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ORDINATION LITURGIES, THE CALL PROCESS, AND THE
OFFICE OF THE MINISTRY IN THE LANDESKIRCHE OF
BRAUNSCHWEIG-WOLFENBÜTTEL, 1569-1815

A Thesis Presented to the Faculty
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis
Department of Historical Theology
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Master of Sacred Theology

by

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James Brauer Reader

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iii
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Relationship Between the Liturgy and Theology	2
Historical—Liturgical Inquiry: A Theological Locus	14
II. THE FORMATIVE RITES IN BRAUNSCHWEIG AND BRAUNSCHWEIG-WOLFENBÜTTEL	18
The Reformation in the City of Braunschweig	19
The Reformation in the Principality of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel	26
Martin Chemnitz's Understanding of the Office of the Holy Ministry	35
Pre-1569 History of the Liturgical Rites	46
The Rites of the City of Braunschweig, 1528-1571	50
The Ordination Rite of the 1569 Church Order of Braunschweig- Wolfenbüttel	54
The Installation Rite of the 1569 Church Order	77
The Rites of the 1615 and 1651 Church Orders of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel	92
III. CERTAINTY IN THE MIDST OF INSTABILITY: THE ORDINATION AND INSTALLATION RITES OF THE 1657 CHURCH ORDER	94
Political Life in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel from 1615-1704	94
The Decline of Lutheran Orthodoxy in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel	99
The Birth and Influence of Pietism	103
The Understanding of the Office of the Holy Ministry in Pietism	112
The Union Theology of Georg Calixt	114
The Rites of Ordination and Installation in the Church Order of 1657	120
IV. MAINTAINING THE CRUMBLING WALLS: THE RITES OF THE VOCATIONAL PROCESS FROM 1704-1815	133
The Age of Absolutism in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel	133
The Theological Impact of the Enlightenment in Braunschweig- Wolfenbüttel	143

The Understanding of the Office of the Holy Ministry During the Enlightenment in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel	147
The Rites of the Vocational Process in the Church Orders of 1709 and 1769	161
 V. CONCLUSION: THE OFFICE OF THE HOLY MINISTRY ALIVE IN THE LITURGY	171
 APPENDIX I: THE FAMILY OF GUELPH	179
 APPENDIX II: THE RULING HOUSES OF BRAUNSCHWEIG-WOLFENBÜTTEL	181
 APPENDIX III: THE RULERS OF THE DUCHY OF BRAUNSCHWEIG-LÜNEBURG	183
 APPENDIX IV: THE STRUCTURE OF THE RITE	184
 APPENDIX V: THE RITE OF ORDINATION OF WILLIAM DURANDUS	188
 APPENDIX VI: TEXT OF THE 1571 PASTORAL CODE	189
 APPENDIX VII: TEXT OF THE RITES FROM THE 1569 CHURCH ORDER	192
 APPENDIX VIII: TEXT OF THE RITES FROM THE 1657 CHURCH ORDER	203
 APPENDIX IX: TEXT OF THE RITES FROM THE 1709 CHURCH ORDER	227
 SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY	259

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

As a branch of theological research, liturgical studies might still be considered to be in its infancy, spawned as a modern discipline by the liturgical movement. Those engaged in liturgical studies have sought to search out not only the historical roots of Christian worship but also the theological and pastoral significance of Christian worship both in the past and present. Until recently, those engaged in such studies have focused primarily upon the liturgies of the early centuries of Christian worship. Now, however, more liturgiologists and those interested in liturgical studies are examining the historical roots and the theological significance of Christian worship in other eras of the church's history.

This trend is particularly true of the Reformation and post-Reformation era studies. Rites and worship practices that grew out of the theological emphases and reforms of Martin Luther, John Calvin, and other reformers are now being examined and studied by many students of the liturgy. The rites of ordination and installation are no exception. Recently Ralph F. Smith, in his doctoral dissertation, "Ordering Ministry: The Liturgical Witness of the Sixteenth-Century Ordination Rites," provided the first thorough examination of Lutheran ordination rites in the sixteenth century.

On the basis of his methodology, this investigation seeks to analyze the rites connected with the vocational process of forming pastors—call, examination, ordination, installation—in the city of Braunschweig and the duchy of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel from the onset of the Reformation until the beginning of the nineteenth century. This analysis will examine both the development of those rites in their theological and historical context and the evidence the rites provide for how the church in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel conceived of the office of the holy ministry.

Relationship Between the Liturgy and Theology

However, before proceeding, fundamental groundwork must be laid. The question must be answered: How has the church understood the relationship between theology and the liturgy?

Irenaeus wrote towards the end of the second century, "Our doctrine agrees with the eucharist and the eucharist confirms the doctrine."¹ His statement, in which "Eucharist" refers to the service, reflects the recognition by Christian theologians that a common bond exists between the church's theology and its liturgy. Although few would dispute that such a relationship exists, theologians have been at odds over how to define it. Maur Burbach, a Roman Catholic theologian, attempts to determine that relationship first by defining the terms in light of their unity:

¹Irenaeus, "Adv. Haer. IV. 18,5," quoted in Geoffrey Wainwright, "Liturgy and Doctrine," in *The New Dictionary of Sacramental Worship*, ed. Peter E. Fink (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1990), 349.

The making of God's holy People is after all the entire substance both of theology and of liturgy. While these remain distinct - the one a vision, a knowledge; the other an action, the living of the vision - they cannot be separated. They have the same subject and the same goal - the People of God.²

For Burbach the unity of liturgy and theology consists in their both being performed by the people of God for the benefit of the people of God. He stresses the unified purpose of theology and the liturgy:

It makes sense only as a whole. When isolated aspects of this great tapestry demand unwarranted attention by their very isolation, disturbing and even destructive results occur. In such ways, the vision of God's whole design continues to be obscured, and many of the faithful are thus deprived of the fullness of divine life.³

For Burbach, maintaining the unity of theology and the liturgy is necessary in order for God's vision for humanity to have effect.

Roman Catholics are not the only ones who have advocated an inherent unity between theology and the liturgy. Protestant theologians have done so as well. Erwin Smuda summarizes the relationship this way:

What does emerge is the reality that both Catholicism and Protestantism believe there should be a harmonious relation between worship and doctrine, and that it is the business of worship and doctrine to express the Christian truth. They differ on the question of which of the two, doctrine or worship, should set the pace, and they differ profoundly on the question of whether either or both may fall into error.⁴

²Maur Burbach, "The Convergence of Liturgy and Theology," in *The Revival of the Liturgy*, ed. Frederick R. McManus (New York: Herder and Herder, 1963), 40.

³Burbach, 39.

⁴Erwin M. Smuda, "Lex Orandi, Lex Credendi" (D. Min. thesis, The Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago, 1989), 21.

The attempt to maintain a unity between theology and the liturgy is made all the more difficult when that unity is addressed in terms of a hierarchical relationship, that is, one setting the pace for the other. Although a hierarchical relationship between theology and the liturgy may exist, it is first necessary to indicate that a variety of connections exist between theology and the liturgy.

The first relationship that exists between the two might be called a confessional relationship. When it worships in the liturgy, the church confesses what it believes. It witnesses to its faith. Erwin Smuda calls the liturgy the "church's official proclamation of the faith."⁵ Using the familiar phrase "*lex orandi, lex credendi*" Ronald Bagnall writes that "how you pray betrays what you believe."⁶ When Christians participate in the liturgy, they affirm to God, their fellow believers, and the world what they believe God has done for them in Jesus Christ. As Aimé Martimort relates, "The voice heard in the liturgy is not only that of the hierarchy, the 'teaching Church,' but also that of the people of God."⁷ In the liturgy the Church confesses the theology it believes.

⁵Smuda, 79.

⁶Ronald B. Bagnall, "A God is to Have," *Lutheran Forum* 21 (Reformation 1987): 17-18.

⁷Aimé Georges Martimort, ed., *The Church at Prayer: An Introduction to the Liturgy*, vol. 1, *Principles of the Liturgy*, ed. Irénée Henri Dalmis et al., trans. Matthew J. O'Connell (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1987), 275.

Godfrey Diekmann writes, "Liturgy is the life of the Church, its most normal and important and essential manifestation."⁸ This statement attributes much to the liturgy, especially its formative power. The liturgy, as a confession of what the Church believes, can also shape the piety and belief of the church.⁹ Although the phrase *lex orandi, lex credendi* has been misapplied (as will be shown later), Erwin Smuda argues that history demonstrates its truth, "the forms, patterns, and practices of worship have had a definite impact upon the beliefs of people,"¹⁰ whether or not one believes the liturgy to be a source and norm of theology. The words of the liturgy and hymns, the gestures and symbols of worship, and the teaching of readings and homilies all have an impact upon what a Christian believes about God, Christ, the church, and one's faith.¹¹

The impact the liturgy has on the beliefs of Christians can be either negative or positive. As Erwin Smuda states:

Pastors frequently introduce innovations and add ceremonies to the liturgy without giving adequate thought to what is being done and what theological impact such introductions might have on the faiths and beliefs of the people. Private baptisms, infrequent celebrations of the Eucharist, truncated versions of the liturgy, and

⁸Godfrey Diekmann, "Presentation of the Berakah Award—Response: Some Memories," *Worship* 51 (1977): 363.

⁹Erwin Smuda indicates that Lutherans have always recognized the power of the liturgy: "Lutherans clearly realized that ceremony could have a significant impact upon doctrine in spite of the statement of the Augsburg Confession which declares it is not necessary for the true unity of the church that ceremonies, instituted by men, should be observed uniformly in all places." Smuda, 18.

¹⁰Smuda, 89.

¹¹See Bagnall, 16; Smuda, 1.

thoughtless and inappropriate additions or deletions in the liturgies have left their marks and inflicted immeasurable damage upon the piety and understanding of the people of the church.¹²

The liturgy shapes and teaches Christians and in doing so can either reinforce or weaken their faith and their understanding of that faith.¹³

How and whether it is a primary focus of the liturgy to teach Christians their theology is a debated matter. Some contend that the liturgy is not pedagogical in nature, at least, not in twentieth century pedagogical terms. Erwin Smuda writes, "Worship by its very nature is meant to be doxological not pedagogical. While liturgical celebrations will have catechetical impact, that is not their primary function."¹⁴

But are doxological and pedagogical purposes in the liturgy mutually exclusive? Aidan Kavanagh contends that through the liturgy's doxology, the piety and faith of Christians are formed and shaped. "Fundamental to Kavanagh's understanding of the interaction of worship and life," notes Kenneth Stevenson, "is his emphasis on liturgy as mystagogy—that liturgy is the primal focus of nurture, care and education in the local community."¹⁵ The liturgy shapes the Christian community's faith, piety and

¹²Smuda, 69.

¹³Geoffrey Wainwright writes in the section on liturgy and doctrine in *The New Dictionary of Sacramental Worship*: "In the centuries of Christendom, it was above all by their assistance at the liturgy that Christians learned the faith, whatever the degree or mode of formal catechesis undergone retroactively by those who had been baptized as infants." Wainwright, 354.

¹⁴Smuda, 83.

¹⁵Kenneth W. Stevenson, "Lex Orandi and Lex Credendi—Strange Bed-

theology in a dynamic way, not simply by conveying factual information. In the liturgy one experiences and receives God's gracious favor in Christ. Aimé Martimort, from a Roman Catholic perspective, summarizes the catechetical influence of the liturgy:

The proper function of the liturgy is not to teach but to enable its participants to live out the mystery of salvation. It is therefore the model for all catechesis, since catechesis has for its purpose not simply to pass on correct doctrine, but above all to initiate its recipients into a living faith. The liturgy concentrates on bringing out the fundamental elements of this mystery of salvation, relating them to the paschal mystery, which is the center and as it were the summation of the entire mystery.¹⁶

This power of the liturgy to teach and shape is another aspect of the relationship between theology and the liturgy. Whether one believes that the liturgy should norm doctrine, the reality is that the liturgy teaches whatever doctrine it bears.

The shaping influence of the liturgy is one thing, even upon theologians,¹⁷ but the impact of the liturgy on theology does not necessarily imply the primacy of liturgy over theology. Here is the crux of the relationship between theology and the liturgy: Is there a hierarchical and fundamental relationship between the two? Hermann Sasse,

Fellows?: Some Reflections on Worship and Doctrine," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 39 (1986): 235; For more information on Kavanagh see his *Elements of Rite: A Handbook of Liturgical Style* (New York: Pueblo Publishing Co., 1982) and his *On Liturgical Theology* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1992).

¹⁶Martimort, 1:276.

¹⁷Godfrey Diekmann writes in his acceptance of the Berakah Award: "I repeat, not from liturgically revised texts nor from theorizing, but from the celebration of the liturgy itself did the great new theological thrusts develop. . . . Not only do I believe in *lex orandi, lex credendi*, but also in *lex orandi, lex vivendi*." Diekmann, 370-372.

cautiously responding to the liturgical movement's emphases in Lutheranism, says concerning this relationship:

But at the same time one must protest solemnly against the *opus operatum* and against an overestimation of externals. The Church remains what she is, even without her liturgy. She remains a queen, even in beggar's clothes. It is better that everything else disappear and only the pure doctrine remain safe, than that she walk in the ornament and embellishment of a glorious form of service which lacks light and life because her doctrine has become impure. From Loehe we all could learn that Lutheran principle: *Lex credendi, lex orandi*,¹⁸

Invoking, in inverted order, the phrase attributed to Prosper of Aquitaine, Sasse contends that there exists a primacy of doctrine over liturgy. Later in the same article he expands his thought,

It was again Pius XII who reminded his liturgical reformers and revolutionaries of the truth that the famous *Lex orandi, lex credendi* must also be reversed. Nothing can be liturgically correct which is not dogmatically correct. The *Lex orandi, lex credendi* applies also to every false dogma Is the dogma still the standard of your liturgical work? The dogma of the Church is for us Lutherans the doctrinal content of the Scriptures as the Word of God.¹⁹

For Sasse dogma and theology serve by judging the theological appropriateness of the liturgy.

Others view this hierarchical relationship in the opposite manner. Ronald Bagnall writes, "For evangelical and catholic Christians, the rule of worship is the rule of faith (and vice versa). *Lex orandi, lex credendi*."²⁰ For Bagnall the liturgy serves as the judging agent for the appropriateness of Christian doctrine. Erwin Smuda most

¹⁸Hermann Sasse, "The Liturgical Movement: Reformation or Revolution?" *Una Sancta* (St. Luke the Evangelist, 1960): 22.

¹⁹Sasse, "The Liturgical Movement," 21.

²⁰Bagnall, 19.

clearly enunciates this viewpoint, arguing that Prosper of Aquitaine's dictum does espouse a principle by which worship determines doctrine:

There is little doubt in the mind of this author that the *Lex Orandi, Lex Credendi* principle is valid, namely, that the law of prayer determines the law of belief. *Lex Orandi* coexists in healthy tension with *Lex Credendi*. Yet, it is the *Lex Orandi* which is preeminent.²¹

In a different context he expresses the same viewpoint:

Notice that Prosper does not indicate that the liturgy derives its influence from any teaching authority in the church (magisterium). The worship practice itself is enough of an authority and needs no external stamp of approval. When viewed in this manner the *lex supplicandi* is understood as that which constitutes the *lex credendi*. Thus it could be implied that such teaching is the primary teaching of the church. Whereas, the teaching which comes from the theologians and hierarchical sources is considered secondary, or as merely extrapolations of what is central and fundamental. Theologians who engage in theological reflections are themselves nurtured by the divine Presence encountered worshipfully week after week with their peers in the faith. They do not produce it. *Lex supplicandi legem statuat credendi* asserts that the primary theologian in the church is the church in its liturgical assembly in each and every one of its members.²²

Smuda does not deny that doctrinal reflection can influence worship,²³ but he argues that it in no way determines worship. In fact, for him, doctrinal theology is so weak that it cannot even create faith. On the basis of his understanding of Prosper's dictum, he maintains the priority of liturgy as the determining factor of relevant doctrine.

²¹Smuda, 71.

²²Smuda, 4; See also Stevenson, 231-32.

²³See Smuda, 21-22.

Yet is this the proper understanding of Prosper's dictum? Is it even a dictum? And what role does Scripture play in relationship to the liturgy?²⁴ When Smuda says that "the Fathers of the early church thought nothing of citing liturgical formulations when making a doctrinal assertion,"²⁵ he does not indicate on what basis they believed they could do so nor what weight they believed the liturgical citation carried in "proving" the doctrine.

Paul De Clerck has provided an excellent assessment of the meaning of Prosper's phrase in its original context and according to Prosper's intent. Prosper's adage was preserved in a collection of works inveighing against the Semi-Pelagians in defense of Augustine, a collection termed the *Celestinian Capitula*.²⁶ The actual phrase from which the adage "*lex Orandi, lex Credendi*" originates is "*ut legem credendi lex statuat supplicandi*" that De Clerck translates as "in such a way that the order of supplication determines the rule of faith."²⁷ Contending against the semi-

²⁴Even Smuda acknowledges Scriptures role as a norm: "What is the relationship of Scripture to the *lex orandi*? The consensus of the Fathers is that Scripture is the norm. It is a source and a norm. Yet, the teaching of the church seems to have others sources, such as tradition, worship, and experience." Smuda, 58.

²⁵Smuda, 10.

²⁶Paul De Clerck, "*Lex orandi, lex credendi*": The Original Sense and Historical Avatars of an Equivocal Adage," trans. Thomas M. Winger, *Studia Liturgica*, in press, p. 4; For more information on Prosper of Aquitaine see pp. 5-7; Also see Karl Federer, *Liturgie und Glaube: 'Legem credendi lex statuat supplicandi' (Tiro Prosper von Aquitanien), eine theologiegeschichtliche Untersuchung*, (Freiburg in der Schweiz: Paulusverlag, 1950).

²⁷De Clerck, 5.

Pelagians, Prosper argues from a Biblical and liturgical basis that supplications made by the priest in the liturgy determine how one understands faith and its beginning, namely that faith cannot be born apart from the grace of God.

Traditionally the *lex supplicandi* has been understood to be defined by the supposed actual form of prayers to which Prosper alludes in his argument. As De Clerck indicates, "The *lex orandi* would be the liturgical text, which untangles the theological debate and establishes the *lex credendi*."²⁸ However, by analyzing the text in its context and in comparison to a similar phrase in Prosper's *De Vocatione*²⁹ and in light of Karl Federer's interpretation of the text, De Clerck arrives at manifestly different conclusions. The *lex supplicandi* does not refer to the liturgy in general or to specific liturgical prayers, but to the precept, the *regula*, of the apostle Paul in 1 Timothy 2:1-2 for supplications to be made for all men, which is the basis of Prosper's argument in *De Vocatione*.

De Clerck then contends convincingly that the content of the *lex supplicandi* (and thus the *lex orandi*) is three-fold: Prosper argues for the necessity of grace in conversion upon three levels. The *lex supplicandi* refers on the first level to the recommendation of Paul, which Prosper makes into a law, that Christians pray for all people. On the second level the *lex supplicandi* refers to "the church's response to the command by obeying it."³⁰ Prosper's argument is supplemented here by the fact that

²⁸De Clerck, 11.

²⁹For De Clerck's analysis see pp. 7-11.

³⁰De Clerck, 14.

the church's response has been apostolic (ongoing since the time of the apostles), universal, and respected by all. On the third level the *lex supplicandi* refers to the actual content of the prayers, the liturgical formulation. Of this third level De Clerck states that

the liturgical formulas have value as a theological argument only insofar as they are founded on scripture and attested by tradition. In other words, the liturgical argument is not isolated . . . what is said in prayer is credited with theological value to the degree that it is based on biblical revelation as the universal Church understands it. Prosper does not oppose Bible and liturgy, any more than he separates liturgy and tradition. In his mind, one may have recourse to the prayers of the Church in order to resolve the controversy on grace because they correspond to a biblical mandate, and are the expression of the living tradition of the Church. Such is the significance of the phrase *ut legem credendi lex statuat supplicandi*, seen in its context.³¹

According to De Clerck any appeal to the liturgy as a proof for doctrine is always derivative, based on the tradition of the church and primarily on biblical witness.³² It would appear that, on the basis of De Clerck's argument, one might be able to say not only *lex orandi, lex credendi*, but also *lex credendi, lex orandi*.

De Clerck inveighs against such a possibility. Contra De Clerck, Pope Pius XII in his encyclical "Mediator Dei" of 1947 reverses the phrase:

But if one wishes to discern and determine in an absolute and general fashion the relationship between faith and the liturgy, one could rightly say: "*Lex credendi legem statuat supplicandi*." Let the rule of belief determine the rule of prayer.³³

³¹De Clerck, 22.

³²Martimort argues in a similar manner in *The Church at Prayer*, 1:277, 280.

³³Pope Pius XII, "Mediator Dei," in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 39 (1947); quoted in De Clerck, 4.

De Clerck attests that this reverses the intention of Prosper's phrase. Prosper advocates a dynamic view of the relationship between theology and the liturgy. The liturgy can provide proof for the truth of doctrine, in a derivative sense. Pius XII's reversal of the phrase goes to the opposite extreme of the traditional interpretation of Prosper's adage. Since De Clerck has shown the traditional interpretation to be inadequate, the argument of Pius XII is unnecessary. The liturgy is neither the source nor the final proof for the truth of Christian doctrine. However, it can serve as a legitimate witness to the truth of Christian doctrine provided it correlates faithfully with Christian tradition and with the biblical mandate and witness for such practices.

Can the views of De Clerck, who rejects the possibility of *lex credendi, lex orandi*, be reconciled with Hermann Sasse's view, as cited earlier, that doctrine must determine liturgy? The proper question to ask is what does Sasse mean by doctrine? This statement sheds some light:

A liturgical renewal is impossible unless the Church is prepared to take seriously the doctrine which is witnessed to and sung in the liturgy. Liturgy and dogma belong together; you cannot have the one without the other. Dogma represents the doctrinal content - and therefore the truth content - of the liturgy. (It is for this reason that the liturgy can help men achieve a new understanding of the doctrines and creeds of the Church.)³⁴

For Sasse dogma, truth content, is always determined by Scripture. Therefore, when he advocates *lex credendi, lex orandi* he is simply advocating that Scripture serve as the foundation for doctrine. The liturgy's proof of the truth of doctrine, and thus its

³⁴Hermann Sasse, "Liturgy and Lutheranism," *Una Sancta* 8 (Annunciation 1948): 12-13.

power to teach, is derivatory. Sasse and De Clerck apparently are advancing the same view of the relationship between theology and the liturgy.

The foregoing has demonstrated that there are a number of varied relationships between theology and the liturgy. The phrase *lex orandi, lex credendi* carries in its womb a variety of implications for examining the relationship between theology and the liturgy. The phrase indicates that the church should strive to establish unity between its theology and liturgy. However, the phrase does not assume that unity. The church shapes both its theology and its liturgy. When the church assembles to worship through its liturgy, it confesses what it believes in theology. Likewise, what is confessed, sung and prayed can in turn teach and shape the faith, piety and theology of laity and theologians alike. Undoubtedly the liturgy can shape theology and theology can shape the liturgy, but neither guarantees the truthfulness of the other. Only when the church steps outside of this circular relationship can she ascertain what is truthful about either her theology or her liturgy.

