The *Canon missae* in the Rule of Ecclesiastical Services of Tobiáš Závorka Lipenský and Its Source[1]

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The history of the celebration of eucharist in the Western Church offers many testimonies about a continuing tension between an effort at a ritual and textual unification of practice, on one side, and a persisting tendency to preserve and develop local liturgical traditions, on the other. In the second half of the sixteenth century the Roman Catholic Church embarked on a definitive unification of the Roman rite, the means of which was to be the *Missale Romanum*, promulgated by the Apostolic Constitution of Pius V *Quo primum* of 14 July 1570. It was to replace all local uses less than two hundred years old and must be seen within the context of the encounter between the Roman Catholic Church and the Reformation, which saw the appearance of many new liturgical rites (*ordines*).[2] Liturgical sources and protocols of the Utraquist Consistory from the second half of the sixteenth century attest to the marked local variability in Utraquist liturgical practice, which at times escalated into the manifestation of arbitrariness by individual parish priests. One of the reactions was the numerous disciplinary dealings of the Prague Lower Consistory. Another response was an effort at creating more or less complete liturgical books, which would satisfactorily combine the traditional Western liturgical practice and attempts at its partial reform under the influence of Lutheran or Calvinist liturgical orders, which many Utraquist priests encountered in the parishes which they served.[3] Next to *Voltářní knihy* of Adam Táborský, such an attempt at a relative complete parish liturgical book (*agenda*) – for general use by Utraquist priests – is represented by the *Rules of Ecclesiastical Services* (*Pravidlo služebností církevních*) of Tobiáš Závorka Lipenský, published in 1607 in Velké Němčice near Židlochovice and dedicated to the Jan Žejdlic of Šenfeld, the owner of the hereditary domain of Polná and Přibyslav.[4]

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[1] This article appears in the framework of the Programme of the Development of Scholarly Disciplines, PRVOUK PO1, undertaken in the Hussite Theological Faculty, Charles University in Prague.

[2] Frank Senn, *Christian Liturgy: Catholic and Protestant* (Minneapolis, 1997) 267–392.

[3] See Pavel Kolář, "Witnesses of a New Liturgical Practice: the *Ordines missae* of Three Utraquist Manuscripts," BRRP 9 (2014) 221–240. *Idem*, "Utraquist Liturgical Practice in the Later Sixteenth Century," BRRP 8 (2011) 223–234.

[4] *Prawidlo Služebnostij Cýrkewnijch.* Knihopis K 17177. Online database Knihopis Digital – Catalogue Clavius includes entries of eighteen items, of which some are incomplete [accessed 15. 10. 2015] http://db.knihopis.org/l.dll?cll~P=17593

The *Rules of Ecclesiastical Services* (*Pravidlo služebností církevních*)

Tobiáš Závorka Lipenský (1553 in Lipník nad Bečvou – 1612 in Doubravník) worked on the agenda during his tenure as Dean in Doubravník.[5] In his preface to the printed *Pravidlo služebností*, he presents at length the reasons, which led him to work on the agenda.[6]

i. *The Rationale for Editorial Work on the Agenda*
Utraquists still lacked an inclusive liturgical book for parish use in the Czech language, one that would be a dignified alternative to the extant tradition of mass books which, for various reasons, were considered inappropriate, even unacceptable. Thus, parish priests themselves were obliged to seek out liturgical texts, notated *ordinaria*, and adjust particular rituals.[7] Such an individualized composition of agenda texts, however, causes confusion and inept selection and composition of individual formularies. The absence of an obligatory liturgical norm in the form of a liturgical book, supported by authority and generally recognised, also leads to a capricious abandonment of the hitherto existing liturgical tradition and a hurried adoption and assertion of a "new religion with new ceremonies." Although Závorka admits the principle that "a difference in ceremonies does not disturb the true faith," nevertheless he prefers the effort toward a unification of liturgical rites and texts: "Since we have a single word of God, we should also preserve a single manner in the Lord's services – long established in God's Church and customary.. This will lead us to honour the eternal Lord God with a single voice and a single heart, and to improve ourselves in our Christianity, getting closer to the ancient holy Church and aspiring to agree in that – as far as possible – with all the true-believing Christians in the whole world."[8] Závorka's interest in the catholicity of Utraquist rites is clearly evident.

Závorka had already taken the first step toward a rectification, since he had published *Písně chval božských* [Songs of Divine Praises] (1602), a book gathering the needed chants and songs.[9] Now it behooved him to publish a supplement, which would gather the basic rituals (a manual) and the texts of the mass (a missal) for the use of parish clergy. The new, generally obligatory

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[5]   The basic biographical data were recently gathered by Ota Halama, "Utrakvistické agendy k večeři Páně," *Coena Dominica Bohemica*, ARBI VI (Prague, 2006) 133–151, here 143. See also Ondřej Matějovský, *Liturgické texty Tobiáše závorky Lipenského o manželství* (Bachelor's Thesis, Protestant Theological Faculty, Charles University Prague, 2013) 10–14.

[6]   In the text I refer to the copy Tobiáš Závorka Lipenský, *Prawidlo Služebnostij Cýrkewnijch* (Olomouc, VKOL: II 32.062) [accessed 15. 10. 2015] http://eod.vkol.cz/ii32062/. Henceforth cited as *Pravidlo služebností*.

[7]   An example of such a work of compilation is the so-called *Benešovská agenda* [Agenda of Benešov].

[8]   *Pravidlo služebností*, 4a.

[9]   Knihopis K 17175 and K 17176. See: Ludmila Brezanyová, "Das Kantional 'Písně Chval Božských' von Tobiáš Závorka Lipenský," *Sborník prací Filosofické fakulty Brněnské university H 7* (Brno, 1972) 7–11.

agenda should at the same time offer a norm to "simple" priests, on which they could rely and thereby avoid an ignorant performance of Christian rites. Závorka ironically touches on those, who – convinced of special illumination by the Holy Spirit – arbitrarily interfere with the traditional rituals, changing or abolishing them. Those should be stimulated by the agenda to a more penetrating assessment of the existing liturgical tradition. Závorka defends the preservation of the traditional rites and forms of liturgical life against all who place themselves in opposition to the word of God: "Pious servants of the Church and other Christians, especially the Lords Collators – seeing the holy book written down according to the ancient manner and usage of the Church, – should avoid such harmful innovations and causing scandals in God's Church, if they wish to escape the terrible divine anger and punishment." The agenda was to represent the ancient liturgical tradition, the preservation of which is also served by the principles of the Augsburg Confession: "that all people might get to know what manner and order we have and conduct in the services of the Lord's Church, that we have adopted the old, good, simple and sincere manner/order from the Fathers; which all pious people from antiquity most diligently preserved; to which also the Augsburg Confession refers; which we also strive to preserve for our descendants."[10]

ii. *Method*

In his preface Závorka also discussed the basic principles of his editorial work: (1) to gather in one book all that was necessary for the performance of liturgies and rituals; (2) preserve the lectionary (using the *Czech Bible*, published in Prague in 1577 by Jiří Melantrich, the Elder of Aventyn); (3) conserve and revise the liturgical calendar (church year); (4) revise the practice of fasting; (5) revise "according to the rule of God's word" the traditional liturgical texts and prayers, selected and gathered from various liturgical sources;[11] (6) create new prayers and texts where necessary;[12] (7) collect and publish liturgical chants and hymns;[13]

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[10] *Pravidlo služebností*, 4b.

[11] *Pravidlo služebností*: "Modlitby i jiné vše na větším díle starobylé a dávno v církvi užívané z kněh církevních a z učitelův pobožných sem shledal, podlé pravidla slova Božího očistil." The Inventory of the Church of Doubravník from 1611 brings a certain insight, albeit vague, into liturgical sources, which Závorka could have had at his disposal for his editorial work. In addition to pre-Tridentine manuscripts and later also published agenda and missals used in the Olomouc diocese, there were also two printed missals of Pius V (Tridentine rite) together with a new Latin Psalter, and a manuscript Czech gradual and antiphonary. See also Vladimír Maňas, *Hudební aktivity náboženských korporací na Moravě v raném novověku* (Doctoral Dissertation, Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University Brno, 2008) 94–95, to whom I am most grateful for showing me hitherto unpublished parts of his work.

[12] *Pravidlo služebností*: "A kde potřebí bylo a najíti se nemohli, i nových nadělal, toho spůsobu při tom šetříce, jejž sem při starobylém skládání modliteb církevních spatřil, tak aby ke všem cílům, časům a potřebnostem sloužiti mohly."

[13] *Pravidlo služebností*: "Tóny staré, podle nichž se vše spívá, shromáždil."

(8) respect local custom;[14] (9) submit the manuscript to review by parish priests. The concise characteristic of the applied method indicates a well--considered procedure during the edition of the agenda: a regard for local customs; selection of texts based on a theological evaluation of the existing liturgical practice; and faithfulness to the traditional Catholic practise.

i. *Structure of the Pravidlo služebností*

Závorka divided his agenda into three parts. The first part contains the propria for Sundays, the Christological feasts of the liturgical year along with the anniversary of the consecration of a church (*in anniversario dedicationis/ consecrationis propriae ecclesiae*). Then follows the order for the celebration of the eucharist (*ordo missae*), and finally the occasional prayers. The *proprium* normally consists of an Opening Prayer (*collecta*), Epistle and Gospel, together with a *complenda* (*post communio*). The second part contains the *propria* for saints' days and the *ordo* for the induction/installation of a newly ordained priest into the service of a parish. The third, and last, part of the agenda consists of sacramental *ordines* (baptism, ministry to the sick, a general act of penance and reconciliation, marriage) and non-sacramental rituals (the burial of the dead and the churching of women); these are supplemented by a list of recommended saints' and the order for vespers. The agenda provides the necessary rites for the parish celebration of the eucharist on Sundays and feast days along with all necessary liturgical material which are presided over by the parish priest during the course of the whole liturgical year.

