

ENDORSEMENTS

Lochner's book is perhaps the most important work on the Lutheran Divine Service ever produced in North America. A treasure trove of information on the history and doctrine of worship, it is a valuable resource for anyone interested in learning about the Lutheran liturgical heritage. Matthew Carver's English translation is precise, clear, and supplemented with insightful annotations. This book helps readers appreciate the beauty and richness of the Divine Service and understand better its enduring role in the life of the Church today.

REV. DR. GERHARD BODE
DEAN OF ADVANCED STUDIES, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF HISTORICAL THEOLOGY
CONCORDIA SEMINARY, ST. LOUIS

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Thanks to the expert translation of Matthew Carver, English speakers finally have the opportunity to study the *magnum opus* of Friedrich Lochner, the grandfather of liturgical renewal and recovery in The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod. In Lochner readers will encounter a style of writing and scholarship that has all but disappeared. Lochner writes as a liturgical historian, well-versed in Lutheran liturgical history. This alone makes the work a salutary read. But Lochner also writes as a scholar and pastor well-formed by the Scriptures, the Lutheran Confessions, Luther, and Lutheran history. Lochner's approach to liturgy, ceremony, and music is neither marred by pedantry, nor by indifference and liturgical relativism. Lochner's work should be required reading for all seminarians, circuit Winkels, Lutheran musicians, and anyone interested in learning more about the beautiful and salvific gifts of God.

REV. DR. JAMES AMBROSE LEE II
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY, CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

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Friedrich Lochner wrote his *The Chief Divine Service of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church* while serving as a pastor and seminary teacher in Springfield, Illinois, 1876–1887. But this work is important well beyond its place in the history of Lutheran liturgy. Masterfully translated from the German original by Matthew Carver, this book is now fully available for the first time to English-language readers, who will benefit from Lochner's balanced and insightful views of historical and conceptual aspects of Lutheran liturgy.

DR. DANIEL ZAGER
EASTMAN SCHOOL OF MUSIC

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Friedrich Lochner's *The Chief Divine Service* provides a fascinating picture of church life in the Missouri Synod in 1895, giving the history of each part of the liturgy and practical suggestions on everything from the chanting of prayers to

the placement of flower vases to the reason why the altar crucifix (yes, crucifix!) should ideally be made of silver rather than gold. The book is finally available in English in Matthew Carver's superb translation.

JOSEPH HERL, PH.D.
PROFESSOR OF MUSIC, CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY, NEBRASKA

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This is the liturgical theology taught at CTS Springfield, the original liturgical theology of the LCMS. For each part of the liturgy, Lochner gives its history, meaning, practical instructions, and several musical settings. Some of this has been preserved in our congregations, but a lot of it has been lost due to the switch to the English language at World War I. This book is the link to centuries of lost culture, beauty, and wisdom with which the Lutheran Church lived.

Matthew Carver's footnotes make this an indispensable resource for research of early Lutheran worship. He has tracked down all the church orders and even the exact wording to which Lochner alludes. In short, he has improved on Lochner's marvelous work. This is a better book than when it was first published in German. It deserves to be studied closely and used by every Lutheran pastor and congregation.

The melodies are part of the Lutheran liturgical heritage that is still preserved among German Lutherans but has been mostly lost among English-speaking Lutherans. This is all worthy of use and restoration! By using the music provided here, we could have three or four more Divine Service settings.

The translator and editors have done a remarkable job matching Gregorian psalm tones to the English text of the propers. This is a difficult task, and there are different legitimate approaches on how it should be done. They have followed Lochner's method but have applied it more consistently than Lochner himself did.

The liturgical parts in which Lutherans made significant developments were in the sermon liturgy, confession and absolution, the general prayer, and the communion exhortation—many of which are no longer in use. Here we can learn about the practices by which the Reformation faith was handed down and can consider whether these practices might now be reclaimed.

REV. DR. BENJAMIN T. G. MAYES
CHAIRMAN, DEPARTMENT OF HISTORICAL THEOLOGY
CONCORDIA THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

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In his *Three Books on the Church*, Loehe had pleaded that any who presumed to revise Lutheran liturgy ought first make a thorough and careful study of the great church orders. Apparently his student Friedrich Lochner, author of this present volume, took the exhortation very much to heart. For what Friedrich Lochner did in his original *Der Hauptgottesdienst* was to ingeniously bring together the chief sections of the great church orders with their music and rubrical instructions into a form accessible for any German speaker in the nineteenth century. It was an unrivaled liturgical *ressourcement*.

And now Matthew Carver (with assistance from Jon Vieker, Kevin Hildebrand, Sean Daenzer, and Nathaniel Jensen) has done the same for us in English, giving us Lochner's work in our native tongue and in modern musical notation, and even with an ear toward the cadence of the English Standard Version.

I do not exaggerate: this is the book that I have been looking for in vain for years. It is the definitive book on the classic historic Lutheran liturgy, where that liturgy is grounded in complete continuity with what came in the centuries before. Lochner's work shows how the liturgy was purified at the Reformation and then offered to the Church in the service of the Gospel. In Lochner, the liturgy lives and breathes; it is manifestly not some museum artifact but a richly ordered way for the people of God to feast upon the twin gifts that constitute the Chief Divine Service: the Word and the Holy Sacrament.

All lovers of Lutheran doctrine and liturgy and music will want this book on their shelves, and they will all be grateful to Matthew Carver, yet again.

REV. WILLIAM WEEDON
ST. PAUL LUTHERAN CHURCH, HAMEL, ILLINOIS

.....

Through this skilled translation of *Der Hauptgottesdienst*, Friedrich Lochner does a masterful job of pleading for a simple return to "the true, historic form of the Divine Service." Lochner follows the cry of Luther to treasure and trumpet what is most true, honorable, just, pure, and lovely (Philippians 4:8) through an intentional return to the first sources. *The Chief Divine Service* places before us the "what," "how," and "why" of the Lutheran Reformation's work of cleansing a darkened and disfigured Mass—a restoration that gave back to the faithful the Divine Service in a form wholly centered around Christ's Word and Sacrament.

REV. DR. DANIEL N. HARMELINK
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, CONCORDIA HISTORICAL INSTITUTE

.....

With this translation, Matthew Carver brings more people to encounter the mind of a pastoral figure that is adept in liturgical history and practice, cognizant of the ecclesial landscape of his time and circumstance, attentive to the palpable liturgical needs of a nascent Lutheran Church on the frontier, and keen on supporting and encouraging its posterity unto the same. While much has transpired in the study and practice of Christian liturgy since Lochner's time, his insight not only informs our current realities but also inspires us to better appreciate the rich diversity of the Church's "awakened, vigorous, and joyful life."

REV. DR. CHRISTOPHER AHLMAN
ASSOCIATE PASTOR AND DIRECTOR OF PARISH MUSIC
MEMORIAL LUTHERAN CHURCH AND SCHOOL, HOUSTON, TEXAS

.....

Lochner’s great work on the Chief Divine Service of the Church of the Augsburg Confession, rooted as it is in the historic liturgy of the ages, is cause for joy on the part of all who cherish it. It shows beyond a shadow of a doubt that the love for this heritage is no recent development in the Missouri Synod but has been an ongoing part of our church’s life. And how delightful to find here a setting of the Gloria in Excelsis by Dimitry Bortniansky and a lovely sixteenth-century musical setting of the Nicene Creed!

REV. CHARLES L. MCCLEAN
PASTOR OF OUR SAVIOUR LUTHERAN CHURCH, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

.....

Friedrich Lochner is a Missouri Synod treasure once hidden in a field of dusty German tomes but now uncovered thanks to the tireless work of Matthew Carver. Pastors will find Lochner to be a rare jewel, a pastor with skill and experience in a parish where historic Lutheran customs of worship were retained, and in another where they had yet to be fully revealed. This book will also appeal to those fascinated by the early history of the Missouri Synod, by church musicians, and by those interested in all things liturgical. Go sell all you have and buy this pearl!

REV. DAVID SAAR
ST. JOHN’S LUTHERAN CHURCH, MOUNT FOREST, ONTARIO, CANADA

.....

Who knew that in the 1890s German-speaking LCMS congregations could have a well-informed source for upgrading liturgical music and practice? Those who had settled for liturgical essentials and then, during World War I, had gone to English services just set this book aside. This fresh translation of Friedrich Lochner’s practical and sage advice contains his admirably documented research into Reformation and nineteenth-century German resources. Carefully crafted English texts are provided for its numerous musical settings. It makes this hidden gem come alive again.

JAMES L. BRAUER, PH.D.
EMERITUS PROFESSOR, CONCORDIA SEMINARY, ST. LOUIS

.....

What a treat to have this significant resource from early in the Synod’s history available in English. While one may not find all of the musical examples pertinent to our current setting, the historical and theological background that Lochner provides is a wonderful window into the treasures of the Divine Service.

REV. DR. PAUL J. GRIME
PROFESSOR, DEAN OF THE CHAPEL
CONCORDIA THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

.....

Friedrich Lochner understood that the liturgy is more than just an order of service. It includes the full range of biblical texts that adorn it and the ceremonial actions that give it symbolic richness. This classic study delivers the theological and historic meaning of it all. But most important for Lochner was to restore to its center the Supper of the Lord, the Head (*Haupt*) who makes the Divine Service “chief” (*Haupt*). More than a century later, we may be more ready than ever to realize this goal.

THOMAS M. WINGER
PRESIDENT, CONCORDIA LUTHERAN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
ST. CATHARINES, ONTARIO, CANADA

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Finally, Friedrich Lochner’s *The Chief Divine Service of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church* has been translated and published by CPH. I wish I had this volume when I was studying at the seminary. One of Loehe’s original *Sendlinge* and a founding father of the Missouri Synod, who taught liturgics at the Synod’s Springfield, Illinois, seminary, Lochner wrote this excellent work to preserve our rich Lutheran liturgical heritage in the face of a predominately American Reformed Protestant landscape. Had this work been translated during the Synod’s language transition following World War I, perhaps much of our later struggle over Lutheran worship could have been averted.

REV. DR. JOHN C. WOHLRABE JR.
LCMS SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF, *CONCORDIA HISTORICAL INSTITUTE QUARTERLY*
PRESIDENT, CONCORDIA HISTORICAL INSTITUTE BOARD OF GOVERNORS

THE CHIEF DIVINE SERVICE
OF THE
EVANGELICAL-LUTHERAN CHURCH

*Explained, and Furnished with Historic Church Melodies
for the Preservation of the Liturgical Heritage
and for the Advancement of Liturgical Study
in the American-Lutheran Church*

Friedrich Lochner

Translated by
Matthew Carver

Edited by
Jon D. Vieker
Kevin J. Hildebrand
Nathaniel S. Jensen

“Let all things be done decently and in order.” 1 Corinthians 14:40

*“Finally, brothers, whatever is true, whatever is honorable, whatever is just,
whatever is pure, whatever is lovely, whatever is commendable,
if there is any excellence, if there is anything worthy of praise,
think about these things.” Philippians 4:8*



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Photo of Friedrich Lochner on page xxv, courtesy of Concordia Historical Institute.

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FREQUENTLY CITED SOURCES

AC	Augsburg Confession
AE	<i>Luther's Works, American Edition</i> . Volumes 1–30: Edited by Jaroslav Pelikan. St. Louis: Concordia, 1955–76. Volumes 31–55: Edited by Helmut T. Lehmann. Philadelphia/Minneapolis: Muehlenberg/Fortress, 1957–86. Volumes 57–60, 67–79, 75–79: Edited by Christopher Boyd Brown and Benjamin T. G. Mayes. St. Louis: Concordia, 2009–.
ANF	<i>The Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325</i> . Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. Revised by A. Cleveland Coxe. 10 vols. (Buffalo: Christian Literature Publishing Company, 1885–96).
Ap	Apology of the Augsburg Confession
EA	<i>Martin Luthers sämtliche Werke</i> , Erlangen-Frankfurter Ausgabe. 67 vols. Edited by Johann K. Irmischer, et al. Erlangen/Frankfurt: Carl Heyder, 1826–57.
Hommel	Friderich Hommel. <i>Liturgie lutherischer Gemeindegottesdienste: cum notis musicis</i> . Nördlingen: Beck, 1851.
Kade	Otto Kade. <i>Ein feste Burgk ist unser Got: Der neuaufgefundene Luther-Codex vom Jahre 1530 . . .</i> Dresden: Schrag'sche Verlags-Anstalt; Klemm, 1873.
König	Johann Ludwig König. <i>Die Haupt-Liturgien der alten Kirche in wortgetreuer Übersetzung</i> . Neustrelitz: Barnewitz, 1865.
Layriz	Fridrich Layriz. <i>Kern des deutschen Kirchengesangs: zum Gebrauch evangelisch-lutherischer Gemeinden und Familien</i> . Part 4: CXX liturgische Weisen enthaltend. Nördlingen: Beck, 1855.
Löhe, <i>Agende</i>	Wilhelm Löhe. <i>Agende für christliche Gemeinden des lutherischen Bekenntnisses</i> . Nördlingen: Beck, 1844; 2nd ed. 1853–59; 3rd ed. 1884.
Löhe, <i>Sammlung</i>	Wilhelm Löhe. <i>Sammlung liturgischer Formulare der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche</i> . 3 vols. Nördlingen: Beck, 1839–42.

- LSB *Lutheran Service Book*. The Commission on Worship of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2006.
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- Schultze Viktor Schultze. *Das evangelische Kirchengebäude: ein Ratgeber für Geistliche und Freunde kirchlicher Kunst*. Leipzig: G. Böhme, 1886.
- StL *D. Martin Luthers Werke*. Edited by Albrecht F. Hoppe. 23 vols. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1880–1910.
- WA *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*. 73 vols. in 85. Weimar: Hermann Böhlau, 1883–2009.
- WA Tr *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Tischreden*. 6 vols. Weimar: Hermann Böhlau, 1912–21.
- Wackernagel Philipp Wackernagel. *Das deutsche Kirchenlied von der ältestesten Zeit bis zu Anfang des XVI. Jahrhundert*. 5 vols. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1864–77.
- Zahn Johannes Zahn. *Handbüchlein für evangelische Cantoren und Organisten*. 1st ed. Nürnberg: G. Löhe, 1871.

FOREWORD

N*on multa sed multum.* As far as books go, one ought strive not for many, but a few great ones. This is a great one. Lochner's work on the Divine Service of the Lutheran Church is, frankly, the greatest modern source in English on the topic. Scholars, pastors, seminarians, organists, church musicians, choir directors, deaconesses, and lay people who love and want to better understand the form, meaning, and practice of worship will find a clear and straight-forward depth of doctrine, history, and practice unparalleled since its publication in German by CPH in 1895. It has not previously appeared complete in the English language because of its technical breadth and depth. Finally, a century and a quarter after it appeared, Matthew Carver has provided a beautiful, accurate, and clear English translation.

In 1841, Lochner heard F. C. D. Wyneken give a stirring address calling for missionary pastors for America. In 1844, Lochner enrolled in Löhe's program in Neuendettelsau. Löhe described Lochner as "his most gifted student." In the spring of 1845, Lochner became one of the many "Löhe men" who were trained for a year in Germany, then sent to America as missionaries with the goal of shepherding vast numbers of unchurched German immigrants into the church while associating with orthodox Lutheran synods. Lochner was present with other Löhe men, Sihler and Ernst, at the first meeting with Walther and the Saxons in the spring of 1846, which led to the founding of the Missouri Synod in 1847. Like a great many of those educated and sent to America by Löhe, Lochner came to be convinced that the Missourians were correct on the teaching of the Church and the Office of the Ministry—that is, that the teaching of the Scriptures, the Lutheran Confessions and Luther himself were consistent. Yet Lochner, like his mentor, Wilhelm Löhe, also became a scholar of the liturgy.

Lochner served as pastor at Old Trinity in Milwaukee, which had a rich liturgical life and made much use of the plethora of resources available in historic German Lutheran church orders. In 1876, Lochner was called to Trinity in Springfield, Illinois, which had a much simpler liturgical life. This was the case with many congregations, depending largely on whether the pastor or membership had emigrated from South Germany, where, due to Reformed influences, liturgical life was more limited. Lochner feared that the great flourishing of the Lutheran liturgy as a result of pure doctrine

might be “turned back into the austere, puritanical rite which we found in general use. We are living in a land of rank Reformed sectarianism, a land which is therefore Reformed at heart . . .” This, coupled with “less . . . tolerance for spiritual practices” and a “severe lack of precise liturgical understanding,” could result in “a diminished desire to retain the liturgical legacy that has only just been regained” (xviii–xix).

Lochner knows full well the difference “between the kernel and the shell.” He confesses clearly the *satis est* of Article VII of the Augsburg Confession. “To the true unity of the Christian Church it is enough that the Gospel is preached according to the pure sense, and the Sacraments administered according to the Word of God.” But he writes to teach the “beauty, riches, and merits of the Old Lutheran liturgy,” and make his students aware that “everything depends upon the pure Word and Sacrament, and that all ceremonies should and must only serve the end that these [Word and Sacrament] may be rightly employed, and how on the other hand the liturgy would always do this service, and that it would therefore be lamentable if, where it is introduced, it should eventually be supplanted by English Puritan austerity.” Yet Lochner also warns his students against “overestimating the liturgy and introducing it prematurely.”

Lochner demonstrates that the great Lutheran liturgy is catholic, lively, diverse, and doctrinally and biblically rich. He is in sympathy and dialogue with Luther, early Lutherans, great contemporaries like Löhe and Rudelbach, with the ancient church and her theologians, with Roman Catholics, and many others. He explains the many ways that Rationalism destroyed the Lutheran liturgy, and how the many different German states moved away from Luther’s own views of the liturgy. This volume is the only work in English that informs the reader of the many Lutheran church orders that display great and acceptable diversity under the freedom of the Gospel.

The reader will constantly be surprised to find that practices long believed to be “Roman Catholic” have actually been practiced by Lutherans for centuries—starting with, or mostly continued by, Luther. On the other hand, the reader will find that what many have believed to be “Lutheran” in worship (long liturgies, droning chant, drudging through the service and hymnody) is as much the influence of Rationalism as anything.

Lochner produced this book while teaching at the seminary in Springfield, Illinois from 1876 to 1887. He taught his students about the Divine Service with a crystal clear hermeneutic of Law and Gospel, a precise knowledge of the freedom of the Gospel, and with a catholic depth and Lutheran passion. Now, at long last, just when we need it most, he can teach us.

Matthew C. Harrison

TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION

Over the past few years, with the increasing interest in historical liturgics, there has been a parallel increasing interest in Friedrich Lochner, one of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod's preeminent liturgical scholars from the nineteenth century, and particularly in his seminal work on that subject, of which the following is a translation.¹ His book has been a recent subject of study in journals,² and has received positive reference at serious liturgical conferences in Lutheran circles for several years running, often with an aside to the effect: Why isn't this translated?

In fact, Lochner's *Der Hauptgottesdienst* has already been translated in part. Aside perhaps from a few articles in early issues of *The Lutheran Witness*, for example, which with little explicit citation draw sometimes literally on Lochner's text, the *first part* of the present book was translated in a somewhat condensed form by Fred H. Lindemann.³ While Lindemann's text is generally solid and clear, it is of course incomplete, since it is missing the second part (the liturgical music component) and the appendix on liturgical stations. In addition, the condensed nature of the text, adapted to the magazine format of *The American Lutheran*, has some unfortunate omissions which may only be uncovered after careful examination. Lindemann's goal is to relate the information contained in Lochner's book and to encapsulate the arguments, while at the same time saving space and not attempting to address, but entirely skipping over, issues which had been resolved or rendered obsolete by 1951. Our intention in the present translation is to include all the material, obsolete or not. On this note, it will be observed that Lochner spends some time referencing (and refuting) certain Roman Catholic practices which no longer apply, such as the withholding of the chalice from the laity. This has all been left in place without comment. The reader will

¹ For a biography of Lochner, see Cameron A. MacKenzie, "Appreciating Friedrich Lochner: A Founding Father of the Missouri Synod," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 84, no. 3 (2011): 36–50. For a biography and analysis of Lochner's *Der Hauptgottesdienst*, see: Kevin J. Hildebrand, "Friedrich Lochner and *Der Hauptgottesdienst*," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 84, no. 4 (2011): 10–39.

² For example, John W. Fenton, "Wilhelm Löhe's *Hauptgottesdienst* (1844) as Critique of Luther's *Deutsche Messe*," *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 64, no. 2 (2000): 127–48.

³ Published as "The Main Lutheran Service," in *The American Lutheran* 34, nos 4–10 (1951) and 35, nos 1–4 (1952). The comparative table at the end of vol. 35, no. 4 is particularly good.

know best how to inform himself concerning the particulars of liturgical changes that have occurred in the Roman Church since Lochner's time.

In addition to Lindemann's mid-century translation, references to Lochner's *Der Hauptgottesdienst* appearing in Lutheran publications in English earlier in the twentieth century show a distinct familiarity with and respect for the work as a distillation of late nineteenth-century liturgical scholarship, and a regard for the author's sentiments as possessing some authority.⁴ Eventually this familiarity with Lochner seems to have subsided, except perhaps in academic circles and through secondary literature. Likewise, familiarity with German yielded to English, so that Lindemann found it beneficial to publish his English rendering in the middle of the twentieth century, albeit without adapting the musical part.

