church have a house of the catechumens, which shall be also the house of the exorcists. Let it not be detached from the church, but so that those who enter and are in it may hear the lections and spiritual hymns of praise and psalms" (2). Reference is also made to the use of psalms in the pre-anaphora of the Eucharist. After the hymn of praise for the dawn, "let them sing psalms and four hymns of praise: one by Moses and of Solomon and of the other prophets. Thus: little singing-boys (or, little psalm-singing-boys); two virgins (male); three deacons; three presbyters. And so let the hymn of praise be said by the bishop or by one of the presbyters" (3). And again there is a note on the method of psalm-singing. "In answer to him who singeth the psalms in the church, let the virgins (fem.) and boys respond and sing. But if they sing the psalms in a house privately, if they be

(1) Cp. Srawley. The Early History of the Liturgy.

(2) I.19. Cooper and Maclean's Ed. Edinburgh. 1902. p.63.

(3) I.26. Ibid. p.81.

two or three, let them respond to one another, singing the psalms" (1). Reasons are given for singing and praying at various Hours of Prayer. Thus, here is the reason given for the dawn service, "But at dawn let them arise praising with psalms, because after He arose, He glorified the Father while they were saying psalms"(2). There is yet another mention of psalm-singing, in connection with the Lucernarium, the bringing-in of the lamps at the supper of the congregation, i.e., at the Agape. "And let the little boys say spiritual psalms and hymns of praise at the lighting of the lamp. Let all the people respond 'Hallelujah' to the psalm and to the chant sung together, with one accord, with voices in harmony, and let no one kneel till he who speaketh cease" (3).

The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus (4) has only a few references. Liturgically it is an important document, though perhaps too great claims have been made for it (5). The following are the references to psalms.

In chapter XXXVI (6), this document deals with the Hours of Prayer, and gives reasons why there should be prayer and praise at the Hours of Terce, Sext, None, Night Prayers and Matins, but psalms are not actually mentioned, though it is certain that psalms would then be sung.

In connection with the Lucernarium, there is a passage which shows parallels to that from the Testament of our Lord quoted above, but which is much more extended. The Ethiopic version (ch.XXVI) deals with a private agape, and in ch.XXVI.28-32 we read, "And having risen after supper, the children and virgins having prayed, they shall sing psalms. And afterwards the deacon holding the mixed cup of the oblation shall say the psalms from those in which is written Hallelujah, after ~~which~~ that the presbyter has commanded: 'and likewise from those psalms'. And afterward the bishop having offered the cup as is proper for the cup, he shall say the psalm Hallelujah, which is

(1) II.22. Ibid. p.135.

(2) II.24. Ibid. p.136.

(3) II.11. Ibid. p.129.

(4) Ed. by Gregory Dix. Vol.I. London.1937. Cp. DACL. 6.2. 2409.

(5) E.g., Lietzmann. Messe und Herrenmahl. says, "Sie ist die Modell für alle uns sonst noch bekannten Liturgien bis auf den heutigen Tag". (p.261). Cp. Brillioth. Eucharistic Faith and Practice. pp.25f.

(6) Ed.cit. pp.62ff.

to say : We praise Him who is God most high: glorified and praised is He who founded all the world with one word. And likewise when the psalm is completed, he shall give thanks over the cup (sic) and give of the fragments to all the faithful" (1).

The Arabic Didascalia (2) refers to the psalms also. This is an Egyptian liturgy, but we see at once its relationship to other liturgies of the same age. The order is this : After the prayer of thanksgiving, "explanations of the Word" are given with religious instruction. Thereafter the deacon (?) "shall recite Psalmody from the Book of Psalms by the mouth of those who have received the gift from skilful teachers, and all the congregation shall listen to them with understanding and fear: they shall follow them with contrition". This seems to suggest the presence of a trained choir and the loss of congregational singing. "After they have finished the Psalmody, the deacon shall recite sections from the apostolic word, and a section from the Psalms: then from the word of the Gospel". Here we again have psalms between the lessons in the first part of the Eucharistic service.

We turn now to the Apostolic Constitutions, ~~one of~~ one of the most important and most developed of these early documents. Its date is about A.D. 380, and it supplies us with the first complete liturgy. It has been called "a unique contemporary witness to fourth-century worship" (3). In this book there are about 96 quotations from the Psalter, which shows how familiar the psalms were to those who compiled it. There are also several references to the psalms as used in worship and to those who sang them. There is one mention of the psalms in the forms for the Eucharist. At the Communion, Psalm 34 was to be said, while the people were receiving the communion (4). It is not stated who was to recite the psalm, whether deacon or choir. But this is an early mention of a proper psalm, the reason for the use of this psalm being plain in v.9 - "O taste and see that the Lord is good".

In two places in the same book, there are references to the Singers as if they were now almost one of the minor

(1) Ibid. pp. 51f.

(2) LEW. p. 510.

(3) Maxwell. Outline of Christian Worship. p. 26.

(4) VIII. xiii. LEW. p. 25. ~~ὁ δὲ διάκονος~~
 ψαλμὸς δὲ λέγέσθω ἅγ' ἐν τῷ μεταλαμβάνειν
 πάντας τοὺς λοιποὺς.

orders. In Sec.xxviii, we are told that "a deacon sets apart a subdeacon, a reader, a singer, and a deaconess, if there be any occasion, in the absence of a presbyter". In Sec.xxxi, it is said that the singers are to have a share in the Eulogia which remain at the mysteries.

Sec. xxxiv seq. deal with the Hours of Prayer, Sec. xxxiv giving the reasons for observing these Hours, but without any mention of psalms. But in Sec. xxxv, we read, "When it is evening, thou, O bishop, shalt assemble the church; and after the repetition of the psalms at the lighting up of the lights, the deacon shall bid prayers". This refers to the Lucernarium already mentioned. The evening psalm is Ps.142, as stated in Bk.II.Sec.lix. In section xxxvii, we read, "In like manner in the morning after the repetition of the morning psalm, let the deacon add...", and the morning psalm was 63 (II.lix). And in Sec. xlii, there is a reference to the singing of psalms in connection with funeral rites - "Let the third day of the departed be celebrated with psalms and lessons and prayers, on account of Him who arose within the space of three days". It is not stated whether this was to be done in church or at the house of the departed, but we shall find similar services with psalmody in the practice of the Eastern Church in later years (1).

It might also be noted that in one section (II.lvii), the order of service begins thus : Reading of Old Testament; Psalms; Reading of Acts, Epistles and Gospels. And here too we see that the Psalms come between the lessons.

One point of interest remains - the note about the people making responses. One is to sing the psalms of David, and the people are to sing after him the ἀκροστιχία, that is, the refrains of a responsory psalm(2). The references to the use of the psalms given in this document are thus interesting, and confirm many details found in other sources.

(1) See infra. p. 101f.

(2) Bk.II. lvii. ἀνα δύο δὲ γενομένων ἀναγνωσμάτων, ἕτερος τῆς τοῦ Δαβίδου ψαλλέτω ὕμνου, καὶ ὁ λαὸς τὰ ἀκροστιχία ὑποψάλλετω.

5. PRINCIPLES AND METHODS OF USE OF THE PSALMS.

Having concluded our survey of the general references to the psalms, we now proceed to consider some special points with regard to their use in worship.

a. First, the position of the psalms in the services. Here we must begin to distinguish between different types of services. This period saw the development both of the Liturgies and of the Divine Office. We shall therefore take the Eucharistic service first, and then the daily services.

The Eucharistic service was very early divided into two parts, the Missa Catechumenorum and the Missa Fidelium. Psalms appear to have had a larger place in the former, though they do appear in both. In the Missa Catechumenorum, the psalms were usually found between the lessons. We have already noticed this in the Apostolic Constitutions, where psalms are found between the Old Testament lesson and the New Testament lessons. Tertullian spoke of the psalms being sung between the lessons. In this period too we have S. Augustine's mention of the psalm having ~~place~~ a place between the Epistle and the Gospel. (In some areas ~~places~~ by his time there was no longer an Old Testament lesson in the Eucharist.) Thus he says in one of his sermons, "We saw this in the apostolic lesson. Thereafter we sang a psalm, exhorting ~~each~~ each other with one voice, and with one heart as it ought to be." Here he quotes Psalm 95, then goes on, "After these things, the Gospel lesson showed us the cleansing of the ~~the~~ San Peters" (1). In another sermon, he says, "In the apostolic lesson, ~~we~~ thanks are given to God for the faith of the gentiles. In the psalm we said, Turn us again, O God of hosts, and cause thy face to shine; and we shall be saved. (Ps. 80:7). In the Gospel we are called to the feast" (2). S. Basil also says that in the Cappadocian Church the psalms were sung between the lessons (3). S. Ambrose also refers to the use of psalms in the Missa Catechumenorum (4). The psalms sung in this position were the origin of the Gradual in the Roman Mass, as well as of the lessons in the same place in the Eastern Eucharist.

Psalms were sung too in the Missa Fidelium. S. Cyril of Jerusalem tells that the Anaphora began with Ps. 26:6, at the part now known as the Lavabo (5). He also says that

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- (1) Serm. x de Verbis Apostoli. PL. XXXVIII. 875.
 (2) Hom. XXXIII de Verbis Domini. Serm. CXII. PL. ~~XXXIII~~ XXXVII. 643.
 (3) In Psalm. xxviii. PG. XXIX. 295f.
 (4) Ep. xxii. 4, 7. PL. XVI. 1063, 1064.
 (5) Catecheses. xix-xxiii. PG. XXXIII. 1059ff.

Ps.34 was used as invitatory to communion, making special referende to verse 9, O taste and see. (1). We have already seen the use of this psalm in Apostolic Constitutions. S. Chrysostom says this psalm was sung alternately by minister and people at the Lord's Table (2). S. Ambrose seems to indicate that Ps.33 was used at the communion (3). S. Augustine speaks of the singing of psalms at the Offertory and at the communion, saying that the custom was introduced into Carthage, against the will of some, in his own time (4), and also refers to the use of Ps.34 at the communion (5). The psalms used at the communion seem to have been sung while the people were communicating.

As to the Daily Services, their form and order were not yet by any means established, and in the time of S. Jerome they seem still to have been private (6). From the first they consisted largely of psalms, lessons, and prayers. The position of the psalms, as also their number, varied considerably in different parts of the Church. John Cassian, to whom we shall refer more fully later, says that at some services, psalms came first and then two lessons, one from each of the Testaments.(7). He refers to a similar custom in Egypt and the Thebaid (8). He also mentions that in Egypt sometimes prayers instead of the more usual lessons were said between the psalms(9). This corresponds to a usage in Jerusalem, described in Peregrinatio Etheriae, with reference to the Vigil for the Sunday Offices (10).

(1) Ibid. xxiii. PG. XXXIII.1124.

(2) Comm. in Ps. 144. PG. LV.464.

(3) De Elia.x.34. PL.XIV.714. "Merito dicunt singuli refecti spiritali cibo et spiritali potu: Parasti in conspectu meo mensam et poculum tuum inebrians quam praeclarum".

(4) Retract.ii.11. PL. XXXII.63.

(5) Enarr.2 in Ps.33:10 (A.V.34:10). PL. XXXVI.313.

(6) Cp. Batiffol. Hist. of Rom. Breviary. p.32.

(7) Instit. Coenob. ii.vi.

(8) Ibid.ll.iv. "Per universam Aegyptum et Thebaidem duodenarius psalmodorum numerus tam in vespertinis quam in nocturnis solemnitatibus custoditur, ita duntaxat, et post hunc duas lectiones veteris scilicet et novi testamenti singulae subsequantur".

(9) Ibid.ii.v. "Cum sedentibus cunctis...undecim psalmodia orationum interjectione distinctos contiguis versibus parili pronuntiatione cantasset...."

(10) II.1. Duchesne. Christian Worship.p.494f. "Et quomodo ingressus fuerit papulus, dicet psalmum quicumque de presbyteris, et respondet omnes; post hoc fit oratio. Item dicet psalmum quicumque de diaconibus, similiter fit oratio. Dicitur et tertius psalmus a quocumque clerico, fit et oratio tertia, et commemoratio omnium".

At other times however in Jerusalem the psalms came between the lessons, as in the Saturday services in Lent (1). It seems that during this period the order of these services was still fluid.

With regard to this point, it may be added that the Council of Laodicea (A.D. 365? 389?) in its Canon XVII decreed that psalms were not to be sung immediately after each other, but that lessons were to be read between them.

✓ b. Proper Psalms. These are psalms used regularly in particular services or associated with particular days. We have already seen the use of Ps. 34 for the communion in the Eucharistic service, so suitable because of verse 9, this use being testified to by several writers. A few other references may be noted here. S. Chrysostom says this psalm was sung in Passion Week (2). S. Augustine refers to certain psalms used in the fifty days between Easter and Pentecost (3). He also speaks of the use of Ps. 22 on Good Friday, and that even among the Donatists (4).

Certain psalms came to be associated specially with some of the Hours. As we have seen, Ps. 63 was generally regarded as the Morning Psalm. Both S. Athanasius (5) and the treatise De Virginitate (6) speak of it in this connection. S. Chrysostom informs us that the Fathers of the Church appointed it to be said every morning (7). Cassian also refers to it as the morning psalm (8).

Similarly the recognised evening psalm was 141. As already noted, Apostolic Constitutions calls this τὸν ἐπιλόγιον ψαλμὸν, and refers to it by number (9).

(1) iv.4. Duchesne. Op. cit. p. 501f. "Tota autem nocte vicibus dicuntur psalmi responsorii, vicibus antiphonae, vicibus lectiones diversae, quae omnia usque in mane protrahuntur."

(2) Serm. in Ps. 145. PG. LV. 519.

(3) Enarr. in Ps. 148. PL. XXXVII. 1938.

(4) Enarr. in Ps. 21 (A.V. 22). PL. XXXVI. 170. "Miror, fratres, si hodie psalmus iste legitur et in parte Donati".

(5) Epist. ad Marcellinam. PG. XXVII. 17. ὁρθρίων ψάλλε τὸν ἐπιλόγιον δώτερον. (A.V. 63).

(6) PG. XXVIII. 253. πρὸς θεὸν τὸν ψαλμὸν τούτον λέγετε, ὁ θεός, ὁ θεός μου, πρὸς σε ὁρθρίω.

(7) Comm. in Ps. 140. PG. LV. 427. τοιοῦτος ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ ἐπιλόγιος ψαλμός.

(8) Instit. Coenob. III. iii. "De matutina vero solemnitate etiam illud nos instruit, quod in ipsa quotidie decantari solet, Deus, Deus meus, ad te de luce vigilo".

(9) VIII. xxxv; II. lix.

S. Chrysostom speaks of this also, saying that the Fathers appointed it to be said every evening, not merely because of the reference to the evening sacrifice in the second verse, but also as a sort of salutary medicine and cleansing from sin (1). S. Hilary speaks of both the morning and the evening psalm in one passage (2).

The interesting document Peregrinatio Etheriae has several passages which mention proper psalms. After describing the Mass of the Sunday Offices, it says, "Hoc ~~matutinum~~ autem inter omnia satis praecipuum est quod faciunt, ut psalmi vel antiphonae apti semper dicantur, tam qui in nocte dicuntur tam qui contra matutino, tam etiam qui per diem vel sexta vel nona vel ad lucernare, semper ita apti et ita rationabiles, ut ad ipsam rem pertineant quae agitur".(3). Again, in describing the Mass for the Festivals of Epiphany, it says that whether they preach or read single lessons, or say "ymnos", all are nevertheless "apti ipsi diei" (4). There are several other references to the choice of such psalms, lessons, etc., as were appropriate to the day (5).

Proper psalms were also used at funerals, such as Ps.116.

We have therefore here evidence that the custom which was known in the earliest days of the Church as well as in the Jewish Church, and which was to become still more widespread and important in nearly all the service-books of the Church both in the East and in the West, was kept in this period.

c. Psalms in the Occasional Offices. We find that psalms were sung not only in the ordinary services of the Church, but also in the Occasional Offices. There is

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- (1) Hom. in Ps. 140 (A.V. 141) PG. LV. 427. Quot. on p. 36 supra.
- (2) In Ps. 64. PL. IX. 414. "Progressus ecclesiae in matutinorum et vespertinorum hymnorum delectationes maximum misericordiae Dei signum est".
- (3) II. 2. Duchesne. Op. cit. p. 496.
- (4) III. 2. Ibid. p. 498. Note that Pereg. Eth. several times uses 'ymni' to denote psalms. Thus, in V. 9. (Ibid. p. 513), we read, "Dicuntur ~~hymni~~ ymni, finiunt orationes... Et posteaquam dicti fuerint psalmi et oratio facta fuerit". Cp. supra. p. 33 and infra p. 80.
- (5) V. 1, 2b, 3, 6b; VI. 3c, 3d.

little evidence for the use of psalms in some of these, but in others the fact is made quite clear.

There are a few references to the singing of psalms at baptismal services. After the baptismal ceremony was over, the baptised persons apparently returned to the Church from the baptistery, and were received with psalmody. S. Cyril of Jerusalem describes the ceremonies in a somewhat figurative way (1). He speaks of the joyous chant swelling upwards, "Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered", and it might seem as if the voice of angels echoed, "Blessed is the man unto whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity and in whose spirit there is no guile". It appears therefore that Psalm 32 was regarded as suitable for such an occasion. We shall see later that this psalm became the recognised one for a baptismal service in the fully developed ritual of the Eastern Church. S. Gregory Nazianzen also speaks of this reception of the baptised and says that this psalmody is a foretaste of the heavenly hymnody (2).

Psalms are more often mentioned in connection with funerals. The vigils held over the body prior to the day of the funeral seem to have consisted of psalms and prayers. At the funeral procession psalms were sung, and there must have been a great contrast between the hopeless lamentations of the pagans and the solemn yet confident and even joyous singing of the Christians. S. Chrysostom in one passage says that if his hearers were really assured that the dead were gone to a better life, they should not lament. Their psalms ought to be to the praise of God for him who had been taken away (3).

This practice of singing psalms in the procession is often mentioned. S. Jerome says that at the funeral of the Lady Paula, there was no lamenting, but singing of psalms in various tongues, and in another passage points out that the singing of psalms and hymns in the procession was a Christian tradition (5). Other references to the

(1) Præfat. ad Catech. PG. XXXIII.360.

(2) Orat. xi de Bapt. quot. p. 36 supra.

(3) Hom. xxx de dormientibus. ψαλλεωδία καὶ εὐχαὶ καὶ πατέρων σόλῳχος καὶ πηγῶν ἀδελφῶν τοσούτων οὐχ ἴσα καὶ καίης καὶ ὄνυξ καὶ ἀποδυσπότης, ἀλλ' ἵνα εὐχαριστῆς τῷ ἑαυτῶν.

(4) Epitaph. Paulæ. Ep. CVII.ii. PL. XXII.878. "Non ululatus, non planctus, ut inter sæculi homines fieri solet, sed psalmerum linguis diversis examina concrepabant".

(5) Vita Pauli. 16. PL. XXIII.27. "Obvolute et probato foras corpore, hymnos quoque et psalmos de christiana traditione decantans..."

(4)

same effect are to be found in S. Gregory Nazianzen (1), Socrates (2), and Sozomen (3).

Some writers quote special psalms as being used in these obsequies. As noted above, Apostolic Constitutions mentions Ps. 116(4), as does also S. Chrysostom, who in the same passage speaks also of the use of Psalms 23 and 59 (5). It will be remembered that we saw the use of this psalm mentioned in the Martyrdom of Matthew (6).

It appears to have been customary for the mourners to meet together on the third, ninth and fortieth days after the burial to sing psalms and to pray together. This was mentioned in Apostolic Constitutions (7), and the custom became widespread in the Eastern Church in later days. S. Augustine seems to have been rather doubtful of the propriety of observing these days (8). But as we have said, the custom spread and held good at least in the East.

(1) Orat. x. PG. XXXV. 827f.

(2) Hist. Eccl. VII. xlii. PG. LXVII. 688.

(3) Hist. Eccl. V. xix. PG. LXVII. 1275.

(4) VI. xxx. εν ταῖς ἐξόδοις τῶν κεκοιμημένων ψάλλοντες προσημαίετε αὐτοὺς, ἕαν ὡσεὶ πιστοὶ ἐν κυρίῳ· τίμιος γὰρ ἐναντίου κυρίου ὁ θάνατος τῶν ὁσίων αὐτοῦ· καὶ πάλιν· ἐπίστρεψον ἡ ψυχὴ μου, εἰς τὴν ἀναπαυσίαν σου, ὅτι κύριος εὐηργέτησε σε.

(5) Hom. iv. in Heb. PG. LXIII. 43. ἐννόησον, τί ψάλλεις κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν, ἐκείνον· ἐπίστρεψον ~~ἡ~~ ψυχὴ μου, εἰς τὴν ἀναπαυσίαν σου, ὅτι ὁ κύριος εὐηργέτησε σε· καὶ πάλιν· σὺ φεβηθήσομαι κακὰ, ὅτι σὺ μετ' ἐμοῦ εἶ· καὶ πάλιν· σὺ μου εἶ καταφυγὴ ἀπὸ θλίψεως τῆς παρεχούσης με· ἐννόησον τί βούλονται οὗτοι οἱ ψαλλοί.

(6) Supra. p. 30.

(7) VIII. xlii. ἐπιταθείσθω δὲ τρίτα τῶν κεκοιμημένων, ἐν ψαλλοῖς καὶ ἀναγνώσει καὶ προσευχαῖς, διὰ τὸν διάτριων ἡμερῶν ἐγεθέντα· καὶ ἕνδεκα, εἰς ὑπόμνησιν τῶν περιόντων καὶ τῶν κεκοιμημένων· καὶ τεσσαράκοστα, κατὰ τὸν παλαιὸν τύπον· Μωσὴν γὰρ οὕτως ὁ λαὸς ἐπένηθησε καὶ ἐνιαύσια, ὑπὲρ μνησθῆναι αὐτοῦ.

(8) Quaest. clxxii in Genes. PL. XXXIV. 596. "Nescio utrum inven-
~~iam~~ iatur alicui sanctorum in scripturis celebratum esse luct-
~~uatum~~ uatum novem dies, quod apud Latinos novemdiale appellant.

Inde mihi videntur ab hac consuetudine prohibendi, si qui christianorum istum in mortuis suis numerum servant qui magis est in gentilium consuetudine".



6. THE RENDERING OF THE PSALMS.

This question is of considerable interest, and there is a good deal of information available on the subject. It is true that many points are obscure and that about them we should gladly have heard more in the way of detail.

We take first the method of singing. It might be said that we are taking it for granted that the psalms were sung rather than read in the services. Actually most of the references to the rendering of the psalms suggest that they were sung. And indeed that is what we should expect in the Church. The psalms were sung or recited with musical intonation in the Jewish Church, and the very nature of these compositions made them suitable for singing. S. Basil gives a definition of a psalm as distinguished from a song, saying (1) that the former is a composition accompanied by instruments, while the latter is a melodious utterance without accompaniment. There is however no evidence that the psalms were accompanied instrumentally till long after his time (2). All this does not mean that psalms were never read instead of sung. It is easy to imagine many circumstances in which it might be more convenient to read them - a small number present, lack of persons able to sing, and so forth. But our present enquiry is chiefly concerned with the musical rendering of the psalms.

There were several methods of singing the psalms, and it is not always possible to be sure which method is signified in some passages. Thus a text may speak of 'alternate singing', but may give no indication as to whether antiphonal or responsorial singing is meant. Besides, some of the terms changed their meaning with the passing of time, and some, e.g., 'antiphon', came to be restricted to the psalm used at a particular point in the liturgy, and so it is very necessary not to read back into an early citation a later technical meaning.

Among the methods used we note the following, all of which are spoken of from time to time :

- (a) the psalms sung by the whole congregation;
- (b) the psalms sung by one person, all others listening;
- (c) the psalms sung alternately by two halves of the congregation, or by two choirs, verse about, or half-verse about, which is properly antiphonal;
- (d) one voice singing one verse or half-verse, and the

(1) Hom. in Ps. 28. PG. XXIX. 301. ὅτι ἐβρουδμῶς κατὰ τοὺς ἀρμαρικαὺς λόγους πρὸς τὸ ἄργανον κρούεται.

(2) See infra p. 58.



congregation the next, which is properly responsorial; and

- (e) a singer or body of singers singing a verse and those assembled responding with Alleluia or Amen or with a phrase like "For His mercy endureth for ever", which is also responsorial.

(a) The whole congregation might sing the psalms together. We have already noted in other connections instances of this method. Thus S. Chrysostom (1) says that worshippers of old came together and sang together (ἐπέψαλλον κοινῇ), and, he adds, we do the same now. Again he says, (2) that women and men and old men and young people may differ in age and sex, but the Spirit tempers their voices and makes one melody of all. Other quotations in the same section above confirm this practice.

(b) There were occasions when only one person sang and all others present listened. This does not seem to have been so common, and it may have been chiefly a monastic custom. Cassian (3) says that one would rise to sing, while all the others sat and gave attention to him. Those present might take turns. If twelve psalms were to be sung, two persons might sing six each, or three persons four each, and so on. But only one sang at a time. Still this custom must have been widely known, for S. Augustine in one place refers to it as well as to the congregational method, saying by way of explanation, "Ideo in psalmis aliquando plures cantant ut ostendatur quid de pluribus fiat unus; aliquando unus cantat ut ostendatur quid fiat de pluribus" (4).

(c), (d), and (e). The other three methods are all of the alternate kind, and include both the properly antiphonal and responsorial methods. This alternate kind of singing had a long history and was used, as we have suggested, in the Jewish Church. Pliny's well-known letter suggests its use very early in the Church - "secum invicem decantat". This is not a reference to psalmody, but to the singing of a hymn to Christ as to a god, but the method would certainly be the same whether in hymnody or in psalmody. In this period with which we are now concerned there are many references to it. Thus, S. Gregory Nazianzen is supposed to speak of it in his Carmen xviii de Virtute (5).

(1) Quot. on p. 37 supra.

(2) Quot. on p. 37 supra.

(3) Instit. Coenob. II.12.

(4) In Joan. Tract. xii. PL. XXXV. 1725.

(5) * Line 923. PG. XXXVII. 747.

ἑνα φωνῶν, ἀντίφωνον ἀγγελῶν στασίς.

S. Basil speaks of two different kinds of alternate singing. He says that sometimes the people divide themselves into two parts and sing alternately to each other, and sometimes they allow one person to begin the tune and the rest respond. The former is antiphonal and the latter responsorial. He adds that thereafter all "as with one mouth and heart sing the psalm of penitence" (Ps. 51). Further he goes on to say, "If you separate from me because of this, you will also have to separate from the Egyptians, Lybians, Thebans, inhabitants of Palestine, Arabia, Phoenicia, Syria, and the valley of the Euphrates" (1). He thus witnesses to the wide area in which this way of singing held good. Both types are indeed often mentioned, but most believe that the responsorial method was the earlier.

In the second type to which S. Basil referred, which is the true psalmus responsorius, one person begins the singing and the rest respond. This response might take several different forms, though often the precise nature of the response is not indicated. We have seen the method spoken of in the Apostolic Constitutions, where one sings the psalms of David and the people respond the ἀκροστιχία, the conclusions or refrains. Sometimes, it is the virgins and boys who are to respond to him that sings the psalms (2). Indeed it is suggested that the people do not actually join in the psalms at all, but rather respond with Alleluia (3). S. Chrysostom speaks in general terms of this response on several occasions. Thus we read, "And he who sings, sings alone; and if all the others respond, the sound comes as from one mouth" (4). In another place the suggestion is that the ministers are the leaders (5), and again, speaking of Psalm 145, he says that minister and people sang this psalm alternately at the Lord's Table (6). In one other reference, he tells us that the people responded with one verse of the psalm which was being rendered, viz., Psalm 118:24, "This is the day which the Lord hath made..." (7). He adds that the Fathers appointed the people to sing this verse, partly because it was sonorous (ῥῆχον), and partly because

(1) Ep. ccvii ad Cler. Neocaesar. PG. XXXII. 763.

(2) Apost. Const. II. 22.

(3) Ibid. II. 11.

(4) Hom. xxxvi in I Cor. PG. LXI. 315. καὶ ὁ ψάλλων, ψάλλει μόνος· καὶ πάντες ὑπαχῶσιν, ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος ἡ φωνὴ φέρεται.

(5) In Ps. 137. PG. LV. 407f. μετὰ τῶν ἱερῶν... καταρχομένων ἐκείνων προηγομένων ἔψομαι καὶ ἀκοουθήσω, καὶ ἔσωσθε.

(6) In Ps. 144. PG. LV. 464.

(7) In Ps. 117. PG. LV. 328. ἡ μὲν ῥῆσις τοῦ ψαλμοῦ ἡν ὑπογράφειν ὁ λαὸς εἶπε, τοιαύτη τις ἐστίν· αὕτη ἐστίν ἡ ἡμέρα ---

of its excellent doctrine (ὁ ψηδὸν ἄβυμα).

Similarly S. Athanasius tells us that he appointed the deacon to read the psalms when his church was attacked by Arian soldiers, and the people were to respond, "For His mercy endureth for ever" (1). S. Augustine a little later mentions the same method more than once. Thus he speaks of "those words of the psalm which we have heard and in part have sung..." (2), and in another place makes more definite mention of the responding, "In this psalm which we have heard sung, to which we have responded in singing..." (3). Later still S. Isidore, speaking of the responsorial, gives the reason why they got this name - "Responsorial ab Italis longe ante tempore sunt reperta; et vocata hoc nomine quod uno canente chorus consonando respondeat" (4).

We may note here that the term Responsorium or Psalmus Responsorius came to have a technical meaning, with reference to the psalms sung in the Pro-anaphora between the lessons, now represented by the Gradual in the Roman Mass. The term was also used for the short passages often taken from the Psalter, sung between certain lessons in the Daily Offices. To this we shall come later, but in the present period the term signifies simply the psalm when sung in the respensorial method.

Most people believe that the purely antiphonal method came later than the respensorial, at least in the West. In one passage, S. Augustine says that the antiphonal method was meant to prevent the people from growing weary of the psalms, and attributes the introduction of the custom to S. Ambrose, who, he says, brought it from the East into his Church in Milan, whence it spread far and wide. Thus he speaks of this method of singing as being "secundum morem orientalium partium" (5), and in the same place says that it was used by many if not nearly all the flock and that it spread through the rest of the world. Paulinus in his Vita Ambrosii (6) tells the same story about the introduction of this way of singing by S. Ambrose. Socrates, however, says that antiphony was as old as the time of Ignatius, speaking here however not precisely of

(1) Apol. ad Const. ii. Quot. supra p. 38.

(2) In Ps. 26. PL. XXXVI.199.

(3) In Ps. 46.1. PL. XXXVI.525.

(4) De Eccl. Off. I.ix. PL. LXXXIII.742.

(5) Conf. IX.vii. PL. XXXII.779.

(6) PL. XIV.31.

psalms but of hymns sung in honour of the Trinity. S. Ignatius, he says, had a vision of angelic choirs chanting antiphonal hymns in honour of the Trinity, and he introduced into the church at Antioch a custom similar to that which had been revealed to him (1). Theodoret gives still another story of the origin of antiphony (2). The movement, he says, came from Antioch but at a later time than that of S. Ignatius. Those responsible were Flavian and Diodorus, who, while they were still laics, i.e., somewhere between A.D. 348 and 358, "inaugurated the division of choirs of singers into two groups whom they taught to sing alternately the Psalms of David" (3). Other conjectures as to the origin of the antiphonal method were made in these early days, but they need not detain us longer. It seems however to have been generally believed that antiphony had its origin in the East. And there can be no doubt that once the method was introduced, it rapidly became very popular, and spread everywhere throughout the Church.

At this point we may notice two special forms of response sometimes used in the rendering of the psalms. The first is the Alleluia, which is often mentioned in connection with the singing of the psalms. Indeed it came to have a technical meaning in the later liturgies. In the East it comes between the Cherubic Hymn and the Great Entrance, and in the West it follows the Gradual and precedes the Gospel. Its position in both these places indicates its ancient connection with the psalms. The Apostolic Constitutions refers to this as a response of the people who do not sing the psalms but join in the Alleluia (4). The work De Virginitate gives the direction, "Say as many psalms as you can....and after three psalms say Alleluia". S. Augustine tells us that the Alleluia was sung at certain seasons of the year, as at Easter, and in the fifty days between Easter and Pentecost, in some churches, but the custom was not observed everywhere (5).

(1) Hist. Eccl. VI.viii. PG. LXVII. 688f.

(2) Hist. Eccl. II.xix.PG. LXXXII. 1060.

(3) Cp. Sozomen. HE. III.xx. PG. LXVII.1100. Other quotations on this matter may be found in P. Cagin. Antiphonarium Ambrosianum. Vols. v-vi of Paléographie musicale. Solesmes.1896.

(4) II.11.

(5) Ep.LV ad Januar.xvii. PL. ~~XXXVIII.1184~~. Cp. also LXXXIII.220
Enarr in Ps.106. PL. XXXVII.1419; Sermo CCLIV de

At certain seasons the singing of Alleluia was forbidden, as during Lent (1). At times however, when the Alleluia is spoken of, this means such psalms as have Alleluia in them, especially at the beginning or at the end. Thus S. Augustine speaks of the "alleluistici psalmi" having Alleluia at the end, and some of them at the beginning. (2) Similarly Cassian says, "Ut in responsione alleluia nullus dicatur psalmus nisi is qui in titulo suo alleluia inscriptione praenotatur" (3).

The other response which requires brief notice is the Gloria Patri. In this period there are but few references to this doxology, of which Will says that its trinitarian formula affixes a Christian seal to the word of the Old Testament (4). Cassian seems to suggest that in the East or in Egypt it was sung only after the last psalm of a group in the Divine Office, while in the West it was used at the end of every psalm, and moreover, while in the West it was sung by all standing, in the East it was sung only by the singer of the psalm (5). Later on, the Councils of the Church were to make regulations for the singing of the Gloria Patri, and the precise wording which varied according to the doctrines of certain parties, was to be carefully defined (6).

We next deal with the Music used for the psalms. A good deal has been written about this first and last, but a great part has been little more than conjecture. Such references to the music as we have give little idea of what its nature actually was, and there is nothing like the scientific description that a modern writer would supply. But it may be taken as fairly certain that there was as yet no harmony - the singing would be all in unison.

(1) Enarr. in Ps. 148. PL. XXXVII.1938.

(2) In Ps. 105. PL. XXXVII.1404.

(3) Instit. Coenob. II.xi.

(4) Le Culte. II. p.367.

(5) Op.cit. II.viii. "Illud etiam quod in hac provincia vidimus ut uno cantante in clausula psalmi, omnes adstantes concinant cum clamore, Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto, nusquam per omnem orientem audivimus sed cum omnium silentio ab eo qui cantat, finito psalmo orationem succedere; hac vero glorificatione trinitatis tantummodo solere antiphona terminari".

(6) See further DCA.I.p.578; DACL. 4.2. 1525-8.