Structure of *Pořádek a spůsob služby v kostele* (*ordo missae*)

Part I	Part II	Part III
proprium de tempore (1a – 125b) ordo missae (125b – 148b) proprium de tempore (49a – 229b) Occasional prayers (229b – 232b) anniversary of consecration of the church (233a – 234a) Occasional prayers (234a – 237a)	proprium de sanctis (238a – 268a) Induction/installation of a priest into a parish – first mass of a priest (268a – 269b)	Baptism (270a – 273b) Churching of women (273b – 275a) Visitation of the Sick (275a – 278a) Preparation for Communion. Absolution. (278a – 288b) Vespers. (288b-289a) List of feast days. (289b – 290a) Celebration of marriage (290a – 293b) Burial of the Dead (293b – 300a)

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[14]   *Pravidlo služebností*: "Vzavše to z agend dobrých, šetříc však přitom spůsobu dávno v zemích těchto v církvi zvyklého;"

The first part of the agenda contains the Order and Manner of the Service in the Church (*Pořádek a spůsob služby v kostele*), which represents the liturgical order for the celebration of the eucharist. Its structure faithfully retains the traditional Roman *ordo missae*, which Lipenský only slightly supplements or changes in several instances. The introductory rites follow in sequence: the *confiteor* (with absolution), introit with antiphon, Kyrie and Gloria, concluded by the opening prayer (collect). The Liturgy of the Word begins with the Epistle reading followed by the *alleluia/prosa* as a festive introduction of the Gospel. Other elements are the confession of faith (credo) and the sermon, which could be separated by a prayer or a chant (*offertorium/ofertoř*). Závorka introduced several variations of the intercessory prayers of the people with a penitential prayer (general confession). Contrary to the traditional Roman rite, this was a very important innovation, because in the Roman liturgical tradition the intercessory prayers of the people had vanished from the eucharistic liturgy – most likely during the sixth century and were not reinstated even in the Roman missal of 1570.[15] The Liturgy of the Word is followed by announcements of forthcoming marriages and feast days as we also encounter them at this place in the *Agenda česká*.[16]

The eucharist follows the traditional structure of the *ordo missae* of the Roman rite, yet it entails certain significant changes. Závorka omitted the complex preparation of the eucharistic gifts, as it had developed in the late middle ages, and replaced it by the simple placing of bread (host and paten) on the altar, an uncovering of the chalice and pouring of the wine during while the choristers (*žáci*) sang appropriate verses of the *offertorium*. This simple procedure is followed by the salutation, eucharistic dialogue and preface which concludes with the *Sanctus/Benedictus* to which Závorka added the *Agnus Dei* which he transferred into the eucharistic prayer from its historic place during the fraction. The eucharistic prayer (*kánon*) is recited by the priest silently with the exception of the *verba* (words of institution) and concluding doxology which he is to pray/sing aloud. Závorka decided – for theological reasons – more or less to abandon the traditional sacrificial language of the *canon missae*. Yet he did not wish to abandon the prayer which, according to the model of the Roman canon of the mass, represented the very meaning of the celebration of the eucharist and, thus, looked for an alternative. He considered the canon as an essentially priestly prayer and, therefore without any hesitation, he let the priest to utter it silently with only the concluding sung doxology. The silent recitation is also interrupted at the moment of pronouncing the *institution,* which is complemented by the chanting of

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[15]   We do not encounter the intercessory prayers in the form of public prayer even in the framework of the liturgical reform initiated by Martin Luther. They were introduced into the liturgical order only in the context of the reformed Strasbourg liturgy), see Senn, *Christian Liturgy*, 367f.

[16]   "Agenda česká," in *Coena Dominica Bohemica*, 189–191

appropriate verses by choristers, and by brief intercessory prayers to Christ uttered quietly by the priest. The *Pater noster* and *pax domini* precede the communion itself, which is received first by the priest and then by the laypersons *sub utraque*. The celebration of the eucharist concludes with the Prayer after Communion (*ad complendum*), benediction, and dismissal.

ante-communion	communion

– Confiteor (with absolution)
  – Pater noster
– Introit (with antiphone)
– Kyrie
– Gloria
– Collecta (with introductory salutation)
– Epistle
– Alleluia / Prose
– Evangelium
– Credo
– [offertorium/ofertoř]
– Homílie (with preceding prayer)
– Intercessory prayers with confession (several variants)
  – Announcements
  – Announcement of forthcoming Feast Day(s)
	– [offertorium/ofertoř]
	– *Sursum corda* with Preface
	– Sanctus
	– Canon missae
	  – „Protož tebe… Příjď, Posvětiteli" (silently)
	  – salutation and *Instututio* (aloud)
	  – choristers: *Sanctus + Agnus Dei*
	  – „Protož, Pane … Ačkolivěť" (silently)
	  – „Po všecky věky…" (aloud)
	– Pater noster
	– Pax with prayer for worthy communion
	– Communio sub utraque
	– Orationes post communio
	– Blessing and dismissal

The First Book of Common Prayer and Its Canon

The Dean of Doubravník, Tobiáš Závorka, surprisingly found an alternative to the traditional Roman canon of the mass in a text which is part of *The First Book of Common Prayer of Edward VI* from the year 1549 (hereafter BCP 1549), and represents the first attempt at a reform of the traditional Roman canon within the framework of the liturgical reform in the English church of the sixteenth century.[17] In the current research on the liturgical practice of the Utraquist Church, it represents the sole evidence of an influence of the Anglican liturgical tradition on the formation of the Utraquist liturgical order (*ordo missae*). It seems that in Závorka's agenda this influence can be found only in the context of the reform of the Roman canon. Possible influence on other parts of the agenda has not yet been discovered. In what follows, I shall undertake an analysis of the texts and their mutual comparison in order to clarify the multi-level relationship of the canon in the *Pravidlo služebností* to the canon of the 1549 BCP.

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[17]   *The First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI.* (London, 1970), 1–317.

iv. Vernacularisation and Reform of Liturgical Texts

The leading personality of the gradual reform of the liturgical life of the English Church was Thomas Cranmer, named Archbishop of Canterbury in 1533. The first step in the introduction of English into the celebration of liturgy was the publication of the first authorised English Bible (the *Great Bible*) in 1539, which bore a preface by Cramer in the second edition. The Archbishop played a considerable role in its introduction into parish liturgical practice, which occurred by the order of a Convocation of Clergy on 21 February 1543 that in every parish – on every Sunday and feast day – a public reading should take place in English from both the Old and New and the Testament during Matins and Evensong (morning and evening prayer). The *Royal Injunctions* of 1547 extended this order to cover also the public readings of the Epistles and Gospels during the celebration of the eucharist.[18] Likewise, Cranmer prepared the edition of the *Book of Homilies*, a collection of "official sermons" for the use in parish churches, from which a sermon was to be selected for reading every Sunday.[19] He produced a book *Exhortation and Litany* (1544) at the request of Henry VIII for instituting regular processions with litanies in an understandable language. Among others, it contained an adaptation of the traditional processional litany, translated into English, which was the first officially accepted and used liturgical text in the English language and later was included in the *Book of Common Prayer*.[20] A similar innovation – in the context of the Latin mass ritual – was the *Order of the Communion,* a set of English devotional prayers in preparation for the communion of the laity, inserted into the Latin order of the mass, following the priest's communion. The reason for its introduction was the *Act against revilers and for receiving in both kinds*, the first act of the reign of Edward VI, which stipulated on 1 May 1548, an obligatory lay communion sub utraque, which should not be hindered – without a cogent reason – by the priest.[21] An *Order* was prepared for the restored lay communion sub utraque. It contained an exhortation, confession of sins with an absolution, the so-called *comfortable words*, prayer before communion, words to accompany the distribution of the eucharist, and a blessing.[22] Altogether it was substantially influenced by the Lutheran liturgical order *Pia Deliberatio*, which had been prepared in 1543 by Martin Bucer and Philip Melanchton for Hermann von Wied, the Archbishop of Cologne.[23]

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[18] See: Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England* (Princeton, 1970) I: 166–168.

[19] See: G. J. Cuming, *A History of Anglican Liturgy* (London, 1984) 39.

[20] Cuming, *A History*, 35–38.

[21] *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, ed. Henry Gef and William John Hardy (London, 1914) 322–328.

[22] C. W. Dugmore, "The first ten years, 1549–59," *The English Prayer Book 1549–1662* (London, 1963) 8.

[23] See: Davies, *Worship and Theology*, 169–171.

ii. The Book of Common Prayer

The endeavours for a thorough reform of the liturgical life of the English church – based on the theological principles of the Continental Reformation – found full support only after the accession of Edward VI to the throne on 20 February 1547, who because of his minority was represented by the Regency Council. The need to create "uniform, calm, and godly orders" led to the establishment of a preparatory commission, composed of bishops and theologians, who represented the basic theological views in the English church – "the old learning and the new learning." The commission worked at Windsor from August to December 1548 to create a new liturgical order for the celebration of the daily office, communion, baptism, confirmation, marriage, visitation of the sick and for the burial of the dead, the churching of women, and a penitential rite. The rites, mass prayers, and the lectionary were supplemented by an English litany, and Cramer's catechism. Parliament passed the first Act of Uniformity on 12 January 1549, to which was attached the *Book of Common Prayer* (BCP), published on 7 March 1549, which was to be used, starting on Pentecost (6 June) 1549. To provide continental Reformers with insight into the contemporary reforms in the English church, the Scot, Alexander Aless, produced a Latin translation of the *Holy Communion* from the 1549 BCP, which appeared in Leipzig in 1551, and later was re-issued in Bucer's postmortem volume *Scripta Anglicana* together with *Censura*, Bucer's critical commentary on BCP 1549.[24] The 1549 BCP offered the English church a book, which based liturgical life on a wide-reading of Scripture in the vernacular, and – as it was believed – on rituals according to the ancient Christian practice (*primitive form*). It contained vernacular version of all rituals required by parish liturgical life; and was a liturgical book for both the clergy and laity, and superseded the local uses (Sarum, Lincoln &c.) with a single, national use (*usus*).[25]

iii. The Canon

The English BCP 1549 differed from other reformed liturgical orders which gradually appeared on the Continent when the authors of which came critically to grips with the heritage of the medieval Roman order of the mass or – as the case may be – the canon of the mass. BCP 1549 retained in a mildly altered form the structure of the Roman order of the mass, which, however, was entirely reinterpreted in its contents according to the basic postulates of reformed theology. Its principal author was undoubtedly Cramer. The liturgical order for the celebration of the eucharist in BCP 1549 does not contain

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[24] A copy is held in Universitätsbibliothek Basel with the signature FN III 7 [accessed 15. 10. 2015] http://www.e-rara.ch/doi/10.3931/e-rara-8982. The Latin text of BCP 1549, together with its canon, is here published together with marginal notes, which sum up the critical objections from Bucer's *Censura* to its individual parts.