It may be seen, then, that a translation has been desirable for some time. What was perhaps less clear was to what extent it would serve its original purpose in this post-Vatican II world (the vernacular liturgy of the Roman Church not being officially sanctioned until after Lindemann's translation), and how German musical pieces might be adapted and suited to English expression. The former must be viewed from a historical perspective. Here we are given a glimpse into a bygone day, and simultaneously are made to recognize the changeableness to which even the Roman Church is subject, despite any claim to the contrary. It will, perhaps, be helpful for the interested reader to consult a modern edition of the *Graduale Romanum* and *Rituale Romanum* for clarification on which differences between Lutheran and Roman Catholic liturgies still obtain.

The efficacy and wisdom of the second point, concerning the adaptation of musical parts to English, must be judged from what is presented here. In this case, our primary concern was to conform the translation to that familiar to our modern Lutheran reader, insofar as possible, without omitting any distinct variation in the German. The closest affiliation to the old German liturgy in our *LSB* is found in Setting Three, which in turn derives from the Common Service setting found in *The Lutheran Hymnal* (Concordia Publishing House, 1941). With a few changes here and there, this wording sufficed to convey the original German. Since, however, the modern reader is no longer accustomed to the Introits, Graduals, and psalms generally as they are found in the latter hymnal (that is, the so-called Jac-

⁴ Notable, for example, is H. W. Bartels, "Uniformity of Liturgy for Our English Churches," *Theological Quarterly* 14, no. 4 (1910): 193–208, which relies heavily on Lochner's work. One should also mention in this regard P. E. Kretzmann, *Christian Art in the Place and in the Form of Lutheran Worship* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1921), which draws on Lochner's notes on the artwork and furnishings of the liturgical space, in turn drawn largely from Schultze, *Das evangelische Kirchengebäude*.

obean or King James English), the more modern wording and idiom of *Lutheran Service Book*, and particularly of the English Standard Version is used here to render these respective Propers. Generally speaking, the monodic chanted parts have been set by the translator, while the harmonized chants and songs are adapted musically by Kantor Kevin Hildebrand—here and there with the advice (sometimes unsolicited!) of the translator, whose primary concern here was to convey in standard, slightly formal (liturgical) modern English the original German, more than to conform English syllabically to the original music. Thus, especially in the monodic chanted parts, an attempt has been made to use the underlying formula of the original rather than to maintain the exact contour found with the German. This is less the case with regard to the rhythmic, harmonized musical pieces, in which a balance must be struck between recasting the tune and maintaining good liturgical English idiom. Those pieces which are otherwise familiar from *LSB* have nevertheless been produced again from the text so as to preserve the harmonization as well as any other distinctive features which may have been lost or omitted in other published adaptations, for example, the optional verses in the otherwise familiar Sanctus (p. 235), or the longer slur on the word “Israel” in the Nunc Dimittis (p. 299).

References to and citations of works in the text have been confirmed and clarified where possible. It was usually a simple matter to locate the works intended, especially copies of the ancient church orders, by referring to Lochner’s main sources: Hommel and Löhe. (See below, pp. xxii–xxiii.) Of great service to the annotations in the present translation is the welcome discovery that almost all the church orders may now be found online, digitized, and provided for scholarly use by German libraries. The full titles, necessary for searching and locating these, are included in the bibliography of Joseph Herl, *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 281–338.

One note regarding translation choices: Lochner’s language has been rendered into a similar style of English. No special endeavor was made to shorten his lengthy sentences (though this often occurs by necessity) nor to alter his characteristic, slightly ornate, collegial lecturing style (as in Lindemann). Latin has often been supplied with English translations, or, in a couple cases of liturgical nomenclature, simply replaced with the English equivalent (e.g., “*Offertorium*” becomes “Offertory”). Technical terms are given in the usual English rendering; or where multiple choices appear, the rendering regarded as most familiar to the modern congregation.

Matthew Carver

EDITORS' INTRODUCTION

The translator has labored mightily to provide an accurate and readable rendering of Friedrich Lochner's *opus magnum*. The original page numbers have been maintained in brackets throughout (e.g., <123>) to assist the interested reader in comparing the original with the translation. This may be particularly useful in places where it was necessary to adapt some of the musical excerpts to fit the English translation.

Lochner's original is available electronically via Google Books, as are many of the sixteenth- through nineteenth-century sources that he cites. The translator and editors have endeavored to trace and document these sources for the scholarly reader.

Lochner's use of footnotes is less frequent than one might encounter today. He often provides bibliographic information within the body of his commentary, which this translation has, for the most part, maintained. Most of Lochner's footnotes provide extended explanations rather than bibliographic documentation. Lochner's footnotes are not numbered in the original, but rather employ an older style of asterisks and other symbols. In this translation, Lochner's original footnotes have been marked with *), and the translator's copious documentary and explanatory footnotes are distinguished from Lochner's with the addition of "—MC."

Lochner made extensive use of *Sperrdruck*—that is, spaced italic and bold type to highlight and accent important parts of his text. The translator and editors have maintained Lochner's textual emphases, wherever possible. Lochner also included a detailed Table of Contents, which, short of a modern index, also provides today's reader with a helpful guide to the main topics and subtopics.

In quoting from Luther, Lochner used primarily the Erlangen Edition (EA) and the St. Louis Edition (StL) of Luther's writings. The translator has almost always translated directly from the German or Latin quoted in Lochner's original, but has also helpfully provided cross references to the American Edition of *Luther's Works* (AE), for comparison's sake.

Special thanks are due my editorial colleagues, Nathaniel Jensen and Kantor Kevin Hildebrand. Jensen made a first pass through the translator's manuscript, working to bring it into a designated editorial style and preparing it electronically for design and layout. Kantor Hildebrand took

the rudimentary music files provided by the translator, added harmonizations where needed, and then began the editing and shaping of the musical excerpts for design and layout. The editors and translator all made a final review of the manuscript penultimate to publication.

Special acknowledgment is due Chaplain Sean Daenzer for his detailed analysis of and attention to Lochner's pointing of the Introits. The editorial note on pages 82–83 is the result of his study and outlines the approach he took in pointing the Introit texts that follow. Special thanks also to Joseph Herl, who read the entire manuscript and offered valuable comments and corrections.

Final thanks are due to Lisa Moeller, who provided the first several iterations of design and layout, and to my assistant, Rachel Asburry, who proofread the manuscript for appropriate hyphenation.

Jon D. Vieker

The musical examples in this volume are provided, in nearly every instance, exactly as they were presented in Lochner's original. Modification of some rhythms, notation, and syllabification is an inevitable result of translation considerations, particularly in paraphrases of liturgical canticles. Harmonizations and voice leadings are generally unaltered and often reflect the musical standards of nineteenth-century music editing. The reader will see and hear many familiar musical examples as Lochner demonstrates the rich heritage of liturgical music as he knew it in his day. Other music examples have fallen out of use or never became fully assimilated into American Lutheran practice. Overall, this volume serves as a historical snapshot and scholarly resource rather than a practical manual for present-day practice.

Kevin J. Hildebrand

PREFACE

From 1876, when I received my call to Trinity in Springfield, Illinois, until 1887, when I left, I taught both congregational singing and liturgics at the Missouri Synod's seminary of practical theology, which had been relocated from St. Louis to Springfield in 1875. Through this I was inspired to take up again my earlier studies in both hymnology and liturgy. I had been encouraged and guided in these studies during my preparation for the ministry of the American-Lutheran church over forty years ago by the blessed Pastor Löhe in Franconia and by his friend Hommel, later publisher of a musical *Liturgie lutherischer Gemeindegottesdienste* [Liturgy of Lutheran Divine Services],⁵ who was then working in the neighboring district. Thus over the course of more extensive studies, and with a mind toward instruction particularly in the form and manner of the Chief Divine Service with the basis of the Augsburg Confession, Article XXIV, a number of study-notes emerged which, at the request of earlier and more recent students, are now published in as detailed and exhaustive a manner as possible.

Already during the preparation of a "Paper on the Proper Center of the Lutheran Liturgy," which I had been assigned to write in 1861 for the convention of the (then) Northern District, and which, by the resolution of said convention, was printed in the June, July, and August issues of *Lehre und Wehre*, volume 8 [nos. 6–8],⁶ I was moved with a desire that, for the good of this country's immigrant church, which was being built on the basis of Luther's pure doctrine and freshly and vigorously organized under the blessings of complete freedom of conscience, a capable hand might some day produce and expound on the true "Mass" referred to in Augustana XXIV as purified by Luther—as his liturgical writings, and the not-insignificant number of older church orders, along with <IV> the treasures of liturgical music from the Reformation and post-Reformation days present it, and as that Mass still asserted itself, at least in its essential forms, here and there in the old country during the age of vulgar Rationalism, despite the havoc which Rationalism wrought with the liturgy. If, in the mean-

⁵ See below, p. xxiii, n. 23. —MC.

⁶ Friedrich Lochner, "Referat über die rechte Mitte der lutherischen Liturgie," *Lehre und Wehre* 8, nos. 6–8 (1862): 161–80; 193–207; 225–35.

time, seeing no competent hand has undertaken the task, I have ventured to publish my notes, I am motivated in doing so not solely by a desire to serve the students which were assigned to the practical field of theological instruction more aptly than was possible through individual, brief lectures, *but also by misgivings that the old form of the Divine Service which has now come into use again may be endangered in the future. Toward the prevention of such danger, then, I hereby desire to contribute the present liturgical work.*

When I came to this country nearly a half-century ago with other brethren in order to serve the Church, the old form of the Lutheran *Chief Divine Service* [*Hauptgottesdienst*] was known and used only in a handful of congregations of Saxon and Prussian Lutherans which had immigrated at the end of the thirties for their faith, and not long after that in the Franconian colonies which were just being formed in Michigan. Although Löhe had recently published his *Agenda* [1844], and Hommel afterwards his altar chants and other liturgical music [1851], for the local church, we, who were gathering together the scattered fellow Lutherans which had come largely from Rationalist or Unionist congregations, were compelled and content to lay the prerequisite foundation with the pure doctrine and therefore to make do more or less with the most rudimentary forms of the Divine Service. Even so, simply on account of our doctrine, we were decried as crypto-papists by the sects, Unionists, and General Synod (which falsely called itself Lutheran)! But once an adequate doctrinal foundation had been laid, it naturally led more and more toward liturgical formation in the congregations. The *Agenda* of the Synod of Missouri, etc., composed “from the old Saxon church agendas,” which appeared in 1856,⁷ was received in our congregations everywhere. It even had an influence beyond their districts, and in the more organized congregations the Chief Divine Service could be seen in its full form as prescribed in that *Agenda*. <v> Even in those places where, while the *Agenda* was being used, there was apprehension toward liturgical singing as something “Catholic,” prejudice against this also continued to vanish.

Nevertheless, not only I but also others, on the basis of various signs, are moved by the foreboding that what has, as the fruit of the pure doctrine, now become our inheritance in the liturgy may also in time to come gradually be turned back into the austere, puritanical rite which we once found in general use. We are living in a land of rank Reformed sectari-

⁷ *Kirchen-Agende für evangelisch-lutherischen Gemeinden ungeänderter Augsburgischer Confession* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1856). Various editions were published in subsequent years. Portions of this *Agenda* were published in English in *Church Liturgy for Evangelical Lutheran Congregations of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1881). —MC.

anism, a land which is therefore Reformed at heart, and it is incumbent upon the coming generation to continue to strive more and more against the influence of English Puritanism in matters of church. Furthermore, we live in an age in which there is increasingly less patience and tolerance for spiritual practices, so that in some places a somewhat abbreviated liturgical service is already found to be too long, and the preacher is urged to shorten still more. Besides this, there is frequently a severe lack of precise liturgical understanding, as may be expected under the circumstances, and consequently a diminished desire to retain the liturgical legacy that has only just been regained. And if, alas, the precious doctrine of Christian freedom should cease to be applied rightly with respect to the world alienated from God, and the antinomian spirit threaten us at long last, then as time goes on, there will be an increasing tendency recklessly to dispose of the beautiful historic ceremonies, since as *adiaphora* they lie entirely in the area of Christian freedom.

To offer encouragement and guidance in the study of the liturgy, and more importantly to illustrate the beauty and importance of the Lutheran Chief Divine Service and the spirit of simplicity and confession which pervades it, and to lead to an understanding of it, and to do this all in such a way that the liturgical legacy already received may also be retained among us, and if possible, become a property held even more in common—such is the intent of my presentation on the emergence and meaning of the Lutheran Chief Divine Service and its individual parts, and the purpose of the accompanying materials from the rich treasury of the historic liturgical music of our church, which even here is so richly blessed, as well as the <VI> occasional notes on practical matters, in which I naturally focus on our local need.

Yet in order that my intention may be rightly understood, I will permit myself a few more remarks.

It is well known that in recent times, and above all in the old country, very great interest has been taken in the liturgy of the early Lutherans and the Early Church, and thus of Early Church music. Liturgical study is pursued ardently, and treasure after treasure is put on display. Everywhere there is an endeavor to cultivate Divine Services once more in their ancient and beautiful form, to turn attention again to churchly customs and usages with respect to altar hangings, ringing of the prayer bells, and the like. And so strong is this liturgical current among those who are of a mind to return to authentic Lutheranism that it asserts itself here in this country. Even the General Synod, which has obviously abandoned Lutheranism since 1845, nevertheless, always desiring to be called Lutheran, cannot evade it. It would be good for people to be excited about these efforts and

to hail them as the proclamation of an awakened, vigorous, and joyful life, if only they were regarded as secondary in importance, and God's Word and Luther's doctrine primary. Unfortunately, that is not the case. People only grasp for the shell and leave the kernel. Indeed, they mistake the shell for the kernel, and think that by it they will breathe the mind and spirit of Luther back into the present-day Lutheran Church. The Augustana, Article VII [:2], by saying, "*it is enough*," so emphatically stresses unanimity in the pure doctrine and true use of the Sacraments, and identifies uniformity in the ceremonies instituted merely by men as inessential to unity. Yet they place no importance on the pure doctrine, but allow disunity in doctrine to be as great as it will be, and uniformity is forged through regulations and the old Luthern liturgy. While the Apology, in the Article on the Mass [XXIV (XII), 51], testifies: "There is nothing that keeps people in church more than good preaching," it is thought that by reestablishing the outward beauty and variety of the old Lutheran order of Divine Service, the people will be brought back to the Church and kept there, instead of attending, above all, to preaching that is "good" (in the sense of the Apology [XXIV]), and experiencing beforehand the truth of this quote from the Confessions. And when people ought to recognize their increasing departure from God's Word <VII> and Luther's doctrine, and repent in sackcloth and ashes, they instead thank God for their "sense" for liturgical regulations in the Church of the present-day as though this were some spiritual gift [*charisma*] bestowed on them. May God preserve our American-Lutheran church from *this sort* of appreciation of the liturgy!

Two people do the same thing, and yet it is not the same thing! Where "the Gospel is preached unanimously according to the pure understanding and the Sacraments administered according to God's Word" [AC VII 2-3], and where the Church therefore wishes to be built upon and governed by the Word alone, there is a far different purpose for liturgical efforts. This moreover is the order that my own efforts will tend toward, and the service which I seek to perform with this work. Since in this work I am concerned solely with retaining that portion of the old liturgy which has fallen into our lap on its own merely as a result of returning to Luther's doctrine, I have not been able to speak favorably of those efforts which aimed to embellish the old Lutheran liturgy even more by all manner of "additions" from church antiquity and even from Roman rituals, and so to go above and beyond it. Thus, in my instruction at the aforesaid theological seminary, whenever I showed my students the beauty, riches, and merits of the old Lutheran liturgy, I always made them aware of the fact that everything depends on the pure Word and Sacrament, and that all ceremonies should and must only serve the end that these [Word and Sacrament] may be rightly employed,

and how on the other hand this liturgy would always do this service, and that it would therefore be lamentable if, where it is introduced, it should eventually be supplanted again by English Puritan austerity. But above all, I did not neglect to warn them earnestly of overestimating the liturgy and introducing it prematurely. They were also able to see this in practice [*in praxi*] right where they were. After twenty-six years of service at one of our old congregations, which was not only advanced in knowledge but also richly appointed liturgically, I was installed in a congregation that was not yet fully ripe for the old liturgy, so that even chanting at the altar had to be dispensed with for a time. Although I was therefore unable, in the context of the Divine Service in the congregation, to demonstrate to my students all that I gave them in liturgical instruction, yet I was able to some extent to show them by my example that, and how, a Lutheran preacher <VIII> seeks to emphasize a “good sermon” and can, when it comes to proper forms with respect even to liturgical matters, be patient for a time, and, while having great love for the old liturgy and all enthusiasm for it, it is still possible by God’s grace to say with Paul in this respect: “I can face both abundance and need, through Him who strengthens me, even Christ” [Philippians 4:12–13].

Finally, I will permit myself also to reference the works which I have more or less used as my sources, or which I have consulted in various ways.

Above all I have drawn on *Luther’s liturgical writings*, referring constantly to his *Formula Missae* (1523) or [the German translation] *Weise christlich Meß zu halten* [Manner of Holding a Christian Mass, 1524)]⁸ and his *Deutsche Messe* (1526).⁹ Added to these is a series of old church orders—that is to say, as many as were at my disposal. These include: The Brandenburg-Nürnberg church order (1533),¹⁰ Veit Dietrich’s *Agendbüchlein* [Little Agenda Book, 1565],¹¹ the Agenda of Duke August of Braunschweig-Lüne-

⁸ WA 12:205–20. Cf. Luther, “An Order of Mass and Communion for the Church at Wittenberg” (1523), AE 53:15–40. The German translation, *Weise christlich Meß zu halten* (1524), by Paul Speratus, is found in StL 10:2230ff., and appears to be the text Lochner is using throughout this volume. —MC.

⁹ WA 19:72–113. Cf. Luther, “The German Mass and Order of Service” (1526), AE 53:51–90. —MC.

¹⁰ Andreas Osiander, *Kirchen Ordnung. In meiner gnedigen herrn der Marggraven zu Brandenburg . . . Wie man sich bayde mit der leer und Ceremonien halten solle* (Nürnberg, 1533). —MC.

¹¹ *Agend Büchlein, Darinnen angezeigt, wie die Predigt Gottes wort, und die heiligen Sacramenten, sampt ihren zugehörigen Gesengen, und anderen Ceremonien . . . sollen verichtet werden . . .* (Frankfurt am Main, 1565). —MC.

burg (1657),¹² the Oels Agenda (1664),¹³ the Schwarzburg Agenda (1675),¹⁴ the Leipzig Agenda of Duke Henry (1681),¹⁵ and the Magdeburg church order (1685).¹⁶ In particular, however, I sought to make use of Dr. L. Schoeberlein's *Schatz des liturgischen Chor- und Gemeindegesangs: nebst den Altarweisen* [Treasury of Liturgical Choir and Congregational Song along with the Altar Chants] (Göttingen, 1865),¹⁷ encompassing three extensive volumes, since this remarkable work is a storehouse full of historic liturgical music and a most thorough introduction to understanding the Chief Divine Service and its individual parts. In addition to this I consulted the following sources: (1) Dr. Freytag: *Lutherus musico-liturgicus, das ist, Luthers Deutsche Messe und Ordnung des Gottesdienstes* [Luther's Liturgical Music, that is, Luther's German Mass and Order of Service] (1871);¹⁸ (2) J. Lyra: *Die liturgischen Altarweisen des lutherischen Hauptgottesdienstes* [The Liturgical Altar Chant of the Lutheran Chief Divine Service],¹⁹ and his *Andreas Ornithoparchus von den Kirchenaccenten* [Andreas Ornithoparchus on Ecclesiastical Accentuations] (1877);²⁰ (3) Löhe: *Sammlung li-*

¹² *Agenda oder: Erster Teyl der Kirchen-Ordnung Unser von Gottes Gnaden Augusti Herzogen zu Bruns-wyk und Lunä-Burg. Wy es mit den Ceremonien, auch andern nootwendigen Sachen und Verrichtungen in den Kirchen Unserer Fürstentume Graf-Herrschaften und Landen zu halten* (Wolfenbüttel: Sterne, 1657). —MC.

¹³ *Agenda, oder Ordnung derer evangelischen Kirchen im Oelßnischen Fürstenthum . . .* (Oels: Seyffart, 1664). —MC.

¹⁴ *Agenda Schwartzburgica: das ist, Verzeichniß der Ceremonien . . .* (Rudolstadt: Freyschmid & Fleischer, 1675). —MC.

¹⁵ This edition is not readily found. Instead, see *Agenda, Das ist: KirchenOrdnung, Wie sich die Pfarrherrn und Seelsorger . . .* (Leipzig: F. Lankischens Erben / Altenburg: G. Richter, 1672). —MC.

¹⁶ *Chur-Fürstliche Brandenburgische Im Hertzogthum Magdeburg publicirte Kirchenordnung. Anno 1685* (Halle: Salfeld, 1708). —MC.

¹⁷ Ludwig Schoeberlein and Friedrich Samuel Riegel, *Schatz des liturgischen Chor- und Gemeindegesangs: nebst den Altarweisen in der deutschen evangelischen Kirche . . .* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1865–72). Vol. 1: Die allgemeinen Gesangstücke. Vol. 2: Die besonderen Gesangstücke. Abt. 1. Die Fest- und feiertagsgottesdienste. Vol. 2: Die besonderen Gesangstücke. Abt. 2. Der Sonntagskreis des Kirchenjahres. Abt. 3. Die besonderen kirchlichen Handlungen. —MC.