Historical—Liturgical Inquiry: A Theological Locus

That effort to determine what is truthful about the liturgy, whether for the sake of preparing a new liturgy for the present day or for the sake of defining and understanding the liturgy better, begins in the realm of history. On the basis of Prosper's three-level argument, Paul De Clerck constructs a basic methodology for examining the liturgy and applies it to the rite of confirmation:

To think about confirmation in light of the original sense of the adage is to ask oneself, first of all, what scriptural *lex* it obeys; then how the Church, in the

particular concretizations which realize its universality responds to these data which found it; and finally, how the liturgies in their rites and in their texts celebrate confirmation. He would then have made only part of the theological task, since it would remain to perceive the needs of Christians today and to see how to respond to them. But without this first phase of research, one would have neglected to be faithful to the tradition which pleads *ut legem credendi lex statuat supplicandi*.³⁵

It is that first phase of research that engages this study as it examines the rites of the vocational process of forming pastors in the city of Braunschweig and the duchy of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel from the onset of the Reformation until the beginning of the nineteenth century. This study will explain how those rites witness to the doctrines of the office of the holy ministry and the church in that place and time. The evidence will also be examined in light of church tradition and the scriptural mandate for the office of the ministry. All this attempts to provide for Braunschweig and Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel what Ralph Smith sampled on a broader scale in his doctoral dissertation, "Ordering Ministry," for the entire sixteenth century. As Smith states, "To study the rites in and of themselves is to uncover the primary experience of what it meant to be an ordained minister in sixteenth century German evangelical churches."³⁶ Although the liturgical witness is only part of the data for this

³⁵De Clerck, 32-33.

³⁶Ralph F. Smith, "Ordering Ministry: The Liturgical Witness of Sixteenth-Century German Ordination Rites" (Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 1988), 10. As Smith notes, few have attempted such an investigation: "The difficulty is that few scholars have inquired into *what* the actual ordering was in the same period, before proceeding to their interpretations of the doctrine of the ministry. It is, in part, an issue of the relationship captured in the phrase *lex orandi, lex credendi*. There is no question that theological speculation (the *lex credendi*) about divine institution of the ministry, the biblical witness, and precedents for practice set in the early church (as the reformers understood them) influenced the shape of the new rites (the *lex*

experience, it is nonetheless a part that must be examined on its own terms. Thus, it is essential to observe Smith's dictum: "It is necessary to refrain from asking questions which seek to locate ordination in a broader stream of theological concern (for example, to investigate its Jewish roots, its New Testament origins, or pertinent patristic practices), or to treat it in the context of another issue."³⁷

Therefore this study intends to examine the rites on their own merit as historical evidence of the theological understanding of church and ministry that arose in a specific context—a contextual-historical study of rites concerned with forming pastors. As Smith asserts, "Liturgical events such as ordination do not occur in a vacuum. They are supported by an attendant structure which influences the way in which they are experienced and understood."³⁸ The political, cultural, theological, and ecclesiastical context will be considered in order to determine the milieu and mindset in which the rites were framed and celebrated.³⁹ Having determined the context, its impact upon the rites will be assessed. Consideration will be given to the possibility that some of the rites may have been prepared in response to emergencies or temporary situations, possibly affecting the component parts, the content, and the

orandi). But liturgical theology has shown that theology (teaching) is not directly translatable into worship just as worship (rite) is not reducible to texts or teaching." Smith, 10-11.

³⁷Smith, 13-14.

³⁸Smith, 279-80.

³⁹See Martimort, 1:279.

theological impression given those participating.⁴⁰ An assessment will then be made as to what degree liturgical and theological unity is maintained in the rites from era to era.⁴¹

An interpretive-synthetic methodology will be applied to the rites examined, that is, the content of the rites and the context will be analyzed together in order to answer the question: What did the Lutheran churches of Braunschweig and Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel apparently understand themselves to be doing when they called, elected, examined, ordained, and installed men? This effort will also shed light on how they conceived the relationship between the various offices in the church, the nature of ecclesiology, particularly the relationship between the church universal and the church *in loco*, and the relationship between the three estates—state, clergy, and laity—in the vocational process of forming pastors. Only by such an assessment will the church be able to answer the question for itself today: How should we call, elect, examine, ordain, and install pastors today in continuity with church tradition and in conformity with the scriptural mandate that the church shall have shepherds?

⁴⁰Smith, 12.

⁴¹Admittedly personal judgement is involved here. As Smith states: "In making a case for liturgical continuity, of course, much depends on the kinds of questions asked and on decisions made regarding what degree of comparability in form and content constitutes genuine continuity." Smith, 278.

CHAPTER II
THE FORMATIVE RITES IN BRAUNSCHWEIG
AND BRAUNSCHWEIG-WOLFENBÜTTEL

The city of Braunschweig and the duchy of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel in many ways typified the north Saxon territorial cities and principalities. Certainly Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel would fit the description Lewis Spitz provides of the territorial states at the onset of the Reformation:

The most striking political development of the early sixteenth century was the rise of the national monarchies in the west and of the territorial states within the Holy Roman Empire. The new monarchies did not set a pattern markedly different from the traditions of their medieval predecessors, but there was a notable difference in the degree of centralization in government; in the pervasiveness of the power of the state; and in the success of energetic monarchs in controlling noble opposition and enforcing their own will. They were not absolutist in any genuine sense But compared with earlier monarchs and with the Holy Roman Emperor, they were clearly in the ascendancy.¹

The power of the dukes was certainly on the rise in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel as evidenced by Duke Heinrich the Younger's (r. 1514-1568) vigorous opposition to the Reformation's onset in his territory and the powerful direction his son, Duke Julius (r.

¹Lewis W. Spitz, *The Protestant Reformation 1527-1559*, The Rise of Modern Europe Series, ed. William L. Langer (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1985), 36.

1568-1589), exercised upon his succession to introduce the Reformation into the territory.

The Reformation in the City of Braunschweig

Not unlike Wittenberg, the first stirrings of the Reformation in the city of Braunschweig began with a monk. Gottschalk Kruse, a brother in the cloister of St. Aegedian, had struggled, much like Luther, over the freedom of his soul in relation to God. Kruse studied in Wittenberg from April 1520 to December 1521. In 1520 Luther published "The Freedom of a Christian" which must have helped ease Kruse's struggles and clarified his thinking.² After returning to Braunschweig Kruse began proclaiming the gospel in the city until he was forced to leave in 1526. He carried on extensive correspondence with Luther leading Luther later to recommend him to Duke Ernst the Confessor for the position of court chaplain in Braunschweig-Lüneburg.

At the time of Kruse's evangelical preaching, the city of Braunschweig was also experiencing a rise in its prestige, independence and authority. Spitz observes that the cities in the Holy Roman Empire at the Reformation's onset:

Like the territorial principalities . . . were in the ascendancy. . . . Governed by city councils and mayors who were really controlled by the merchant oligarchies, with some influence being exercised by lesser guilds, the cities enjoyed a large measure of freedom and independence. During the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries they enjoyed great prosperity But the cities were not organized to

²Klaus Jürgens, "Die Reformation in der Stadt Braunschweig von den Anfängen bis zur Annahme der Kirchenordnung," in *Die Reformation in der Stadt Braunschweig*, ed. Stadtkirchenverband Braunschweig (Braunschweig: Gesamtherstellung Druck- und Verlagshaus Limbach, 1978), 28.

protect their mutual interests and had little collective political power, no matter how prosperous they became.³

That was true even in north Saxony where the old medieval Hanseatic League, of which Braunschweig was a principal member, exercised little political power and less economic muscle at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Yet in relation to the duchy of which it was a part, Braunschweig exercised significant independent power. In an article entitled "The Reformation in the Hanseatic Cities," Heinz Schilling contends that the Reformation in the Hanseatic cities was unique. This Hanseatic City Reformation, an urban movement similar to the reform in the imperial cities in the south and southwest, took place in two waves: 1527-28 and 1531-32.⁴ In the first stage, of which Braunschweig was a part, the burghers simply demanded the reformation. The second wave in cities such as Hamburg and Lübeck "was a burgher reformation supported by craftsmen."⁵ The actions of the burghers clearly

³Lewis W. Spitz, *The Renaissance and Reformation Movements*, vol. 2, *The Reformation*, rev. ed. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1987), 320-21.

⁴Heinz Schilling, "The Reformation in the Hanseatic Cities," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 14 (1983): 444. Although Braunschweig was not technically a free imperial city, it was able over time to parlay its economic strength and political importance into latitude nearly equal that of the cities protected by the emperor. The classic work on the free imperial city reform is Bernd Moeller, *Imperial Cities and the Reformation: Three Essays*, ed. and trans. H. C. Erik Midelfort and Mark U. Edwards, Jr. (Durham: Labyrinth Press, 1982). Another study taking a broader sweep beyond the imperial cities is Steven E. Ozment, *The Reformation in the Cities: The Appeal of Protestantism to Sixteenth-Century Germany and Switzerland* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975).

⁵Schilling, 446.

demonstrate the independent power the Hanseatic cities possessed over against their duchies. Schilling says of these cities:

'Hanseatic City' instead designates those provincial towns which were set off from most territorial towns by the tradition of municipal freedom and or economic significance, and which functioned as partners in dealing with their respective princes. . . . It was primarily the towns—most of them members of the Hanseatic League, with many trans-territorial connections and considerable financial and economic strength—that stood in opposition to the rulers' state-building policy. In small or medium territories the Hanseatic towns still had a predominant and very independent position, and their burghers guarded their traditional autonomy suspiciously.⁶

The burghers guarded their autonomy by means of a mindset that raised communal principles and communal strength above oligarchic and centralizing tendencies in the city councils and territorial governments. Schilling contends that these communal principles and interests manifested themselves in both the domestic and religious realms. "A strong communal tradition and feeling" served "as the basis for the burghers' claim on participation in secular as well as religious matters."⁷ Their participation took the form of influencing the nomination and election of magistrates responsive to the burghers' demands in the domestic and religious realms. Eventually the burgher committees in many cities simply assumed authority until a responsive city council was elected. Through such political maneuvering the successful introduction of the Reformation was guaranteed.

The cities not only had to demonstrate independence from their oligarchic city councils but also from their dukes as well. Schilling states:

⁶Schilling, 445.

⁷Schilling, 453.

In the earliest stage of the North German Reformation the religious and political lines were quite clear: with the exception of Ernst der Bekenner, duke of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, all territorial rulers took the side of the old church. Consequently, a successful Lutheran Reformation meant at least a demonstration of municipal independence from territorial tutelage, in most cases even a real short term expansion of the town's autonomy based on medieval tradition and privilege. . . . The tendencies of the early modern state to close off their territories . . . were weakened and set back for a generation.⁸

This was no more readily true than in Braunschweig. From 1491 until 1671 the city would struggle with the respective dukes of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel over the status of the city's autonomy in political and ecclesiastical matters.⁹ Yet as Schilling points out,

the tradition of the Hanseatic City Reformation and its communal impetus did not disappear at all. Some towns and their burghers maintained considerable influence on the respective city churches. The Lutheran congregation often took part in the election of its pastors.¹⁰

Braunschweig was no exception.¹¹

The burghers in Braunschweig eventually forced the city council to introduce the Reformation, so Gottschalk Kruse's efforts in Braunschweig did not go to waste. After his departure, pastors in the city began to spread the evangelical teaching among the people.¹² The lower middle class and the guilds readily received the new teaching,

⁸Schilling, 453-54.

⁹Only during the superintendency of Martin Chemnitz and the reign of Duke Julius was the relationship between the duke and the city harmonious. See J. A. O. Preus, *The Second Martin* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, forthcoming).

¹⁰Schilling, 455.

¹¹See later pages 40, 62.

¹²Gustav Plath and D. Hermann Schuster record an incident in the Bruderkirche

while the city councils and the cloisters were opposed to it.¹³ The new teaching's welcome reception among the lower middle class and burghers, along with the burghers' demands for social, political, and religious change—especially the urging of a craftsman named Winkel—led the city council to call the Wittenberg theologian and reformer Johannes Bugenhagen¹⁴ to Braunschweig in 1528.¹⁵ As a result of Bugenhagen's work, a church order for the city was issued in 1528 that served as a model church order for north and central Germany, particularly the cities of Hamburg and Lübeck.¹⁶ The Reformation was conducted in Braunschweig in a very turbulent

in which the congregation, hearing a priest preaching according to Roman Catholic doctrine, cried out to him: "Priest, you lie. The Bible teaches otherwise." *Kleine Kirchengeschichte Niedersachsens*, ed. Paul Albers (Hannover: Lutherhaus Verlag, 1965), 41.

¹³Wilhelm Rauls, "Frommigkeit und Bekenntnis in der Braunschweigischen Landeskirche," in *Vier Jahrhunderte Lutherische Landeskirche in Braunschweig: Festschrift zum 400jährigen Reformationsjubiläum der Braunschweigischen evangelisch-lutherischen Landeskirche im Jahre 1968*, ed. Friedrich W. Wandersleb und Martin Wandersleb (Wolfenbüttel: Landeskirchenamt, 1968), 33.

¹⁴See outline of Bugenhagen's life in Jeffrey P. Jaynes, "'Ordo et Libertas': Church Discipline and the Makers of Church Order in Sixteenth Century North Germany," Ph.D. diss. (The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 1993), 350-51. For the influence of Bugenhagen upon the evangelical understanding of the office of the ministry through his church orders see Jaynes, 20-21, 95.

¹⁵See Plath, 41-42; Georg Schnath, Hermann Lübbling, Günther Möhlmann, Franz Engel, Dieter Brosius, and Waldemar Röhrbein, *Geschichte des Landes Niedersachsen*, 2nd ed., Geschichte der deutschen Länder, (Würzburg: Verlag Ploetz KG, 1973), 26; and Carl J. Böttcher, ed., *Germania Sacra. Ein Topographischer Führer durch die Kirchen- und Schulgeschichte deutscher Lande* (Leipzig: Verlag von Justus Naumann, 1874), 758, who indicate that Bugenhagen preached in Braunschweig from the beginning of May until the beginning of October. In 1529 Bugenhagen returned from Hamburg to Braunschweig to reconcile some outstanding problems.

¹⁶Rauls, 33.

manner: ecclesiastical art was destroyed, vestments were burned, and monks immediately left the cloisters. Thus the city of Braunschweig received the Reformation 41 years ahead of its duchy. It was one of the first north Saxon cities to do so, one year ahead of Hamburg and three years ahead of Lübeck, fellow members of the Hanseatic League.

In the years from 1528-1569 the city's religious life was guarded well by its four superintendents: Martin Görlitz (1528-42), Nicolaus Medler (1545-51), Joachim Mörlin (1553-67)¹⁷, and Martin Chemnitz (1567-84)¹⁸. All four, especially the latter two, were staunch defenders of Lutheran Orthodoxy.¹⁹ Martin Chemnitz was perhaps the most accomplished Lutheran theologian in the late stages of the Reformation following Martin Luther.²⁰ He had previously served for one year as a lecturer on Melancthon's *Loci Communes* at Wittenberg and then as the coadjutor under Joachim Mörlin, the first superintendent of Braunschweig, from 1554-67.²¹ Chemnitz's

¹⁷See Jaynes, 169, 361-62 and Böttcher, 759.

¹⁸See outline of Chemnitz's life in Jaynes, 351-52.

¹⁹J. A. O. Preus, *The Second Martin*.

²⁰Chemnitz, armed with the financial support and a leave of absence from the city of Braunschweig, received his doctorate from Rostock in 1568. Jaynes, 187; J. A. O. Preus, *The Second Martin*.

²¹In succeeding Mörlin, Chemnitz, who throughout his career was in great demand elsewhere, further attempted to strengthen the office of superintendent and to hinder city council interference in ecclesiastical matters, Jaynes, 187. He learned from Mörlin, of whom Jaynes states, "His battles with two princes had caused Mörlin to give special attention to the independence and power of the pastoral office." Jaynes, 169. See also Jaynes, 180.

writings are voluminous and he was one of the proponents of Lutheran theological concord that led to the writing of the Formula of Concord, much of which came from his pen.

Chemnitz solidified the Reformation in the city particularly through his proposals to the city council prior to accepting the position. He wanted to maintain the freedom of the church in regard to ecclesiastical matters, with the city government serving a supporting role. To that end, Chemnitz strove in his proposals to preserve unity of thought and action within the ministerium and in the relationship between the ministerium and the city council. He provided these directives concerning the calling of pastors:

As far as the ministerium is concerned it is necessary that the honorable Council will hold to the concept that unity must be preserved within the ministerium, and thus no preacher can be received or called into the conference, without the consent of the conference or ministerium, who has not met with and been examined by the conference, and no person may be installed in office without the consent of the superintendent and the ministerium.²²

Chemnitz was officially called to the office of superintendent on September 20, 1567, installed on October 15, and his requests were granted.²³ As a result of his proposals

²²Martin Chemnitz, "Braunschweig Proposals," in Eduard Preuss, ed., *Examen Concilii Tridentini* (Berlin: Gust. Schlawitz, 1861), 933; quoted and translated in J. A. O. Preus, *The Second Martin*.

²³Chemnitz, "Braunschweig Proposals," translated in J. A. O. Preus, *The Second Martin*; Jaynes says that Chemnitz's efforts resulted in "one of the strongest statements regarding the office of superintendent." Jaynes, 270-72.

he and the other pastors in the city were able to call the people to repentance and maintain church discipline, thus invigorating the people's faith and life.²⁴

The Reformation in the Principality of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel

The principality of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel was part of the hereditary territorial lands of the Welfischen (or Guelph) noble line.²⁵ The genealogy of the ruling lines, like many royal families, developed in a complicated manner over the centuries with certain lines dying out, others assuming their place, and lands being divided and consolidated in the process.²⁶ Throughout the history of the duchy of Braunschweig-Lüneburg three distinct lines, or houses, possessed the Wolfenbüttel parts of the duchy. At the time of the Reformation the Middle Line was in power, Heinrich the Younger and Julius being the fifth and sixth rulers in that line.

The Reformation was introduced into various portions of the duchy relatively early. In 1528 Braunschweig-Lüneburg, under the leadership of Ernst the Confessor, received the Reformation.²⁷ After 1538 Braunschweig-Grubenhagen and

²⁴Chemnitz, "Braunschweig Proposals," translated in J. A. O. Preus, *The Second Martin*.

²⁵The information regarding the family history is taken from Jirí Louda and Michael Maclagan, *Heraldry of the Royal Families of Europe* (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1981), 195-98 and Schnath, 26.

²⁶Please see Appendices 1, 2, and 3 for further clarification.

²⁷An important event for the beginning of the Reformation in Braunschweig-Lüneburg and North Saxony in general was the battle over the Hildesheim religious foundations. For more details see Plath, 32.

Braunschweig-Kalenberg (Kalenberg-Göttingen), the two other primary principalities in the duchy, followed suit.²⁸ Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel was indeed one of the last territories to receive the Reformation. In effect, it received the Reformation twice. The duke at the time, Heinrich the Younger,²⁹ virulently opposed the Reformation, so the city of Braunschweig's reception of the Reformation raised his scorn. Since Braunschweig and the city of Goslar, which had also received the Reformation,³⁰ ignored the threats of Heinrich, he decided to use force. After issuing various threats he led an unsuccessful assault on Braunschweig in 1545. The cities managed to resist Heinrich with the assistance of Landgrave Philipp of Hesse and Elector John Frederick of Saxony. Heinrich was forced to leave Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel in 1542 after a short campaign by the forces of the Schmalkald League and assembled an army with the help of the Roman Catholic city of Liga. But in 1545 the forces of the

²⁸Reformation teaching had begun in Braunschweig-Kalenberg and Braunschweig-Grubenhagen as early as 1529 and was well established by 1538 when the Reformation was officially established. See Hajo Holborn, *A History of Modern Germany* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1959), 1:206, 220. In addition to the four duchies, there was one free imperial city in the North Saxon area, Goslar. See also Jaynes, 104-13, 119-21.

²⁹J. A. O. Preus, quoting Philip J. Rhetmeyer, says that he was "a warlike duke," and indeed he was, politically, militarily, ecclesiastically and personally" (*The Second Martin*). See Philip J. Rhetmeyer, *Antiquitas Ecclesiastica Inclita Urbis Brunsviga, Pars VII* (Braunschweig: Christoph Friedrich Zilligers, 1756), 3:316. This is the Duke Heinrich against whom Luther wrote his virulent attack, *Against Hans Wurst*. Heinrich had also allowed the Reformation to gain a foothold in various mountain cities in the interior of the principality and through freedoms he had granted to individual noble residences such as Warberg, Holtensen, and Brunkensen.

³⁰Goslar accepted the evangelical teachings at the Diet of Speyer in 1526 and received an evangelical church order, prepared by Nikolaus von Amsdorf, in 1531.

Schmalkald League defeated him and captured him in battle.³¹ However, Heinrich reacquired his lands with the defeat of the Schmalkald League's forces on April 24, 1547, at the hands of Emperor Charles V. Heinrich besieged the city of Braunschweig again for eight weeks but was unable to force it to capitulate.

Heinrich struggled to reassert Roman Catholic teaching and practice in his principality. He even borrowed a practice introduced by the reformers, conducting a church visitation in 1551.³² During the five years of his absence, Reformation teachings had gained a considerable foothold. Bugenhagen had been called to the territory in 1542 to conduct a church visitation (5 October-12 November). In 1543 the first church order, was prepared by Bugenhagen, Martin Görlitz, the superintendent of the city of Braunschweig, and Antonius Corvinus, at the time territorial superintendent in Braunschweig-Kalenberg.³³ As a result of the new church order they were able to call evangelical pastors and superintendents. However, the new church order did not take hold successfully immediately. This led to a second visitation by the reformers in 1544.³⁴ Even after the second visitation the church order

³¹The city of Braunschweig had joined the Schmalkald League on June 11, 1531; concerning the Schmalkaldic War against Heinrich see Harold J. Grimm, *The Reformation Era: 1500-1650*, 2nd ed. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1973), 180-81; also see J. A. O. Preus, *The Second Martin*.

³²J. A. O. Preus, *The Second Martin*.

³³Emil Sehling, "Fürstentum Wolfenbüttel" [introduction to section], in *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, ed. Emil Sehling (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1955), 6/1:4; see outline of Corvinus' life in Jaynes, 353-54.

³⁴Sehling, "Fürstentum Wolfenbüttel," 6/1:4.

was essentially abandoned.³⁵ Thus, the principality had its first taste of the Reformation.³⁶

The actual or lasting Reformation of the territory which took hold began June 11, 1568, when Heinrich the Younger's son, Julius, became duke at the death of his father. Julius was a firm supporter of the Reformation.³⁷ At a young age he had advocated Reformation teachings³⁸ and thus incurred his father's anger.³⁹ Dissimilar to his father in many ways, Julius was like him in being a ruler who wished to make all important decisions, even ecclesiastical decisions, alone. Once made, he never wavered from decisions and was extremely sensitive to criticism.⁴⁰ He participated in

³⁵Jaynes, 211, n. 118.

³⁶See Plath, 42; Sehling, "Fürstentum Wolfenbüttel," 6/1:3-11; Kurt Kronenberg, "Die Reformation im Lande Braunschweig," in *Vier Jahrhunderte Lutherische Landeskirche in Braunschweig: Festschrift zum 400jährigen Reformationsjubiläum der Braunschweigischen evangelisch-lutherischen Landeskirche im Jahre 1968*, ed. Friedrich W. Wandersleb und Martin Wandersleb (Wolfenbüttel: Landeskirchenamt, 1968), 9; and Jaynes, 94-98, 128-30.