[25] Davies, *Worship and Theology*, 174–178.

any special designation for this prayer; the ritual *Communion of the Sick* calls it *Canon*.[26]

Brightman[27] considers the triple concept of the "eucharistic sacrifice" as the conceptual determinant of the English canon. First, it is a matter of remembrance of Christ's self-sacrifice on the cross. Second, it is a sacrifice of thanks and praise for salvation, deriving from the sacrifice of Christ. Third, it is a form of self-sacrifice of the church, of ourselves, of our souls and bodies. A new element is the introduction of epiclesis (prayer for the Holy Spirit) into the traditional prayer *Quam oblationem* of the Latin canon of the mass. Cuming revises Brightman's triple form of "eucharistic sacrifice" by reference to Cramer, for whom the offering of ourselves as sacrifice is a sacrifice of thanks and praise.[28] Where the Roman canon of the mass speaks of "haec dona" ("these gifts"), the English canon refers to acceptance of "our prayers." Gifts (*dona*) are never human gifts to God, but always God's gifts to the church, which through them was to celebrate the memory of Christ's sacrifice, for which alone is used the very traditional designation "*oblatio*" (oblation) in the English canon. We can divide the canon in BCP 1549[29] into three parts or sections.

After the traditional introductory dialogue, preface, and the chant, the first section of the canon begins with the exordium "Almightie and ever-livyng God, whiche by thy holy Apostle haste taught us," and it is concluded by a formal prayer "Graunt this, O father, for Jesus Christes sake, our onely mediatour and advocate." By and large, it consists of intercessory prayer for the church, for the secular authorities, for ecclesiastical authorities; for the needy, suffering, and oppressed; for the local Christian community, and for the fulfilment of the earthly life in the life eternal. It also contains a thanksgiving for "the Blessed Virgin Mary," the patriarchs, the prophets, the apostles, and martyrs, together with a prayer for the dead. The supplicatory section forms an autonomous whole; as is evident also from its placement elsewhere (after the sermon, and the exhortation to contribution of alms for the needy) in the *Second Book of Common Prayer* of 1552.[30] This part of the canon includes and theologically transmutes the traditional elements of the Roman canon – *Te igitur, Memento Domine, Communicantes* and *Hanc igitur oblationem*.[31] In addition, the canon also includes the motif of petition for the

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[26] See: *The First and Second Prayer Books*, 267.
[27] Frank E. Brightman, *The English Rite* (London, 1921) 1: cvi.
[28] Cuming, *A History*, 56.
[29] *The First and Second Prayer Books*, 221–224. For simplicity's sake we shall henceforth avoid giving the source, when citing from the canon.
[30] See: *The First and Second Prayer Books*, 380–382. This placement within the liturgical order (*ordo missae*) corresponded to the location of analogous prayers in the reformed liturgical orders, by which it was inspired, above all, Hermann's order in Cologne. See: Brightman, *The English Rite*, 1: cvi, and Colin Buchanan, *What did Cranmer think he was doing*? (Cambridge, 1992) 13–20.
[31] Frere in his comparison included the petition of the Roman canon *Hanc igitur oblationem* – which asks for the reception of the offered sacrifice (*oblatio servitutis nostrae*) and

dead *Memento etiam*, which in the Roman canon is placed all the way after the act of consecration. Brightman has called attention to the significance of the intercessory prayer after the sermon in the *Kirchenordnung* of Kassel and in Hermann's *Pia deliberatio* in Cologne.[32] The Roman prayer *Te igitur* – which is a petition for the acceptance and blessing of the eucharistic gifts (*haec dona, haec sacrificia*) offered for the church and is, at the same time, a petition for peace, protection, administration, and unification of the church together with the pope, local bishop, and all orthodox Christians – is theologically re--designated and its intercessory character developed in the BCP canon. God is asked to accept *these our prayers* (*has preces nostras*),[33] which are offered to him. Thus, prayers are considered the (only) sacrifice, which the church can offer to God. According to the Roman canon, the sacrifice which the church offers is the "holy and unblemished gifts" laid on the altar (*haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia illibata*). In the intercessory prayer BCP 1549 omits the reference to the pope and develops the prayers for the sovereign and secular authorities, ecclesiastical authorities (bishops, pastors, and curates), and newly introduces into the context of the Roman canon an explicit petition for those who are sick, needy, dejected, and in difficulty. The intercessions are concluded by a petition for the assembled community, which celebrates the memory of Christ's death and praises God for the mercy and virtue of all the saints (*sainctes/sancti*) since the beginning of the world. From the part of the Roman canon *Communicantes*, it retains the explicit reference to the Virgin Mary (*the glorious and moste blessed Virgin Mary* / *beata et gloriosa virgine Maria*), apostles and martyrs; it omits the list of saints' names, and instead of them includes patriarchs and prophets (*Patriarches, Prophetes/Patriarchi et Propheti*). Brightman perceives here a direct inspiration from the Eastern liturgical tradition, namely, the Liturgy (anaphora) of St. Basil, which Cranmer in general knew well.[34] At the same time it omits the image of the saints' merits and intercessions, presents instead the idea of following (*imitari*) the example of the saints. Following the reference to the saints, the English canon newly adds a prayer for the dead, but expands it – compared with the traditional petition *Memento etiam* – with the eschatological motif of sharing the eternal life of all those who belong to the mystical body of Christ.[35] This motif of participation

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for counting among the elect ones to the eternal life – mistakenly into the context of the second section of the canon BCP 1549, because he was misled by the motif *oblatio*. He thus left out the eschatological motif of counting among the elect ones with the text *Hanc igitur oblationem* in common with the conclusion of the first section of canon BCP 1549. See: Francis Procter, Walter H. Frere, *A New History of the Book of Common Prayer* (London, 1910) 454; Cuming, *A History*, 55.

[32] Brightman, *The English Rite*, 1: cvi.

[33] Concerning the edition of the Latin text of canon BCP 1549, see n. 23.

[34] Frank E. Brightman, *The English Rite* (London, 1921) II: 690.

[35] Cf. *Ibidem*. The reason for the transfer of the prayer for the dead into a new context might be the fact that in the original location in the Roman canon it appears together with *Nobis quoque peccatoribus,* hence with the petition for participation in the communion of saints. If

in eternal life remained a vestige of the concluding petition from *Hanc igitur oblationem* of Gregory's supplement to the original Roman canon.[36]

The second section of the English canon in BCP 1549 begins with the words "O God heavenly father, which of thy tender mercie" and its conclusion is formed by the so-called words of institution: "do this as oft as you shall drinke it, in remembraunce of me." Hence, it includes the traditional segments of the Roman canon *Quam oblationem*, *Qui pridie* and *Simili modo*. The introductory part of the petition *Quam oblationem* relates to the "oblation of our service" (*oblatio servitutis*) of the preceding prayer and asks for the sanctification of the Eucharistic gifts brought by the assembled church. The English canon again emphasises that the only, full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice (*oblacion/ oblatio*), once for all rendered for the sins of the world, was Christ's death on the cross, the memory of which Christ himself commanded the church to perform, until he comes again.[37] In *Quam oblationem* there follows the unambiguous petition that the "oblation of our service" become (*ut fiat*) for the congregation the body and blood of Christ. The English canon, as an innovation, transmutes this petition into a kind of epiclesis, i.e., an invocation of the Holy Spirit and the Word, whereby God should bless and sanctify "his" eucharistic gifts of bread and wine (*thy gyftes and creatures/hec dona et creaturas suas*),[38] so that they can be (*that they maie be unto us / ut nobis fiant*) for the assembled church the body and blood of the Lord Jesus Christ. Brightman sees here again a direct inspiration by the anaphora of St. Basil,[39] and further indicates that the English canon with its expression "*that they may be*" is distancing himself from the concept of a real change of the eucharistic gifts, which is indicated in the Roman canon by the expression "ut fiat."[40] The Latin translation of the English canon, in which Aless uses the expression "fiant," however, does not support Brightman's assertion.[41] On the

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this specific motif is present in *Communicantes* and subsequently in the petition *Hanc igitur oblationem*, then such a transfer is understandable. The connection of the commemoration of the living and the dead in the framework of the so-called diptychs is, moreover, a very common phenomenon in many liturgical traditions. See: G. G. Willis, *Essays in Early Roman Liturgy* (London, 1964) 121–133.

[36] "…and grant that we be rescued from eternal damnation and counted within the fold of thine elect. Through Christ our Lord. Amen. Canon Missae English trans. [accessed 15. 10. 2015] http: //www.sacred-texts.com/chr/lmass/ord.htm.

[37] "O God heavenly father, which of thy tender mercie diddest geve thine only sonne Jesu Christ to suffre death upon the crosse for our redempcion, who made there (by his one oblacion once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifyce, oblacion, and satysfaccyon, for the sinnes of the whole worlde, and did institute, and in his holy Gospell commaund us, to celebrate a perpetuall memory of that his precious death, untyll his comming again."

[38] See: Brightman, *The English Rite*, 1: cvii.

[39] See: Brightman, *The English Rite*, II: 692.

[40] Frank E. Brightman, and Kenneth D. Mackenzie, "The History of the Book of Common Prayer down to 1662," *Liturgy and worship*, *A Companion to the Prayer Books of the Anglican Communion*, ed. W. K. Lowther Clarke (London, 1981) 158.

[41] See: Brightman, *The English Rite*, vol. 1, cvii.

other hand, the rubric, which follows the words of the institution, does not allow the priest to elevate the eucharistic gifts (*without any eleuacin, or shewing / sine eluatione aut ostensione*). Reception of Christ, not his adoration in the eucharistic gifts, is the goal of their blessing and sanctification, and the proper manifestation of the respect for the body and blood of Christ. The words of the institution combine individual New Testament accounts, which is similar to the procedure in the Roman canon. The English canon, however, removes the accompanying non-biblical insertions about Jesus's holy, and venerable hands and his eyes lifted up to heaven.