Nevertheless there seems to have been more than one way of singing the melodies. On the one hand there was a sober and plain kind of chant, and on the other there was a larger variety in the tune, perhaps using larger intervals or a wider compass. S. Augustine mentions this contrast. He speaks of the effect made upon him by the music and the singing of the psalms. "Quantum flevis in hymnis et canticis tuis, suave sonantis ecclesiae tuae vocibus commotus acriter! Voces illae influebant auribus meis, et equilabatur veritas in cor meum; et exaestuabat inde affectus pietatis, et currebant lacrimae, et bene mihi erat cum eis"(1). Again in the same work, he says "Verumtamen cum reminiscor lacrimas meas quas fudi ad cantus ecclesiae tuae, in primordiis recuperatae fidei meae, et nunc ipso quod moveor, non cantu sed rebus quae cantantur, cum liquida voce et convenientissima modulatione cantantur, magnam instituti huius utilitatem rursus agnosco. Ita fluctuo inter periculum voluptatis et experimentum salubritatis, magisque adducor, non quidem irtractabilem sententiam proferens, cantandi consuetudinem approbare in ecclesia; et per oblectamenta aurium infirmior animus in affectum pietatis adsurgat"(2). This kind of singing which so much moved him was the more sober and plain style, and evidently the Donatists did not approve of this type, for S. Augustine speaks of the Donatists reproving us "because we sing soberly"(3).

It seems from what he says that the melodies were small in their compass, and therefore to his mind much safer. "Tutius mihi videtur quod de Alexandrino episcopo Athanasio saepe mihi dictum commemini, qui tam medico flexu vocis faciebat sonare lectorem psalmi ut pronuntianti vicinior esset quam canenti" (4). S. Isidore practically quotes these words to show that the early Church sang psalms in this way (5).

Nevertheless it seems that there was more than mere mere recitative or cantillation. Thus Eusebius uses the word $\mu\epsilon\lambda\omega\delta\epsilon\iota\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ (6), and in another place he suggests that the psalms were chanted to melodic airs (7). But in the present state of knowledge it is not possible to be more sure about the details of the music.

(1) Conf. IX. vi. PL. XXXII. 769.

(2) Conf. X. xxxiii. PL. XXXII. 800.

(3) Epist. ad Januar. (LV.) PL. XXXIII. 221.

(4) Conf. X. xxxiii. PL. XXXII. 800.

(5) De Eccl. Off. I. v. PL. LXXXIII. 742. *Ap. quot. from Cassian. Superer*

(6) On Ps. 65. PG. XXIII. 647. *p. 46. n. 9.*

(7) In Ps. 91. PG. XXIII. 763. $\delta\mu\delta\phi\omega\nu\omicron\upsilon\ \mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\upsilon$

$\tau\alpha\upsilon\varsigma\ \psi\epsilon\lambda\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\pi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\tau\omicron\mu\epsilon\upsilon.$

The music of the period is sometimes called Ambrosian, perhaps to distinguish it from the later Gregorian music. Certainly S. Ambrose seems to have been an outstanding musical leader, as we have already seen suggested by his introduction of Eastern methods of antiphony into his church at Milan. He is believed to have begun the task, completed by S. Gregory the Great, though some do not have any certainty as to the actual work accomplished by S. Gregory, of systematising the music of the Church. We should also remember that he attained fame as a hymn-writer (1). It has been said, "That Ambrosian music was rhythmical is irrefragably attested by the variety of metres employed by Ambrose in his own hymns" (2). His own tribute to the uplifting quality of church music was in these words :- "Dulcis est cantilena quae non corpus effeminat sed mentem animamque confirmat" (3)

We have said that the alternate method of psalm-singing was very widely welcomed and became very popular throughout the Church. There was one exception. Some of the ascetics and monastics did not welcome it at all. They thought that the abandonment of the earlier responsory chant was an indication of a coming decadence. And as is often the case, they tended not only to be ~~rather~~ conservative, but to be extreme, and in some places there was a desire to get rid entirely of all alternate forms of singing for the sake of sheer simplicity and austerity. Perhaps from this arose the cantus directaneus, in which the psalm was sung straight through without response or alternation of any kind. This form however belongs to a later period, the first mention of it being found in the Rule of S. Benedict(4).

It must be added that up to this time there was no instrumental music used as accompaniment. (5). Indeed according to several writers, it was forbidden to use instruments in church. S. Clement of Alexandria, for instance, says (6) that Christians may use certain musical instruments by way of recreation, e.g., after a meal, but they are not to be introduced into the church. He adds that we have need of only one instrument, the voice that brings the peace. He speaks too in an allegorical fashion

(1) Cp. Julian. Dictionary of Hymnology. 1907. p.56.

(2) DCA. p.74b.

(3) Quoted in DCA. p.74a.

(4) Chapter xii.

(5) The reference in S. Ignatius. In Eph.iv. stands alone, and is regarded as doubtful.

(6) Paedagogus.II.iv. PG. VIII.444f.

of musical instruments as symbolising various parts of the body. In a similar way, Eusebius says, "We sing the divine praises with a living psaltery, inspired cithara and spiritual songs. What pleases God more than any instrument is the unison of all Christian people chanting psalms and canticles" (1). It was not apparently till the seventh century that instrumental music came to be widely used in the Church, and then only in the West, for even to the present day there is no instrumental music in Eastern Churches (2).

There are one or two minor points to which we now advert. First, as a rule the psalms were sung standing. This seems to have been almost if not altogether universal. The singer or singers would stand and those not at the time singing would be seated. S. Jerome speaks of the recreant deacon Sabinianus having "stood in the choir of singers" (3), this only aggravating his fault. Cassian also mentions this, saying that in the monasteries of Egypt the monks were often so weak with fasting and labours day and night that only those actually reading would stand, though all would rise for the Gloria Patri (4). And this is indeed the posture which we should expect, being that which is best for singing and best for being heard, as well as having been traditional for so long.

Another point of interest is that it was expected that the Psalter should be known by heart. It would of course in early days be difficult owing to the scarcity of books for everyone to possess a copy of the Psalter. We have already noted S. Jerome advising certain of his friends to learn the psalms by heart (5), and in later days we find some of the Councils insisting on a thorough knowledge of the Psalter prior to ordination.

Why then does Canon XV of the Council of Laodicea say that the singers are to sing from a book? It is probable that there had been abuses of some kind, and the Council was trying to improve the psalmody of the Church. "Private psalms" may have been used too much in place of the canonical psalms. For this same Council decreed in

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- (1) In. Ps. 91. PG. XXIII. 1171f. Cp. also S. Chrysostom. In Ps. 150. PG. LV. 1155; Justin. Quaest. ad Orthodoxos. No. 107. PG. VI. 1353.
- (2) Cp. E. Dickinson. Music in the History of the Western Church. Chap. 2.
- (3) Epist. cxlvii. Ad Sabinianum lapsum. PL. XXII. 1195f.
"Tu stabas in choro psallentium".
- (4) Instit. Coenob. II. xiii.
- (5) Supra p. 35f.

(497)

its Canon LIX that private psalms and uncanonical books were not to be read in Church (1). It is known however that in many other places pieces of human composition were sung. Many writers speak of the use of hymns and in many cases we know the names of the authors of the hymns. Some of these were composed for the advancement of particular types of doctrine, both by the orthodox and by the heretical. This may be one reason why this Council forbade the use of private psalms (2), and also why it advised the use of proper texts from which to sing, as then more control could be exercised.

There remains the question of the Singers. We have seen that sometimes the whole congregation were the singers. But the term 'singers' gradually came to mean those who led the singing, as the choir, or those who precented, those, for example, who sang the solo verse to which the congregation responded. We have made citations in which certain singers are mentioned. Thus S. Athanasius speaks of the deacon being appointed to render the psalms, while S. Augustine speaks of the reader singing a psalm — "psalmum quem mandaveramus cantari a lectore" (3).

The Apostolic Constitutions and some of the cognate documents speak of various classes of singers, such as boys, male virgins, female virgins, and so on. On occasion the reference is quite indefinite, as in Apostolic Constitutions II.5, where it is said "Let some person (τις) sing the psalms of David". S. Jerome also speaks in a general way of those "quibus psallendi in ecclesia officium est" (4).

At first the singers were not included among the minor orders (5), though it appears that there was in some parts a movement towards that end. The Council of Laodicea made several references to singers in its Canons, where they are called *κατοικικὰ ψάλται*. Canon XV says they alone are to sing in the church, and that from an ambo and from a book (6). This seems to exalt them to a special position, but Canon XXIII forbids them to wear the orarium

(1) ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἰδιωτικῶς ψαλμοὺς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὐδὲ ἀκανόνιστα βιβλία, ἀλλὰ μόνον τὰ κατοικικὰ τῆς καινῆς καὶ παλαιᾶς διαθήκης.

(2) Cp. the troubles, detailed by Eusebius. H.E. VII.30; cp. V.28, over the case of Paul of Samosata.

(3) Quot. on p. 38 supra.

(4) Quot. on p. 39 supra.

(5) Cp. Apost. Const. III.11; Apost. Canons. 43(42) and 69(68).

(6) μὴ δεῖν κλῆρον τῶν κατοικικῶν ψαλτῶν τῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄμβωνα ἀναβαυρόντων, καὶ ἀπὸ διφθέρας ψαλλόντων ἑτέροις τινῶς ψάλλειν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ.

or stole, which was a clerical vestment. It has been suggested that the singers were seeking recognition as an order of the clergy, but the Council, while recognising their importance, yet denied them that greater honour.

There is in this period, owing to the restricted position of the singers, little reference to the ordination or setting-apart of the singers. The Apostolic Constitutions, as already noted, says that a deacon may set apart a singer if there be any occasion in the absence of a presbyter(1), and that shows that the singers were still regarded as far down in the minor orders. One of the earliest mentions of their ordination is in Canon X of the Fourth Council of Carthage (A.D.398).

With this we conclude our survey of the period of the Early Church to about A.D. 450. We have seen again the constant and loving use of the Psalter in all kinds of services of the Church, and the various methods of use which have been mentioned in previous sections, are seen to be still in vogue.

(1) Apost. Const. VIII.xxviii. Quot. supra p. 44.

IV. THE PSALMS IN THE WORSHIP OF THE EASTERN CHURCH.

Once persecution had ceased and Christians were free to worship openly, the tendency was in the direction of liturgical formulation. No doubt even before that time, there were attempts to put the liturgy into a fixed and definite form. But freedom must have made a great difference. In time of persecution there could have been little desire or even time for anything other than sheer simplicity, but when Christianity became the state religion, the influence of state functions must have been in the direction of greater formality, and, with worship being open and untrammelled, opportunity for liturgical development was much greater. There would also be a growing desire for order, and indeed a certain need for regulation and discipline. It became necessary, for instance, to take steps to prevent the spread of heretical opinions by means of prayer and praise in the services, by careful regulation.

The actual process is of course not clearly described. We can see only results. But as time went on, liturgies were prepared. Some assert that they all followed one original pattern, such as the Apostolic Constitutions or the Apostolic Tradition. But whether that was so or not, we can see that the liturgies fall into families, each of which has an association with one of the three great patriarchates, Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome. Each of these families has its own special characteristics (1). Not indeed that within each of these districts the liturgies were all the same; on the contrary, there were many differences and variations. Yet as we see them now, their relationship to each other can be readily recognised. They "still bear the marks of their common descent; in all we see still the same outline in general; there are very curious and complicated signs of mutual influence between them, so much so that almost every possible theory of dependence of each from another has its defenders" (2).

We have already noted (3) Lietzmann's opinion that the Apostolic Tradition associated with the name of S.

(1) See B.J. Kidd. The Churches of Eastern Christendom. London. 1927. pp. 70ff.

(2) A. Fortescue. The Mass. p. 77.

(3) Supra p. 42.

Hippolytus is "the model of all liturgies known to us from its day down to the present time". Lietzmann goes on to say that the fourth century Antiochene Liturgy as seen in the Apostolic Constitutions was based on it, and on that in turn the Byzantine Liturgies, while from the Antiochene came also the Liturgy of S. James, standard of the Syrian liturgies, and even the Nestorian and the Roman Liturgies show its influence. Even if Lietzmann goes too far, yet here is evidence that in spite of all the differences between the liturgies which came into existence, there is also a relationship which appears to be of an hereditary nature.

It follows from the above that the methods of classification of the liturgies are very many in number. If there are many indications of relationship which cannot be very precisely established, the indications will be variously interpreted. However, the main division is between Eastern and Western. The Eastern are divided into Antiochene and Alexandrian, the former further divided into Syrian (Eastern and Western) and Byzantine. Various ways of classifying these may be seen in works like those of Renaudot, Daniel, Neale and Brightman (1). The classification does not really concern us here, but it may make future reference more readily understood if one method, that of Brightman, is outlined here.

- | | |
|----------------|---|
| I. Syrian | A. Apostolic Constitutions. |
| (West Syrian) | B. Greek Liturgies (S. James in Greek). |
| | C. Syrian Liturgies (S. James in Syriac). |
| II. Egyptian | A. Greek Liturgies (S. Mark, S. Basil, etc) |
| (Alexandrian) | B. Coptic Liturgies (S. Cyril, etc.) |
| | C. Abyssinian Liturgies (Twelve Apostles) |
| III. Persian | |
| (East Syrian) | Nestorian and Chaldean. |
| IV. Byzantine. | A. Orthodox Liturgies (S. John Chrysestom, |
| | S. Basil, S. Gregory Dialogus). |
| | B. Armenian Liturgies. |

Under some of these heads there are many varieties. ~~Thus~~ Thus under I.C. above, Brightman says there are 64 anaphoras known at least by name besides that of S. James (2).

As to the Western Rites, there are several groups, Roman, Ambrosian, Mozarabic, Gallican, and Celtic. There

(1) See Bibliography at end. Cp. the arrangement in DACL. 6.2. 159.

(2) LEW. p.lvii f.

were also many mediaeval modifications, as those of the religious Orders, and those used in many dioceses, e.g., Paris, Lyons, Salisbury and York.

1. THE PSALMS IN THE EASTERN LITURGIES.

We shall deal first with the Eastern forms, taking the Liturgies first, then the Divine Office, and then the Occasional Offices.

First of all it is to be noted that the psalms continue to form an important source-book for the phraseology of the prayers of the liturgies. The following table shows approximately the number of actual quotations from the Psalter in certain of the liturgies given in Brightman.

A. Syrian Rite.	1. Greek Liturgy of S. James.....	56.
	2. Syrian Liturgy of S. James.....	28
B. Egyptian Rite.	1. S. Mark in Greek.....	59
	2. Coptic Jacobites.....	31
	3. Abyssinian Jacobites.....	27
C. Persian Rite.	Liturgy of Nestorians.....	68
D. Byzantine Rite.	1. Liturgy of S. Basil. 9th Cent..	64
	2. Liturgy of S. John Chrysostom, modern.....	40
	3. Liturgy of the Armenians.....	25

There are of course in addition to the actual quotations many reminiscences of the words of the Psalter. But the number of the quotations, which is approximately one quarter of the total number of scriptural quotations, and the fact that these quotations are made from a large proportion of the psalms, shows how well the Psalter was known, and how satisfying it was for the expression of the spiritual desires and emotions of Christian worshippers of God.

As to the actual place of the psalms in the liturgies, we may remind ourselves that in the earlier days there were many references to this both in the writings of the Fathers and in the first attempts at putting the Liturgy into written form, and that psalms were used both in the Missa Catechumenorum and in the Missa Fidelium. In the former the chief place was between the lections, and that seems to have been a widespread and old-established custom. In the latter there does not seem to have been so wide a use of the psalms, but they are mentioned as having been sung at the Communion. When we turn to the actual liturgies of the Eastern Church, we find the same customs carried on. There is almost unanimous testimony to the saying of psalms

between the lessons, but as time went on and ceremonial and ritual both became more elaborate, psalms or verses of psalms came to be said at various points besides. One difficulty that confronts us with regard to the period between the fourth and the ninth century is that there are no contemporary liturgical manuscripts that can testify to the usages of these times. A little information can be found in some writers of the period and in the Canons of some of the Councils, but generally references to our subject are infrequent and sometimes vague. We shall therefore in the first instance take the Eastern Liturgies as they appear in Brightman's edition.

In the Table of Liturgies, which follows page 75, a summary is made of these liturgies, the idea being, not to give a complete view of the various parts of the liturgy, and of its ceremonial, but only to give a sufficiently clear idea of the order of the liturgy for the specific purpose of showing where the psalms are used in them. Many minor portions are therefore not inserted; and it should be further pointed out that at many points the priest, the deacon, and the choir, may each be engaged on different matters, and that indication of this is not necessary for our purpose as a rule. A comparison of these liturgies with each other will show that psalms, though with considerable variety in the actual psalms chosen, have in many places definite and well-accustomed positions in the ritual.

We now proceed to comment on the liturgies as they are set out in the Table. The main divisions of the Eastern Liturgy are as follows :-

- i. The Preparation of the Bread;
- ii. The Preparation of the Ministers;
- iii. The Prothesis, or setting-forth of the oblations, originally the second part of the Offertory, but later removed to this earlier position;
- iv. The Enarxis, a preliminary office attached to the liturgy;
- v. The Missa Catechumenorum or Pro-Anaphora;
- vi. The Missa Fidelium, or Anaphora, though strictly the Anaphora is only part of this section.

As will be seen in the Table, not all of these appear in all the liturgies, but the last three parts are constant. The abbreviations which appear at the head of the columns in the Table, will also be used in the text, and are as follows :-

ii. The Preparation of the Ministers. The devotions used in this section are also late. There is no doubt that at first the vesting would be done privately, and the clergy would come into the sanctuary already fully robed. At an early date the priest would say prayers as he vested, and the words chosen would naturally have a scriptural origin. Later, in some places at least, the vesting was done in the sanctuary and the prayers said in public, and this is the general Eastern custom, though in the Armenian Rite the clergy vest in the sacristy. Details of this preparation are given in Brightman for JAS-SYR, ETHIOP, CHRYS, and ARM. In each case the preparation commences with prayer. The next part is the saying of psalms - in JAS-SYR, Ps.51; in ETHIOP, Pss.25, 61, 102, 103, 130 and 131; in CHRYS, Ps.5:7-12; and in ARM, Ps.132 with Gloria Patri. Then comes the actual vesting. In ETHIOP the vesting is preceded by prayer, and no details are given as to each vestment. But in the other three, as each vestment is put on, there are brief petitions, generally quotations from the Psalter. One example may be given, that in JAS-SYR. When the priest puts the Urore or stole on his neck, he says, Ps.45:3 ("Gird thy sword upon thy thigh..."); when he puts on the Zunore, or zone or girdle, he says Ps.18:39-40 ("Thou hast girded me with strength..."); when putting on first the left and then the right Zendo or cuff, he says Ps.18:34-36 ("He teacheth my hands to war..."); and when he puts on the Phaine or Chasuble, he says Ps.132:9 ("Let thy priests be clothed with righteousness..."). The quotations made in other liturgies, which are on much the same lines, can be seen in Brightman in loc.

In CHRYS and ARM the Lavatory or washing of the hands is found in this section. In both cases Ps.26:6-12 ("I will wash mine hands...") is recited, in the latter with ~~the~~ Gloria Patri as a conclusion. ARM continues this part of the service with prayers and psalms. Psalms 100 and 43 are sung, each in antiphon and with Gloria Patri, intercalated among three prayers.

iii. The Prothesis.

The Prothesis is the setting-~~forth~~ of the oblations, and is another late section. As already noted, the offerings were at first brought to the church by the people, and from them was selected what was regarded as necessary for the communion, this being prepared and laid upon the table. But in time it was thought more suitable that the actual oblations should be prepared before the service began, and so the laying-out of the oblations was done in this third section. This naturally came to be regarded

as a solemn matter, and ceremonial grew up round the originally simple actions. The Table shows that in some places this became quite elaborate.

In JAS-GK there are only prayers, and this is the case also in BAS-CHRYC. In the other six liturgies the ceremony is fuller, and psalms are said or sung.

In JAS-SYR the altar is prepared, bread is arranged, and the chalice is mixed, and then Ps.116:13-14 is said. Prayers follow, and then Ps.93, with another prayer thereafter. The two Egyptian Liturgies COPT and ETHIOP have considerable ritual. Both begin with prayer, the preparation of the altar and another prayer. In COPT the Lavatory comes next, with Ps.51:7-8 and Ps.26:6-7. At this point in ETHIOP there is an address to the communicants and the Veil is withdrawn. Then in both there is a Memento. In COPT there is a procession and the choir sing Ps.76:10 and Alleluia, and in ETHIOP the oblations are prepared, with prayers. The Prothesis in both continues with a series of salutations and responses, including Ps.117 with Gloria Patri and Alleluia.

NEST is a little simpler. There are prayers, then the Lachumara, (a Hymn beginning, 'To Thee, O Lord'), then Ps.26:6 with Gloria Patri. Next are prayers, an anthem, and the ceremonies of preparation with censuring.

CHRYC has a prayer for purity, a blessing, the ceremonial preparation of the bread and the wine, and the censuring of the Veil and the Table of Oblation. Then Ps.51 is sung, with prayers to conclude.

ARM begins with a Hymn of Censuring. The priest prepares the bread and the wine and prays. Ps.93 with Gloria Patri is sung, and the Prothesis ends with censuring and prayer.

There does not seem to be any close connection between the families of the liturgies in the contents of the Prothesis, and it is likely that the somewhat late development of this section would proceed independently in the various patriarchates. But it is to be noted that where there is any fulness of ritual, psalms are included.

iv. The Enarxis.

This is a preliminary office attached to the liturgy, and the Byzantine form is quite different from that of the

other families. Various theories have been suggested for its origin.

In the two Syrian liturgies, the only items are prayers. In the Egyptian liturgies, the two MARKS are very similar. MK-GK has three prayers each preceded by a Salutation, the Peace, and the Kyrie eleison, and each is responded to by the people's Amen. COPT has the three prayers greatly extended, but the Salutation and the Peace come before the first prayer only. ETHIOP has a Salutation, Kyrie, the Peace, prayers, and a litany with the response Kīrālāyēsōn. In none of these cases do psalms appear.

The Nestorian Enarxis is longer and uses psalms at several places. It begins with "In the Name of the Father...", the Gloria in Excelsis, the Lord's Prayer and prayer. Then the Marmitha is begun. This is a section of the a Hulala (1), and corresponds to the Greek Stasis, as the Hulala does to the Kathisma. An example is a Marmitha consisting of Pss. 116-118 and Ps. 35:18-28. These are farced after each clause with Alleluia, and Gloria Patri is said at the end of the Marmitha. Another example is Psalms 15, 150 and 117, also with farcings and Gloria Patri. Then follow a prayer and the Anthem of the Sanctuary, the Prayer of the Lachumara, the Lachumara, and another prayer.

The Byzantine Enarxis is as follows. BAS-CHRYS has a blessing, a litany, and prayers of the Three Antiphons. The Liturgy of the Presanctified of the ninth century begins with the blessing and the prophetic Pro-oimion, which is Psalm 104. Then the Reader begins a series of psalms, viz., 119-123, 124-128, and 129-133.

CHRYS begins with a blessing and a Synapte or litany, followed by the Triple Antiphon. Each of these Antiphons consists of a psalm with farcing and the Gloria Patri, a prayer, and a short litany of Ectene. At certain seasons or festivals other scriptural passages are sung instead of the psalm! The following is an example of a Triple Antiphon.

The First Antiphon is Ps. 114:1-3, 5, with Gloria Patri, the refrain sung at the end of each clause being τὰς πρεσβείαις τῆς θεοτόκου σου τερ σῶσον ἡμᾶς. Then the prayer. The Second Antiphon is Ps. 116:3-5, with Gloria Patri. In this case the farcing is ~~much longer~~ :

(1) See supra p. 66.

σῶσον ἡμᾶς υἱὲ θεοῦ ὑπάλλοτῆς σοι ἀλλυλοῦτα.

This is followed by the Hymn Monogenes and the prayer.

The Third Antiphon is Ps. 118:1-4 with Gloria Patri. In

this case the farcing is much longer: Ἐν Ἰορδάνῃ βαπτισομένου σου κύριε ἡ τῆς τράβιτος ἐφανερώθη προσκύνησις· τοῦ γὰρ γεννήτορος ἡ φωνὴ προσεμαρτύρει σοι ἀγαπητὸν σε υἱὸν ἀνομιάζουσα καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐν εἶδει περισσεῶς ἐβεβαίου τοῦ λόγου τὸ ἀσφαλές. ὁ ἐμφανεῖς χριστέ ὁ θεὸς καὶ τὸν κόσμον φωτίσας δόξα σου.

The Beatitudes are substituted for this on Sundays. Lastly the prayer.

The Armenian Enarxis has a blessing, proper prayer for the day, responses, proper psalm for the day (e.g., Ps. 93), and the Hymn for the day, with Gloria Patri and prayers.

v. The Missa Catechumenorum.

The origin of this part of the Liturgy raises difficult problems, but it is generally held that the complete liturgy as we have it now is the result of a junction of two separate parts - "the synaxis and the Eucharist, either of which could be and frequently was celebrated without the other" (1). The latter was open only to members of the Church, while the former could be attended by many others, "whether casual enquirers or enrolled catechumens" (2). The two services might be held the one immediately after the other, but in separate buildings, and both attended by the same people who went from one church to the other (3). The synaxes were used partly at least for teaching. Lessons were read, varying in number (4). Sermons were delivered partly to interpret and explain the scriptures, partly to teach the people the Christian faith. This was also a regular place for psalmody, which appears consistently between the lections, as well as in

(1) DIX. p. 434. Dix discussed the whole subject fully. pp. 434ff.

(2) Ibid. p. 434.

(3) Cp. Peregrinatio Etheriae. I. 3. Duchesne. Op. cit. p. 493. Cp. also Tertullian. De Cult. Fem. II. xi. PL. I. 1445. "Aut sacrificium offertur, aut Dei verbum administratur". See also Cabrol. Mass of the Western Rites. p. 14; and Woolley. Liturgy of the Primitive Church. p. 34.

(4) Thus, ETHIOP has four, and others have only two, the Epistle and the Gospel.

some cases elsewhere, as can be seen in the Table.

In JAS-GK after the little Entrance, that is, the bringing-in of the Scriptures or of the Gospel, the Hymn Monogenes is sung, followed by the Peace, prayer, a litany, the Trisagion and then the Lections. The Lections always involved a certain amount of ceremony, particularly with reference to the Gospel, which was regarded as specially holy and worthy of great veneration. Here the Peace is said, then the Prokeimenon, a short anthem usually though not always consisting of Psalm-verses, corresponding somewhat to the Roman Gradual, then the Apostle (Epistle), Alleluia, Censing of the Gospel, a litany, the Peace again, and the Gospel.

JAS-SYR is a little fuller. After censing, psalm-verses with responses and Gloria Patri are sung, and the Prayer of the Incense is said. The Old Testament lessons follow, then prayer, the Trisagion, Kyrie, the Praxis or lesson from the Acts of the Apostles, prayer, the Epistle, Alleluia, psalm-verses, Alleluia, prayer, the Gospel, and prayer. Here the psalms are cut down to a few phrases.

In MK-GK, after the Peace, Censing, the Monogenes, Kyrie and Trisagion, come the lessons. The Peace is said again, then the Epistle is read, the Prologos of the Alleluia, the Censing of the Gospel, the Gospel and the Peace. The Prologos of the Alleluia seems to be all that is left here of the psalmody, but this consists of the Alleluia together with a few verses, generally variable, which are often from the Psalter.

In COPT the lections are preceded only by censing with prayers. There is first an Epistle of S. Paul and the Prayer of the Apostle, then a Catholic Epistle (e.g., S. James) with the prayer of the Katholikon; then the Praxis, the Trisagion, the Prayer before the Gospel, the Psalm (e.g., Ps. 98:9,10), the Alleluia with Chant, the Gospel, Prayer of the Gospel, and the Sermon. The psalm is present here also in a rather truncated form, there being only two verses in the example given.

ETHIOP is fuller. At the censing there is a blessing, and some verses of psalms having reference to incense (e.g., Ps. 66:13; 45:9; 141:2) are said. There follow prayers and salutations before the lections which as in COPT are four in number. There are the Epistle of S. Paul, the Catholic Epistle, the Acts, each with prayer before and after. The Trisagion follows these, and then prayers, Ave Maria, and Salutations. Then the Psalm before the Gospel (e.g., Ps. 99:5, the proper being given in the

Lectionary), prayer, the Gospel, and the Dismissal of the Catechumens.

NEST uses still more psalmody. After the Trisagion, the lessons from the Old Testament and the Acts are read. Then the Shuraya or Antiphon before the Epistle is sung, consisting of a psalm farced. An example is Ps.47:5-18, with the refrain, "Let us honour the ascension of Christ with songs of the Spirit: Alleluia, Alleluia, yea, Alleluia". This is followed by the Gloria Patri with the same farcing. Then, "Let all the people say Amen and Amen", with the refrain, and v.5 is repeated without the refrain. Then is said the Prayer before the Apostle and the Apostle is read, with prayers thereafter. Next is sung the Zumara, i.e., the Alleluia with its verses. This consists of, e.g., Ps.68:32-35, with "Alleluia, Alleluia, yea, Alleluia" after each verse. There is no Gloria here. The Turgama or Hymn before the Gospel is sung, the Peace is said, the Gospel is read, and the Anthem of the Gospel sung, this including some verses from the Psalter.

The earlier Byzantine liturgies have, as would be expected, shorter Pro-anaphoras. BAS-CHRYS of the ninth century has the Little Entrance, Prayer of Entrance, Trisagion, Lections, τὰ θεῖα ἀσπασα, the Gospel, the Prayers, and the Dismissals. The question is what τὰ θεῖα ἀσπασα denotes. S. Maximus (1) speaks of these as following the lections, and Brightman (2) thinks this means the Prokeimenon and the Alleluia. The Prokeimenon, as noted above, generally consists of psalm-verses with responses, but at this early period S. Maximus may simply refer to the psalms sung at this usual point. It may be noted that as here the 'lections' are sometimes distinguished from the Gospel, as including Old Testament lesson and Epistle, while the more honoured Gospel is named separately.

The Presanctified of the ninth century makes no mention of psalms between the lessons. But there is a psalm between the censuring and the Little Entrance, which latter is accompanied by the singing of Troparia, or short anthems.

CHRYS begins with the Little Entrance and its prayer. A Troparion is sung, the deacon calls 'Sophia', and another Troparion follows. These often consist of psalm-verses

(1) Mystagogia, II.23, 24.

(2) LEW. p.537.

(e.g., Ps.117:26-27 with a response, which in this second Troparion is the same as that used in the Second Antiphon of the Enarxis). Then come the Kontakion and the last Troparion, the Trisagion and a prayer. At the Lections the Reader begins by calling out $\psi\alpha\lambda\mu\acute{o}\varsigma \tau\eta\varsigma \Delta\alpha\beta\acute{\iota}\varsigma$. Sometimes, it appears, though this is said, no psalm is sung (1). The Prokeimenon of the Apostle (e.g., 'Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord' with response) and the Apostle follow, and thereafter the Alleluia and psalm (e.g., Ps.28:1,3, with a response), though often three Alleluias are substituted here. The Gospel is read, with prayers and litaney, and the dismissals are accompanied by prayers.

In ARM the Missa Catechumenorum opens with the Little Entrance, the Trisagion and a litaney. Then the proper psalm for the day, known as Saghmos Jashon, or Psalm before the Prophet, (e.g., Ps.65:1) is sung. The Prophet is read, and next another psalm, the Mesedi or Psalm before the Apostle (e.g., Ps.65:4-5), is sung, and the Apostle is read. The Alleluia then precedes another psalm (e.g., Ps.85:1), followed by salutations, the Gospel and the ascription, "Glory be to Thee, O Lord our God".

The customary place for psalmody in this section is clearly between the lessons, though psalms also appear at other points, and though in certain cases only a few verses of psalms are left as relics of the earlier psalm-singing, and on some occasions Alleluias or other songs are substituted for the psalms.

vi. The Missa Fidalium.

This section may be divided into two main parts, first that prior to the Anaphora proper, consisting of such matters as the Great Entrance, Litany, Cherubic Hymn, Kiss of Peace, Creed and Offertory, which in different liturgies vary in their order. In this part, psalms are seldom sung. But CHRYS has Psalm 51 and Troparia at the censuring after the Great Entrance, said by the celebrant. The rubric says, λέγει δὲ καθ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὸν πεντηκοστὸν καὶ τροπάρια κατανυκτικὰ ὕδα καὶ βούλεται. These are the Troparia of the Night Office. ARM has at

(1) See Daniel. Codex Liturgicus. IV. pp. 397 and 397n.

the same point the censuring with psalm-verses said by the deacon. This is followed by the Lavatory with the usual Psalm 26:6.

NEST has two anthems at the beginning of the Offertory. The first is made up of a few verses from the Psalter (e.g., Pss.40:1; 22:26; 41:13; 106:46) with farcings, which often differ from verse to verse, and Gloria Patri. The second is the Anthem of the Mysteries which is built up on the same plan, viz., psalm-verses (e.g., Pss.145:1; 87:1; 84:1; 41:13) with farcings and Gloria Patri.

The regular place for psalmody is however in the second part, the Anaphora itself. This contains principally the Eucharistic Prayer, including Thanksgiving, Invocation, Intercession and the Diptychs, in varying orders, then the Manual Acts and the Communion. It is during the Communion that psalms are commonly sung. It will be remembered that this custom has already been noticed in the Apostolic Constitutions and in some of the Fathers. The custom is continued in JAS-GK, where Psalm 34:8 ("O taste and see...") is sung by the singers. JAS-SYR has an anthem at this point, as also does ETHIOP. This is the Koinonikon or Communion Hymn. In MK-GK, Psalm 150 with Gloria Patri is sung here by the people, and is followed by the Koinonikon of the day. In COPT also, Psalm 150 is sung, farced with Alleluia, and concluding with Gloria Patri. In BAS-CHRYC a Koinonikon with response is used. The Nestorians as usual have more psalmody. At the Communion an anthem and antiphons are said. But within the Anaphora NEST has psalms at two earlier places. After the Invocation, Psalm 51 farced, Psalm 123:1-3, and Psalm 26:6 are sung. At the Elevation, psalm-verses (e.g., Ps.68:35; 47:2; 47:5,8) with farcings but without Gloria Patri are said in the Sanctuary.

In CHRYC the Koinonikon has been transferred from the time of the Communion to the time of the Manual Acts and is sung then by the choir. There is a Koinonikon for each day of the week and others for festivals (1). In ARM the Koinonikon begins along with the Manual Acts, and consists partly of psalm-verses farced with Alleluia. Other hymns according to the day follow if necessary, while the people communicate.

(1) Daniel. Op.cit. IV.p.414.

After the Communion, the Thanksgiving and Dismissal always follow. In a few cases the Thanksgiving is accompanied or followed by the singing of psalms. Thus in ETHIOP the priest says Psalm 145:1,2,21, and the people respond "Our Father which art in heaven, lead us not into temptation". In NEST after the Thanksgiving there is Psalm 148:1-6, farced with the words, "The Son who gave us his body and blood", followed by Psalm 117, farced with "For his gift to us", with the Gloria, also farced.

In a few cases, after the liturgy closes with the Dismissal, the Eulogia are mentioned. Bread which has been blessed but not consecrated is in some places distributed to the people after the conclusion of the service. In ARM this distribution is accompanied by the singing of Psalm 34 with Gloria Patri.

In JAS-SYR, before the Eulogia are distributed, the ablutions take place with a good deal of ceremony. As the priest washed the vessels and his hands, he says at the various acts certain psalms, such as Psalms 23; 116:11-13; 36; 26; and 29, together with prayers.