¹⁸ J. A. Freytag, *Lutherus musico-liturgicus. das ist, Luthers Deutsche Messe und Ordnung des Gottesdienstes* (Hannover: Carl Meyer, 1871). —MC.

¹⁹ Justus Wilhelm Lyra, *Die liturgischen Altarweisen des lutherischen Hauptgottesdienstes nach ihrer Reinheit und Einheit in musikalischer Beziehung untersucht und festgestellt . . .* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1873). —MC.

²⁰ Justus Wilhelm Lyra, *Andreas Ornithoparchus aus Meiningen, der Zeitgenosse Luthers: und dessen Lehre von den Kirchenaccenten* (Gütersloh: C. Bettelmann, 1877). —MC.

turgischer Formulare [Collection of Liturgical Formulas]²¹ and his *Agenda* of 1844, 1853, and 1884;²² (4) F. **Hommel**: *Liturgie lutherischer Gemeindegottesdienste* [Liturgy of Lutheran Divine Services] (1851);²³ (5) Dr. F. **Layriz**: *Kern des deutschen Kirchengesangs: IV. Liturgische Weisen* [Core of German Church Music: Part 4—Liturgical Melodies] (1855);²⁴ (6) Dr. L. **Kraußold**: *Historisch-musicalisches Handbuch für den Kirchen- und Choralgesang* [Musicological Handbook for Church and Choral Music] (1855);²⁵ (7) **Vilsecker**: *Lehre vom römischen Choralgesange* [Teaching on Roman Choral Music] (1842);²⁶ (8) Seminary director J. **Zahn**: *Handbüchlein für evangelische Cantoren und Organisten* [Little Handbook for Evangelical Cantors und Organists];²⁷ (9) **Rudelbach**: *Die Sacrament-Worte* [The Words of the Sacrament];²⁸ <IX> (10) O. **Kade**: *Luther Codex*;²⁹ (11) J. L. **König**: *Die Haupt-Liturgien der alten Kirche in wortgetreuer Übersetzung* [The Chief Liturgies of the Ancient Church in Literal Translation];³⁰ (12)

²¹ Wilhelm Löhe, *Sammlung liturgischer Formulare der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche* (Nördlingen: Beck, 1839–42). Vol. 1. Taufe, Catechismusübung, Confirmation, 1839. Vol. 2. Beichte, 1842. Vol. 3. Ordnung der Communion oder der evangelischen Messe, 1842. —MC.

²² Wilhelm Löhe, *Agende für christliche Gemeinden des lutherischen Bekenntnisses* (Nördlingen: Beck, 1844). A second, expanded edition, part 1, was published in 1853. A third edition, edited by Johannes Deinzer, was published in 1884. English translation found in *Liturgy for Christian Congregations of the Lutheran Faith*, trans. F. C. Longaker, ed. Johannes Deinzer (Newport, Kentucky, 1902). —MC.

²³ Friderich Hommel, *Liturgie lutherischer Gemeindegottesdienste: cum notis musicis* (Nördlingen: Beck, 1851). —MC.

²⁴ Fridrich Layriz, *Kern des deutschen Kirchengesangs: zum Gebrauch evangelisch-lutherischer Gemeinden und Familien*. Abt. 4: CXX liturgische Weisen enthaltend (Nördlingen: Beck, 1855). —MC.

²⁵ Lorenz Kraußold, ed., *Historisch-musicalisches Handbuch für den Kirchen- und Choralgesang: für evangelische Geistliche und die es werden wollen* (Erlangen: Deichert, 1855). —MC.

²⁶ Franz Joseph Vilsecker, *Lehre vom römischen Choralgesange. Zum Gebrauche für Seminarien, Geistliche, Schullehrer und Choralisten* (Passau: Pustet'sche Buchhandlung, 1841). —MC.

²⁷ Johannes Zahn, *Handbüchlein für evangelische Cantoren und Organisten*, 1st ed. (Nürnberg: G. Löhe, 1871). —MC.

²⁸ Andreas Gottlob Rudelbach, *Die Sacrament-Worte oder die wesentlichen Stücke der Taufe und des Abendmahls, historisch-kritisch dargestellt . . .* (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1837). —MC.

²⁹ Otto Kade, *Ein feste Burgk ist unser Got: Der neuaufgefundene Luther-Codex vom Jahre 1530 . . .* (Dresden: Schrag'sche Verlags-Anstalt; Klemm, 1873). —MC.

³⁰ Johann Ludwig König, *Die Haupt-Liturgien der alten Kirche in wortgetreuer Übersetzung* (Neustrelitz: Barnewitz, 1865). —MC.

Naumann: *Illustrierte Musikgeschichte* [Illustrated History of Music], etc.,³¹ in addition to others.

I will take the liberty once more to note that, after this work was already completed, Dr. Herzog's excellent revised and expanded *Musicalischer Anhang zur Agende der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche in Bayern* [Musical Appendix to the Agenda for the Evangelical-Lutheran Church in Bavaria] (1883)³² came to my attention, and it gave me no little joy to know that I was in agreement with his views in all points. From his work I borrowed the setting for the melody of the Nicene Creed which had previously been made famous by Hommel.

Our preachers studying here in the land of Puritanism and immigration, where conditions are still primitive to some extent, including with respect to church architecture, have before their eyes little that is normal, and certainly a great deal that is abnormal and ungainly, so that the Church's form and practice with respect to the chancel, altar, and baptismal font are frequently misunderstood. Therefore it seemed advisable to me to discuss the sites for the liturgy in a special appendix, yet strictly with an eye to our local need. In doing so I have made partial use of an instructive writing which appeared only this year, titled, *Das evangelische Kirchengebäude. Ein Ratgeber für Geistliche und Freunde kirchlicher Kunst, herausgegeben in Verbindung mit Baurath Dr. Mothes in Leipzig und Architect Prüser in Berlin von Viktor Schultze, Prof. der Theologie* [The Evangelical Church Building: A Guide for Clergy and Friends of Churchly Art, published in connection with construction consultant Dr. Mothes in Leipzig and architect Prüser in Berlin, by Viktor Schultze, Professor of Theology] (Leipzig: Georg Böhme, 1886).³³

May God preserve us in His pure Word and Sacrament, and grant us so to live in His Word that in the public Divine Service, any ceremonies and customs with which the hands of men may entwine the Means of Grace may be of service to the same and appear not as a contrived but as a natural and genuine adornment in the public participation in the Means of Grace in the common confession and adoration of the Most High.

F. L.

³¹ Emil Naumann, *Illustrierte Musikgeschichte: die Entwicklung der Tonkunst aus frühesten Anfängen bis auf die Gegenwart*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Spemann, 1880–85). —MC.

³² Johann Georg Herzog, *Musicalischer Anhang zur Agende der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche in Bayern* (Erlangen: Deichert, 1883). —MC.

³³ Viktor Schultze, *Das evangelische Kirchengebäude. Ein Ratgeber für Geistliche und Freunde kirchlicher Kunst . . .* (Leipzig: G. Böhme, 1886). —MC.



FRIEDRICH LOCHNER

PART ONE

THE FORMATION AND STRUCTURE OF THE LUTHERAN CHIEF DIVINE SERVICE

Unjustly are our churches accused of having abolished the Mass. For, without boasting, *it is obvious that the Mass is celebrated among us with greater devotion and more earnestness than among our opponents.* Furthermore, the people are taught frequently and with great care why the Holy Sacrament was instituted and how it is to be used (namely, to comfort terrified consciences), by which fact the people are drawn to Communion or Mass. At the same time, instruction is also given to counter false teachings about the Sacrament. *Neither have any **notable changes** been made in the public ceremonies of the Mass, except that in certain places German hymns (to instruct and train the people) are sung in addition to the Latin responses,* since the chief purpose of all ceremonies is that the people may learn from them what is necessary for them to know about Christ.

—Augsburg Confession, Article XXIV

§1. THE DIVINE SERVICE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, ITS ESSENCE AND FORM

<3> The external, corporate worship service of Christians is not based on any statutory (ceremonial-legal) commandment of the Lord as was the Old Testament service, nor for that matter on any commandment of His holy apostles. Rather, it is the product, expression, necessary manifestation, exercise, and operation of the internal life of the communion of saints. While this communion may be invisible in essence, it is nevertheless discernible in its existence by virtue of the Word and Sacrament through which it is created. The inward communion of the saints consists of the one, living faith of all its individual members—the outward communion, of its gathering together for the common use of Word and Sacrament, as well as for adoration and supplication and the giving of thanks and praise (Ephesians 4:3; Acts 2:42; Hebrews 10:25).

Insofar, then, as the public Divine Service is comprised of the common use of Word and Sacrament along with the exercise of prayer and praise, it is characterized as a public operation of divine love giving gifts and blessing, and of human love receiving and responding. God serves man by repeatedly offering him His salvation and by coming to him with blessing in Word and Sacrament, and man serves God by honoring His offerings of salvation in Word and Sacrament and by reciprocating His love in prayer, thanksgiving, and praise, in self-offering, and in the employment of those spiritual and bodily gifts bestowed on him, to the glory of God and the benefit of his neighbor (Exodus 20:24; Psalm 100; Matthew 18:20; Romans 12:1ff.; Hebrews 13:15–16; cf. 1 Corinthians 16:2). “To serve Christ and God,” says Luther, “meant to St. Paul chiefly to do the duty which Christ had given him, namely, preaching. It is a service *from* Christ, not *for* Him, and not *from* us but *for* us” (EA 7:79). And on Christ’s words, “This do in remembrance of Me,” he writes, among other things: “Learn to remember Him, that is, (as said) to preach, praise, and worship, listen to and thank Him for the grace <4> revealed in Christ. When you do so, behold, you confess with heart and mouth, with ears and eyes, with body and soul, that you have not given God anything, nor can you, but that you have and receive it all from Him, yea, everything, especially eternal life and boundless righteousness in Christ. If this is done, you have made Him your true God, and by such confession upheld His divine honor. For a true God is One who gives, not receives; who helps, not is helped; who teaches and governs, not who is taught and governed. In short, He does and gives all things and has need of no man, and does all things freely by pure grace without the merit of those who are unworthy and undeserving—indeed, who are condemned and lost. Such remembrance, confession, and honor is what He desires. Behold, such divine service has hardly any glory, nor does it fill

the eyes. Nevertheless it fills the heart, which heaven and earth cannot do. And when the heart is filled, then eyes and ears, nose and mouth, body and soul, and all the members are filled. For as the heart goes, all the members go likewise, and it is altogether nothing but tongues giving thanks and praise to God" (EA 23:174ff). Therefore the Apology states in the Article [XXIV] on the Mass: "A sacrament (*sacramentum*) is an outward sign (*ceremonia*) or work by which God gives us what His divine promise, tied to said ceremonies, offers. For example, Baptism is a ceremony and a work not which we give or offer to God but in which God, or the one baptizing in God's stead, baptizes us. Here God offers and gives us remission of sins according to His promise: 'He who believes and is baptized shall be saved'" [Mark 16:16]. Again: "Sacrifice (*sacrificium*) is a *ceremonia* or work that we render to God and thereby honor Him" (Ap XXIV 18). The Apology then goes on to explain that the sacrifice made by Christians is not a propitiatory sacrifice, but purely one of thanksgiving and praise for the all-availing propitiatory sacrifice of Christ.

Accordingly, if the public service of Christian worship is a natural and necessary expression of the Christian congregation's life of faith, its character must reflect this in *form* and *manner*. The latter is the concern of the *liturgy* insofar as it highlights what is spoken and done in the administration and reception of the Means of Grace on the one hand, and in the sacrificial offering of prayer, praise, and thanksgiving on the other hand.

Note: According to its literal sense and churchly meaning, *liturgy* denotes the ceremony performed in service to the Christian congregation. Thus in the <5> Article on the Mass cited above, the Apology gives the definition: "In Greek, *liturgia* properly signifies a ministry in which the congregation is served. This agrees well with our teaching that the priest is like a common waiter, serving and bringing the Holy Sacrament to those who wish to commune" [Ap XXIV 87]. In the first centuries, the Church did not commit her liturgy to writing. Basil the Great (d. 379) plainly says this: "Which of the saints has left to us the words of invocation at the consecration of the bread and of the thanksgiving and of the cup of blessing? For we are not content with what the apostle or the Gospel mention, but both before and after them we say other things, as those having great power, with respect to the mystery, receiving them from teachings not written down." (See König, *Die Hauptliturgien der alten Kirche* [The Main Liturgies of the Ancient Church].)³⁴ The recording of these things, which later became necessary, eventually gave rise to liturgical books, rituals, agendas, and so on.

³⁴ Cf. Basil, *De Spiritu sancto ad Amphil.* c. 27, dist. 67. Cf. Jacques P. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca*, 161 vols. (Paris: J. P. Migne, 1857–66), 32:193a. Cf. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, eds., *A Select Library of the Christian Church: Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers: Second Series*, 14 vols. (New York, 1890–1900), 8:43. —MC.

§2. THE COMMUNION SERVICE AS THE CHIEF DIVINE SERVICE AMONG VARIOUS SERVICES

There is a wealth and a blessed multiplicity in the forms and manners of the public Divine Service of the orthodox Church, in which the life of faith and communion has found its free expression. She has a *service of Communion*, in which the preaching of the Word is followed by the administration of the Lord's Supper, thus adding sign and seal to the Word; a *service of preaching*, in which, primarily, Scripture is expounded and applied, or in special cases a sermon (a homily for a particular occasion) is preached; a *service of catechesis*, for establishing and furthering the knowledge of the chief articles of Christian doctrine (preaching and examination in the Catechism), and a *service of prayer and praise* in her Matins and Vespers, the brief daily morning and evening services in which, according to Luther's well-founded request, God's Word is not only read but also expounded in the briefest manner,³⁵ yet

³⁵ *) Namely, in "Concerning the Order of Public Worship" (1523), Luther writes: "Now to do away with these abuses, it should first be known that the Christian congregation is never to come together *unless the Word of God is preached and prayed, though it be in the briefest manner*. As in Psalm 101 [102:21–22]: 'When the kings and the people are gathered together to serve God, they should proclaim the name and praise of God.' And Paul (1 Corinthians 14 [:31]) says: 'that there may be prophecy, teaching, and admonishing in the congregation.' *Therefore, wherever the Word of God is not preached, it is better not to sing or read or come together.*"

"Now this is how it was done among Christians in the time of the apostles and should be done still: every morning at an early hour, perhaps four or five o'clock, let the people gather and a lesson be read, whether students or priests or whoever, just as the lessons are still read at Matins today. One or two ought to do this, or one by one, however is most pleasing. Then let the preacher, or whoever is appointed, go up and *expound a part of the same lesson*, that the others may all understand, learn, and be admonished. The first work St. Paul calls 'speaking in tongues' (1 Corinthians 14 [:26]); the second, 'expounding' or 'prophesying,' and speaking with sense and understanding. And where this is not done, the congregation is not edified by the lesson, as happened hitherto in cloisters and monasteries, where they were only blowing against the walls" (EA 22:154 [AE 53:11f.]). Consequently, that the Word of God might be expounded at Matins and Vespers, albeit "in the briefest manner," Veit Dietrich's Summaries were produced. Cf. the prologues by Dietrich and [Franz] Vierling in the Altenburg New Testament, American edition. In the latter's prologue, there is also an order for Matins and Vespers from the same time.

[See *Das Neue Testament unsers Herrn Jesu Christi* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1892). Vierling's prologue is also found in his book of biblical prologues and epilogues, at the beginning of the New Testament, where he says, "According to the old, traditional choral singing of Matins: first, a Psalm or hymn is sung pertaining to the season . . . This song is followed by the lesson, which is done by the choralists as lectors. And they begin by reading the prologue belonging to the chapter of the Holy Bible, then the chapter, then the summary from Veit Dietrich, etc. Then the relevant *votum* or concluding blessing. After the lesson is done, a corporate prayer is read, also conforming to the various sea-

in which prayer and praise compose the bulk of the activity. <6>

On the basis of Acts 2:42 and 1 Corinthians 11, and following the pattern of the Ancient Church, the Lutheran Church considers the *Communion service* the most glorious and most important of all public services, having also fitted it out liturgically in the richest and most thoughtful manner. There is therefore a distinction between the *chief service* and the *incidental service* [*Haupt- und Nebengottesdienst*]. It is not by the Sunday or festival nor by the season nor by the liturgical richness that a service becomes a *chief service*, but (as determined by the scriptural relationship of Word and Sacrament), *when the proclamation of the Word of the Gospel is immediately followed by the administration of the Sacrament of Christ's body and blood, so that this, as the seal of the Word, forms the goal and keystone of the service*. All other services in which the administration of the Sacrament is not intended from the outset are rendered *incidental services*, however richly many of these may have been ordered liturgically in the past. Having regard for the interconnectedness of Word and Sacrament, as well as for Christian antiquity, when even in the days of Augustine (AD 400) the Supper was received by the whole congregation every Sunday at least, assuming there was a longing for it—the <7> *mid-morning service* which followed the early Matins service in the Reformation era and long afterward *was regularly a Communion service, and thus a Chief Divine Service*, at least in congregations of greater number. In contrast to the private masses of the papacy in which only the officiating priest receives the Sacrament, the Apology, Article VIII [33] emphasizes: “Among us, however, the people partake of the Holy Sacrament *every Sunday* willingly, without compulsion”; likewise Article XXIV [1]: “*Masses are celebrated in our churches every Sunday and on all festivals*, in which the Sacrament is offered to those who wish to use it, provided they have first been examined and absolved.” Thus it was that, when for lack of communicants the Supper could not be celebrated in such a service, there was still an attempt to leave the form of the Divine Service intact in all other respects. In a number of places, however, the sermon was followed by the reading of a prescribed exhortation, such as in Pomerania (1563), Liegnitz (1594), or the delivery of a freer exhortation, as in Wittenberg (1559, 1565) and Mecklenburg (1540, 1552). In such exhortations, the lack of the communicants was lamented and a frequent use of the most worthy Supper was exhorted and encouraged (yet without constraint of the Law).

sons of the year. This is concluded with the prayer of the Lord Christ, which is called the Our Father after its first words, and this is spoken by the whole congregation with a loud voice. With this the daily corporate prayer concludes and is finished.” See Franz Vierling, *Vorreden und Beschluß über die Capitel der Bücher des Alten und Newen Testaments* (Breslau: Georgius Bawman, 1596). —MC.]

Note: (1) It appears that the oldest description of the Communion service is found in the post-apostolic period by Justin Martyr (d. 166). The passage, as Dr. Uhlhorn gives it in German translation in his writing, *Der Kampf des Christenthums mit dem Heidenthum* [The Battle of Christianity with Heathenism], reads:

On Sunday, all who live in cities or in the country gather together in one place, and the memoirs of the Apostles or the books of the prophets are read, as long as time permits. Then, when the reader has finished, the president in a discourse instructs, and exhorts to the imitation of these glorious examples. Then we all rise together and send up our prayers. And when we have ceased from prayer, bread and wine and water are brought, and the president offers prayers and thanksgivings according to his ability. The congregation gives its assent, saying Amen; and there is a distribution to each one present of the consecrated things, and to those who are absent a portion is sent by the deacons. And they who are well-to-do and willing give what each thinks fit, and the collected gifts are deposited with the president, who by them succors the widows and orphans, and those who through sickness or any other cause are in want, and those who are in bonds, and the strangers sojourning among us, in short, all who are in need.³⁶ <8>

At the beginning of the fourth century, the Chief Divine Service was broken up into a *missa catechumenorum* (service of preaching) and a *missa fidelium* (lit., “service of the faithful” = service of the Supper). When the sermon was finished, the deacon excused the non-Christians and catechumens present with the words: “Ite, missa est!” — “Go, you are dismissed.” (Hence, it seems, the German word *Messe* [“Mass”].) Thus the beginning of the *missa fidelium* especially, in contrast to the very simple acts of Communion described above, shows a greater flourish and festivity in the liturgy of the Supper. According to the eighth chapter of the so-called “Apostolic Constitutions,” the *missa fidelium* began with the silent prayer of those who remained, followed by a general prayer of the church prayed by the deacon, during which the congregation interjected “Kyrie eleison” after every petition as in the Litany. After a collect prayed by the bishop, the deacons gathered the gifts of bread and wine which had been offered and prepared them for use in the Supper. Then, when the holy kiss had been passed—men to men and women to women—the bishop, being robed in a special festive garment and

³⁶ Uhlhorn, Gerhard. *Der Kampf des Christenthums mit dem Heidenthum. Bilder aus der Vergangenheit als Spiegelbilder für die Gegenwart* (Stuttgart: D. Gundert, 1899). Cited from *First Apology*, 67. See ANF 1:186. —MC.

surrounded by ministers of the higher orders, approached the altar, spoke the apostolic blessing (2 Corinthians 13:13) over the congregation, which replied with the words “And with thy spirit.” Then antiphonally, the Bishop: “Your hearts [*Sinn*] on high!” Congregation: “We have them with the Lord.” B.: “Let us give thanks to the Lord.” C.: “It is meet and right.” B.: “It is truly meet and right to praise Thee high above all, the truly living God. . . .” etc.