The last section of the English canon is introduced by the words "Wherfore, O Lorde and heavenly father," and conclude with the solemn doxology with the acclamation "Amen." The core of this part is a combination of the basic themes of the Roman canon *Unde et memores, Suplices te rogamus*, and *Nobis quoque peccatoribus.* From the original Roman canon, references to the sacrifices offered by Abel, Abraham, and Melchisedeh are completely removed (*Supra quae*), as well as the reference to fellowship with the Holy Apostles and martyrs (from *Nobis quoque*). As mentioned before, the memento of the dead was transferred into the context of the introductory intercessory prayer. From the vantage point of the theological structure of the Roman canon, the *Unde et memores* is a continuation of the epicletic petition *Quam oblationem*. It is opened by the *anamnésis* of the death, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus Christ, which the gathered church performs, when it offers from the divine "gifts and oblations a sacrifice" (*de donis ac datis hostiam*), the consecrated eucharistic gifts of bread and wine. The prayer *Suplices te rogamus* is usually considered a specific epiclesis of the Roman canon, which – as opposed to other liturgical traditions – lacks an explicit reference to the Holy Spirit. The fundamental idea is to interconnect the earthly altar / eucharistic table with the heavenly altar so that those who would receive the body and blood of the Lord "through this participation at the altar" (*ex hac altaris participacione*) would be filled with divine blessing and mercy.[42] The 1549 English canon also begins with the solemn *anamnésis* of the resurrection and ascension of Jesus Christ, which the gathered church performs before God "*with these thy holy giftes*" (*cum his donis tuis sanctificatis*). Subsequently it refers to the reception of "*our Sacrifice of praise and thankesgeving*" (*sacrificium nostrum gratiarum actionis*). The motif of sacrifice is then further developed as offering "*oure selfe, oure soules, and bodies.*" The bringing ourselves in sacrifice marks an introduction to the petition that those, who will participate in the communion of bread and wine, might worthily receive the body and blood of Jesus Christ; might be filled with mercy and heavenly blessing; and be made one body with Jesus Christ through a mutual indwelling. The eucharistic gifts

[42] On the theology of this matter in the Roman canon, see briefly Robert F. Taft, "Communion from the Tabernacle – A Liturgico-Theological Oxymoron," *Worship* 88,7 (2014) 2–22; Idem, "Receiving Communion – A Forgotten Symbol?" *Worship* 57,5 (1983) 412–418.

from the start of the celebration are a present from God, which the gathered church receives in order to re-enact the memory of the death and the resurrection of Jesus Christ. The participation in these gifts (*partakers of thys holy Communion* / *participes huius sacrosanctae communionis*) culminates in a spiritual union with Jesus Christ through the worthy reception of his body and blood. The conclusion of the third section is formed by the traditional motif of the angels' service from *Suplices te rogamus* of the Roman canon, who are to transport into the heavenly tabernacle, not our consecrated eucharistic gifts, but "*our prayers and supplicacions*." From the concluding part of the Roman canon (*Nobis quoque peccatoribus*) the BCP 1549 preserved the petition that God should fulfil all, not because of our merits but as the one who has shown mercy to sinners.

This brief analysis of the canon BCP 1549 and its comparison with Roman canon has shown that the creators of BCP 1549, headed by Thomas Cranmer, retained the basic structure of the canon of the mass, as well as its basic theological themes: re-enactment of the memory of the death and the resurrection of Jesus Christ; the offering of a sacrifice; the blessing and sanctification of the eucharistic gifts, and the presence of the body and blood of Christ in them; the intercessory prayer for the church – expanded to cover secular authorities and the needy, the sick, and the sorrowful; commemoration of the saints and the dead, and a prayer for admission into their company; a prayer for a worthy reception of the eucharistic gifts. The most marked deviation occurs in the concept of the sacrifice, which is treated by both canons. Canon BCP 1549, in principle, does not use the vocabulary of sacrifice (*sacrificium, oblatio, hostia*) in connection with the eucharistic gifts, which are always God's gifts to the church in order to perform with them the *anamnésis* of the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. His sacrifice on the cross was the sole and sufficient sacrifice for sin. The assembled Christians cannot add anything to it; they may only offer their praises, petitions, thanks, and their own selves, when they re-enact the memory of Christ's sacrifice. The sacramental reception of the eucharistic gifts – not an adoration – is the proper manner of respect for the body and blood, and of union with Christ. These fundamental structural and theological principles of the canon – very often together with their verbatim expression – will be taken over by Tobiáš Závorka Lipenský into his *Pravidlo služebností*, who modifies them on the basis of the extant Utraquist liturgical practice.

The Canon in the *Pravidlo služebností*
The detailed comparison of canon BCP 1549 and of the *Pravidlo služebností* shows that Závorka utilised for his Agenda largely a translation of the Canon BCP 1549.[43] Only two substantial distinctions are significant. Závorka saw almost the entire canon as a silent, i.e., essentially a priest's, prayer. The priest

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[43] Tobiáš Závorka did not have sufficient knowledge of classical or other foreign languages.

was to say aloud only the words of the institution and concluding doxology. The English canon, on the contrary, was conceived as a prayer spoken aloud, i.e., as a prayer of the entire assembled community. The other substantial distinction is the concept of the section of institution. The English canon reduced everything to a simple re-ordering of the New Testament accounts of the words of the institution and their context. Závorka, on the contrary, develops and supplements this biblical core by the chanting of "appropriate verses," a brief intercessory prayer, and the traditional *Agnus Dei*, which is both sung by the choristers (*žáci*) and silently recited by the priest.[44] Let us now characterize the particular distinctions between BCP 1549 and Závorka's canon in their individual parts (see also the Supplement below).[45]

i. Section A

The canon of *Pravidlo* lacks an introductory reference to 1 Tm 3: 1, which in BCP 1549 serves as an introduction to and rationale for the entire prayer of the canon. *Pravidlo* simply takes over the incipit of the Latin canon (*te igitur*) and, in agreement with BCP 1549, considers prayers as the only sacrifice, which the church can offer to God. It changes the form of the introductory petition for the church, but retains its substance in BCP 1549 in agreement (A1). The case is similar in the prayers for the sovereign and the secular authorities, the ecclesiastical authorities (the servants), the common Christian people, the needy, and the assembled community; these prayers are virtually exact translations (A2–5). Only in two places the text of the canon of the *Pravidlo* significantly differs from the original English text. First, the context of the prayer for the servants of the church emphasises that the dispensation of the sacraments should observe the institutional words of Jesus Christ (*podlé ustanovení Pána Ježíše Krista*). *Pravidlo* here agrees with Aless's Latin text of the BCP 1549 canon, which supplements the original English version with "*iuxta institutionem Filij tui*" (A3). Second, in the prayer for the Christian people, the *Pravidlo,* significantly and independently, stress that Christians should "in the right faith" listen to and receive not only the word of God, but also "the sacraments" (A4). Considering other attempts in the Utraquist Church to reform the Roman canon[46] we consider it important that Závorka retained the entire section concerning the thankful *mementi*

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[44] On the elaboration of the basic text of the *ordinarium* in Závorka's *Písně chval*, see "Písně chval božských," *Coena Dominica Bohemica*, 253–260.

[45] The supplement contains a series of tables designated by combinations of capital letters and numerals, which designate individual sections of the compared texts, and their parts. The following text refers to the tables and their parts by combinations of letters and numerals, for instance B1.

[46] See: Kolář, "Witnesses of a New Liturgical Practice," citing examples of canons in which references to Mary and the saints are missing. On the veneration of saints in Utraquism, and see Ota Halama, *Otázka svatých v české reformaci. Její proměny od doby Karla IV. do doby České konfese* (Brno, 2002).

of the Virgin Mary and the saints (A6). He is in agreement with them on the prayer for the dead (A7). BCP 1549 contains this prayer explicitly. The *Pravidlo*, however, adjusts the entire segment so that an explicit mention of the dead is missing; it refers merely to those present and to all Christians faithful to God. The petition then concerns the common hope for "eternal peace." The dead might be just implicitly included among "all the faithful Christians." Important omissions also include references to "a general resurrection" (*the day of the generall resurreccion*) and to belonging to the mystical body of Christ (*bee of the misticall body of thy sonne*).[47] Both omitted concepts were parts of the Utraquist faith, hence their omission was not based on theological grounds, but rather on considerations of style and form. *Pravidlo* conclude this section by the acclamation "Amen." This section is therefore regarded as a relatively autonomous whole of intercessory prayers, just as happens in BCP 1552.

From the editorial viewpoint, this part of the canon is interesting in that Závorka in *Pravidlo* already relies on a certain form of common intercessory prayer right after the sermon, as we encounter it in the reformed liturgy of Strasbourg.[48] We shall attempt an explanation in the conclusion.

ii. Section B

It was mentioned earlier that Cranmer in BCP 1549 fairly clearly transmuted editorially and theologically the epicletic petition *Quam oblationem.* First of all he clearly states that Christ's death on the cross was and remains the full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice for the sins of the world. Afterwards he recalls Christ's admonition to the church to celebrate the memory of his death, until he comes again (B1). Then, there follows the proper epicletic prayer for the blessing and sanctification of the eucharistic gifts so that they may become the body and blood of Christ. *Pravidlo* adopt the initial emphasis on the full and sufficient sacrifice of Christ on the cross and his admonition to celebrate the memory of this sacrifice. The proper epicletic petition, however, is framed within a yearning for "the consumption" of the body and blood of Christ and a prayer for the true faith "so that we may worthily and usefully –in the reception of his body and blood – re-enact the memory of the death of your Son, for us sinners painfully crucified." It is evident that the *Pravidlo* emphasise the reception of the eucharistic gifts as a fulfilment of Christ's behest to celebrate the memory of his death. This emphasis on the reception of the eucharist sub utraque and with a proper internal disposition may be encountered in other attempts at a reform of the canon of the mass.[49] *Pravidlo*, however, differ from BCP 1549 in the very epicletic prayer over the

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[47] An equivalent expression in the *Pravidla* might be*:* "participants in the innocent death of your dear Son" (účastníky nevinné smrti Syna tvého milého) (A7).

[48] See n. 15 above.