Here then we have psalms used in the same position as in the earlier days, showing that this element in worship obeys the hereditary law, while from time to time additions are made at certain points in the liturgy, while also the psalms are in many cases reduced to but small proportions.

JAS-GK
Prayer Prayer of Prothesis
Prayer of Incense Prayer of the Eucharis Prep. for Entrance

JAS-GK

Little Entrance
Monogenes
Prayer
Litany
Trisagion
Lections
Peace
Prokeimenon
Apostle
Alleluia
Litany
Gospel

Prayers
Great Entrance
Creed
Offertory prayers
Anaphora
Thanksgiving
Invocation
Intercession
Diptychs
Prayers
Manual Acts
Communion with
psalms
Thanksgiving
Dismissal

2. THE PSALMS IN THE DAILY OFFICES OF THE EASTERN CHURCH.

Reference has already been made on several occasions to the Daily Offices and to the use of psalms therein. It is now necessary to deal with these Offices more systematically, in order to arrive at a picture of the growth of the use of the Psalter and the gradual development of the cursum. To provide a background for this it will be advisable to deal briefly with the genesis of the Offices.

It appears that some of the Offices had their origin in the vigils, particularly in that held by Christians in preparation for Sunday. It is believed by some that already in the New Testament this vigil was observed and is referred to in Acts 20:8-9. Though there are no contemporary documents to explain this, later writers make various suggestions, often of a mystical nature (1). S. Jerome (2) for example says that the tradition was that Christ would come again in the middle of the night when Easter was celebrated, and so at the time of the Paschal Vigils the people could not be dismissed owing to the expectation of Christ's Advent. Now the Christian Sunday was the weekly remembrance of the Resurrection, and it was easy to transfer this idea of the necessity of a vigil from a yearly to a weekly observance. And so it came about that the Sunday Vigil was established.

Some however hold that these daily services were not all of a purely Christian origin, but that morning and evening prayer were descended from the Jewish synagogue services which were held at the beginning and end of the day (3). Others still regard them as originally private devotions.

As development proceeded, there were added to the Sunday vigils, vigils for the weekly fasts of Wednesday and Friday, and annual vigils for the days of commemoration of local saints. Many of these additional services may have been at first really private devotions. But it is likely that the clergy would often be present, and perhaps lead the devotions in virtue of their office. But by the fourth century the services were held in regular ecclesiastical

(1) E.g., Lactantius. Divin. Inst. VI.xxv. PL.VI.729f;
or S. Isidore. Etymologiae. VI.xvii. PL. LXXXII. 245f.

(2) Comm. in Matth. iv.25.

(3) Cp. Dugmore. Influence of the Synagogue on the Divine Office. pp.44ff and 59ff.

buildings, one reason for this being that after the conversion of Constantine the Christians were not any longer an illegal society but were able to worship openly.

We are thus at the point where morning and evening prayer became a regular feature. The former is mentioned by S. Athanasius and is called *πρωΰχίς* (1), but it seems that it really began at cockcrow. The evening service was held at twilight, at the lighting of the lamps, whence the name *λυχνικόν* or lucernarium, though it was later called Vespers. A midnight service was also recommended in De Virginitate, xx.(2), where the virgins are advised to rise each night for a private office, composed of a number of psalms recited standing and concluded by prayer kneeling.

It was not long before the three Diurnal Hours were added. Terce, Sext and None are mentioned by various writers (3). It appears that for a time the morning and evening services were regarded as being on a different level from the diurnal services. Thus Tertullian gives his approval to the observance of these Hours, but says that they should be thought of as different from the regular prayers which are a duty requiring no reminder at the beginning of the day and of the night (4). S. Cyprian (5) and others also reflect this view. The reason is of course that at this time morning and evening prayer were of old custom, while the diurnal hours were only coming into fashion. There was also a difference in their composition. The three diurnal Hours were composed only of psalms and prayers, while the ~~morning~~ morning and evening services contained also lections and sometimes expositions. Later on, however, these Hours became more

(1) Apol. ad Const. xxv. PG. XXV. 626. Apol. de Fuga Sua. xxiv. PG. XXV. 674.

(2) PG. XXVIII. 276.

(3) E.g., S. Clement of Alexandria. Strom. VII. vii. 4. PG. IX. 469; Tertullian. De Orat. xxv. PL. I. 1300; De Jejum. x. PL. II. 1017; S. Cyprian. De Orat. Domin. xxxiv. PL. IV. 559; S. Jerome. Ep. CVII. 9. PL. XXII. 875; Ep. XXII. 37. PL. XXII. 421; Apost. Trad. xxxvi. (DIX. pp. 62-65.)

(4) De Orat. xxv. PL. I. 1300. "Exceptis utique legitimis orationibus quae sine ulla admonitione debentur ingressu lulis et noctis".

(5) De Orat. Domin. xxv. PL. IV. 554.

like each other by their mutual influence, But this original difference seems a confirmation of the view that the morning and evening services had a Jewish origin. This now gives us five Hour services, and the further additions of Prime and Compline came later under purely monastic influence.

The contents of these services have been referred to. In a former section we have seen that Psalm 63 was regarded as the morning psalm, and Psalm 141 as the evening psalm. Apart from that we have little idea as to which psalms were at first chosen for the various services. But after the beginning of the fourth century, the use of psalms seems to have become much more abundant, especially in the new diurnal hours. After this time too the singing of the psalms was less confined to a lector or cantor as a soloist, and antiphony, with two choirs alternating for example, became far more popular. As we have seen, the earlier simplicity, described by S. Augustine as the preference of S. Athanasius at Alexandria, gave way to a more formal chanting. Nicetas of Remesianus, writing about A.D. 400, gives a description of this antiphony, not without a certain humour. Thus he says, "We all produce as from one mouth the same sound of psalms and the same modulation of voice; but he who cannot equal the rest, would be better to keep silence, or to sing with a quiet voice, than to make a loud noise with a clamorous voice; for thus he both fulfils the duty of his ministry and does not drown with noise the singing of his brethren, For it is not given to all to have a voice that is flexible and tuneful" (1).

In addition to the psalms there were also some 'private psalms' which were no doubt often Christian hymns, such as the Gloria in Excelsis and the *ὕμνος τῆς ἁγίας*, and others sung in honour of Christ. These caused trouble at times, as we have already seen. Yet from time to time they found entry into the services (2). The heretics as well as the orthodox were inclined to think of them as useful means of propaganda. Prayer of course also had a large place in these services.

By the middle of the fourth century these Hour services had attained great popularity. The writings of S. Basil (A.D. 316-379) give us a certain amount of light

(1) De Bono Psalmodiae. xiii. Ed. by Burn. Cambridge. 1905. p. 79.

(2) Cp. Apost. Const. VIII. xlviii. "We praise Thee..."

on the subject (1). Not indeed that he gives many details about the form of the services, but we draw the conclusion that they contained psalms, lessons, and prayers. He mentions prayers at the following times - morning, the third hour, the sixth hour, the ninth hour, close of day, beginning of the night, midnight and dawn. These correspond to Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, Compline, Nocturns and Lauds. But although all these are mentioned, it is possible that they were not yet all fully developed services, and perhaps were in some cases not much more than private devotions (2). As usual, reasons for observing the Hours were given, some being quotations from the psalms. Thus, for Sext, he quotes Ps.55:17, "Evening and morning and at noon will I pray"; and for the midnight service, he quotes Ps.119:62, "At midnight will I rise to give thanks to thee". Not many special psalms are mentioned, but he recommends Ps.91 both for Sext and for the beginning of the night. And he sums up by saying, "None of these times of prayer are to be neglected by those who are resolved diligently to live for the glory of God and His Christ. And I am of the opinion that diversity and variety in the prayers and psalms of the appointed hours are useful, and for this reason, that a want of variety often produces slothfulness of mind, so that it becomes inattentive, while by changing and varying the psalms and the reading at each office our fervour may be re-kindled and our attention renewed" (3).

We are also fortunate enough to get some information from the document known as Peregrinatio Etheriae, which has already been quoted. Etheria was a Spanish lady traveller, who has described the services as they were held in Jerusalem about the middle of the fourth century (4). She speaks of the Daily Offices, dealing with Matins, Sext and None, and Vespers. There are also descriptions of the Sunday Vigil and Mass, and of services held at Epiphany, Lent, Easter and Whitsunday.

As for Matins or morning prayer, the monks and virgins and lay people, men and women, gather in church before cockcrow, and from that hour till daybreak hymns are sung and psalms are sung responsively and antiphons in like manner;

(1) See especially his Longer and Shorter Rules, ἑρσι κατὰ πλάτος and ἑρσι κατ' ἐπιτομήν, usually known as Regulae Fusius Tractatae and Regulae Brevius Tractatae. PG. XXXI.890 ff, 1091 ff.

(2) See the discussion in E.F. Morison. St. Basil and His Rule. Oxford.1912.pp.58ff.

(3) Reg. Fus. Tract. xxxvii.3-5. PG.XXXI.1013-4.

(4) Text in Duchesne. Op.cit. pp.492 ff. Trans. pp.547 ff.

and prayer is made after each of the hymns (1). At Sext and None the congregation again gathers, and psalms and antiphons are said while the bishop is being summoned (2). At the tenth hour, called Licinicon or Lucerhare, another service is held, and the Vesper psalms and antiphons are said, this lasting for a considerable time. After the bishop and priests take their places, hymns or antiphons are said (3). After the service the bishop is conducted from the Church of the Anastasis to the Church of the Cross "with hymns". It may be pointed out again (4) that Etheria uses 'ymni' for psalms, and that indeed 'ymni' and 'psalmi' seem to be practically interchangeable terms. The whole document is very interesting and valuable, though it does not give much detail about the precise psalms used.

By the end of the fourth century, monasticism had made great progress, and this profoundly affected the Hours. As the ascetics and virgins increased in numbers and gathered together, there was a tendency to leave the towns and villages, and there came a twofold development. On the one hand there was the growth through asceticism to monasticism with its full system of the Hours, while on the other hand in the parish churches morning and evening prayer remained the principal services other than the Eucharist. In the latter case the clergy seem to have been somewhat neglectful of the Offices. At least in A.D. 528 the Code of Justinian (5) laid it down that the Hours must not be neglected. "We desire that the whole clergy established in each church do themselves sing vespers, nocturns and lauds.... For it is absurd that the clergy, on whom rests the duty of executing the psalmody, should hire people to sing in their stead; and that the large number of layfolk, who for the good of their souls show diligence in coming to church to take part in the psalmody, should be in a position to see that the clergy who are specially appointed for that office do not fulfil it." Negligent clergy were to be expelled from office. In the West similar rules were enforced, as in the Canons of the Councils of Agde (A.D.506), Braga (A.D.561), Tours (A.D.567) and Toledo (A.D.633).

On the other hand, there was the development of the ordo psallendi in monastic circles. The ascetics who

(1) I.1. Duchesne. Op.cit. p.492.

(2) I.2. Ibid. p.492.

(3) I.3. Ibid. p.493.

(4) Supra pp.38 and 48.

(5) I.3,41. Ed. Krüger.p.28. Tr. in Batiffol.Hist.Rom.Brev. p.23.

gradually left the centres of population and in time founded monasteries, developed the Hours for their own discipline. And by the sixth century there were many communities who were giving themselves to this Opus Dei. Cassian in his Institutio Coenobitorum, written about A.D. 520, describes the monastic offices as he saw them, particularly in Egypt and in Palestine.

He informs us that in different places the number of psalms recited in the services varied considerably. In some places twenty or thirty psalms were appointed for each night, and, he adds, these were prolonged by music of antiphonal singing and by the addition of modulations (1). Some tried to go beyond that number. Others thought it best to make the number of psalms correspond to the number of the Hour, saying three at Terce, six at Sext, and nine at None. Others however used six psalms for each diurnal service (2). In Egypt and the Thebaid there was one uniform rule, twelve psalms being sung both at Vespers and at Nocturns, with one psalm or canticle from the Old Testament and one from the New Testament following (3). These psalms were not sung through in unbroken and continuous recitation. They were read separately, and divided into two or three sections if the number of the verses was large enough. If two brethren recited, each said six psalms; if three brethren, each said four; or if four brethren, each said three. And never more than four sang, even if the congregation were a large one (4). While the reciter sang, the others sat in very low stalls and kept silence with close attention (5). The psalms were sung carefully, for "they consider it better for ten verses to be sung with understanding and thought (cum rationabili assignatione) than for a whole psalm to be poured forth in a bewildered mind" (6). Moreover no psalm was to be said with the response Alleluia except those marked with the inscription of Alleluia in their title (7). Apparently in Egypt only the Night Offices were formally said, for when the "antelucanæ orationes" were finished, the monks began their manual labour in their cells, though all the while they mingled suffrages and prayers with their work, so that in a sense they "celebrated continuously" the diurnal Hours. Any such prayer ~~was~~ said during the day was called a "voluntarium munus" (8).

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- (1) IK.ii.
 - (2) II.ii.
 - (3) II.iv,v.
 - (4) II.xi.
 - (5) II.x,xii.
 - (6) II.xi.
 - (7) II.xi.
 - (8) III.ii.

Turning to Palestine and Mesopotamia, Cassian speaks of the Offices as observed there. These were the same as at the time of Etherian's visit, namely, the night course with Vespers (*vespertina solemnitas*), Nocturns (*nocturna solemnitas*), with Lauds in the early morning, these Offices being practically continuous, and the three diurnal Hours of Terce, Sext and None (1). These services were ended with three psalms each. Cassian also tells how Prime originated during his visit to the monks at Bethlehem about A.D. 382. The monks had been accustomed to go to sleep after Nocturns and then not rise till Terce. But this came to be regarded as laxity, and so to discipline the monks, the service of Prime was introduced at the first hour. This was made up on the same plan as the other diurnal hours, including three psalms with prayers (2). Psalms 51, 63 and 90 were often assigned to this service (3).

As to Nocturns, these psalms were sung antiphonally (*tripli antiphona*) by the monks standing. Thereafter they sat on the ground or on very low stalls, one of them repeating three psalms while the rest responded. Three lessons followed (4). The reason given for this vigil is that when Christ was crucified on the sixth day of the week, the disciples "remained watching throughout the whole night, giving no rest or sleep to their eyes" (5), though no authority seems to be given for this statement. Reasons are also given for the observance of other Hours (6).

On Sundays a different kind of service was held, only one Office being celebrated before dinner, at which they used a more solemn and longer service of psalms and prayers and lessons, and so considered that Terce and Sext were included in it (7). This change was due to the celebration of the Eucharist taking place on the Sunday.

We may note that Cassian speaks of three methods of reciting the psalms. First, one sings and the rest sit and listen, a method later known as *Tractus* (8). Second, the antiphonal method, where the congregation was divided into two parts or choirs which sang alternately, verse about. Third, the responsorial method, in which one voice alone sang the first part of the verse, and the rest joined in at the close (9).

(1) III.iii.
 (2) III.iv.
 (3) III.vi.
 (4) III.viii.
 (5) III.ix.

(6) III.iii.
 (7) III.xi.
 (8) II.xi.
 (9) III.viii.

This brings us to the stage where six of the Hours were in general observation. It will be well to mention here the introduction of the seventh Daily Office, known as Completorium or Compline. The first mention of this Office, though not by name, is generally thought to be in the words of S. Basil, "When the night begins, we must ask God to guard our rest from all sin and from all evil thought: hence it is that we say the ninetieth psalm (A.V. 91)" (1). The Rule of S. Benedict (2), which however belongs to the Western Church, of date A.D. 530, speaks of Compline as if it were already well-known, while Cassiodorus (3) comments on the words "Seven times a day do I praise thee", and suggests that the seven times literally understood may be taken to refer to Matins, Terce, Sext, None, Lucernaria or Vespers, Compline and Nocturns.

In some places other Offices were sometimes said, Lucernaria, for instance, being used in addition to Vespers, but with these we need not concern ourselves here. We sum up by saying that the psalms form the chief part in all these services, and that in days to come the arrangement of the psalms was to be more clearly worked out, not in one scheme for the whole Church, but in many schemes both Eastern and Western, some of which will be detailed at a later stage.

We conclude by the quotation of the sonorous words of Cassiodorus (4) :-

"Psalmi...nobis gratias faciunt esse vigilias, quando silenti nocte psallentibus choris humana vox erumpit in musicam, verbisque arte modulatis ad illum redire facit, a quo pro salute humani generis divinum venit eloquium. Cantus quia aures ablectat et animam instruit, fit vox una psallentium, et cum angelis deique audire non possumus laudum verba miscemus, . . . Eis (psalmis) Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti una gloria sociatur, ut perfecta eorum praeconia comprobentur. Ipsi enim deum venturum matutine exultatione conciliant; ipsi nobis primam diei horam dedicant; ipsi nobis tertiam horam consecrant; ipsi sextam in panis confractione laetificant; ipsi nobis nona jejunia resolvunt; ipsi diei postrema concludunt; ipsi noctis adventu ne mens nostra tenebretur efficiunt".

(1) Regul. Fus. Tract. xxxvii.5.

(2) Chapters 16-17.

(3) Expos. in Psalt. Ps.cxviii.164. PL. LXX.897.

(4) In loc. cit.

We shall now examine the use of the Psalter in the fully-developed forms of the Divine Office in the Eastern Church. These have been in use practically unchanged for many centuries. And in the first place, we shall make a few notes on the Hours of the Eastern Church(1). There are eight principal Hours and in addition four Mesoria. The midnight service, μεσονυκτικόν, corresponds to Nocturns; the dawn service, τὸ ἕθρον, to Lauds or Matins; the First Hour, said as a continuation of Lauds is Prime, and this is followed by the Mesorion of the First Hour. Then come Terce, Sext and None, each with its own Mesorion; Vespers, ἑσπερινόν, of which an abbreviation is recited when there is a Night Vigil; and lastly Compline, ἀπόδειπνον of which there are two forms, Great Compline which is said in Lent, and Little Compline, said at other seasons of the year. There is also another Office called τὰ τυμικά, which is said after Sext or None, depending on the season. It is also attached to the Liturgy in certain circumstances. This is the fully-developed system of the Hours, and in all the services there is a considerable use of the psalms.

Some of the psalms or groups of psalms have technical names, and it will be advisable to give a list of these terms here, before proceeding to discuss the psalms (2).

- The Amomos. Ps.119. "Blessed are the blameless..."
- The Polyelos. Pss.135-136, an account of the frequent use of the word 'mercy'.
- The Pro-cimion. Ps.104. It always begins Vespers.
- The Preskyrie. Pss.120-134, the Psalms of Degrees or Ascents. The first begins, "Unto the Lord I called"...(πρὸς κύριον).
- The Hexapsalmos. Pss.3, 38, 63, 88, 103, 143 - a set of six psalms often said at Matins and at Compline.
- The Tripsalmos. A set of three psalms - the psalms depending on the Hour at which they are said.
- The Ainoi, or Praises. Pss.148, 149, 150.

(1) These are discussed in, e.g., J.M. Neale. Hist. of the Holy Eastern Church. Gen. Introd. Vol.II.pp.891ff.; Heiler. Urkirche und Ostkirche. pp.299ff.; Liturgia. pp.923ff.; DCA. pp.1445ff.

(2) Leo Allatius. De Libris Ecclesiasticis Graecorum. gives quotations dealing with these terms and their meaning. Cp. also Daniel. Cod. Lit. IV.319.

The psalms are used in three ways in the Eastern Offices.

(a) The Psalter is divided into twenty Kathismata, each of which is subdivided into three Staseis. These sections are sung chiefly in Matins and in Vespers.

(b) Fixed or proper psalms are said in each Office.

(c) Versicles from the psalms are recited in the Offices as well as in the Liturgy. These are sometimes called *Stáchoi*, but psalm-verses are found also in such anthems as the Prokeimena.

(a) The Psalter is divided into twenty Kathismata, each of which consists of three Staseis. The following is the division used in the Orthodox Church.

Kathisma	Stasis I.	Stasis II.	Stasis III.
I	Pss. 1-3	4-6	7, 8
II	9-11	12-14	15-17
III	18	19-21	22-24
IV	25-27	28-30	31-32
V	33-34	35-36	37#
VI	38-40	41-43	44-46
VII	47-49	50-51	52-55
VIII	56-58	59-61	62-64
IX	65-67	68	69-70
X	71-72	73-74	75-77
XI	78	79-81	82-85
XII	86-88	89	90-91
XIII	92-94	95-97	98-101
XIV	102-103	104	105
XV	106	107	108-109
XVI	110-112	113-116:9	116:10-118
XVII	119:1-72	119:73-131	119:132-176
XVIII	120-124	125-129	130-134
XIX	135-137	138-140	141-143
XX	144-145	146-147	148-150

When the Kathismata are being recited, the Gloria Patri is said, not at the end of each psalm, but at the end of each Stasis. The Kathismata are sung in different ways, depending on the season of the year, and are normally sung in the services Orthros and Hesperinon. The following are the different arrangements :-

1. From the Octave of Easter till the Octave of the Exaltation of the Cross (September 21) :

	Orthros	Hesperinon
Saturday		Kath.1.
Sunday	Kath.2-3	- -
Monday	4-5	6
Tuesday	7-8	9
Wednesday	10-11	12
Thursday	13-14	15
Friday	19-20	18
Saturday	16-17	-

Note that here the week is regarded as beginning with Saturday Vespers. The Psalter is thus recited once a week in this period.

ii. From 22 September to the Vigil of Christmas : The arrangement here is the same as in i. except that at Vespers on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, Kathisma 18, i.e., the Gradual Psalms, is recited, and the Kathisma assigned in i. to Vespers on these days is added to those for Orthros. Also Kathisma 17 is added to those of Sunday except when the Polyeleos is sung.

iii. From the Vigil of Christmas to Tyrophagus, which is January 15, and corresponds to Quinquagesima : This is the same as in Table i.

iv. From Tyrophagus to Wednesday before Easter : The Psalter is said twice a week, according to the following Table which now takes in the Diurnal Hours :-

Sat.	Orthros	Prime	Terce	Sext	None	Vespers
Sat.	-	-	-	-	-	1
Sun.	2,3,17	-	-	-	-	-
Mon.	4,5,6	-	7	8	9	18
Tues.	10,11,12	13	14	15	16	18
Wed.	19, 20,1	2	3	4	5	18
Thurs.	6,7,8	9	10	11	12	18
Frid.	13,14,15	-	19	20	-	18
Sat.	16,17	-	-	-	-	-

v. From Thursday before Easter to the day before the Octave of Easter, the Psalter is not recited.

(b) Secondly the psalms proper to the Hours are as follows. These fixed psalms are said in addition to the Kathismata mentioned above.

Mesonuktikon : Sunday, Ps.51; Weekdays except Sat.,
 Pss.51, 119, 121, 134; Saturdays, Pss.65-70, 121, 134.
 Orthros : Pss.19,20; the Hexapsalmos; Ps.50; the Ainoi.
 Prime : Pss.5, 90, 101.
 Mesorion of the First Hour : Pss.46, 92, 93.
 Terce : Pss.17, 25, 51.
 Mesorion of the Third Hour : Pss.30, 32, 61.
 Sext : Pss.54, 55, 91.
 Mesorion of the Sixth Hour : Pss. 56, 57, 70.
 None : Pss.84, 85, 86.
 Mesorion of the Ninth Hour : Pss.¹¹³113, 138, 140.
 Typika : Pss.103, 146, 34.
 Hesperinon : Pss.104 (Pro-oimion), Pss.141, 142, 130, 117, 123.
 Great Compline : Pss.4, 6, 13, 25, 31, 91, 51, 102, 110, 143.
 Little Compline : Pss.51, 70, 143.

(c) Thirdly, a few remarks on the use of Versicles.
 We have already noted the use of Prokeimena and Troparia
 in the Liturgies, and these appear also in the Offices.
 As in the earlier case, so here, these are not wholly from
 the Psalter, but very often verses from the psalms are used,
 most often isolated verses joined together. There are also
 in the Offices Stichoi which correspond more nearly to
 the Versicles of the Western Church. The Stichoi are
 generally from the Psalter, though there are exceptions.
 The following is an example of a Stichos, taken from
 Orthros, the position being between the Hexapsalmos and
 the Ectene of Peace (1). In this case each verse is said
 by the Reader and repeated by the choir.

The Lord is good, and hath appeared unto us.
 Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord.
 (Ps.118:26). R.

O give thanks unto the Lord, because He is good,
 because His mercy endureth for ever (Ps.136:1). R.

They compassed me about, yea, they compassed me
 about, but in the name of the Lord will I destroy them.
 (Ps.118:11) R.

I shall not die, but live, and declare the works of the
 Lord (Ps.118:17). R.

The stone which the builders refused is become the
 head-stone of the corner. This is the Lord's doing
 and it is wonderful in our eyes (Ps.118:22, 23). R.

At certain points in the Offices, these Versicles are
 called Aposticha. The Antiphons of the psalms are also
 generally verses taken from the psalms, though often with

(1) Shann. Euchology.pp.23f.

additions. Thus the Second Antiphon for Orthros for Sunday is as follows (1) :

If the Lord were not with us, we none could have withstood the enemy's attacks. For they that overcome are thereby exalted.

Let not my soul as a bird be caught in their teeth, O Word! Alas! how shall I be delivered from the enemy, who am myself a lover of sin?

Gloria Patri.

Through the Holy Spirit cometh inspiration unto all, goodwill, understanding, peace and blessing; for he is co-worker with the Father and the Word.

Here there are obvious reminiscences of the psalms(2).

It may be interest to outline one service, which will show not only the general character and order of the Office but also the position occupied by the psalms in their different uses. There ~~are~~ are of course variations at many points in the services, depending on the season of the Christian Year, but such variations are omitted here. We shall take the service Orthros. Other Hours contain many similar items, though some, as Great Compline, are much longer, and some, as the Diurnal Hours, are much shorter. The outline of Orthros follows.

Where there is no Vigil, there is an introduction to the service, consisting of

Salutations

Pss.20 and 21 with Gloria Patri.

Trisagion

Lord's Prayer

Troparia (prayers for rulers in Church and State) (3)

The service itself then commences, whether after the above introduction, or following immediately after the Vigil (4).

Gloria in Excelsis (ter)

O Lord open Thou my lips and my mouth shall... (bis)

The Hexapsalmos, each psalm with its antiphon.

Gloria Patri

Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia, Glory to Thee, O God (ter)

Ectene (litany) of Peace

Stichoi

Troparia of the Day

(1) Shann. Op.cit.p.186.

(2) Ibid. Many of the Offices are here in Trans.

(3) Ibid.pp.52-54.

(4) Ibid. pp.16 ff.

Kathisma.

The Little Ectene

The Polyeleos

Troparia on Sundays; other verses on other days.

The Little Ectene

The Gradual or Versicles

Prokeimenon of the Day

Stichoi

The Gospel

Troparion of the Resurrection (on Sundays)

Psalm 51

The Canon (a composition based on the nine scriptural Odes)

The Little Ectene

The Ainoi with Gloria Patri

Hymn to the Virgin on Sundays or other appointed Sticheron

Gloria in Excelsis

Stichoi (mostly from the Psalter)

Troparion of the Day

The Great Ectene

The Ectene of Supplication

Versicles and Petitions

The Blessing

It will be noticed how often the Psalter is drawn upon in the above arrangement. It is indeed no exaggeration to say that the Psalter is the foundation of the whole system of the Hours.

It will be of interest to compare with the above the arrangements in the East Syrian Church (1). There are here four Daily Services, viz., Evening Service, Compline, Night Service, and Morning Service. Compline is said only on certain days and is then joined to the Evening Service. There are also some relics of Terce and Sext in the East Services, these being found at the end of the Morning Service. Nevertheless the Sunhadus or Book of Canon Law, Book vi. Para. 1. prescribes seven hours of prayer for monks and for "good priests and laymen" (2). The most important services are therefore those for Evening, Night and Morning. The Evening Service, however, has two

(1) See Maclean and Browne. The Catholics of the East and His People; A. J. Maclean. East Syrian Daily Offices; Heiler. Urkirche und Ostkirche. pp. 445ff. See also Conybeare. Rituale Armenorum. pp. 298ff. for the rites for the Feast of Epiphany.

(2) Maclean. Op.cit. p. xii.

forms, one for the 'before' week and the other for the 'after' week, and it differs for each day of the fortnight(1). The Night Service is along one and when said is usually joined to the Morning Service. Several psalms are said at Evening and Morning Services, but at the Night Service a large part of the Psalter is recited, and on certain days the whole Psalter, an arrangement not unlike that in the Orthodox Church during Lent.

There are two special features in the recitation of the Psalter in this branch of the Church. First, the appropriate collects said before each marmitha, gathering up the thought of the psalms (2); and second, the giyuri or farcings of the psalms, which usually give a Christian application to the psalm concerned. The Shuraya or short psalm is always farced, and so too generally are all psalms on Feasts of our Lord, Sundays and Saints' Days. Some farcings are short and others are long - when long, they are sometimes called Canons(3).

We now go into greater detail as to the use of the psalms in these East Syrian Offices. First, let us note the divisions of the Psalter. The Psalter is divided into twenty Hulali, and each Hulala into two, three or four Marmitha, corresponding to the Greek Kathismata and Stases. The following is a Table of the divisions, the semi-colon dividing off each Marmitha.

Hulala 1.	Pss. 1-4;	5-7;	8-10;
2.	11-14;	15-17;	18; 19-21;
3.	22-24;	25-27;	28-30;
4.	31-32;	33-34;	35-36;
5.	37;	38-40;	
6.	41-43;	44-46;	47-49;
7.	50-52;	53-55;	56-58;
8.	59-61;	62-64;	65-67;
9.	68;	69-70;	

-
- (1) The Singers are divided into two choirs, 'before' and 'after', and the weeks are distinguished according to which choir begins the service on Sunday. If the first of 'before' choir begins, that week is known as the 'before' week, and viceversa. If the Sunday is 'before', so also are Monday, Wednesday and Friday, while Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday are 'after'.
- (2) This reminds one of the Collects appended to the psalms in the Scottish Psalter of 1595.
- (3) Many examples may be seen in Maclean. Op.cit. and in Conybeare. Op.cit.

Hulala 10.	Pss. 71-72; 73-74; 75-77;
11.	78; 79-81;
12.	82-84; 85-86; 87-88;
13.	89; 90-92;
14.	93-95; 96-98; 99-101;
15.	102-103; 104; 105;
16.	106; 107-108; 109-111;
17.	112-115; 116-118; 119:1- 80 ; ⁸⁹
18.	119:89-176; 120-125; 126-131;
19.	132-135; 136-138; 139-141;
20.	142-144; 145-147:12; 147:13-150.

There is an additional Hulala which consists of four selections from the Old Testament, viz., Exod.15:1-22; Isaiah 42:10-14; Deut. 32:1-23; and Deut.32:23-44.

In the Evening Service, the Psalms consist of two Marmitha, changing every day, with the following four psalms daily, 141; 142; 119:105-113; and 117. There are also Shurayi (short psalms or parts of psalms) and a Letter Psalm or section of Ps.119. On certain occasions there are additional psalms called *Suyakhi*, which are said both in the Evening and the Night Offices on certain days. All the Shurayi are farced and followed by the Gloria Patri. As an example, on Mondays the Marmitha consists of Pss. 11-14 and 15-17; and the Shurayi for Monday 'before' of Pss.12:1-7; 15:1-5; and 119:1-17.

In addition to these psalms, anthems are sung, and many of these contain brief phrases from psalms, with sometimes long comments. Thus, one of the Martyr's Anthems begins :

The righteous shall have an everlasting memorial (Ps.112:6).
 Stephen trod the way. And the martyrs walked in his
 footsteps. And with the bridegroom have joy. In the
 bridechamber of light that passeth not away.

Altogether there are in this anthem 28 such verses before the Gloria Patri (1).

In the Night Service one third of the Psalter is said on ferias and Sundays, one seventh on Saints' Days or memorials, and the whole of Feasts of our Lord. Thus, on the Sunday 'before', Hulali 5-14 are said, and on Sunday 'after', Hulali 12-21, and on the Saints' Days, Hulali 12-14 with farcings. On Mondays and Thursdays, Hulali 8-14, and on Wednesdays and Saturdays, Hulali 15-21, are said. The Gloria Patri is ~~said~~ said after each Marmitha. Here also

(1) Maclean. Op.cit. pp.25ff.

there are additional psalms and anthems.

In the Morning Service there are ^{nine} ~~none~~ fixed psalms, viz., Pss. 100, 91, 106:1-16a, 113, 93, which are ~~all~~ ^{all} farced and each of which has Gloria Patri, and Pss. 148, 149, 150, and 117, without farcing and all with one Gloria Patri. There are ~~also~~ anthems, and Ps. 51:1-18 is said on ferias.

Many of the Anthems which have been mentioned are ~~some~~ partly at least made up of verses from the Psalter. The anthem called "The Waters which are from David" (1) is a cento of passages from the Psalter relating to water, including about 48 quotations from the Psalter, many of which consist of as many as six verses. This is sung in the Night Service as the Third Motwa. The "Royal Anthem", as ~~sung~~ ^{sung} in the Evening Service for Epiphany (2), consists of seventeen paragraphs each opening with short phrases mostly selected from psalms and continuing with a long farcing. The first paragraph reads :

Come, let us kneel and worship him (Ps. 95:6). And we thy people and sheep of thy pasture (Ps. 79:13). To him be glory and dominion for ever and ever (I Pet. 5:11). We worship, O Lord, thy holy Epiphany which hath made us to rejoice: for by it thou hast wondrously enlightened all nations: who sat in darkness and the shadows of death : O thou who lovest man, glory to thee...

We find thus that the East Syrian Church follows much the same principles and customs as the Orthodox Church, so far as the use of the psalms is concerned. A brief reference to the Offices of the Armenian Church will reveal a similar system. Here however the Psalter is divided into only eight sections which are called Canons, each of which has one Old ~~Testament~~ Testament Canticle added to it, and each sung to one of eight Tones. Each Canon is subdivided into seven subsections or gubalays (copulae?), each of which ends with Gloria Patri. This doxology is sometimes added to psalms at other points when specially prescribed by the rubrics. The following are the Canons with their Tones and Canticles :-

Canon.	Psalms.	Tone.	Canticle.
1.	1-18	8	Exod. 15:1-19.
2	19-36	1	Deut. 32:1-21
3	37-55	2	Deut. 32:22-38, 39-44.
4	56-72	3	I Sam. 2:1-10

(1) Conybeare. Op. cit. 369ff.

(2) Ibid. pp. 305ff.

Canon	Psalms	Tone	Canticle
5	73-99	4	Isaiah 26:9-20
6	100-106	5	Isaiah 38:10-20
7,	107-119	6	Isaiah 42:10-13; 45:8; Jonah 2:3-10
8	120-150	7	Habakkuk 3:2-19

The course of the psalms begins at the first Sunday in Lent each year, and continues throughout the year in regular rotation. In the parish churches the Psalter is recited once a week, and in the monasteries, once every day, the Canons being divided among the Hours. In addition certain psalms are selected for recitation at each of the Hours as follows:-

Midnight Office : Pss. 3, 88, 103, 143, sung antiphonally.

Daybreak : Pss. 90; 51; 148, 149, 150, 151, 113; 5 (antiphonally), 90:14-17, 130:1-8, 143:8-12, 54.

For Festivals : Pss. 116:1-9; 116:10-19; 117; 54; 86:16-17.