³⁷For more information on the life of Julius see J. A. O. Preus, *The Second Martin*.

³⁸According to J. A. O. Preus, *The Second Martin*, on the basis of Horst Reller, "Die Auseinandersetzung zwischen Herzog Heinrich d. J. und Herzog Julius von Braunschweig-Lüneburg in den Jahren 1553-1568. Ein Beitrag zur Biographie von Herzog Julius," *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für niedersächsische Kirchengeschichte* 67 (1969): 91-106, indicates that it is impossible to determine exactly why or when this conversion occurred.

³⁹Kronenberg, 9. Rauls indicates that Heinrich the Younger for a short time imprisoned his son and even disinherited him. Rauls, 33. Eventually they were reconciled, see J. A. O. Preus, *The Second Martin*.

⁴⁰Kronenberg, 10. Kronenberg notes the various ecclesiastical officials and theologians who incurred his wrath throughout his reign: M. Nicolaus Budanus, the first general superintendent of Wolfenbüttel, Hermann Hamelmann, the first general

all ecclesiastical conferences and repeatedly asserted his point of view. He never allowed his ecclesiastical officials to promote their authority at the expense of his own.⁴¹

On July 28, 1568, Duke Julius invited Martin Chemnitz to Wolfenbüttel to discuss the reformation of his territory.⁴² After meeting with Chemnitz, Julius immediately sought to solidify the nascent Reformation in the land by conducting a general church visitation. For this purpose he requested the assistance of his cousin, Duke Christoph of Württemberg, who sent him Jakob Andreae,⁴³ then chancellor of the University of Tübingen, on a temporary basis. Julius also sought help from Elector August of Saxony (Kursachsen), who eventually sent him Nikolaus Selnecker,⁴⁴ who became the second general superintendent of the principality. Concerning the decisions of Julius, Jaynes states,

Chemnitz was essential to the success of this enterprise, but Chemnitz knew from the outset that he needed help. Duke Julius had someone already in mind—the Tübingen reformer and Württemberg court preacher Jacob Andreae. . . . As the disciple of Johannes Brenz, Andreae had worked on the innovative Württemberg

superintendent of Gandersheim, Dr. Timothy Kirchner, the third general superintendent of the principality, the court preacher M. Johann Malsius, even Martin Chemnitz and Nicolaus Selnecker. According to Gottfried G. Krodel the duke could drastically influence the religious lives of all the people in his realm. "Luther and the Opposition to Roman Law in Germany," *Lutherjahrbuch* 58 (1991): 15.

⁴¹Kronenberg, 10.

⁴²J. A. O. Preus provides a full picture of the reformation of the territory in *The Second Martin*.

⁴³See outline of his life in Jaynes, 347-48.

⁴⁴See the outline of Selnecker's life in Jaynes, 369-70.

orders completed in 1553 and 1559. The Württemberger had composed previous orders for the Reichstadt Rotthenburg (Tauber) in 1558 and for the duchy of Pfalz-Neuberg in 1560.⁴⁵

The reformation in Braunschweig was certainly in good hands.⁴⁶

Julius appointed Chemnitz, Andreae, and Peter Ulner, abbot of the cloister Berg at Magdeburg (who later left the Lutheran church), to the general church visitation team which also included a number of laymen.⁴⁷ The general visitation was conducted from October 10 through November 15, 1568.⁴⁸ Preus states that it "was carried out on the basis of the Church Order which Chemnitz had prepared before the arrival of Andreae and which was revised after the visitation and appeared [January 1, 1569] in revised form as the Church Order of Braunschweig-Lüneburg of 1569."⁴⁹ The latter also eventually included not only a complete agenda section but also a cloister order and a code of church law,⁵⁰ including a doctrinal confession of the

⁴⁵Jaynes, 188.

⁴⁶Concerning the relationship between Chemnitz and Andreae see Jaynes, 189.

⁴⁷See Kronenberg, 13-14, and Böttcher, 759.

⁴⁸J. A. O. Preus, *The Second Martin*; see also Jaynes, 187-89.

⁴⁹J. A. O. Preus, *The Second Martin*; he cites Jobst Ebel, "Herkunft des Konzeptes der Konkordienformel, Die Funktionen der fünf Verfasser neben Andreae beim Zustandekommen der Formel," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 91 (1980): 247, and Rhetmeyer, 3:338 and 3/Beylagen:243.

⁵⁰Duke Julius was energetic in enforcing both the ecclesiastical law and ensuring pure doctrine throughout his land. He removed pastors who did not live up to his demands regarding their teaching and life. He influenced patrons and their rights, even calling pastors himself when the patron did not follow his wishes. He curbed corrupt medieval practices such as pastors who were called but vacant from their parishes. Concerned about the education of his clergy he erected a school in

territory.⁵¹ In addition, on February 2, 1569, Julius appointed Chemnitz general superintendent of the territory as well as the consistory's ecclesiastical councilor to the duke. Chemnitz intended to serve full-time as the general superintendent of the city of Braunschweig while serving as the territory's superintendent only part-time. This arrangement was not feasible, leading Chemnitz to resign the latter position and allowing Selnecker to be appointed general superintendent of the principality.⁵² Chemnitz, however, continued as the duke's closest ecclesiastical advisor.⁵³

Gandersheim which in 1576 became the University of Helmstedt. Although he might be criticized for many things, Julius was a tireless ruler who gave much in time, money and personal energy toward the reformation of his territory. Kronenberg, 10-11.

⁵¹This doctrinal section was the official doctrinal confession of the territory prepared by Chemnitz, later revised, and published in 1576 as the *Corpus Doctrinae Julium*, a direct predecessor to the Formula of Concord. Sehling, "Fürstentum Wolfenbüttel," 6/1:6.

⁵²At the time the general superintendent had oversight of the five regional general superintendents: Wolfenbüttel, Helmstedt, Bockenem, Gandersheim, and Alfeld. Selnecker also had oversight of the new university at Helmstedt. However, his introduction of a work of Melancthon at the school led to his decision to leave the territory in 1573. His successor Timothy Kirchner held a number of positions simultaneously including general superintendent, first vice-rector of the university, and leader of the consistory. His successor, Basilius Sattler, served until 1624 under three different dukes and provided strong guidance to the landeskirche assuring the reformation's success.

For details on the development of the consistory and the ecclesiastical government see Kronenberg, 24-25. There was great flux initially not only in who held the positions of authority but also in the power of the consistory, the nature of its headship, and its relationship to the government.

⁵³Kronenberg, 11. This relationship continued until 1579 when the duke removed Chemnitz from his councilor's position due to Chemnitz's outspoken opposition to the consecration of the duke's son as Roman Catholic bishop of Halberstadt.

The Kirchenordnung of Duke Julius, which became synonymous with his name, was the joint work of Chemnitz and Andreae.⁵⁴ The cloister order and the ecclesiastical law sections of the church order were prepared by Andreae on the basis of the Württemberg church order of 1559. Chemnitz prepared the various worship rites in the church order primarily on the basis of the Lüneburg church order of 1564.⁵⁵ The church order was also introduced in Kalenberg-Göttingen in 1584-85 when Julius gained control of that territory as well.⁵⁶ Of the Kirchenordnung of Julius

⁵⁴Speaking of the process of preparing church orders, Jeffrey Jaynes states: "Territorial authorities, primarily princes, tended to dominate in the religious, as well as political arena. Although there were exceptions, like Goslar, Magdeburg, and later, Lüneburg, the creation, and implementation of church orders became almost exclusively a territorial enterprise. Even the introduction of consistorial courts pushed ecclesiastical developments in this direction. The actualization of the *landesherrliche Kirchenregiment* had commenced in northern Germany, yet the authors of the church orders still directed the process." Jaynes, 177.

This statement reflects Jaynes' thesis that properly understanding the process of church order production requires an examination of that process vis-a-vis the trans-territorial network of church order authors. He contends against the dominant approach, initiated by Emil Sehling, which analyzes the church orders by grouping them according to various families of orders according to the territories from which they originated. Sehling argued for such an approach because he believed the "princes controlled the entire process of reform." Jaynes, 85. Although Jaynes finds the family approach helpful (he indicates that most scholars have come to accept five distinct families [88]), without assessing the impact of the church order authors' network a full picture is not provided. It fails to account for the efforts of the authors and conceals the impact of unique local and territorial concerns. Jaynes, 90. His description of the process is certainly apt for Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel. See also Jaynes, 158.

⁵⁵Kronenberg, 15. Rauls indicates that the model for the Lüneburg church order was the Mecklenburg church order of 1552, with which Melanchthon assisted. Rauls, 33. See Jaynes on the composing of the Lüneburg order. Jaynes, 183-84.

⁵⁶Sehling, "Fürstentum Wolfenbüttel," 6/1:5; see also J. A. O. Preus, *The Second Martin*.

Kurt Kronenberg says, it was "such a consistent work that it influenced the ecclesiastical development of the land of Braunschweig in a very decisive and influential way, even encouraging discussions toward the Formula of Concord."⁵⁷

The church orders served to maintain peace and secure the proclamation of the gospel. Although many have contended that the church orders violated the freedom inherent in the evangelical message,⁵⁸ Jaynes contends that in the minds of the reformers and the authors of the church orders, freedom and order went hand in hand, order guaranteed the freedom of the gospel. That is why they were prepared.⁵⁹

These reformers expressed their understanding that disorder, more than tyrannized consciences, threatened the well-being of the church and the individual Christian. They advocated their understanding of harmonious church orders as a way to avoid divine displeasure, to silence detractors and critics, and to guarantee personal and spiritual health. Ultimately church order was necessary to insure "the two critical components of church life: preaching and the sacraments."⁶⁰

⁵⁷Kronenberg, 16.

⁵⁸See especially Gerald Strauss, *Law, Resistance, and the State: the Opposition to Roman Law in Reformation Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986); also see the responses by Gottfried G. Krodel, "Evangelische Bewegung"—Luther—Anfänge der lutherischen Landeskirche: Die ersten Jahre der Reformation im Schnittpunkt von Kirchengeschichte und Sozialgeschichte," in *Luthers Wirkung: Festschrift für Martin Brecht zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Wolf-Dieter Hauschild, Wilhelm H. Neuser und Christian Peters (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1992); "Luther and the Opposition to Roman Law in Germany," *Lutherjahrbuch* 58 (1991): 13-42; and "The Opposition to Roman Law and the Reformation in Germany," *The Journal of Law and Religion* 10 (1993-94): 221-66. Jaynes analyzes Strauss' contentions as well as those of others. Jaynes, 13-25.

⁵⁹Jaynes, 59, 162.

⁶⁰Jaynes, 64-65.

Church orders, and the application of discipline that went along with it, provided a framework in which the freedom of the gospel would not be abused and become a law itself.⁶¹

The church orders not only guarded against the tyranny of abused freedom but often thwarted the tyranny of the state over ecclesiastical and theological affairs. Jaynes writes, "Individuals like Mörlin, Chemnitz, and Heshusius advocated church orders as a means to guarantee a degree of autonomy in ecclesiastical affairs, and had no interest or desire to contribute to the centralizing principle like Albrecht of Prussia or Julius of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel."⁶² For the authors of the church orders, such as Bugenhagen and Chemnitz, establishing order and maintaining discipline served the upbuilding of the church in the city or territory, not state-building.⁶³ As will be seen, the rites for the vocational process of forming pastors contributed to this defense of ecclesiastical rights vis-a-vis state control.

Martin Chemnitz's Understanding of the Office of the Holy Ministry

Before examining the rites themselves it would be helpful to examine how the framer of those rites, Martin Chemnitz, understood the office of the holy ministry.⁶⁴

⁶¹See Jaynes, 2, 29, 83, 132 and Kronenberg, 16.

⁶²Jaynes, 341.

⁶³Jaynes, 286.

⁶⁴For a summary of Chemnitz's understanding of the office of the holy ministry see James H. Pragman, *Traditions of Ministry* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1983), 48-57.

Chemnitz enunciates his understanding of the ministerial office in three accomplished theological works: his *Examen Concilii Tridentini* (1566), *Enchiridion* (1569), and *Loci Theologici* (1591).⁶⁵ In all three works Chemnitz's confession of the doctrine of the pastoral office is consistent and fully developed.

How did Chemnitz confess the doctrine of the office of the holy ministry? He enunciated a view of the office that anchors it in the gospel of Jesus Christ. For Chemnitz, the office of the ministry was a *ministerium*⁶⁶ of the gospel to the church of

⁶⁵Each of his major works approaches the exposition of doctrine in a different way. The *Examen* was intended as an examination and appraisal of the supposed reform of papal doctrine as contained in the Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent. The *Enchiridion* was intended as a handbook of Christian doctrinal questions and answers for the examination of pastors, for the use of pastors as a summary review of pure doctrine, and for the laity as a means of judging the voice of their pastors according to the voice of Christ. The *Loci Theologici* was intended as a detailed explanation of the *Loci Communes* of Philip Melancthon and was the first comprehensive and systematic elucidation of Christian doctrine after the Reformation.

Martin Chemnitz, *Ministry, Word, and Sacraments: An Enchiridion*, ed. and trans. Luther Poellet (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1974); Martin Chemnitz, *Enchiridion. Handbuechlein der vornehmsten Hauptstuecke der christlichen Lehre*, ed. A. L. Graebner (Milwaukee: Georg Brumder, 1886).

Martin Chemnitz, *Loci Theologici*, vol. 2, trans. J. A. O. Preus (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1989); Martin Chemnitz, *Loci Theologici*, vol. 3, ed. Polycarp Leyser (Frankfurt: I. Spies, 1599).

Martin Chemnitz, *Examination of the Council of Trent*, vol. 2, trans. Fred Kramer (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1971); Martin Chemnitz, *Examen Concilii Tridentini*, ed. Eduard Preuss (Berlin: Gust. Schlawitz, 1861).

⁶⁶Chemnitz uses four words to describe the ministry: *ministerium*, *dienst* or *kirchendienst*, *amt* or *predigtamt*, and *doctoribus*. He prefers *ministerium* in the *Examen* and *Loci*, while he utilizes *dienst* and *amt* in the *Enchiridion*. These words, each with their own nuance, refer to the ministry of the Gospel, the ministry of Word and sacrament, which involves primarily preaching and teaching the Word of God, the administration of the sacraments, and the shepherding of the people of God. Chemnitz does not conceive of the *ministerium* apart from the men called to fill it. For him, where there is a ministry there are ministers.

Christ. It was an instrument of God established to serve to the church the gospel, the forgiveness of sins in Jesus Christ,⁶⁷ for the sake of the building up and growth of the Church (Ephesians 4:16).⁶⁸ Chemnitz understood the ministry of the church to be "a spiritual or ecclesiastic office"⁶⁹ that was instituted and ordained by God for the carrying out of certain, given functions for the sake of the church.

The functions of the church are threefold and encompass the means which God established for the giving of the gospel to his people. Chemnitz summarizes these well in his *Enchiridion*: the minister is "to serve the church with the preaching of the Word and the administration of the sacraments and the use of the keys."⁷⁰ The first function is the feeding of the church of God with the "doctrine of the divine Word" (Acts 20:28; Ephesians 4:11; 1 Peter 5:2),⁷¹ the proclamation and preaching of the gospel. The second function of the church that the minister is to serve is the administration and distribution of the sacraments (1 Corinthians 11:23 and Matthew 28:19).⁷² The third function of the church which the ministry is to serve is the

⁶⁷See Pragman, 51.

⁶⁸Chemnitz, *Enchiridion*, trans. Poellet, 16; *Enchiridion*, ed. Graebner, 6.

⁶⁹Chemnitz, *Enchiridion*, trans. Poellet, 26; *Enchiridion*, ed. Graebner, 10.

⁷⁰Chemnitz, *Enchiridion*, trans. Poellet, 38; *Enchiridion*, ed. Graebner, 29.

⁷¹Chemnitz, *Enchiridion*, trans. Poellet, 26; *Enchiridion*, ed. Graebner, 11; see also Pragman, 50.

⁷²Chemnitz, *Enchiridion*, trans. Poellet, 26.

administration of the keys of the church by the remitting or retaining of sins (Matthew 16:19 and John 20:23).⁷³

The relationship between the church and the ministry, therefore, for Chemnitz, is bound to the functions of the church. Neither the teachers nor the hearers,⁷⁴ those who make up the church, lord it over the other in the church. Rather, the teachers impart the gospel in its purity to the hearers, and the hearers receive that gospel in purity from the teachers.⁷⁵ What binds the two groups together are the gospel and the functions, the teaching of the gospel and the means of grace.

So that the gospel may be proclaimed by the ministry, God raises up men, that is, God fills the office.⁷⁶ Chemnitz states that God has prescribed in his Word a form regarding the call, doctrine, and life of those to whom the functions of the church are

⁷³Chemnitz, *Enchiridion*, trans. Poellet, 26.

⁷⁴Chemnitz conceived of the church as properly composed of teachers and hearers, pastors and laity. In the 1659 edition of the *Loci Theologici* edited by Polycarp Leyser the heading of the fourth section under the loci "De Ecclesia" reads: "De Doctoribus & Auditoribus Ecclesiae," literally, doctors and hearers. *Loci Theologici*, trans. J. A. O. Preus, 2:706, 713; *Loci Theologici*, ed. Leyser, 279. Hans-Christoph Rublack states that "A Lutheran pastor communicated religious knowledge; this was the core of his understanding of his profession. He called himself a teacher in the sixteenth century." "Success and Failure of the Reformation: Popular 'Apologies' from the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Germania Illustrata: Essays on Early Modern Germany Presented to Gerald Strauss*, ed. Andrew C. Fix and Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies*, edited by Charles G. Nauert, Jr., vol. 18 (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1992), 161-62.

⁷⁵Pragman, 56.

⁷⁶*Loci Theologici*, trans. J. A. O. Preus, 2:686.

to be entrusted.⁷⁷ "The election . . . takes place through the church . . . with a definite order,"⁷⁸ that is, a certain process of calling a candidate. Chemnitz uses a number of terms connected to the entire process: call, election, nomination, examination, ordination. These terms cannot be defined vis-a-vis one another with absolute specificity, but it appears that every process of calling included three elements: a call issued to a candidate, an examination of the candidate's life and doctrine, and an ordination of the candidate. One could surmise from this that the form for the "making of a pastor" is a single process that could be denoted broadly by the term call⁷⁹ and that involves three related aspects: legitimate call-election, examination, and ordination.⁸⁰

The process of placing men into the office of the holy ministry is the Lord's. The Lord entrusts the office to the pastors through a legitimate call, narrowly understood, the first aspect of the process.⁸¹ The means instituted and ordained by

⁷⁷*Enchiridion*, trans. Poellet, 26-27; *Enchiridion*, ed. Graebner, 11.

⁷⁸*Loci Theologici*, trans. J. A. O Preus, 2:702.

⁷⁹Pragman fails to note that Chemnitz could use the term call in both a broad and narrow sense. Pragman, 52. See the *Loci Theologici*, trans. J. A. O. Preus, 2:698-706, where the term "call" is used to denote the entire process.

⁸⁰*Enchiridion*, trans. Poellet, 27, 34-35; *Examination of the Council of Trent*, trans. Kramer, 2:708-709; see also Pragman, 53.

⁸¹*Loci Theologici*, trans. J. A. O. Preus, 2:699. Chemnitz cites numerous passages to clarify that the action of calling is the Lord's action. In *Enchiridion*, trans. Poellet, 32 are Acts 20:28, 2 Corinthians 5:19-20, Ephesians 4:11, 1 Corinthians 12:28; in *Loci Theologici*, trans. J. A. O. Preus, 2:700 are 1 Timothy 4:14, 2 Timothy 1:6, 2:2; see also *Loci Theologici*, trans. J. A. O. Preus, 2:699 and *Enchiridion*, trans. Poellet, 26, 29.

God for the bestowal of a legitimate call is through the voice of the entire church (1 Tim 3:2-7; Titus 1:5-9).⁸² Thus the call through the voice of the church is divine.⁸³

Chemnitz's understanding of the entire church is all-inclusive. No part of the church is to be excluded from the responsibility of calling, whether laity, including the prince and government officials, or pastors. Chemnitz states, "election or calling certainly belongs in some way to the whole church, so that in their choosing and calling both presbyters and people are partners."⁸⁴

Through the examination process the church could be sure that it was calling a person committed to sound doctrine, who was apt to teach, and led a life worthy of that doctrine. For Chemnitz, it is vital that the pastor called not be an intruder or usurper who will lead the church of Christ astray by his teaching. By encouraging the practice of examination Chemnitz wants to guard against someone entering the office who will lead people to doubt that the word and the teaching of the word that proceeds from his mouth is in fact the Lord's, or that the sacraments that the pastor administers truly deliver the forgiveness of sins.⁸⁵

⁸²*Examination of the Council of Trent*, trans. Kramer, 2:678.

⁸³*Examination of the Council of Trent*, trans. Kramer, 2:706; see also Pragman, 52.

⁸⁴*Examination of the Council of Trent*, trans. Kramer, 2:709; *Examen Concilii Tridentini*, ed. Preuss, 485; see also Pragman, 52-3.

⁸⁵Chemnitz contends for the importance of examination not because he possesses Donatistic tendencies. He does not believe the power and effect of God's word and the sacraments depend on a holy and pure pastor who administers them. That Chemnitz is attempting to close the door to the possibility of doubt or weakening of faith within the hearers when their pastor seems ill-fit for the office is clear in this

A candidate that has received a call, been elected, and been examined and approved is certainly fit to fill the office of the ministry as far as Chemnitz is concerned. But that raises a question for him: "If a legitimate call consists in the things that have been said so far, what, then, does the public rite of ordination confer?"⁸⁶ Chemnitz then provides five distinct and "very, weighty reasons" for ordination to be observed and enacted.⁸⁷

Chemnitz's first reason is

that, because of those who run and have not been sent, a call ought to have the public testimony of the church. But that ceremony or rite of ordination is nothing else than the kind of public testimony by which the call of that person who is ordained is declared before God and in his name to be regular, pious, legitimate, and divine.⁸⁸

statement: ". . . It is absolutely of great importance for the way of salvation that he who receives it believes" (*Loci Theologici*, trans. J. A. O. Preus, 2:718). In opposition to the answers of the Donatists, Chemnitz points to the Lord behind the minister, who is still efficacious through the ministry of an unbelieving pastor (*Loci Theologici*, trans. J. A. O. Preus, 2:716). Chemnitz calls for examinations because that will help to allay any doubts about the legitimacy of a pastor's call into the office of the ministry.

⁸⁶*Enchiridion*, trans. Poellet, 36; *Enchiridion*, ed. Graebner, 25; Also *Loci Theologici*, trans. J. A. O. Preus, 2:704.

⁸⁷Pragman also discusses these reasons, 54-56.

⁸⁸*Examination of the Council of Trent*, trans. Kramer, 2:704; *Examen Concilii Tridentini*, ed. Preuss, 479.

Ordination provides full assurance about the legitimacy of the call.⁸⁹ Thus ordination affirms and confirms before God and the entire church that this candidate has been properly called-elected, examined, and ordained.