This very, very long yet thoroughly majestic prayer of thanksgiving concludes with the Sanctus sung by the whole congregation: “Holy, Holy, Holy Lord God of Sabaoth. Heaven and earth. . . .” etc. This is followed by the Consecration, another general prayer of the church with intercessions, this time being said by the bishop, then the Peace, and finally the Distribution. This last item, along with the conclusion, is described thus:

And after all (in response to the Peace) have said “Amen,” let the deacon say: “Let us take heed!” and the bishop address the people thus: “Holy things unto the holy!” and the people answer: “One is Holy, One the Lord, One Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father, blessed forever. Amen. Glory to God in the highest, and peace on earth, good will toward men! Hosanna to the Son of David! Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord! The Lord God hath appeared also unto us. Hosanna in the highest!” And thereupon let the bishop partake, <9> followed by the elders, deacons, and subdeacons, and the lectors, singers, and ascetics; and of the women the deaconesses, virgins, and widows, and then the children followed by all the people in order, in awe and caution without noise. And let the bishop give the sacrifice, during which he says, “The Body of Christ,” and let the one receiving say, “Amen.” But let the deacon hold the cup and, offering it, say, “The blood of Christ, the cup of life,” and let the one drinking say, “Amen.” Let Psalm 33 (=34) be said (=sung) while all the rest receive, and when all men and all women have received, let the deacons bring the remnants to an adjacent room. And when the singers have finished, let the deacon say, “Having become partakers of the precious body and the precious blood of Christ, let us give thanks to Him who has made us worthy to be partakers of His holy mysteries, and let us pray,” etc. The prayer of thanksgiving spoken by the bishop forms the conclusion. (See König, *Die Hauptliturgien der alten Kirche* [The Chief Liturgies of the Ancient Church].)

Note: (2) Although the *Brandenburg-Nürnberg Church Order* (1533) sought to model the Sunday service without Communion on the order for incidental services, it nevertheless became the general practice to leave the

arrangement of the chief service intact up to the sermon. This was then followed by the Litany or the Te Deum, or both in turn, as the “congregational” and “congregational thanksgiving.” Or else the conclusion was limited to a congregational hymn of praise connected with a “Christian motet” by the choir, which the latter introduced, both simultaneously acting as a “Deo Gratias” upon hearing the Word of God. The Braunschweig-Lüneburg church order, however, specifies: “After the sermon shall be sung the Preface, Sanctus, the German *Paternoster*, ‘O Christ Thou Lamb of God,’ a German collect for Sundays, and the closing benediction.”

§3. THE MASS RESTORED BY LUTHER IN ITS EVANGELICAL FORM

As the Augsburg Confession, its Apology, and Luther’s liturgical writings indicate, the *traditional name* of the Chief Divine Service was left intact and was called “the **Mass**” even in the orthodox [Lutheran] Church. This single term signifies holy service, *cultus*, and parallels the <10> Greek *liturgia*, as the Apology, Article XII [XXIV], emphasizes over against the papistic derivation thereof from the Hebrew *misbeach*, “altar of sacrifice,” saying: “*Missa* and *liturgia* do not mean sacrifice; *missa* in Hebrew means a collected contribution, for it was by such means that the Christians brought food and drink to the assembly for the good of the poor. And this custom was derived from the Jews who were required to bring such contributions to their feasts, and called them *missa*.” While in the Scandinavian Lutheran Church this name was always used to indicate the chief service, in the German Lutheran Church it was later abandoned, regardless of the fact that even when we were young it was customary in the Nürnberg dialect to refer to Communion as the *Amt* [“office”] and the sermon in the chief service as the *Amtspredigt* [“office sermon”].

Yet there is no doubt that the retention of the name “Mass” indicates that, in the outward Divine Service, Luther intended *to do nothing new, but only to return to the true, historic form of the Divine Service*. Generally speaking, the aim of Luther’s whole Reformation was not negation and destruction, but restoration. It sought merely to eliminate in doctrine and life that which contradicted God’s Word and had over the course of time expanded like harmful leaven. After Luther had begun the Reformation and then turned his attention to the administration of the Sacrament in the Roman Church, he exclaimed: “The words of salvation and life are shut up, even as the ark of the Lord stood in the pagan temple next to Dagon, but the ark had to clear its own way!” (Rudelbach, *Sacrament-Worte* [Words of

the Sacrament], 9.)³⁷ It could not elude his keen eye that the Word of the Lord had been buried, as it were, here under a host of ceremonies which deafened by their sheer weight, and distracted the attention of the faithful away from the One Thing Needful. But how did he let the ark clear its own way? Not in the manner of Zwingli and his ilk, who broke radically with the past, particularly by getting rid of those outward things which found no explicit support in the words of Scripture but only came to be adopted after the time of the apostles. Rather, Luther here proceeded with extreme caution and a sparing hand *according to principles drawn from the deepest lifespriing of Scripture and of true evangelical practice*. Pursuant to this, on the one hand, he mercilessly *purged* everything that was genuine papistic leaven, and especially <11> that belonged to or even simply “smacked of” the abomination of the sacrifice of the Mass properly speaking. On the other hand, he *separated* the clutter of churchly hue from that which was in agreement with the pure doctrine and seemed to be the common property of the Church, especially that which was salutary and profitable for Word and Sacrament. “We confess,” says Luther in his *Formula Missae*, “that we never intended to abolish every outward service, but rather to purge again that which has been in use hitherto, albeit corrupted with many accretions, and to show what the true Christian use is.”³⁸ In the same way he explains in his “Concerning the Order of Public Worship” (1523): “The Divine Service which is now everywhere in use has an exquisite Christian pedigree, as does the office of preaching. But just as the office of preaching has been corrupted by spiritual tyrants, the Divine Service has been corrupted by hypocrites. Therefore, just as we do not abolish the office of preaching, but desire to restore it to its rightful place, neither is it our intention to abolish the Divine Service, but to restore it to its proper use” (EA 22:153).³⁹

When Luther says that the intention was merely to purge the service “which has been in use hitherto,” and to show “what the true Christian use is,” yet at the same time boasts that “the Divine Service which is now everywhere in use has an exquisite Christian heritage,” he is referring to the *structure of the Mass in its chief parts* as the Western Church received it from the earliest Eastern Church, possessed it until the Reformation, “albeit corrupted with many additions,” and has, since 1570, retained it permanently and invariably with these accretions. We saw a picture of the original shape of the Mass in the testimony of Justin (expressed [above] in

³⁷ Rudelbach quotes in German the eighth point of Luther’s *Formula Missae* (1523). Cf. Luther, “An Order of Mass and Communion” (1523), AE 53:20. —MC.

³⁸ Ibid. —MC.

³⁹ Cf. Luther, “Concerning the Order of Public Worship” (1523), AE 53:11. —MC.

§2 [page 4], note *), and its expansion in the *Apostolic Constitutions* cited in the same place. Nothing in the latter, however, smacks of a *sacrifice for propitiation*. Although in this Clementine liturgy, the bread and wine, in the lengthy prayer connected to the consecration, are referred to as sacrificial gifts, it is not a *meritorial* but a *material* offering of the elements which takes place, since it plainly says, “. . . and [we] beseech Thee that Thou wouldest look favorably upon these gifts which are laid before Thee, O God who lackest naught; and be pleased with them to the glory of Thy Christ, and send down upon this offering Thy Holy Ghost, the witness of the sufferings of the Lord Jesus, *that He may make this bread to be the body of Thy Christ, and this cup to be the blood of Thy Christ*, that they which partake thereof <12> may be confirmed in piety, obtain the forgiveness of their sins, be delivered from the devil and his deceit, be filled by the Holy Ghost, be made worthy of Thy Christ, and attain to everlasting life, inasmuch as Thou art reconciled with them.” (See König, *Die Hauptliturgien* [The Chief Liturgies], 114.) But following on the gradual disappearance of the *disciplina arcani*, that is, the tenet of secrecy concerning the mysteries—Baptism, Supper, the Apostles’ Creed, the Our Father—which had been practiced since the second century, the order of the *Roman Mass* developed increasingly beginning in the fourth century. While in its form, inherited from the primitive Eastern Church, it is markedly improved in clarity, effect, and beauty, nevertheless, it is at the same time sorely *corrupted* by the abominable sacrifice of the Mass at its heart, along with transubstantiation, the withholding of the cup, the invocation of saints, private masses, and masses for the dead.

This service, then—which had an “exquisite pedigree,” but was later so terribly corrupted by the sacrificial abomination and other “accretions” in the papacy—Luther “*purged and cleansed*,” just as an old painting is cleansed by the removal of dust and the blots of a foreign hand and thus restored, or as a noble structure is ridded of the partly disfiguring, partly superfluous ornament of later times so that it may be seen again in the beauty of its true form. **It is in its original and beautiful form—the form which is in accordance with the Gospel—that Luther gave the Mass back to the people!**

§4. LUTHER’S PRINCIPLES AND PROCEDURE IN RESTORING THE EVANGELICAL MASS

What ideas Luther had in particular when reforming the Divine Service he expresses early on in his “Concerning the Order of Public Worship” (1523) as follows: “Three great abuses invaded the Divine Service. First, *God’s*

Word was silenced, and was only read and sung in the churches, which was the worst abuse. Second, once God's Word was silenced, *a great many unchristian fables and lies entered in alongside it*, both in legends, songs, and sermons, such that it is detestable to see. Third, *this Divine Service was performed as a work* to earn God's grace and salvation. Then faith was destroyed <13> and everyone gave to churches and religious bodies, and wanted to become popes, monks, and nuns" (EA 22:153; StL 10:221; [AE 53:11]). The principles applied here by Luther are none other than the two-fold principle of the Lutheran Church generally: the so-called formal and material fundamental principle: "*scripture alone*" and "*by faith alone*."

Accordingly, in restoring the ancient, authentic order of the Mass, Luther brought the **preaching** of the divine Word, above all, to its full right. In his view, the worst abuse was that God's Word had been "silenced," that preaching had slowly but surely been squeezed out of the Mass—just as in Roman practice today it still appears not as an organic member but more as a discretionary option, an interpolated addition, the omission of which does nothing to diminish the papistic splendor of the Mass. But in doing so, Luther gave the Mass a definite pillar of support. As the Gospel of the free grace of God in Christ, it is placed in the center, and thus comprises the fundamental idea of the whole Divine Service, so that all the liturgical parts preceding the sermon have their *preparatory* place and meaning, and those following the sermon, their specific connection to and meaning for the *appropriation and sealing* of this grace in the Sacrament of the Altar. Hence everything that was contrary to the Gospel of the free grace of God and the Sacrament *as its seal*—that in one way or another related to the doctrine of the merit of works or the meritorious performance of the Divine Service or the Mass itself—must of itself give way and disappear. The Anglican Church therefore took from the *Apostolic Constitutions* the previously quoted prayer of the material sacrifice, (which, if properly understood, is not contrary to Scripture) and incorporated it into its Book of Common Prayer almost word for word, as an "oblation" and "invocation." Nevertheless, Luther deleted it along with everything else, so that nothing anywhere would have the faintest "smell" of a sacrifice and be abused in some way or other by erring spirits. Neither will we interpret this, as many have done more recently, as an excess in Luther's reformatory zeal. On the contrary, we will thank him all the more for it.

Let us now recreate this labor of his in the examination of the order of the Roman Mass, wherein he sought to "purge" the bad and "to retain only what is best." <14>

The *Roman papistic Mass* is divided into the following parts:

I. *Initium missae sollemnis*. After the priest in chasuble, led by the acolytes bearing candlesticks, has ascended to the altar and placed the covered chalice upon it, he descends, stands at the foot of the altar, makes the sign of the cross upon himself, and prays: *Introibo ad altare Dei*, etc., from Psalm 43. This is supposed to resemble the preparation of the priest at the entrance of the altar of sacrifice.

II. The *Confiteor*, or Confession: the consecration of the priest and his ministrants for the celebration of the Mass. The priest, bowing forward, speaks it while standing at the foot of the altar. At the last words of the brief prayer appended to it, he ascends the altar, kisses it, censes it, and is himself censed. Then, standing at the Epistle, or right, side of the altar, he says:

III. The *Introitus*, or the Entrance Psalmody, which varies according to season and occasion.

IV. The *Kyrie*, prayed from the middle of the altar, nine times in alternation with the altar servers.

V. The *Gloria in excelsis* with the *Et in terra*, etc., and the *Laudamus te*, etc.

VI. The *Collecta(e)*, with preceding *Dominus vobiscum*, one or several according to season, feast, and other need.

VII. *Epistola*, its reading being done in the liturgical tone.

VIII. *Graduale* ("step song") with *Alleluia* or *Tractus* (song during procession or movement to the Gospel side).

IX. *Evangelium*, read by the deacon from the left side of the altar in the liturgical tone, after he has first obtained the blessing for this from the priest and kissed his hand in return.

X. The *Credo Nicaenum*, which the priest intones from the middle of the altar. While the choir finishes singing it, the former prays:

XI. The *Offertorium*, or prayer of oblation (while pouring the wine and some water into the chalice and offering up the host along with various censings), immediately followed by:

XII. The *Secreta*, the *silent* or secret prayers. Everything that has happened after the intoning of the Credo up to this point the priest speaks and does silently with his assistants while the choir finishes the Credo. Now, however, he sings aloud the transition, *Dominus vobiscum*, etc., to: <15>

XIII. The *Praefatio*, to which the choir responds with the *Sanctus*, while the priest silently speaks:

XIV. The *Canon missae*, the silent Mass. This consists of: (a) a prayer for the Church generally; (b) an intercession for individual members of the Church (*commemoratio pro vivis*); (c) the prayer remembering the saints, beginning with Mary and her meritorious intercession (*diptycha sanctorum*); (d) the recitation of the Words of Institution or Consecration, spoken softly by the priest after and during a deep silence by all present; (e) the prayer

for the gracious reception of the sacrifice now accomplished (*canon missae post consecrationem*); and (f) the prayer for the dead (*memento pro defunctis*), whom the sacrifice of the Mass is supposed to benefit. Here the singing of the choir is ended and the priest chants aloud.

XV. The *Praeparatio ad Communionem*, consisting of the singing of the Our Father and a prayer following its Seventh Petition, during which a fragment of the host is broken and inserted into the chalice, whereupon the Salutation of Peace (*Pax Domini vobiscum*) follows. Then:

XVI. The *Preces ante Communionem*, consisting of the *Agnus Dei* ("O Christ, Thou Lamb of God"), with several collects.

XVII. The *Sumptio*, the reception of the bread and wine by the priest, and the distribution of the bread to communicants, if any are present.

XVIII. The *Communio*, that is, a Bible passage varying according to season and occasion, the Antiphon of the Psalm previously sung during Communion.

XIX. *Postcommunio*, a collect with the *Ite, missa est*.

XX. *Finis missae*, silent prayer of the priest.

XXI. *Benedictio*, blessing of the people.

XXII. *Evangelium*, John 1:1–14, which the priest, still at the altar, reads or sings, whereupon the *Deo gratias* of the altar server [*Meßdiener*] forms the conclusion.

In his *Formula Missae* (1523), then, Luther designates for retention from the first part of the Mass extending to and including the Credo numbers III to X above:

I. *Introitus*, although he would prefer the actual psalms;

II. *Kyrie*, yet threefold instead of ninefold;

III. *Gloria* with the *Et in terra* and the *Laudamus te*;

IV. *Collecta*, but only one; <16>

V. *Epistola*;

VI. *Gradual* of two verses with Alleluia, or only one or the other;

VII. *Evangelium*;

VIII. *Credo* or *Symbolum Nicaenum*—followed by the sermon if it has not already preceded the *Introitus*.

According to this scheme, Luther eliminated:

(1) *Initium missae*, together with the *Confiteor*. In doing so, he regarded the *Introitus* as the proper beginning of the Mass, as indeed it was originally. The *Initium* and *Confiteor* he no doubt viewed as things for the priest himself, and the *Confiteor* contains all sorts of papistic additions.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ *) The Confiteor of the Roman Mass reads: "Confiteor Deo omnipotenti, beatae Mariae semper virgini, beato Michaeli archangelo, beato Joanni Baptistae, sanctis apostolis Petro

(2) *Tractus*, *Proses* (rhymes), and *Sequences*; not as though these contained anything contrary to Scripture, but so as not to make the people tire of the Divine Service through superfluous length, for which reason he also limited the Gradual itself to two verses. Moreover, in the restored Mass, Word and preaching were rightly to stand out as the main focus, and everything preceding was to serve them! Necessary room had to be secured for them, even though it meant giving up one or two things that were in effect embellishments.

However, the deletions in the *second* part of the Mass, mingled as it was with the abomination of sacrifice properly speaking, were of a completely different nature. Here Luther saw “the words of salvation and life shut up, even as the ark of the Lord stood in the pagan temple next to Dagon” [AE 53:26]. From the very beginning, therefore, the *Offertorium* was dropped, since “almost everything sounds and smells like sacrifice” in it. (It was later replaced by “Schaffe in mir, Gott” [“Create in Me a Clean Heart, O God”]), among other things, which still claims its position today; more on this in the proper place.) Following inexorably upon the *Offertorium* were the *Secreta* and the whole *canon missae*. Of the latter, Luther writes, “In short, what is wrong in the Mass is of sacrifice and works, which God wondrously arranges so that the priest reads almost everything secretly <17> and it is called the silent Mass.⁴¹ But what is sung openly by the choir and among the people is almost entirely good things and hymns of praise, as if God were saying in deed that He wished to spare His Christians the silent Mass, that their ears need not hear such abomination, and so let the clergy be af-

et Paulo, omnibus sanctis et vobis, Fratres: quia peccavi nimis cogitatione, verbo et opere (percutit sibi pectus ter, dicens): mea culpa, mea culpa, mea maxima culpa! Ideo precor beatam Mariam semper virginem, beatum Michaellem archangelum, beatum Joannem Baptistam, sanctos apostolos Petrum et Paulum, omnes sanctos et vos, Fratres, orare pro me ad Dominum, Deum nostrum.”

[I confess unto God Almighty, the blessed ever-virgin Mary, blessed Michael the Archangel, blessed John the Baptist, the holy apostles Peter and Paul, unto all saints, and unto you, brethren: that I have sinned exceedingly in thought, word, and deed (he strikes his chest thrice, saying): by my fault, by my fault, by my own most grievous fault! Wherefore I pray the blessed ever-virgin Mary, blessed Michael the Archangel, blessed John the Baptist, the holy apostles Peter and Paul, all saints, and you, brethren, to pray for me to the Lord our God. —MC.]

⁴¹ *) This “soft and secret” reading is closely related to the papistic idea of sacrifice, since, as Bellarmine openly explains, to offer a sacrifice “is not to speak but to act, and even if it is in a certain sense also to speak, it is a speaking not in or to the congregation (*ecclesia*) but to God; for whoever offers a sacrifice to God is dealing with God, not with men, even though his actions have not a private but a public character, since he is not acting on behalf of himself but for the whole Church.” (See [Johann Jakob] Herzog, ed., *Real-Encyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, s.v. “Messe,” 9:395.)

flicted with their own abomination" (Jena 5:196b).⁴² About the same time, of course, Luther also published his writing, "The Abomination of the Secret Mass" (1525), in which he translated and annotated it for the people, since he wanted to "uncover the devil" and, for the sake of the people, "put him in the light, so that everyone might see what a terrible, abominable thing the despicable devil is doing every day throughout the world in the silent Mass" (EA 29:118; [cf. AE 36:314]).

In his first liturgical labors, then, Luther extricated from this Canon of the Mass both the Preface and the Words of Institution—the latter as the Consecration proper, which, in conjunction with the Our Father, were not to be recited, spoken, or sung softly as in the papistic Mass,⁴³ but *aloud*, "so that they may be discerned by those in attendance." The Consecration was to be followed by the *Sanctus*, then the *Our Father*, and no further prayers, but the *Pax Domini* immediately following. During the *Sumptio* (distribution) the *Agnus* was to be sung. Luther accepted the *Communion sentence* (the Communion hymn soon took its place). Instead of the usual *Complet* (Post-Communion Collects), he wants another prayer, "since they have a rather sacrificial tone." In place of the *Finis missae*—the Benediction formula and the lesson from John, which in any case was the pericope for the Third Christmas Mass—Luther appointed the simple conclusion with *Dominus vobiscum* — *Benedicamus*. (The Lord be with you. And with thy spirit. <18> Let us bless the Lord. Thanks be to God forever!) and the Aaronic *Benediction* (Numbers 6 [:24–26]).

Thus the *Formula Missae* (1523). This liturgy of the Supper appeared in an even more simplified form in the *Deutsche Messe* (1526). In this, namely, the *Paraphrase* of the Our Father with a brief *Exhortation* is substituted for the Preface, whereupon the Consecration immediately follows, and the Distribution takes place during appropriate congregational singing. The conclusion is made by a *collect of thanksgiving*.

Yet Luther expressly states that he *does not want his Formula Missae* (1523) "abrogated or changed" [AE 53:62]. *And this is the order that has remained the decisive pattern for the Lutheran Church*, while of the form given in 1526, only the *Exhortation* attached to the paraphrased Our Father was included in agendas here and there, while the collect of thanksgiving found

⁴² Cf. Luther, "Admonition Concerning the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Our Lord" (1530), AE 38:123. —MC.