[49] Again see Kolář, "Witnesses of a New Liturgical Practice."

eucharistic gifts. Namely, the introduction to it takes over from the epiclectic prayer over the gifts elements during the rite of the preparation of the gifts (*offertorium*). First, it is the apology *in spiritu humilitatis* and the subsequent petition *Veni, Sanctificator, et benedic* (B2). *Pravidlo* here follow the redaction, which we encounter in other original attempts at reform within the framework of the Utraquist Church.[50]

As mentioned earlier, *Pravidlo* clearly differs from BCP 1549 in that part of the canon which is formed by the New Testament tradition of the so--called words of institution. While BCP 1549 attempts to purify it from all the non-biblical elements with which the Roman canon traditionally commented on the behaviour of Jesus (e.g., "lifting of eyes" in prayer, taking the bread and "the most glorious" chalice into his "holy and venerable hands"), the *Pravidlo* allows some of them as options (e.g. "the most holy hands"); it also begins the "institution" with a salutation, and supplements each set of words with a chant sung by the choir, a silent prayer said by the priest, and the *Agnus Dei*, sung by the choristers, while the priest prays silently (B3a--b). Such an insertion of a chant or verses is also found, for instance, in the *Agenda česká* or in the Brethrens' *Agenda při Večeři Páně* of 1620.[51] With respect to Závorka's *Písně chval božských,* one can say that the recitation of the canon – except for the proclamation of the *verba* and the concluding words of the doxology – was accompanied by the chanting of the *Sanctus* with trope and *Agnus Dei*, whereby the trope was inserted directly into the structure of *institutionis*.[52]

iii. Section C

The third section in the canon of the *Pravidlo* is virtually a faithful translation of the 1549 BCP canon. Differences occur only in three places. First, the section justifies the sacrifice of oneself with a petition for reception into Christ's sacrifice, once performed on the cross (C1). It returns again to this concept of "sacrifice" in the conclusion of the entire canon when the profession of the unworthiness for rendering "any Sacryfice" from BCP 1549 is shifted in the sense that Christians are not worthy to offer to God "their own selves" (C3). Thus, it underscores only the fundamental concept of sacrifice and offering in the BCP canon: the celebration of the memory of the once offered sacrifice of Jesus Christ on the cross, and offering the sacrifice of praise and of themselves by the assembled church. In the canon of the *Pravidlo*, however, we do not find a reference to either an altar or a tabernacle, whereto – through the service of angels – the church's sacrifice should be transferred, but only to God's face (C3).

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[50] Ibid.

[51] See: "Agenda česká," in *Coena Dominica Bohemica*, 189–191 and "Agenda při Večeři Páně," in *Coena Dominica Bohemica*, 116.

[52] See: "Písně chval božských," in *Coena Dominica Bohemica*, 253–260.

Conclusions

Pravidlo služebností as a whole witnesses to the tendency to create a generally acceptable Utraquist agenda at the end of the sixteenth century. Other examples of this endeavour are: *Agenda česká* and *Voltářní knihy Adama Táborského*. Similarly it attests to the relatively widespread practice of the eclectic composition of liturgical formularies and *ordines missae,* an example of which is the *Benešovská agenda.* The conservative tendency in the reform and redaction of the *canon missae* associates Závorka's agenda with the *Voltářní knihy.* The canon of the *Pravidlo* is to be recited silently almost in its entirety, and thus remains a priestly prayer. It keeps the basic thematic and formal structure of the traditional Roman canon which, however, is reinterpreted in the light of the principles of reformed theology. It retains a place for the Virgin Mary and the saints in the prayer of the church, but they are praised for the manner of their lives, and not asked for their intercessions. *Pravidlo* speaks of sacrifice, but does not identify it with the eucharistic gifts. It places emphasis on the consecration of the sacramental gifts and on the profession that they are the body and blood of Jesus Christ. There are significant motifs of a fervent desire for the frequent and worthy reception of the eucharistic gifts.

Závorka on his own initiative sought liturgical prayers, which he could use so that the canon in the *Pravidlo* would fulfil the theological and formal requirements set out by him. I have shown that he found the fundamental source for reforming the traditional Roman canon in the canon of the *First Book of Common Prayer.* For the time being, it represents the only documented use of a specifically Anglican prayer in Utraquist liturgical sources. The relatively extensive textual coincidences between the two sources, which emerge from their comparison in the attached Appendix, testify that the text of the canon in the *Pravidlo služebností* was composed under the clear influence of the text, which is known as the (mass) canon, created most likely by Thomas Cranmer for the *First Book of Common Prayer.* In the case of *Pravidlo*, however, it is not a matter of mere translation into Czech from the English, or the Latin version of the 1549 BCP canon. The author of the Czech canon modified the original text in a significant manner, especially in parts A1-B3, i.e., from the *Sanctus* to the *Institutio* inclusively. Where this creative editorial work takes place, we can follow its affinity with other attempts at a reform of the canon of the mass in the Utraquist Church during the sixteenth century. No matter how significantly this original work of redaction affected the final textual form of the canon in the *Pravidlo služebností*, the Anglo-Latin canon BCP 1549 nevertheless remained its fundamental source. Their common background is the traditional Roman canon, a reform of which was the desire of the authors of both texts, compared here.

The submitted summary opens up several questions. How did Závorka encounter the text of Cranmer's reformed canon in BCP 1549? There are

several possibilities. Závorka, while working on the *Pravidlo služebností*, also became interested in English liturgical reform and had someone translate the canon from BCP 1549. It is also possible that the *Book of Common Prayer* may have been known in Bohemia at that time, either as a whole, or – considering the rather eclectic method of liturgical composition – only as a canon used as an autonomous liturgical text, which could occasionally be inserted in the place of the original Roman canon of the mass. I am inclined to accept this other possibility – the view of the canon of BCP as an independent text – because of the duplication of the intercessory prayers within the framework of the *ordo missae* in the *Pravidlo*. It is very likely that Závorka primarily counted with intercessory prayers after the sermon, and when he discovered in the canon from BCP 1549 the most appropriate available alternative to the traditional Roman canon, he adopted it in its entirety, i.e., including the extensive intercessory prayer. The hypothesis of the use of the canon from BCP 1549 as an independent text can be supported also by the fact that subsequent editions of BCP (1552 and 1559) extracted exactly the extensive intercessory part from the canon, and transferred it to a place after the sermon and the offering (collection of alms). To the extent that only the canon of BCP 1549, or its other separate parts were known, we can further ask, whether Závorka knew, from what liturgical tradition or from which provenance the text itself had come. It also remains to ask whether Závorka adopted the translated BCP canon and he himself merely complemented it with the original elements – which were mentioned in the preceding comparison – or whether he only adopted into his *Pravidlo* the text of the canon in its contemporary form.

It is also necessary to decide, whether the source of the canon in *Pravidlo služebností* is the English original of the BCP 1549 canon or its translation into Latin by Alexander Aless from 1551. Such a decision cannot be made without a thorough linguistic analysis, which is not in our competence. I am rather inclined to the Latin version, which is indicated by the sequence of words in the introduction to the epicletic prayer of consecration over the Eucharistic gifts. The English BCP 1549 characterises Christ's sacrifice as "a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice," while the Latin translation of the canon is "perfectum, plenum, et sufficiens sacrificium." Then in the Czech translation in the *Pravidlo* we encounter Christ's sacrifice as "dokonalou, plnou a dostatečnou" [full, perfect and sufficient] (B1). Thus the placement of words is closer to the Latin version of the canon. The *Pravidlo* likewise agrees with the specification of dispensing the sacrament "podlé ustanovení Pána Ježíše Krista," in Aless's Latin version "iuxta institutionem Filij tui" (A3). All this may indicate that the 1549 BCP canon might have got into the Czech milieu through interest in Matin Bucer's work. The discovery of the presence of a revised form of the BCP 1549 canon in *Pravidlo služebností* poses questions about other possible foreign influences on Bohemian liturgical practice which, up until now, we have had no reason to treat.

Appendix

This Appendix contains a series of tables with four columns. The individual columns contain the texts of the canon from the sources being compared; namely, the Roman canon of the mass; the English reformed canon BCP 1549; its Latin translation by Aless from 1551; and finally the canon of Závorka's *Pravidlo služebností*. The transcribed text for the second column (canon BCP 1549) [accessed 15. 10. 2015] http: //justus.anglican.org/resources/bcp/1549/Communion_1549.htm

The series of tables divides each of the canons according to the particular structural elements of the Roman canon. For convenience, the individual sections and their parts are designated by combinations of letters and numbers. Textual coincidences between BCP 1549 and *Pravidlo služebností* are *in italics.*

		A1: TE IGITUR	
Canon missae	BCP 1549	Holy Communion (Aless) 1551	Pravidlo služebností 1607
– Te igitur, clementíssime Pater, per Jesum Christum Fílium tuum, Dóminum nostrum, súpplices rogámus ac pétimus uti accépta habeas, et benedícas, hæc dona, hæc múnera, hæc sancta sacrifícia illibáta; in primis quæ tibi offérimus	– ALMIGHTIE and everlivyng GOD, whiche by thy holy Apostle haste taught us to make prayers and supplicacions, and to geve thankes for al menne: We humbly beseche thee moste mercyfully to receive these our praiers, which we offre unto thy divine Majestie,	– Omnipotens, aeterne Deus, qui nos per Apostolum tuum iubes facere orationes, obsecrationes, deprecationes, et gratiarum actiones pro omnibus hominibus, humiliter te petimus, ut clementer accipias has preces nostras, quas offerimus diuine maiestati tuae	– Protož tebe nejdobrotivější, všemohoucí, věčný Otče skrze Jezu Krista, Syna tvého, Pána našeho, poníženě prosíme, aby dobrotivě ráčil přijíti a oblíbiti modlitby naše, kteréž tvé Božské milosti srdcem skroušeným obětujeme.
– pro Ecclésia tua sancta cathólica; quam pacificáre, custodíre, adunáre, et régere dignéris toto orbe terrárum: una cum fámulo tuo Papa nostro N., et Antístite nostro N. et ómnibus orthodóxis, atque Cathólicæ et apostólicæ fídei cultóribus.	– beseching thee to inspire continually the universal churche with the spirite of trueth, unitie, and concorde: And graunt that al they that do confesse thy holy name, maye agree in the trueth of thy holye worde, and live in unitie and godly love.	– supplicantes, ut perpetuo inspires, et conferues vniuersae Ecclesiae Spiritum veritatis et concordiae. Praesta etiam, vt omnes, qui confitentur nomen tuum sanctum, consentiant in fide, et vera doctrina Euangelij, et viuant inter se concordes in charitate.	– A žádáme, račiž církev tvou svatou obecnou křesťanskou ustavičně v svaté své ochraně míti, jí sám řídíti, sjednocovati a v pokoji zdržovati. Učiň takt, aby všickni ti, jenž te v trojici jediného Boha býti vyznávají, srovnávali se v víře, poživajíce pravého učení svatého evangelium, a živi byli mezi sebou v lásce.