Chemnitz's second reason for observing ordination is that "by that rite, as by a public designation or declaration, the ministry is committed in the name of God and of the church to him who has been called."⁹⁰ Chemnitz believes that there is a bestowal of the office at ordination. Or another to put it another way, Chemnitz views the office and the candidate called as coming together in ordination. A third basis for ordination is that

by this very thing also, as by a solemn vow, he who has been called becomes obligated to the church in the sight of God to render the faithfulness in the ministry that the Lord requires in his stewards, regarding which he will also judge them.⁹¹

A fourth basis for the rite of ordination is that "the church is reminded that it is to recognize that this pastor has divine authority to teach, and to hear him in the name and place of God."⁹² This last reason further supports the reality that neither the church nor the office of the holy ministry are subordinated to one another. The pastor's authority is understood in terms of service, not as an absolute authority over

⁸⁹*Examination of the Council of Trent*, trans. Kramer, 2:693; see also Pragman, 53.

⁹⁰*Enchiridion*, trans. Poellet, 36; *Enchiridion*, ed. Graebner, 25; *Loci Theologici*, trans. J. A. O. Preus, 2:704.

⁹¹*Enchiridion*, trans. Poellet, 36; *Enchiridion*, ed. Graebner, 25-26; *Loci Theologici*, trans. J. A. O. Preus, 2:705.

⁹²*Enchiridion*, trans. Poellet, 36; *Enchiridion*, ed. Graebner, 26.

the church. The pastor's authority over the church rather is to be lived out by means of his service of teaching, preaching and administering the gospel to the church. Anytime the pastor understands or enforces his authority over the church as an absolute, he departs from the proper understanding of the ministry as an office of service.

Finally, Chemnitz highlights his fifth reason for maintaining the rite of ordination. He states,

and this is most important: That rite is to be observed for this reason, that the whole church might, by common and earnest prayers, commit to God the ministry of him who is called, that He, by his Holy Spirit, divine grace, and blessing, might be with his ministry (Gen. 48:14; John 20).⁹³

Ordination affirms and commits the presence of God in the word [including teaching] and sacrament ministry of a newly ordained pastor. Ordination thus highlights the entire process of calling someone to the ministerial office.

Chemnitz clearly holds ordination in high esteem. What then does he consider the heart of ordination? Chemnitz speaks only of the laying on of hands and prayer, actions he obviously considered central to the rite. Chemnitz cites the very same reasons for the laying on of hands and prayer as he did for ordination itself since the laying on of hands and prayer are the central actions in ordination.⁹⁴

⁹³*Enchiridion*, trans. Poellet, 36; *Enchiridion*, ed. Graebner, 26; *Loci Theologici*, trans. J. A. O. Preus, 2:705; see also Pragman, 49.

⁹⁴This is made very clear in the *Examination of the Council of Trent* where Chemnitz asserts that the laying on of hands best suited conveying the meaning and purpose of ordination. *Examination*, 2:693-94. See also the *Enchiridion*, trans. Poellet, 36-37; *Enchiridion*, ed. Graebner, 26-27; also summarized in three points in *Loci Theologici*, trans. J. A. O. Preus, 2:705.

This raises the question whether Chemnitz, with the Apology to the Augsburg Confession, is willing to call ordination a sacrament?⁹⁵ In the *Enchiridion*, Chemnitz quotes Melancthon's definition of a sacrament: "It is a divinely instituted rite, added to the promise given in the gospel, so that it becomes a testimony and pledge of the promise of grace that is set forth and applied."⁹⁶ On the basis of this definition Chemnitz goes on to identify the essential components of a sacrament: a visible element in an outward ceremony or rite which is instituted by Christ and a word or promise of grace that gives, confirms, and seals the promise of grace.⁹⁷ For Chemnitz this definition yields two sacraments in the New Testament. According to this definition ordination is not a sacrament since it has no visible element instituted by Christ (Matthew 18; Mark 16).⁹⁸

Although a legitimate call and ordination is established by the God's promise in his word and conveys divine blessings, the strength to fulfill the office, nevertheless

⁹⁵"If ordination is interpreted in relation to the ministry of the Word, we have no objection to calling ordination a sacrament. The ministry of the Word has God's command and glorious promises." Apology 13:11; in Theodore G. Tappert, ed., *The Book of Concord* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959), 212.

⁹⁶*Enchiridion*, trans. Poellet, 109; Graebner's edition does not provide Melancthon's definition.

⁹⁷*Enchiridion*, trans. Poellet, 109.

⁹⁸"Now the ministry of the Word and the sacraments has divine promises, and the prayer at ordination rests on these, but these promises are not to be tied to the rite of the imposition of hands, about which there is neither a command of Christ nor such a promise as there is about Baptism and the Lord's Supper." *Examination of the Council of Trent*, trans. Kramer, 2:695. Also see *Enchiridion*, trans. Poellet, 111.

ordination is not a sacrament in the same way as Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Baptism and the Lord's Supper are means or instruments through which God applies and seals the promise of reconciliation or forgiveness to individual believers who use Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Ordination is not such a means or instrument.⁹⁹

On the basis of this restricted definition, Chemnitz denies that ordination is a sacrament.¹⁰⁰ But that does not mean he denies that ordination might be a sacrament in a broader sense as the Apology to the Augsburg Confession understands ordination:

If ordination is understood in this way, of the ministry of the Word and sacraments . . . then we have no objection to calling ordination a sacrament. And there [Apology] the words are added, 'We shall not object either to calling the laying on of hands a sacrament.' For that the term sacrament covers a wide range of meanings.¹⁰¹

If ordination or the office of the holy ministry can be called a sacrament, it is because of its relation to the means of grace. As Chemnitz states, "Ordination, therefore, has indeed a promise of the efficacy of the ministry for salvation to everyone who believes."¹⁰² This promise is contained in the gospel and the institution of the means of grace by the Lord. Thus the sacramental nature of ordination—even of the entire call process—and the ministry is derived from the promises attached to the gospel.

⁹⁹*Examination of the Council of Trent*, trans. Kramer, 1:21-22, 40-41 and 2:694-95; *Examen Concilii Tridentini*, ed. Preuss, 480.

¹⁰⁰See also Pragman, 54-55.

¹⁰¹*Examination of the Council of Trent*, trans. Kramer, 2:694.

¹⁰²*Examination of the Council of Trent*, trans. Kramer, 2:40; *Examen Concilii Tridentini*, ed. Preuss, 234; see also Pragman, 56.

Pre-1569 History of the Liturgical Rites

The liturgical rites for the vocational process of forming pastors in the Landeskirche of Braunschweig did not arise in a vacuum. Before proceeding to the first rites prepared in the duchy's Landeskirche, one must understand the liturgical tradition from which these rites developed.¹⁰³

A study of the liturgical tradition most profitably starts where the liturgy itself begins, with Scripture. Does the New Testament give any indication, however, as to how men were placed into the office of the ministry? Does it provide any kind of normative "ordination rite?" The New Testament contains no passages in which Jesus Christ gives to his disciples a specific command (as happens with the Lord's Supper and Baptism) on how to make men overseers in his church.¹⁰⁴ On the basis of Acts

¹⁰³A good summary of the pre-reformation period is available in Ralph F. Smith, "Ordering Ministry: The Liturgical Witness of Sixteenth-Century German Ordination Rites" (Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 1988), 23-59.

¹⁰⁴Of course the reader might debate whether there is an office of the ministry established by Christ in the New Testament. For the purposes of this thesis, the author has assumed a Lutheran, confessional position regarding the establishment of such an office in the New Testament. For discussion of the Lutheran position regarding the office of the holy ministry see: Norman Nagel, "The Office of the Holy Ministry in the Confessions," *Concordia Journal* 14 (1988): 283-99; Werner Elert, *The Structure of Lutheranism*, trans. Walter A. Hansen (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1962), 339-85; Holsten Fagerberg, *A New Look at the Lutheran Confessions, 1529-1537*, trans. Gene J. Lund (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1972), 226-50; Robert Kolb, "The Doctrine of Ministry in Martin Luther and the Lutheran Confessions," in *Called and Ordained: Lutheran Perspectives on the Office of the Ministry*, ed. Todd Nichol and Marc Kolden (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), 49-66; James H. Pragman, *Traditions of Ministry*, (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1983), 13-57; Arthur Carl Piepkorn, "The Sacred Ministry and Holy Ordination in the Symbolical Books of the Lutheran Church," in *Lutherans and Catholics in Dialogue IV: Eucharist and Ministry* (New York and Washington, D.C.: U.S.A. National Committee of the Lutheran World Federation and the Bishop's

6:6 and 13:2 it is clear that the apostles appointed men to the office of the holy ministry in the New Testament—deacon, presbyter, bishop—by means of the laying on of hands and prayer.¹⁰⁵ As Hermann Sasse indicates, however, there was a great deal of variety in this practice:

A person was usually placed in the orders and offices of the congregation by the laying on of hands with prayer. This laying on of hands could be done by a single person, as the apostle Paul did (II Timothy 1:6). Or it could be done by the presbytery (I Timothy 4:14), or by both, as was apparently the case with Timothy, or by a whole congregation through their representatives (Acts 13:3).¹⁰⁶

It is clear from Sasse's citations that both the apostles and the congregations were involved in the electing and ordaining of pastors.¹⁰⁷ Part of the orderly way of placing men into the office of the ministry was by means of the laying on of hands and prayer. As Walter Clancy indicates, it "formed the substance of the rite of ordination as subsequently developed"¹⁰⁸ in the church.

Committee for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs, 1970), 101-19; Edmund Schlink, *Theology of the Lutheran Confessions*, trans. Paul F. Koehnke and Herbert J. A. Bouman (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1961), 226-69; Thomas M. Winger, "Augsburg Confession IV and V: Justification, Means of Grace, Office of the Holy Ministry," *Concordia Student Journal* 15 (Lent 1992): 15-27.

¹⁰⁵ Cheslyn Jones, Geoffrey Wainwright, and Edward Yarnold, ed., *The Study of Liturgy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978): 295-96.

¹⁰⁶Hermann Sasse, "Ministry and Congregation: A Letter to Lutheran Pastors," in *We Confess*, trans. Norman Nagel, vol. 3, *The Church, We Confess* Series (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1986), 80.

¹⁰⁷See the *Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope*, 70-71 in Tappert, 332; also see Sasse, *We Confess*, 3:80.

¹⁰⁸ Walter B. Clancy, *The Rites and Ceremonies of Sacred Ordination (Canons 1002-1005): A Historical Conspectus and a Canonical Commentary*, The Catholic University of America Canon Law Studies (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic

Other than the Biblical witness there is little to help determine the liturgical process of forming pastors in the first two centuries of the church's existence. The first evidence available comes from the *Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus* probably written around the year A.D. 215. Subsequent liturgical documents such as the *Canons of Hippolytus*, the *Apostolic Constitutions*, and the *Testamentum Domini*, all probably written in the fourth and fifth centuries, appear to have been influenced by the rite of Hippolytus.¹⁰⁹ The history of the vocational process of forming pastors following this formative period shows signs typical of other developing liturgical rites: accretion and augmentation.¹¹⁰ In Western Christendom this process of accretion in the rite of ordination was brought to a culmination in the revised pontifical of the Roman curia prepared by William Durandus of Mende (1237-1296). This revision was widely accepted in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and gave final form to the pontificals and rites of the Roman church up until the Second Vatican Council.¹¹¹

University of America Press, 1962), 6.

¹⁰⁹These documents as well as other liturgical rites regarding ordination are provided in English translation and analyzed thoroughly in Paul Bradshaw, *Ordination Rites of the Ancient Churches of East and West*, (New York: Pueblo Publishing House, 1990); also see Clancy, *The Rites and Ceremonies of Sacred Ordination*; Pierre De Puniet, *The Roman Pontifical: A History and Commentary*, trans. Mildred Vernon Harcourt (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1932); Bruno Kleinheyser, *Die Priesterweihe im Romischen Ritus: Eine Liturgiehistorische Studie*, Trierer Theologische Studien (Trier: Paulinus-Verlag, 1962).

¹¹⁰Philip H. Pfatteicher, *Commentary on the Occasional Services* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), 176-77.

¹¹¹For a translation of the medieval rite of Durandus see Smith, 338-49. For an outline of the rite see appendix 5. This version of the Durandus' rite was prepared by Augustine Patrizi Piccolomini under Pope Innocent VIII in 1485.

The accretions significantly altered the significance and meaning of the act of ordination. Speaking of the significance of the ordination prayer and the laying on of hands in the Roman Pontifical of pre-Vatican II times, De Puniet states:

These are the most solemn words in the whole ordination; they express clearly the effect which, in conjunction with the laying on of hands, they produce: they transmit the true priesthood of Christ with its indelible character, and with the prerogatives attached to it, especially the power to offer the holy sacrifice and to dispense the sacraments, together with the graces necessary for the fulfillment of all priestly duties.¹¹²

The most dramatic addition to the order are the words that are spoken at the delivery of the chalice and the paten. They read as follows:

Receive the power to offer the sacrifice to God and to celebrate the mass for the living as well as for the dead. In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.¹¹³

This formulary demonstrates how fully the Roman rite of ordination had departed from the tradition of Hippolytus. Aquinas thought this to be the essential part of the rite through which the power of orders was received.¹¹⁴ This formulary indicates that ordination is now understood to confer the right to offer the sacrifice of the mass, the bloodless sacrifice of Christ on the altar for the procuring of the pardoning of sins.¹¹⁵ This is a denial of Christ's once-for-all sacrifice on the cross for the sins of the whole

¹¹²De Puniet, 252.

¹¹³Michel Andrieu, ed., *Le Pontifical Romain au Moyen-Age*, vol. 3, *Le Pontifical de Guillaume Durand* (Citta Del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1940), 370.

¹¹⁴Clancy, 14.

¹¹⁵See Fagerberg, 238.

world. The priest no longer is ordained into Christ's office but into an office that directly opposes that of Christ because it seeks to appease God on the basis of new sacrifices required in addition to the sacrifice of Christ. This example underscores how the accretions altered the understanding of the office of the holy ministry and the rite of ordination.

The Rites of the City of Braunschweig, 1528-1571

At the beginning of the Reformation there was little need for liturgical rites for the vocational process of forming pastors. Most of the early reformers had been ordained as priests under the papacy. The first evangelical ordination was conducted in Wittenberg in 1525 of Georg Rörer.¹¹⁶ Until the 1540s and '50s ordinations were few and far between. Only with the advent of the second generation of reformers and the conversion of more territories and cities to the reformation cause did the need for rites of the vocational process become acute.

In 1528 when Bugenhagen conducted the reformation of the city of Braunschweig, his church order did not contain any rite connected with the vocational process—no rite of ordination or installation. However, Bugenhagen had given instructions in his 1528 church order regarding the placement of pastors. He had placed the appointment of pastors to the city churches principally in the hands of the city—the city council and the consistory—preempting the ducal right of patronage. A

¹¹⁶The first evangelical ordination rites were those of Hesse (1526) and Hamburg (1529). Smith, 9, 123-39.

city council committee declaration in 1560 solidified these arrangements throughout the five regions of the city.¹¹⁷ Bugenhagen's church order was republished in high German in 1531 and in a slightly revised edition of 1563 (in one volume with the *Corpus Doctrinae* for the city of Braunschweig). Neither of these editions contained any new rites for the vocational process of forming pastors. Only in 1571 did the city council publish official regulations detailing the process for the nomination, call and acceptance of pastors in the five regions of the city. This pastoral code entitled "An Order, How the Nomination, Call, and Reception of Preachers Shall Be Conducted Uniformly and With One Accord in All the Churches of Braunschweig"¹¹⁸ was prompted by a situation in which the city council revoked a call it had issued because the man turned out to be unworthy for the position.¹¹⁹ The code was prepared by Martin Chemnitz and subscribed to by all the pastors of the consistory.¹²⁰

The pastoral code of 1571 outlines in detail the process by which pastors are to be placed in the city churches. Like Bugenhagen's directives of 1528, the code

¹¹⁷Martin Wandersleb, *Erbe und Auftrag der Reformation*, Ausstellung im Städtischen Museum Braunschweig (Braunschweig: Buchdruckerei Franz Oetheimer, 1968), 46.

¹¹⁸"Ordnunge, wie es hinfuro mit den nominationibus, vocationibus und annhemunge der herren predicanten in den kirchen zu Braunschweig gleichformig und einhellig gehalten werden soll, berathschlagt, gewilligt und beschlossen," (1571), in Sehling, 6/1:456-58. See appendix 6. (Unless otherwise indicated, translations are my own.)

¹¹⁹J. A. O. Preus, *The Second Martin*.

¹²⁰J. A. O. Preus, *The Second Martin*; see also Wandersleb, *Erbe und Auftrag der Reformation*, 46.

maintains the city's rights to place its own pastors. No mention is made of the duke of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel's right of patronage. The process for appointment occurred in this way: Before the election of any candidates, prayer was to be conducted in all the churches of all five city regions until a person was nominated or elected. The individual was then presented in all five regions as the one elected for that vacancy. This was to insure that a conflict did not develop over the election/nomination between the members of the consistory and the leaders of the congregations and the regional councils. The candidate's conduct and doctrine could be examined openly by all. If the regional leaders and councilmen knew of something troubling in the life or doctrine of a candidate they had nominated or candidates they were considering, they were to report this to the consistory for it to make the final determination. It was hoped this would forestall problems later on.

Once all the parties had been notified of a nomination/election, the confirmation of that selection could take place. The instructions read:

Now if the people are in all respects pleased with the election, the election of the nominated person should be confirmed in the form of a call . . . with the conditions that the called candidate shall be examined by the entire ministerium before the installation. If he is found to be qualified for the office and to hold pure doctrine, then the call will be completely confirmed and completed.¹²¹

Both new candidates and those already ordained were examined. The examination was conducted by the consistorial leaders, and representatives from the five regions were allowed to attend to insure that the consistory did not prejudge the candidate and

¹²¹"Ordnunge, wie es hinfuro mit den nominationibus," in Sehling, 6/1:457.

to enable the representatives to report to their congregations whether the candidate passed the examination.

Once the examination was concluded the regional council could present¹²² the candidate before the consistory to be received as a member and to pledge himself to the city's *Corpus Doctrinae* and submit himself to the city's church order. These actions were then reported to the congregation from the pulpit, and the candidate, if he was not ordained, was ordained "according to established, godly, Christian practice in the church"¹²³ by the superintendent or coadjutor. The reference to ordination does not indicate what ordination rite was to be used. Presumably they would have used Luther's rite as contained in the 1543 and 1569 church orders of the principality since the 1528 Braunschweig city church order contained no ordination rite. If the candidate was already ordained and

as a result of it no additional ordination was necessary, nevertheless to prove that he formerly held the office, he will be entrusted to his new preaching office through the superintendent or coadjutor's sermon before the entire congregation. In this way he will be presented to the church as their *Seelsorger* and they to him as his flock. By this both the preacher and the hearers will recall that he became their pastor according to God's Word, with prayer, in the presence of God, his angels, and the entire congregation.¹²⁴

¹²²The pastoral code throughout the entire process allows the opportunity for the parties involved—the city council and the consistory—to decide not to place the man elected in the position originally designated. Especially after the examination, the city council and government leaders could decide not to accept the candidate. See "Ordnunge, wie es hinfuro mit den nominationibus, etc.," in Sehling, 6/1:457.

¹²³"Ordnunge, wie es hinfuro mit den nominationibus," in Sehling, 6/1:458.

¹²⁴"Ordnunge, wie es hinfuro mit den nominationibus," in Sehling, 6/1:458.

What is perhaps most interesting in these regulations is the concern that things be done in order. Presumably this was intended to forestall any doubt on the people's part that this man was truly their pastor and qualified to be so. In the case of installation, through the sermon the superintendent would link the congregation and its new pastor together and affirm the legitimacy of his call to serve them. This again demonstrates the desire of the regulations that no-one be left in doubt about who their pastor was or whether he was qualified to be their pastor. If the people doubted their pastor, then they might doubt his preaching and the sacraments he administered, leading them also to doubt their faith. That is what the regulations were framed to prevent. The goal of the pastoral office was to strengthen faith, not weaken it.

The Ordination Rite of the 1569 Church Order of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel¹²⁵

By 1539 the need for evangelical pastors was acute throughout the lands that had received the Reformation, so Elector John Frederick of Saxony requested that Martin Luther prepare an order for the examination, calling, and ordination of candidates. Luther prepared an order but he never had it published.¹²⁶ Luther's rite

¹²⁵"Kirchenordnung unser, von Gottes genaden Julii, herzogen zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg etc. Wie es mit lehr und ceremonien unsers fürstenthumbs Braunschweig, Wulffenbütlischen theils, auch derselben kirchen anhangenden sachen und verrichtungen hinfurt (vermittelst göttlicher gnaden) gehalten werden sol," (1569), in Sehling, 6/1:188-89. See appendix 7.

¹²⁶Paul Zeller Strodach's introduction to "The Ordination of Ministers of the Word" in Liturgy and Hymns, vol. 53 of Martin Luther, Luther's Works, ed. Ulrich S. Leupold, gen. ed. Helmut T. Lehmann and Jaroslav Pelikan (Philadelphia: Fortress Press; St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 1955-), 122-23. (Henceforth different volumes of Luther's Works will be cited LW, for example, LW 53:122-23. Smith

certainly set the theological tone for other rites of ordination into the office of the holy ministry. It played a formative role in assisting territories as they prepared their own various rites to serve their situations and needs, even though Luther never intended his order to be imposed upon all of Germany. In the introduction to his *Deutsche Messe* he writes, "That is not to say that those who already have good orders, or by the grace of God could make better ones, should discard theirs and adopt ours. For I do not propose that all of Germany should uniformly follow our Wittenberg order."¹²⁷

Rather than attempt to prepare their own rite of ordination from scratch, most territorial reformers did look to the church's liturgical tradition, including Luther's rite. The duchy of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel simply adopted Luther's order *carte blanche* from the Church Order of Braunschweig-Lüneburg of 1564,¹²⁸ altering only the instructions at the very end of the rite. On a scale of continuity, the Braunschweig rite of 1569 is nearly as continuous with Luther's rite of ordination as possible.

Chemnitz and Andreae, after the ecclesiastical visitation to Wolfenbüttel in 1568, apparently believed that Luther's order would best suit the needs of Braunschweig.

provides a comparison of the different manuscript versions of Luther's rite. Smith, 142-49.

¹²⁷Luther, "The German Mass" (1526), LW 53:62.

¹²⁸"Kirchenordnung: Wie es mit christlicher Lere, Reichung der Sacrament, Ordination der Diener des evangelii, ordentlichen Ceremonien, Visitation, Consistorio, und Schulen im Herzogthumb Lüneburg gehalten wird" (1564), in Sehling, 6/1:535-37.

There was precedent for using the ordination rite of Luther. In the 1543 church order for Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel Bugenhagen had included Luther's rite.¹²⁹

Bugenhagen incorporates Luther's rite completely, only adding a direction at the beginning prescribing that:

the elected preacher shall be sent to the superintendent, whoever is proved ready, and shall be examined. If he is worthy he shall be ordained before the altar by the superintendent, on a weekday, after the sermon and the latin litany (after which all shall be exhorted from the pulpit to pray).¹³⁰

This simply provides further clarification of who shall examine the candidate. As will be seen, both Chemnitz as the superintendent and the consistory conducted the examinations until they were transferred later to the university faculty at Helmstedt.