⁴³ *) "It is of particular importance that the Words of Consecration, which are alleged to effect transubstantiation as well as constitute the sacrifice, be spoken softly; they do not pertain to the congregation but only apply to the elements, in order, by magical power and effect, to produce a transformation in them, whereby the priest daily makes (*conficere* [confect] is the typical expression) the Body of Christ." (Herzog, *Real-Encycl.*, s.v. "Messe" 9:395.)

its place at the end of all of them. Specifically, it was the Saxon and Low German agendas on the one hand and the agendas of Austria and Nürnberg-Brandenburg on the other hand which adhered as closely as possible to Luther's precedent in his liturgical writings, while the South and West German agendas of Baden, Andorf,⁴⁴ Hanau,⁴⁵ Worms, Hohenlohe,⁴⁶ and later also Strassburg, took the Reformed structuring of the Divine Service into greater account. Nevertheless, although alike in their total preservation of a strict Lutheran character and every aspiration for uniformity in ceremonies, the agendas of the first sort were not bound together slavishly and pedantically, but within the confessional unity, a multiplicity was permitted even in the form of Consecration and Distribution.

Thus taking these all together, we find for the *second part* of the purified Mass the following elements retained:

I. *Praefatio* with *Sanctus*—replaced by the Exhortation in the Brandenburg-Nürnberg church order (1533)—this is the one by Volprecht included in the St. Louis *Kirchen-Agende*, p. 233ff.—while the other agendas, specifically the Saxon ones, have both the Preface *and* the Exhortation.

II. *Consecratio* with *Our Father*—now one, now the other first; along with the *Salutation of Peace* (*Pax*), though this was not adopted by all agendas. <19>

III. *Agnus Dei* ("O Christ, Thou Lamb of God") and other hymns, namely, Communion hymns, during the actual *Communio* or *Sumptio*.

IV. *Collecta* with *Dominus vobiscum* and—though not universally—the singing of the *Nunc Dimittis* ("Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace") preceding.

V. *Aaronic Benediction* with *Benedicamus* frequently preceding; whereupon a hymn, such as, "O Lord, we praise Thee," "Lord, keep us steadfast," etc., is appointed here and there—namely, wherever the *Nunc Dimittis* was dropped.

§5. RETENTION OF VESTMENTS AND THEIR USE IN LATER YEARS

"The usual public ceremonies are retained: the order of lessons, the prayers, *vestments*, and other such things," explains the Latin Apology in the Article on the Mass.⁴⁷ Thus with respect to the vestments of the preceding time, not everything was abolished, but much was retained. In the

⁴⁴ *Andorffer Kirchen-Agende* (1567). —MC.

⁴⁵ *Hanauer Kirchen- und Schulordnung* (1659). —MC.

⁴⁶ *Hohenlohische Kirchen-Ordnung* (1578). —MC.

⁴⁷ Lochner quotes the Latin of Ap XXIV 1 (The Mass): "Servantur usitatae Ceremoniae publicae ordo lectionum, orationum, vestitus, et alia similia." —MC.

Formula Missae [1523], Luther comes at last to speaking about clerical vestments, saying:

We have not said anything about vestments, but we think of them as we do of other similar external gestures. *We leave them to be used freely, provided pomp and other excess be avoided.* You are not more pleasing in God's sight if you wear priestly vestments while celebrating the Sacrament, nor less pleasing if you do so without such vestments. Neither does clothing commend us in the sight of God. I would prefer that they not be consecrated or blessed, as if they were then to be holier than other garments; unless a general blessing should be used, since it is by the Word and prayer, as Scripture says in 1 Timothy 4:4–5 that every good creature of God is sanctified. Otherwise, it is pure superstition and impiety brought in by the Baal-bishops of the highest and ultimate abomination of the Church, as other such things besides (StL 10:2246; [AE 53:31–32]).

How this was then regarded after this time, for example, in the church at Wittenberg, Luther writes in his treatise, “Against the Heavenly Prophets” (1525): “In the cloister we had Mass without chasuble, without elevation, in the very simplest way, like Christ's example which Carlstadt praises. Meanwhile, in the parish we continue to have chasuble, alb, altar, and elevation for as long as we wish” (EA 29:191; [AE 40:130]). <20>

The usual clerical attire consisted of a long, ankle-length black *Priester-rock* [“priest's robe”], now called the *Chorrock* [“choir or chancel robe”] or *Talar* [“ankle-length”], and a white linen garment worn over this, approximately of knee-length, called the *Alba* or *Chorhemd* [“chancel smock”]. The latter derives from the Ancient Church, in which the white garment was worn as a symbol of the peace, purity, and dignity of those persons involved in the Divine Service. Until the first quarter of our century [the nineteenth], the pastors in the Lutheran churches in Germany wore the *Chorhemd* during the administration of the Sacraments and the performance of the liturgy at the altar. It is still in use in certain churches, such as that of Thuringia, and even in a few places in liturgically impoverished Württemberg. In this country too it is, as far as I know, still being used in the handful of congregations which migrated into Texas and belong to the Missouri Synod, as well as among our local Norwegian brethren. In Saxony, in Braunschweig, in the region of Brandenburg-Nürnberg, and elsewhere, the liturgist appeared for the administration of the Supper in the proper eucharistic vestments, among which was, in addition to the *Chorrock* and *Chorhemd*, the *Casula* or chasuble, the sleeveless covering of various colors and decorated with a cross of gold brocade. For example, there is a description of the Divine Service from

Alt-Dresden from the time of the two hundredth jubilee of the Reformation, which says: "After this [the sermon], Communion begins, for which purpose the deacon, dressed in the alb and chasuble [*Meßgewand*], and accompanied by two boys specially vested for the purpose and appointed to hold the Communion cloths or veils [*Fächer*] approaches the altar [set with paten, chalice, and candles burning throughout the service and] adorned [with two linen cloths]" (*Etwas zur Kirchen-Historie in Alt-Dresden, etc.* [A Little Something about the Church History in Alt-Dresden, etc.] by M. Paul Hilscher, pastor in said city, 1721 [p. 150f.]). Similarly, in a description of the consecration of the new Friedrichstadt church in Dresden in 1730, at which Dr. Valentin Löscher gave the sermon, it says: "Then the *Te Deum laudamus* was intoned with trumpets and timpani . . . Meanwhile, the ordained pastor of the church, Rev. David Mehner [1694–1756], in a green chasuble, approached the altar and sang both the Our Father and the Words of Institution for the Holy Communion."⁴⁸ In Nürnberg, the author's native city, the chasuble was still in use during the celebration of the Supper until the year 1790. In fact, at the dedication of a Norwegian Lutheran church in Wisconsin, which the author attended about forty years ago, the synodical president at that time was vested in a chasuble. It was Rationalism which for "the improvement of religion" committed such vandalism even with regard to the office vestment, at least in the German Lutheran church. In the return to the earlier Lutheran liturgy <21> there can, for the sake of peace and for other reasons, no longer be any thought of reintroducing even the *Chorhemd*, and we can only be content with the black robe of office, the more so since even this had already become rare in this land of Reformed sectarianism when our synod was organized.

§ 6. THE USE OF THE VERNACULAR AND THE INCLUSION OF THE SPIRITUAL SONG IN THE LITURGY — THE NOTABLE CHANGES. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CHOIR SONG AND THE USE OF THE ORGAN

Among the **more notable** changes to the Mass, without contest, is the *use of the vernacular* in the Divine Service and the *introduction* of the **spiritual song** into the liturgy. Through this change, the spiritual priesthood of all Christians, in its divinely appointed relationship to the public vocation and ministry with the Word and through the liturgy, was made effective and put into practice, and this to such an extent as had not been the case since

⁴⁸ Kurtze, doch deutliche Nachricht, wie die Einweihung der neuen Kirche zu Friedrichstadt vollbracht worden (Dresden: Mohrentaler, 1730), 13 (unnumbered). The consecration took place on July 11. —MC.

the time of the apostles. Thus, in addition to the pure Word and Sacrament, the Augsburg Confession is fully able to confess that “without boasting . . . the Mass is celebrated among us with greater devotion and more earnestness than among our opponents” [AC XXIV 1, German]. It is precisely in the congregation’s participation in the Divine Service resulting from congregational singing that the whole fundamental idea of the Reformation, the general priesthood, finds truly striking expression—and therein lies the most fundamental difference in the concept of the Church itself.

In the papistic church, the Mass is celebrated everywhere exclusively in *Latin*, as is the whole liturgy of the Divine Service generally. It is the peculiar language of the Church, the universal language in the kingdom of the Antichrist with which papistic Rome, in a manner resembling pagan Rome, has imposed its heavy yoke upon the people, relating its use, as a language unintelligible to the people, together with the whole concept of the sacrifice of the Mass. Since the use of a foreign language entirely unintelligible to the people stands in direct contradiction with 1 Corinthians 14:1–20, it was first necessary for the Church of the Reformation to return to the original use of the vernacular in the Mass as well as in the whole Divine Service “since,” <22> as Article XXIV [3] of the Augsburg Confession states, “the purpose of all ceremonies is that the people may learn from them what they need to know about Christ.” True, it says “that in certain places German songs (to teach and exercise the people) are sung *in addition to* parts sung in Latin.” Indeed, in his *Deutsche Messe* (1526), Luther discusses his first *Formula Missae*, published in Latin, saying: “I do not hereby intend that it should be abrogated or changed. Rather, the use of it is to be left free even as we have kept it among us until now, wherever and whenever it pleases us or reason moves us. For it is in no way my desire for Latin to disappear entirely from the Divine Service.” But why? “It is all for the sake of the young,” he continues. “Moreover, if I had the power, and if Greek and Hebrew were as common among us as Latin, and there were as much admirable music and song for them as there is for Latin, we would celebrate Mass and sing and read on successive Sundays in all four languages—German, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew” (EA 22:229).⁴⁹ Thus the parallel use of Latin in the Mass was only for the purpose of training young students in this language, and because Latin was more “universal” at that time, and this language had “much admirable music and song.” This same reason is given in the “Instructions for the Visitors” (1528 and 1538): “Some sing German masses, some Latin masses—we leave this as it is. It seems profitable and good, wherever the majority of people are unfamiliar with Latin, to celebrate the Mass in German, so that the people may better be

⁴⁹ Cf. Luther, “The German Mass,” (1526), AE 53:62–63. —MC.

able to understand the singing and other things that are read; as St. Paul says in 1 Corinthians 14 (v. 6 [16–17]): ‘But when you bless in the Spirit, how shall he who stands in the position of a layman say Amen to your thanksgiving, since he does not know what you are saying? You give thanks well enough, but the other person is not edified by it.’ Yet Paul also says in the same place (v. 26): ‘Let all things be done for edification’” (StL 10:1665.)⁵⁰

As early as 1520, Luther expressed the wish: “Would to God we Germans might *read Mass in German!*”⁵¹ In 1523 there then appeared in quarto a pamphlet, *Von ordenung gottis diensts ynn der gemeyne*,⁵² and not long after that, the *Formula Missae et Communione pro Ecclesia Wittenbergen-si*,⁵³ which, after *Paul Speratus* had promptly translated it into German, <23> the parish church in Wittenberg employed to celebrate a German Mass in 1525 on Christmas. Lastly, in 1526, as a continuation and supplement, Luther published the work, *Deutsche Messe und Ordnung des Gottesdienstes*,⁵⁴ according to which German psalms and songs were already to take the place of the Latin hymns and sequences on a set schedule.

But while Zwingli would only consider the singing of German psalms and hymns, and in sectarian fashion ridiculed *liturgical singing* and dispensed with it, *Luther here desired* the Mass to be **sung** as before, yet not solely in *Latin* but also in *German*, and not only because liturgical singing was previously in use and unobjectionable, but also because the sung parts of the Divine Service are generally good and in conformity with Scripture. Being as fond as he was knowledgeable about music, and assigning it a place next to theology, Luther writes in the location quoted above: “Let the sung parts in the Sunday masses and Vespers be left in place, for they are quite good and drawn from Scripture, though they may be abbreviated or expanded”; and likewise in his *Formula Missae*: “Much singing in the Mass is admirably and gloriously composed of thanksgiving and praise and has remained to this time.” With the assistance of the electoral chaplain Johann Walther and Konrad Rupff, whom he invited to his house for several weeks as a “cantory,” he went on to supply the *Deutsche Messe* with the notation needed for the liturgist and simultaneously with directions for liturgical singing (StL 10:235ff.).⁵⁵ True, he used the received Gregorian modes as his

⁵⁰ Cf. Luther, “Instruction for the Visitors of Parish Pastors in Electoral Saxony” (1528), AE 40:300. —MC.

⁵¹ Cf. Luther, “Treatise on the New Testament, That Is, the Holy Mass,” AE 35:90ff. —MC.

⁵² Cf. Luther, “Concerning the Order of Public Worship,” AE 53:7–14. —MC.

⁵³ Cf. Luther, “An Order of Mass and Communion” (1523), AE 53:15–40. —MC.

⁵⁴ Cf. Luther, “The German Mass and Order of Divine Service” (1526), AE 53:51–90. —MC.

⁵⁵ Ibid., AE 53:69ff. —MC.

models, yet what a veritable master this man, formerly a gifted choirboy and now a virtuoso lutenist, also proved himself to be in this pursuit! “We will be able to assert,” says E. Naumann (*Illustrierte Musikgeschichte*) [An Illustrated History of Music, vol. 2] 1883),

that Dr. Martin was fully capable of setting any church text he might choose, even if it were *not* written metrically (e.g., an Introit, Psalm, a Collect, Epistle, Preface, or a Gospel pericope), to available melodies from the liturgy of the Ancient Church, and could do so with all the changes to the melody line necessitated by the German translation, and all with the keenest perception for the accentuation and meaning of the words with respect to their particular sense and expression—considerations which presuppose in our <24> Reformer a tremendous faculty for composing and adapting rhythms and melodies. As witness to our assertion, we will here quote Johann Walther . . . who, regarding the matter touched upon, says of Luther (according to Michael Prätorius):⁵⁶ “He (Luther) himself also made and sang for me the notes over the Epistles and Gospels, and over the Words of Institution of the true body and blood of Christ, and wanted to hear what I thought about it.”⁵⁷ In another passage of the same writing, Walther says: “It may be seen from the German Sanctus, among other things, how masterfully and how well he matched all the notes to the text according to the proper *accentus* and *concentus*”⁵⁸ and I, too, was given cause to ask his Reverence at that time what or where he had acquired this piece of instruction; whereupon the precious man laughed at my simplicity and said, ‘The poet Virgil, who is able to apply his verses and words so skillfully to the events which he describes, taught me that. In the same way, Musica should match all her notes and melodies to the text.’ . . . Lastly, he was also com-

⁵⁶ Michael Prätorius, *Syntagmatis Musici Tomus Primus* (Wittenberg: J. Richter, 1615), 452f.; cf. WA 19:50. —MC.

⁵⁷ *) “Thus the composer Johann Walther here directly designates his friend Luther as the *setter of the music*. Walther distinguishes . . . very clearly the mere *adapter* of a melody from the *inventor* of it. . . . Therefore, even if the notes over the Epistles and Gospels could all be traced back to the Latin *cantus gregorianus*, it is still certain that Luther, in this task, was frequently required to proceed with his own independent changes and transpositions to the tone to be used, following his own judgment—a process betraying a talent for which the invention of a new melody must have been far easier, relatively speaking, than the musical operations to be undertaken in the case cited” (Naumann).

⁵⁸ *) All the chants of *cantus gregorianus* are traditionally divided into *concentus* and *accentus*. *Concentus* applies to all responsorial and antiphonal singing, psalm melodies, and the choir music proper; *accentus*, on the other hand, refers to those pieces which the priest is to sing alone, such as the collects, lessons, intonations, prefaces, etc.

pletely conversant with the manner of performing Gregorian *cantus choralis*, and had made thorough study of the nature, peculiar character, and particular expressiveness of each of the individual church tones on which both the Gregorian melodies and all art music at that time were based. In this regard, Walther says of his great friend: “When forty years ago he wished to establish the German Mass in Wittenberg, he wrote to the Elector of Saxony and Duke Johannes of blessed memory, and requested his Electoral Grace to send the old songmaster at that time, *Konrad Rupff*, and myself to Wittenberg, and conversed with us on that occasion <25> regarding the notes and the character of the eighth mode. In the end, he *personally* adopted the notes of the eighth mode for the Epistle, and assigned the sixth mode to the Gospel, saying, ‘Christ is a friendly Lord, and His words are pleasant. Therefore let us use the sixth mode for the Gospel; and since St. Paul is a serious apostle, let us appoint the eighth mode for the Epistle.’”⁵⁹ Thus for Luther “the characters of the individual church modes had become specific domains of musical expression fundamentally different from one another.”

No less a part of the “notable” changes—indeed, rather especially so—was *the people’s singing of German hymns in the Mass*. It is true that the Apology, in defense of Article XXIV [:4] of the Augustana, notes that this “is not so new,” for “the people have always sung something in German in all the churches.” Here the Apology has in mind the pre-Reformation hymns “Ein Kindelein so löblich” [A Little Child so Praiseworthy], “Christ ist erstanden” [“Christ Is Arisen,” *LSB* 459] “Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist” [“To God the Holy Spirit Let Us Pray” *LSB* 768], (stanza 1), “Gott der Vater wohn uns bei” [“Triune God, Be Thou Our Stay,” *LSB* 505], and “Gott sei gelobet und gebenediet” [“O Lord, We Praise Thee,” *LSB* 617].⁶⁰ With the latter, as Luther says in his treatise “The Private Mass and the Consecration of Priests” [1533], the Church simultaneously “cried murder at both the Antichrist and the mercenary priests of private masses,” which withheld the cup from them.⁶¹ But these popular spiritual songs in German were only

⁵⁹ *) Mode 6 [Hypolydian Mode] is comparable to our modern C major scale, and Mode 8 [Hypomixolydian Mode] to a D minor scale without the accidentals, i. e., without B flat or C sharp [in the harmonic minor].

⁶⁰ Cf. Wackernagel, vol. 2: “Ein Kindelein so löblich” (as “Der Tag, der ist so freudereich”), nos. 689–99, pp. 520–27; “Christ ist erstanden,” nos. 39–42, pp. 32–33; nos. 935–951, pp. 726–33; “Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist,” nos. 43–44, p. 44; “Gott der Vater wohn uns bei,” no. 687, p. 519; “Gott sei gelobet,” nos. 520, 989–90, pp. 748–49. —MC.

⁶¹ Cf. Luther, “The Private Mass and the Consecration of Priests” (1533), AE 38:206. Luther is pointing out that in the hymn, “Gott sei gelobet,” both the body and the blood are

sung during processions and pilgrimages, or during dramatic performances in the church on high festivals, not as an integral part of the Mass itself. In the Mass, only liturgical Gregorian singing in Latin was valid. The popular spiritual song in German was only regarded as a “tolerated, extra-liturgical song.”⁶² Only in the Divine Services of the Bohemian Brethren did the people sing spiritual hymns in their native tongue, Bohemian.

Quite in contrast, then, to this *tolerated* status, Luther assigned to the German popular song an *integral* place in the Mass. “It was my desire,” he writes, “that we might have a number of German songs for the people to sing during the Mass. Who has any doubt that those songs which only the choir sings or responds to by itself were *long ago sung by the whole church*?”⁶³ But by doing this, Luther was not merely returning to the practice of the Ancient Church, but was giving popular song a more *prominent* place in the Mass than it occupied in the Ancient Church, as it is to this day. After a long, long night, the <26> sun of the Gospel rose again with a brightness not seen since the time of the apostles! God had visited His people once more! And so once again one might say: “Sing to the Lord a new song; sing to the Lord, all the earth.” **The true German hymn first came into being with the Reformation.**

For this purpose Luther not only took up those few German spiritual songs which already existed, though to some extent “improved and corrected in a Christian way” or expanded by further composition; nor did he only translate some of the ancient Latin hymns; but he also authored a number of hymns himself, and called for contributions from those of his friends who were capable. Thus in 1524 the first Lutheran hymnal of original hymns appeared, the *Enchiridion geistlicher Gesänge und Psalmen* [Handbook of Spiritual Songs and Psalms], containing twenty-five hymns, eighteen of them by Luther, and published by Justus Jonas—at Luther’s direction, as Wackernagel conjectures.⁶⁴ Some time later that same year in Wittenberg, Walther’s *Chorgesangbüchlein* [Little Choral Hymn Book] was published—a collaboration between Luther and Walther designed for teaching singing to the

mentioned, especially in stanza 1. Yet according to Roman teaching, either species of the Sacrament alone is itself both the body and blood of Christ, as taught in the *Catechismus Romanus*. See an English translation in J. Donovan, trans., *Catechism of the Council of Trent* (Dublin: James Duffy and Co., 1908), 205–6. —MC.

⁶² Naumann, 1:395. —MC.

⁶³ Cf. Luther, “An Order of Mass and Communion” (1523), AE 53:36. —MC.

⁶⁴ Since Lochner’s day and the discovery of the *Achtlieberbuch*, a somewhat different chronology pertains. See Robin A. Leaver, *The Whole Church Sings: Congregational Singing in Luther’s Wittenberg* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Willam B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2017). —MC.

youth, since it was through them that the congregation was to *learn to sing* in the Divine Service. Then in 1529, the Wittenberg *Gemeindegesangbuch* appeared, in the preface to which Luther expressed disappointment not only at the great flood of unsuitable songs that had appeared since the publication of the *Chorgesangbüchlein*, but also at the corruption of his own hymns, and pled for an end to the unsolicited proliferation and alteration of the hymnal. The last edition during Luther's lifetime, appearing in 1545 by V. Bapst in Leipzig and boasting a new preface by Luther, is the more complete edition of the hymnal on the interior, as well as the more beautifully decorated on the exterior. In addition to the funeral chants which had already appeared separately in 1542, it also contains a number of Collects along with their Versicles put into German. And these are not simply included as an appendix, but are dispersed throughout, so that there is a Christmas Collect with the Christmas hymns, an Easter Collect with the Easter hymns, etc., clarifying all the more readily the liturgical intent.