Sunrise : Pss. 100; 63, 64; 23, 143:8-12, 46:1-6; 70; 86:16-17.

Terce : Pss. 51, 23, 143:8-12.

Sext : Pss. 51, 41:1-4, 91.

None + Pss. 51; 116, 117; 113.

Vespers : Pss. 55:17; 86, 140, 141, 142; 121; 91, 123, 54; 134, 138, 54, 86:16-17 antiphonally.

(At the Church Door : Pss. 122, 86:16-17)

The Hour of Peace (Former Compline, said in Church after Vespers): Pss. 34:1-8; 4, 6, 13, 16, 43, 70, 86:16-17; 27.

The Hour of Rest (Latter Compline, said privately):

Pss. 43:3-5; 119:41-56, 119:113-120, 119:169-176; 91, 123, 54; two canticles; 142:7, 86:16-17, 138:7-8; a canticle.

Besides these psalms there are many psalm-verses used as Versicles. Thus at Matins, we have Ps. 119:12 and 36:9 said as Versicles, and in Vespers, Ps. 141:2 is repeated several times.

Analogous to this is the use of the Antiphon, called Ktzord (1). For many services, especially those held on the Feasts, as on the Feast of the Holy Epiphany (2), the Old Armenian Lectionary gives details, not only of the lessons but also of the psalms selected for the days. Thus on the third day of the Feast, Ps. 110 is sung, with the

(1) The word means literally 'accompanied', according to Conybeare (Op.cit. p. 517), or 'junction', according to Brightman (LEW. p. 579).

(2) Conybeare. Op.cit. p. 517.

third verse as Ktzord, sung after every verse of the psalm. This is indeed a very common practice, and is the same as the technical antiphon of the Western services (1).

The Commentary on the Offices written by John of Odsun, who was Catholicos in A.D. 718 (2), is a mystical commentary with many curious explanations of the services, and reasons for the choice of certain psalms, canticles, etc. Its value here is that it shows that the use of the psalms in these Offices was on much the same lines in his time as in modern days. The Canons were even then divided into the seven sections or gubalays, and many of the psalms are mentioned by name or number as being sung in the same Offices as they are today.

(1) Further examples may be found in Conybeare. Op.cit. pp.516ff.
 (2) Latin version in Conybeare. Ibid. pp.488ff.

3. THE PSALMS IN THE OCCASIONAL OFFICES (EASTERN CHURCH).

The Psalter, being found to contain thoughts and aspirations suitable for all the varied circumstances and needs of human life, it was natural that psalms should come to be used in the Offices drawn up for such experiences as those of baptism, marriage, funerals, and so on, and further that special psalms should be more and more associated with the rites connected with these events. At an early period we can speak of proper psalms for many of these services. Moreover it is to be noted that many of the psalms selected for these occasions, are chosen because they reflect something of the religious and theological significance of the rites.

a. BAPTISM AND CONFIRMATION.

These we consider together, because in the East Confirmation is usually joined to the Baptismal Service, the former being regarded as the completion of the latter (1). Baptism being the sign and seal of the new birth, of forgiveness of sins, and of entry into the membership of the Church, it might be expected that the psalms chosen for this Office would express at least to some extent such ideas. The examination of the actual Eastern forms for Baptism and Confirmation shows that nearly every branch of the Eastern Church makes use of Psalm 51 or of Psalm 32 or of both. The one is a penitential psalm, and the other expresses the joy that follows forgiveness. Psalm 51 appears near the beginning of the Office in COPT (2), ETHIOP (3) the Monophysite (4), Maronite (5), and Armenian (6) forms. It is not used however in Goar's forms of the Baptismal Rite (7) or in the Nestorian services (8). The beginning of the service is the obvious place for such a psalm of confession. Before a candidate could be baptised, he had to acknowledge his sins and plead for pardon. Again, it would be natural to give thanks and to declare the blessedness of forgiveness after being baptised. This then is a suitable place for the recitation of Psalm 32. In some cases the whole psalm

(1) Cp. Heiler. Urk. und Ostkirche .p.247.

(2) DENZ. I. pp.193,215.

(3) Ibid. I. p.222.

(4) Ibid. p.302.

(5) Ibid. I. p.309.

(6) Conybeare. Rit. Armen. p.90.

(7) Euchologion. pp.355ff.

(8) DENZ. I. pp.364ff. Badger. The Nestorians and their Ritual. II. pp.195ff.

appears to have been recited, as in the Orthodox form (1), COPT (2), and ARM (3). In this last case it is perhaps the most suitable of all, as it follows the First Communion. In others only selected verses are recited, as in ETHIOP (4), and the Jacobite Syrian form (5). Gear, commenting on the use of this psalm says (6), "Populus baptismalis per aquam lustralem gratiae testis, initiato cum latissimam delictorum omnium indulgentiam gratulatur Psalmo 31 (A.V.32) decantato". He also refers to two earlier writers who mention the significance of the psalm, namely, S. Cyril of Jerusalem (7) and S. Jerome (8). Gear's version of the Office says that Psalm 32 was to be sung by the ψάλται, or by the priest with the people (9). The same psalm was sung again, after the ceremony of anointing, by the Cantor and the Orphani or by the Orphani themselves (10). These Orphani were 'pueri cantores', according to the same writer (11). It seems that the orphans, who were in the care of the Church, were trained as choirboys (12).

These are the two psalms in commonest use in the Baptismal Office, but others were also often used. In some rites, at one point shortly after the lessons, the baptismal water was stirred before the actual baptism, while in ETHIOP balm was at this point mixed with the water. During this ceremony a series of psalm-verses was recited, each verse followed by Alleluia, and the whole series concluded by Gloria Patri. One selection of verses, all appearing in COPT (13) and ETHIOP (14), but in different order, is as follows :

The voice of the Lord is upon the waters...(Ps.29:3)
 They looked unto him and were lightened....(Ps.34:5)
 Thou hast caused men to ride over our heads;
 we went through fire and water.....(Ps.66:12)
 Hide thy face from my sins.....(Ps.51:9)
 For the Lord hath chosen Zion: he.....(Ps.132:13)

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- (1) Gear. Op.cit. p.355.
 (2) DENZ. I. pp.201,217.
 (3) Conybeare. Op.cit. p.100.
 (4) DENZ. I. p.225.
 (5) DENZ. I. p.277.
 (6) Euchologion. p.366.n.26.
 (7) Catech. l. PG.XXXIII.372.
 (8) Adv. Pelagios. Bk.III. PL.XXIII.595.
 (9) Euchologion. p.358.
 (10) Ibid. p.359.
 (11) Ibid. p.359.
 (12) Cp. DCA. Art. Orphanage. II.p.1527. For the Western Church see infra p. 173.
 (13) DENZ. I. pp.207,219.
 (14) DENZ. I. p.230.

In the Syrian forms, at the same point, a regular antiphon was Ps.77:16 - "The waters saw thee, O God, the waters saw thee" (1). Sometimes this would be ~~not~~ followed by Ps.114:3 - "The sea saw it and fled: Jordan was driven back" (2).

The use of versicles is found also at other places, corresponding to the Western use of antiphons. The name given to this in the Syrian rites is Kyklion, which Denzinger defines as "psalmodium versus redeunte Alleluia" (3), that is, verses of psalms with Alleluia as a response. The verse selections here are usually short. The following is an example from the order of S. James of Edessa (4) :

Give unto the Lord, O ye mighty: Alleluia: give unto the Lord glory and strength.

Give unto the Lord the glory due unto his name :

Alleluia : Worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness.

The voice of the Lord is upon the waters : Alleluia :

The God of glory thundereth.

The Lord is upon many waters : Alleluia : The voice of the Lord is powerful, the voice of the Lord is full of majesty. (Ps.29:1-4).

In the Armenian ritual (5), a psalm may be sung with Ktzord or antiphon. Thus after the Gospel, in this rite Psalm 84 is sung with the ktzord, "Many are the afflictions of the righteous", i.e., v.19 is the antiphon for this psalm. It is followed by Gloria Patri.

In the Nestorian and Armenian rites there are still other psalms for recitation. The former does not appear to use Psalm 51, but Psalms 84, 45, and 110 are recited (6), and Psalm 95:1-7 is said with farcing (7), and finally Psalm 34 is said. In the Armenian Office, the following are the psalms - 25, 26, 51, 118:1-19, 29:3, 23, ~~and~~ 34 with ktzord, and 32.

In these Offices there is thus a considerable number of psalms in use, and there is no doubt that they were sung or recited here in much the same manner as in other services. Denzinger, speaking of the Jacobite Syrian rites, says, "Psalmi, praesertim Miserere (Ps.51), cum strophis sive antiphonis inter singulos versus canuntur, ita ut post singulas strophas responsorium quoddam idem repetatur. Dicuntur autem versus cum strophis suis alternatim a celebrante et choro" (8). No doubt, however,

(1) DENZ. I. p. 271.

(2) Ibid. I. p. 282.

(3) Ibid. I. p. 268.

(4) Ibid. I. p. 281.

(5) Conybeare. Op.cit. p. 96.

(6) DENZ. I. pp. 365ff. Badger. Op.cit. II. pp. 195ff.

(7) DENZ. I. p. 375.

(8) Ibid. I. p. 268n.

the actual method would depend on circumstances, but the tendency would be, as so often, to limit the performance of the psalms to the trained singers and to restrict the congregation generally to the saying of responses, such as Alleluia or Amen.

It may be added that hymns of various kinds were also sung at certain points in these Offices. Examples of baptismal hymns may ~~be~~ seen in Denzinger (1) and elsewhere.

b. THE OFFICES OF MATRIMONY.

Here again we find the same principles in the use of the psalms. The Marriage Service is often somewhat lengthy. Some of the rites provide a service for the Betrothal. The Marriage Service proper, with the preliminary blessing of such things as the ring, the bridal attire, and the crowns, is followed by the crowning, which is regarded as the central feature of the whole ceremony. Indeed the service is often called the Crowning (*στεφάνωμα*). The crowns are worn by the husband and the wife for a week, and there is a further ceremony for the lifting-off of the crowns. In each of these sections psalms are recited.

For the Betrothal Service several psalms are chosen. Psalm 21, "The king shall joy in thy strength, O Lord", is found in one Coptic Rite (2), while Psalm 85:10, "Mercy and truth are met together: righteousness and peace have kissed each other", is recited in several forms of the same rite (3). In the Armenian books we find different psalms in the various forms of the rite. Thus, Psalm 4 with a ktzord founded on v.6, "There hath been signed upon us the light of thy countenance", is sung early in the service, and is followed by Psalm 128 with ktzord, v.1. "Blessed is the man that feareth the Lord" (4). In another form (5) we find Psalm 19 and an antiphon. Ps. 128:1 is also recited, while in the Uniate Armenian rite we find Psalm 19 again, but with v.4b-5 as ktzord (6).

In the Canon of Marriage a similar variety of psalms can be seen. In the Orthodox rite as given by Gear (7), as the marriage procession enters the church led by the

(1) In Latin trans. Op.cit.I.p.288.

(2) DENZ. II.p.383.

(3) Ibid.II.pp.387, 383.

(4) Conybeare. Op.cit.p.108.

(5) DENZ. II.pp.451ff.

(6) Ibid.II.p.468.

(7) Op.cit. pp.385ff.

priest carrying a thurible, Psalm 128 is sung, farced with "Glory be to thee, our God. Glory to thee". The people make the responses. In the Coptic rite Psalm 19 with v.5 as antiphon, and Psalm 128 are said (1). Denzinger also has a rubric a little later in the service (2) to the effect that at that point there is said an alphabetical psalm according to the Greek alphabet, but no text is given. In the Armenian rite, Psalm 21 is sung early, and a little afterwards, Alleluia and Psalm 128 (3). In one form given by Denzinger (4), Psalms 93 and 21 are sung. The Uniate Armenian form (5) is much fuller. At the blessing of the nuptial garments, Psalm 45 with v.5 as antiphon is sung and at the blessing of the crowns, Psalms 122, 21, 45 and 118:1-19. The procession enters the church singing Psalm 100 with Gloria Patri. During the actual marriage canon, Psalms 93 and 21 are sung, and at the end Psalm 45 is sung again with vv.10-11 as antiphon.

The Nestorian rite is simpler. In the Order of the Nuptial Blessing, Psalms 45 and 115:9 are recited (6). There is an interesting long prayer (7) which is divided into paragraphs, each paragraph beginning with a few words quoted from a psalm, the rest of the paragraph being original, but based on the quotation. The following are a few paragraphs to show how this is done.

Make thy face to shine (Ps.119-135). Merciful and full of pity, turn not thy countenance from us, and send us from thy treasury grace and pity and salvation.

Our help is in the name of the Lord (Ps.124:18). Let the help of thy pity, our Lord, support our infirmity, and illumine the motions of our thoughts that we may praise thee for thy grace.

In his holy name we have put our trust (Ps.33:21). O Christ, in whose name we are gathered together, and in whose grace we trust, guard our meeting by thy Cross that in us thy will may be perfected.

Open to us the gates of righteousness (Ps.118:19). To whose door should we go and knock but to thy door, O most merciful? And from whom should we receive help but from thee, O most gracious?

(1) DENZ. II .p.371.Cp.pp.383f.

(2) Ibid. II.p.378.

(3) Conybeare. Op.cit.p.109.

(4) DENZ. II.p.460.

(5) Ibid. II.pp.467ff.

(6) Ibid. II.p.423.

(7) Ibid. II.pp.424-6.

There are many other such anthems both in the marriage service and in other Offices of this Church.

At the coronation, Psalm 123:1-4 is said (1). If the bridegroom is a priest, Psalm 111 is added, and if he is a deacon, Psalm 103. (2).

The Syrian rites show few psalms in use, but in the Order of S. James of Edessa there is one Kyklion (3), which is made up of verses from Psalm 45, and the response after the Epistle is Psalm 45:13, "The king's daughter is all glorious within: her clothing is of wrought gold" (4).

It appears then that the psalms most in use at the Marriage Office are 19, 21, 45, and 128. It is not difficult to understand why these psalms should be regarded as suitable. Psalm 19:5 speaks of the bridegroom coming out of his chamber, and indeed this verse is often used as an antiphon or versicle. Psalms 21 and 45 are royal psalms, and the latter has long been regarded as a marriage song for a king. There is probably a connection between these royal psalms and the idea of crowning the bride and bridegroom in the marriage ceremony. And Psalm 128 with its reference both to wife and to children must be ~~regarded~~ regarded as peculiarly apt for this service.

c. THE FUNERAL OFFICES.

It might be thought that in so solemn and sad services as funerals, there would be little opportunity or desire for the recitation of psalms. On the one hand, one would not look for anything like joyful singing, and on the other, one would scarcely expect to find the specifically Christian views of the Last Things expressed in the Psalter. Yet so applicable to this situation are many of the ideas found in the Psalter that in fact psalms have often been selected for the Burial Office. Besides, the Christian views of death and eternal life allow for a certain feeling of joy even behind the sense of sorrow and loss, so that the psalms chosen are by no means all songs of lamentation. Gear's note on the use of the Alleluia in the funeral services illustrates this point (5): "Nulla vox frequentior in Graecorum exequiis quam Alleluia, qua Latinos etiam in funeribus usus edocemur a S. Hieronymo de morte Fabiolae."

(1) DENZ. II.p.433.

(2) An English Translation of this service is found in Badger. Op.cit. II.pp.244ff.

(3) DENZ. II.p.386.

(4) Ibid. II.p.394.

(5) Euchologion. p.541. note c.

'Tum fama volans tanti praenuncia luctus, totius urbis populum ad exequias congregabat. Sonabant Psalmi, et aurata tecta templorum in sublimi quatiebat Alleluia'. Est etiam apud Hugonem Menardum in notis in Gregorii sacramenti officium, cuius haec sunt primordia, 'in primis cantatur psalmus In exitu Israel de Aegypto cum antiphona vel alleluia'.

In some cases the rites are very lengthy, from the point of view of our Western ideas perhaps over-lengthy. Part of the ceremony may be performed at the house of the deceased, part on the way to church, part at the church door or in some cases, within the church, part at the place of burial, and part again at the bereaved home. Not only so, but on certain days after the funeral, in the case of a priest for six successive days thereafter, short services are held at the place of interment. In all these sections psalms had a place.

Let us consider for example the order for the burial of a lay-person as given in Gear's Euchologion (1). The rite begins on the arrival of the procession at the church, when Psalm 91 is sung, followed by the versicles, Psalm 119:12 and Psalm 119:1, and Alleluia. Then Psalm 119 is sung in three sections, the first, vv.1-72, to tonus obliquus secundus, and with Alleluia after each verse, and ending with Gloria Patri. After prayer the second section is sung, vv.73-131, ~~and~~ ^{with} at the end of each verse, ~~is said~~, "Have mercy upon thy servant", and ending with Gloria Patri. Again, after prayer, the third section is sung, i.e., vv.132-176, with verse 12 as antiphon to each verse. After further prayer, Psalm 51 is recited. As the body is laid in the tomb, the priest throws in a little earth, and says Psalm 24:1, "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof: the world and they that dwell therein".

The service for the funeral of a monk (2) differs little in general order from the above. The prayers are different, but the psalms are the same, though with other antiphons.

The burial service for a priest (3) differs greatly. There are versicles, including Psalm 24:1 and other verses from the Psalter; Psalm 119 is recited, followed by versicles, some of which also are from the psalms. Then Psalm 23 is sung, with Alleluia after each verse. After

(1) pp.525ff.

(2) Ibid. pp.544ff.

(3) Ibid. pp.561ff.

the lessons, Psalm 19:1 and Alleluia together form an antiphon, and the rest of the psalm with Gloria Patri follows. After more lessons, we have Psalm 84:1 with Alleluia twice as antiphon to the whole psalm. Psalm 51 is also recited and the nine Odes and various Stichera are sung (1).

The Armenian ritual (2) is even more detailed, and the Rituale provides orders for the funeral of a layman, of a monk, of a priest, and of a child. At the funeral of a layman the service begins with a gubalay of three psalms, then Psalm 39 "in tones of lamentation" with v.5 as ktzord. After lessons, Psalm 142 is said. At the door of the church, Psalm 84 with v.4 as ktzord, and Psalm 16 "in tones of lamentation" with v.7 as ktzord, are recited. After the interment Psalm 116 is sung and at the house of the deceased Psalm 44 with v.17 as ktzord. There are of course also prayers and lessons in all these sections of the rite. On the next morning after the funeral there is a lamentation service at the grave, which includes Psalm 143 with v.10b as ktzord and Psalm 30.

The burial service for a monk follows much the same lines, but the psalms are different. Psalm 119 is recited first, then Psalm 142 "in tones of lamentation" with v.5 as ktzord. On the way to the burial-place a Canon of psalms is sung, and at the church door Psalm 116 "in tones of lamentation" with v.7 as ktzord. The rest of the service corresponds to that for laymen.

The burial service for a priest is longer. At the selection of a place of burial, Psalm 90 with v.17b as ktzord is recited; at the washing of the body, done by fellow-priests, Psalm 51 with v.7 as ktzord, and Psalm 27; during the funeral procession, Psalm 138 with v.8b as ktzord "in tones of lamentation"; and within the church, Psalm 26 with v.8 as ktzord. The body is carried round the church from point to point, and at each place a psalm is sung and lessons and prayers are read. Then the interment takes place. On the next day and every day till the seventh day, there is a service at the tomb, consisting of a psalm, lessons, Alleluia and psalm, Gospel, proclamation and prayer.

The Nestorian service for the burial of a priest (3) commences with the saying of five Motwas in the house of the deceased. These are anthems made up of paragraphs,

(1) On the above cp. also Heiler. Urk. und Ostkirche. Totenoffizium. pp.438ff.

(2) Conybeare. Rit. Arm. pp.119ff.

(3) Badger. Op.cit. II. pp.282ff.

each of which begins with a psalm quotation, the remainder of the paragraph being in the form of a prayer (1). Between these Motwas there are prayers. During the procession to the church, a processional chant is sung, which is made up in fashion similar to that of the Motwa. Then follow lessons, a litany, prayers, and a celebration of the Eucharist. Then the body is carried round the church, as in the Armenian custom, and at various places, anthems and prayers are said. At the burial-place there are prayers and anthems. At the "Consolation" or service held next day, prayers and anthems are said and Psalm 61 is recited. Thus in this order for burial psalms themselves are seldom mentioned, but the anthems, chants and motwas contain many quotations from psalms suited to the occasion.

And so it is that the Psalter provides at once words of lamentation and sorrow and words of comfort and hope, whereby the emotions of the mourners are expressed, and their hearts ~~and~~ consoled and comforted.

d. RITES OF ORDINATION.

In the Eastern Church there are a great many rites of ordination. Each branch has its own forms for the ordaining of many different grades of the clergy, for the many minor orders as well as for the higher ranks, though the word 'ordination' is not always used for some of the minor orders. Thus, to show how much material there is, Denzinger in his second volume gives forms of ordination for door-keepers, singers, readers, subdeacons, deacons, archdeacons, deaconesses, priests, chorepiscopi, and periodotas, (both of these being assistants to bishops, the former usually stationed in particular, usually rural, localities, the latter rather with an itinerant mission), bishops, metropolitans, and patriarchs; and most of these for each of the several branches of the Eastern Church. It would be impossible here to deal with the whole of this material, but the following selected cases will suffice to illustrate our special subject.

The ordination, or as it is often called, benediction of a singer will be of special interest, but there are few references to the use of psalms in the actual rites. In some forms, as in those of the Syrian Jacobites (2),

(1) Cp. the anthem quoted on p. 99 supra.

(2) DENZ. II. pp. 66, 115.

the singer receives a copy of the Psalter. In the long rite of the Maronites (1), Psalms 133 and 134 are the only ones recited.

The ordination of a reader was in many cases like that of a singer, but instead of a Psalter he received a part of the Bible, such as the Book of the Epistles or the Book of the Apostles and the Prophets (2). The Nestorians (3) used Psalm 105 with Gloria Patri, or part of the psalm, at this rite. In the Armenian rite (4), Psalm 119 is used.

In the case of a sub-deacon there is little reference to psalms, but in the Armenian ritual Psalm 122 is sung (5). In some rites the officiants recite versicles, as in those of the Syrian Jacobites, where Psalm 150:1 is said (6).

The rites for the ordination of the major orders are generally longer and more complex than those for that of the minor orders. In some of the rites for the ordaining of deacons, no psalms are mentioned, but in the Syrian Jacobite service (7) a psalm is sung before the lessons. In the Nestorian rite (8), Psalms 15, 21:2-8, 123:1-3 are recited, while in the Armenian form, Psalms 15, 26 and 43 are sung early in the service and Psalm 119 rather later (9).

At the ordination of priests, in the Syrian Jacobite forms (10) Psalm 15 is recited. The Maronites (11) use as an apt response after the lessons the verse Psalm 132:9, "Let thy priests be clothed with righteousness and let thy saints shout for joy". The Nestorian ritual here makes a greater use of psalms (12). Psalm 84 is recited, and then Psalm 89:15-22, but if only one priest is being ordained, Psalm 21:2-8 is said instead of the latter. In the Armenian form, the following psalms are said (13): first, 25, 26, 27; later, 132 with v.9 as ktzord; then

(1) DENZ. II.pp.108ff.

(2) Ibid. II.p.280

(3) Ibid. II.pp.228,262.

(4) Conybeare. Op.cit. p.228.

(5) DENZ. II.pp.282f. Conybeare. Op.cit. pp.228f.

(6) DENZ. II.p.80.

(7) Ibid. II.p.84.

(8) Ibid. II.263ff. Badger. Op.cit. II.pp.325ff.

(9) DENZ. II.pp.286ff. Cp. Conybeare. Op.cit. pp.228ff, where Psalms 15 and 25 (which should be 26) are mentioned.

(10) DENZ. II.p.84.

(11) Ibid. II.p.158.

(12) Ibid. II.pp.266ff. Badger. Op.cit. II.pp.330ff.

(13) DENZ. II.pp.292ff. Cp. Conybeare. Op.cit. 235ff.

lessons, then Alleluia with Psalm 132 with ktzord as before, and after further lessons Psalm 119.

At the consecration of bishops, we find much the same amount of psalmody, and also many of the same psalms, as in the ~~case~~ of ordination of priests. The Alexandrian Jacobites (1) use Psalm 107:32ff. The Syrian Jacobites (2) use Psalm 21 in an unusual way. It is sung by the choir in tones which are occasionally changed and with responses intercalated. The first response, corresponding to an antiphon, is, "Thou settest a crown of pure gold on his head" (v.3b). Then the tone is changed, and a short prayer is said as a sort of antiphon. The psalm goes on to verse 8 with another prayer-like antiphon, and thus after each verse there are inserted "responsoria, stichose seu stichoi", to use Danzinger's phrase (3). After a short prayer when the psalm is ended, the same psalm is repeated as before. The Nestorians (4) use Psalms 132, 119:65-72, and ~~Psalm~~ 123 or ~~Psalm~~ 67 with Gloria Patri. The Armenian ritual (5) has only Psalm 132.

These examples will suffice to show how the psalms are used in the ordination rites of the Eastern Church, and it is noticeable that Psalm 132 with its reference to priests being clothed with righteousness, is a common choice for the higher ranks of the clergy. This is due probably not only to the reference to priests, but also to the fact that ordination services often contain the ceremony of the vesting of the priest or other minister with the vestment belonging to his rank. This ninth verse of Psalm 132 is often used as a versicle. Other psalm-verses are also made use of in the same way at various points in some of the rites. It may be added that hymns and anthems are also sung in some of the forms, and that these, as usual, have many quotations from and reminiscences of the psalms. The prayers too draw much of their wording and inspiration from the same source (6).

e. THE CONSECRATION OF CHURCHES.

There are evidences that at quite an early period, not only churches but also many of the articles of furniture,

(1) DENZ. II.p.26.

(2) Ibid. II.p.93f.

(3) Ibid. II.p.94.

(4) Ibid. II.pp.269ff. Badger. Op.cit. II.p.340ff.

(5) DENZ. II.pp.355ff.

(6) Many of the Eastern ordination rites are described in HERE. IX.pp.547-551.

such as altars and fonts, were solemnly consecrated or dedicated to their pious use. Such dedication was also a Jewish custom, as in the dedication of the Temple described in I Macc.4:52-59. And in the course of time, just as ritual was prepared for the celebration of the sacraments and for other offices, so rites of dedication for many articles were drawn up and now have an important place in service books. Here we shall take as one illustration, as perhaps the most important, of this type of service, the rite used in the consecration or dedication of churches.

Eusebius tells us how before the time of Constantine and during times of persecution, as under Diocletian, churches were pulled down and destroyed (1), and by way of contrast, tells of the dedication of new churches in every city after the conversion of Constantine (2). He describes many of the ceremonies performed by the bishops and presbyters, and among other things says that "on the one hand was a place for the singers of psalms". Later writers also speak of such ceremonies, and many Canons and decrees of Councils deal with the same subject. Little however is said about which psalms were sung, though the singing itself is often mentioned (3).

In the later liturgies special rites were planned, and we may here take one or two examples. Gear (4) gives a full description of the Greek service with its many ceremonies. Psalms 145, 23, and 84 are recited in an early part of the service with prayers and other forms of ritual between them. As various ceremonies are performed by the clergy, Psalms 133, 132, 93 and 26 are sung, and after prayers, etc., Psalm 24:7-10. The service of dedication is followed by a celebration of the Eucharist.

We may compare with this the order for the dedication of a church in the Armenian Ritual (5). There is given first of all the ceremony for the laying of the foundation. Here we find Psalms 48, 84, 85, 87; prayers; Psalm 90 with ktzord, v.17b; lections; Psalm 21 with ktzord v.1; prayer; Psalm 87 with ktzord, v.1; lections; Psalm 84 with ktzord, v.1; and prayers. At the actual service of dedication, we have Psalm 26 with ktzord, v.8; lections and prayers; Psalm 120 with ktzord, "Hear us, Lord" (ter); Psalm 121 with ktzord, "Help us, Lord" (ter); Psalm 122 with ktzord, "Alleluia". The Gloria Patri is sung after each psalm

(1) Hist. Eccl. viii.1-2. PG. XX.739f.

(2) Hist. Eccl. x.3. PG. XX. 848.

(3) Cp. HERE. IV. p.58. Art. "Consecration".

(4) Euchologion. pp.832 ff.

(5) Conybeare. Op.cit. pp.1-10.

with the appropriate ktzord; Psalm 118:1-19 with ktzord, "Open to us, Lord, the gate of mercy". At this point the bishop opens the door of the church and says, "This is the gate of the Lord into which the righteous shall enter" (v.20). The same psalm is then repeated antiphonally in the church, followed by Psalms 84 and 23; prayer; Psalm 26 and Psalm 23 with ktzord. After a circuit of the church, Psalms 100 and 93 are sung. After prayer, preparation for the holy office is made, with various canons, each with a psalm, lections and prayers.

In the Coptic Church, (1) the service commences with Vespers on the evening before a Sunday, and in the service of dedication which follows, a large portion of the Psalter is sung, followed by a long series of lections.

(1) See Butler. Coptic Churches of Egypt. II. p.339.

4. THE RENDERING OF THE PSALMS.

It is not easy to say much of the rendering of the Psalms in the Eastern Church, as material, especially dealing with earlier times, is not very accessible. Thus, an excellent recent book, Church Music: its History and Practice, by Winfred Douglas, almost entirely ignores the Church music of the East, while Aigrain's Religious Music devotes 13 pages to the Eastern Church after 100 pages on Gregorian. Actually there are no theoretical writings from between the fourth and the fourteenth centuries, nor is there any body of early mediaeval chant extant or available, as in the case of the West. However, a few words may be said, first about the music itself.

In the East there are two types of Church music, plainchant and figured music, and it is the former that is chiefly used for psalmody. There are eight modes, four authentic and four plagal, and these correspond to the Gregorian tones, though the numbering is not the same. Another difference is that in the Byzantine modes the intervals are not strictly diatonic but are enharmonic, and moreover the intervals are variable. Thus between two notes, separated from each other in the Western scale by a semitone, the Greek interval may be slightly more than the semitone, and the difference varies, depending on the mode and also on whether the melody ascends or descends the scale. It sounds very like insecurity of pitch, and Western ears find it very strange. In order to indicate changes from one mode to another, and these changes are frequent, one singer or part of the choir sings the Ison or dominant continuously, and when the mode is to change, the singer changes the Ison as a signal to the choir. The whole performance is thus interesting, though not altogether pleasant to those accustomed to the diatonic music of the West. The notation is curious, there being no staff, but only a series of signs which show the relation in pitch of each note to that which immediately precedes it (1). There are ~~then~~ considerable differences between the chants of the various Eastern Churches, Byzantine, Syrian, Armenian, and so on, but it is not necessary to go into detail here, though it may be noted that some believe that the singing of the liturgy in the Syrian and even the Coptic and Abyssinian Churches shows features similar to those of Jewish cantillation (2).

(1) The signs are given in H.J.W. Tillyard. Byzantine Music and Hymnography. London. 1923.

(2) Cp. Sachs. Rise of Music in the Ancient World. pp. 96f.

The Greeks ascribe their plainsong to S. John Damascene (Ob. A.D. 744), just as the Western plainsong is ascribed to S. Gregory the Great. The choir is divided into two parts, the head of the first choir being the Protopsaltes and the head of the second being the Lamadarios. This idea was seen in the case of the East Syrian Church, where there is a 'before' and an 'after' choir (1). The choirs do all the singing, the people having no part and having to stand all the time. The singing is usually antiphonal, between the two choirs, and sometimes the choir not actually singing sounds the Ison. In the performance of the Divine Office, the psalms are usually sung sitting, the choirs rising only for the Gloria Patri. The word 'kathisma' originally denoted the period of sitting between the groups of psalms, but came to mean the actual group of psalms, and this of course shows that at first the singers stood for the psalms. Here too the psalms were learned by heart. It remains to be said that in the Eastern Church the music was all unaccompanied, no musical instruments being allowed in Church, a rule which still holds good.

Finally, (we may point out that) the same principles and methods of use of the Psalter as we have seen in earlier times and in the Jewish Church, are in evidence here also. There is the ordinary use of whole psalms sung to the praise of God, though this is mainly confined to the Daily Offices, where the Kathismata are regularly performed. In the Liturgy and other Offices, it is rather selections, often quite short, that are sung. Again, the Divine Office at least performs the whole Psalter in regular course, usually once a week. The use of proper psalms is widespread. The Hours have them, and at many points of the liturgy, special psalms such as those suited to the Lavatory, the Communion, and so on, are selected. The use of versicles also is common. As we have seen, many of the antiphons and anthems are made up of verses selected, sometimes from one psalm but more often from several psalms. Many responses are in common use, not only the Gloria Patri, the Alleluia, the Amen, but also the farcing, e.g., in the Triple Antiphon of the Liturgy of S. John Chrysostom or in the Nestorian Shuraya, which is really of the nature of response. And we have also seen that the Psalter is constantly used as a source-book for the words of prayers, not only in actual quotations, but in many reminiscences. Once again therefore we see how valuable and popular the Psalter has been in the worship of the Church.

(1) See supra p. 90.

V. THE PSALMS IN THE WESTERN CHURCH.

1. THE PSALMS IN THE WESTERN LITURGIES.

At an earlier stage we remarked on the division of the liturgies into families, and pointed out that in the Western Church there are several groups, such as Roman, Ambrosian, Gallican, Mozarabic, and Celtic. It is now necessary to deal with the use of the psalms in the liturgies which go by these names, as well as in the Offices which correspond to them. Here we come up against some problems to which there is as yet no accepted solution, though many theories have been advanced. One problem has to do with the origin of the Roman rite, which even in its earliest documentary form shows marked differences from the Eastern as well as from other Western rites. Another problem deals with the relationship between the Roman and the other Western rites, their mutual influence, the extent of their mutual borrowing, and so on. These problems are full of fascinating interest as well as of great difficulty, though they do not concern us here directly. Yet it may be useful to mention briefly the main lines of progress and development, so far as is possible without going into detail with respect to opposing theories.

For a considerable time, Greek was the liturgical language in the West, but Latin gradually took its place, and by the fourth century seems to have become supreme (1). We have little knowledge of the text of the Western liturgy as it was before the sixth century, and that is one cause of the difficulty about the origin of the Roman rite. The earliest documents that have survived are the Sacramentaries, Leonine, Gelasian and Gregorian (2). Their dates have been much discussed, but these books may be taken to represent the Roman rite of the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries respectively, though without doubt all contain a good deal of material belonging to an earlier time, and indeed some would put these Sacramentaries about a century earlier than the above dates. These books are of little use for our purpose, as they contain only the bishop's or the priest's part in the Mass and some other Offices. A few other documents, such as the so-called Missale

(1) Cp. Fortescue. The Mass. pp.126-8.

(2) Text in Muratori. Liturgia Romana Vetus. This is printed together with Missale Gothicum, Missale Francorum and Gallicanum, edited by Thomasius, in Bibliotheca Liturgica Selectissima. Venice.1748.

Francorum, and the Bobbio Missal, and so on, are of great value for the history of the Mass. But the earliest document really useful for our purpose is the Ordo Romanus Primus (1), which is probably of date circa A.D. 770, though perhaps founded on a similar document of the time of Pope Gregory I. This and the other Ordines are directories for the celebration of Mass, books of rubrics which explain the ceremonies for those who take part in the service. There are also some early Antiphonaries and Graduals dating back as far as about the eighth century. And many writers have published commentaries on the Mass, though in the Middle Ages most of these had a mystical rather than a historical interest (2). From such sources information on the early period must be gathered.