Given the history of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, there was an obvious need for theological stability and certainty. The first reform in 1542-47 and the subsequent attempt by Heinrich the Younger to re-catholicize his territory probably confused both pastors and people and led to doubt as to the nature of true evangelical theology. Chemnitz and Andreae sought to teach evangelical doctrine through their church order. Using Luther's rite of ordination assisted in that endeavor since, in the process of placing a man in the office of the ministry, it taught the people the nature of the evangelical pastoral office through the Scriptural language it used. Even the title of

¹²⁹"Wo erwelde edder gevorderde predicanten apenbar anthonemende sind" (1543), in Sehling, 6/1:69-71.

¹³⁰"Wo erwelde edder gevorderde predicanten" in Sehling, 6/1:69; translation by Ralph Smith, 225.

the rite lent authority and even a guarantee of orthodoxy: "The Rite of Ordination as Provided by Dr. Martin Luther."¹³¹

The simplicity of Luther's order is rather startling at first, but it is also refreshing in comparison with the order found in the medieval *Pontifical of Durandus*. Although Paul Zeller Strodach claims, "the rite of ordination Luther composed was an entirely new creation. It had no more in common with the sacrament of ordination in the Roman church,"¹³² this is not an accurate representation of Luther's position vis-a-vis the Roman ordination rite. Luther's is no innovation. In many ways it continues the medieval tradition.¹³³ In fact, much in Luther's rite hearkens back to the *Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus*. Like Hippolytus, the centrality of the laying on of hands and prayer is readily apparent. Also, there is a return to the understanding that the responsibility for electing, calling, and ordaining belongs to the entire church, congregation and clergy. Ralph Smith contends that Luther wanted to affirm what he believed to be of apostolic origin in ordination. Luther understood those apostolic elements to be the laying on of hands and prayer, two rituals consistently present in the medieval rites.¹³⁴ These two elements Luther retained as well as the approbation, the admonition of the congregation and ordinand, the blessing, and the sign of the

¹³¹"Kirchenordnung unser, von Gottes genaden Julii," in Sehling, 6/1:188.

¹³²Luther, "The Ordination of Ministers of the Word" (1539), *LW* 53:122.

¹³³For further details on the degree of continuity with the medieval tradition see Smith, 60-65, 304-12.

¹³⁴Smith, 167.

cross. On the other hand, Luther eliminated those things that obscured the central meaning and focus of ordination: the prayer—*Exaudi nos*, the bestowal of the symbols of office, the anointing of the hands, the delivery of the chalice and paten, the second imposition of hands, and the allegiance to the bishop.¹³⁵ As far as Luther was concerned, all these accretions of the interceding ages concerning consecration to the priesthood had blurred the focus of ordination.

The reasons for eliminating these elements are most apparent in Luther's 1533 document, *The Private Mass and the Consecration of Priests*. Here Luther attacks the ordination and consecration of priests on the basis that all it ordains the priest to is the task of sacrificing private masses. Of this he says that priests

have been consecrated and have effected conversions contrary to the ordinance and intention of Christ, for Christ's intention is that we should celebrate the sacrament or the mass in such a way that it might be distributed among his Christians and administered to others. For a cleric should be a servant of the church in order that he might distribute the sacrament and preach.¹³⁶

For Luther, to understand the priest as effecting the gift of God's grace through the priest's sacrifice of the mass denied Christ's once-for-all sacrifice for sin on the cross, thus denying the gospel itself.¹³⁷ The theological significance of the ministerial office resided in the fact that it was instituted by the Lord for the sake of serving the

¹³⁵Refer to note 108, 109, 111; to compare the rite of Luther with the rite in the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus and other rites see appendix 4.

¹³⁶This is language that echoes AC 28. Luther, "The Private Mass and the Consecration of Priests" (1533), *LW* 38:151.

¹³⁷Kurt K. Hendel, "The Doctrine of the Ministry: The Reformation Heritage," *Currents in Theology and Mission* 17 (February 1990): 23.

creation of faith in Christ's death and resurrection in the hearts of God's people.

Luther believed such faith was created by the means of grace, and that the Lord instituted the office of the holy ministry as a sure and certain place for people to come to receive those means of grace. It was the office of Christ himself, since, by means of the office, Christ distributed the blessings, gifts and benefits of his death and resurrection to the baptized.¹³⁸

¹³⁸Ralph Smith argues that Luther did not have a single or unambiguous approach to the doctrine of the ministry. He says, "Yet it is not sufficient to explain that Luther's various assessments of ordained pastoral ministry are only the result of different periods in his career when he found himself battling different opponents. This can result in a 'situation ethic' approach that leaves no room for continuity or integrity in Luther's understanding." Smith, 60-61. What many studies contend is that the continuity in Luther's understanding came from his understanding of the means of grace in relationship to the office of the Holy Ministry. See such studies as: Smith, 60-84; Charles J. Evanson, "The Office and Order of the Holy Ministry: Luther and Lutheran," in *And Every Tongue Confess*, ed. Gerald S. Krispin and Jon D. Vicker (Dearborn, MI: The Nagel Festschrift Committee, 1990), 153-78; Hellmut Lieberg, *Amt und Ordination bei Luther und Melanchthon*, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1962); Richard W. Schoenleber, "The Sovereign Word: The Office of the Ministry and Ordination in the Theology of Martin Luther" (Ph.D. diss., The University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1983); Wolfgang Stein, *Das Kirchliche Amt bei Luther* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1974); Wilhelm Brunotte, *Das geistliche Amt bei Luther* (Berlin: Lutherisches Verlaghaus, 1959). For other treatises see: Kurt K. Hendel, "The Doctrine of the Ministry: The Reformation Heritage," *Currents in Theology and Mission* 17 (February 1990): 23-33, and "The Word Must Be Proclaimed: Luther on Ministry," *Currents in Theology and Mission* 15 (February 1988): 112-19.

For what Luther himself writes see: "That A Christian Assembly has the Right and Power to Judge All Teaching and to Call, Appoint, and Dismiss Teachers, Established and Proven by Scripture" (LW 39:301-14), "Concerning the Ministry" (LW 40:3-44), "The Keys" (LW 40:321-78), "Infiltrating and Clandestine Preachers" (LW 40:379-94), "The Private Mass and the Consecration of Priests" (LW 38:139-214, perhaps the most comprehensive and clearest statement in regards to the office of the ministry for Luther), and "On the Councils and the Church" (LW 41:3-178).

What Luther includes in his ordination rite helps us understand his theology of the pastoral office and the vocational process of forming pastors. Luther's order begins by indicating that the candidates have been examined and that the congregation is to pray for the candidates.¹³⁹ The 1569 rite of Braunschweig expands on Luther's instruction by providing both regulations regarding the filling of vacant parish offices and examination questions to be asked the prospective candidate. They precede the rite of ordination in the church order.

The regulations for filling parish vacancies emphasize that all vacancies must be filled so that

the exhortatory teaching of the people may be successfully accomplished, the accursed devil subordinated through the spirit of the flock, that the preaching office may spread the true teaching everywhere or suppress all false teaching, that the needy people may be led to the correct, saving doctrine and essential knowledge of God . . . and that the blessing and salvation of our souls may not be neglected.¹⁴⁰

This desire guides the consistory and all those possessing the right of patronage¹⁴¹ in filling vacant parishes. The regulations carefully balance the patrons' rights and the supervisory role of the consistory in regard to all potential pastors:

Wherever in our kingdom cities, villages, or country towns have oversight and jurisdiction of the pastors, preachers and vicars assigned to individually endowed

¹³⁹This instruction indicates that Luther held election, examination, and ordination, and presumably call as well, not to be separate acts but different parts of one act; as Elert states: "as early as 1523 Luther considers at least two acts necessary for the appointment of a pastor and clearly distinguishes them from each other—the election and the installation." Elert, 368.

¹⁴⁰"Kirchenordnung unser, von Gottes genaden Julii," in Sehling, 6/1:182.

¹⁴¹Concerning the nature of the right of patronage see Kronenberg, 22.

altars, these shall be preserved and remain independent . . . Our consistory [also] shall have diligent oversight, attention, and supervision of such ministries, which are so often vacant. They also have the right of patronage to bestow various vacant positions upon learned and experienced servants and ministers.¹⁴²

The regulations try to safeguard the supervisory rights of the cities and villages and the placement rights of the patrons while likewise guaranteeing that educated and qualified men are placed into the pastoral office. Patrons are allowed to employ their rights but they may not abuse that right by conferring parishes upon "undisciplined persons."¹⁴³ When an individual has been nominated for a specific parish he must first be examined by the consistory and

when he is found according to the Augsburg Confession to be fit for service in the church, well educated, and having led an honorable life as a Christian, and having been able to prove such with sufficient documentation and testimony, will be admitted and ordained by our consistory.¹⁴⁴

Although not abrogating the privileges of patrons, city councils, villages, and others in filling parish vacancies under their jurisdiction,¹⁴⁵ the primary concern of the

¹⁴²"Kirchenordnung unser, von Gottes genaden Julii," in Sehling, 6/1:182.

¹⁴³"Kirchenordnung unser, von Gottes genaden Julii," in Sehling, 6/1:182; see also Sehling, "Fürstentum Wolfenbüttel," 6/1:9. Rauls indicates that duke Julius issued a decree on January 2, 1569 that directed all patrons to dismiss unworthy pastors and nominate new ones. Rauls, 32.

¹⁴⁴"Kirchenordnung unser, von Gottes genaden Julii," in Sehling, 6/1:182; see also Sehling, 6/1:183 concerning the need for the candidate to provide testimony regarding the way he has lived his life.

¹⁴⁵It is interesting that the regulations do not mention the rights of the duke in regard to patronage or placement of candidates. As has been discussed, Duke Julius exercised great influence upon such decisions, often influencing patrons in regard to certain candidates. Although the argument from silence is not conclusive, by failing to mention ducal rights the regulations seem to maintain the church's independence from the state in ecclesiastical affairs.

regulations is that the people be provided with faithful pastors able to teach them the gospel leading to and strengthening saving faith in Jesus Christ. So appropriate candidates are to be provided, working as much as possible within accepted or recognized channels and procedures for naming the man.

Nothing is mentioned in this section of the church order regarding the role of the congregation in the calling and filling of its own parish. Following the blessing in the rite of ordination, this rubrical admonition, not present in Luther's rite, appears:

But wherever half of the community, [that is] the parishioners, have rejected [the ordinand] for honest and legitimate reasons, then, as discussed earlier, he will not be imposed on them against their will.¹⁴⁶

This indicates that the development of ecclesiastical polity in Braunschweig was not such that the congregation's will in the calling of a candidate was ignored. A candidate could not be imposed against the congregation's will.¹⁴⁷ Interestingly, this admonition appears between the ordination rite and the installation rite, perhaps indicating that a congregation could even reject a candidate after he had been ordained.¹⁴⁸ The rite of patronage or of the will of the superintendent had not

¹⁴⁶"Kirchenordnung unser, von Gottes genaden Julii," in Sehling, 6/1:189.

¹⁴⁷Although Chemnitz discusses the "call" in detail in his writings (see earlier pp. 38, 39, 40), it is not directly mentioned in the regulations. However, the discussion regarding the filling of vacant offices, the examination, and the approval of the congregation includes what would be considered as the parts of the call [narrow sense] process.

¹⁴⁸In fact "ordain" is not the last word in the sixteenth century throughout Germany but rather is used often to indicate approval of the sending faculty or consistory (especially if the ordinations were centralized). The candidate still had to be accepted by the receiving consistory, usually through its superintendent.

developed to such a degree that the congregation's will was entirely mitigated. Yet, neither was the congregation given license to reject a candidate and ignore the will of the entire church for selfish reasons.

Throughout this section of the church order, the concern for freedom and order is readily apparent. The freedom of the patrons, city, councils, and the congregations are not to be abused, yet the filling of parish vacancies—the nomination, election, and call—must proceed in an orderly fashion to insure that those freedoms remain. The regulations provide the framework in which the freedoms are assured.¹⁴⁹

Since "faith comes from what is heard and what is heard comes through the word of Christ" (NRSV Romans 10:17) and "how [can] they hear without someone to proclaim him [Christ]" (NRSV Romans 10:14), Chemnitz and Andreae, with the examination questions, want to insure that the proclaimers preach and teach the pure word of Christ. Each candidate was to be examined "in Latin and in private"¹⁵⁰ by the principality's ordained theologians and then present a public trial sermon with the theologians present.¹⁵¹ The "ordained theologians" would be the men, such as Chemnitz, who had their doctorates. Eventually the examination was conducted by the faculty at the Gandersheim school established by duke Julius which later was

¹⁴⁹See pp. 34, 35.

¹⁵⁰"Kirchenordnung unser, von Gottes genaden Julii," in Sehling, 6/1:183.

¹⁵¹For Luther's attitude concerning trial sermons, see Elert, 368-69. Kronenberg indicates that most of the examinations of potential new pastors in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel were conducted by Chemnitz. Kronenberg, 25. See also J. A. O. Preus, *The Second Martin*.

elevated to a university and transferred to Helmstedt.¹⁵² Theological professors would best be able to determine if a candidate's qualifications and his "seriousness and industry" would enable him to govern the church beneficially. This review was taken very seriously since a pastor is "entrusted to govern a church," but whoever "teaches falsely" or "lives disgracefully" then "dangerously leads the church astray."¹⁵³

Once a candidate has been nominated by a patron, city council, or other properly authorized entity, and before he can be examined, he must be elected (approved) by the consistory. The church order instructs the consistory to consider three things:

First, concerning the candidate's education, what did he learn about religion and what does he think of what he learned in comparison to the true, correct doctrine. Second, concerning his life, how has he lived up to now and what does he do for a living now and how does he conduct himself. Third, concerning his age, he must not be too young . . . or be a new convert, otherwise [his pride] will become inflated and he will fall into judgement.¹⁵⁴

Once again, the concern is evident that the candidate be able to live a scandal-free life and recognize correct Christian teaching in order for him to minister to a Christian congregation and not lead the people astray, reflecting Chemnitz's emphasis of the same concern.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵²Kronenberg indicates that not only the exams but also the ordinations were centralized in Helmstedt while the duke commanded that the trial sermons be held in the castle chapel in Wolfenbüttel. Kronenberg, 29. See also J. A. O. Preus, *The Second Martin*.

¹⁵³"Kirchenordnung unser, von Gottes genaden Julii," in Sehling, 6/1:183.

¹⁵⁴"Kirchenordnung unser, von Gottes genaden Julii," in Sehling, 6/1:183.

¹⁵⁵*Loci Theologici*, trans. J. A. O. Preus, 2:706-10, 715-19. See p. 40, 42

Having been nominated and approved, a candidate is now examined, by the "ordained theologians."¹⁵⁶ The instructions state that a candidate must be "questioned and examined concerning the articles of our Christian faith, the holy, divine, prophetic and apostolic Scriptures, the Augsburg Confession, and especially the articles of the faith which are currently disputed between us and the papacy, and other false religions, faiths and sects."¹⁵⁷ Then follows a list of model questions that the theologians may asked the candidates. It includes items concerning God, the Son of God, the Holy Spirit, the angels, the creation of the world, the fall of man, Christ's incarnation, the law, the gospel, justification, Baptism, the Lord's Supper, absolution, repentance, prayer, the church, marriage, and secular government.¹⁵⁸ There is also a question under the heading "Concerning the Church-Preaching Office" that asks this:

Is the preaching office the key to heaven and an instrument through which the Holy Ghost not only assembles people together as the Church, but also gives and confirms faith in the heart and preserves believers in the faith?¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶"Kirchenordnung unser, von Gottes genaden Julii," in Sehling, 6/1:183. This term is rather ambiguous. It could refer to any theologian in the territory. Thus both the pastors in the consistory where the ordination occurs and the pastors in the local consistory on the receiving end apparently might have been involved in the examination. In Saxony the consistory on the receiving end conducted the examination. In Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel it is not clear whether pastors from the receiving consistory participated in the examination. The church order simply mentions that the "ordained theologians" and the "appointed consistory" are to be involved.

¹⁵⁷"Kirchenordnung unser, von Gottes genaden Julii," in Sehling, 6/1:183.

¹⁵⁸"Kirchenordnung unser, von Gottes genaden Julii," in Sehling, 6/1:183-86.

¹⁵⁹"Kirchenordnung unser, von Gottes genaden Julii," in Sehling, 6/1:184.

The seriousness of the call into the office of the ministry is demonstrated here. The question tells the candidate that he is being called into an office in which the Holy Spirit will use him as an instrument to create faith in people's hearts. All in all, the questions read much like a catechismal review, demonstrating the minimal knowledge of the Christian faith needed to be able to educate the people of God and to strengthen their faith.

The instructions regarding filling vacancies and the examination questions have demonstrated how concerned the church order of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel is that the congregations in the territory be provided with faithful pastors, learned in the Christian faith.¹⁶⁰ Well qualified pastors are needed because they serve in their office as instruments of God. To that end the detailed regulations regarding the filling of vacant parishes, the examination questions, the election by the consistory, the approval of the congregation, and then the ordination and installation rites reflect Chemnitz's understanding that these actions and rites were parts of a complete process. Chemnitz could use the term "call" in a broad way to denote the entire process.¹⁶¹ Chemnitz stresses, both in his writings and in the church order, that nomination, call, election, examination, ordination, and installation, all are to occur in the process of making a

¹⁶⁰Elert says that "No matter what the case with respect to the significance formulated confessions have for the church . . . obligation to them does not mean that a foreign yoke is imposed on the pastor; it means that he has completed a period of conscientious study which the congregation entrusting itself to him can demand of him." Elert, 362.

¹⁶¹See pp. 38, 39, 40

pastor. What Ralph Smith says regarding Luther's understanding of call and ordination might equally apply to Chemnitz:

Luther believed that in the church's action of choosing, training, examining, electing, and praying for individuals the process of call and ordination took place. To ask for differentiated moments of equivalency, i.e., what part of the process constituted "call" and what part "ordination," is to ask a question not unlike that sometimes put to the eucharistic celebration: at what specific point does the consecration occur?¹⁶²

They are all part of one process intent upon providing a congregation with a pastor to proclaim to it the gospel. None of the parts of the process are to be played off one against the other. Smith concludes:

Perhaps the issue might be helped by abandoning the term ordination and focusing instead on the whole vocational process. Thus the liturgical act of uniting pastor and community might be seen as only one part of a larger whole that includes training, examination, call/election, and liturgical recognition of one's new role in the community and wider church through a rite of prayer with laying on of hands.¹⁶³

By using Luther's rite of ordination, Chemnitz and Andreae were able to stress the divine nature of the office and its primary function of delivering the word of God to people through the preached and taught word and the sacraments. The 1569 church order revises Luther's rite only slightly in certain places. The outline of the rite according to the 1569 church order reads as follows:¹⁶⁴

¹⁶²Smith, 81.

¹⁶³Smith, 321-22.

¹⁶⁴Smith analyzes Luther's rite in detail, 149-87, and refers to the rite of 1569, 256-57.

- Singing of *Veni Sancte Spiritus*¹⁶⁵
- The Collect, "Lord God, Dear Father who Through Thy Holy Spirit"¹⁶⁶
- I Timothy 3:1-7
- Acts 20:28-31
- Admonition of Candidate
- Ordination Prayer: The Lord's Prayer
- Prayer (Expounds on Three Parts of Lord's Prayer)
- I Peter 5:2-4
- Blessing¹⁶⁷
- Final Rubric

The emphasis upon the teaching function of the office of the holy ministry, its responsibility to proclaim the truth of the gospel, is apparent in Luther's rite already with the collect. It states that "thy Holy Spirit didst enlighten and teach the hearts of thy faithful people" and asks that "we may have right understanding through the same Spirit and at all times rejoice in his comfort and power."¹⁶⁸ Already there is a hint that the purpose of the office will be to serve the Holy Spirit in his work of enlightening, comforting, and strengthening.

¹⁶⁵Luther's order begins with a rubric indicating that the congregation shall be admonished by the preacher to pray for the candidate and for the ministry (LW 53:124). Also, Paul Strodach writes in the introduction to Luther's rite of ordination that "It is not clear whether Luther had in mind the Whitmonday sequence *Veni sancte spiritus et emitte coelitus* or the antiphon *Veni sancte spiritus, reple tuorum corda fidelium*, from which he later wrote the hymn 'Come, Holy Spirit Lord and God.'" See LW 53:124, note 2; see also Smith, 156-58.

¹⁶⁶LW 53:135.

¹⁶⁷Luther includes here the sign of the cross and his rite concludes with the congregation singing "Now Let us Pray to the Holy Ghost." See LW 53:126.

¹⁶⁸LW 53:135.

The second reading from Acts 20:28-31 further emphasizes this.¹⁶⁹ St. Paul's admonition here stresses the instrumentality of the preaching office, seeing it as the Lord's tool by which he proclaims his gospel to people. It is an office in which "the Holy Ghost has made you overseers, to feed the church of God," guarding against the effects of "grievous wolves" who try to kill the flock.¹⁷⁰ Such feeding can only happen through the administration of the gospel and the sacraments.¹⁷¹ To that end, the preaching office is an instrument that feeds the people of God through those means of grace. This emphasis accords well with the weight Chemnitz puts on the pastor as a teacher and on his call for pastors to feed the flock.¹⁷²

The admonition addressed to the ordinand reaffirms this conviction. By indicating that pastors are called to "watch over . . . the congregation that God purchased with his own blood that we should feed them with the pure Word of God,"¹⁷³ the admonition indicates that the relationship between the church and the ministry resides in the "feeding of the people of God" for the sake of their salvation. This reciprocal relationship is likewise stressed by Chemnitz in his examination of the

¹⁶⁹See Smith, 159-63.

¹⁷⁰LW 53:125; see especially Smith, 161-62.

¹⁷¹Smith quotes Luther who says, "he [bishop] has in his hand the possession and the property of Christ. What is that? It is the Gospel and the sacraments." Smith, 161. See LW 29:22-23.

¹⁷²See pp. 37, 38.

¹⁷³LW 53:125.

office.¹⁷⁴ The relationship between the priesthood of all believers and the office of the holy ministry was determined by the relationship of each to the means of grace and salvation, with the person in the office delivering the forgiveness of sins in God's name and the priesthood receiving it and offering praises back to God.

Instrumentality best capsulizes the nature of the office in Luther's rite. Luther's final reading from 1 Peter 5:2-4 again reiterates this truth by admonishing the ordinands to "feed the flock of God . . . not by constraint, but willingly."¹⁷⁵ The office of the ministry is an instrument of the Lord serving him for the sake of his people's salvation.¹⁷⁶

Luther's rite also emphasizes the concern, so prevalent in Chemnitz's understanding of the office of the holy ministry,¹⁷⁷ that the pastor must lead a life worthy of his office so that no Christians are led to doubt their salvation because of his conduct. This is no concession to Donatism but recognizes the very real practical problem of a scandal-ridden life causing offense leading the weak to fall away. The

¹⁷⁴See pp. 37, 38.

¹⁷⁵LW 53:126.

¹⁷⁶Although the rite nowhere mentions ordination as being sacramental, the instrumentality of the office displayed in the rite reflects Chemnitz's understanding that "ordination . . . has indeed a promise of the efficacy of the ministry for salvation." Since the office is an instrument of the means of grace it can be called a sacrament because of the promises attached to the means of grace (see earlier pp. 44, 45).