Luther, in conjunction with his musical friends, gave these hymns their corresponding **melodies**. In his treatise, "Against the Heavenly Prophets" (1525), he writes: "I am eager to have a German Mass today, and I am working on it; yet I really want it to have a true *German character*. The practice of *translating the Latin text and keeping the tone or notation* is something I can make allowance for; *yet it does not sound <27> natural or authentic*. Both *text and notation, accent, melody, and expression* have to flow from the *mother tongue and voice* or else it is all imitation, the way *monkeys do!*" (EA 29:203; [AE 40:141]). In order, then, that the popular spiritual song in German and the melody might flow as much as possible "from the true German mother tongue and voice," and thus "have a true German character," Luther did not seize upon *cantus gregorianus* or put new wine in old wineskins by seeking merely to underlay it with his and his friends' German hymn texts, but he took the following course.

First, he made use of *what was at hand*. In the preface to the funeral songs published in 1542, he expresses himself in the following way:

To that end we have also used as a good model the *beautiful musical settings or songs which have been used in the papacy at vigils, soul masses, and funerals . . .* yet we have set different texts to them . . . The melodies and the notes are exceptional. It would be a pity if they perished. Yet the texts or words are unchristian and unfitting; they deserve to perish. As in all other matters also, they (the papists) far surpass us, having the most beautiful services, beautiful, majestic cathedrals and cloisters; yet the preaching and teaching which they practice in them are mainly of service to the devil and blaspheme God; for the devil is the prince and god of the world, and therefore must have whatever is

most elegant, excellent, and beautiful . . . Thus it is that they possess so many wonderful, beautiful melodies or songs, especially in the cathedrals and parishes, and yet have adorned them with many atrocious, idolatrous texts. We have therefore divested and stripped these idolatrous, dead, and foolish texts of their beautiful music, and with it clothed the living and holy Word of God, thereby to sing, praise, and glorify the same, so that the beautiful adornment of the music in its proper use may redound to the praise and honor of its dear Maker and His Christians, and we, having His Holy Word impressed on our heart by means of sweet music, may be edified and strengthened in the faith” (EA 56:301–2).⁶⁵

From those things already in existence he took, firstly, the *melodies of the Latin hymns*. Yet while he left the melodies for the good hymns which he translated, such as “Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland” [“Savior of the Nations, Come”],⁶⁶ among others, and “stripped the idolatrous, dead, and foolish texts of their beautiful music,” this was nevertheless done by imitation or adaptation, so that the melody of the Latin text also had a “German character” for the German text. Furthermore, there were the *melodies of the popular spiritual hymns which he took from the <28> pre-Reformation period* to which he still applied a refining hand here and there, as for instance in “Christ ist erstanden” [“Christ Is Arisen”].⁶⁷ And finally, *there were the beautiful melodies of popular secular songs* which were stripped of many an honorable text, and many a carnal one, and furnished with a Christian one: for example, for the Christmas hymn “Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her” [“From Heaven Above to Earth I Come”]⁶⁸ initially the tune, “Aus fremden Landen komm ich her” [From Foreign Lands to Here I Come];⁶⁹ or for the hymn, “Herr Christ der einig Gotts Sohn” [“The Only Son from Heaven,” *LSB* 402] by Elisabeth Cruciger, the tune, “Ich hört ein Fräulein klagen” [I Heard a Young Woman Wailing]—an example of the use of sec-

⁶⁵ Cf. Luther, “Preface to the Burial Hymns” (1542), AE 53:327–8. —MC.

⁶⁶ Wackernagel 3:12f., no. 16. Cf. Luther, “From Heaven on High I Come to You” (1534/35), AE 53:289f., *LSB* 332. —MC.

⁶⁷ Wackernagel 2:726ff., nos. 935–51. *LSB* 459. This hymn is also related to Luther’s “Christ lag in Todesbanden,” Wackernagel 3:12, no. 15. Cf. the reworking by M. Weiße, Wackernagel 3:273, no. 309. —MC.

⁶⁸ Wackernagel 3:23, no. 39. *LSB* 358. —MC.

⁶⁹ On the melody, see Salomon Kümmerle, *Encyklopädie der evangelischen Kirchenmusik*, 4 vols. (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1888–95), 3:839ff. For more on this melody and text see: William H. Otte, “From Heaven Above to Earth I Come,” in *Lutheran Service Book: Companion to the Hymns*, Joseph Herl, Peter C. Reske, and Jon D. Vieker, eds., 2 vols. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2019), 1:74–78. —MC.

ular melodies even in subsequent times, in the consideration of Luther's statement, "How is it that on profane themes (*in carnalibus*) we have so many a great poem (*poema*) and beautiful song (*carmen*), but on spiritual themes (*in spiritualibus*) such cold, sluggish stuff?"⁷⁰

Then Luther created *original melodies*—for it remains a firm fact that the melodies to hymns such as "Ein feste Burg" ["A Mighty Fortress"]⁷¹ "Wir glauben all an einen Gott" ["We All Believe in One True God"],⁷² "Vater unser im Himmelreich" ["Our Father, Who from Heaven Above"],⁷³ "Jesaia dem Propheten" ["Isaiah, Mighty Seer"],⁷⁴ and others, are creations of Luther. By this activity he, more so than others, became the father of our precious and popular rhythmic church hymn [i.e., "chorale"].

Accordingly, our church melodies originate from a fourfold source: (1) the imitation or adaptation of a Latin hymn, (2) the religious yet extra-ecclesial song of the pre-Reformation period, (3) the secular song, and (4) the original composition.

Yes, admittedly, it is a *notable change* that "*the people sing German songs*" in the Mass and elsewhere, and by this fact especially that "*the Mass is celebrated with greater devotion among us than among our opponents.*" Our Lutheran Church is for this reason called "*the singing Church.*" What a host of psalmists from all walks of life we may invoke, and among them how many a Miriam! How well the hymn has fulfilled the wish of Moses: "Would to God that all the people of the Lord might prophesy!" [Numbers 11:29] Yet chief among this great host of singers, lyrically and musically, is and remains Luther. He was such a spiritual poet and musician by God's grace that even a Paul Gerhardt does not compare with him, nor with respect to melody, a Crüger or an Ebeling.⁷⁵ For no one was so successful as he in capturing the popular tone lyrically and musically. No one was so utterly the mouth of the Church, echoing in hymn and melody that which stirred her great soul. Take for example the beautiful testimony of Cyriacus Spangenberg, who in the preface to his *Cithara Lutheri* (1569) <29> says,

Thus Luther, in whose hymns and songs no vain or needless word is found, must be allowed to stand as the greatest and most skilled of all master singers since the time of the apostles. Everything flows

⁷⁰ WA Tr 5:274, no. 5603. Cf. *LSB: Companion to the Hymns*, 1:203.—MC.

⁷¹ Kümmerle, 1:362ff.; *LSB* 656/657. —MC.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 4:461ff.; *LSB* 954. —MC.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 3:748ff.; *LSB* 766. —MC.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 1:648ff.; *LSB* 960. —MC.

⁷⁵ Johann Crüger (1598–1662) and Johann Georg Ebeling (1637–76) were the chief publishers and composers of original melodies for Paul Gerhardt's hymns. —MC.

and falls from him in the most pleasing and fitting manner, full of spirit and doctrine, so that practically every word speaks its own sermon or at least a special reminder. There is nothing forced, nothing patched on, nothing broken. The rhymes are easy and good, the words apt and well-chosen, the meaning clear and intelligible, the melodies and sound sweet and sincere, and in short, everything is so fine and admirable that it has a substance and power to it; it encourages and consoles. And indeed, his equal is not to be found, much less his superior, as all good hearts who have any knowledge of Luther's *Gesangbüchlein* must confess with us, and declare that by him God has given us a high, wonderful, and exceptional gift for which we can never thank Him enough (*Cithara Lutheri*, 1569, p. 2).

Yet, having for our subject the Chief Divine Service, we cannot conclude this section without also examining the subject of *choral singing* as well as the *use of the organ*:

(a) Clearly, in both the Mass and the incidental services of the papistic Church, *the singing of the choir* plays an important role in its obligatory representation of the congregation, and is more or less polyphonic singing [*Kunstgesang*] as well. Accordingly, although the active cooperation of the congregation, specifically in the hymn, constitutes an important component of the Lutheran Chief Divine Service, it in no way suggests that choir song is to be replaced by it. Polyphonic music was also to continue to be used in service to the sacred, and employed for the multiplication and enrichment of the liturgical part of the Divine Service, for the enhancement of the festival observance, and for edification generally.

As proof that Luther still strove for something more for church singing than its confinement to congregational hymnody, we include the following passage from his writings, also cited by E. Naumann in his *Illustrierte Musikgeschichte* [Illustrated History of Music]. We hear Luther say:

But when natural music is sharpened and polished by artistic skill, only then is the great wisdom of God seen and recognized in His wonderful work of music, in which the most amazing and bewildering thing is that one voice sings a simple tune or tenor line, while three, four, or five other parts <30> are also sung, playing and leaping around that simple, straightforward melody or tenor line as it were with shouts of joy, marvelously adorning and beautifying the melody with various characters and sounds, as if conducting a heavenly dance. They meet each other tenderly and hug and embrace sweetly, so that those who understand it a little and are moved by it are greatly astounded and think that there is nothing so amazing in the

world as such a song adorned with many voices. But those who are not stirred by it are indeed very boorish asses" (Walch 14:411.).⁷⁶

The ideal which he here envisioned he found realized especially in the compositions of the Netherlander Josquin [de Prez], as well as in the motets of the Bavarian chapel director [Ludwig] Senfl, whom he counted as a friend and for whom he held the highest regard. On a December evening in 1539, as he was entertaining some singers, upon quitting the table they sang him "several sublime and lovely motets" of Senfl's, and he exclaimed with warm words: "I could never dream of making such a motet even if I tore myself to pieces!"⁷⁷

Although the compositions of *Gallus* (d. 1591), *Haßler* (d. 1612), and others show that in the Lutheran Church, *adult male choirs* were sometimes used, yet the most preferred and most frequently used was the *mixed choir*. Since it unites within it the two chief classes of voice and allows the voices a much greater range than the adult male choir, the mixed choir is also undeniably the consummate form of choir. For the Discant and Alto, however, boys' voices were formerly employed through the Latin schools. *Not until the Christmas festival of 1715 did the first instance of using female voices in the mixed church choir occur, when the Hamburg conductor* ^{<31>} *Mattheson had three female opera singers (!) appear in the church.* It is for this reason an unsettled question even today whether the mixed church choir should consist only of *men* and *boys* or whether *women* may also be permitted. Perhaps Palmer hit upon the correct answer here when he states (in Herzog, *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v., "Gesang," 106f.):

The woman must be silent in the congregation where liturgical and homiletical action is concerned; but in the domain of music, woman, too, is endowed with a spiritual gift [*charisma*] deserving of a place that is not constrained. Yet it must be admitted that, if the choir has stalls in a part of the church which gives them a preferen-

⁷⁶ Cf. Luther, "Preface to Georg Rhau's *Symphoniae Jucundae*" (1538), AE 53:324. —MC.

⁷⁷ *) Incidentally, in the *Encyclopädie der gesamten musikalischen Wissenschaften* [Encyclopedia of All Musical Sciences] by Dr. Gustav Schilling, the following can be read: "It is known that, in addition to many fine melodies, especially for his own chorales, Luther also wrote a number of motets. The library in Munich still houses a collection of his motets, titled *Symphoniae jucundae 4. vocum seu Motettæ 52, cum præfatione Mart. Lutheri* (Wittenberg, 1535). Handel, who in fact studied all the extant works, is supposed to have remarked that he was indebted to this study for the best of his work. Luther's free mind first broke the fetters of the canonic which came from the Netherlands at that time and was the dominant musical style even in Italy. His friends Walther, Senfl, and Agricola assisted him honorably and faithfully in this endeavor. The first aesthetic glimmer that issued from him had a powerful effect on the Church, and eventually taking on the form of a universally warming glow, was transferred to the great wide realm of music."

tial appearance in the sight of all, then for other, greater reasons the upper voices are better represented by boys. The aesthetic or musical consideration can more readily submit to this ethical consideration when, with careful selection and attention, the boy's voice possesses its proper beauty and is able to render exceptional service.

Since the area in our local churches usually does not afford an appropriate place for most of the choir to stand, and choir rehearsals can normally be undertaken only at night-time, it would be all the more desirable from the ethical perspective if in our churches' mixed choirs the upper voices might again be assigned to boys exclusively. Would it not be possible, especially in our city schools, to assemble a group of boys with a gifted voice, and gradually to prepare them to be proper choristers? And since people are justly pleased to hear children's voices in the congregations, would it really be so hard to motivate the congregation, or a number of its members, to have a small compensation given to the "choir students" from time to time as an encouragement to them? Then there would again be something of the Ancient Church institution of the *Kurrende* [children's choir], to which Luther also belonged and which he praised, and which was highly regarded, especially in the Lutheran Church, and was maintained for the blessing of church and school, and which Rationalism and its efforts to emancipate church and school increasingly pushed to the periphery. Marquardt, a pedagogue in Berlin who has done much for reclaiming the student choir and *Kurrende*, argues justly: "A well organized and nurtured choir program which assists the Church in every expression of her life is not only possible and without detriment to the purposes of schooling, but gives the whole school a greater pulse from the foundation up, which exponentially increases the school's ability to educate." ^{<32>} (*Halleluja, Zeitschrift für geistliche Musik* 4, no. 17 (1884): 195).⁷⁸

Now concerning the *purpose* of choral singing and its proper *significance* in the Lutheran Divine Service, we have no universally accepted idea which we might be able to follow. For this reason various opinions hold sway. When the introduction of German congregational singing faced great difficulties because of the initial inexperience of the congregation, the choir was required to sing the congregation's hymns to the people so that they could learn them by hearing and repetition, on which account Luther notes in the *Enchiridion* (1524), the first Lutheran hymnal: "... in order that

⁷⁸ *) Also in the high church segment of the Episcopal Church in this country there has already been a movement to give preference in the church choir to boys' voices again, and with admirable results. [The full title of this journal is *Halleluja; Zeitschrift für geistliche Musik in Kirche, Haus, Verein und Schule, zugleich Organ des Evangel. Kirchengesangsvereins für Deutschland*, published in Hildburghausen, Gadow, Quedlinburg. —MC.]

the common Christian household may in time learn to grasp what is done by the congregation in singing and reading.” Yet in the enthusiasm for the reappearance of the Gospel in those days, the people quickly caught on and only needed to be *led* and supported by the choir. However, since the choir in the Divine Service distinguishes itself from the congregation through sacred polyphony, according to Schöberlein and other recent liturgical scholars, “the choir represents the Church per se, the ideal congregation, the universal Church in contrast to the local congregation.” The reasoning for this goes: “What is more natural than that the local congregation, when it gathers for worship, should feel like a member of the universal Church, to which its prayers and songs make explicit reference, and that it should therefore desire to hear the voice of the Church singing with it as it sings? Clearly, this represents an ideal element within the actual assembled congregation. For this reason the choir is to use the ideal form of polyphonic singing.” But it is because of this concept of the “universal Church” and “ideal congregation” that we for our part side more with Hommel in the *practical* interpretation of what the choir signifies, and view it as a part of the congregation serving the Church with its gift [*charisma*]. Hommel says, namely:

The *practical* interpretation of the subject is probably the best in this case as well. In no way can it (the choir) be regarded as the representative of the congregation or the mediator between clergy and congregation. But if, according to the apostolic saying [1 Peter 4:10; Romans 12:6–7], everyone is to serve the Lord with his gifts, it must be asked why those <33> who are more gifted than others in singing should not exercise this gift in the Divine Services of the church. As the Christian congregation offers up to the Lord all that it has and does, so it offers up to Him the gifts of singing which are in its midst, thereby sanctifying it. And as the idea of offering stirs up diligence in every part of the congregation to come before the Lord with the best gifts and talents, so the congregation will eagerly employ its most beautiful abilities in the offering of singing. These are the beautiful acts of service to the Lord—beautiful, lovely, and of various kinds in form as well as in relation to the spirit from which it all proceeds. Thus for the sake of a pleasing variety, a part of the congregation is allowed to step forward now and then and present its offerings in the public Divine Service, with the living participation of the others in spirit, especially to add greater glory to festivals.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ Hommel, xi. —MC.

This interpretation of choral singing is surely also in view when venerable Dannhauer writes in his *Katechismus-Milch* [Catechism Milk]: “Singing with voices and thus praising God, whether it is done *choraliter* or *figuraliter*—with plainsong or polyphony—is for us a matter not of freedom but of obligation, since God has commanded, ‘You shall not misuse My name; therefore, you are to use it rightly, and so even the voices of Discant, Alto, Tenor, and Bass can use it to honor Me.’”⁸⁰ Yet Hommel is right to conclude, “The choir should never sing unless the congregation is acquainted with the text.”⁸¹ For this very reason it is necessary for the choir director to train the singers to enunciate clearly, and it is not necessary for a new thing to be sung every time. *Good pieces that have been sung several times are performed better every time and become more and more familiar to the congregation, both of which serve all the more for edification.*

Accordingly, if the former is the *purpose* of the church’s choral singing and the latter is the *significance* of it, its place in the liturgy must reflect both.

By necessity it could never be superfluous in its position *as leader and supporter of congregational singing*. Not only is the number of the melodies familiar to the congregation relatively small, and the choir’s assistance necessary to increase it; and not only does rhythmic singing first need to be introduced to a great many congregations, <34> for which the support of the choir is also required; but the choir can also be useful in maintaining rhythmic singing, since in their apathy toward spiritual things people approach rhythmic singing too lightly, and too easily revert to their former laziness when singing spiritual songs, while in singing secular folk songs they always pay close attention to time and rhythm.

Yet while choral singing is to occupy an *independent* position in the Divine Service in accordance with its significance indicated above, this should not be an *isolated* position, if the choir is to serve rightly in edifying the congregation and do its part in truly beautifying the Divine Service. The music which it performs must thus be *integrated* as closely as possible with the actions of the liturgist and the congregation so that choral singing does not appear as a performance or assume the character of a religious concert—which it certainly should **not**. Experts in the field today also put great stress on this. For example, Otto Kade, music director and publisher of the *Luther-Codex*, reports concerning the grand-ducal palace choir in Schwerin (which he currently conducts with mastery and great expertise, including liturgical): “The purely external position, directed almost solely

⁸⁰ Johann Conrad Dannhauer, *Catechismus Milch, oder der Erklärung deß Christlichen Catechismi*, 10 vols. (Straßburg: Friderich Spoor, 1642–78), 1:521. —MC.

⁸¹ Hommel, xii. —MC.

toward the delivery of religious concert pieces and having absolutely no, or a very loose, relation to the liturgy itself, has been transformed into one which is organically and closely linked with the course of the religious ceremony and integrally entwined with it, achieving the most intimate connection between liturgist, congregation, and choir.” (*Halleluja* 5, no. 8 (1885): 102.) So too, Dr. G. Herzog (Professor of music in Erlangen): “Choral singing will only fulfill its true purpose when the songs to be selected occupy a close relationship with the Divine Service and are thus organically incorporated into it, have the character of true church liturgy, and are widely understood.”⁸² This is augmented also by the following words of Johannes Zahn, the director of the Schoolteacher’s Training College in Altdorf and authority on sacred music, words worthy to be taken to heart: “Choral singing must, with respect to its delivery, be able to serve as a model for the congregation. Therefore the director has to make every effort to enable the members of the choir to execute as perfectly as possible the choir pieces to be performed, for which reason he *should, above all, select only* such compositions as do not exceed the ability of the choir to perform them. <35> He should also regard it as more commendable to perform an easy composition well than a difficult one deficiently” (*Handbüchlein . . .*).⁸³

The choir, being organically integrated, may work together with the liturgist and congregation in the Chief Divine Service in the following manner:

1. It assumes those parts of the liturgy which would give the congregation more or less difficulty to perform musically. These would include the *Introits* in the psalm tone, in their original forms or in figural form; likewise the beautiful versified *Festival Kyries*.

2. If on High Festivals the original form of the Gloria is used instead of “Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr” [“All Glory Be to God on High”] it might be done as follows. After the liturgist intones: “Glory be to God on high!” and the congregation with the choir has sung: “And on earth peace, good will toward men,” the choir then continues: “We praise Thee, we bless Thee, we worship Thee, we glorify Thee,” etc., and the congregation could participate in the “Amen.” The Gloria with the “Et in terra” and “Laudamus” are located below in Part Two of this work [pp. 53 ff.].

3. In antiphonal singing, the choir intones and the congregation responds, as for instance in the Double Kyrie (also included in Part Two below), for example, Choir: “Kyrie eleison.” Congregation: “Lord, have mercy.” Choir: “Kyrie eleison.” Congregation: “Christ, have mercy.” Choir:

⁸² Johann Georg Herzog, *Musikalischer Anhang zur Agende für die evangelisch-lutherische Kirche in Bayern*. (Erlangen: Deichert, 1883), Preface, vii. —MC.