A brief indication of the historical background of the development of the Western rites may be useful at this point (3). From the outset of the period we find the two main Western forms of the liturgy existing side by side, namely the Roman, which seems to have been at first the local use of Rome, and the Gallican, which covered the rest of the West. Some writers use the term 'Gallican' to cover not only the strictly Gallican rite itself, but also the Ambrosian, Mozarabic and Celtic rites, inasmuch as these forms seem to be more closely connected with each other than any one of them is with the Roman. They also have a few Eastern characteristics not present in the Roman, which fact has led some to assume a certain relationship with the East. These forms then existed side by side, but in the period from the sixth to the ninth century the Roman rite gradually widened its influence, not indeed without incorporating in itself some Gallican features, and ended by superseding all the Gallican rites which remained in use only in a few places, having on their part incorporated some Roman features. The suppression of the Gallican rites, at least on the continent, was in large measure due to Pepin and his son Charlemagne. By A.D. 1000 the Roman rite was pretty well fixed apart from minor details, and these in ceremony rather than in ritual. Between A.D. 1000 and 1570 small changes continued to take place. And it should be noted that the rite was by no means the same everywhere, Many dioceses had their own

(1) Edited by Atchley. Ordo Romanus I. London. 1905. Mabillon published sixteen of the Ordines Romani in his Musaeum Italicum. Vol. ii. Paris. 1689. Reprinted in PL. LXXVIII. 937-1172.

(2) Cp. the list of writers in Fortescue. Op. cit. pp. 193ff. Cp. also DACL. "Expositio Missae". 5.1. 1014-1027.

(3) Cp. DIX. especially pp. 517-522, 549-605.

characteristic variations. Thus in England there were Sarum, York and Hereford Missals, and there were similar variations on the continent. Moreover, some of the Monastic Orders had their own forms, so that there were Benedictine, Franciscan, Carthusian, and other Missals.

In A.D. 1570 Pope Pius V by his Bull Quo primum put forth a reformed Missal which was to supersede all other forms, the only exceptions allowed being those of rites which could prove a use stretching back for at least two centuries. Since that date only minor changes have occurred. At the present time the Ambrosian Mass is still celebrated in the Cathedral of Milan, and the Mozarabic in Churches in Toledo, while some of the Orders retain their own forms. These last are mostly like the Roman rite but without the additions made in late mediaeval and post-Reformation times, so that it has been said that some of them are "more Roman than the Roman rite itself" (1).

It will not be necessary to detail the many variations which existed as between the Roman, Gallican, and other forms. Such of these as affect the use of the psalms will be referred to in succeeding pages, where we shall adopt the same plan as was used in the case of the Eastern liturgies. A Table (2) has been ~~compiled~~ compiled showing the outline of the Mass in the early Roman rite of about A.D. 600, in the Roman rite of 1570, of the Ambrosian, Mozarabic, Gallican and Celtic rites. The places in these rites at which the use of psalms occurs will be dealt with in order, and though it has not been thought necessary to put in the Table such rites as the local Use of Sarum, etc., or the monastic rites, any variations which touch on our subject will be referred to in the text.

In the Western liturgy, psalms appear at various points especially at the beginning (Introit), between the lections (Gradual, Alleluia and Tract), at the Offertory and at the Communion, but also at a few less important places in the rite. It is our purpose to examine each of these items in the order in which they appear in the liturgy, but before doing so there are some general questions which should receive some attention.

The first point is that these items fall into two classes, judged by their original purpose. On the one hand, we have the group Gradual-Alleluia-Tract, which form an integral part of the Mass. Their place is normally

(1) Cabrol. MWR. p.185.

(2) Table II between pages 134 and 135.

between the lections, which has been a place for psalmody as far back as records can take us. At this point nothing else was being done; the psalms were sung, not as an accompaniment to other rite or ceremony, but as themselves a vital part of the service. On the other hand, we have the other items, such as the Introit, the Offertory, and the Communion Psalm, none of which was an integral part, but all were used as accompaniments to actions which themselves were portions of the liturgy. ~~Itself~~ Thus the Introit was an accompaniment to the procession of the clergy from the vestry to the altar. We have therefore these two groups whose origins are different and whose original purposes ~~is different~~ are different, though it is true that for a considerable portion of their history, there has been little noticeable distinction visible between them.

Another preliminary point concerns the use of the word 'Antiphon'. The early sense of the word as indicating a method of singing has already been noticed, but that early meaning gradually disappeared in its strict application, and the word came to signify the response made to the verse of the psalm, e.g., the intercalation or farcing which in the Eastern Church had so large a part in the psalmody; and later still, the word was used for the whole item, Introit, Offertory, etc. Thus the Introit was sometimes called the Antiphona ad introitum, or in the Gallican Mass Antiphona ad praelegendum. Let us try to illustrate this development.

If we take Psalm 136, we have a case where each verse is divided into two parts, the second being always, "For His mercy endureth for ever". This is one obvious case of responsory construction, which could however be sung antiphonally by an alternation between two choirs (1). The response might in time come to be called the antiphon to the verse. Later a verse, perhaps along with its response, might be taken to be sung before the psalm itself was begun, and it might be any verse of the psalm. This opening or introductory verse was then called the Antiphon. In the West the tendency was to shorten the psalm, and in some cases little was left except the antiphon, one verse of the psalm and Gloria Patri. And so sometimes 'antiphon' came to signify the whole item, Introit, Offertory, etc.

It has been pointed out (2) that this use of the antiphon

(1) The difference between antiphona and responsorium has often been defined, as by Rhabanus Maurus. De Inst. Cler. I.33. "Inter responsoria et antiphonas hoc differt, quod in responsoriis unus dicit versum, in antiphonis alternant versibus chori". See also Martene. DAER. IV. IV. II.

(2) DAEL. I.2.2292f.

as preceding the psalm led some to philological or etymological inexactitude, antiphona being connected with anteponere. Thus Pseudo-Germanus says, "Antiphona dicta quia prius psa anteponitur" (1) and some early manuscripts of the Benedictine Rule spell the word antefona or antefana. In fact, the purpose of singing the antiphon before the psalm seems to have been a practical one, viz., to indicate the tone to which the psalm was to be sung. One of the cantors would sing the opening antiphon to a certain tone, and the choir would then know at once how to sing the psalm. Thus we read in Amalarius (2), "Antiphona inchoatur ab uno unius chori et ad eius symphoniam psalmus cantatur per duos choros". The antiphon is also of use in suggesting the particular interpretation of the psalm for the day or season of the Christian Year, suggesting from what point of view or with what intention the psalm should be recited (3).

It may be asked, How was the antiphon chosen? The normal thing is to take a verse from the psalm itself. This comes at the beginning. If the antiphon is the first verse, then the second verse alone remains for the psalm when the psalm is shortened. But if the antiphon is not the first verse, then the first verse alone forms the psalm when the psalm is shortened. This rule is cited by Tommasi (4) from a Vatican MS. - "Est sciendum quod semper quando primus versus psalmi sumitur pro introitu; versus introitus est ille versus qui immediate aut quasi immediate sequitur primum versum psalmi.... Item semper ~~quando~~ quando aliquis versus infra psalmum sumitur pro introitu: versus introitus erat primus versus psalmi, ex quo sequitur quod versus introitus ~~est primus versus psalmi~~ dat intelligere unde sumitur introitus". It has however been pointed out that the antiphon is often intended to give the thought which is to direct the interpretation or application of the psalm to the day or to the heart. Thus, as Joseph Otten says, (5), "The verse which serves as the antiphon text contains the fundamental thought of the psalm to which it is sung, and indicates the point of view from which it is to be understood. In other words, it gives the key to the liturgical and mystical meaning of the psalm, with regard to the feast on which it occurs".

(1) Epist. altera de communi officio. PL. LXXII.95.

(2) De Off. Eccles. IV.vii.

(3) Cp. W. Alexander. Witness of the Psalms to Christ and Christianity. 1877.p.175.

(4) Opera. V. xiii. PL. LXXVIII.212.

(5) Catholic Encyclopaedia. I. p.575.

There is ~~in~~the Mass little thought of a cursus of psalmody where the order of the psalms in the Bible is followed, the cursus being more in evidence in the Divine Office. Nevertheless there are some evidences of order. Thus in the antiphons for the Sundays after Pentecost, which are late and do not appear in the Gregorian Sacramentary, we find orderly selection for Introits up to the 17th Sunday, for the Alleluias for all 23 Sundays, for the Offertories up to the 16th Sunday with two Sundays excepted where the Offertory is not chosen from the Psalter, and for the Communions up to the 8th Sunday. The Introits, for example, for the 23 Sundays after Pentecost are taken from the following psalms in order - 13, 18, 25, 27, 27, 28, 47, 48, 54, 55, 68, 70, 74, 84, 86, 86, 119, 122, 78, 119, 119, 130, 85. (1). Introits which are not taken from the psalms are sometimes called 'irregular' (2).

In general however in the Mass there is an arbitrary selection of psalms. We have seen how in S. Augustine's day the psalm was sometimes determined by the lection or by the sermon. Moreover, in any one Mass, or on any one Feast, the psalms chosen for the various items, Introit, Gradual, Offertory, etc., seem to have no connection with each other, and no doubt this is due to the fact that these items were added to the Mass at different stages in the liturgical development.

The following Table shows the sources of the six antiphons as given in an Antiphonale Missarum found in MS.339 of the Library of S. Gall (3) :

	Psalter	Bib.Books	Extra-bibl.	Total
Introits	102	41	6	149
Graduals	104	13	1	118
Alleluias	70	14	11	95
Tracts	17	3	-	20
Offertories	82	16	4	102
Communions	64	80	3	147
Totals	439	167	25	631

This shows the great preponderance of psalm texts. Out of 631 texts, 606 are from the Bible and of these 439 are from the Psalter. The earliest psalmody, as already suggested, is found in the Gradual, and it is noticeable that in the case of the Graduals, only 14 out of 118 are not from the Psalter. The other items were probably later in being

(1) Fuller details will be found in DACL. I.2. 2307f.

(2) Durandus. Rationale. IV.5.; Daniel. ~~REPERTORIUM~~ Cod. Lit. U.24n.

(3) DACL. 3.1. 297.

added, and it is likely that that is why there are more texts not from the psalms. The Communions are specially noticeable, as having fewer texts from the Psalter than from other sources, and that is due probably to the close connection of the Communion with the Gospels. We need not do more here than point out the large part taken by the psalms in these texts, so large that Will (1) can say that the Mass "est tout imprégnée de la piété des psaumes". We now proceed to deal in more detail with the psalms of the Mass.

i. The Preparation of the Ministers.

In the Eastern Church the preparation of the ministers is often very elaborate, but there as also in the West any specially detailed preparation is comparatively late. In the West, as in the Armenian Church, the priest vests in the sacristy and prepares himself privately. But the private prayers came to be said before the altar and so became public. This preparation was the last part of the Roman Mass to be fixed. No prayers are mentioned before the eleventh century, but they began to take shape about that time, and reached a fixed state about the sixteenth century. In the Missal of 1570 the direction is that the priest shall say Psalm 43 before going to the altar.

The first preparation of the minister is his vesting, and as in the East, so in the West, various devotions came to be used at the putting-on of each vestment (2). The vesting in the West takes place in the sacristy, and there are prayers which contain perhaps less reminiscence of the psalms than those of the East. In the modern Missal the priest's preparation includes the recitation of Psalms 83, 84, 85, 115 and 129, with versicles and prayers. The clergy are thus vested when they leave the sacristy, and the remainder of their preparation consists of psalms and prayers with confession, said at the altar. There is the Invocation, "In nomine Patris...", then Psalm 43:1-5, "Judica me", with verse 5 as antiphon, "Introibo ad altare Domini", followed by Gloria Patri. Then comes a versicle, "Adiutorium nostrum" from Psalm 124:8, and the confession. On mournful occasions the psalm and Gloria Patri are omitted, and the antiphon is not repeated. There were many variants in the mediaeval rites. In the Sarum Missal, the hymn "Veni Creator" was said at the vesting, Psalm 43 and its antiphon on the way to the altar, and a short confession at the altar.

(1) Le Culte. I.p.245.

(2) Martens. DEER. I.IV.I.XIII. gives various sets of prayers.

In the monastic rites of the Dominicans, Carthusians, and Carmelites, the antiphon alone is said, the psalm being omitted altogether. In mediaeval times there were many private prayers called Apologiae, which are nevertheless to be found in some Missals. They are regarded as Gallican in origin (1).

In the Ambrosian Missal the preparation is on much the same lines as in the Roman, and indeed the prayers date only from mediaeval times and are derived from the Roman rite. In the Mozarabic rite (2), there is a preparation consisting of prayers, washing of hands, vesting prayers, an Apologia, Psalm 43 with antiphon, "Introibo", confession, absolution and ~~prayers~~ prayers.

So far then as the psalms are concerned, the choice of Psalm 43 seems to have been fairly universal, and it is an obvious choice for a priest on his way to the altar and preparing for his high office at the Eucharist.

ii. The Introit.

Though the origin of the Introit may be obscure, its purpose is easy to understand. Any procession is made more dignified when accompanied by music, and the Introit sung as the clergy proceeded from the vestry to the altar would not only add to the dignity of the action but would also give an added interest for the people. It is perhaps impossible now to decide when this first became the recognised beginning to the Mass. There is little doubt that the Introit existed, perhaps for some time, before it found a place in the books of the Mass. One might even suggest that psalms may have been sung during the gathering of the people lest they should weary, (to use S. Augustine's phrase), perhaps by the people themselves, and that the formal Introit was at last only the final psalm before a service of worship(3). Anyhow the Introit was probably a fairly early constituent of the Liturgy.

The Liber Pontificalis in a much discussed text says of Pope Celestine I (A.D. 422-432), "His multa constituta fecit, et constituit ut psalmi David CL ante sacrificium psalli antiphonatim ex omnibus, quod ante non fiebat, nisi tantum epistola beati Pauli recitabatur et sanctum evangelium". The suggestion is that Celestine ordained that psalms should

(1) Cp. Bena. RL. II.I.I.

(2) PL. LXXXV. 521-2.

(3) This suggestion has been made by Fleury. Hist. Eccl. LIV. XXXVI. XVII. Cp. the modern community singing before a service of worship.

be sung antiphonally by all before the sacrifice, and that this was a new custom, and that in earlier times the Mass began with the reading of the Epistle and the Gospel. But in fact it is not certain to what this really refers. Many mediaeval writers have taken it for granted that it means that Celestine inaugurated the Introit^{psalm} (1), some adding that Gregory I added the antiphon (2). But it has been suggested that this does not refer to the Mass at all, but to some kind of preliminary service. Thus Duchesne in his edition of the Liber Pontificalis (3) says this refers to the early recitation of the Divine Office. But the reference to the reading of the Epistle and the Gospel seems to suggest that the quotation does have something to do with the liturgy. Another difficulty arises in connection with the words "psalmi David CL". It can scarcely mean that all the psalms were to be sung, as that would take far too much time (4). So some suggest that the psalms were meant to be divided over the Sundays of the year. Dix (5), on the ground that the construction of the sentence is odd, suggests an emendation whereby the 'CL' might be regarded as a corruption for a contraction like 'ctm' for 'cantum'. But surely the number 'CL' need not have any special significance, 'psalmi David CL' meaning no more than just 'the Psalter'. Another point is in the words "antiphonatim ex omnibus", which appear only in the second edition, circa A.D. 530. Does this mean the whole congregation or only the whole body of the cantors? Some say (6) that it meant the whole schola cantorum and not the congregation. But the latest authorities seem to think that the three words are a gloss whose antiquity is suspect (7).

On the whole there is therefore a good deal of doubt as to the meaning of this quotation from the Liber Pontificalis. But it can be said that the Introit was in existence by the sixth century, for it is referred to both in the Gelasian Sacramentary and the Ordo Romanus I. But as Fortescue says (8), "It is perhaps safest to explain the Introit, merely as the psalm which inevitably accompanied the entering

(1) E.g., Pseudo-Alcuin. In Hittorp. p. 78; Amalarius. De Eccl. Off. III. 5. in Hittorp. p. 168; etc.

(2) E.g., Honorius. Gemma Animae. i. 87. PL. CLXXII. 572.

(3) Paris. 1886. I. p. 230.

(4) See Gavanti. Thesaurus Sacrorum Rituum. I. VIII. Also Daniel. Coñ. Lit. I. p. 23.

(5) DIX. p. 453. n. 1.

(6) De Eccl. Off. III. 5. (HITT. p. 168), and Rabanus Maurus. De Instit. Cler. I. xxxiii.

(7) DACL. 7. 1. 1212.

(8) The Mass. p. 217.

procession as soon as it was looked upon as a procession at all².

It is true that before long, explanations other than this simple one of accompaniment were suggested. Thus Tommasi transcribes a passage from an old commentary on the Mass, which suggests that the purpose of the Introit was to act as an influence to direct the thoughts of the people more to spiritual things, helping them to forget for the time the cares and duties of the secular life (1). S. Isidore and others dwell on this same idea to a great extent. But the Introit may be regarded now as announcing at the beginning of the Office the message of the season.

The first description of the singing of the Introit is found in the Ordo Romanus I (2). This reflects conditions in Rome in the late seventh century. An antiphon is already sung to the psalm. As we have noted above, it was believed by the eighth century that the antiphon was added by Pope Gregory I. The Ordo says that when everything is ready, the singers arrange themselves in place, and the precentor begins the antiphon of the Introit as soon as the procession with the pope and his assistants appears from the sacristy. The choir continues singing till the procession has reached the altar and some ceremonies are completed. Then the pope gives the signal to finish the psalm and sing Gloria Patri, this being followed by the antiphon which is repeated for the last time. Sometimes the remaining verses of the psalm were taken for the Communion antiphon. Here then we have the antiphon of the psalm sung before and after the psalm, and it was also sung after each verse of the psalm. Thus at the Mass of Easter Day, the following words were used :-

Ist Semi-chorus. Antiphon. When I rise up, I am present with thee, Alleluia: thou hast laid thine hand upon me, Alleluia: such knowledge is too wonderful for me, Alleluia. (Ps. 139. vv. 5-6).

(1) Opera. V. p. x. "Quoniam animus ad multa divisus, tumultibus curarum saecularium perturbatus, et non statim, ut ecclesiam ingredimur, omnium huius solitudinem possumus oblivisci; quo purius et attentius puriorem et attentio-riorem orationem ad Dominum fundere videamur: quod antiphona ad introitum decantetur, et suavi modulatione interposita....praeparatio est et exercitatio animorum, ut animus populi a mundanis cogitationibus, his omnibus paulatim avulsus, ad coelestia cogitanda ac desideranda trahatur³."

(2) PL. LXXVIII. 937-968. See also Atchley's edition.

2nd Semi-chorus. O Lord, thou hast searched me and known me: thou knowest my down-sitting and mine uprising (Ps.139:1.)

1st Semi-chorus. Antiphon. When I rise up.....

2nd Semi-chorus. Thou understandest my thoughts afar off: thou compasses my path and my lying-down (Ps.139:2).

1st Semi-chorus. Antiphon. When I rise up.....

And so on, verse by verse, until the signal is given to sing Gloria Patri, and after that the antiphon is repeated once more.

The Introit for Christmas Day is an example of a slightly different arrangement, though the same principle still holds good :-

1st Choir. Antiphon. The Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my son: this day have I begotten thee (Ps.2:7).

2nd Choir. Antiphon. Same words repeated.

1st Choir. Why do the heathen rage and the people imagine a vain thing? (Ps.2:1).

2nd Choir. Antiphon. The Lord hath said.....

1st Choir. The kings of the earth....(Ps.2:2).

2nd Choir. Antiphon. The Lord hath said.....

And so on to the last ~~verse~~, and then :

1st Choir. Glory be to the Father....

2nd Choir. As it was in the beginning.....

1st Choir. Ask of me.... (Ps.2:8, the last verse, repeated).

2nd Choir. Antiphon. The Lord hath said.....

In Ordo Romanus I the Introit is called "Antiphona ad Introitum", and (this is the case) also in other Ordines (1). But in Ordo Romanus VI (2) it is called "Introitus", and in Ordo Romanus V (3) it is called "Invitatorium", a word which belongs rather to the Divine Office. Other names are found in other Missals. In the Ambrosian Missal it is called "Ingressa" (4), which has the same significance as the word "Introit". In the Mozarabic Missal (5), and in the English Missals of Sarum, York and Hereford (6), the Introit was called "Officium" or "Officium Missae". This name was attached to the Introit through a misapprehension

(1) I.n.8, II.n.3, III.n.8, in Musaeum Italicum of Mabilon, Tom.II. pp.7,43, 55.

(2) n.2. Ibid. p.71.

(3) Ibid. p.65.

(4) See Pamelius. Riturgicon. I.p.293.

(5) Lesley. PL. LXXXV. pp.18,55, 64, etc.

(6) Maskell. Ancient Liturgy. pp.20-21.

regarding the title of the Mass, which was headed Ad Missam Officium, that being the heading for the whole Mass, but being taken to refer only to the Introit. In the Missals of the Carthusians, the Carmelites and the Dominicans, the same title is found. In the Gallican Missal, the Introit is called the "Antiphona ad praelegendum" or "Praelegere", as being an antiphon sung before the lessons (1).

All these terms stand for the same thing, though the details varied considerably. We have already indicated the form of the Introit in the early Roman Mass. In later times the Introit was much shortened, a work which has been attributed to Gregory I (2). In passing it may be said ~~that~~ that the psalms in the Gregorian Antiphonary were taken from the Itala version and not from the Vulgate, and some have suggested that because of this, the Introit was really older than S. Gregory's time. But it is to be noted that S. Gregory himself said that he used the two versions indifferently (3). However the Introit was certainly much shortened, and by the time of the Ordo Romanus X, about the eleventh century, it consisted, as at the present time, of the antiphon, one verse of the psalm, Gloria Patri and the antiphon again. (We may add that the Gloria Patri is omitted on certain occasions, as at Requiems and at Passiontide.) This brevity may have been due to the Introit being for long sung, not during the procession but at the altar. But the Vatican Gradual has restored to it its ancient place and purpose as an accompaniment to the procession.

The Ambrosian Ingressa was very much less elaborate, consisting only of a short antiphon without psalm or Gloria. The texts of the antiphons are from various sources, including the Martyrology, and some seemingly from the Greek Liturgy (4). The Mozarabic Liturgy also had a short Introit, its brevity being due to the fact that it was sung when the clergy were already at the altar. It consisted of an antiphon, a psalm verse and the Doxology. As to the Gallican Introit, no details are available, but it seems to have included an antiphon and a psalm. The Introit was sometimes sung while the priest was vesting in the sacristy, and he delayed his entrance till the commencement of Gloria Patri (5).

In many cases the psalm chosen for the Introit was selected for a particular feast because some verse in it

(1) See Martene. DBER. I. IV. xii. l. Also Duchesne. Christian Worship. p. 190.

(2) DACL. 8. 912-913.

(3) Ep. ad Leandrum. v.; and Expos. Job. Praef. See DCA. p. 866b.

(4) See Pamelius. Op. cit. I. p. 293.

(5) PL. LXXVIII. 251.

was specially applicable to the feast. An example can be seen in the Introit for Christmas Day quoted above, where the antiphon is obviously suitable. The later shortening of the psalm to one verse often obscures this aptness. Thus the Introit for Epiphany is now Psalm 72:1, with antiphon, Malachi 3:1, but the real reason for the choice of the psalm is to be found in verses 10-11 of the psalm, which are not now sung, "The kings of Tarshish and of the isles shall bring presents: the kings of Sheba and Saba shall offer gifts. Yea, all kings shall fall down before him: all nations shall serve him". But there are also many cases where no reason for the choice can be traced, and that is perhaps specially true of the more recently chosen offices, such as those of the Sundays after Pentecost.

Finally it may be said that the Mass receives its name from the first word of the Introit, i.e., of the antiphon. Thus the Masses for the first four Sundays of Lent are called Invocavit (Ps. 91:18), Reminiscere (Ps. 25:6), Oculi (Ps. 24:15), and Laetare (Is. 66:10 with Ps. ~~122~~ 122:1); and further the Sunday itself is named after the Mass.

iii. The Gradual, Alleluia, and Tract.

From very early times the singing of psalms was closely associated with the reading of the lessons. It is indeed often said that this derived from the practice of the synagogue (1), though there is little direct evidence of that practice in the early synagogue. We are now concerned with the development of this custom in the Western Church. The first point is the meaning of the word 'Gradual'. This psalm is so-called because it was sung on the gradus or step of the ambo or pulpit. Some in error have spoken of the step of the altar, but as Bona points out (2), the Ordines Romani say definitely the step of the pulpit (juxta pulpitum in inferiori gradu). Other names have been given to the psalmody at this point. In Ordo Romanus I it is called the Responsum, and in Ordo Romanus III, Responsorium. Similarly the Gallican Missal speaks of the Psalmus Responsorius. These names indicate the responsive method of singing the psalm, to which we shall return. In the Ambrosian Missal, the name is Psalmellus, and in the Mozarabic, Psallenda or Psalterium.

We have already pointed out that this is the only

(1) DIX. p.471. Fortescue. The Mass. p.265.

(2) RL. II.VI.IV.

psalmody which really belongs to the structure of the Mass in its original form, most other psalmody being sung as accompaniment to certain actions. But this psalm is actually part of the service, as might be expected from the fact of its very early origin, it being referred to almost as early as any other part of the service. And not only its early attestation is important, but also the universality of its attestation. It is mentioned in the second century by Tertullian and a little later in Apostolic Constitutions. S. Augustine speaks of its introduction into Milan and refers to it several times in his writings as being ~~present~~ used in his own church in Africa. Gennadius of Marseilles (circa A.D. 495) mentions "responsory chapters of psalms" (1), while Gregory of Tours a century or so later witnesses to it in his country (2). Many other references might be cited to witness to the early and widespread use of this psalmody.

Originally, there is no doubt, a whole psalm would be sung, as S. Augustine's words certainly seem to suggest (3). But before long, this psalmody, like that of the Introit, began to be shortened. It is perhaps impossible to say now when this first took place. Schuster (4) thinks that the process had begun by the time of Leo III (A.D. 440-461), and that the Gradual was condensed by the schola cantorum somewhere between A.D. 450 and 550. Certainly Leo speaks of singing "a psalm of David with united voices" (5), which suggests ~~that~~ the whole psalm, or at least more than the two verses which appear in the early Antiphonaries (6).

At first the Gradual psalm was not fixed. S. Augustine chose his own psalms in accordance with circumstances. Some early Antiphonaries continued this practice, and instead of listing fixed pieces, said "quod volueris" (7). But the usual process of fixing took place, and as noted above, MS. 339 of the Library of S. Gall gives 118 Graduals for various occasions, of which 104 are from the Psalter, 13 from other biblical books and one from outside the Bible. This varied derivation is still the case in the modern Missal. ^{obtains}

The Gradual sometimes echoes the idea of the Epistle.

(1) De Vitis Illustr. c. lxxix.

(2) Hist. Franc. VIII.iii.

(3) Cp. the case where the lector said the wrong psalm, apparently a long one. Quot. supra p. 38.

(4) The Sacramentary. London. 1924. I. p. 94.

(5) Sermo III in Anniv. Assumpt. PL. LIV. 145.

(6) Cp. Ordo Rom. I. Atchley. p. 73. n. 1. Also the Gregorian Antiphonary. PL. LXXVIII. 641.

(7) DACL. 1.2. 2307.

Thus the thought of the Epistle (II Cor. 6:1-10) for the Sunday Invocavit (1st in Quadragesima), suggesting the care of God for His faithful people, is reflected in the Gradual (Ps. 90:11-12). Again, the Gradual, like the Introit, may suggest the message of the season of the Christian Year, as the Gradual for the first Sunday of Advent, which is "Universi te expectant" (Ps. 24:3), or the Gradual for the Second Mass at Dawn in the Nativity of our Lord, which is "Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini" (Ps. 118:26).

The word "Responsorium" has been mentioned as indicating the method of singing. The Gradual was not sung antiphonally but responsorially. Apostolic Constitutions speaks of the people responding (ἑποφθῶντες), but gradually the responses were limited to the choir or the schola cantorum. One cantor would sing and the schola would respond. Ordo Romanus I simply says that a chorister goes up with the Cantatorium, that is, the book containing the chants, and says the Responsum (1). Ordo Romanus II says that the cantor alone begins the Psalmus Responsorius, and everyone in the choir answers, and the same cantor sings the verse of the respond. The general mediaeval manner of singing the Gradual was as follows (2). The cantor sang the first verse; the choir repeated it. He sang the second verse, and the choir repeated the first verse. Then he sang the first verse again, and it was once more repeated. But much of this repetition has now disappeared. The cantors intone the Gradual, and the choir continue it to the verse, which is marked V. This verse is then sung by the cantors, the choir joining in only at the close. But the responsive principle is still adhered to.

We must now say something of the other pieces associated with the Gradual and the lessons. In the Roman books the Gradual is followed by the Alleluia. It seems that in earlier times the singer who sang the Gradual intoned the Alleluia thereafter (3). There is some obscurity about the origin of its association with the Mass, but this, as in other cases, is no doubt due to the fact that it was in use before the date of the earliest written witness. Gregory I says (4) that the Alleluia

Oratio?

(1) Atchley's Ed. p.130.

(2) See Durandus. Rationale. IV.19.8.

(3) It is referred to by Tertullian. De Orat. xxvii (supra. p. 35) and Cassian (supra p. 81).

(4) Ep. ix.11. PL. LXXVII. 955-958. But he depends on the apocryphal correspondence between Damasus and S. Jerome. See Batiffol. Hist. Rom. Brev. p.45.

was brought to Rome in the time of Damasus by S. Jerome. But little more can be said as to its origin in the Mass. It seems however that the Alleluia displaced a second responsory psalm. There were at first normally three lessons, and the psalmus responsorius came between the first two, the Prophecy and the Epistle, and the Alleluia came between the Epistle and the Gospel in place of a second psalm. When the first lection was omitted, the Gradual was transferred to a place after the Epistle, and so Gradual and Alleluia are found next to each other. Cabrol suggests (1) that at first the Alleluia was sung only with alleluiatic psalms which were used for the Gradual at Eastertide, and that the tendency was for the Alleluia to be lengthened in singing with a prolonged melopoeia on the last 'a' of Alleluia, and so to be separated from the psalm. Once it was separated, it could be sung after psalms other than the alleluiatic. Certainly it seems that at first the Alleluia was sung at Eastertide only, but S. Gregory I claims to have extended its use beyond that season (2). Nowadays the Alleluia is omitted from Septuagesima till Saturday of Holy Week, and also on Vigils, on some ferias, and in the Office of the Dead. The present structure of the Alleluia is a double Alleluia and a verse, often from the psalms (3). Thus, the Alleluia for the first Sunday in Advent is :-

Alleluia. Alleluia. Ostende nobis, Domine, misericordiam tuam: et salutare tuum da nobis. (Ps.85:7).
Alleluia.

The Alleluia was regarded as a joyful song, hence its omission on mournful occasions. When it was sung, the last syllable was greatly prolonged, as it still is (4). This prolongation is called the Jubilus. S. Jerome speaks of it thus (5), "We call Jubilus that which cannot be rendered by words, nor by syllables, nor by letters, not by any language in which man ought to praise God". Similarly S. Augustine refers to it (6), saying, "He that sings a Jubilus speaks no words; it is a song of joy without words, the voice of a heart dissolved in joy" (7).

(1) DACL. l. 1243.

(2) Epist. ix.12.

(3) It is said that the verse was added by Pope Gregory I.

(4) Examples may be seen in books of Gregorian music, e.g., the Liber Usualis.

(5) In Psalm. xxxii. PL. XXVI. 970.

(6) Enarr. in Ps.xcii.4. PL. XXXVII.1272.

(7) See also DACL. Art. "Jubilus". 7.2. 2770-2. One may compare with this prolongation the farcing of the Kyrie eleison. Examples in Daniel. Cod. Lit. I.117.

It may be noted that the origin of the Sequence is found in the Jubilus. Sometimes the Jubilus was so long that it became difficult to memorise it, and about the ninth century the practice arose of putting words to the notes, and one of the most famous authors of these Sequences, or Proses as they were sometimes called, was Notker of S. Gall. In time the Sequence was written independently and separate music was written for it, so that it no longer fulfilled its original function. Large numbers of these were written in mediaeval times, but only a few remain in the present Roman Missal, viz., Victimae paschali laudes; Veni Creator Spiritus; Dies Irae; Lauda Sion; and Stabat Mater.

When the Alleluia is not sung, as in Lent, its place is taken by the Tract, so called from the manner of its performance. It has no response and no repetition, but is a piece sung straight through, tractatim, in uno tractu. Some of the later writers, like Amalarius (1) and Durandus (2), say the word 'tractus' refers to the slow and mournful method of singing, but this is wrong. The tract, as Amalarius himself pointed out (3) differed from the Psalmus Responsorius only in that the choir did not respond to it as they did to the latter (4). Both however were sung from the ambo. Nowadays this character is lost, and the Tract is sung by alternate groups of singers, or it is intoned by the cantor and taken up by his side of the choir, and the whole choir unites in the last phrase. This Tract is really the old second psalm which was sung between the Epistle and the Gospel, its place now being normally taken by the Alleluia. In consequence the Tract is generally from the Psalter. In the MS. of S. Gall already referred to, there are twenty Tracts of which seventeen are from the Psalter and three from the Song of Solomon. There are certain days when the Tract is still a whole psalm sung straight through, e.g., Psalm 91 on the first Sunday of Lent, Psalm 22 on Palm Sunday, and Psalm 140 on Good Friday. These texts are taken, like those of the Introit, from the old Itala version. In the Ambrosian Liturgy, similar pieces are called cantus.

Thus the psalmody connected with the lections involves the Gradual, the Alleluia and the Tract. These are the Roman terms, and we may notice here the variations in the psalmody as found in other Western liturgies. We have

(1) De Eccl. Off. III.14.

(2) Rationale. IV.21.

(3) De Eccl. Off. III.12.

(4) Cp. Duchesne. Christian Worship. p.114.

already noted the terminology. In the Ambrosian Missal, the Psalmellus comes between the Prophet and the Epistle, and thus holds the ancient position of the Psalmus Responsorius. The Alleluia and verse come between the Epistle and the Gospel. There is also an Antiphona post Evangelium during which the elements are solemnly brought in. The Mozarabic Rite is somewhat similar. After the prophetic lection, the Song of the Three Children with one verse of a psalm is sung, and this is followed by the Psallendo, a responsory sung by the cantor from the pulpit. This is sometimes called Responsorium, as by S. Isidore of Seville (1). This seems to correspond to the Roman Gradual, but there are certain differences which cause Lesley (2) to deny real correspondence. The Psallendo is replaced during Lent by the Tract, which like the Roman Tract is sung without response or repetition. This again does not exactly correspond to the Roman Tract. The latter follows the Gradual and replaces the Alleluia, while the Mozarabic Tract replaces the Psallendo (3). Here too the Epistle and the Gospel are read consecutively, there being no psalmody between them, this custom having been prescribed by Canon 12 of the Fourth Council of Toledo (A.D. 633). But after the Gospel there is the Lauda or Laudes, which consists of Alleluia and a verse generally from a psalm and a second Alleluia. This is sung by a cantor. This seems to be a displacement of the Alleluia and verse sung before the Gospel in the Roman and Ambrosian rites. This was also prescribed by the Fourth Council of Toledo, perhaps owing to Eastern influences (4).