¹⁷⁷*Loci Theologici*, trans. J. A. O. Preus, 2:706-10, 715-19.

inclusion of the reading from 1 Timothy 3 stresses Chemnitz's concern.¹⁷⁸ In addition, the admonition to the ordinand states, "Also in our personal conduct we should live decently and honorably and rule our house, wife, children, and servants in a Christian way."¹⁷⁹ If the pastor is to serve as an instrument for the spread of the gospel, he must not allow his conduct to throw doubt on his being in such an office.¹⁸⁰ The response of the ordinand to the admonition, which reminds him of the great responsibilities received when one is placed in the office, is a simple "yes" to the office, a yes also to those responsibilities.¹⁸¹ It is an "amen" to the office itself. By it the ordinand says he receives with joy all that the Lord would give him to do in the office.

The aspect of Luther's rite, however, that most succinctly expresses his theology of the pastoral office and of ordination is the central act of laying on of hands and prayer. For him, it "defined the (biblical) content of ordination."¹⁸² In a significant change from medieval practice, Luther's use of the Lord's Prayer as the ordination prayer during the laying on of hands indicates much about the office of the

¹⁷⁸Smith, 160.

¹⁷⁹LW 53:125.

¹⁸⁰See Elert, 361.

¹⁸¹Smith, 166. It is possible that eventually this part of the rite may have expanded into a pledge to the *Corpus Doctrinae* of the principality. This appears possible because of the comment Rauls makes. Duke Julius did not subscribe to the Formula of Concord, yet Rauls indicates that up until 1620 the candidates were being pledged to the Formula of Concord in their ordination. Rauls, 37.

¹⁸²Smith, 167; see also Smith's analysis of this act, 166-75.

holy ministry, its purpose, and ordination itself.¹⁸³ This rooted the central action in the words and deeds of Jesus. Smith states,

In a sense the Lord's Prayer functioned here like the words of institution in the Eucharist. It connected the present action with a foundational dominical event. To be sure, this use of the Lord's Prayer cannot be interpreted as a specific dominical command to ordain. Yet, rather than being foreign to the earlier Western tradition of an ordination prayer, Luther's use and structure reinforced that it was God acting in and through this rite.¹⁸⁴

By using the Lord's Prayer, Luther is indicating that the Lord is keeping his promise to provide his church with shepherds through the ordination rite, one part of the entire call process. In ordination, as in the rest of the call process, the Lord calls the ordinand into his service. One knows that the Lord is active in the rite because his Word is present. The Lord instituted the ministerial office for the sake of the coming of his kingdom which occurs through the preaching of the gospel and the administration of the sacraments. The service into which the ordinand is called is service in the Lord's kingdom, for the purpose of accomplishing his will, namely, the salvation of all in Christ.

¹⁸³The use of the Lord's Prayer was not determinative, however. It seems to have been a model. Ralph Smith notes that in other manuscripts of Luther's ordination rites other prayers are used. Luther seemed to expect that the ordinator would frame the prayers appropriately to the circumstance. In any case, the prayer should indicate that the ministry of the one being ordained was intended for the fulfillment of the second petition of the Lord's Prayer, Thy Kingdom Come. Smith, 175-79.

¹⁸⁴Smith, 176.

Since the ordaining is a divine action, what does that indicate about the laying on of hands? As Ralph Smith recognizes the significance of the laying on of hands is connected to the Word of God:

Thus laying on of hands was inextricably bound to prayer and the Word of God. Only when laying on hands (just as water, bread and wine) was used in the context of the Word could it be more than a human ceremony, that is, be the medium of divine action. The Word of God was for Luther the self-evident foundation for ordination as for any other genuinely liturgical act.¹⁸⁵

In addition, the hands belong to one whom the Lord has already placed in the office of the holy ministry. They point to the reality that this is the Lord's office and that he is active here. In conjunction with the Lord's Prayer,¹⁸⁶ they confirm that the Lord is working and blessing through the pastor doing the ordaining.¹⁸⁷ Through and with the hands and voice of the ordainer the Lord speaks his word of blessing—promising the presence of the Holy Spirit in the man's ministry—and ordains the ordinand into his office. As Luther said in his commentary on Genesis:

But whenever I minister, that is baptize or absolve, I must be certain that my work is not mine, but God's who works through me. Baptism is a work of God; for it is not mine, although I lend my hands and my mouth as instruments. Thus when I absolve you or call you to the ministry and lay my hands on you, you should not doubt that, as Peter says, it is God's strength.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁵Smith, 173.

¹⁸⁶Smith, 173.

¹⁸⁷Cf. Smith, 155, 170.

¹⁸⁸LW 5:250. Understanding the laying on of hands and prayer as actions in which the Lord is at work does not make the one ordaining simply a passive conduit. His person is not subsumed by the Lord. Although his hands and voice serve as the instruments of the Lord, they are still without a doubt his hands and his voice. And he acts as one already called into the Lord's service, attesting publicly before the

God acts through this rite to bestow and confer his office and the blessings necessary to fill it. Thus, Luther could speak of the laying on of hands, "Imposition of hands was not anything other than receiving and assigning an office which was being entrusted."¹⁸⁹ Chemnitz would have wholeheartedly agreed, according to Pragman, who indicates that Chemnitz viewed ordination as

a required rite in the church. Through ordination pastors are called to office and the office is given to them. The laying on of hands plays an important role in the rite of ordination, for through the imposition of hands, the person called is set before God and the church so that there might be a public testimony that the call is not only a human matter but that God Himself also calls, sends, and appoints that person to the pastoral office.¹⁹⁰

This confirmation and bestowal of the office and the recognition that God promises to work through the office is seen in Chemnitz's five points regarding ordination.¹⁹¹ The laying on of hands witnessed, confirmed, entrusted, and blessed the ordinand in the

church that this man has been properly called and signifying the approval of the entire church, clergy and laity, that this man is qualified to serve in the Lord's office. He reminds the ordinand of the responsibilities given him in the ministry and he reminds the church that this new pastor has the Lord's authority to teach. He, on behalf of the church, commits this man's ministry to God's care. The one ordaining is very actively involved in the ordination through his words and actions.

¹⁸⁹Martin Luther, D. Martin Luthers Werke (Weimar: H. Böhlau, 1883-): 26:83, 5-7 (Henceforth different volumes of Luthers Werke in the so-called Weimar Edition will be indicated by WA and the volume number in subsequent references. So, for example: WA 26:83); quoted in Smith, 172.

¹⁹⁰Pragman, 55.

¹⁹¹See pp. 41, 42, 43.

name of the Lord¹⁹² with the knowledge that as he carried out his office of word and sacrament the Lord would be working through him.¹⁹³

The use of the Lord's Prayer and the laying on of hands further indicate that the office of the holy ministry belongs to Christ, that it is his office, that it was instituted by him. Luther upholds the divine institution of the office¹⁹⁴ without using any of the scripture texts that might be called "institution texts" for the office of the ministry, texts such as John 20:21-23, Matthew 28:19-20, Mark 16:15-16, or Luke 22:19-20. The rite's emphasis upon the instrumental nature of the office implies that the Lord instituted the office for that purpose and so it is not of human origin.

The prayer following the Lord's Prayer and the laying on of hands (an optional prayer in Luther's rite but apparently not in the 1569 order) extols the three parts of the Lord's Prayer. It calls for the rich giving of the Holy Spirit to the ordinand for the sake of his work though it also calls for the giving of the Holy Spirit to all. In fact, as Smith states, "The whole of the rite was permeated by prayer for and reference to the Holy Spirit."¹⁹⁵ The Holy Spirit is invoked in order that more might be called to proclaim the gospel and in order that all Christians may be "made to stand faithful and firm against the devil, the world, and the flesh."¹⁹⁶ In other words, the

¹⁹²Smith, 173-75.

¹⁹³Smith, 173-74.

¹⁹⁴Smith, 152.

¹⁹⁵Smith, 156.

¹⁹⁶LW 53:126.

instrumental nature of the office is again emphasized, standing in service of the gospel to God's people. As Ralph Smith states,

The intense focus on the Spirit throughout the rite revealed Luther's liturgical and theological sense that when the community called a minister, when the person heeded the call, was educated, examined and approved, when the ritual act of ordination celebrated the "*vocatio, benedictio, missio*" of the candidate, and when the newly ordained servant of the Word began the challenging task of ministry in the world, it was God's Spirit that empowered and sustained each part and the whole.¹⁹⁷

Appropriately the rite concludes with a blessing, "a concluding word of assurance" sending out the "newly ordained minister to serve the church and the cause of the gospel with the hope for a fruitful ministry."¹⁹⁸

Luther's ordination rite, as utilized by Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel in 1569, concretely expressed what ordination constituted for the territory. It consisted of, and was to be understood as, "calling to and entrusting with the office of the ministry."¹⁹⁹ In very visible, dramatic fashion, the Lord's Prayer and the laying on of hands effectively emphasized that this ordinand was the Lord's man, elected, chosen, and ordained by the Lord through his church, and that the man was there to serve the coming of the Lord's kingdom through the gospel and the means of grace.

¹⁹⁷Smith, 183.

¹⁹⁸Smith, 180-81.

¹⁹⁹"The Private Mass and the Consecration of Priests" (1533), LW 38:197.

The Installation Rite of the Church Order of 1569

The Lutheran reformers, particularly Martin Luther and Johannes Bugenhagen, and their followers, such as Jacob Andreae and Martin Chemnitz, tried to distinguish two different rites in the vocational process, ordination and installation, although they did not do so in any abstract, isolated, systematic way. Rather, in the demand for evangelical pastors they were forced to produce liturgical forms that were consonant with an evangelical understanding of the ministry and its relationship with the church. As a result, different forms expressed different aspects of that relationship.²⁰⁰ The eventual results were the modern forms of ordination and installation clearly delineated vis-a-vis one another. The rites of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel from 1569 reflect that development. It shows the Reformation's attempt to make an intimate connection between the process of "making a pastor"—nomination, examination, election, call, ordination—and the pastor's fulfilling of his office in a particular location—installation.

The problem of the relationship between the rite of ordination and the rite of installation arose out of the need for new evangelical pastors as the Reformation continued to press forward. At first, that need had been minimal, since most of the pastors had already been ordained in the church of Rome. Of that period, Ralph Smith states:

²⁰⁰Ralph Smith discusses the models of ordination which developed in the Reformation. He contends there were two, which, in our case, display themselves in the 1569 rite of ordination and the rite of installation. Smith, 295-304.

The means for accepting those priests who agreed was to confirm them in their new role, usually by means of approval from whatever political power was behind the reform—such as the local magistrate, the prince or the elector. Bugenhagen advocated confirmation of the new calling by means of an installation; that is, a public liturgical action. But this confirmation was not defined as an ordination if the person had already been ordained. In the midst of this confirming or installing the reformers continued to press and hope for bishops who would be willing to adopt the reform. Only after this failed to occur, and after the presentation of the Augsburg Confession in 1530 and its eventual rejection, did the reform movement find itself pushed beyond provisional methods for securing an evangelical clergy.²⁰¹

How did the reformers move beyond such temporary methods? Ralph Smith gives this indication:

Because installations, which were in effect skeletal versions of ordination, had been in use for bringing already ordained catholic clergy into the reformation fold, it was quite understandable that they be adopted as the means to ordain when that became necessary.²⁰²

Since the reformers linked the pastoral office so explicitly to the ministry of word and sacrament for the sake of the delivery of the forgiveness of sins to God's people (seen, for example, in the prohibition against private masses), the issue of the means for making new pastors necessarily involved the relationship between pastors and congregations.

In the Roman church that means of making priests was sacramental ordination. Both Bugenhagen and Luther responded in extremely negative tones to this Roman act of consecration. However, neither man denied the propriety of a public liturgical act as part of the process for the formation of pastors. A 1535 decree from Elector John

²⁰¹Smith, 261.

²⁰²Smith, 261.

Frederick of Saxony forced Luther and Bugenhagen to address the nature of that liturgical act. The elector's decree stated that

henceforth everyone who desired an office in the electorate should be examined by the superintendent and then sent, with a letter of attestation, to the faculty at Wittenberg to whom the Elector had given the mandate "to ordain and thus to give the power and authority of the office of priest and deacon."²⁰³

This decree had a huge impact, in effect centralizing all ordinations in Wittenberg under the supervision of the theological faculty. That, in turn, provided ground for disagreement between Luther and Bugenhagen. Luther wanted Bugenhagen, as the city pastor in Wittenberg, to be the ordainer as well. Bugenhagen, however, still believed that the rite of installation, done within the context of the congregation to which the pastoral candidate had been called, was the proper means of ordination. The disputed issue revolved around the need for and nature of a juridical-hierarchical replacement for the episcopal consecration of the Roman church, not around the need for a liturgical act which both men agreed was necessary. Bugenhagen argued for retaining the liturgical act of installation, which often included the laying on of hands and prayer, to serve as the form for the new evangelical practice of ordination. On the other hand, while Luther was apparently sympathetic to Bugenhagen's position, he

²⁰³Smith, 93. The text of the elector's decree is quoted from Paul Drews, *Die Ordination, Prüfung und Lehrverpflichtung der Ordinanden in Wittenberg 1535*, (Giessen: Otto Kindt, 1904), Appendix, 33.

also perceived the desirability of having centralized ordinations.²⁰⁴ Smith clearly identifies the center of the dispute:

Bugenhagen was more congregational than Luther when he argued that ordinations should always occur in the congregation to which the candidate had been called. Luther, on the other hand, maintained that ordinations should be centrally controlled. The congregational context was not lost, of course, since Luther also believed that the ordination should occur within the regular liturgical life of the community, in his case one of the churches in Wittenberg. The question here, however, is what distinguishes these two perspectives liturgically. There are variations in the ritual structure and content, but one would be hard pressed to explain liturgically that something different was happening in one over against the other.²⁰⁵

Neither Bugenhagen nor Luther provided an answer that distinguished the two types of ordination, centralized or localized, from one another.²⁰⁶ That task was left to

²⁰⁴This dispute is analyzed effectively by Ralph Smith, 84-98. Smith is convincing in making the case for Luther wanting centralized ordinations and Bugenhagen localized ordinations. However, caution must be exercised here. The views of Luther and Bugenhagen are perhaps not as black and white as Smith's analysis might lead one to think. On pages 211-24 he analyzes the ordination of Nicolaus von Amsdorf by Luther as bishop of Naumburg in Saxony. The ordination occurred in Naumburg, not in Wittenberg. Thus Luther departed from his own viewpoint. It would seem likely that Bugenhagen participated in ordinations in Wittenberg, thus departing from his viewpoint. The views of the two reformers in regard to this question must be viewed as somewhat fluid depending upon the circumstances. On page 98 Smith even admits that Luther was "sympathetic to Bugenhagen's position." However, on the whole, I believe Smith's analysis and evidence is convincing.

²⁰⁵Smith, 186.

²⁰⁶It is not clear why Luther and Bugenhagen never resolved this issue. A number of reasons could be offered. Apparently the issue was never an extremely important one for Luther (see footnote #204). Smith cites a letter of Luther to Friedrich Myconius of Gotha in which he sympathizes with Bugenhagen's position writing: "Dr. Pomeranus was not present willingly since he still believes that ordination should be done in the local church by the presbyters. That will eventually happen once this new thing and order has established deeper roots and has become more customary" (WA BR 7:302, 3-10). This would seem to indicate that Luther

framers of liturgical documents after their deaths. Thus the distinction of two distinct rites, ordination and installation, also did not occur until later. Ralph Smith writes that, "only when the issue of ordination and investiture (installation) was addressed in the years after 1535 did the difference between two fundamental models for ordaining begin to emerge."²⁰⁷ Eventually there were not only two models, but two distinct liturgical acts.

Each Lutheran territory, as it developed church orders appropriate to its circumstances and agreeable to its authorities and patrons, addressed the rite of ordination in distinct ways, emphasizing either the centralized model or the localized model. In the end, many territories such as Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel accepted aspects of both by providing a centralized rite of ordination and a localized rite of installation, thus distinguishing two separate liturgical acts. However, the liturgical rites that were prepared often sparked confusion over the distinction between the intent of the rites. That was true in the 1569 church order which included Luther's 1539 ordination rite as its ordination rite and the 1547/1559 ordination rite of Württemberg

anticipated that ordinations would eventually be performed in the locale to which the person was called, even though in 1535 he fully supported the elector's decree which gave the responsibility to examine to the faculty in Wittenberg. Obviously both Bugenhagen and Luther had considered the issue, but most likely due to the pressure of other issues, for example the negotiations for a church council, the writing of the Schmalkald Articles, the Antinomian controversy, the threat of the Turks, as well as others, Luther and Bugenhagen lacked the time to resolve this issue. It is certainly an issue that could be resolved in practice and, in any event, Luther would have wanted each territory to decide the matter according to its best interest.

²⁰⁷Smith, 186.

as its installation rite. The reason for confusion is readily apparent. As a result Ralph

Smith asks this of the period in liturgical development:

The liturgical consensus that emerged in these years tended to blur any ritual distinction between ordination and installation. The question is whether that betrayed a theological position which the reformers themselves had not clearly articulated: that 1) without apostolic succession in a narrow sense, which automatically qualified the ritual act of a bishop who was in succession as a once for all time "ordination" into the priestly estate, and 2) with an emphasis on the essential participation of the congregation in confirming those who were called to be its pastors, were ordinations and installations, even if separated in time and place, in fact the same act? The further question raised is whether subsequent installations, after the first which might simultaneously be called the ordination, were in essence reordinations, since the relationship of specific pastor and specific congregation always demanded reconstituting the promise between them?²⁰⁸

Certainly the liturgical evidence would seem to indicate such a confusion regarding these two liturgical acts.

The solution to the confusion lay in the location in which the liturgical rites were enacted.²⁰⁹ Although the rites might be nearly identical in terms of content, the location in which they were performed said something about their intent and the relationship of the rites to one another. The rite of ordination done in a centralized location (or anywhere, for that matter) was an action carried out by God on behalf of the entire church, not just for that congregation in which the rite occurred. In other

²⁰⁸Smith, 260.

²⁰⁹Smith notes this when he says: "The actual content of these two rites makes it difficult to differentiate them. Only the context and prior knowledge of what the specific event was intended to do would reveal that these rites, which looked very much the same, were accomplishing two different things." Smith, 259. I believe he misses the significance of the two rites being so much alike. This cements the intimate relationship between ordination and installation. In that case it is appropriate that the only substantial difference consist of the context and location of the two rites.

words, ordination was not parochially limited. Installation, on the other hand, occurring in the congregation to which a pastor was called, was a reiteration of God's promises to the pastor and the church concerning the office of the ministry made at the pastor's ordination but now applied to that specific congregation of Christ's church. Thus Ralph Smith can say,

In one case [ordination] the unity of the church was affirmed on the basis of its extra-local reality; the church was more than a federation of disparate, local congregations. Thus one could not construe subsequent installations in new communities as a repetition of ordination. On the other hand, the parochial model [installation] indicated that the emphasis was on the autonomy of the local congregation. Although it was sometimes difficult not to see installation as a repetition of ordination, the rites often being quite similar, the act of ordination was clearly considered to be valid for the whole church. Subsequent installations were never described as re-ordination.²¹⁰

Thus, in effect, the similarity between the ordination rite and the installation rite reinforced their purposes vis-a-vis one another. They were intimately related to one another and could not be separated. At ordination, in the presence of the entire church as represented by one congregation, God promised the candidate and the church that he would bless the ministry of that man in Christ's office. At installation God re-affirmed those promises to the church and the pastor in the presence of the specific congregation in which the pastor was now called to serve. What better way to express the intimate relationship between the two rites than by having the rites be nearly identical in content?²¹¹

²¹⁰Smith, 293.

²¹¹Admittedly maintaining the distinctiveness of the two rites in light of their nearly identical relationship in content requires careful and clear explanation. Without such explanation people are likely to become confused when faced with nearly

The conjunction of instructions regarding the filling of vacancies, the examination questions, the ordination and installation rites, and the concern for the congregation's approval all point to the understanding that the vocational process of forming pastors contains multifold actions and events. One action cannot be singled out as more important than the other. All are part of the process. This accords well with Chemnitz's broad use of the term "call" to summarize the entire process. Chemnitz repeatedly affirms that call, election, examination, ordination, and installation are part of the process of making a pastor.

So what is the liturgical and theological nature of this rite? Its order is as follows²¹²:

- "Now Let us Pray to the Holy Ghost" (Sung by Congregation)
- Sermon concerning the ministry of the Word, by whom it was instituted, its usefulness, etc
- Singing of the Creed
- Address to the congregation concerning the candidate
- Prayer for the Ministry
- John 20:21-23
- 1 Timothy 3:1-7
- Acts 20:29-31
- Prayer for the Candidate or Luther's Ordination Prayer
- The Lord's Prayer
- Laying on of Hands and Declaration of Ordination
- Te Deum Laudamus or Grates Nunc Omnes is sung

What dominates the service is prayer, three of them in fact. The fourth rubric at the beginning of the service makes it clear that prayer is central to the service when

identical rites.

²¹²There is no indication that the service is to be conducted on a Sunday within the divine service. It appears to be a separate service. See Smith, 257.

it states, "He [the superintendent] shall admonish them [the congregation] to pray that the Lord might grant grace and prosperity."²¹³ This service invokes God's grace for the pastor and the congregation and reminds the congregation, even through the prayers, of God's grace in establishing the pastoral office.

Each of the prayers has different emphases. The first is both a didactic and an epicletic prayer. It teaches and it invokes:

Almighty God, Heavenly Father you have ordained and instituted the worthy office of preaching through your beloved Son, Jesus Christ, so that poor humanity might be comforted and helped. You have also stated and promised that those who believe and are baptized will be blessed. . . . we pray your special help and gracious assistance to protect this dear and worthy treasure from the greatly depraved and wrathful enemy. . . . We ask . . . that you would not leave or abandon us, but would hold us in your divine hand. We especially pray for your servant, N., who has been sworn to preach the Holy Gospel, that he may remain steadfast. . . . We pray that we may never be deprived of your heavenly comfort.²¹⁴

Ralph Smith summarizes well its intent:

The prayer made it clear that the office of preaching was instituted by Christ. It expressed the need for God's continuing grace to make the bearing of such an office possible. It commended the candidate by name to God's care.²¹⁵

Not only is this office instituted by Christ, but it is a "treasure." It is interesting that the word "treasure" has no immediate referent. It could refer to the office of preaching or to the blessings of baptism. In an indirect way that ambiguity in referent indicates the nature of the office of the ministry as one delivering God's

²¹³"Kirchenordnung unser, von Gottes genaden Julii," in Sehling, 6/1:190.

²¹⁴"Kirchenordnung unser, von Gottes genaden Julii," in Sehling, 6/1:190. The translation is by Ralph Smith, 230.

²¹⁵Smith, 230.

forgiveness—his treasure—through the means of grace. Clearly the office of preaching was instituted as a means of providing “heavenly comfort,” that is, God’s comfort to humanity through his word.