		A2: MEMENTO (VIVORUM): secular authorities	
Canon missae	BCP 1549	Holy Communion (Aless) 1551	Pravidlo služebností 1607
– Meménto, Dómine, famulórum, famularúmque tuárum N. et N. [et ómnium circumstántium, quorum tibi fides cógnita est, et nota devótio, pro quibus tibi offérimus: vel qui tibi ófferunt hoc sacrifícium laudis pro se, suísque ómnibus: pro redemptióne animárum suárum, pro spe salútis, et incolumitátis suae: tibíque reddunt vota sua aetérno Deo, vivo et vero.]	– Speciallye we beseche thee to save and defende thy servaunt Edwarde our Kyng, that under hym we maye be Godly and quietly governed. And graunt unto his whole counsaile, and to all that he put in auctoritie under hym, that they maye truely and indifferently minister justice, to the punishemente of wickednesse and vice, and to the maintenaunce of Goddes true religion and vertue.	– In primis autem te oramus, vt serues et defendas seruum tuum Eduardum Regem nostrum, vt sub ipso quietam vitam degamus, cum omni pietate et honestate; da suae Celsitudinis consiliarijs, et vniuersis, qui Magistratum gerunt, vt sine personarum acceptione administrent iustitiam, qua vitia et nequitia puniantur et corrigantur, pietas, religio et virtus crescant, et afficiantur praemijs.	– Také tebe prosíme, smiluj se nad služebníkem tvým císařem (králem) našim M.N. Srdce jeho spravuj a veď k tvé vůli, aby věrným služebníkem tvé milosti byl, církve tvé chránil, ji vzdělávati pomáhal. Spravujž i srdce rad jeho i srdce všech, kterýmž jsi dal nad lidem tvým panovati a jej říditi : Aby bez osob přijímání spravedlnosti posluhovali, skrze kterouž by neřesti, zlosti, pokutovali. Pobožnost, náboženství, ctnost vzdělávali a ochraňovali : Tak aby chvála tvá všudy ve všech se rozmáhala.

	A3: MEMENTO (VIVORUM): ecclesiastical authorities	
Canon missae	**BCP 1549**	**Holy Communion (Aless) 1551**	**Pravidlo služebnosti 1607**
	– *Geve grace (O henvenly father)* *to all Bishoppes, Pastors, and* *Curates, that thei maie bothe by* *their life and doctrine set furthe* *thy true and lively worde, and* *rightely and duely administer* *thy holy Sacramentes:*	– Da gratiam, coelestis Pater, omnibus Episcopis, Pastoribus, et his, qui curam gerunt animarum, vt tam vita quam doctrina ornent ministerium Euangelij, et administrent Sacramenta iuxta institutionem Filij tui.	– *Dejž milost, ó nebeský Otče,* *všem kněžím, učitelům* *a správcûm církve tvé, kteréž* *postavil za strážné lidu tvého,* *aby o spasení jich pečovali : Aby* *jakž životem pobožným, tak* *učením pravým a jednosvorrným* *ozdobovali posluhování svatého* *evangelium a posluhovali* *svátostmi podlé ustanovení* *Pána Ježíše Krista.*

	A4: MEMENTO (VIVORUM): Christian people and those in need	
Canon missae	**BCP 1549**	**Holy Communion (Aless) 1551**	**Pravidlo služebnosti 1607**
	– *and to al thy people geve thy* *heavenly grace, that with meke* *heart and due reverence they* *may heare and receive thy holy* *worde, truely servyng thee in* *holynes and righteousnes all the* *dayes of their life:*	– Tribue vniuerso populo gratiam tuam, vt humili animo, et qua decet reuerentia, audiant et accipiant sanctum Verbum tuum, et tibi seruiant in sanctitate et iustitia omnibus diebus vitae.	– *Uděl všemu lidu milosti tvé* *svaté, aby s poníženou myslí* *v pravé viře se vší uctivostí* *slyšeli a přijímali tvé svaté* *slovo i svátosti a tobě sloužili* *v svatosti a spravedlnosti po* *všecky dni životû svých.*
	– *And we most humbly beseche* *thee of thy goodnes (O Lorde)* *to coumfort and succour all* *them, whyche in thys transytory* *life be in trouble, sorowe, nede,* *syckenes, or any other adversitie.*	– Submisse etiam te petimus propter bonitatem tuam Domine, vt consoleris et succurras omnibus, qui sunt in angustiis, doloribus, infirmitatibus, vel aliis aduersitatibus constituti.	– *Poníženě také tebe prosíme* *pro dobrotu tvou, aby těšil* *a spomáhal všem, kteříž* *jsou v úzkostech, v bolestech,* *v nemocech, v zármutcích* *a jiných protivných věcech* *postaveni.*

		A5: MEMENTO (VIVORUM CIRCUMSTÁNTIUM)	
Canon missae	BCP 1549	Holy Communion (Aless) 1551	Pravidlo služebností 1607
– [et ómnium circumstántium, quorum tibi fides cógnita est, et nota devótio, pro quibus tibi offérimus: vel qui tibi ófferunt hoc sacrifícium laudis pro se, suísque ómnibus: pro redemptióne animárum suárum, pro spe salútis, et incolumitátis suae: tibíque reddunt vota sua aetérno Deo, vivo et vero.]	*– And especially we commend unto thy mercifull goodnes, this congregacion which is here assembled in thy name, to celebrate the commemoracion of the most glorious death of thy sonne:*	– Nominatim autem tuae clementiae commendamus Ecclesiam hic congregatam in nomine tuo, ad celebrandam commemorationem gloriosae mortis Filij tui.	*– Jmenovitě pak poroučíme tvé Božské velebnosti církev tuto shromážděnou ve jménu tvém k slavení památky oslavné smrti Syna tvého.*

		A6: COMMUNICANTES / MEMENTO ETIAM (DEFUNCTORUM)	
Canon missae	BCP 1549	Holy Communion (Aless) 1551	Pravidlo služebnosti 1607
– Communicántes, et memóriam venerántes in primis gloriósæ semper vírginis Maríæ, genitrícis Dei et Dómini nostri Jesu Christi: sed et beáti Joseph, ejúsdem vírginis sponsi, et beatórum apostolórum ac mártyrum tuórum, Petri et Pauli, Andréæ, Jacóbi, Joánnis, Thomæ, Jacóbi, Philíppi, Bartholomǽi, Matthǽi, Simónis, et Thaddǽi: Lini, Cleti, Cleméntis, Xysti, Cornélii, Cypriáni, Lauréntii, Chrysógoni, Joánnis et Pauli, Cosmæ et Damiáni, et ómnium sanctórum tuórum;	– And here we do geve unto thee moste high praise, and heartie thankes, for the wonderfull grace and vertue, declared in all thy sainctes, from the begynning of the worlde: And chiefly in the glorious and moste blessed virgin Mary, mother of thy sonne Jesu Christe our Lorde and God, and in the holy Patriarches, Prophetes, Apostles and Martyrs,	– Habemus etiam et agimus tibi summam gratiam ex animo, pro mirificis donis et virtutibus ostensis in omnibus sanctis tuis inde ab origine mundi. In primis autem in beata et gloriosa virgine Maria, matre Filij tui Domini nostri IESV CHRISTI, et in sanctis Patriarchis, Prophetis, et Apostolis, ac Martyribus,	– Díky tvé milosti činíme s pravého srdce za nevymluvné dary a ctnosti okázané na všech svatých tvých hned od počátku světa. Nejprvé pak na blahoslavené Panně Marii, matce Syna tvého milého Pána našeho Ježíše Krista. A svatých patriarších, prorocích, apoštolích, mučednících.
– quorum meritis precibúsque concédas, ut in ómnibus protectiónis tuæ muniámur auxílio. Per eúndem Christum Dóminum nostrum. Amen.	– whose examples (O Lorde) and stedfastnes in thy fayth, and kepyng thy holy commaundementes, graunt us to folowe.	– quorum exempla in constantia fidei et obseruatione mandatorum tuorum, fac nos imitari.	– Jejichžto šlépěji a dobrých příkladův v stálosti víry a v zachovávání tvých přikázání dejž nám následovati.

		A7: MEMENTO (DEFUNCTORUM) / HANC IGITUR OBLATIONEM	
Canon missae	**BCP 1549**	**Holy Communion (Aless) 1551**	**Pravidlo služebností 1607**
– [Meménto étiam, Dómine, famulórum famularúmque tuarum N. et N. qui nos praecessérunt cum signo fídei, et dórmiunt in somno pacis. Ipsis, Dómine, et ómnibus in Christo quiescéntibus, locum refrigérii, lucis et pacis, ut indúlgeas, deprecámur. Per eúndem Christum Dóminum nostrum. Amen.] – Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostra, sed et cuncta familia tua quáesumus, Domine, ut placatus accipias: diesque nostros in tua pace disponas, atque ab aterna damnatione nos eripi, et in electorum tuorum jubeas grege numerari.	– *We commend unto thy mercye (O Lorde) all other thy servauntes, which are departed hence from us, with the signe of faith, and nowe do reste in the slepe of peace: Graunt unto them, we beseche thee, thy mercy, and everlasting peace, and that, at the day of the generall resurreccion, we and all they which bee of the misticall body of thy sonne, may altogether be set on his right hand, and heare that his most ioyfull voyce: Come unto me, O ye that be blessed of my father, and possesse the kingdom, whiche is prepared for you from the begynning of the worlde:*	– [Commendamus etiam tibi, o Domine, reliquos omnes seuos tuos, qui ex vita hac decesserunt cum signo fidei, et nunc requiescunt in somno pacis. Concede illis, quaesumus, misericordiam tuam, et aeternam pacem, vtin die vniuersalis resurrectionis, nos et omnes, qui sunt membra mystici corporis Filij tui, sistamur a dextra ipsius, vt audiamus illam suauissimam vocem: Venite ad me benedicti a Patre meo, et possidete regnum, quod vobis paratum est a principio mundi.] xBucer	– *Poroučíme také tobě, Pane Bože náš, sami sebe, duše své i těla i se všemi tvými věrnými křesťany, účastníky nevinné smrti Syna tvého milého, Pána našeho. Dejž prosíme nám i jim užíti milosrdenství tvého a věčného pokoje. Abychom vykročíc šťastně s světa tohoto s jistotou víry pravé mohli se postaviti na pravici jeho a slyšeti ten potěšený hlas : „podte, požehnaní Otce mého, vládněte královstvím vám připraveným od ustanovení světa."*
– Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.	– *Graunt this, O father, for Jesus Christes sake, our onely mediatour and advocate.*	– Hec praesta per Filium tuum, Dominum nostrum IESVM CHRISTVM, vnicum Mediatorem et Aduocatum nostrum	– *O učiniž to prosíme pro Syna tvého Pána našeho Ježíše Krista, jenž jest jediný prostředník a přímluvce náš. Amen*