The Gallican Mass is like the Mozarabic in having three lections, with the Psalmus Responsorius between the Prophet and the Epistle, and no psalmody between the Epistle and the Gospel, while a chant follows the Gospel. The Celtic Mass appears to have no psalmody between the Old Testament lesson and the Epistle, but had antiphonal psalmody and Alleluia as well as other items between the Epistle and the Gospel, and a chant after the Gospel (5).

We have then in this section a very important place for the psalmody, recognised from very early times and in almost every section of the Church. There seems to have been at times a feeling that the psalm counted as an additional lesson. Certainly it had its lessons to

(1) De Offic. I.I.viii.

(2) Missale Mixtum. PL. LXXXV.257.

(3) Ibid. 306.

(4) Cp. King. Notes on the Catholic Liturgies. p.289.

(5) See C&Brol. MWR. pp.159f.

convey, lessons perhaps as impressive and as lasting in their influence as those offered in other scripture reading or in homily or sermon. In many cases, where free choice was allowed, the psalm was chosen to suit the lesson or the subject of the sermon, as we have seen, and even where there was no free choice, the psalm was often fixed owing to some suitability to the day. But in any case there can be little doubt that this was one of the most popular parts of the liturgy, and it is regrettable that the people so soon lost their right to take part in it.

iv. The Offertory Psalm.

The first piece of psalmody in the Mass of the Faithful comes in connection with the Offertory. It will be remembered that the early custom was that the people brought bread and wine as offerings, and out of these offerings what was required for the Communion was taken, and the remainder was distributed among the poor or became the perquisite of the clergy. In the case of large congregations this offering would take a long time, and so during the period of waiting the singing of psalms was introduced. When this introduction took place cannot be definitely determined. Apostolic Constitutions (1) says that the celebrant is to pray silently while the offerings are brought in, but nothing is said of chanting. The Offertory Chant was in existence in the time of S. Augustine, but its introduction into the Church at Carthage was probably recent, because S. Augustine had to defend it against the objections of one Hilarius, a vir tribunicius (2). Walafrid Strabo said he did not know who was the first to use the "offertory which is sung during the offering" (3), but believed that in older times the fathers offered and communicated in silence. It is mentioned in Ordo Romanus I (4). The Second Ordo is more explicit, saying, "Then is sung the Offertory with verses" (5). Later the Offertory like other psalmody was shortened, this apparently taking place about the eleventh or twelfth century, since Durandus mentions the shortening and expresses his disapproval (6). The shortening was of

(1) VIII.XII.4. LEW.p.14.

(2) The text of Contra Hilarium is lost but is referred to in Retract.ii.11. PL. XXXII.63.

(3) De Rebus Eccl. 22.(HITT. p.408.)

(4) Atchley's ed. p.88, 136f. PL. LXXVIII.950.

(5) PL. LXXVIII.972.

(6) Rationale. IV. 26.4.

course due to the disuse of the people's offering.

At first the singing of the Offertory would be antiphonal. The antiphon would be sung by the choir, then the first verse sung solo, then the repetition of the antiphon by the choir, and so on. Now only the antiphon is sung, with the exception of the Offertory at the Requiem Mass where the antiphon is followed by one verse, the text however not being taken from the Psalter. At Easter ~~Even~~ at the present time, no Offertory Anthem is sung. In the MS. of S. Gall already mentioned, there are 102 Offertories of which 82 are from the Psalter, 16 from other Biblical books and 4 non-scriptural. This variety of source still exists, with a slightly ~~larger~~ proportion of the texts non-scriptural. The text used is usually the Vulgate (1).

In rites other than the Roman, the same practice seems to have been followed. In the Ambrosian Mass the chant is called the Offerenda, and its construction is similar to that of the Roman. In the Mozarabic it is called Sacrificium, though S. Isidore sometimes uses the word Offertorium (2). Sacrificium may be the later word, and it is always used in the Missale Mixtum. This is usually but not always scriptural, and is only occasionally from the Psalter. In the Gallican Mass the words *Sonus* and *Laudes* are used. The "*Sonus quando procedit oblatio*" was a canticle ~~added~~ to the Cherubikon of the Eastern Church, and the *Laudes* began and ended with Alleluia, with a text between, usually from a psalm. similar

v. The Psalm at the Incensing of the Oblations.

After the Offertory incense is offered in many rites, both Eastern and Western. Generally there are prayers, and some of the texts have reminiscences of the psalm which is used in the Roman rite, namely Psalm 141. The incensing of the offerings in the Roman rite is accompanied by the secret recitation by the priest of Psalm 141:2-4a, "Let my prayer be set forth as incense..." It may be noted that the Celtic rite uses this same psalm at the half-unveiling of the Chalice (3).

vi. The Lavabo.

In the Eucharistic rites there is in general no fixed place for the washing of the hands by the celebrant. We

(1) Cp. DIX. p.493.

(2) De Offic. i.16.

(3) Martene. DBER. I.IV.VII.I.

have already noted this action in the Eastern liturgies, where it appears in SYR, COPT, ETH, ARM, and NEST. In the last of these it was after the Offertory, in the others before it. In BYZ there is a washing before the Prothesis. In the Roman rite it is now after the Offertory, though its position varied in the early days. The ceremony is first mentioned by S. Cyril about A.D. 348, and he emphasises the symbolic significance of the act. Indeed he seems to reject any utilitarian sense, for he says, "We did not come into the church covered with dirt" (1). This seems to counter some later suggestions (2), such as the idea that after handling the oblations it would be necessary to wash the hands. Actually only the bishop or priest washed his hands, while the deacons who had in fact received the oblations, did not perform manual ablutions. So S. Cyril points out that this is done in token of the innocency required in those who serve the altar.

In the Roman rite this is really the second ablution, the first having taken place at the vesting. In some of the Ordines there is moreover a double washing at the Offertory. Thus Ordo Romanus XIV has an ablution before the Offertory and one after the censuring which follows the Offertory act (3). The first washing is no longer part of the ceremony.

From quite early times the psalm associated with this act has been Psalm 26 with the verse, "I will wash mine hands in innocency: so will I compass thine altar". S. Cyril refers to this (4), but does not say whether the psalm was actually sung. At present in the Roman Mass, Psalm 26:6-12 is sung. The Ambrosian Mass has the ablution in the Canon but without any verbal accompaniment. The Mozarabic Missal has this psalm in the preparation of the ministers before vesting. In the English Mediaeval Missals, York also uses Psalm 26:6-12, but Sarum has a prayer, "Munda me Domine ab omni inquinamento mentis et corporis, ut possim mundus implere opus sanctum Domini".

vii. The Confractorium.

As the word suggests, the Confractorium is a chant which accompanied the Fraction. The chant is found in

(1) Catech. xxiii. 2. PG. XXXIII. 1109.

(2) Cp. Ordo Romanus VII; also Fortescue. The Mass. p. 309.

(3) PL. LXXVIII. 1164-5.

(4) In loc. cit.

the Ambrosian, Mozarabic, and Gallican Masses and in some Celtic rites. In the Ambrosian Missal the text has usually some reference to the Gospel of the day, and is variable. In the Mozarabic, the chant has been replaced by the Creed, though there is an alternative to the Creed in certain antiphons said in Lent, on Corpus Christi, and on some other special days. These are not generally from the Psalter. This however may not be strictly a Confractorium, being now an accompaniment to the Communion. In the Gallican Mass a chant was sung during the Fraction, though it has no special name. In the Stowe Missal we have a respond at this point, which is as follows (1) :-

Fiat, Domine, misericordia tua super nos, quemadmodum
speravimus in te.
Cognoverunt Dominum, alleluia, in fractione panis, alleluia.
Panis quem frangimus corpus est domini nostri Jesu
Christi. Alleluia.
Calix quem benedicimus, alleluia, sanguis est domini
Jesu Christi, alleluia, in remissionem peccatorum
nostrorum, alleluia.
Fiat, Domine, misericordia tua super nos, alleluia,
quemadmodum speravimus in te, alleluia.
Cognoverunt Dominum, alleluia.

It will be noted that here one psalm verse (Psalm 33:22) is used twice, along with texts referring to the Communion, and Alleluias.

This chant seems to be rather late, this being suggested by the variety of texts used, and also by the number of texts which are not from the Psalter.

After the Fraction and the Commixture, Psalm 122 is sung in Solemn Mass, according to Bona (2). The Cistercian Missal has the same psalm with prayers. In the Sarum Missal in Quadragesima and on certain feasts, three psalms are sung between the Agnus Dei and the Pax, viz., Psalms 79, 67, and 21, with Antiphon, "Tua est potentia, tuum regnum Domine; tu es super omnes gentes; da pacem, Domine, in diebus nostris" (3).

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- (1) Warren. Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church. p.241.
 (2) RL. II.16.
 (3) Cp. Daniel. Cod. Lit. I.p.141. See also Martene. DEER. I.IV. VIII. VI, where other customs are mentioned.

viii. The Psalm at the Priest's Communion.

The priest before his own communion kneels and says, "I will take the bread of heaven (panem coelestem) and will call upon the name of the Lord", which is founded on Psalm 116:13. And then, before taking the wine, he recites Psalm 116:12-13, with an ending not from the psalm: "What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits towards me? I will take the cup of salvation and will call upon the name of the Lord. Praising I will call upon the Lord and shall be saved from mine enemies". Cabrol (1) suggests that these prayers may have been originally antiphons of communion psalms. The same psalm is used in the Ambrosian rite, and in the Mozarabic the choir sings part of Psalm 34.

ix. The Communion Chant.

Another important and widely used psalmody is found at the Communion, sung during the communion of the people. This was early in use, being mentioned in Apostolic Constitutions (2) where Psalm 34 was used, and the Eastern rites generally provided for the singing of the Koinonikon. S. Augustine refers to it in the same place where he speaks of the Offertory Chant, having had to defend both in his treatise Contra Hilarium. S. Jerome also mentions the use of the same psalm at the Communion (3). It appears that the Communion Chant was a whole psalm with Gloria Patri and with an antiphon. Thus the arrangement in Ordo Romanus I (4) is that as soon as the pope began to communicate the people, the choir immediately began to sing the "antiphona ad communionem" by turns (per vices) with the subdeacons; and they went on singing until, when all the people had communicated, the pope signalled to them to sing the Gloria Patri, and then, after repeating the verse or antiphon, they were silent. Similar instructions are found in the first five Ordines (5). Later the tendency was to regard the Communion Chant as a kind of thanksgiving for communion, rather than as an accompaniment to the people's communion. Perhaps this was due to a shortening of this item. Fortescue says that the shortening in turn was due to the lessening of the number of communicants (6). Anyhow it was gradually reduced till only the antiphon remained, as at present,

(1) Liturgia. p.552.

(2) xiii.16.

(3) Comm. in Isa.ii.20. PL. XXIV.56.

(4) Atchley's ed. p.145.

(5) Musaeum Italicum. II. pp.15, 50, 60, 62, 69. Cp. also Micrologus. De Eccl. Obs. 18. PL CLI.989. Also Duchesne. Op.cit. p.187.

(6) The Mass. p.386

except at Requiems, where the verse, "Requiem eternam dona eis, Domine", replaces the psalm. The Communion Chants are variable, and the ancient Psalm 34 appears in the Roman Mass only on the eighth Sunday after Pentecost. In general there is no regular sequence of psalms in order of the Psalter, but there is a short sequence from Ash Wednesday to Palm Sunday, with verses taken from Psalms 1 to 26 consecutively, with a few other psalms and some texts from biblical books occasionally intervening.

In the other Western books the same practice is found. In the Ambrosian Missal this chant is called the Transitorium. It is said that this unusual word is used because while the chant is being sung, the celebrant leaves his place and "transfert missale in aliam partem altaris" (1). This seems to be only seldom a psalm. It is often a text from the Gospel of the day, and sometimes is a non-scriptural composition. In the Mozarabic Missal the chant is called Antiphona ad accedentes, and consists of Psalm 34:9 and other verses with Gloria et Honor Patri. The same title appears in the Gallican Mass, where Psalm 34 is used. An interesting point is the use of the word "Trecanum". Pseudo-Germanus uses this to describe the Communion Anthem, and seeks to show that this chant is an act of faith in the Trinity. The chant is as follows (2) :

Gustate et videte quam suavis est Dominus. Alleluia!
 Alleluia! Alleluia!
 Benedicam Dominum in omni tempore, semper laus eius
 in ore meo. Alleluia! Alleluia! Alleluia!
 Redimet Dominus animas servorum suorum, et non derelinquet
 omnes qui sperant in eum. Alleluia!
 Alleluia! Alleluia!
 Gloria et honor Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto in
 saecula saeculorum. Amen. Alleluia!
 Alleluia! Alleluia!

This consists of three verses from Psalm 34, viz., 8, 1, and 22, together with the Gallican form of the Doxology and three Alleluias at each verse. Perhaps Pseudo-Germanus took up his attitude because there are three verses, each with three Alleluias, concluding with a Trinitarian Doxology(3). The Celtic rite also has antiphons at this point, verses 8 and 1 of Psalm 34 appearing in the Communion Chant of

(1) Missale Ambr. rubric of 1669 edition. See Martene.
DAER. I.IV.12.n.3.

(2) Duchesne. Op.cit. p.225.

(3) For further details see Cabrol. MWR. p.154f.

the Stowe Missal and also in the Bangor Antiphony. In the latter there was also a "ymnum quando communicarent (sic) sacerdotes", which begins,

"Sancti venite, Christi corporis sumite;
Sanctum bibentes quo redempti sanguinem". (1).

We have now dealt with the use of the psalms in the Western Eucharist. In summary it may be said that the Psalter has throughout the Christian ages been largely drawn upon, and many psalms or verses of psalms suited to the Eucharist have been selected and put to regular use. In many cases whole psalms have been sung, though in later times the tendency has always been to a shortening, both in the case of the psalms which were themselves part of the rite, as the Gradual, and in the case of those which have at various times been added to the ritual. As ceremonies were multiplied and as the ritual was added to, the service tended to become overlong, and compensation was found in the curtailment of the psalmody. This was in many respects unfortunate, for this was the one thing in which the people themselves could join, though it is true that participation in what psalmody was left was withdrawn from them. One severe criticism that can be passed upon the Western Eucharistic services, as also on the Eastern, is that for so long they were not ~~truly~~ congregational. One good characteristic of the present-day Liturgical Movement in the Roman Church is that it recognises more fully than at any period since early times the need for making worship truly congregational, and so inclines to give the people a fuller share in the ritual and especially in the singing of the psalms and other forms of praise. It is a lesson which might well be learned in other places today.

(1) The full text is in Warren. Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church. pp.187f.

I:
K: S
O A T G A I D
C S C I I

2. THE PSALMS IN THE DAILY OFFICES OF THE WESTERN CHURCH.

We have described in a former section the early development of the Divine Office, to the time of S. Basil, Etheria, and Cassian, and we saw how the Hours came into general observance and how large a portion of these services was occupied with psalms. We now carry on the story as it worked out in the Western Church. The story is a long one, for it really becomes the history of the Breviary. It all forms an entrancing tale, but we have to deal with it only so far as psalmody is concerned, though reference to other aspects of the Offices cannot be avoided.

Cassian forms a link between East and West, inasmuch as after he travelled in Egypt and Palestine, he returned to his work in Gaul, and possibly through his influence some Eastern customs spread rapidly there. For a time only the morning and evening offices seem to have been permitted in churches, at least for the regular clergy, as we see in the Canons of the Councils of Agde, A.D. 506, Braga, A.D. 561, and Fourth Toledo, A.D. 633. S. Caesarius of Arles (ob. 542) and S. Gregory of Tours (bishop 573-595) give some information, the former claiming to have appointed that Terce, Sext, and None should be celebrated every day, though only for penitents and pious layfolk, the latter speaking of the institution of Terce and Sext in his see by one of his predecessors, Injariosus (ob. 545). S. Gregory mentions too that in Lauds the last three psalms of the Psalter were recited.

Rome seems to have been slow to adopt the full system of the Hours or even the daily vigils. Indeed the regular clergy opposed the monastic ~~system~~ system, though in vain. In the time of S. Jerome, about the end of the fourth century, there were no daily vigils in Rome. These are first mentioned in the Benedictine Rule, this being about a century later than S. Jerome. S. Benedict however was not prescribing in his Rule for Rome, but for his own monks in Subiaco and later in Monte Cassino. Yet his work in organising the Daily Offices was so far-reaching in its effects and so important in itself that at almost every later attempt at reform of the Offices and Breviaries, appeal was made to his ideas. The Rule was written about A.D. 526, and though it was not prescriptive, but allowed for considerable variation at the discretion of the heads

of monasteries (1), it soon became most popular.

S. Benedict laid down the following principles which governed his arrangements for the Hour Offices (2). The Psalter was to be recited once in the week, while the whole Bible was to be read once in the year. At the night Office there were to be recited twelve psalms in addition to Psalms 4, 95, and 51. At the day Offices, twelve psalms also were to be read, that is, three psalms for each of the lesser Hours. The psalms were arranged so that the shorter ones should be recited during the day, in order to leave more time for manual labour. Further, each Hour should be carefully ordered, with all its parts well-balanced and arranged. No Office should be too long. The longer psalms were to be divided into sections, each with Gloria Patri. Thus, Psalm 119 was divided into 22 parts. But shorter psalms might be joined together; thus, Psalm 117, consisting of only two verses, should be joined to Psalm 116, to form one psalm with one Gloria Patri.

Details are given of some of the Offices (3), and it may be of interest to show the arrangement in one case, that of the Night Hours. There are three different ways of saying these Offices, one for winter, one for summer, and one for Sunday. In the first case, the Office opens with the verse, "Deus in adiutorium meum intende: Domine, ad adiuvandam me festina" (Psalm 70:1), with Gloria Patri. Then comes Psalm 51:17, then Psalm 4 with Gloria Patri, then Psalm 95 with antiphon. Then follow a hymn, six psalms with antiphons, and a versicle. After the Abbot gives a blessing, three lessons are read, after each of which a Respond is sung, the first two without Gloria, and the third with. The lessons are from the Old and New Testaments and expositions of them from the Fathers. Then six more psalms follow, sung with Alleluia. Lastly a lesson from the Apostle, a versicle, and Kyrie eleison.

Here we have not only the twelve psalms, but also the versicles at the beginning of the service and elsewhere, and the Responds which were also very often taken from the Psalter. We need not give details of all the services of which S. Benedict speaks. It may be said however that the reading of the Psalter commences at Prime, and during the week Psalms 1-20 are sung at that Office. Matins uses Psalms 21-109, and Vespers takes the series, Psalms 110-118

(1) Cap. xviii.

(2) See Liturgia. p.417. Also Heiler. Der Katholizismus. pp.453ff.

(3) Cap. viii-xix.

and 129-147. The others, Psalms 119-128, are kept for the lesser Hours. At Lauds and Compline special psalms are used. Lauds has Psalms 67, 51 and two variable psalms, and the three psalms 148-150; while Compline takes three psalms daily, namely, 4, 91, and 134.

It may be noted too that the Rule gives full instructions as to the saying of the Alleluia (1). It is to be said both with the psalms and with the Responds from Easter to Pentecost. From Pentecost to the beginning of Lent it is to be said with the last six psalms only at Nocturns. But on every Sunday outside Lent, the Canticles, which are sung in the third Nocturn of the Night Office, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext and None, are to be said with Alleluia, but at Vespers with an Antiphon. The Responds are never to be said with Alleluia except from Easter to Pentecost.

This then is the Rule which has been so powerful in its influence throughout the history of Western monasticism. Before the time of S. Benedict there had been many different rules in different monasteries, that of S. Basil for instance being, though of Eastern origin, well known in Italy. But gradually that of S. Benedict ousted the others and became the most popular Rule in the West.

We may mention here one of the other Rules, that of S. Columbanus, called the Cursus Scottorum, which was much more austere than that of S. Benedict. It provided that, for the Nocturnal Office, twelve psalms were to be recited daily during the short nights of summer, but more as the nights lengthened; on Saturdays and Sundays at least eighteen psalms were to be recited, and for the greater part of the year, thirty-six. In winter on weekdays, there were to be thirty-six psalms at the Vigils and sixty-five at the Night Office of Saturdays and of Sundays (2).

As time went on, there were continual changes and variations in the psalmody of the Divine Office, sometimes in the direction of less austerity, and sometimes in that of greater austerity. Some of the documents which give us information may be referred to.

There is for instance a book, compiled towards the end of the seventh century, called the Liber Diurnus (3), which is important as giving the first description of the Roman Office. This description is however apparently not

(1) Cap. xv.

(2) Regula S. Columbani. vii. PL. LXXX. 212.

(3) PL. CV.

complete, as Lauds is not mentioned, though S. Benedict suggests that this was already in the Roman Office. But some interesting points are made. Thus, between Easter and 24th September, Nocturns has three lessons, three responds, and three antiphons, but when the nights are longer, four lessons, and on all Sundays nine lessons. There seems to be some doubt here about the meaning of responsorii and antiphonae. It may be that the former are the responds in the later technical sense as short versicles said after the lessons, and the antiphonae are the psalms with antiphons. Some however think that the responsorii are psalms, not sung antiphonally but recited ~~some~~ with refrain by the choir, that is, the original sense of the term (1). However in either case it is certain that psalms formed an important part of the services.

We need not go into detail with regard to the interesting story of the growing influence of the Roman Office throughout the West, through the foundation of monasteries and through other causes. The Roman Office was established in Gaul under Pepin and Charlemagne, and the Venerable Bede describes its penetration into England. Other Offices, such as the Ambrosian in Milan and the Mozarabic in Spain, as we shall see, retained their place, though mutual influence was exerted between these and the Roman, much in the same way as was the case with the various Missals at the same period.

We shall now consider the psalmody as it was about the end of the eighth century, deriving our information chiefly from the works of Amalarius, who died circa A.D. 850, namely, De Ordine Antiphonarii, and De Ecclesiastico Officio (2).

Before outlining the psalmody, it may be well to speak about the version of the Psalter in use (3). The first Latin translation came to be known as the Itala, and the first recension of this as corrected by S. Jerome at the request of Pope Damasus, was used at Rome. Some parts of this were used in the Missal as we have seen, and the Invitatory Psalm, 95, sung in the Hour Services, is still used in this version. It came into widespread use, especially in Italy and in Spain. But S. Jerome

(1) E.g., Molien, in Riturgia. p. 573.

(3) PL. CV; and in HITT. pp. 263-308 and 101-262. These will be referred to as DOA and DEO respectively.

(3) Cp. Martene. DMR. III.II.III.III.

brought out a second recension, more independent of the Itala. It is supposed to have been adopted in the sixth century at Tours, and to have won great popularity in Gaul. Thus it came to be known as the Gallican Psalter. It was adopted in Germany, England and elsewhere, and gradually ousted the first recension, which came to have the name Roman Psalter, because it remained in use in Rome, which was indeed its last stronghold. From the Roman Psalter, many of the texts for the antiphons and responds, as also sentences for the Introits, Graduals and Communions, are still taken. The two Psalters thus remained in use side by side, and this was not altered till after the Council of Trent, when Pius V adopted the Gallican Psalter for universal use in the Church, with but few exceptions. The Roman Psalter however continued to supply the Antiphons and Responds, the reason being probably that to change the words of these would have involved changes in the music also, and that would have been a difficult undertaking. There have been several revisions of the Vulgate since the Council of Trent, the last of which is only now coming into use.

We proceed then to outline the psalmody of about the end of the eighth century. The weekly recitation of the entire Psalter remained the rule. The Psalter was divided into two parts, Psalms 1-109, and 110-150. The first part was divided among the Nocturnal Offices, i.e., Vespers, Nocturns and Lauds, and the latter part among the Diurnal Offices, i.e., Terce, Sext and None. Prime and Compline seem to ~~be~~ still purely conventual Offices, and had special psalms.

have been

Vespers began with versicles. There are five psalms sung antiphonally, i.e., by two choirs alternately (1). Then a short lesson is followed by a versicle, such as Psalm 141:2. Then the Magnificat, Kyrie eleison, a Blessing, the Collect, and the versicle, "Benedicamus Domino", with the response, "Deo gratias".

As to Compline, there is a short lesson, the Lord's Prayer, Confession, and the psalmody with four invariable psalms (Compline is the only Hour to have this number). Nocturns proper opens with the versicle, "O Lord, open thou my lips...", with Gloria Patri. Then the Invitatory Psalm, 95, sung antiphonally, is followed by the twelve psalms of Nocturns, sung straight through with Gloria after every fourth psalm (2). Then come the three lessons,

(1) DEO.iv.7.(HITT.p.222.)

(2) DEO.iv.9.(HITT.p.226.)

each with a respond. The responds came from various parts of the Bible, those from the Psalter following the New Testament lesson (1). Thus there were twelve psalms, three lessons and three responds. But on Sundays there were added six psalms, six lessons and six responds, divided into two nocturns, giving three nocturns altogether. The psalms of the first of these two nocturns had antiphons, and those of the second had Alleluia as the antiphon (2). After a versicle there were lessons from the Fathers. The Sunday nocturnal Offices ended with the ninth respond.

Lauds began with a versicle, and then came five psalms, the third and fifth being fixed, namely, 63 and 67 for the former, and 148-150 for the latter. The first psalm on Sundays was 93 and on ferias 51; the second psalm varied, and the fourth was one of the Canticles. These psalms had antiphons. The lesson with respond followed, and then the Benedictus, Kyrie eleison and Lord's Prayer (3).

The Diurnal course had the three Hours of Terce, Sext and None, and these were all on the same plan. After a versicle with Gloria Patri, there were three psalms, or sections of Psalm 119, each of 16 verses, without antiphons. Then came lesson, respond, Kyrie eleison, and Lord's Prayer (4). At these Hours the Benedictines used sections of Psalm 119 of eight verses each, as in the Hebrew version.

Prime was built up on much the same plan as the diurnal Hours. The psalms here were three in number, Psalm 54 and two sections of Psalm 119. There was no lesson. There were versicles, e.g., Psalm 119:175-176, and Ps. 51. It may be added that a little later Psalms 21-25 were added to Prime, and also Ps. 118 (5).

These then are the ordinary Offices, but the seasons of the Christian Year and the Saints' Days involved a great many changes and adaptations, not so much to the arrangement of the Offices, but rather to the psalms chosen, and in particular it was the responds that gave the Offices their special character. Indeed we should note that the Office received its name from the opening words of the first respond, just as the Sunday and the Mass took their ~~name~~ name from the Introit. Thus the Office of the First Sunday in Advent is the Office "Aspiciens a longe",

(1) DOA. 53ff. (HITT. 196ff).

(2) DEO. iv. 9. (HITT. p. 227)

(3) DEO. iv. 10, 12. (HITT. pp. 228, 231.)

(4) DEO. iv. 3, 4. (HITT. p. 216f.)

(5) DEO. iv. 2. (HITT. pp. 213f.)

and that of the First Sunday after Trinity is the Office "Deus Omnium", these being the opening words of the first respond in each case (1). The responds used to be longer than they are now, and many of them are from the Psalter (2).

The details of these special Offices need not detain us (3). But we may point out that these Offices may be grouped under four heads :

- a. The ferial Office with 12 psalms and 3 lessons;
- b. The Sunday Office with 18 psalms and 9 lessons;
- c. The Festal Office with 9 psalms and 9 lessons;
- d. The Easter Office with 3 psalms and 3 lessons.

A development which greatly affected the Offices was the constant addition of Saints' Days to the Calendar. Not all of these were universally observed. A saint might be commemorated at first only in the locality to which he belonged or with which he had some special connection. At first these Days were not classed in the way which became regular later on, though Amalarius mentions some feasts of the saints as "præclarissimi", and these he says were celebrated in Rome with a double nocturnal Office (due officia in nocte) (4). The first Nocturn was said without the Invitatory Psalm, and the second with it. It seems that the first was deemed the proper of the saint, and the second was really the ordinary ferial Office (5).

The psalmedy for the Office for Saints' Days was apparently on the same plan as that of the festal Offices. There were nine psalms, nine lessons, nine responds. There were four classes of Saints' Days - Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, Virgins, and a set of psalms was chosen for each of these. Each office had also its antiphons, versicles, and responses.

As the number of the Saints' Days multiplied, the ordinary recitation of the psalm was interfered with more and more. On a Saint's day the special Office came to be said instead of the ferial Office, and no longer in addition to it, as was the case at first, and the omission of ~~the~~

(1) DOA. 8. (HITT. p. 274).

(2) DOA. 27, 54, 58. (HITT. pp. 285, 297, 301).

(3) Cp. Batiffol. Hist. Rom. Brev. pp. 86-99.

(4) DOA. 59. (HITT. p. 302).

(5) DOA. 17. (HITT. p. 281.) "Sunt festivitates quarum officia celebrantur nocturnalibus circa vespertinam horam, quae vulge appellantur propria; et in posteriora parte noctis canitur alterum officium sive de propria feria seu de communibus sanctis".

the ferial Office meant that part of the cursus was not said. Nevertheless the term 'double' was retained. Some (1) suggest that the name 'double' was due to a double recitation of the antiphon to the psalm, but the double recitation is more likely to be an effect than a cause. The consequence in any case was that the Psalter was no longer wholly said weekly, as had been the original intention.

The whole matter was complicated by the introduction of hymns and other pieces, and already Agobard protested against what he called the custom of some "non solum inepta et superflua sed etiam profana et haeretica in ecclesia decantare"(2), and in the next chapter he expresses his desire for a corrected Antiphonary, "ex purissimis sanctae scripturae verbis sufficientissime ordinatus".

So much then for the Offices as they were about the end of the eighth century. Not many changes took place in the immediately succeeding centuries, as far as the time of Gregory VII, to whom some attribute considerable reforms in the Offices. Thus Guéranger (3) says he "abridged the offices of the canonical hours of prayer and simplified the liturgy for the use of the Roman Curia", and Bäumer (4) believes that Gregory was responsible for a number of alterations. Batiffol (5) holds that Gregory did not reform but merely confirmed the ancient use, and Melien (6) agrees. It is pointed out that in Gregory's time the same four classes of Offices as are referred to above, were to be maintained according to the decree of A.D. 1074, the only change being that the Necturnal Office for Pentecost and its octave was to have three psalms, three lessons and three responds, instead of, as before, nine, thus becoming like the Office of Easter. That is to say, this Office was removed from Class c. to Class d. The work Micrologus de ecclesiasticis observationibus (7), by Bernold of Constance (ob. circa A.D. 1100) also gives this information, and is of great value for the liturgy and offices of this time. The indications, however, are that at this period there was little change in the arrangement and performance of the psalms in the Office, though

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- (1) E.g., Gavanti. Thesaurus Sacrorum Rituum. II. §II.II.2.p.20f.
 (2) De Correct. Antiph. c.18.
 (3) Institutions Liturgiques. I.p.281. (Paris.1840).
 (4) Histoire du Brév. Rom. II.p.5.
 (5) Hist. Rom. Brév. pp.126ff.
 (6) Liturgia.p.598.
 (7) PL. CLI.1016ff. Also in HITT.pp.434ff. The ref. is in ch.54. HITT.p.461.

the Sanctorale was still being added to, with further effects prejudicial to the proper performance of the whole Psalter.

Soon after this, important developments began to take place in connection with the Offices, though these did not affect the psalms very much. One document of special interest at this point was John Beleth's Rationale Divinorum Officiorum (1), written between 1161 and 1165, the author being a theologian in the University of Paris. He tells us that in his day there was a tendency to shorten the Offices owing to the lethargy of the clergy and the monks. Attempts to reduce the ferial nocturnal Office to one Monturn with only three psalms and three lessons had been condemned by Gregory VII. In Beleth's time, the shortening process was applied to the lessons rather than to the psalms. A second point is connected with the Sanctorale. The Roman Office had spread in France but many local saints' festivals and other festivals were added, and this further affected the cursus of the psalmody. Moreover at this period the use of hymns in the Offices was greatly extended.

Another matter of interest at this time was the addition of certain psalms to some of the Offices. It was as if the monks found the recitation of the Offices insufficient for the expression of their piety, and so they began to recite the Gradual Psalms (120-134) before Matins (2), the Penitential Psalms (6, 31, 37, 51, 101, 130, 143) after Prime (3), and also two or three psalms after each Hour, said with special intention for benefactors of the monastery, these being called "psalmi familiares" (4). Some other special Offices were also introduced, namely, the Office of our Lady, and the Office of the Dead (5). In all these additional Offices psalms were used, the precise psalms depending on the time when the Office was said. The Office of our Lady was said at Vespers, Matins, Lauds, and the Lesser Hours. Thus, the Vesper psalms, which were said under one antiphon, were Psalms 122-126, except on Tuesday, when these were already recited in the Offices, and therefore they were replaced by the psalms of the second Vespers of Christmas Day. The Office of the Dead was said at Vespers, Matins and Lauds. But it is obvious that this only added to the burden of the Offices,

(1) PL. CCII.14-166.

(2) Bona. DDP. civ. p.487 ff.

(3) Ibid. pp.480ff.

(4) Cp. Martene. DDER. IV.I.IV.XIX.

(5) Cp. E. Bishop. Liturgica Historica. pp.211ff.

which, as already noted, was becoming so great that there were attempts to shorten them. The addition of these extra Offices may have been due to some extent to the fact that the monks were beginning to do less manual labour than in former times(1).

Thus the interference with the regular weekly recitation of the entire Psalter was aggravated. Instead of going regularly through the Psalter each week, the psalms belonging, say, to the Common of Saints were often said, to the exclusion of many of the ferial psalms, and the recitation of the Gradual and Penitential Psalms every day meant that these groups were constantly on the lips of the monks. Many psalms were thus repeated time and again within the space of the week. Psalm 119 for instance was repeated daily in the group, Prime, Terce, Sext and None, and there were also invariable psalms at Lauds and Compline which were said daily. The very Psalmi familiares were a further burden, because in many cases benefactors gave gifts or left legacies to monasteries on condition that so many psalms daily or weekly should be said with ~~intention~~ intention for them. So there were many complaints, and many demands for reform. And there is little wonder that many grew careless about the recitation of the Offices, and that others left off saying many of the psalms (2).