The second opportunity for prayer provides the superintendent two options, the second being Luther’s ordination prayer expounding the first three petitions of the Lord’s Prayer in relation to the office of the holy ministry. Either of these prayers specifically invokes the Holy Spirit to be with the pastor now being installed. The first prayer asks that “you would give to your servant, N., called to your holy office of preaching, your divine grace and Holy Spirit. By this power he will be strengthened against all temptations of the devil, the world, and his flesh.”²¹⁶ As Ralph Smith states, “The focus of the prayer was on the gift of the Spirit for the person to have strength to fulfill the tasks of ministry, especially preaching and teaching.”²¹⁷ The nature of the office of the holy ministry as one of teaching and preaching is apparent in this prayer which implores the Holy Spirit to strengthen the pastor “to feed the flock purchased by Christ with your healing and unerring word.”²¹⁸ And the content of that preaching is also clear: “the scandalous preaching of Christ the Crucified.”²¹⁹ This office is the office of the gospel.

²¹⁶“Kirchenordnung unser, von Gottes genaden Julii,” in Sehling, 6/1:191. The translation is based on that of Ralph Smith, 258.

²¹⁷Smith, 258.

²¹⁸“Kirchenordnung unser, von Gottes genaden Julii,” in Sehling, 6/1:191. The translation is based on that of Ralph Smith, 258.

²¹⁹“Kirchenordnung unser, von Gottes genaden Julii,” in Sehling, 6/1:191. The

The last prayer is in reality a type of *Vollzugsformel*, a declaration, in this case, of installation. However, since this service was originally the ordination service for the territory of Württemberg, the language readily reminds anyone listening of ordination. The language is unambiguous:

[Dear brother] we have gathered in the Holy Spirit, and have called to God our heavenly Father through Jesus Christ our Lord and Savior on your account. We do not doubt that he has graciously heard us according to his divine promise. Accordingly, by the command of the Almighty, I ordain, confirm and certify you as servant and pastor [Seelsorger] of this congregation. All of this with the earnest command that you would diligently and faithfully administer this according to the ordinance of our church, as you must give account on that day before the judgement seat of our Lord Jesus Christ, the true judge:—In the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.²²⁰

This formula, perhaps unintentionally, does connect the installation with the man's ordination through the word "promise." At his ordination the Lord promised to bless his ministry and be present in it through word and sacrament. In this rite the installing pastor has prayed for the presence of the Holy Spirit in this man's ministry (now in this place) and those prayers have reminded the man being installed of the promises the Lord made at his ordination. The *Vollzugsformel* reaffirms the certainty of God's promises for both the pastor and the congregation.

All the readings, except John 20, were part of the ordination rite. The rubrics dictate that the superintendent should read John 20, while reading the other texts remains optional depending upon the time allotted. This reading again points to the Lord's promise to give the servants in his office the Holy Spirit to strengthen them for

translation is based on that of Ralph Smith, 258.

²²⁰"Kirchenordnung unser, von Gottes genaden Julii," in Sehling, 6/1:192.

their tasks. The rubrics indicate that the superintendent might read the other Scripture selections to "strengthen recollection," presumably that of the pastor and congregation, of the responsibilities and promises given to the ministerial office—once again an appropriate way to point the pastor back to his ordination where those responsibilities were originally accepted and those promises given.

Along with the readings other elements such as the laying on of hands point back to the pastor's ordination. The rubrics state that the "superintendent shall by virtue of the Christian freedom granted to the church by the Lord Jesus Christ in external, non-binding (lit. indifferent) ceremonies, as is customarily the practice, lay his right hand on the bare head of the new pastor."²²¹ The rubric indicates that the laying on of hands is not divinely mandated. Yet, on the basis of the Christian freedom in external ceremonies given to the church by its Lord, the rubric urges that the superintendent follow the usual procedure by laying on hands. The rubric indicates that the laying on of hands should not be made into a law, neither demanding its usage or non-usage, but employed with joy as a ceremony which the

²²¹"Kirchenordnung unser, von Gottes genaden Julii," in Sehling, 6/1:191.

Lord allows his church to use in freedom.²²² It is something central to the rite and should not be dismissed lightly without valid reasons.

Finally, the rite witnesses to ordination by referring to the entire vocational process of making a pastor. This appears in the fourth rubric in the introduction to the rite: "When the song is completed the superintendent shall admonish the people, mentioning how this pastor or deacon was chosen and recognized as capable, how he was called with the hope that he would accept them, etc."²²³ This reminds both the pastor and the congregation that this man is truly a pastor, their pastor, by virtue of the fact that the Lord has made him so through the vocational process of nomination, election/call, examination, and ordination. The congregation and pastor can be sure that the promises the Lord made to create and strengthen faith through his ministry of

²²²The laying on of hands would certainly fit the definition of an adiaphoran as defined by the Formula of Concord SD 10:1. See *Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche* [Hereafter BKS], 10th ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1986), 1053-54; Tappert, 610-611: "Ceremonies and church rites which are neither commanded nor forbidden in the Word of God but which have been introduced into the church with good intentions for the sake of good order and decorum or else to preserve Christian discipline." Admittedly the church can use or abolish such ceremonies in total freedom. However, if ceremonies such as the laying on of hands are beneficial to the church in teaching the various facets of the message of salvation then they ought to be treasured and retained. I believe that is why the Formula of Concord inveighs against those who would abolish such beneficial ceremonies: "We also reject and condemn the procedure whereby matters of indifference are abolished in such a way as to give the impression that the community of God does not have the liberty to use one or more ceremonies at any time and place, according to its circumstances, as may in Christian liberty be most beneficial to the church." FC SD 10:30; BKS, 1063; Tappert, 615-16.

²²³"Kirchenordnung unser, von Gottes genaden Julii," in Sehling, 6/1:190.

word and sacrament still hold true. The Lord has not abandoned his teachers and hearers.

One final observation. The language and terms utilized in these various rites to denote the office of the holy ministry also indicate how the office is understood, what its primary purpose is. As was noted above (n. 66), Chemnitz, in his theological works, uses four root words to describe the ministerial office: *ministerium* (ministry), *dienst* or *kirchendienst* (church or church servant), *amt* or *predigtamt* (office or preaching office), and *doctoribus* (teacher). Since *ministerium* means service and *predigtamt* and *doctoribus* are so closely related in connotation Chemnitz essentially uses two words to denote the office of the ministry: ministry/service and teaching/preaching office.

The same words appear in the 1571 instructions as well as in the 1569 regulations and examination questions. Preacher, preaching office, servant, and church servant appear most often. The use of these terms emphasizes how the Reformers understood the primary role of the office to be that of teaching and preaching the word of God. In addition, in carrying out their work they were servants of the Lord who appointed them in his church. The term "pastor," meaning shepherd, also appears quite frequently, although it is not the dominant term. Feeding the flock with the word of God was also a primary understanding of the office for Chemnitz. Other terms that appear include *Seelsorger*, ministry of the altar, divine office, and church office. Within this variety of terms there is still the dominant notion that here

is only one office of the holy ministry. Yet it can be described by a variety of terms that bring out different aspects of its function.

The ordination rite of 1569 (essentially Luther's) and the installation rite which was imported from the Württemberg church order of 1559, make use of slightly different terms. Luther's rite, since it employs so much scriptural language, uses a multiplicity of primarily scriptural terms: pastor, bishop, presbyter. The installation rite uses primarily the terms "pastor" and "servant." "Office of preacher" appears only twice and "preacher" does not appear at all, unlike its dominant use by Chemnitz. The use of the term "pastor" would seem to imply less of a didactic role and more of an emphasis on caring for and shepherding the church. The focus shifts slightly from proclaiming the word of God to the office of the Keys, addressing the sinful lives of people and how they are affected by sin. Yet a strong distinction should not be drawn.

Most interesting is the installation rite's reference to "deacons." This is the only place that term appears in the 1569 regulations and rites concerned with the vocational process. Some Lutheran territories utilized the office of deacon, some territories ordaining them, others not. It does not appear that Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel ever had an office of deacon. Thus the term, in this context, must have been equivalent to any other term for an ordained pastor to whom was committed the pastoral office of the word and sacraments.²²⁴

²²⁴The 1569 church order, in the regulation and examination sections, does use one other term, "vicar." This apparently was a church office distinct from the regular

The Rites of the 1615 and 1651 Church Orders of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel²²⁵

According to the available secondary literature these church orders are verbatim republications of the church order of 1569. Thus their rites of the vocational process should differ little from those of the 1569 church order. Analysis of these orders has therefore been omitted to avoid repetition. Further study of these church orders may provoke a revision of this conclusion, but at this point it is assumed that they reflect the evidence provided by the 1569 church order concerning the rites of the vocational process.²²⁶

pastoral office in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, but not the kind of apprentice office associated with the term "vicar" today. According to Kurt Kronenberg, in the late middle ages there were vicars, or *Geistlichen*, who supervised chapels or altars erected by various families so that masses might be said in their behalf. Kronenberg, 22. Apparently the Reformation did not eliminate this position but obviously altered its functions. The secondary literature seems to indicate that they were not ordained and either assisted the ordained clergy in a particular locale or served in the stead of an ordained clergyman when one was not available to fill a certain post.

²²⁵*Kirchenordnung unser von Gottes Gnaden Julii Hertzogen zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg etc. Wie es mit Lehr und Ceremonien unsers Fürstenthumbs Braunschweig-Wolffenbütlischen Theils. Auch derselben Kirchen anhangenden Sachen und Verrichtungen hinfort (vermittels Gottlicher Gnaden) gehalten werden soll.* Helmstedt: Jacobum Lucium in verlegung Melchior Bels, 1615. (Revised Reprint from 1569). *Kirchen-Ordnung UNSER von Gottes Gnaden AUGUSTI, Herzogen zu Brunswyg und Lunäburg.* Wolfenbüttel: Johann und Heinrich Stern, 1651. (Revised from 1569 with the Title Page of 1615).

²²⁶The author requested copies of these church orders from Herr LKAR Hermann Kuhr of the Landeskirchenamt of the Evangelisch-Lutherische Landeskirche in Braunschweig in a letter of 6 December 1993. Professor Dr. Inge Mager of the Universität Hamburg directed me to contact Herr Kuhr. As of the writing of this thesis I had received no response from Herr Kuhr. I intend to procure these church orders at a later date.

The Reformation in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, primarily under the steady and keen guidance of Martin Chemnitz, provided a solid foundation and precedent for the understanding of the pastoral office and for the manner of placing a man into the office. Flowing out of Chemnitz's primary understanding of the pastor as teacher of the gospel and servant of the means of grace the rites of the vocational process stress this purpose for the office of the ministry. They teach and confess that a pastor is called, ordained, and installed by God through his church, both teachers and hearers, for the sake of the giving of salvation in word and sacrament to the people of God. Although not all the questions are answered concerning the vocational process, such as the relationship of ordination to installation, the rites allow the church to be sure that she is providing herself with pastors chosen and approved by God and who will "feed the flock of Christ."

CHAPTER III
CERTAINTY IN THE MIDST OF INSTABILITY:
THE ORDINATION AND INSTALLATION
RITES OF THE 1657 CHURCH ORDER

"Church orders could never be binding and the fact that Lutheran church orders continued to evolve reveals the dynamic component of their institutional thought," writes Jeffrey Jaynes of the sixteenth-century Lutheran church orders. The same could be said as well for the church orders and the rites for the vocational process of forming pastors in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel following the sixteenth century.

Political Life in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel from 1615-1704

This period in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel's history is a time of turmoil and transition. From 1613 to 1709 four different rulers held power in the principality: Friedrich Ulrich (r. 1613-1634), the last duke from the Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel Middle Line; August the Younger (r. 1634-1666), the first ruler in the Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel New Line;¹ and his two sons, Rudolf August (r. 1666-1704) and Anton

¹Concerning the division of the lands see Appendices 2 and 3 and Hajo Holborn, *A History of Modern Germany*, 3 vols. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1959), 2:21; also see William H. Maehl, *Germany in Western Civilization* (University,

Ulrich as co-regent (1685-1704). These rulers endured the turmoil of the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) and the rise of competing theological traditions within Lutheranism, partly in response to the turmoil of the war: Lutheran Orthodoxy, Pietism, and the Unionistic Theology of Georg Calixt.

The Thirty Years War devastated Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, as it did many other German lands.² Portions of the duchy were plundered,³ and the people were often saddled with severe taxation by their own rulers.⁴ War was hardly new or unknown, but this was the first major conflict waged by leaders who did not hire troops on a pay-as-you-go basis. Instead they compensated the soldiers at the expense of the civilian population, allowing the troops to sack and ravage the land as they moved from battle to battle, collecting booty for their compensation and living off of

AL: The University of Alabama Press, 1979), 212-13.

²Much of the material on the devastation of the Thirty Years War is taken from Wilhelm Rauls, "Frommigkeit und Bekenntnis in der Braunschweigischen Landeskirche," in *Vier Jahrhunderte Lutherische Landeskirche in Braunschweig: Festschrift zum 400jährigen Reformationsjubiläum der Braunschweigischen evangelisch-lutherischen Landeskirche im Jahre 1968*, ed. Friedrich W. Wandersleb und Martin Wandersleb (Wolfenbüttel: Landeskirchenamt, 1968), 38-40; also see Gustav D. Plath and D. Hermann Schuster, *Kleine Kirchengeschichte Niedersachsens*, ed. Paul Albers (Hannover: Lutherhaus Verlag, 1965), 47.

³For information on the involvement of the dukes of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel in the Thirty Years' War see Georg Schnath, Hermann Lübbling, Günther Möhlmann, Franz Engel, Dieter Brosius, and Waldemar Röhrbein, *Geschichte des Landes Niedersachsen*, 2nd ed., *Geschichte der deutschen Länder* (Würzburg: Verlag Ploetz KG, 1973), 32-34. The Peace of Westphalia did not work in their favor.

⁴See Maehl concerning the control ducal princes had over all aspects of territorial life. Maehl, 210.

the land. The havoc wreaked was unimaginable. The populace was then left struggling to rebuild and refinance following the rampage as best they could.⁵ Intense devastation occurred primarily in the areas near roads and in inlying parts of the land such as the plains which, in general, suffered more severely than the cities.⁶ Many houses were burned and others were vacated by their owners due to disease, death, or the killing sprees of uncontrolled soldiers. Churches were often used as stables and prisons or burned by marauding armies. Church bells and vessels were stolen. In many congregations divine services could not be held, because the people did not dare leave their houses with troops quartered in their area. In addition, pastors were often expelled or killed. Discipline and order were rare commodities.⁷ The results of the war were generally calamitous with "wretched impoverishment, decline of economics, degeneration of morals, cultural uprooting."⁸

Moral decay in the territory was accentuated by the incompetence of Duke Friedrich Ulrich whose government was fraught with corruption.⁹ Fortunately his

⁵The classic English language study of the war, complete with vivid accounts of the destruction, is C. V. Wedgwood, *The Thirty Years War* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1938).

⁶Schnath, 34.

⁷F. Ernest Stoeffler, *The Rise of Evangelical Pietism*, Studies in the History of Religions, vol. 9 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965), 186.

⁸Stoeffler, 186.

⁹Schnath, 32.

successor, the well-educated Duke August the Younger,¹⁰ sought to control the moral and spiritual decline of the people of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel.¹¹ He decreed that repentance days were to be held regularly in the principality. On these days services would be held in the morning and afternoon, and no work was to be conducted all day.¹² By this measure Duke August hoped to encourage people to live with moral strictness. He also issued a land ordinance after the end of the war, laying a new foundation for restoring both the church and the people's lives. The ordinance encouraged people to "fear God and avoid sin, that is the only means to the attainment of all blessing and welfare."¹³ Finally in 1642 through a separate peace treaty with the Holy Roman Emperor, Duke August brought an end to the war in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel.¹⁴

¹⁰Namesake and key developer of the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, reorganized in 1643, and the patron of the great library of the University of Helmstedt (whose books from the now defunct institution are back in Wolfenbüttel's library).

¹¹As Dale W. Brown indicates even the end of the war did not bring peace. The conflict between Austria and France meant "that German territories were constantly subject to advancing and retreating armies" until the end of the seventeenth century. *Understanding Pietism* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1978), 22.

¹²These days were held regularly until 1825. See Rauls for a description of the ordinance regarding these repentance days. Rauls, 40.

¹³Quoted in Rauls, 40.

¹⁴Inge Mager, "Georg Calixt—der niedersächsische Unionstheologie," in *Vier Jahrhunderte Lutherische Landeskirche in Braunschweig: Festschrift zum 400jährigen Reformationsjubiläum der Braunschweigischen evangelisch-lutherischen Landeskirche im Jahre 1968*, ed. Friedrich W. Wandersleb and Martin Wandersleb (Wolfenbüttel: Landeskirchenamt, 1968), 85.

This period also saw the end of nominal independence for the city of Braunschweig under Duke Rudolf August. This first son of August the Younger was not as powerful a leader as his younger brother Anton Ulrich, who will be discussed in the next chapter, but he did bring the principality's sometimes prodigal municipality back into his sphere of influence. After more than two centuries of conflict between the city and the principality, in 1671 all four dukes of the Braunschweig duchy engaged in a military siege of the city that resulted in the city's subjugation to ducal control.¹⁵ The surrender treaty guaranteed the free exercise of religion in the city according to the Augsburg Confession. In fact, it insured that if the principality altered its religious confession, the city would be allowed to remain Lutheran. The principality's confessional documents and church orders were now also valid for ecclesiastical life in the city. In the past the city theologians had preached, taught, and guarded Lutheran theology strictly, while in the principality, above all at its University in Helmstedt, a more moderate form of Lutheranism had been encouraged, particularly under Georg Calixt. The city, however, had remained faithful for many decades to strict, traditional Lutheran doctrine.¹⁶ The decline in the city's faithfulness did not begin until the opening of the Collegium Carolinum, the government's military

¹⁵See the outline of events in Walter Hinz, *Braunschweigs Kampf um die Stadtfreiheit 1492-1671: Bibliographie der Streitschriften zwischen Braunschweig und Wolfenbüttel*, *Reportorien zur Erforschung der Frühen Neuzeit*, vol. 1 (Bremen and Wolfenbüttel: Jacobi Verlag, 1977), 175.

¹⁶See Rauls, 42-43 and Hermann Kuhr, "Kirchengeschichte," in *Braunschweigische Landesgeschichte im Überblick*, 2nd ed., *Quellen und Forschungen zur braunschweigischen Geschichte*, ed. von Richard Moderhack, vol. 23 (Braunschweig: Selbstverlag des Braunschweigischen Geschichtsvereins, 1977), 124.

school, in Braunschweig in 1745 and the transferral of the seat of government to Braunschweig in 1753.

The Decline of Lutheran Orthodoxy in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel

Given the fact that perhaps the premier Lutheran theologian after Martin Luther, Martin Chemnitz, preached, taught, and guided the church in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, one would expect Lutheran Orthodoxy and its defense of a strong, robust Lutheranism to have taken hold there. For a short time that was the case. From 1593 until 1624 the consistory guided the church theologically in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, having gradually increased its jurisdictional sphere and its independence from the political authorities. Basilius Sattler, called to the consistory in 1574, became its director in 1589 and general superintendent of the land. Under Sattler, hard-line Orthodoxy permeated the land's pastorates, even to the point that Nicolaus von Amsdorf's teaching on good works being harmful to salvation gained a foothold. Sattler essentially guided the church as a bishop and furthered the teaching of Orthodox Lutheranism.¹⁷

But this trend did not continue. After Sattler's death, the influence of Pietism and especially Georg Calixt's moderating Union Theology altered the course of

¹⁷Kuhr, 123; see also Kurt Kronenberg, "Die Reformation im Lande Braunschweig," in *Vier Jahrhunderte Lutherische Landeskirche in Braunschweig: Festschrift zum 400jährigen Reformationsjubiläum der Braunschweigischen evangelisch-lutherischen Landeskirche im Jahre 1968*, ed. Friedrich W. Wandersleb und Martin Wandersleb (Wolfenbüttel: Landeskirchenamt, 1968), 14, 25.

Lutheran teaching and life in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel. From the beginning of the seventeenth century until the onset of the Enlightenment at the century's end, the moderating Lutheranism of Calixt dominated the principality. Notwithstanding the fact that Lutheran Orthodoxy's foothold was slipping here, the church orders of 1651 and 1657 appeared within a wider German theological milieu commanded by Lutheran Orthodoxy. What then was the understanding of the office of the holy ministry among its representative theologians? Did it maintain the understanding of Martin Chemnitz?¹⁸

The Orthodox dogmaticians, helped by a kind of scholastic theology, as Aristotle made a comeback in Lutheran circles, attempted to define precisely Lutheran doctrine. Johann Gerhard, one of the outstanding Lutheran dogmaticians, serves as a representative for all of Lutheran Orthodoxy in his definition of the ministry:

The ministry of the church is a sacred and public office, divinely instituted and committed to certain men through a legitimate calling that they, equipped as they are with special power, teach the Word of God, administer the sacraments and preserve discipline in the church to promote the conversion and salvation of men and to spread the glory of God.¹⁹

¹⁸The exposition of Orthodoxy's understanding of the ministry is taken from Robert D. Preus, *The Doctrine of the Call in the Confessions and Lutheran Orthodoxy*, (Houston, 1991); James H. Pragman, "Ministry in Lutheran Orthodoxy and Pietism," in *Called and Ordained: Lutheran Perspectives on the Office of the Ministry*, ed. Todd Nichol and Marc Kolden (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), 67-76; and Pragman, *Traditions of Ministry* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1983).

¹⁹Johann Gerhard, *Loci Theologici cum Pro Adstruenda Veritate tum Pro Destruenda Quorumvis Contradicientium Falsitate per Theses Nervose Solide et Copiose Explicati*, ed. Fr. Frank (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1885), 6/10:265. Translation is by Richard J. Dinda, unpublished; quoted in Pragman, *Traditions of Ministry*, 62.

The Orthodox dogmaticians emphasized, like Chemnitz, the teaching responsibility of the office.²⁰ The pastoral office, they believed, was instituted by Christ for the sake of teaching the gospel.²¹ Therefore a proper call was necessary to assure the church that this person was properly, validly, divinely, and legitimately called to be their pastor.²² The Orthodox dogmaticians tended to emphasize the public nature of the ministry and the fact that its privileges and responsibilities were originally given by God to the priesthood of all the baptized.²³ This call thus certified that the person was called by God and the church to serve publicly in the ministry that belonged to all Christians.

What was the nature of this call for the Lutheran dogmaticians? As Robert Preus indicates, for the most part the Orthodox theologians held consistently with Chemnitz, believing that

the call into the ministry was carried out according to a process which invariably included examination, election, confirmation, and ordination; and the latter rite, although never considered absolutely necessary for entering the office, was nevertheless never omitted.²⁴

²⁰Robert D. Preus, 14.

²¹According to Gerhard this involved a number of tasks including serving as a proper example of the Christian life, maintaining the church's rites, and caring for the poor and visiting the sick. See Pragman, "Ministry in Lutheran Orthodoxy and Pietism," 70-71.

²²Pragman, *Traditions of Ministry*, 70.

²³This contrasts with Chemnitz who asserted that there were simply teachers and hearers and never indicated to whom the ministry originally belonged. See Pragman, *Traditions of Ministry*, 59-61, and compare to 48-50.

²⁴Robert D. Preus, 25.