⁸³ Zahn, 140. —MC.

“Kyrie eleison.” Congregation: “Lord, have mercy upon us.” This especially applies to the *Te Deum*.⁸⁴ The choir, in four voices and without organ accompaniment, would intone: “Lord God, Thy praise we sing,” the congregation, with organ accompaniment, would respond: “Lord God, our thanks we bring.” The choir: “Father in eternity.” Congregation: “All the world doth worship Thee,” etc. (Yet if there is a desire to accompany the choir with the organ, somewhat softer registration should be used for it.)

4. For pleasing variety in congregational singing (Psalm 147:7),⁸⁵ the choir, at a fitting point, performs a special polyphonic selection relating to the season or festival (more details on this in Part Two below). In the same way, on occasions when Communion [Distribution] takes more time, pleasant alternation may also take place between choral and congregational singing by having an anthem or other piece relating to Communion performed between two Communion hymns or between two parts of one lengthier Communion hymn. This would be more conducive to edification than if the organist, fearing that the Communion hymn might end too soon during the Distribution, <36> should, between stanzas, play interludes longer than the hymn’s stanzas themselves, the end of which the congregation would await with increasing impatience.

In this discussion of the place and use of choral singing we have had before our eyes the example of the Church as we have found it not only in orthodox agendas but also in those contemporaneous collections which contained the material for choral singing, such as Johann Spangenberg’s *Kirchengesänge* (1545), the *Psalmodia sacra* of Lucas Lossius (1553), the Wittenberger *Kirchengesänge* of Johann Keuchenthal (1573), the *Missodia* etc., of Michael Prätorius (1611), and so on.

A further point on the history of choral singing. In the post-Reformation period, there was a particular fondness for setting Lutheran chorales in motet-style arrangements for use as special polyphonic pieces. The greatest achievements in this endeavor were made by the electoral chaplain Johann Eccard (d. 1611), a student of Orlando di Lasso. Later, other texts were also chosen for the choir: first, passages of Scripture, then newly written works. Yet gradually the churchly Lutheran model was abandoned in those forms. This occurred through solo arias, through different types of polyphonic singing in dramatic dialog, through the instrumental music which was supposed to accompany choral singing but increasingly came to share the

⁸⁴ See Luther’s versified adaptation of the *Te Deum*. WA 35:521–24; Wackernagel 3:19, no. 31; Cf. Luther, “The *Te Deum*” (1529?), AE 53:173ff. —MC.

⁸⁵ In Luther’s translation (1545) this verse reads: “Sing back and forth [*umb einander*] unto the Lord. . . .” WA Deutsche Bibel 10:581. —MC.

stage with it. Eventually, the influences of secular music, developing with imposing force in opera and chamber music, were indulged with greater and greater abandon, although [Johann] Sebastian Bach, by earnestly cultivating the chorale and the sacred character of his cantatas and passions, certainly sought to stem the tide of secularization in church music. Yet even he, still the unrivaled master in his field, no longer represents the full strength of churchly style.

Now, the choral singing in our country leaves a great deal to be desired, however much it is nurtured in many places. Its renditions are still more *concert-like* performances, and performances chiefly of modern origin at that. Therefore, if we want above all to try to regain the purpose, significance, and place of the choir—then away with the greater part of modern choir piece collections, and let us go back not merely to Bach but to the classical period of church music! Dr. Schöberlein says aptly:

The Church has her own style in singing no less than hymnody. Though she knows the extremes of sacred sorrow and joy, yea, of jubilation in the upper choir, yet in her these extremes are contained within the bounds of chaste moderation, <37> and over all the sensations of repentance and praise so vivacious and profound, the blessed calm of God's peace reigns supreme. The harmonies, too, are free from mushy sentimentality and violent transitions; clear and pure, calm and noble their course proceeds, and thereby transports the hearers out of the sphere of subjective, worldly sensations into the realm of the sacred. The classical period for this churchly kind of singing is that of the sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century, for in this period faith, a holy sense of community, and strict artistic form were present and pervasive. It is therefore preferable to select church music from this period. And even though the style of that period may at first seem more foreign to our musical feeling and consciousness, the relationship is no different from that which we enjoy with the hymns of the same period, which nevertheless satisfy the true needs of the congregation's faith more than the modern ones do.⁸⁶

The same applies here to the melodies of Reformation hymns, or even the writings of Luther. At first they have little appeal, and then the longer we taste them, the better they are. If only the leaders of our church choirs would therefore try first by thorough study of older church music to develop a sense of what is genuinely churchly! Here we call attention to Dr. *Schöberlein's* three-volume work *Schatz des liturgischen Chor- und Gemeindegesangs* [Treasury of Litur-

⁸⁶ Schoeberlein, 1:9. —MC.

gical Choir and Congregational Song], or to its abridgment, *Musica sacra*,⁸⁷ since for most people the former would be too costly.⁸⁸ Noteworthy progress in the return to the classical church music of the <38> Lutheran Church was also made in this connection by Endlich's choir and chorale book,⁸⁹ which is the musical appendix to the *Kirchenbuch* of the General Council.⁹⁰ Within the Missouri Synod, too, the recovery of musical forms has been encouraged and initiated. Here one may mention, among others, the little collection of old and new Christmas songs published in 1884 by the teacher Hermann Ilse.⁹¹ The author of the present liturgical work cannot forbear to add to his own words the following from the preface to this collection:

Certainly many who have been occupied exclusively with modern music will require time and effort to accustom themselves to the style present in these older settings. It will be found helpful to this end if the individual voices are first sung properly at the piano and afterwards heard together as a whole. While much of the newer material can be understood by every hearer and is almost impossible

⁸⁷ Lochner is likely referencing this or an earlier edition of Ludwig Schoeberlein, ed., *Musica sacra: für Kirchenchöre, höhere Lehranstalten etc.*, 4th ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1895). —MC.

⁸⁸ *) The *Cantionale für die Landeskirchen des Großherzogthums Mecklenburg-Schwerin* [Cantional for the State Churches of the Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin], published by order of the sainted Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, must be a masterful work and rich treasure. The journal *Halleluja* reports the following: "It was to contain all the liturgical material for Sundays and feast-days as well as for occasional services and weekday Divine Services, such as Matins, Vespers, baptisms, weddings, funerals, etc. In 1862, his royal highness the Grand Duke therefore established a committee of six specialists: the senior church councilor Dr. Kliefoth as president; church councilor Dr. Maßmann, pastor in Wismar; church councilor Dr. Wöhler, pastor in Lichtenhagen; music director Pitschner at the seminary in Neukloster; music director Dr. von Roda at the University of Rostock . . . and music director Kade, director of the Grand Ducal Palace Choir in Schwerin. Kade was also tasked with the composition of the musical apparatus and the artistic elaboration of the polyphonic settings." Since this extraordinary cantional was not available from the bookseller until just a few years ago, the publisher of *Siona*, Ph. Herold in Schwabach, succeeded in obtaining the permission for an excerpt from it. This was put out under the auspices of C. Bertelsmann in Gütersloh with the title: "Der Hauptgottesdienst des Osterfestes und der österlichen Zeit. Liturgisch-musikalischer Auszug aus dem neuen Mecklenburgischen Cationale. Herausgegeben von M. Herold." [The Chief Divine Service of the Festival of Easter and Eastertide. Liturgical-musical Excerpt from the New Mecklenburg Cantional. Edited by M. Herold].

⁸⁹ *) Johann Endlich, ed., *Choralbuch mit Liturgie und Chorgesängen zum Kirchenbuch der Allgemeinen Kirchenversammlung* (Philadelphia: J. Kohler [1879]).

⁹⁰ *Kirchenbuch für evangelisch-lutherische Gemeinden* (Reading: Caxton, 1877). —MC.

⁹¹ *) Hermann Ilse, ed., *XIV alte und neue Weihnachtsgesänge für gemischte Kirchenchöre* (Brooklyn, 1884).

for any group of singers to spoil, most of the older pieces will only be as good as the singer's ability. Regardless of the great simplicity which is characteristic of them, they are intended to be sung in a very pure manner; and, in order to be truly understood and valued, they presuppose profound immersion into the spirit of these works, which will always demand the earnestness of a Christian disposition. Little store can be set by the excuse of so many who claim that people no longer understand this kind of music. Practical experience shows that, over time, congregations can be groomed to better material; and that, on the other hand, when people have lost the taste for what is sound, no one is to blame but the musician himself.

(b) Concerning the organ and its use in the Divine Service, Luther naturally found it also present, and it would seem strange if he had excluded it from the holy place when he himself wished to see music—as art generally—put in the service of the Most High. Moreover, no instrument is so suitably and exclusively used in worship as the organ, that queen among musical instruments! While in the iconoclastic zeal of the Reformed party, organs are also known to have been destroyed; in fact, even at the Council of Trent, as a result of the <39> growing misuse of the organ for profane music which distracted from devotion, the abolishing of the organ was seriously contemplated in the papistic camp; yet in the orthodox Church it not only remained in uncontested use, but also experienced dramatic development, and found in [Johann] Sebastian Bach its still unrivaled master, even to this day, in terms of church style and performance. Thus we find that even the earlier church orders provide prescriptions for worthy organ playing.

In the Divine Service of the orthodox Church, congregational singing is accompanied and led by the organ. This has constituted its most important usage from the beginning. With respect to the harmony, however, one should keep to the older setting and not that of Master Bach, since because of its richness and independent treatment of voices, though tremendously appropriate for church polyphony, and in our view unsurpassed, it is not suited for the people's singing. Concerning organ accompaniment of liturgical singing, the necessary points will be made in their place. But on the question whether choral singing should be accompanied by the organ, Dr. J. G. Herzog remarks:

Whether the organ should provide accompaniment or a *cappella* singing should be preferred in the evangelical *cultus* can be answered only thus: that both types are permissible according to the form of the Divine Service and the character of the composition, as well as abilities of those performing them, if we do not wish to give up a good

percentage of the extant treasury of church music. It is not the organ accompaniment as a mediator between choir and congregation which justifies it, as many suppose, but the intimate relationship which it has with the Divine Service generally. I cannot deny that I perceive in *a cappella* singing an especially appropriate means for awakening religious devotion. In its pure, unmediated operation on the spirit, in the pristine emerging and entwining of the different vocal characters, it forms at once a richly varied contrast to accompanied congregational singing. Nothing stirs human beings so deeply as a cleanly executed piece of polyphonic singing free from accompaniment. Anyone who has ever witnessed the performance of the Bach [St. Matthew] passion will never in his life forget the amazing effect of the chorale "Wenn ich einmal soll scheiden" ["When I Shall Depart One Day"]. In liturgical worship services it [*a cappella* singing] occupies a place of special preference." (*Halleluja* 4, no. 9 (1884): 104. <40>

Yet the organ also appears *independently* in the Divine Service when it uses preludes and postludes to make musical *introductions* and *conclusions*, and interludes to *connect* liturgical ceremonies musically. And here everyone who has discernment and churchly taste must certainly join Dr. Herzog in the wish "that our church organ music, when playing independently in preludes and postludes, might increasingly reclaim the spirit of Bach and be freed from the popular style with its secular sweetness found in so many newer organ compositions, particularly in the organ sonatas which have come into fashion these days."

The *introductory prelude* must take into account the character of the Sunday or feast. Just as the bells cry, as it were, "Serve the Lord with gladness, come before His presence with singing" (Psalm 100:2), this prelude is to put the assembling congregation in the mood to say with Psalm 95: "Oh come, let us sing to the Lord; let us make a joyful noise to the rock of our salvation! Let us come into His presence with thanksgiving; let us make a joyful noise to Him with songs of praise! For the Lord is a great God, and a great King above all gods. Oh come, let us worship and bow down; let us kneel before the Lord, our Maker! For He is our God, and we are the people of His pasture, and the sheep of His hand" (vv. 1–3, 6–7). But of this prelude leading into the Divine Service, the Prelude proper, more shall be said in Part Two in the discussion of the Introit.

As for the prelude, so for the *postlude*. It is not to be treated by the organist and regarded by the congregation as merely an afterthought to be endured or as a sort of concert. Rather, its purpose is to bring the Divine Service to a fitting conclusion, as an echo of the ideas and sentiments which have been received.

The *interlude* forms a musical connection between liturgical ceremonies. This includes not only the traditional interludes played between individual hymn stanzas sung by the congregation, and the interlude that leads the transition from congregational to liturgical singing, indicating the tone for the liturgist, but also the preludes to the intermediate hymns, to the hymns within the Divine Service generally, and therefore also to the so-called Chief Hymn [Hymn of the Day]. Yet what liturgical ignorance often appears in this or that place—to say nothing of the carelessness with which many organists perform the office entrusted to them for the edification of the congregation! How long these interludes often are, including those between hymn stanzas, and even the one from the church Benediction to the closing stanza! How bored <41> the congregation becomes, waiting wearily for the singing to start. And even when the organist is not incompetent, but a master—how the liturgical chain is broken and how the whole liturgy is lost by all manner of lengthy interludes, whereas everything in the liturgy should follow one after another at a lively pace! And how needlessly prolonged the Divine Service is! If there is any notion that the liturgy must be abbreviated, let people first see whether an abbreviation of the organ music could or should be undertaken. Therefore, just as the collective interlude music should be worthy and fitting, let it also be brief. Let the so-called “hymn preludes,” including that for the Chief Hymn, be *brief*; and the music between hymn stanzas even *more brief*; and the music for the intonation of the liturgist, from the Benediction to the closing stanza—and to the Creed (when there is no intonation)—*briefest of all*.

§ 7. PLACE OF WORD AND SACRAMENT IN THE GENUINELY LUTHERAN CHIEF DIVINE SERVICE. ITS ORGANIZATION AND PROGRESSION. DEVIATION OF ORTHODOX CHURCHES FROM THE NORMAL FORM IN CHRISTIAN FREEDOM

In his “Treatise on the New Testament” (1520), Luther says, “In these passages (namely Luke 22:19, 1 Corinthians 11:26, Psalm 102:22–23, Psalm 111:4–5) you see how the Mass was instituted to preach and praise Christ and to glorify His Passion and all His grace and goodness, that we might be moved to love, hope, and believe in Him, **and so upon the same Word or preaching receive a physical sign, that is, the Sacrament, as well**, that by it our faith might be equipped, confirmed, and strengthened with divine Words and signs in opposition to all sin, suffering, death, and hell, and all that is against us. And if that preaching were not to be, he never would

have instituted the Mass (Supper). He was more concerned with the Word than the sign" (EA 27:167ff.).⁹² The Mass is to be "the use and employment of the Gospel and distribution of the Sacrament" (*Formula Missae*) [cf. AE 53:25]; "everything done among Christians in the Divine Service" was to be "for the sake of the Word and Sacrament" (*Deutsche Messe*) [AE 53:90]. Thus the guiding idea of the Chief Divine Service, in such structure as we have now received it through Luther from Christian antiquity, is the Word of grace in preaching and Sacrament, and the same cannot be a coincidental conglomeration (a heap). It must be an ordered and organized whole both spiritually and psychologically. <42> If Word and Sacrament designate the order of salvation, should these then not have in turn designated the shape of the Divine Service to thoughtful antiquity? When, for example, we begin with the Kyrie and this is immediately followed by the Gloria, does this not suggest that in this succession of the first and second elements there is a train of thought moving upward? In accordance with the interpretation given by Löhe in the preface to the first edition of his Agenda, the present author sought in 1862, in "Referat über die rechte Mitte der lutherischen Liturgie" [Address on the Correct Center of the Lutheran Liturgy] to clarify this train of thought briefly (*Lehre und Wehre* 8 (1862): 205–6), emphasizing, however, that the Chief Divine Service finds its ultimate goal and keystone in the Supper *only insofar as the Sacrament is the seal of the Word*. Since no other interpretation has proposed itself to him since then, let this attempt at an interpretation stand here.

After the Introit has introduced the Divine Service, indicating the character of the Sunday or feast, the assembled congregation next humbles itself before God in the Kyrie as in a common confession of all the tragedy which Adam's fall has brought us, but ascends in remembrance of the birth of the promised Savior, the incarnation of the eternal Word, which took place on the holy feast of Christmas, up to the angelic Gloria ("Glory be to God on high," etc., and "All Glory Be to God on High")⁹³ and breaks forth in lofty adoration of the Three in One ("We praise Thee, we bless Thee, we worship Thee," etc., or "We praise, we worship Thee, we trust," etc.)⁹⁴ From the Hymn of Praise the congregation proceeds to prayer in the Collect, in which the desire, according to the character of the Sunday or feast, ignites in one brilliant thought. *And now the Lord comes to them in the Word*. In the Epistle, which contains chiefly doctrine and admonition, He speaks

⁹² Cf. Luther, "Treatise on the New Testament" (1520), AE 35:105ff. —MC.

⁹³ "Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr," the versified Gloria in Excelsis by Nicolaus Decius (1525), Wackernagel 3:555f., nos. 615f. See *LSB* 947. —MC.

⁹⁴ See the second line of Decius' hymn. —MC.

by the mouth of the apostles; in the Gospel of the day, which is largely proclamation of the pertinent salvation-event or one of the Lord's miracles, the *ipsissima verba* [very words themselves] are also mostly perceived at the same time. The congregation responds to the Epistle with praise of the Most High in the form of the Chief Hymn, in many places with an Alleluia preceding, while its response to the Gospel (or to both lessons collectively) is a bold and vigorous Confession of Faith, the Credo ("We All Believe in One True God," or on feasts the Nicene, Apostolic Creed). At this point they sit with Mary at the Lord's feet and rest, that they may receive in the Sermon the prophecy which accords with the faith [*or the Creed*] for the fostering of their inner life. This then leads immediately to the Church's public Confession of sins <43> and the Absolution (wherever this follows the sermon) as an exercise and application of the Law and Gospel which have just been heard. Enriched by the Word and filled with comfort and joy, they cause their communal concerns in petition, prayer, and intercession to be brought before God in the *General Prayer of the Church*, in the special *intercessions* and *thanksgivings*, and in the holy *Our Father*, which are then followed by the Thanksgiving in the Preface.

Thus prepared for the sealing of the grace received through the Word and for union with the Lord in the Sacrament of His body and blood, they approach the altar, having already brought the offering of the repentant heart in the evangelical *Offertory* through the *Psalmody*: "Create in me a clean heart, O God" from Psalm 51, and simultaneously through the *gathering of the offering*, wherever it is customary at this point, and the thank-offering of love in voluntary contributions for the charity fund, for missions, for schools, and the like. The Preface now beginning is, in name, an introduction to the Consecration, in content, the aforesaid thanksgiving in the most exalted form (Eucharist); and then, in the Sanctus, the "Thrice Holy" with Benedictus, it becomes the adoration of Him "that cometh in the name of the Lord" with His body and blood in the most worthy Sacrament. In the Our Father—here and there preceded by an Exhortation to Communion—together with the Words of the Testament, the Consecration is completed, and after the congregation in the Agnus Dei ("O Christ, Thou Lamb of God") has eminently proclaimed the Lord's death with one accord, and in the Salutation of Peace [*or the Peace or Pax*], wherever this is still practiced, received once more the assurance of God's grace and His good will, then the Distribution and reception of the Sacrament through the pastor follows, accompanied by the singing of the Communion hymn by all who are gathered and with the confession of the true presence of the body and blood of Christ (distribution formula). In many liturgies, when the Distribution is concluded, it is followed by the admirable practice of

singing the Canticle of Simeon, the Nunc Dimittis: “Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace,” or “In Peace and Joy I Now Depart”⁹⁵—for what more can be desired in the valley of sorrow of powers of the world to come, than the reception of Christ’s body and blood for the forgiveness of sins, for life, for salvation, and when could the longing to see the Lord face to face and to dwell with Him be greater than at that point where He draws so near to us? The conclusion of the <44> Divine Service, having now reached its climax hereby, is formed by the Collect of Thanksgiving, which is simultaneously a prayer for the blessing and fruit of the Sacrament, together with the Aaronic Benediction, as a “confirming and sealing of all the gifts of grace received in the Word and Sacrament, by one last impartation of grace”⁹⁶ from the Triune God, who in the many gives the one, and in the one gives the many.

Now as to interpreting the progression of the liturgy in the Chief Divine Service—it is certain at least that there is no form and manner so beautiful and gracious and so reflective of and conducive to the pure Word and Sacrament as the Mass purified by Luther. Since it has such a “noble pedigree,” descending as it does from Christian antiquity, it is equally deserving of that which Dr. Guericke says in his *Kirchengeschichte* [Church History] concerning the explicit liturgy of the Chief Divine Service of the Ancient Church; namely: “. . . the purpose of which was to propound in a truly visual way to the consciousness of the communicants the divine and the divine-human communion of life of the faithful with Christ reciprocally, by means of communal, real participation in Christ’s holy body and blood” (5th ed., 1:313–14).⁹⁷ The more this form and order is used and the more familiar it becomes, the more one must agree with Luther when he cries out enthusiastically in his “The Private Mass and the Consecration of Priests” (1533):

God be praised, in our churches we can show a Christian a truly Christian Mass according to Christ’s ordinance and institution, and according to the true intention of Christ and of the Church! The altar is approached by our pastor, bishop, or minister in the parochial office, who has been rightly and properly and publicly called (after having first been consecrated, anointed, and born as Christ’s priest in Baptism, without regard to private chrismation). He publicly and plainly

⁹⁵ See Luther’s versification, “Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin,” Wackernagel 3:17, no. 25; *LSB* 938. —MC.