It is believed that Innocent III (1198-1216) had considerable influence on the Offices, and indeed it is probably that he was responsible for the introduction of the daily Office of our Lady and the daily Office of the Dead into the canonical Office, and also for the rubrics dealing with the recitation of the Gradual and Penitential Psalms in Lent (3). It appears also that about this time, it became the custom especially in the papal court to shorten the Offices or change them "to suit the convenience of the pope and the cardinals" (4). This abbreviated Office was adopted shortly after ~~by~~ their foundation by the Franciscans, except that they used the Gallican Psalter instead of the older recension. Somewhat later, in the time of Gregory IX (1227-1241), a revision of the Offices

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- (1) Cp. on the burden and neglect of the Offices in England, Moorham. Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century. Cambridge. 1945. pp.315ff.
- (2) Cp. the instance from Vita S. Bernardi abb. Tirenensis. quoted by Batiffel. Op.cit. p.154.n.2.
- (3) See Radulphus de Rive Decanus Tungronsis. De Canonum Observantia. Props.15,21. (HITT.p. ~~552~~ 552,566).
- (4) Radulphus. Op.cit. Prop.22. (HITT.p.567). "Preut Domino Papa et Cardinalibus congruebat observandum".

was undertaken by Haymon or Ayme of Faversham, General of the Franciscans, and Nicholas III (1277-1280) who was himself a Franciscan, ordered the suppression of the Antiphonaries, Graduals, Missals and other books of the old Roman Office and the adoption of the Franciscan books (1). Benedict XII when in Avignon in 1337 did for Avignon what Nicholas had done for Rome, and ordered the use of the Office of the Curia. But this was not accepted everywhere, and hence the later distinction between the Roman and other Breviaries.

n Radulphus did not approve of this shortened Office. He objected to the shortening and even suppression of lessons and the increase in reading the legends of the saints. There were great additions to the number of festivals of nine lessons, and in many cases the days within the octaves were raised to the rank of doubles. The difficulty was further increased by the adoption of new festivals, such as those of the Holy Trinity and of Corpus Christi. Radulphus says that the number of festivals of nine lessons was increased in order to avoid the recitation of the Gradual and Penitential Psalms and the Office of the Dead (2). He says too that the changing of feasts of nine lessons which fall on other feasts of higher rank or of the same rank, to the first ferial day, brought about in the Franciscan use "continua perturbatio et magna confusio" (3). And so it was that, though the Psalter was still divided out for complete recitation each week, there was no week in which it was actually said.

Generally speaking, the Offices themselves were not greatly changed. Sometimes an Office might be shortened by reciting all the psalms with only one antiphon, as was the case in Lauds and Vespers. On Sundays the psalms (Psalms 20-26) which were to be recited in addition to the ordinary psalms were sometimes ~~suppressed~~ suppressed. But such changes were not of great importance.

The complaints and confusion which have been referred to led to great carelessness and formality in the recitation of the psalms. The changes consequent upon the additions to the Sanctoale and the consequent upsetting of the Tempoale, were different in different dioceses of the Church, and this led to anarchy. Even in one and the same diocese, more than one use might be followed. And

(1) Radulphus. Ibid. Prep. 22. (HITT. pp. 586f).

(2) Ibid. Props. 21-22. (HITT. pp. 566f.)

(3) Ibid. Prep. 22. (HITT. p. 568).

further, since the Office was an obligation on the individual, it was often said privately, and said from a Breviary of the individual's own choice. And so this liberty became license. Many stern things were said about the prevalent negligence, especially in the fifteenth century. This is shown by the records of Episcopal Visitations in England, e.g., those made by John de Grandisson of Exeter, who found that some of the clergy "spend their time not in offering to God the sacrifice of praise, but rather in gabbling through the service, with frequent interruptions of vain and unprofitable discourse and unlawful murmurs to each other" (1).

The humanism of the times may have been partly to blame. The revived interest in the classics made many feel repelled by, if not disgusted with, the Latin of the services, and some began to recite the Offices in Greek and the psalms in Hebrew, no doubt feeling it a scandal to be obliged to praise God in very barbarous expressions (2). Among the demands made for reform were those of Radulphus (3), who appealed to the older books as described in writers like Amalarius, Walafrid Strabo, and others, and looked for some kind of reform that should proceed from Rome (4). The reform came, but not till long after his day.

The new Hymnary of Ferrari, referred to in the note below, was really the first part of a projected new Breviary to be prepared in the best classical style. Clement VII (1523-1534) approved of the hymns, but the sack of Rome in 1527 by Charles V prevented further progress along these lines. Clement returned to the project later on, not so much on humanistic lines, but on more strictly religious lines, and turned for help to a Spaniard, Francis Quignonez, General of the Franciscans, who became a Cardinal in 1529. In that same year Quignonez began his work, and this was of so great importance that we must give careful attention to the two recensions which he prepared (5).

(1) Quoted in G.G. Coulton. Medieval ~~Western~~ Panorama. Cambridge. 1941. pp.131f. Cp.pp.159, 270.

(2) See the preface to Z. Ferrari's Hymni Novæ Ecclesiastici. 1525.

(3) Op.cit. Prop.22. (HITT.p.567.)

(4) Ibid. Prop.12. (HITT.p.545.)

(5) The first recension is ed. by J. Wickham Legg. Breviarium Romanum a Fr. Card. Quignonez editum et recognitum juxta editionem Venetiis A.D.1535 impressam. Cambridge. 1888. The second is in Henry Bradshaw Soc. Publ. Vols. xxxv and xlii. The Second Recension of the Quignon Breviary. Ed. by J. Wickham Legg. 2 vols. 1908 (text), 1912 (introd. and notes).

Quignonez in the preface to his Breviary says the project given to him to work out was "so to arrange the canonical hours as to bring them back as far as possible to their ancient form, to remove from the office prolixities and difficult details; it was to be faithful to the institutions of the ancient fathers, and the clergy were to have no longer any reason for revolting against the duty of reciting the canonical prayers" (1). The first recension appeared in 1535 and it asked for criticisms, which were promptly offered. In view of these, Quignonez brought out a second recension in 1536, also with the approval of the pope, now Paul III. This Breviary found favour in many places, though still adversely criticised in others. In 1558, Paul IV issued a decree, which, while not condemning the temporary use of the Breviary, forbade any further reprints of it. And so ended the first great attempt to reform the Breviary. We must now ask what principles lay behind this reform, particularly with respect to the psalmody.

The Offices were very radically simplified in this Breviary. Quignonez suppressed all the versicles, capitula, and responds, and many of the hymns, leaving only psalms, lections, and a few hymns in his first edition. The antiphons were restored in the second recension. The psalms were so distributed that the entire psalter would be recited each week, and each canonical hour had only three psalms, except that Lauds had a canticle in place of the third psalm. The psalms were chosen in such a way that the total length of the three psalms was always much about the same. The longer psalms were allotted to Matins, and the shorter to the hours from Prime to Compline. No psalm was repeated in any one week. All psalms were to be invariable, certain psalms being allotted to each hour. There was little thought of proper psalms suited to the day, except that the psalms for Friday seem to have been selected as foreshadowing the Passion. The Table which follows on the next page shows the distribution of the psalms in this Breviary (2).

Many changes were also made on the lessons, while the Offices of our Lady and of the Dead were to be said on only a few days in the year. This all made a very profound change, and it is not altogether surprising that many condemned the attempt. The judgment of the Sorbonne

(1) Brev. Rom. Quig. pp. xx f.

(2) Taken from The Second Recension. pp. 42-43. See also Brev. Rom. Quig. pp. 1-18, and 207f.

TABLE OF PSALMS IN THE QUIGNON BREVIARY.

Hour	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thurs	Frid	Sat.
Matins	1	31:1-5	37	49	68	22	55
	9,10	35	44	59	73	69	106
	18	105	109	78	89	71	107
Lauds	66	98	95	81	100	148	117
	96	104	145	135	103	149	150
	Cant	Cant	Cant	Cant	Cant	Cant	Cant
Prime	54	23	5	6	8	2	63
	119:1f	24	17	118	27	12	67
	119:17f	25	26	131	28	51 2	136
Terce	119:33f	14	21	43	92	3	52
	119:49f	19	29	45	93	38	58
	119:65f	20	32	60	108	56	88
Sext	119:81f	39	53	42	50	57	76
	119:97f	62	72	65	75	64	79
	119:113f	116A	121	122	123	140	124
None	119:129f	80	90	82	36	61	102
	119:145f	99	97	87	83	70	128
	119:161f	126	127	94	101	74	133
Vespers	110	77	34	33	132	138	144
	111	116B	41	84	137	139	147A
	114-5	143	113	112	146	142	147B
Compline	4	7	11	40	46	13	85
	31:1-6	15	16	120	47	86	129
	91	125	30	134	48	141	130

was especially severe (1), while hard things were also ~~mentioned~~ said at the Council of Trent (2), and some modern writers are almost as emphatic (3). The contemporary critics were of course accustomed to much more elaborate arrangements, but they were inclined to think of what they ~~were~~ were accustomed to as being much more ancient than it really was, forgetting that a "common and time-honoured ~~custom~~ custom of the Church" might be, as it was in this case, a source of great trouble and confusion. The advantages of the Quignon Breviary are suggested in the Preface, namely, simplicity of arrangement and brevity, an easy source of knowledge of the Bible, prevention of loss of time and fatigue, and the cutting out of many superstitious and offensive things from the legends.

(1) The document is reprinted in The Second Recension. II. pp. 107ff.

(2) See *infra* p. 149.

(3) E.g., Batiffol. Op. cit. pp. 186ff.

But these advantages were not recognised as such, and the Breviary was finally rejected.

Nevertheless this book had great influence. Its use gradually extended from private to public ~~use~~ (1), and in Italy, France, Germany and Spain, it was ~~welcomed~~ ^{recitation} by many. It came thus to have considerable influence on the Gallican Breviaries. Its influence is seen also in the Book of Common Prayer, in its Preface, psalmody and lectionary (2). And finally it is seen in future revisions of the Breviary itself, not least of all in the 1911 edition (3).

The whole matter came up at the Council of Trent, where the Quignon Breviary was discussed in 1551 (4). The criticism of another Spaniard, John of Arze, found wide support (5), though other critics were perhaps more temperate in their judgment. One important point that was made was that it was unreasonable to have two Breviaries, one for private use and the other for public use. Again, it was said that the chief purpose of the Offices was prayer and not reading, this being directed against the greater emphasis on Scripture reading. It was objected too that there were no longer any proper psalms. If Christmas came on a Friday, the same psalms were read as on Good Friday. But the main criticism was the departure from the customs of the Church. So the Council was against the revised book, and though Canons were drawn up for its condemnation, they were apparently not passed. In 1558, as stated, it was forbidden by papal decree to be reprinted. But over a hundred editions had already appeared.

It was Paul IV who issued this decree. Now he himself, by name Peter Caraffa, when Bishop of Teate, formed a Congregation of Clerks Regular called the Congregation of Theatines, and for their use a reformed Roman Breviary was

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- (1) The book was originally meant for private use only.
 (2) See Procter and Frere. New History of the B.C.P. 1914. pp. 34, 309, 316, 341, etc.; Liturgy and Worship. pp. 137f, 154, 156, 206ff; The Second Recension. II. pp. 117-121, where the Quig. and Edwardian Prefaces are compared,
 (3) Cp. also Tommasi's Reformed Breviary. See infra.
 (4) This is beyond our period, but it seems advisable to sketch the progress of reform, and therefore the next few pages will carry the story down to the present time, though only in outline.
 (5) His Consultatio is reprinted in The Second Recension. II. pp. 136-212.

prepared, and Clement VII gave them permission to use it. When Caraffa became Pope as Paul IV in 1555, he decided to have this Breviary again revised, ridding it of errors of history, literary defects, and wearisome prolixities. The Council of Trent faced the question of a revision in 1562, the question being raised on the demand for reform made by the Cardinal of Lorraine in the name of the King and Bishops of France and by the Emperor Ferdinand I. In fact the Council ended without the revision being carried out, and the matter was left in the hands of the pope. He appointed a committee to go on with the work, which however was not finished till the reign of his successor Pius V, and the new Breviary appeared in 1568, with the Bull Quod a nobis. This Bull gave details of some of the procedure adapted for the revising, and it absolutely prohibited the use of the Quignon Breviary or any other Breviary, except such as could prove two centuries' use or the express approval of the Holy See.

Many changes were made in this Breviary, but very little alteration was made in the psalmody. The text remained unaltered, being the Gallican Psalter, the Roman Psalter being used now only in S. Peter's in Rome, in S. Mark's in Venice, and in Milan, except that the Roman was still used for the antiphons and responds. The distribution of the psalms was unchanged, except in the case of Prime. Here on Sundays Psalms 21-25 and 118 had been said before Psalm 119, but now these six psalms were to be said, one on each of the ferias of the week (1). The Gradual Psalms were now to be said only on Wednesdays, and the Penitential Psalms only on Fridays, instead of as before on all ferias, in Lent. The Office of the Dead which had been recited on every feria or simple feast, was now to be recited only on the first day of the month and on certain other days. The Office of our Lady, formerly said on every feria, simple feast and semi-double feast, was now to be said only on Saturdays, with a few Saturdays excepted, as in Lent. It may be added that Pius V attached indulgences to the recitation of these psalms and offices, e.g., an indulgence of fifty days to the recitation of the Penitential, and the same to that of the Gradual Psalms (2). Another point of interest is that the accentuation of the words of the psalms was now marked, so as to avoid the mispronunciation of the Latin.

(1) The psalms as at this time are fully detailed in Bona. DDP. pp.543ff.

(2) Cp. on this point, Coulton. Ten Medieval Studies. Cambridge. 1930. pp.5, 225, 265-6.

The Breviary of Pius V was widely accepted, and even some churches which could show two hundred years' use of their own breviaries, adopted the new one instead. Milan preserved the Ambrosian Breviary, and Toledo kept the Mozarabic Breviary, but many of the interesting Gallican Breviaries were corrected and adapted to the new Roman use. It remains to say that some of the reforms which Quignonez sought to see brought about, were accomplished in this Breviary, as in the selection of the lessons and the correction of the legends of the Saints.

Although the Bull Quod a nobis stated that there should be no further changes in the Offices, none of the successors of Pius V felt themselves bound by that statement. Many new Offices were introduced, and others that had been suppressed were revived. There was revision of the text in view of the new editions of the Vulgate of 1589 and of 1592. But nothing was changed of interest to our purpose till 1632 in the reign of Urban VIII (1623-1644), when the text was brought into agreement with that of the Vulgate, spelling made more uniform, and ^{(the} mediation in each verse of a psalm was marked by an asterisk as a help to the correct chanting. The hymns were also revised, and in many cases spoiled. Innocent X (1644-1655) sought to have the Sunday Offices more regularly recited, and to bring the ferial Offices into more frequent use, this to remedy the old trouble caused by the encroachments of festivals on the ferials. Nothing further requires mention till the time of Benedict XIV (1740-1758).

But at this point we step for a moment to look at the Neo-Gallican Breviaries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Most of the French Breviaries had been corrected in the light of the Breviary of Pius V, but towards the end of the seventeenth century there was talk of a revision in an anti-Roman sense. The Archbishop of Vienne in 1678 altered the legends and replaced the original Gregorian responds with new ones entirely scriptural in origin. In 1680 a new Paris Breviary was published, and one in Orleans in 1693, which also admitted only scriptural antiphons and responds. Some other dioceses also issued Breviaries and then came the new edition of the Paris Breviary, known as Vintimille's Breviary, in 1736.

General principles animating these were, particularly the excision of all non-scriptural material; a new proportion in the comparative solemnity of the classes of festivals; and a radical abbreviation of the services. There was also

an attempt to rearrange the Psalter in such a way that every day and Hour should have its proper psalms, the longer psalms being divided into sections, and the whole psalter recited in the course of a week (1). Many dioceses adopted this Breviary, and in spite of the Pope's commands to withdraw it, a new edition appeared in 1743.

It is of interest to compare with these French attempts to reform the Breviary, the Reformed Breviary of Cardinal Tommasi, written about 1706. This, the work of one of the greatest Roman Catholic liturgists since the Reformation, was meant for private recitation, and was, like that of Quignonez, a very radical simplification of the existing breviaries. Tommasi left only the psalms, canticles, scripture lessons, and the Lord's Prayer. Antiphons, responds, invitatories, metrical hymns, and all non-scriptural material, were suppressed. Even Quignonez had not gone so far as that. The psalms were to be allotted to the Hours in much the same way as in the old Gregorian distribution (2). The psalms and canticles were always to be recited as they are arranged for the days of the week, except on the Festivals of Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, etc., on which days proper psalms were to be recited "ex antiquo more" (3). No provision appears to have been made for the Sanctorale. This work does not seem to have been published in Tommasi's lifetime, and it is doubtful if it exercised any influence on the eighteenth century. But it is interesting as another example of the influence of Quignonez, and as appearing in Italy at the same time as the new Gallikan Breviaries were appearing in France. It also illustrates the feeling of dissatisfaction ~~with~~ ^{existing} with the method of reciting the Psalter.

(continued)

We now continue with the main story, returning to the time of Benedict XIV who succeeded to the papal throne in 1740. He did not insist on the withdrawal of Wintimille's Breviary of 1736, because he wished to make a new revision of the Roman Breviary. A Congregation was appointed, and the usual criticisms of the recitation of the Psalter were made, and though some wished this point taken up at once, it was decided to deal with the Calendar first, so that the Psalter did not come under discussion till 1744. Though

(1) See the interesting table of distribution of the psalms in seventeen of these French Breviaries in J.W. Legg's edition of The Reformed Breviary of Cardinal Tommasi. pp.46-59.

(2) Ed. cit. p.25.

(3) Ibid. p.27.

the new French method had some supporters even in Italy, the Congregation affirmed that the ancient Roman distribution must not be departed from. The Congregation finished its labours in 1747, and Benedict himself took over the matter, intending to correct the Breviary himself, but he died in 1758 with the work uncompleted.

From that time till the nineteenth century little change was made. The French Breviaries continued to be revised and were in use till about the middle of the nineteenth century, when the majority of French bishops introduced the Roman Breviary, this being largely due to the influence of Dom Guéranger, Abbot of Solesmes. Many German dioceses which had also had their own Breviaries adopted the Roman Breviary shortly afterwards. In 1856 a Commission was appointed by Pius IX to investigate the question whether a reform of the Breviary was opportune. The answer was in the affirmative, but no steps were taken. When the ~~Vatican~~ Vatican Council met in 1869, the matter was raised again, and various suggestions were made by French, German, Italian, and other groups. Several of these had to do with the psalmody; the distribution of the psalms should be more varied; the constant repetition of the same psalms was harmful to piety; the whole Psalter should be recited at least several times in the year. However nothing was done so far as the psalmody was concerned till the issue of the Breviary of Pius X in 1911.

In 1902 a Commission was set up by Leo XIII to draw up a scheme for the revision of the Breviary. The Commission reported to Pius X in 1904 who asked them to suspend their labours for the time being. Apparently the Commission had resolved on a new distribution of the Psalter, which followed the Ambrosian rule of a fortnightly recitation of the entire Psalter, and like the Rule of S. Benedict, divided the longer psalms into sections. But their suggestions were set aside. In fact Pius X was primarily interested in the music of the Church, as is seen in his Motu proprio of 1903. He appointed a Commission for Music and Sacred Chant to reform and republish the books of plainchant. But it was found impossible to bring this to a conclusion unless both the Missal and the Breviary were corrected. In consequence the Bull Divino afflatu of 21st December, 1911, promulgated a new Breviary. In this the ever-recurring criticisms of several centuries were at last met, and the desires of many ardent and pious souls fulfilled.

The Bull Divine afflatu insists that psalmody is the soul of the Divine Office, and the psalms possess a sovereign and inexhaustible religious power. It recalls that from early times the weekly recitation of the Psalter had been ordained. Complaints had been made about the upsetting of this rule, and the pope had decided to bring it in again. The psalter is to be recited weekly, and the festivals of the saints, which had been the cause of so much trouble, are yet to be retained. But the ordinary ferial psalms are to be said on these days, followed by the proper lessons of the Saints' Days. Along with the Bull was published the official edition of the Psalter of the Roman Breviary, and it should be noted that the Psalter is now separated from the Ordinarium. In earlier Breviaries the two parts had been intermingled, except for the Paris Breviary of 1736 (1). There were of course many other changes in this Breviary besides those in the psalms. We shall however now note some of the details in the new arrangement of the Psalter.

The Offices were mostly shortened, especially Matins. Sunday Matins had 18 psalms, and ferial Matins had 12, some of these being long. Now however the longer psalms are divided into sections, and the number was reduced to nine psalms or portions of psalms at Matins, except for the Matins of the Paschal and Pentecostal seasons, which still have only three. The psalms not selected for Matins are divided out for Lauds and the lesser Hours. The psalms for the three Necturns are to be recited continuously, so that one Necturn of nine psalms is formed, on ferias and simple feasts. The psalms of the feria are to be recited even on double, semi-double or simple feasts, unless there are proper psalms and antiphons assigned to the feast. It may be added that the recitation in choir of the Little Office of our Lady, the Office of the Dead, the Gradual and Penitential Psalms, is abrogated.

In the actual distribution of the psalms, however, as few changes as possible are made. Some psalms are removed from one day to another, as was bound to be the case owing to the reduction of the number of psalms at Matins. Greater changes are made in the case of Lauds, the lesser Hours and Compline. One outstanding change and improvement is that Psalm 119 is no longer said daily in the Lesser Hours, these now having their own psalmody.

(1) Cp. also the first edition of the Quignon Breviary.

This consists of psalms selected because of their aptness to the Hour and the day, especially in the case of Bauds and Compline. For the other Hours, the psalms are more nearly in their numerical order, but occasionally that order is broken into for the sake of variety and suitability. And one great advantage of this new distribution is that the long-standing complaint that some psalms were recited so often that they became formal and even wearisome, while others were but rarely encountered, can no longer be made. The arrangement may not yet be altogether perfect, but there is no doubt that there is here a great advance, at least in respect of the psalmody. It is noticeable that the arrangement has been influenced by the ideas of Quignonez and of Vintimille. W. H. Frere has put it thus: "The new Psalter recently promulgated throw over entirely the ancient Roman apportionment of the Psalms, abolished the tradition of 13 or 14 hundred years, and substitutes for it a new arrangement of the Psalter based upon the experiment in the Gallican Breviaries of the 17th and 18th centuries. The spirit of the Congregation of St Maur has triumphed over the tradition of St Gregory" (1). It may be added that a new version of the Vulgate was issued in 1945 and will be used in new editions of the Breviary.

We must now make some reference to the Breviaries other than the Roman, and their arrangement of the Psalter. The Ambrosian Breviary shows some peculiarities in the psalmody. The original differences are not easy to describe owing to lack of information. But W.C. Bishop (2) has worked out an interesting hypothesis as to the original arrangement. He thinks that ~~perhaps~~ the primitive system was ten psalms daily, except Saturday and Sunday which had a special psalmody. That makes fifty psalms weekly, and the whole psalter said in three weeks. The later books show the following scheme.

To take Nocturns first. Psalms 1-108 (Vulg) are used in this Office, divided over a fortnight into decurias, thus (3):

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- (1) A Collection of His Papers. Alcuin Club Collections. No. XXXV. 1940. p.77. (Attention may be drawn to such modern Breviaries as those of Heiler. Ev. Kath. Brevier. Munich. 1932; ~~xxx~~ Otto Mehl. Evang. Brevier zur Morgen-, Mittag-, und Abendstunde nebst Nachtgebet. Grimmen; etc., which are of interest).
- (2) The Mozarabic and Ambrosian Rites. Alcuin Club Tracts. No. XV. 1924. pp. 122ff.
- (3) The numbers in this Table are Vulgate numbers, to show how the decuriae or sets of ten psalms appear.

	First Week.	Decuria.	Second Week.	Decuria.
Mon.	Pss. 1-16	I	Pss. 61-70	VI
Tues.	" 17-30	II	" 71-80	VII
Wed.	" 31-40	III	" 81-90	VIII
Thurs.	" 41-50	IV	" 91-100	IX
Fridd.	" 51-60	V	" 101-108	X

On Saturdays and Sundays the Canticles are used with Psalm 119. The rest of the Psalter is assigned to Vespers, but here the Gregorian distribution is used, and it does not fit in with the Ambrosian arrangement of the first part of the Psalter! Psalms 118, 119, 134, 143, 148, 149, 150 are excluded, and the other 35 of the portion, Psalms 109-150 (Vulg.), are divided over the seven, not five, days of the week—~~the week~~ i.e., five psalms daily beginning on Sunday. The excluded psalms are fitted in thus - 118 in Lauds on Saturday, 119 in Necturns on Saturday, 134 in Compline daily, 148, 149 and 150 in Lauds daily. Psalm 143 is omitted altogether, because in the Roman arrangement it was in Lauds on Fridays, but in the Ambrosian the psalms at Lauds are different. This is a clear proof of an importation into the Ambrosian from the Roman. The arrangement of the psalms in the lesser Hours is almost the same as the Roman, at least on ferias. On Saints' Days, two psalms, selected as suited to the feast, are sung, instead of five as in the Roman arrangement. And in Holy Week and Easter Week only one psalm is said in each Hour. We may add that at Lauds certain psalms are called "psalmi directi", i.e., they are sung straight ~~through~~ through without antiphon or refrain. The text used down to the time of S. Charles Borromeo in the sixteenth century was that of S. Jerome's first recension of the Itala - what was known as the Roman Psalter as distinguished from the Gallican (1).

With regard to the Mozarabic Breviary, there were differences in the various dioceses. And it is necessary to distinguish between the "Ordo Cathedralis" and the "Ordo Monachorum", that is, between the Offices of the secular clergy and those of the monastics. In the former the usual Hours were Lauds, Vespers, and Compline, and these were said only on days when the Eucharist was celebrated. In these the psalter was not distributed; there was no course of psalmody, and no rule by which the Psalter was to be entirely recited in a certain time. Only selected psalms or portions of psalms were sung with antiphons or responds, the selection being made by the

(1) See Magistretti. Manuale Ambrosianum. 2 vols. Milan. 1905. Also Bona. DDP. XVIII.X. pp. 549f.

presiding minister. The monastic order was much more complete, giving Offices for Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, Midnight, Cockcrow (Gallicinium), and in addition, Offices for the second, fourth, fifth, seventh, eighth, tenth and eleventh Hours. These consisted of psalms, variable in number, with responds, hymns, canticles, and prayers. In the case of many of the psalms, only the antiphon and the respond were left, the verse portion, usually the first verse of the psalm, being the only remnant of the whole psalm which had been sung in earlier times (1).

Of the Gallican Breviary not a great deal is known definitely. The number of psalms used in the Hours seems to have differed in various provinces. In the Celtic rites, great latitude seems to have been allowed to monasteries for the arrangement of the Offices and of the psalmody. As to the Breviaries of the monastic Orders, the psalmody in most cases followed the Rule of S. Benedict, sometimes with slight variations (2).

A brief reference may be made regarding the book known as the Horae B.V.M. or in England as the Prymer. This is a book used for private devotion by layfolk, which they could use in their homes, or on occasion take to church for private meditation during the Mass. But actually the Prymer came into being in connection with the monastic Offices (3). We have seen that certain additional Offices came to be said in the middle ages, the Office of our Lady, the Office of the Dead, the Gradual and the Penitential Psalms. These are the Offices which are found in the Prymer, with, in addition, the Litany, and the Commendations or "psalmi familiares". These Offices had been invented by the piety of individuals for the use of monks, and were widely adopted by the secular clergy, and finally became very popular among the more pious layfolk. It was obviously convenient to have these Offices gathered together in one volume. The Prymer was thus a book of suitable size for carrying about, say, when travelling. The Breviary would be for ordinary people far too large, and perhaps also too difficult to follow.

(1) See Bishop. Op.cit.; Breviarium Gothicum, PL. LXXXVI; Bona. DDP. XVIII.XI.p.550; and Ferotin. Le Liber Ordinum en usage dans l'Église Wisigothique et Mozarabe d'Espagne. Paris.1904. (Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica. Vol.V)

(2) See Bona. DDP. XVIII.pp.542ff.

(3) For details, see E. Bishop.. On the Origin of the Prymer. in Liturgica Historica. pp.211 ff. Also The Prymer. edited by H. Littlehales. 2v. 1891-2; and Maskell. Monumenta Ritualia. II.

The Offices themselves have already been referred to, and it suffices here to note the existence and contents of the Prymer, for so long a greatly-loved book of devotion.

The Rhymed Psalters sometimes mentioned were also used for private devotion, though ~~sometimes~~ sung by groups of clerics or monks, either privately or ~~occasionally~~, in choir. ^{occasionally} The Rhymed Psalter was really a poem of 150 verses, each verse forming a salutation to or praise of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and each having some reference to the corresponding psalm. Many well-known men wrote these, e.g., S. Anselm, S. Bonaventura, Stephen Langton, and others. Later on the references to the psalms were omitted entirely, and the Rhymed Psalter simply became a religious poem (1).

Finally, a few notes on special points. We have dealt with the psalms in their distribution. We have seen that in many cases they were sung with antiphons, and this method of singing has already been described. In the Breviary the use of the antiphons is similar to that in the Missals, the main difference being that whereas in the Mass the psalms are reduced from being whole psalms to only very few verses, in the Divine Office the psalm is not usually abbreviated (2).

Two things peculiar to the Offices may be mentioned. First, there is the Invitatory Psalm (3), which is sung at the beginning of Matins and is derived from the use of Psalm 95 which is mentioned in the Rule of S. Benedict (4). From the Benedictine Office it was adopted by the Roman Rite, and it is always said except at Epiphany and on the last three days of Holy Week. The reason for that omission is that at Epiphany Psalm 95 is already sung in the third Nocturn, while the services of Holy Week do not use the later additions to the Office. Mediaeval writers as usual find various mystical reasons for this omission.

S. Benedict suggested that this psalm should be sung slowly in order to allow latecomers to arrive in time for the beginning of the real psalms (5). It is still sung in the ancient antiphonal manner, chanted in choir by a

(1) See Dreves. Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi. ~~xxxv.~~ xxxv. Leipzig. 1900. pp. 153-171. Also Mabillon. Annal. Bened. IV. 462ff.

(2) See Bona. DDP. XVI. X. p. 513. Martene. DAER. Vol. IV. I. II. 53-54. Also DAEL. 1. 2. 2312f.

(3) Bona. DDP. XVI. VIII. p. 509. Martene. Vol. IV. III. I-II. ^{DAER.} pp. 87ff. DAEL. 7. 1. 1419-22.

(4) Cap. ix.

(5) Cap. xliii. "omnino subtrahendo et morose volumus dici".

cantor, the choir taking up ~~the~~ as refrain one or other of the verses. Of the psalm only a single verse is now sung.

The ferial invitatories are clauses of Psalm 95 :-

Monday. O come, let us sing unto the Lord.

Tuesday. Let us make a joyful noise to the rock of our salvation.

Wed. In his hand are the deep places of the earth.

Thurs. Let us kneel before the Lord our Maker.

Frid. Let us worship the Lord, for he made us.

Sat. The Lord our God. O come, let us worship.

The invitatories were not always from this psalm. Many of those for the feasts give a brief indication of the significance of the day, but often had a short quotation from the psalm as well. Thus, for Advent, it is

The King, the Lord that is to come:
O come, let us worship.

For Christmas, it is

Christ is born to us:
O come, let us worship.

The second point concerns the Responds (1), which as we have seen are short passages recited after the lessons. The complete Respond is made up of a response divided into two parts, the beginning and the refrain or reclamation; followed by a versicle, which ends with the refrain. Many of these are taken from the lesson preceding the respond, and sometimes summarise the point of the lesson. That is why the Sarum Breviary calls them "histories". The ferial responds are taken from the Sunday lessons in the Roman Breviary, and this example is followed elsewhere, as in the Paris Breviary. But many of the responds are taken at least partly from the Psalter. Thus the respond after the fourth lesson in Nocturns on Trinity Sunday is -

R/ Quis Deus magnus sicut Deus noster?
Tu es Deus qui facis mirabilia.
V Notam fecisti in populis virtutem tuam,
redemisti in brachio tuo populum tuum.
Tu es Deus qui facis mirabilia.

This is the normal form, but in these Nocturns Gloria Patri was said after each set of three lessons, and it was

(1) See Bona. DDP. XVI.IV. p.523. Also Martene. DAER. Vol.III. IV.VI.XIV.p.15.

followed by the refrain of the response. Thus, after the sixth lesson in Necturns on Trinity Sunday, we have

Ry Magnus Dominus et laudabilis nimis
 Et sapientiae eius non est numerus.
 V Magnus Dominus et magnus virtus eius;
 Et sapientiae eius non est finis.
 Et sapientiae eius non est numerus.
 Gloria Patri....
 Et sapientiae eius non est numerus.

This use of verses from the psalms may be classed with the versicle use, which has been so common in many parts and ages of the Church. Other versicles are also used in these Offices. Thus there are three versicles which are to be found at the beginning of the Offices (1). Necturns begins with the verse, "Dominus labia mea aperies: et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam", which is Psalm 51:15. At the beginning of Compline, there is the versicle, "Converte nos Deus salutaris noster: et averte iram tuam a nobis", which is Psalm 85:4. And the third, which is found in most of the Offices, is, "Deus in adiutorium meum intende: Domine ad adiuvandum me festina", which is Psalm 70:1. In each case the first half of the versicle is called the Verse, and the second the Response. These may be taken as further examples of the widespread use of Versicles.

This brings us to the end of our study of the psalmody of the Western Divine Office, and here we find the same principles in the use of the psalms as we have noted in other branches of the Church, in other forms of its services, and in other ages of its history. The whole Psalter is recited regularly. Proper psalms are a constant feature. Versicles of many kinds are found in nearly all the Offices. If it is verily meet, right and our bounden duty that we should at all times and in all places give thanks unto God and praise His Holy Name, it has been the conviction of men always and everywhere that the Psalter is a most fit medium for that grateful praise.

(1) See Bona. DDP. XVI.IV.p.500.

3. THE PSALMS IN THE OCCASIONAL OFFICES.

The Occasional Offices are today contained principally in the Rituale and the Pontificale Romanum. The former is the book used by priests and contains such services and instructions as are necessary for Baptism, the administration of the Eucharist, Extreme Unction, Funerals, Marriage, and various Benedictions, and so on - that is, whatever lies within the duty of the priest. The edition presently in use is that of Paul V, dated 1614, edited by Benedict XIV in 1752. This book was derived from the Ceremonial arranged by Christopher Marcat in 1516, called Rituum Ecclesiasticarum sive Sacrarum Caeremoniarum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Libri Tres, published in Venice. This was a collection or codification of Roman ceremonial, and it in turn was at least partly derived from the Ordines Romani (1). In England instead of the Rituale, the book used is the Ordo Administrandi Sacramenta. The Pontificale which contains services used by bishops, is in three sections, the first dealing with ordinations and blessings for various states of life, such as monks and abbots; the second containing blessings of things, such as the consecration of churches, altars, ~~cauteries~~, church furnishings, and so on; and the third containing ceremonies performed by bishops at certain seasons or days of the year, and other matters. The first Pontificale was published by Innocent VIII in 1485. Various alterations and corrections have been made, and the present edition is that of Benedict XIV corrected by Leo XIII in 1858. This book also derives from the Ordines and other books such as the Sacramentaries.

a. BAPTISM.

We take first the Office of Baptism, which, though originally followed by the Office of Confirmation, is now in general a separate service. The most striking thing about the Western Office is the fact that very few psalms are mentioned in the liturgical books. This is a great contrast to the usages of the Eastern Church, where quite a number of psalms were recited. Thus Duchesne (2) describes the ceremonies of Christian initiation as they are found principally in the Ordo Romanus VII of Mabillon (3), the text of which goes

(1) These are described in Liturgia. pp. 435ff; see also DACL. 12.2. 240lff.; also Duchesne. Christian Worship. pp. 146ff. The texts are in PL. LXXVIII. 937-1372.

(2) Op. cit. pp. 308-313.

(3) PL. LXXVIII.

as far back as the time of Charlemagne. The Gelasian Sacramentary agrees in most points with this Ordo, and ~~no~~^{few} psalms are mentioned. It is notable that the whole baptismal ceremony seems to have been composed with adults in view, though by the time of Ordo VII baptism was generally administered to infants. Actually the present order for adults gives an idea of the full ancient ceremony, while that for infants can be thought of as an abridgement of the former.