	A6: COMMUNICANTES / MEMENTO ETIAM (DEFUNCTORUM)	
Canon missae	BCP 1549	Holy Communion (Aless) 1551	Pravidlo služebností 1607
– Communicántes, et memóriam venerántes in primis gloriósae semper vírginis Maríae, genitrícis Dei et Dómini nostri Jesu Christi: sed et beáti Joseph, ejúsdem vírginis sponsi, et beatórum apostolórum ac mártyrum tuórum, Petri et Pauli, Andréae, Jacóbi, Joánnis, Thomae, Jacóbi, Philíppi, Bartholomǽi, Matthǽi, Simónis, et Thaddǽi: Lini, Cleti, Cleméntis, Xysti, Cornélii, Cypriáni, Lauréntii, Chrysógoni, Joánnis et Pauli, Cosmae et Damiáni, et ómnium sanctórum tuórum;	– And here we do geve unto thee moste high praise, and heartie thankes, for the wonderfull grace and vertue, declared in all thy sainctes, from the begynning of the worlde: And chiefly in the glorious and moste blessed virgin Mary, mother of thy sonne Jesu Christe our Lorde and God, and in the holy Patriarches, Prophetes, Apostles and Martyrs,	– Habemus etiam et agimus tibi summam gratiam ex animo, pro mirificis donis et virtutibus ostensis in omnibus sanctis tuis inde ab origine mundi. In primis autem in beata et gloriosa virgine Maria, matre Filij tui Domini nostri IESV CHRISTI, et in sanctis Patriarchis, Prophetis, et Apostolis, ac Martyribus,	– Díky tvé milosti činíme s pravého srdce za nevymluvné dary a ctnosti okázané na všech svatých tvých hned od počátku světa. Nejprvé pak na blahoslavené Panně Mariji, matce Syna tvého milého Pána našeho Ježíše Krista. A svatých patriaršich, prorocích, apoštolích, mučednících.
– quorum meritis precibúsque concédas, ut in ómnibus protectiónis tuae muniámur auxílio. Per eúndem Christum Dóminum nostrum. Amen.	– whose examples (O Lorde) and stedfastnes in thy fayth, and kepyng thy holy commaundementes, graunt us to folowe.	– quorum exempla in constantia fidei et obseruatione mandatorum tuorum, fac nos imitari.	– Jejichžto šlepěji a dobrých příkladův v stálosti víry a v zachovávání tvých přikázání dejž nám následovati.

		A7: MEMENTO (DEFUNCTORUM) / HANC IGITUR OBLATIONEM	
Canon missae	BCP 1549	Holy Communion (Aless) 1551	Pravidlo služebnosti 1607
– [Meménto étiam, Dómine, famulórum famularúmque tuarum N. et N. qui nos praecessérunt cum signo fídei, et dórmiunt in somno pacis. Ipsis, Dómine, et ómnibus in Christo quiescéntibus, locum refrigérii, lucis et pacis, ut indúlgeas, deprecámur. Per eúndem Christum Dóminum nostrum. Amen.] – Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostra, sed et cuncta familia tua quaésumus, Domine, ut placatus accipias: diesque nostros in tua pace disponas, atque ab aterna damnatione nos eripi, et in electorum tuorum jubeas grege numerari. – Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.	– We commend unto thy mercye (O Lorde) all other thy servauntes, which are departed hence from us, with the signe of faith, and nowe do reste in the slepe of peace: Graunt unto them, we beseche thee, thy mercy, and everlasting peace, and that, at the day of the generall resurreccion, we and all they which bee of the misticall body of thy sonne, may altogether be set on his right hand, and heare that his most ioyfull voyce: Come unto me, O ye that be blessed of my father, and possesse the kingdom, whiche is prepared for you from the beginning of the worlde: – Graunt this, O father, for Jesus Christes sake, our onely mediatour and advocate.	– [Commendamus etiam tibi, o Domine, reliquos omnes seuos tuos, qui ex vita hac decesserunt cum signo fidei, et nunc requiescunt in somno pacis. Concede illis, quaesumus, misericordiam tuam, et aeternam pacem, vtin die vniuersalis resurrectionis, nos et omnes, qui sunt membra mystici corporis Filij tui, sistamur a dextra ipsius, vt audiamus illam suauissimam vocem: Venite ad me benedicti a Patre meo, et possidete regnum, quod vobis paratum est a principio mundi.] xBucer – Hec praesta per Filium tuum, Dominum nostrum IESVM CHRISTVM, vnicum Mediatorem et Aduocatum nostrum	– Poroučíme také tobě, Pane Bože náš, sami sebe, duše své i těla i se všemi tvými věrnými křesťany, účastníky nevinné smrti Syna tvého milého, Pána našeho. Dejž prosíme nám i jim užíti milosrdenství tvého a věčného pokoje. Abychom vykročíc šťastně s světa tohoto s jistotou víry pravé mohli se postaviti na pravici jeho a slyšeti ten potěšený hlas: „podte, požehnaní Otce mého, vládněte královstvím vám připraveným od ustanovení světa.“ – O učiniž to prosíme pro Syna tvého Pána našeho Ježíše Krista, jenž jest jediný prostředník a přímluvce náš. Amen

Canon missae	BCP 1549	B1: QUAM OBLATIONEM	
		Holy Communion (Aless) 1551	Pravidlo služebností 1607
– Quam oblatiónem tu, Deus, in ómnibus, quǽsumus, benedíctam, adscríptam, ratam, rationábilem, acceptabilémque fácere dignéris:	– O God heavenly father, which of thy tender mercie diddest geve thine only sonne Jesu Christ to suffre death upon the crosse for our redempcion, who made there (by his one oblacion once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifyce, oblacion, and satysfaccyon, for the sinnes of the whole worlde, – and did institute, and in his holy Gospell commaund us, to celebrate a perpetuall memory of that his precious death, untyll his comming again:	[Altera precatio ad S. coenam] – O coelestis Pater, qui ex immensa misericordia tua dedisti nobis vnicum Filium tuum, IESVM CHRISTVM, vt moreretur pro nostra redemptione in cruce, isticque illa vnica oblatione, qua sese obtulit, perfectum, plenum, et sufficiens sacrificium ac integram satisfactionem faceret pro peccatis totius mundi, – quique instituit, ac in suo sacrosancto Euangelio praecepit, vt celebremus perpetuam memoriam pretiosae mortis sue, vsque dum rediret ad iudicium:	[Modlitba před posvěcováním] – Nebeský Otče, kterýž jsi z svého pouhého milosrdenství dal nám jediného svého Syna Pána našeho Ježíše Krista, aby umřel pro vykoupení naše na kříži a tam tou jedinou, dokonalou, plnou a dostatečnou obětí za nás i za hříchy všeho světa se obětoval. – A v svém svatém evangelium ustanoviti a přikázati ráčil, abychom slavili a ustavičnou památku činili oslavné a nám spasitedlné smrti jeho : dotud, dokudž se nenavrátí viditedlně k nám zase k soudu.

Canon missae	BCP 1549	B2: QUAM OBLATIONEM /sanctificatio/	
		Holy Communion (Aless) 1551	Pravidlo služebností 1607
ut nobis Corpus, et Sanguis fiat dilectissimi Filii tui Dómini nostri Jesu Christi.	– Heare us (O merciful father) *we besech thee*; and with thy *holy spirite* and worde, vouchsafe to +blesse and +sanctifie these thy gyftes, and *creatures of bread and wyne, that they maie be unto us the bodye and bloude of thy moste derely beloved sonne Jesus Christe.*	– [Exaudi nos, quaesumus, misericors pater, et cum tuo sancto Spiritu, et Verbo, et dignare benedicere et sanctificare hec dona, et creaturas suas, panis et vini, vt nobis fiant corpus, et sanguis dilecti Filij tui, Domini nostri Iesu Christi] *x Bucer*	– A my ted' tu památku činíme, žádostiví jsouc těla a krve nejmilejšího Syna tvého Pána našeho požívati. Protož v duchu poníženosti a v duchu skroušení *pokorně prosíme* : přijď, posvětiteli, všemohúcí věčný Bože, *posvěť a požehnej živlův těchto chleba a vína, aby nám byli tělem a krví tvého milého Syna* podlé nejsvětějšího nařízení jeho k odpuštění hříchův našich. A naší nedostatečné víře spomoz, zapále srdce naše *Duchem svatým* tvým ku pravému věření. Abychom památku smrti Syna tvého pro nás hříšné bolestně ukřižovaného v přijímání těla a krve jeho hodně a užitečně konati mohli.

Canon missae	BCP 1549	B3a: QUI PRIDIE	
		Holy Communion (Aless) 1551	Pravidlo služebností 1607
– Qui prídie quam paterétur, accépit panem in sanctas ac venerábiles manus suas, et elevátis óculis in cælum ad te Deum Patrem suum omnipoténtem tibi grátias agens, benedíxit, fregit, dedítque discipulis suis, dicens: Accípite, et manducáte ex hoc omnes, hoc est enim corpus meum.	– *Who in the same nyght that he was betrayed: tooke breade, and when he had blessed, and geven thankes: he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saiyng: Take, eate, this is my bodye which is geven for you, do this in remembraunce of me.*	– qui in illa nocte, qua traditus fuit, accepit panem, et cum benedixisset, et egisset gratias, fregit et dedit discipulis suis, dicens: Accipite et manducate, hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis datur: hoc facite in meam commemorationem.	– [Kněz pak spívá:] Pán Bůh buddiž s vámi. [Kůr odpoví] – [Kněz] Pán náš Ježíš Kristus té noci, kterouž zrazen byl, vzal chléb (v své nejsvětější ruce), dobrořečil, lámal a dal učedlníkům svým řka: Vezměte a jezte: Toto jest tělo mé, kteréž se za vás dává: To čiňte na mou památku. – [Žáci spívají verše příhodné a kněz obrátě se k oltáři položí s nádobou tělo na rouchu a přikryje dí:] – Pane Ježíši Kriste, náš milý Vykupiteli, viz ustanovení tvé, odpusť hříchy naše a buď přítomen lidu svému na věky.