⁹⁶ Uncited source, ultimately from Karl Friedrich Gaupp, *Praktische Theologie*, vol. 1: *Die Liturgik* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1848), 1:294. —MC.

⁹⁷ Heinrich Ernst Ferdinand Guericke, *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, 5th ed., 2 vols. (Halle: Gebauersche Buchhandlung, 1843). —MC.

chants the Ordinance of Christ instituted in the Supper, takes the bread and wine, gives thanks, distributes it and gives it by virtue of Christ's Words (this is My body, this is My blood. This do, etc.) to us who are present and wish to receive it. And we, in particular those of us who wish to take the Sacrament, kneel beside, behind, and around him—man, woman, young, old, master, manservant, mistress, maidservant, parents, children, even as God brings us all together there, all true holy fellow-priests sanctified by Christ's blood and anointed and consecrated by the Holy Spirit in Baptism. And in this our inborn, hereditary priestly dignity and adornment we are present, have (as depicted in Revelation 4) <45> our crowns of gold on our heads, harps in the hand, and censers of gold, and do not cause our pastor to speak the Ordinance of Christ as for his own self, but he is the mouth of us all, and we all speak them with him from our heart and with faith lifted up to the Lamb of God, who is before and with us, and feeds us according to His Ordinance with His body and blood. This is our Mass, and the true Mass, which we are not lacking.

For here, first of all, everything goes according to the ordinance and command of Christ, so that it is administered and given to the Church under both forms through the words of Christ: "Take, eat, this is My body, etc. This do in remembrance of Me." The pastor does not receive it for himself alone, as the abomination of the pope does, nor does he offer it to God for our sins and all manner of distress, as in the abomination of the pope. He does not grant it to us or sell it to us as a good work to appease God, as in the abomination of the pope, so that a blasphemous market-fair has been made of it. Rather, he serves it to us for the comfort and strengthening of our faith. Here Christ is preached and proclaimed. Here there can be no covetousness or idolatry. Here we assuredly have the intention of Christ and of the Church. Here we need not worry whether the pastor speaks the words secretly or if he effects a change, or if he even believes; for we hear the Words of the Institution openly and speak them in our heart with him, and Christ's institution (not our doing, nor chrisim) effects a change and gives us the body and blood of Christ. If the pastor disbelieves or doubts, yet we believe; if he stumbles over the words or begins to stray and forgets if he has spoken the words, yet we are present and listen and firmly believe and are sure that they have been spoken. Therefore we cannot be deceived. And because the ordinance and true faith are present, it must be certain that we receive the true body and blood of Christ. And thanks and praise be

to God that I have lived to see the true Christian Mass and the pure, Christian use of the Holy Sacrament. I see it with delight and joy in my heart after the abominable, detestable abuse which, alas, I helped to perpetrate so many years under the abomination of the pope (EA 31:370–72).⁹⁸

Of course the Lutheran congregations of south and southwest Germany, for the most part, adhered far less to Luther's precedent in his liturgical writings. They not only went their own peculiar way and departed substantially in liturgical matters from Luther and the rite that was becoming dominant, but, while clinging firmly to the unity in the Spirit and the doctrine of Luther, yet in formal matters yielded more or less to <46> the Reformed rite in the neighboring lands, Switzerland and France. Thus not only did [Ambrosius] Blarer, in the reformation of Württemberg, exclude from the first church order of 1536 everything in the *cultus* (with the exception of the pericopes) that was reminiscent of the Mass, but E. Schnepf and Erasmus Alber themselves gave to the Divine Service a simplicity far more Reformed than Lutheran.⁹⁹ For example, the chanting of the Words of Institution, the whole Altar service outside of Communion, all eucharistic vestments, and initially even the use of the *Chorhemd*, were abolished by these faithful Lutherans. And Brenz, who with Osiander had put the finishing touches on the Nürnberg church order with its rich liturgy, when treating the Chief Divine Service in his Württemberg church order of 1553, gave it a form which could probably not have been more sparse; namely: Latin *Introitus* or a German spiritual hymn, then a sermon and, if there is no Communion—which was offered only once a month—a hymn and benediction. Or note what a simple, sparse, and rag-tag order the Chief Divine Service of Worms (1582) was: Litany by the choir, three collects from the pulpit, a congregational hymn: “To God the Holy Spirit Let Us Pray” or a festival hymn, Sermon, Prayer of the Church, Our Father, Exhortation, public Confession and Absolution, another Exhortation, Consecration, Distribution, Prayer, Benediction. Yet even Luther did not wish to see his order of Divine Service regarded and established in any way as a law for others. And note with what vigor the whole orthodox Church explains in Article VII of its chief Confession, the Augustana: “To the true unity of the Christian Church *it is enough* [*satis est*] that the Gospel is preached according to the pure sense, and the Sacraments administered according to the Word of God. *Nor is it necessary to the true unity of the Christian Church that like ceremonies, instituted*

⁹⁸ Cf. Luther, “The Private Mass and the Consecration of Priests” (1530), AE 38:208–9. —MC.

⁹⁹ Erhard Schnepf (1495–1558) was dismissed in 1548 for opposing the Augsburg Interim. Erasmus Alber (d. 1553) wrote a number of core Lutheran hymns. —MC.

by men, should be observed everywhere. As Paul says (Ephesians 4 [:4–5]): “One body, one Spirit, even as you were called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one Baptism.”

At the same time, our present concern is the *genuinely* Lutheran Chief Divine Service, in which the good forms and rites deriving from the Ancient Church, or even those belonging to later times yet agreeing with Scripture, have been retained as much as possible, and thus “in the public ceremonies no notable change has been made.” **This, moreover, is the liturgically normal and, in the Lutheran Church, formerly dominant order and rite of the Chief Divine Service.** <47>

§ 8. TABLE OF COMPARISON

In order to present us with an overview of “the evangelical Mass in comparison with the Roman Mass,” Löhe, in his *Sammlung liturgischer Formulare* [Collection of Liturgical Formulas] (1839),¹⁰⁰ provides a table in which the order of the Chief Divine Service from the most notable church orders of the Reformation and post-Reformation times is put side by side with the Roman Mass. Following this example, we conclude Part One with a table modeled on Löhe’s. Naturally, we list as first Luther’s two chief liturgical writings—his *Formula Missae* (1523) [or in the German translation, *Weise, christlich Meß zu halten* (1524)] and his *Deutsche Messe* (1526).¹⁰¹ These are followed by the rite of the Brandenburg-Nürnberg church order (1533), which Chytraeus calls “*fons et mater agendorum*” [the fount and mother of agendas] and which was introduced not only in Franconia but also in the Archduchy of Austria below-the-Enns [Lower Austria]; likewise also the rite of the revised Braunschweig-Lüneburg church order (1657), which was originally composed by Bugenhagen in 1528 and of which the order of Divine Service served as the basis for that of the churches in Lower Saxony and Pomerania. After these are a few normative Saxon orders, namely that of 1536, to which Justus Jonas, Spalatin, Cruciger, and Myconius lent their names, and the order of Duke Henry of Saxony, edited after the example of Elector Augustus’s *Agenda* (1681); also, the *Agenda Schwartzburgica* (1675). The final column contains the order of the Chief Divine Service from the *Kirchen-Agende für evangelisch-lutherischen Gemeinden ungeänderter Augsburgischer Confession zusammengestellt aus den alten rechtgläubigen Sächsischen Kirchen-Agenden und herausgegeben*

¹⁰⁰ Löhe, *Sammlung*, 3:29ff. —MC.

¹⁰¹ Lochner appears to be working primarily from the text of *Weise, christlich Meß zu halten*, the 1524 German translation of Luther’s *Formula Missae* by Paul Speratus, available to him in StL 10:2230ff. —MC.

von der Allgemeinen deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten [Church Agenda for Evangelical-Lutheran Congregations of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, Collected from the Old, Orthodox, Saxon Church Agendas and Edited for the General German Evangelical-Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and other States] (St. Louis: Deutschen Ev.-Luth. Synode v. Missouri, O. u. a. St., 1856).¹⁰² This last column is to show that this Agenda has remained faithful to the authentically Lutheran rite of the Chief Divine Service, and in what ways it has done so.

First, a few remarks about our Table:

1. The Table should not only show which items in the “evangelical Mass” were eliminated as papistic impurities or superfluous ornament, while “in the public ceremonies of the Mass *no substantial change* has been made,” but also how, despite their many variations <48> permitted in Christian freedom, a very substantial uniformity nevertheless prevails with respect to the parts of the Chief Divine Service and their sequence.

2. Also, at a quick glance over the Table, the considerable **regularity** in the Lutheran Chief Divine Service becomes apparent. Kyrie, Gloria, Collect, Epistle, congregational hymn (“Chief Hymn”), Gospel, Credo, and Sermon, and the ceremonies corollary to them, universally compose the first part of the Chief Divine Service; and while the second part shows some variation, apart from the sequence of the Our Father and the Words of the Testament, this mainly concerns the use of the Ancient Church Preface, which is replaced by the Exhortation in Luther’s *Deutsche Messe* (1526) and in the Brandenburg-Nürnberg church order (1533). <49>

And yet in all its regularity, what **diversity**, and thus what *variety*, there is in the words and forms of these firmly established parts! In one, the Introits for Sundays and festivals differ; in another, the form of Kyrie, Gloria, and Creed vary textually and melodically, as Part Two will show; in another, there is a Preface not only for common Sundays but also for feasts and for the festival seasons. And what variety in congregational song! One need only consider any such congregation entrusted with these different forms and usages, and it will no doubt be difficult to perceive the complaint of *monotony* in the form of the Divine Service, or to account for the longing for changes in the liturgy expressed by preacher and congregation.

¹⁰² See page xviii, note 7 —MC.

TABLE COMPARING THE ORDER OF THE ROMAN MASS

	Roman Mass	Luther		Brandenburg-Nürnberg (1533)
		<i>Formula Missae</i> (Latin: 1523; German: 1524)	<i>Deutsche Messe</i> (1526)	
1.	Initium Missae			
2.	Confiteor			<i>Confiteor</i> ; “or whatever the priest’s devotion makes him mindful to do.”
3.	Introitus	<i>Introitus</i> . “Though we would prefer the psalms from which they were taken.”	“A spiritual song or German psalm.”	<i>Introitus</i> . In the villages perhaps German songs.
4.	Kyrie (ninefold)	<i>Kyrie</i> . “In various melodies or modes according to the distinction of the season.”	<i>Kyrie</i> . Threefold, not ninefold. So also in all other church orders.	<i>Kyrie</i>
5.	Gloria in excelsis. Et in terra. Laudamus te	<i>Gloria</i> , etc.		<i>Gloria</i> , etc.
6.	Collecta(e)	A Collect	Collect	The Lord be with you. One or several Collects.
7.	Epistola	Epistle. Other epistle readings to be used according to desire.	Epistle	A chapter from the epistles of the apostles Paul, Peter, and John. Special introductory and concluding formulas.
8.	Graduale with Alleluia or <i>Tractus (Prosa, Sequentia)</i>	“Gradual, perhaps two verses with Alleluia.” Yet not the long festival Graduals! Sequence and Prose only on Christmas: <i>Grates nunc omnes</i> ; and Whitsunday: <i>Spiritus sancti</i> , etc. <i>Veni sancte</i> , etc.	“A German song: “To God the Holy Spirit Let Us Pray,” or another, and that with the whole choir.”	After the Epistle he may read an Alleluia with its verse in Latin, or a Gradual taken from Holy Scripture; which the students may also sing in Latin.
9.	Evangelium	Gospel. Candles and incense as desired.	Gospel	“Chapter from the Gospel or Acts.” Note: the pericopes were retained.

AND THE LUTHERAN CHIEF DIVINE SERVICE

	Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1657)	Saxony		<i>Kirchen-Agende</i> , Missouri Synod (St. Louis, 1866)
		Duke Henry's Church Order (Leipzig, 1681)	Agenda Schwartzburgica (1675)	
1.				
2.				
3.		Introit "of the Sunday or feast."	"Come, Holy Spirit, fill . . ." with Collect for the Holy Spirit.	
4.	<i>Kyrie</i> . "The cantor, the fellow teachers and students, sing: "O Father, almighty God," etc.	<i>Kyrie eleison</i>	<i>Kyrie</i> of the time.	"Kyrie, God Father," etc. St. Louis Hymnal #7.
5.	<i>Gloria in excelsis Deo</i> . "By the whole congregation: 'All Glory Be to God on High,'" etc. The Lord be with you, etc.	<i>Gloria in excelsis Deo</i> and <i>Et in terra</i> in Latin.	Glory be to God, etc. Mel. according to time and feast. Congregation: "All Glory Be to God Alone" or "All Glory Be to God on High," or sim.	P.: "Glory be to God," etc. C.: "All Glory Be to God on High." Hymnal #1.
6.	Collect "of the time or feast, as relates to the Gospel."	"The Collects" in German or Latin.	" <i>Collecta de tempore</i> ." [Collect of the time]	The Lord be, etc. Versicle. Collect.
7.	Epistle "with good volume, clearly and slowly."	Epistle "in German, facing the people."	Epistle, etc.	Epistle
8.	"After reading of the Epistle, let a German Psalm or Hymn of the time be sung from the common hymnals. And the organist may play along with the singing using counterpoint, as musicians call it."	Nothing mentioned.	"A German chorale hymn, as the preacher shall choose."	Chief Hymn
9.	Gospel "recited to the congregation from our Ev. Luth. harmony, clearly and distinctly without any distortion.	Gospel "of the Sunday or feast, also read in German, facing the people."	Gospel	Gospel

THE CHIEF DIVINE SERVICE

	Roman Mass	Luther		Brandenburg-Nürnberg (1533)
		<i>Formula Missae</i> (Latin: 1523; German: 1524)	<i>Deutsche Messe</i> (1526)	
10.	Credo	<i>Credo.</i> Sermon here, or preferably before the Mass, since the Sermon summons people to God's Supper; the Mass is for those who have accepted the call, for believers.	<i>Credo.</i> "We All Believe" to be sung by the congregation. Sermon. General Prayer, from the pulpit or altar left free; yet "it seems that the ancients used to do it from the pulpit."	<i>Credo</i> , "which the students should sing in Latin, as is the custom, or else the people should sing the German Creed." Then on the day of rest the usual Sermon should follow. "It is known that the General Prayer came between the Sermon and the Holy Meal" (Löhe).
11.	Offertorium	During the singing bread and wine are brought forward.		"Song or Offertory"
12.	Secreta			
13.	Praefatio with Sanctus	Introduction to the Preface. <i>Praefatio</i> up to "per Christum Dominum nostrum," whereupon a small silence follows, and then:	<i>Paraphrase of the Our Father with Exhortation to the Supper.</i>	Exhortation to the Supper (of Joh. [Wolfgang] Volprecht). Later with appended General Confession and additional (general) Absolution.
[14a.]	Canon Missae (a) ante consecrationem (b) commemoratio pro vivis (c) diptycha sanctorum			

TABLE OF COMPARISON

	Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1657)	Saxony		<i>Kirchen-Agende</i> , Missouri Synod (St. Louis, 1866)
		Duke Henry's Church Order (Leipzig, 1681)	<i>Agenda Schwartzburgica</i> (1675)	
10.	" <i>Credo in unum Deum</i> " sung by the <i>presbyter</i> , and then "We All Believe in One True God" by the congregation. <i>Sermon</i> preceded by Our Father with introductory formula, and with a pulpit hymn. <i>Confession</i> and Absolution with retention. <i>General Prayer</i> . Intercessions. Excommunications, if any, etc., etc. <i>Our Father</i> . <i>Votum</i> .	<i>Credo in unum Deum</i> and the Latin <i>Patrem</i> . Then the Creed in German: "We All Believe." <i>Sermon</i> . Confession with Absolution, without Retention. <i>General Prayer</i>	<i>Credo in unum Deum</i> "Whereupon music is to be played and, time permitting, the [German] Creed to be sung, etc. Sermon is delivered and, to begin it, before the Our Father, a hymn of the time . . . is to be sung." <i>Congregational Confession</i> . <i>General Prayer</i> . <i>Intercessions</i> , etc.	<i>Creed</i> : "We All Believe." <i>Sermon</i> preceded by silent prayer (Our Father) and pulpit verse before the reading of the text. <i>Confession</i> with Absolution, without Retention. <i>Prayer of the Church</i> . <i>Intercessions and Thansgivings</i> . <i>Our Father</i> . <i>Votum</i> .
11.	"As the priest leaves the pulpit and approaches the altar, the communicants should go to the chancel, and a devout psalm of the time should be sung, that the congregation may thereby be moved to greater devotion."			Song: "Create in me a clean heart, O God."
12.				
13.	<i>Preface</i> in German with Introduction and Sanctus, of which "the most important part of the Thanksgiving consists." Brief exhortation and prayer.	<i>Preface</i> in Latin with Luther's " <i>Paraphrase of the Our Father</i> " and the <i>Exhortation to the Sacrament</i> , in front of the altar.	"German Prefaces, which are to be used on the high feasts, where they have been introduced." <i>Sanctus</i> by the choir. Luther's brief Exhortation to the Supper.	Preface with the Sanctus.
[14a.]				

THE CHIEF DIVINE SERVICE

	Roman Mass	Luther		Brandenburg-Nürnberg (1533)
		<i>Formula Missae</i> (Latin: 1523; German: 1524)	<i>Deutsche Messe</i> (1526)	
14[b].	(d) Consecratio (e) post consecrationem (f) memento pro defunctis	<i>Consecration</i> (loud or secretly) and <i>Sanctus</i> follows. During the <i>Benedictus</i> of the <i>Sanctus</i> , Elevation is permitted.	<i>Consecration</i> . And the consecrated bread is distributed immediately after the blessing and Elevation. Meanwhile the German <i>Sanctus</i> : “Isaiah, Mighty Seer” is sung, likewise, “O Lord, We Praise Thee,” “Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior.” Then the chalice is blessed and distributed. During this, the hymns, being already begun, are sung to the end, and as the conclusion the <i>Agnus Dei</i> is sung.	<i>Consecration</i> . After this, the <i>Sanctus</i> .
[15a.]	Praeparatio ad Communionem (a) <i>Pater noster</i> (b) <i>Oratio</i>	Our Father		Our Father. Also in Latin with the introductory words from the Mass: “ <i>Praeceptis salutarius moniti</i> .” [being admonished by salutary precepts . . .]
15[b].	(c) Pax	Pax		Pax. Response: Amen.
16.	<i>Preces ante communionem</i> : Agnus and prayer of preparation.	<i>Agnus</i> . Also the prayer from the Roman Mass: <i>Domine Jesu Christe, Fili Dei</i> .		<i>Agnus Dei</i> . When the number of communicants is large, “not only one <i>Communio</i> (taken from Scripture) should be sung, but some more also may and should be sung . . . such as the Responsory ‘ <i>Discubuit [Jesus]</i> .’”
17.	Sumptio (Taking of the Sacrament on the part of the celebrant.)	During the <i>Agnus</i> , the <i>Sumptio</i> or <i>Communio</i> . At the same time, from the Roman Mass: <i>Corpus Domini</i> , etc. <i>Sanguis Domini</i> , etc.		Meanwhile <i>Communion</i> .
18.	Communio	<i>Communio</i> if desired.		
19.	Post communio	Instead of the last Collect, which usually refers to sacrifice, the prayer from the Roman Mass: <i>Quod ore sumpsimus</i> .	Collect of Thanksgiving	Collect
20.	Finis Missae	<i>Benedicamus</i> with Alleluia.		<i>Benedicamus</i> , etc.
21.	Benedictio	Benediction from Num. 6.	Benediction, etc.	Benediction (4 forms.)
22.	John 1:1–14			Hymn: “Lord, Keep Us Steadfast in Thy Word,” etc.

TABLE OF COMPARISON

	Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1657)	Saxony		<i>Kirchen-Agende</i> , Missouri Synod (St. Louis, 1866)
		Duke Henry's Church Order (Leipzig, 1681)	Agenda Schwartzburgica (1675)	
14[b].	Our Father sung in German.	Our Father sung in German.	Our Father sung in German.	Our Father sung.
[15a.]	<i>Consecratio.</i>	<i>Consecratio.</i>	<i>Consecratio.</i>	Consecration.
15[b].				
16.	O Lamb of God.	<i>Agnus Dei</i> in Latin (distribution begins during the beginning of singing.)		"O Christ, Thou Lamb of God," #69.
17.	Meanwhile, Communion with further singing of Supper hymns, etc.	Meanwhile <i>Communion</i> with further singing of "Jesus Christ Our Blessed Savior." Psalm 111 may also be sung, if there are many communicants.	Communion.	Communion during singing of Supper hymns.
18.				
19.	Ps. 23 read aloud. Collect.	Collect.	Collect.	Collect.
20.				
21.	Benediction, etc.	Benediction.	Benediction.	Benediction.
22.	Hereupon let the whole congregation sing <i>choraliter</i> : "Lord, now lettest Thou Thy Servant depart in peace," etc.			Song: "O Lord, We Praise Thee," #195:1, etc., or another appropriate closing stanza.