In the ancient days there were three parts in the service, the rite of entrance into the catechumenate, the preparation for Baptism, and the actual baptismal rite itself. Ordo VII shows psalms in use only in the last of these parts. At the beginning of this third part, lessons were read, twelve in number, as in the Gelasian Sacramentary, each followed by a prayer, and with canticles between some of them, mostly from the Old Testament, and at the end of all psalm 42. This is the only psalm mentioned in this ceremony.

The same psalm is referred to in some of the orders of Baptism given by Martene (1). Thus the Franciscan Order (2) speaks of the same psalm as a Tractum, and it is sung by cantors while the bishop or archpresbyter goes to bless the font. This is after the litanies are finished, the lessons all read, and other things sung (*ceteris decantantibus*), these being probably the canticles. The bishop is accompanied by the whole schola clericorum. Ordo XV in Martene speaks of the schola cantorum being present. The Ambrosian order (3) also mentions the same psalm as being sung on the way to the font in the church. If Baptism should be at home (4), the same psalm is recited. There are references to the singing of other compositions besides psalms, such as litanies (5) and hymns (6).

In the modern Rituale, Psalm 42 appears at the very beginning of the rite of Baptism of an adult, in the preparation of the priest himself. There are three psalms at this point - 8, 29, and 42. These are however said by the priest only if there is time (*si temporis ratio ferat*). They are preceded by the Versicle "Deus in adiutorium", followed by Gloria Patri. The antiphon of the psalm is "Effundam super vos aquam mundam, et mundabimini ab omnibus inquinamentis vestris, dixit Dominus", which is Ezekiel 36:25. It is clear that Psalm 42 has been moved from a later part of the rite to this early position. There

(1) DBAR. I.I. Vol.I. pp.1-85.

(3) DBAR. Ordo XXI. p.82.

(5) Ibid. pp.74, 76, 78, etc.

(2) Ibid. pp.78f.

(4) Ibid. p.82.

(6) Ibid. p.68.

is now no other reference to psalmody in Baptism.

There is however one ceremony not found in the Roman Rituale, and used only in certain places, that of the presentation of the baptised person at the altar, at which a passage from the Gospels is read over him by the priest. The quotation from S. Gregory Nazianzen, who speaks of the singing of the psalms as a foretaste of the psalmody of heaven (1), suggests that the psalms referred to were those which accompanied this presentation. Whether this is a simple dedication of the baptised person, or whether this had something to do with the old custom of giving the first communion after the baptism and confirmation, seems to be in doubt. Psalms however seem to be no longer used in this local custom.

The order for the Baptism of infants has no psalmody.

b. CONFIRMATION.

In the East Confirmation followed immediately on Baptism, and was in turn followed by the first Communion. In the West Confirmation came to be separated from Baptism, perhaps owing to the fact that it was in time generally administered to infants. Many of the Orders of Baptism in Martene say that if a bishop is present at the Baptism, Confirmation may be administered at once, and that even down to the thirteenth century (2), with the first Communion thereafter. And indeed at the present time in the Roman Rituale it is said that if a bishop is present and has lawful authority to confirm, the baptised person if an adult may be confirmed and receive his first communion (3). This is not the case with infants, who are not to be confirmed till the age of reason, say, seven years (4). The rite itself is a ~~short~~ short one with no psalmody, except in the versicles,

Adiutorium nostrum in nomine Domini,
Qui fecit coelum et terram (Ps.124:8).
Domine exaudi orationem meam,
Et clamor meus ad te veniat (Ps.102:1).

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- (1) Orat. xl. in Sanctum Baptisma. 46. PG. XXXVI. 426. Supra p. 36.
 (2) Martene. DMR. I. II. Vol. I, pp. 68, 71, 73, 75, etc.
 (3) Ordo Baptismi Adultorum. Para. 56.
 (4) Cp. the title of the Order of Confirmation in B.C.P. as "laying-on of hands upon those that are baptized and come to years of discretion".

There is also the antiphon, "Confirma hoc, Deus, quod operatus es in nobis a templo sancto quod est in Jerusalem", which is Psalm 68:28-29. The rites given in Martene (1) show no psalmody other than versicles such as those quoted above.

c. MATRIMONY.

The rites of marriage in the West are not so complex as those in the East. The rite may be divided into two parts, first the part extra Missam and secondly the part intra Missam. The latter is really the Mass pro sponse et sponsa or ~~Mass~~ Nuptial Mass. This is of the same nature as the ordinary Mass, except that the sung parts, Introit, Gradual, etc., the prayers and the lessons are chosen so as to suit the rite of marriage. It is therefore not necessary to deal with this part, as psalms are used in the regular places. In the present Rituale Romanum the Introit includes Psalm 128:1; the Gradual is Psalm 128:3 with Psalm 20:2; the Tract is Psalm 128:4-6; and the Communion is Psalm 128:1,6. This insistent use of Psalm 128 is a very old custom, and we shall see that it is present also in the rite extra Missam.

This part includes the exchange of consent and the declaration of union in marriage by the priest. Then there is the blessing of the ring, which in some places however preceded the ~~exchange~~ exchange of consent (2). These are the principal points in the rite extra Missam, and of course the exchange of consent is the essence of the marriage contract. Many additional ceremonies are found in some of the rites, and there are but few points where psalmody was used. Psalm 128 appears in many rites, sometimes immediately after the blessing pronounced on the married couple, as in Martene's Ordo II, sometimes after the party enters the church, the exchange of consent being given at the door of the church, as in his Ordo III. One or two other psalms are also used in a few of the rites, such as Psalm 51 or Psalm 68:28-30, the latter often before the blessing of the ring, as in Martene's Ordo III.

Actually in this part, versicles are more common than psalms, such as "Adiutorium nostrum...". After the

(1) DEER. I.II. Vol.I.pp.86-97.

(2) In the rites given by Martene, the blessing precedes the exchange of consent in eight out of the first fourteen Orders.

ring is placed on the woman's finger, these versicles follow :

V. Confirma hoc Deus quod operatus es in nobis:

R/ A templo sancto tuo quod est in Jerusalem (Ps.68:28f).

And after the Lord's Prayer :

V Salves fac servos tuos:

R/ Deus meus, sperantes in te (Ps.86:2.)

V Mitte eis Domine auxilium de sancto:

R/ Et de Sion tuere eos (On Ps.20:2):

V Esto eis Domine turris fortitudinis:

R/ A facie inimici (On Ps.61:3).

V Domine exaudi orationem meam:

R Et clamor meus ad te veniat (Ps.102:1).

In some Gallican rituals there are forms for the blessing of the marriage bed (1), which include responses and prayers, together with the whole of Psalm 128, with Gloria Patri (2). Another form, used at Châlons, had Psalm 127 (3). The Gallican books seem to prescribe no Nuptial Mass, though in some of the later ones there is a benediction to be said over the married couple after an ordinary communion at Mass. The Ambrosian Ritual (4) does not show any different features so far as psalmody is concerned. Psalms thus have but a small place in the marriage service of the Western Church, apart from the Nuptial Mass.

d. FUNERAL OFFICES.

In the Funeral Offices we find a much greater use of psalms. Many of the older Orders, such as those reprinted by Martene, begin with instructions as to what should be done as a man is breathing his last. Most of them require the recitation of the Penitential Psalms. When life has ended, and the body is being washed, various responses are prescribed, and psalms such as 114 and 116, with antiphons many of which are not scriptural, are to be said. This reminds us of S. Augustine's narrative (5) of what happened after the death of Monica. Evodius took a Psalter and began to sing a psalm to which the whole family made response, saying, "I will sing the mercies of the Lord for ever", i.e., Psalm 89:1.(6).

(1) There is also one in the Rituale Romanum.

(2) Ordo VII in Martene. DAER.

(3) Ordo IX in the same.

(4) Ordo XV in the same.

(5) Conf. IX. 12. PL. XXXII. 776.

(6) Other references to this custom are to be found in Martene. De Antiquis Monachorum Ritibus. Lib. V. (DAER. Vol. IV)

When the body is laid on the bier, before it is carried from the house, psalms such as 114 and 100 are sung with antiphons. In the church Mass is said, and then there are further prayers and psalms, Psalms 25, 118, 42 and 132, all with antiphons. After the burial, there are prayers again, and Psalms 139, 143, 67 and 51 (1).

Very similar are the details from the Sarum Pontifical (2). After the death, part or the whole of Psalm 116, depending on the time available, is recited. After prayers, Psalm 114 is said. As the body is placed on the bier, prayers are said. When the body is carried into the church, psalms such as 25, 65, and 51 are said. This Ordo then gives the antiphons, lections and responds to be used at the Vigils of the Dead, with details for Matins and Vespers of the Dead. When the funeral procession is leaving the church, Psalm 25 is sung, then a prayer, then Psalm 65. Before the interment, prayers are said and Psalm 118 is recited, and after the interment, Psalm 42. Before the grave is filled in, Psalm 139, and afterwards, Psalm 132, is said.

The modern Office has retained many of these psalms. As the procession leaves the house of the deceased, Psalm 51 is sung, and if the distance demands it, the Gradual Psalms are also recited, or other psalms from the Office of the Dead. At the entrance to the church antiphons are said. In church the Office of the Dead with three Nocturns and Lauds is said. The Vespers of the Dead are known as "Placebo" (Psalm 116:9) from the antiphon to Psalm 116, "Placebo Domino in regione vivorum". The First Nocturn is called "Dirige", from the antiphon to Psalm 5, "Dirige Domine Deus meus, in conspectu tuo viam meam", i.e., verse 8b. These two words are well-known as the common titles in mediaeval times for the Office of the Dead. For this Office the following psalms are prescribed :-

Vespers:	Psalms 116, 120, 121, 130, 138.
First Nocturns:	Psalms 5, 6, 7.
Second Nocturns:	Psalms 23, 25, 27.
Third Nocturns:	Psalms 40, 41, 42.
Lauds:	Psalms 51, 65, 63, 67; 148, 149, 150.

A Mass for the Dead is said on the day of burial. Then as the body is carried to the place of interment, the well-known antiphons are sung, In Paradisum, and Chorus Angelorum. Then come the antiphon, "I am the Resurrection and the Life", followed by the Benedictus, prayers and

(1) These details are from Martene's Ordo IV in Lib. III. Cap. xii-xv, of DAER.

(2) Ordo VI in Martene. DAER.

versicles. On the return journey, Psalm 130 with antiphon is recited.

The Office of the Dead may be repeated on the third, seventh and thirtieth days after the burial, and also on the anniversary. Then the antiphons are doubled, and special collects are said. The Mass of the Dead may be repeated on the same days, with special collects.

In the Ambrosian rite, the differences are slight. At the house of the deceased, Psalm 54 is said. On the way to the church, various antiphons are sung, and if there is time, they may be repeated, or the psalms of Vespers or Nocturns of the Dead may be recited. In church various responses are said with prayers. After litanies, the Mass of the Dead is sung. As the body is carried to the tomb, antiphons are sung, some of these being psalm-verses. After the burial, Psalm 121 is recited with antiphon. If the deceased person is a priest or cleric of any rank, there is rather more ceremony, and there are additional psalms such as Psalm 69 after the responses.

e. RITES OF ORDINATION.

In the West there have been many different orders, but seven orders have come to be recognised, viz., the four minor orders, doorkeeper, reader, exorcist, and acolyte, and the three major orders, sub-deacon, deacon, and priest. The episcopate is sometimes regarded as an eighth order, but strictly it does not differ except in function from the presbyterate. Thus we have the statement of Urban II at the Council of Benevento in A.D. 1091, "By holy orders we mean the diaconate and the priesthood; these are the only orders which documents mention in the primitive church". The sub-deacon was at first among the minor orders, but since about the end of the twelfth century has been among the major orders. This seems a rather anomalous position because the sub-deacon is not ordained with the laying-on of hands, as are the deacon and priest.

The rites of ordination have always been regarded as of great importance, and much care has been exercised to see that they are properly carried out. The Apostolic Tradition of S. Hippolytus gives the earliest information for the West, and the Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua, attributed by some to Leo the Great but more probably the work of S.

Caesarius of Arles, about the beginning of the sixth century, gives rules for ordination and consecration according to Gallican use, though most of the details have now passed into the Roman Pontifical. The Roman Sacramentaries give prayers, but no other ritual, and the Ordines Romani in some cases, as ~~the~~ Ordo VIII and Ordo IX of Mabillon, give descriptions of the ceremonies. The Pontificale Romanum gives the full ritual for the modern church, and this has changed very little for a long time.

There is very little information regarding the use of psalms in the ordination rites. Thus Duchesne makes no mention of psalmody in his description of ordinations. When we consult the eighteen orders given by Martene, we find practically no psalmody referred to.

The first stage in ordination is the tonsure, and there is an order for this, under the heading "De Clerico Faciendo". In the Mainz Pontifical (Ordo XVI in Martene) and also in the Roman Pontifical the psalm used in this ceremony is Psalm 16. The former sings only a few verses, the latter the first four verses with v.5 as antiphon. The Roman Pontifical, both Ordo XVII of Martene and in the modern edition, has also Psalm 24, the whole psalm with v.5 as antiphon and Gloria Patri. The Sarum Ordo (VIII in Martene) uses Psalm 133. This ceremony precedes entry into any clerical order.

The actual ordination rites are generally performed during a celebration of the Mass, as between the Epistle and the Gospel, before the Alleluia or Tract. Few psalms are mentioned in the orders given by Martene, and for this there are perhaps two reasons. On the one hand, the ordination takes place within the Mass, which has its own psalmody; and on the other, the emphasis in these rites is on matters other than the psalmody, on the two essential acts, the laying-on of hands, and the porrection of the instruments suited to the degree of the order. Most of the psalms mentioned are therefore really for certain parts of the Mass, such as the Introit, Gradual, etc.

The modern Pontifical which represents customs dating from many centuries back, shows no psalmody at the ordination of sub-deacon, deacon or priest, but at the consecration of a bishop, Psalm 133 with verse 2 as antiphon and Gloria Patri are sung, and there are also antiphons and versicles after the saying of the Te Deum. We have therefore here an unusual lack of psalmody.

f. CONSECRATION OF CHURCHES.

As the Church progressed, more and more rites came to be added to the Church's store of ritual, and the result is that today both the Rituale Romanum and the Pontificale Romanum contain rites for many benedictions, blessings of salt, of water, and of incense, the consecration of churches and of altars, the benediction of cemeteries, and so on. Some of these are quite short, but the longer ones nearly all contain psalms. As in the case of the Eastern Church, we shall take here as an example only one rite, that of the consecration of churches. We saw that this matter was considered very early, and that the Church in the East ~~has~~ drew up dedication services, some of which are very long and complex. The Western Church has also taken great care for the proper dedication of buildings for the worship of God.

The early Roman Sacramentaries contain, as usual, prayers suited to this ceremony. The letters of S. Gregory the Great often refer to the dedication of churches, and the Liber Diurnus contains some forms. Not much however can be said in detail as to the earlier Roman rites. During the procession to the new church, a psalm was sung, followed by a litany. A few antiphons within the church seem to be the only other singing.

As to the Gallican order of dedication, again no full description has come down to us, but Duchesne has described the probably rites and ceremonies (1). As the bishop presents himself at the door of the church, the antiphon, "Tollite portas" (Psalm 24:7) and Psalm 24 are sung. As the holy water is prepared, the versicle "Deus in adiutorium" is said, and when the lustration of the church proceeds, three psalms, 51, 68 and 91 are chanted. At the anointing of the altar, Psalm 43 with v.4 as antiphon is sung. Then other three psalms with their antiphons follow, Psalms 84, 46 and 87. At the translation of the relics, Psalm 149 with v.5 as antiphon is recited.

As another example we take the rites from the York Pontifical of Archbishop Egbert (2). When the bishop knocks at the door of the church, Psalm 24 is sung. When he comes to the altar, versicles are said. As the circuit of the church is made, Psalm 51 with v.7 as antiphon is recited, followed by Psalms 68, 91, and later, 43, 84 and 87.

(1) Christian Worship. pp.407ff.

(2) Martens. DAER. II.XIII. Ordo II.

At the deposition of the relics, a number of antiphons are sung, some of them from the Psalter. Before the blessing of the altar, Psalm 149 is recited, and after it, Psalm 87. It will be noticed that many of the same psalms are sung here as in the Gallican service.

Finally we take some points from the Pontificale Romanum. In this there are many antiphons and responsoria, which as usual are often from the psalms. At the door, as before, Psalm 24 is used. Before the ~~dedication~~ of the altar, Psalm 43 with antiphon is sung, and after it six circuits of the altar are made, while Psalm 51 is recited with antiphon. Then there is Psalm 122 with antiphon. While the bishop makes a circuit of the church, Psalms 68 and 91 with antiphons but without Gloria Patri are recited. After antiphons and prayers, we find Psalm 95, and, later on, Psalms 149 and 150. In the remainder of the service, Psalms 92, 45, 46, 87, and 48 appear.

There is thus in this rite a considerable amount of psalmody, taking into account not only the actual psalms chanted, but also the additional antiphons, responsoria and versicles. It will be noted how suitable some of the psalms chosen are for this service: Psalm 122, "I was glad when they said unto me, Let us go into the house of the Lord"; Psalm 84, "How amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord of hosts"; Psalm 68 at verse 26, "Bless the Lord in the congregation", and its reference to the Temple at Jerusalem.

4. THE RENDERING OF THE PSALMS IN THE WEST.

We shall now gather together some matters connected with the rendering of the psalms. This subject has already been referred to, and it will not therefore be necessary to go into detail.

As to the method of singing the psalms, we have seen there are four styles - direct, antiphonal, responsorial, and tract. In the first, the whole choir or group sing together and not alternately. In the antiphonal, choirs or singers sing alternately, verse about, or half-verse about. In the responsorial, a cantor sings a single verse and the choir responds with another verse or with the same verse. In the method known as Tractus, one sings alone without response. But these methods are not now so strictly differentiated, and, for instance, the Tract in the Mass is no longer sung through "in uno tractu", but is sometimes rendered by alternate groups of singers, in the manner of antiphony.

As to the music itself, it is not easy to select from a great mass of interesting information. The music proper to the Liturgy and the Offices is Gregorian, which was normally unison and unaccompanied. The origins of Gregorian plainchant have been much disputed. Some connect it with Jewish music. One student of the subject, Abraham Z. Idelsohn, says he "found exact counterparts of several Gregorian melodies in remote Jewish congregations in Yemen, Babylonia and Persia" (1). But many deny a direct derivation.

There are eight Gregorian tones, four authentic and four plagal, which are known by the names used in the classical Greek theory of music, though the Greek modes are not identical with the Gregorian. To these a ninth is added, the "Tonus Peregrinus". Each mode has a special formula, and the tone which is to be used for a psalm is indicated by the antiphon which is sung before the psalm. The mode of the antiphon determines the mode of the psalm, and hence also the musical formula. Each psalm-tone consists of several parts. Each verse of the psalm, it will be remembered, is divided into two parts, the asterisk in the liturgical books showing the point of division. In the psalm-tone, there is first of all an Intonation, a short phrase of two or three notes or groups of notes fitted to the same number of syllables, joining the last note of the antiphon to

(1) Sachs. Rise of Music in the Ancient World. p.79.

the reciting-note of the psalm, and therefore employed only for the first verse of the psalm. In Compline and in the Office for the Dead, however, there is no Intonation, the psalm beginning on the reciting-note. The Reciting-Note is the dominant of the mode, and is the same in both halves of the verse, except in the case of the Tonus Peregrinus. Then there are two Cadences. The first is the Mediation which ends the first half of the verse, and the other is the Termination which ends the second half of the verse. The rules for the singing of the psalms can be found in detail in any book of Gregorian Chant (1). The psalm-tones have a noble fluency, an impersonal dignity and an impressive beauty. For all the importance of the melody, however, the real emphasis is on the words. As has been said, "Chant is speech-song....it proceeds from the modulations of impassioned speech; it results from the need of regulating and perpetuating these modulations when certain exigencies require a common and impressive form of utterance" (2).

It should be said too that the same words may be used in varied circumstances, and that the different melodies used may give different colour to the words. Thus the text, "Introibo ad altare Dei, ad Deum qui laetificat iuventutem meam" (Psalm 43:4), is found at the beginning of the Ordo Missae, as a Communion on Sexagesima Sunday, and as an Offertory in the Feast of S. Stanislaus Kostka Confessor on November 13th, and the melodies in these cases are all different, and suggest different interpretations of the words. Further, even when the same melodies are used for a text in different positions, a different intonation is required more or less solemn according to the message of the day or season. Indeed Gregorian Chant should often be dramatic in its word painting, and this is one of its great qualities (3).

The psalm-tones are the simplest form of Gregorian music, some of the melodies for the Kyrie, the Gloria in Excelsis, the Alleluia, and so on, being much more elaborate. Gregorian plainchant was for long unaccompanied. In the Middle Ages the musical content was found in the melody. Still, there seem to have been from about the eighth century onwards some instruments used from time to time in the churches of the West (4). Ancient manuscripts picture such

(1) Elg., The Grammar of Plainsong, by the Benedictines of Stanbrook.

(2) E. Dickinson. Music in the Hist. of the Western Church. p.98.

(3) See further, A. Robertson. The Interpretation of Plainchant.

(4) Cp. Wordsworth. The Ministry of Grace. pp.199ff.

instruments as the harp, viol, cithern and others, as well as the pneumatic organ. Probably at first the instrument was used only to give the tone to the priest or choir for the Intonation, and only as the organ became a more easily played instrument would any real accompaniment become possible. Nevertheless many opposed accompaniment by the organ, e.g., S. Thomas Aquinas, who rejected it "ne videatur judaizare" (1). The famous and splendid singing of the Sistine Chapel has remained unaccompanied, while in other places too, as in the Church at Lyons, the organ is still excluded. But modern plainchant is often accompanied and this has become an art in itself(2).

The development of plainchant is full of interest, but it cannot be dealt with adequately in short space. We need only point out that though plainchant is named after Gregory the Great, there is considerable doubt as to the part he played. The general opinion now seems to be that his work was that of reform and regulation. Thus, Köstlin declares his work was "die sammlung und kirchliche stylisierung der kirchlichen Gesänge" (3). After a period of development in which Gregorian music reached a high artistic level, a time of decadence set in, after about the twelfth century. But in the last century the work of the School of Solesmes has renewed the vigour and reclaimed the beauty of plainsong. And in his Motu Proprio of 25th April, 1904, Pius X ordered the preparation of a Vatican Edition of the liturgical books on the principles of Solesmes, and now Gregorian Chant is the only official chant of the Roman Church.

The differences between Ambrosian and Gregorian music are too detailed to go into here, though it may be said that the simple music is simpler, and the florid music is more florid in the Ambrosian. There was in the Ambrosian Chant no intonation and no mediation in the psalm-tones. Indeed the psalmody is at a more rudimentary stage there than in the Gregorian.

The importance attached to the music of the Church led to the establishment of schools for singers, scholae cantorum (4). Tradition, on the authority of John the Deacon (circa A.D. 872), says that S. Gregory I established the schola cantorum at Rome (5). But this may be an

(1) Summa Theol. Q.xcl.art.2.

(2) Cp. J. H. Arnold. Plainsong Accompaniment. Oxford.1927.

(3) Geschichte des christl. Gottesdienstes. p.129.

(4) See DACL. 3.1. 344-365.

(5) Vita S. Gregorii. II.vi. PL. LXXV. 90f.

exaggeration. Gerbert (1) tells us that the schola cantorum in Rome was set up in the time of Pope Sylvester (A.D. 314-336), not for one church but for all the congregations in the city. Pope Hilary (A.D. 461-467) set up a new schola consisting of seven subdeacons. St. Gregory in A.D. 595 forbade the deacons to act as chief cantors, and confined the office to the minor orders. He is said to have founded two new schools which were called "Orphanotrophia", and their purpose was the training of orphans as choristers. This, it may be noted, was the custom also in mediaeval times, as in England where the monks often committed the singing to hired boys (2). Some of the teachers in these schools were sent to other countries to spread the knowledge of plainchant. Thus John, Archdeacon in the schola cantorum in Rome, was sent about A.D. 680 by Pope Agathe to the Abbey of Wearmouth to teach church music. Similarly a very famous schola was established at S. Gall in Switzerland.

The teaching of music must have been very difficult so long as there was no proper notation. The earliest manuscripts with notation date only from late in the ninth century. Before the use of notation, everything would have to be memorised. The means of teaching was called cheironomy, a kind of ~~conducting~~ conducting in which the hand outlined the rhythm and pitch of the melodies. However the knowledge of plainchant spread far and wide over Europe by means of these schools. It is interesting to note that some of the Roman ritual books still speak of the choir as the schola.

The order of Psalmist does not now exist as an order in the Roman Church, but at one time the psalmist had an honoured place. There seems to be reason to suppose that the psalmist or cantor was not very clearly distinguished from the lector in the earlier period. We noticed St. Augustine speaking of the lector reciting the psalms. And the suggestion has been made that the scholae cantorum were originally scholae lectorum (3). Martinus Bracaraensis says (4), "No one is permitted to sing or read (psallere aut legere) unless he is ordained as lector by the bishop". The singer was thus regarded as ordained, though not with laying-on of hands. Provision was made for a presbyter to lay the ~~charge~~ charge on a cantor, saying, "Vide ut quod ore cantas, corde credas, et quod corde credis, operibus

(1) De Cantu et Musica Sacra. Ste. Blaise. 1774. I.p.36.

(2) Coulton. Medieval Panorama. p.388.

(3) Cp. Duchesne. Christian Worship. pp.348ff.

(4) Qtd. Martens. DAER. I.VIII.VIII.IV.

comprobes". This charge, which is found in the Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua, a collection of Church orders and canons used in South Gaul about A.D. 500, is still used and appears in the Pontificale Romanum.

The posture of the singers at their psalmody seems to have varied. Sometimes they stood; sometimes they sat; sometimes they stood up and stretched out their hands towards the heavens (1). One would think that the normal attitude would be to stand, but no doubt this would be wearisome during the chanting of the many psalms of the Offices. An interesting reproduction from MS. Domit. A.xvii. fol.120b in the British Museum (2) shows the interior of a friars' church in the early fifteenth century. Ten friars are singing their psalms, ~~and~~ and it is noticeable that they are sitting, that they have no books, and that in some cases the hands seem to be beating time. That brings us to the next point, that the psalms were generally learned by heart. It is not likely that for many centuries there would be enough books for every cleric, friar and monk, to have a Psalter, and indeed in some places books were not permitted, as in Lincoln, where the vicars choral undertook to know their services within the year of their probation (3). We have seen that knowledge of the Psalter was for long a necessary qualification for ordination (4).

It remains now to note that the six ways in which the Psalter has been used in Christian worship, and which we have ~~not~~ referred to in connection with the Jewish Church, the Early Christian Church and the Eastern Church, are also to be found in the Western Church. There are occasions when a complete psalm is sung or recited in a service. As in the East so in the West, this is case especially in the Divine Office. In the Liturgy, psalms are sung now only in small portions, sometimes no more than a verse at a time. In the Divine Office, the whole Psalter is sung in course, generally in one week. The Western Church makes great use of Proper Psalms, and this to a greater extent than the Eastern, because the Western Liturgy has more variable parts than the Eastern, and many of these depend on the season. But Proper Psalms are used not only for certain

(1) See Martene. DEER. Vol.IV. I.II.LVI.

(2) In Jusserand. English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages. 1920.p.299.

(3) C. Wordsworth. Mediaeval Services in England.1898.pp.11f,113.

(4) The phrase, "psalterium discere" does not apply to the learning of the psalms, but signifies elementary education, the Psalter being used as a textbook for learning Latin in schools. See Coulton. Medieval Panorama.p.391.

days of the Christian Year, but also in the Hours and in the Occasional Offices. Again, Versicles are in common use, and there may seem to be more of these than there really are, because where whole psalms would be expected, little more than one or two verses remain at many points. Responses too are widely employed - the Gloria Patri at the end of psalms, the Alleluia which, as in the Mass, has taken a special place, the Amen which is the regular response to prayers, and so on. And the Psalter is ~~is~~ still a source-book for words and ideas for prayers. There are many actual quotations and innumerable reminiscences. Many of the prayers which follow shortly after the Introits, for example, and which are in the form of Collects, make reference explicitly or implicitly to the words or ideas of the psalms used in these antiphons. Nothing less than this is to be ~~expected~~ expected, since the Psalter has always been so important a part of Christian worship, and its language is so pre-eminently the language of devotion.

VI. CONCLUSION.

At the close of this study of the use of the Psalms in the worship of the Church, we may gather together a few reflections on what we have seen. One outstanding thought must be that it is a marvel that this book, the product of a small, much despised, often persecuted, always exclusive people, should have been adopted, not under any pressure, but simply through its sheer merit, by every branch of the Christian Church. Here we have indeed a truly catholic volume, catholic not merely in its utterance of every human need, whether of forgiveness or of support or of assurance, not merely in its expression of every human aspiration, whether towards light or truth or eternal life, but catholic in the sense that it is in universal use wherever the Gospel is preached and the Sacraments are administered(1). The record of our study shows that there is not a branch of the Church but makes use of it, and that in nearly every type of service. As it has been put, "Every language, and every section of Christendom, has its own peculiar delight in the Psalms. The awful pomp of the Latin Church; the homelier forms of Teutonic Christianity; the speculative subtlety and exuberant rhetoric of the Greek even before the altar; the sober and reserved reverence of the Anglican Church; the austere severity of sectarian devotion; find their expression in the Psalter" (2). For all this there must be some compelling reason.

Will, in his monumental work, deals in great detail with the value and function of the worship-phenomena (3). He suggests that every medium of worship is a vehicle for the descending grace of God to the worshipper, and at the same time a vehicle for the ascending current of human aspiration to God, and he works this out with regard to many points. Our concern is with the Psalter, and we may try to apply to it some of his ideas.

The Psalter has a theological aspect, inasmuch as it gives to man a revelation of God and is a means of grace. One cannot read and meditate upon this book without gaining a particular idea of God - a God with a Creator's mastery over the universe, with a Father's tender pity towards His children, with a Judge's interest in righteousness, with a Shepherd's care for the erring; a God whose glory is above

(1) Cp. E. Underhill. Worship. pp.106, 216.

(2) W. Alexander. The Witness of the Psalms to Christ and Christianity. 1877. p.176.

(3) Le Culte. Especially Vol.II

the heavens, who counts the stars and names them, whose kingdom ruleth over all, yet whose mercy is from everlasting to everlasting. To learn of such a God is to have awakened within the heart a response of penitence, of gratitude, of reverence and of adoring love. So is the Psalter a means of grace, opening the eyes, nourishing the soul, liberating the spirit. As our Lord found nourishment and inspiration in this book, so can it mediate to us the blessing and grace of the Father (1).

The Psalter has a sociological aspect. It cannot be too often urged that the worshipper of God is not just a human soul alone before his Maker and Father, but is a member of a family, of the Body of Christ, of the Communion of the Saints. He shares in the whole work of the Church, whether in worship or in the proclamation of the Gospel or in the advancement of the Kingdom. And perhaps as much as anything else, the Psalter is a witness to this solidarity of the Christian Church, and not only so, but it provides an opportunity and a means for the expression of such a faith. Where the worshippers of God join together in the psalmody of the Church, they are performing in a very real sense an *Opus Dei*, but they are also proclaiming their unity even in diversity. As Will says, "Parmi les arts, le chant est celui qui, dans le culte, exprime avec le plus de force des sentiments communiels" (2), and again, "Le choral est apte à créer le sentiment de la collectivité et à constituer le corpus Christi" (3). The more men find themselves bound to praise God, then the more do they join together for that praise, but the more they praise God together, then still the more do they realise their fundamental brotherhood in Christ. And the Psalter, so widely known, so universally loved, has been a most successful means of promoting this faith. Where the congregation has no longer shared in the singing of the psalms, something has certainly been lost, but where all share in the praises of God, so that there is not merely a priest or a presbyter representing the people, but the people themselves expressing a common penitence and supplication before a merciful God or an adoring joy in the splendour of God, the very height of corporate worship is attained.

(1) Will. *Op.cit.* II. p.522, suggests aspects of God's Being and grace, reflected in the Hours.

(2) *Ibid.* III. p.487.

(3) *Ibid.* I. p.285.

But the Psalter is ~~only~~ a medium of worship, a means of grace. However great its value, ~~however~~ however rich its thought, it cannot altogether prevent the menace of unreality and formality. Every Church service is constantly faced by such a danger, and, as we have seen, the history of worship provides many an illustration both of the peril and of succumbing to it. There have been times when it was thought that the repetition of so many psalms, or of a psalm so many times, might bring a blessing of one kind or another, as if the mere repetition of them could be an opus operatum. There is a saying in the Talmud, Berachoth. 4b, "Everyone who says Psalm 145 three times a day may depend upon it that he will inherit the life to come". It appears that the real significance is that this psalm is said three times daily, twice in the morning service and once in the afternoon service, and therefore this is a suggestion that regular attendance at the synagogue services will bring about this blessing. But there is little doubt that the rule was often regarded in a purely formal way. Certainly the recitation of the Divine Office was often, and may still be, thought of in this way. As Will says, the Office is "une oeuvre pie ayant une valeur méritoire et même un effet satisfactoire" (1). That such formality should be avoided is obviously necessary, and many writers in all ages of the Church have urged the need for reality and sincerity. Thus S. Benedict in his Rule, says, "So let us sing our psalms that the mind is in accord with the voice" (2). The psalms themselves emphasise this (3), and so many have pled not only that all ~~insincerity~~ insincerity should be avoided, but that worship should always be celebrated as in the presence of God. But this is precisely the difficulty, for there is a constant tension between formality and reality, as between the material and the spiritual. The only solution is in this that spirit with Spirit must meet, that the Spirit of God must dwell in the spirit of man, giving him the pure heart and the clean hands which qualify for true worship. For the true worshipper must worship God in spirit and in truth.

And it may be confidently believed that so long as the Psalter is known to man, he will lovingly and gratefully employ it for the praise of God. Whether he seeks to express "the baffled understanding of the creature,

(1) Op.cit. I.p.250.

(2) Cap.xix.

(3) Ps.15; Ps.141:2-4; etc.

considering the glory of the heavens and the communion of the Eternal with men, the agony of penitential adoration which speaks in the Miserere, the awestruck yet confident sense of the inescapable Divine presence", or "the passionate and delighted praise of God" (1), here is a book to his hand, here a word for his lips. The Psalter which itself teaches the duty of praise (2), provides the necessary ideas and expressions. Calvin, to whom the beauty of the psalms was such that it was a direct reflection of the beauty of God, says, "The psalms can incite us to lift up our hearts to God and can move us to such ardour that we both invoke and exalt by our praise the glory of His Name" (3). All is to be done to the glory of God, and the Church, though often weak or forgetful or careless or formal, yet ever directs its eyes to the hills, and raises its voice to the praise of Him who made heaven and earth, saying,

ALLELUIA. AMEN.

(1) E. Underhill. Worship. p.216.

(2) Psalms 95:6; 96:9; 99:9; etc.

(3) Corpus Reformatorum. XXXII.p.167. Quoted in L. Wencelius. L'Esthetique de Calvin. Paris. N.D. p.274.

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