		B3b: SÍMILI MODO	
Canon missae	**BCP 1549**	**Holy Comm. (Aless) 1551**	**Pravidlo služebností 1607**
– Símili modo postquam cœnátum est, accípiens et hunc præclárum Cálicem in sanctas ac venerábiles manus suas: item tibi grátias agens, benedíxit, dedítque discípulis suis, dicens: Accípite, et bíbite ex eo omnes, hic est enim calix sánguinis mei, novi et aetérni testaménti: mystérium fídei: qui pro vobis et pro multis effundétur in remissiónem peccatórum. Haec quotiescúmque fecéritis, in mei memóriam faciétis.	– Likewyse after supper he toke the cuppe, and when he had geven thankes, he gave it to them, saiyng: drynk ye all of this, for this is my bloude of the newe Testament, whyche is shed for you and for many, for remission of synnes: do this as oft as you shall drinke it, in remembraunce of me.	– Simili modo, posteaquam coenatum est, accepit calicem, et cum egisset gratias, dedit illis diceus: Bibete ex eo omnes, Est enim sanguis meus noui Testamenti, qui pro vobis et multis effunditur in remissionem peccatorum. Hoc facite, quotiescunque biberitis, in mei commemorationem.	– [A jakž žáci přestanou, vezme kněz kalich s vínem a obráté se k lidu říká (neb spívá) takto:] – *Tím spůsobem, když odvečeřel, vzal kalich (v své nejsvětější ruce), díky činil a dal jim řka: Pite z něho všickni, neb toto jest krev má nového zákona, kteráž za mnohé vylitá bude na odpuštění hříchův: To čiňte, kolikrát koli píti budete, na mou památku.* – [Tu žáci spívají verše k tomu příhodné a dospívají **Sanctus i Agnus Dei**. Kněz pak obráte se k oltáři postaví kalich na rouchu a jsou-li tu jiné kalichy s vínem, vezme je a říká táž slova svrchu psaná nad nimi: A odstavíc je dí:] – **Beránku Boží**, kterýž snímáš hříchy z světa, smiluj se nad námi a sejmouc je také z nás, rač nám dáti pokoj.

Canon missae	BCP 1549	C1: UNDE ET MEMORES [SUPRA QUE]	
		Holy Comm. (Aless.) 1551	Pravidlo služebnosti 1607
– Unde et mémores, Dómine, nos servi tui, sed et plebs tua sancta, ejúsdem Christi Fílii tui Dómini nostri tam beátæ Passiónis, nec non et ab ínferis Resurrectiónis, sed et in cælos gloriósæ ascensiónis: offérimus præcláræ majestáti tuæ de tuis donis ac datis hóstiam puram, hóstiam sanctam, hóstiam immaculátam, Panem sanctum vitæ ætérnæ, et Cálicem salútis perpétuæ.

– Supra quæ propítio ac seréno vultu respícere dignéris; et accépta habére, sícuti accépta habére dignátus es múnera púeri tui justi Abel, et sacrifícium patriárchæ nostri Ábrahæ, et quod tibi óbtulit summus sacérdos tuus Melchísedech, sanctum sacrifícium, immaculátam hóstiam. | – *WHERFORE, O Lorde and heavenly father, accordyng to the Instytucyon of thy derely beloved sonne, our saviour Jesu Christ, we thy humble servauntes do celebrate, and make here before thy divine Majestie, with these thy holy gyftes, the memoryall whyche thy sonne hath wylled us to make, havyng in remembraunce his blessed passion, mightie resurreccyon, and gloryous ascencion, renderyng unto thee most hartie thankes, for the innumerable benefites procured unto us by the same,*

– *entierely desiryng thy fatherly goodnes, mercifully to accepte this our Sacrifice of praise and thankesgeving; most humbly beseching thee to graunt, that by the merites and death of thy sonne Jesus Christ, and through faith in his bloud, we and al thy whole church, may obteigne remission of our sinnes, and all other benefites of hys passyon.*

– *And here wee offre and present unto thee (O Lorde) oure selfe, oure soules, and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto thee:* | – Quapropter, o Domine coelestis Pater, iuxta institutionem dilecti Filij tui, Domini nostri IESV CHRISTI, nos humiles serui tui celebramus, et memoriam facimus coram diuina Maiestate tua, cum his donis tuis sanctificatis, quam voluit Filius tuus nos facere, commemorantes, et ad memoriam reuocantes benedictam passionem, potentem ressurrectionem, et gloriosam ascensionem ipsius, Gratias tibi, quantas possumus ex animo agentes, pro innumeris beneficijs nobis per haec exhibitis,

– petentes paternam bonitatem tuam, vt clementer accipias hoc sacrificium nostrum gratiarum actionis, humiliter obsecrantes, vt concedas per merita, et mortem Filij tui IESV CHRISTI, et per fidem in sanguinem ipsius, vt nos cum vniuersa Ecclesia accipiamus remissionem peccatorum, et omnia alia beneficia suae passionis.

– Offerimus etiam et praesentamus tibi Domine, nos ipsos, animas nostras, et corpora, hostiam rationalem, viuam et sanctam, | – Protož Pane, nebeský Bože, podlé tvého nejmilejšího Syna, Pána našeho Ježíše Krista ustanovení: My nehodní služebníci světíme a památku činíme před božskou velebností tvou s těmito dary tvými svatými, kteréž chce Syn tvůj, abychom připomínajíc a v pamět uvozujíc přesvaté utrpení, mocné zmrtvýchvstání a slavné na nebe vstoupení jeho, díky tobě činíti z pravého srdce našeho pro nevymluvné dary a dobrodiní nám skrze to vydané.

– Žádáme pokorně dobroty tvé, aby věčně přijal tyto modlitby naše z díkův činěním a rač to učiniti pro zaslouženi a smrt nevinnou Syna tvého, Pána našeho Jezu Krista, a skrze víru v krvi jeho, abychom my se vší církví svatou přijali odpuštění hříchův a všecka jiná dobrodiní nám skrze to podané.

– Obětujeme také a offerujeme tobě, Pane Bože náš, sami sebe, duše naše i těla, oběti rozumnou a svatou žádajíc, aby přijal nás v té oběti jednou za nás na kříži vykonané. |

		C2: SÚPPLICES TE ROGÁMUS	
Canon missae	**BCP 1549**	**Holy Communion (Aless) 1551**	**Pravidlo služebností 1607**
– Súpplices te rogámus, omnípotens Deus, [jube hæc perférri per manus sancti Ángeli tui in sublíme altáre tuum, in conspéctu divínae majestátis tuae:] ut quotquot ex hac altáris participatióne, sacrosánctum Fílii tui Corpus et Sánguinem sumpsérimus, omni benedictióne caelésti et grátia repleámur. Per eundem Christum Dóminum nostrum. Amen.	– humbly besechyng thee, that whosoever shalbee partakers of thys holy Communion, maye worthely receive the most precious body and bloude of thy sonne Jesus Christe: and bee fulfilled with thy grace and heavenly benediccion, and made one bodye with thy sonne Jesu Christe, that he maye dwell in them, and they in hym.	– postulantes, vt quicunque participes fuerint huius sacrosanctae communionis, digne percipiant pretiosum corpus et sanguinem Filij tui Domini nostri IESV CHRISTI, et impleantur gratia tua, benedictione coelesti, vt sint vnum cum Filio tuo IESV CHRISTO, et ipse in illis, et illi in ipso maneant.	– a dejž, aby všickni, kteříž by účastníci byli tohoto svato-svatého přijímání, hodně přijímali přeslavné tělo a krev Syna tvého, Pána Ježíše Krista, a naplněni byli milostí tvou a požehnáním nebeským a byli jedno tělo z Synem tvým Jezu Kristem, on v nás, a my zase v něm abychom zůstávali.

		C3: NOBIS QUOQUE PECCATÓRIBUS, SUPPLICES plus *Per ipsum*	
Canon missae	**BCP 1549**	**Holy Communion (Aless) 1551**	**Pravidlo služebností 1607**
[Jube hæc perférri per manus sancti Ángeli tui in sublíme altáre tuum, in conspéctu divínae majestátis tuæ:] – [Meménto étiam, Dómine] – Nobis quoque peccatóribus fámulis tuis, de multitúdine miseratiónum tuárum sperántibus, partem áliquam, et societátem donáre dignéris, cum tuis sanctis apóstolis et martýribus: cum Joánne, Stéphano, Matthía, Bárnaba, Ignátio, Alexándro, Marcellíno, Petro, Felicitáte, Perpétua, Ágatha, Lúcia, Agnéte, Cæcília, Anastásia et ómnibus sanctis tuis: intra quorum nos consórtium, non aestimátor mériti sed véniae, quæsumus, largítor admítte. Per Christum Dóminum nostrum. – Per ipsum, et cum ipso, et in ipso, est tibi Deo Patri omnipoténti, in unitáte Spíritus Sancti, omnis honor et glória, per ómnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen	– And *although we be unworthy (through our manyfolde synnes) to offre unto thee any Sacryfice: Yet we beseche thee to accepte thys our bounden duetie and service, and commaunde these our prayers and supplicacions, by the Ministery of thy holy Angels, to be brought up* into thy holy Tabernacle before the syght of thy dyvine majestie; – *not waiyng our merites, but pardonyng our offences, through Christe our Lorde,* – *by whome, and with whome, in the unitie of the holy Ghost: all honour and glory, be unto thee, O father almightie, world without ende. Amen.*	– Etsi autem sumus indigni, qui offeramus tibi hostiam aliquam, propter multitudinem peccatorum nostrorum, tamen petimus, vt acceptam habeas hanc nostram debitam seruitutem, [et has nostras preces et supplicationes iubeas perferri ministerio sanctorum Angelorum tuorum, in conspectu diuinae Maiestatis tuae, – non respectu meritorum nostrorum, sed condonando offensas nostras] per Dominum nostrum IESVM CHRISTVM, – per quem, cum quo, in vnitate sancti Spiritus, sit tibi omnis honor, et gloria, per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.	– *Ačkolivěť, milý Pane, jsme nehodní a nedostateční k obětování sebe pro množství hříchů našich, však prosíme, přijmiž naši tuto povinnou službu a tyto naše modlitby prosíme, milý Pane, rač rozkázati přenésti posluhováním svatých anjelův před obličej milosti tvé svaté,* – *neprohlídajíc k našim zásluhám: ale odpouštějíc nám hříchy naše skrze Pána Ježíše Krista:* – *Skrze kteréhožto a s kterýmž v jednotě Ducha svatého buď tobě všeliká čest sláva.*