In fact, the Orthodox theologians analyzed the call process into all its various parts which included other elements such as nomination, presentation, consent, suffrage and approval by the people, and installation.²⁵ In this process ordination functioned primarily as a confirmation that the call was legitimate and attested to the candidate's ability, knowledge of doctrine and purity of life.²⁶ Although that was the primary significance of ordination, it also functioned in other ways as Pragman indicates:

The orthodox theologians describe the substantial elements of ordination as the laying on of hands and the prayer of the church. Through these elements the ordinand is consecrated and has conferred upon himself the gifts for the ministry being entrusted to him. In particular, the laying on of hands serves as a solemn testimony that the person presented for ordination is suitable, properly elected, and legitimately called to the ministry. Furthermore, the imposition of hands is a sign of divine blessing which the ordinand may expect to receive from God in the conduct of his ministry.²⁷

For the most part this echoes the five points of Chemnitz in regard to the function of ordination. However, the Orthodox dogmaticians do fail to mention any explicit bestowal of the office at ordination. Their emphasis upon the teaching function of the ministry and the need for preachers to be called legitimately through the entire process accords well with the teaching of Chemnitz.

²⁵Robert D. Preus, 35.

²⁶Pragman, "Ministry in Lutheran Orthodoxy and Pietism," 70, and Friedrich Kalb, *Theology of Worship in 17th-Century Lutheranism*, trans. Henry P. A. Hamann (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1965), 128.

²⁷Pragman, *Traditions of Ministry*, 75-76; see also Kalb, 130-31.

The Birth and Influence of Pietism

The origins of German Pietism lie in Braunschweig with the publication in 1603 of *True Christianity* by Johann Arndt²⁸ (1555-1621), the pastor of St. Martin in Braunschweig from 1599-1608. Born in 1555 at Edderitz near Köthen, Arndt first served as pastor at Badeborn in Anhalt. Following that he served in Quedlinburg, a center for mystical Spiritualism that had a great impact upon Arndt. However, he spent most of his career in the duchy of Braunschweig. After being forced out of his pastorate in Braunschweig city on account of his teaching,²⁹ he served from 1608-1611 as pastor in Eisleben. In 1611 he was called to be general superintendent of the principality of Lüneburg-Celle, Arndt residing in Celle, the seat of government for Lüneburg-Celle. He composed a new church order in 1619 for Lüneburg, an order that remained authoritative until the publication of the 1643 Lüneburg order.³⁰

As Martin Schmidt indicates, "Pietism grew out of Lutheran and Reformed Orthodoxy and out of the ecclesiastical resistance movement, mystical Spiritualism."³¹ Pietism stemmed from Lutheran Orthodoxy in the sense that it responded to the stagnant trends it perceived in Lutheran Orthodoxy. Whether orthodoxy was, in fact,

²⁸See Martin Schmidt, "Der Pietismus in Nordwestdeutschland," *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für niedersächsische Kirchengeschichte* 70 (1972): 150. For the general impact of Arndt upon Pietism see Stoeffler, 211-12.

²⁹Plath, 49.

³⁰Biographical information taken from Plath, 49, Rauls, 37-38, Stoeffler, 202-204, Martin Schmidt, 149, and Peter Erb, "Introduction to *True Christianity*," in Johann Arndt, *True Christianity*, trans. Peter Erb (New York: Paulist Press, 1979), 4-6.

³¹Martin Schmidt, 147.

stagnant is another question and is open to debate, but all that mattered was that some critics thought so and promoted Pietism in reaction to their perceptions. Of the relationship between Orthodoxy and Pietism Heiko Oberman states:

Orthodoxy . . . to its enemies, such as Arndt . . . was seen as a dry polemical, intolerant defense of a single denomination's position, lacking any concern with issues relevant to religious life or the practice of Christian virtue and devotion. Yet, Orthodoxy's opponents often owed much to its form and matter. Interest in personal piety was not neglected by the greater orthodox theologians.³²

Fierce opposition did arise between the proponents of Pietism and those of Orthodoxy. Pietism in particular attacked Orthodoxy's understanding of the primary role of the pastoral office. Werner Elert states in this regard that

by giving primacy to the officeholder's duty to teach, which is one of the essential elements of the Lutheran Reformation, the pastoral profession (Pfarrerstand) was made the "teaching profession" (Lehrstand), which has been the object of violent attacks since the days of Pietism.³³

Yet as Peter Erb notes, even such staunch defenders of Lutheran Orthodoxy as Johann Gerhard (1582-1637) and Johannes Quenstedt (1617-1688) came to the defense of Johann Arndt.³⁴

³²Erb in Arndt, 3-4; Stoeffler, I believe, is too harsh in his assessments of the failures of Lutheran Orthodoxy and the response of Pietism. Stoeffler, 186-87; see also Brown, 22-25. Kalb cautions that "Every appraisal of Orthodoxy will have to bear in mind this double fact: on the one hand, the faithful conservation and the brilliant elaboration of the Lutheran heritage; on the other hand, a dissection of existential truths that gets lost in scholastic systems and a gradual surrender of the religion of revelation for a growing religion of reason." Kalb, p. x.

³³Werner Elert, *The Structure of Lutheranism*, vol. 1, *The Theology and Philosophy of Life of Lutheranism Especially in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, trans. Walter A. Hansen (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1962), 362.

³⁴Erb in Arndt, 4, and Stoeffler, 210.

Mystical Spiritualism believed that the Spirit of God had been trapped by Lutheran and Reformed Orthodoxy within the Scriptures, confessions, and ecclesiastical institutions. Mystical Spiritualists emphasized that through the experience of union with God individual rebirth occurred and a living faith ensued.³⁵ The degree to which Johann Arndt was dependent upon Mystical Spiritualism can be debated. Wilhelm Rauls can say that "the foundational impression for Arndt was mysticism. Arndt was not an innovative thinker, but made use of the writings of the great mystics of the middle ages and the Jesuits."³⁶ Others would not label him a mystic. Central to the thought of mysticism was the union of the individual with God. Peter Erb does not deny Arndt's "use of medieval and other mystical sources."³⁷ However, he believes Arndt understood mystical spirituality as concentrating "above all on prayer and on everything connected with prayer in the ascetical and mystical life—in other words, on religious exercises as well as religious experience."³⁸ Arndt's definition did include, of course, mystical theology proper, which has been outlined as dealing with "extraordinary states . . . such as mystical union with its concomitant

³⁵Martin Schmidt, 147. The first Lutheran advocate of Mystical Spiritualism was Philipp Nicolai, the author of the great hymn, "Wake, Awake for Night is Flying." Other advocates out of Lutheran circles include Christian Hoburg and Paul Felgenhauer. See Martin Schmidt, 151-52.

³⁶Rauls, 37.

³⁷Erb in Arndt, 6; see also Oberman in Arndt, pp. xv-xvii.

³⁸Louis Bouyer, *The Spirituality of the New Testament and the Fathers*, trans. Mary P. Ryan (New York, 1963), pp. vi-ix; quoted by Erb in Arndt, 6-7.

manifestations—ecstasy, visions, and revelations,” although Arndt did not insist on the infused nature of union.³⁹

Union with Christ for Arndt was not so much an experience as a process carried out by the believer in which God united himself to the believer.⁴⁰ In this union of faith with Christ, accessible to all believers, Arndt directed the believer “to explore the nature of his union with Christ; he is admonished [through prayer and meditation] to cast aside all love for the creaturely and to learn progressively to have in fullness the God who has [already] united himself with the believer.”⁴¹ It is Arndt’s understanding of union with Christ as a process of faith, involving primarily prayer and mediation, that distinguishes him from his mystical sources. That is why Ernest Stoeffler can say, “The central theme of Arndt was not that of union. For that reason he ought not to be referred to as a mystic. It was that of the new life. . . . [which] implies, on the one hand dying to the world and dying to self. On the other hand, it implies love for God (Christ).”⁴²

³⁹P. Pourrat, *Christian Spirituality*, trans. W. H. Mitchell and S. P. Jacques (London, 1922), 1:p.v; quoted by Erb in Arndt, 7.

⁴⁰See Erb in Arndt, 9-10; on p. 15 he says that for Arndt “no possibility exists for a man to work his way to such a union; even the experience of the union already granted is a gift of grace.” Also see Stoeffler, 207-08.

⁴¹Erb in Arndt, 9; Stoeffler says that Arndt could use varied language, speaking of the “believer as being in God” and “of Christ making his home in the believer,” to convey the full idea of union with Christ in faith. Stoeffler, 209.

⁴²Stoeffler, 209.

Although Arndt included the ideas of spiritual rebirth and union with Christ in his theology, they were not his predominant emphases. Peter Erb says of Arndt's objectives,

In his numerous writings, Arndt's overwhelming interest was with the practice of the Christian life. It was always his concern to describe clearly the virtuous activities to which a Christian in his love for neighbor is obligated, and the meditation, reflection, and prayer to which, in his love for God, a Christian is called.⁴³

True Christianity demonstrates his emphasis that Christians strive in their lives to recover the divine image in which Adam and Eve were created and which God intended for the entire human race.⁴⁴ Out of that idea in particular, as well as that of union and rebirth, flowed "his profound ethical sensitivity and his amazing emphasis upon practical piety . . . [on] facets of Christian teaching" that were "not a prominent part of the Lutheran witness of the day."⁴⁵ For Arndt, the external word of Scripture released the inner action of the word in a person's heart. This action provided the inner knowledge of God's love and of human love toward God. In this process man was able to enjoy peace in God's presence. However, the process did not end there—in enjoyment of God—but the Christian was called to daily repentance, to a life of moral purity and service toward one's neighbor.⁴⁶ As Stoeffler summarizes,

⁴³Erb in Arndt, 5; see also Oberman in Arndt, p. xv and Stoeffler, 205-06, concerning Arndt's objectives in the preface to *True Christianity*.

⁴⁴Martin Schmidt, 149-50. Apparently this emphasis was not heard again in Pietism. Later followers, such as Spener, emphasized the concept of rebirth; see also Erb in Arndt, 8-9.

⁴⁵Stoeffler, 204-05.

⁴⁶Martin Schmidt, 149-50.

this life in Christ which expresses itself in moral excellence is God's gift, to be sure. But according to Arndt it is not given except to him who actively reaches for it. That being the case the means for its cultivation must not be neglected. Among the foremost of these is the Christian's constant look to Christ. . . . To this upward look must be joined the inward look. At least once a day, Arndt felt, the Christian must take time out in order to separate himself from the things of this world and to meditate upon those things which have to do with his spiritual welfare.⁴⁷

Through the working of God's love in a person's heart and the living out of that love in service to others, the image of God was gradually reacquired. Arndt strove in his writings to "mark the path from faith and conversion toward rebirth and sanctification."⁴⁸ His *True Christianity* brought him enmity and adulation, becoming, after the *Imitation of Christ*, the most widely read devotional book of its time and widely imitated thereafter.⁴⁹

The Landeskirche of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel did not remain unaffected by Arndt and Pietism. In the year 1649 Duke August the Younger called Professor Joachim Lütkemann (1608-1655)⁵⁰ of Rostock, who was influenced by Pietism and by the thought of Calixt, to be general superintendent of the principality. At the instigation of the duke, he conducted a general church visitation from 1651-54, that indicated that knowledge of the catechism amongst adults and children was poor. In his report on the visitation is the comment "they want to learn something by memory,

⁴⁷Stoeffler, 210.

⁴⁸Oberman in Arndt, p. xi.

⁴⁹Martin Schmidt, 150; also see Rauls, 37; Erb in Arndt notes that *True Christianity* went "through 20 editions prior to Arndt's death and over 125 printings before the close of the 18th century." Erb in Arndt, 5.

⁵⁰For a brief sketch of his life see Stoeffler, 219.

but without really understanding it.”⁵¹ As a result, in many places Lütke­mann ordered that on Sunday afternoons the teaching of the catechism and preaching of the epistle be conducted alternately. By this new practice Lütke­mann hoped to encourage the people to contemplate the inner appropriation of the Bible and catechism subjects. In addition, he published a devotional book with the title “Concerning the Foretaste of Divine Gifts,” that had wide dissemination.⁵² In it he encouraged Christians to strive after the “union of the new creature with Christ.”⁵³ Stoeffler says Lütke­mann was a true evangelical Pietist and his primary aim was to “inculcate practical piety.”⁵⁴ For the superintendent this piety was to express itself in

a Biblically based, personal morality. Repentance, conversion, newness of life, dying to self, denial of the world . . . a holy life—these were the basic themes of his preaching and his devotional books.⁵⁵

Thus, Lütke­mann taught and wrote in the spirit of Arndt, while also pointing to certain aspects of later Pietism.⁵⁶

The connection between Pietism and Duke Rudolf August was even more intimate than with Duke August. Rudolf corresponded with Spener⁵⁷ and called men

⁵¹Rauls, 41.

⁵²Stoeffler indicates that this was the first book read in Spener’s conventicles at Frankfurt. Stoeffler, 219.

⁵³Stoeffler, 220.

⁵⁴Stoeffler, 220.

⁵⁵Stoeffler, 220-21.

⁵⁶Rauls, 41.

⁵⁷Plath, 49.

with Pietist inclinations into his principality and ducal entourage. Under their influence, awakening circles or meetings were formed, meeting in houses to read the Bible, sing religious songs and witness to inner spiritual experiences.⁵⁸

However, when some of these pietistic-minded pastors in Wolfenbüttel established connections with certain *Schwärmerei* and ecstatically-oriented Christians, the authorities took action. In 1692 an edict was issued by the government forbidding them to hold religious meetings when approval was not received beforehand. Apparently co-regent Anton Ulrich issued the edict and forced his brother, Duke Rudolf August, to sign the edict.⁵⁹ The edict reminded all preachers and teachers that they were pledged to the Bible and the Confessions and were not to encourage people to expect inner enlightening by the Spirit. All ecclesiastical servants and teachers had to subscribe to the edict, and those who refused were to be dismissed. However, the general superintendent of the city of Wolfenbüttel, Bartold Meyer (1687-92), the court preacher Justus Lüders, and somewhat later the superintendent Heinrich Georg Neuß⁶⁰ in Remlingen, intercepted the decree for their pietistically-oriented pastors and

⁵⁸August Hermann Francke, the third great proponent of German Pietism following Arndt and Spener, corresponded with many of these Wolfenbüttel circles and preached in 1705 in the Peter church in Braunschweig. Rauls, 44.

⁵⁹Martin Wandersleb, *Erbe und Auftrag der Reformation*, 127. This edict was also appended to the church order of 1709 prepared by Anton Ulrich; see also Kuhr, 124.

⁶⁰Plath, 51; Neuß was later expelled from the territory because of his advocacy of Pietism. Carl J. Böttcher, *Germania Sacra. Ein Topographischer Führer durch die Kirchen- und Schulgeschichte deutscher Lande* (Leipzig: Verlag von Justus Naumann, 1874), 758.

teachers.⁶¹ In general, however, the anti-clerical conventicles were suppressed by the government.

In the end, notwithstanding the impact of Johann Arndt and Joachim Lütke mann and their efforts to emphasize the religious experience of the individual and his sanctification, Pietism did not have a great impact in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel.⁶² Where Pietism continued to exist in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel it did so in a moderate, ecclesiastically-friendly form.⁶³ The degeneration of Pietism into more radical forms or ineffective moralizing, as occurred in other German lands, did not happen here. One reason for that may lie in the fact that north Saxons had little disposition for *Schwärmerei*. As a result, the rigid Orthodoxy, to which Pietism addressed its reforms and emphases, was not prevalent in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel. In addition, Arndt did have an impact in cultivating living Christianity and thus precluded the need for Pietism to sustain its calls for reform. A third reason was that the moderate, unionizing Lutheranism of Calixt included an emphasis on moral conduct and Christian piety. As John Stroup concludes,

the discouragement of extreme scholastic orthodoxy and the readiness of local churchmen to find a place for the practice of piety which resulted from this kind of theology [i.e., Calixt's] meant that, in the whole, extra-ecclesiastical Pietism as a protest movement was of little significance in most parts of the Welf territories. What we find here is rather a gradual modification of the basic theological

⁶¹Plath, 44.

⁶²Rauls, 46; see also Kuhr, 124. Pietism also did not have much of an impact upon the University of Göttingen after its establishment in 1737, see Plath, 51-52.

⁶³Plath, 51.

position of the territorial churches to include elements of Pietism and moderate Enlightenment as the decades passed.⁶⁴

The Understanding of the Office of the Holy Ministry in Pietism

Pietism approached the pastoral office in terms of its larger call for Christians to live a life of holiness and moral purity, lived in repentance and prayer, and in service to one's neighbor.⁶⁵ Because of this emphasis Pietists sought a reform in the way clergy lived and in the priorities for their education. They emphasized the pastor's moral conduct as an example to the people of God and called for pastors to make personal visitation, personal relationships with parishioners, Bible classes and prayer meetings a high priority.⁶⁶

The Pietists fought Orthodoxy's idea of the pastor as teacher of the gospel and instead cultivated the image of the pastor as one who edifies the people of God, builds the church, and develops the spirituality of the laity.⁶⁷ Pragman writes of the Pietist understanding of the purpose of the office:

⁶⁴John Stroup, *The Struggle for Identity in the Clerical Estate: Northwest German Protestant Opposition to Absolutist Policy in the Eighteenth Century*, Studies in the History of Christian Thought, ed. Heiko A. Oberman, no. 33 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1984), 18-19.

⁶⁵This analysis of Pietism's understanding of the office is taken primarily from Pragman, *Traditions of Ministry*, 85-126; Pragman, "Ministry in Lutheran Orthodoxy and Pietism," 67-76; and Brown, 35-63. Unfortunately nothing was available to this writer specifically concerning Johann Arndt's understanding of the office of the ministry.

⁶⁶Brown, 54-55, and Pragman, *Traditions of Ministry*, 108.

⁶⁷Pragman, *Traditions of Ministry*, 119,122; Pragman, "Ministry in Lutheran Orthodoxy and Pietism," 74.

This office is necessary not only for the sake of good order in the church but also for the sake of furthering the edification of God's people. The public ministry has been given to accomplish a singular purpose: it is charged with the responsibility of making souls holy and acceptable to God himself.⁶⁸

To convey this primary purpose, Pietists used extensively the word "*Seelsorger*," that is, "caretaker or shepherd of souls." As a *Seelsorger* the pastor led his people with the example of a pure and holy life to take up their ministry as the priests of God, a thought Spener particularly emphasized.⁶⁹ Pragman describes the role of spiritual priests:

Pietism resurrected the emphasis on the spiritual priesthood of all believers. Pietism insisted that each Christian had a ministry and that ministry had to be performed. Church and ministry are not the possessions of the clergy: they belong to the spiritual priesthood of all believers. . . . The church's pastors are God's gifts to the church. They are given to assist, guide, and direct the spiritual priesthood in the performance of its ministry.⁷⁰

In many ways Pietism equated the ministry of the office with that of the priesthood of all believers.⁷¹ In fact, Pragman can say of Spener, "It is clear in Spener's view that the spiritual priesthood of all believers is qualified to exercise the work of the church's public ministry. It can preach and teach, pray and bless, sacrifice and administer sacraments."⁷² So, it is simply the public nature of the office and the special call to carry out the office that distinguishes the office of the holy ministry

⁶⁸Pragman, *Traditions of Ministry*, 101.

⁶⁹Pragman, *Traditions of Ministry*, 90, 92.

⁷⁰Pragman, *Traditions of Ministry*, 125; see also 98-99.

⁷¹Pragman, *Traditions of Ministry*, 119.

⁷²Pragman, *Traditions of Ministry*, 99.

from the priesthood of all believers for the Pietists.⁷³ The call process merely points out who the person is who will publicly administer the office. Pietism retained all the aspects of the call process. However, ordination was further devalued, understood simply as a ratification and confirmation of the call with no special gift or grace conferred, even for carrying out the office.⁷⁴ The rites of the vocational process were understood pragmatically as assuring the church that the person called was qualified to carry out the ministry on behalf of the entire church.

The Union Theology of Georg Calixt

Georg Calixt (1586-1656)⁷⁵ was the chief proponent of a moderating Lutheranism and of a theology of union among the ecclesiastical confessions that dominated the University of Helmstedt from 1614 until the onset of the Enlightenment. Early in his education at the Flensburg Latin school, Calixt was taught the spirit of a moderate, tolerant Lutheranism according to the practice of Melancthon.⁷⁶ In addition, the Lutheranism of Schleswig-Holstein, although adhering to the confessional writings, did not uphold them rigorously and did not receive the

⁷³Pragman, *Traditions of Ministry*, 99-100.

⁷⁴Pragman, *Traditions of Ministry*, 115; Pragman, "Ministry in Lutheran Orthodoxy and Pietism," 74.

⁷⁵For more information on Calixt's life see Mager, "Georg Calixt—der niedersächsische Unionstheologie," 79-86; see also George C. Fry, "Three Lutheran Fathers of the 17th Century: The Search for Identity," *Concordia Journal* (1979): 134-35.

⁷⁶Samuel J. T. Miller, "Molanus, Lutheran Irenicist (1633-1722)," *Church History* 22 (1953): 198.

Formula of Concord immediately.⁷⁷ Calixt encountered a similar moderateness at the University of Helmstedt.⁷⁸

It was Calixt who carried forward this moderate Lutheranism. Duke Friedrich Ulrich named him to the faculty in 1614 as a professor of theology and he was firmly supported in his theological endeavors by Duke August the Younger.⁷⁹ Calixt was an unrelenting advocate of religious tolerance, was always prepared to listen to the beliefs of other confessions,⁸⁰ and sought peaceful conciliation among the divided confessional positions in the church at large.⁸¹ During the Thirty Years War Calixt stayed in Helmstedt and endured the war's hardship, continuing to write and refine his theology. The religious wars brought out of Calixt an even more conciliatory and peaceful tendency.

Calixt, through the use of philosophy and metaphysics, asserted two types of theology.⁸² He first posited a theology based upon reason and the natural knowledge

⁷⁷Mager, "Georg Calixt—der niedersächsische Unionstheologie," 79.

⁷⁸Mager, "Georg Calixt—der niedersächsische Unionstheologie," 79. The Helmstedt University statutes showed an unusual amount of freedom in regard to research in all branches of knowledge, bringing many humanists to Helmstedt.

⁷⁹Kuhr, 123.

⁸⁰For Calixt the only legitimate confessions of the Christian faith were the Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed, since, in western Europe, they were the only ones who acknowledged the ecumenical creeds. Miller, 198.

⁸¹Mager, "Georg Calixt—der niedersächsische Unionstheologie," 79.

⁸²A good, brief summary of his theological presupposition concerning reason and revelation can be found in A. C. Ahlen, "The Seventeenth Century Dogmaticians as Philosophers," *Concordia Theological Monthly* 30 (1959): 164.

of God. By this limited theology, man is led gradually to the second type of theology, revealed theology, and thus to the doorstep of Christianity. This revealed theology then completes and fulfills what human reason knows about God. Calixt's conviction that natural theology and revealed theology, reason and revelation, could co-exist was for him a presupposition of Christian faith. On the basis of this conviction he could argue that there are basic theological truths about the nature of God that are present incompletely in natural theology and fully in revealed theology. These basic truths should be present, he believed, in all the Christian confessional positions to some degree.

But the final appeal for religious truth for Calixt had to be to revealed theology and Scripture. With the aid of reason, philological tools, and Scriptural exegesis the objective character of theological truth could be explained, demonstrated, and defended. These fundamental Christian articles of faith, Calixt believed, were revealed in Scripture and explained fully in the ecumenical creeds of the church's first five centuries. Calixt asserted that the early church was united behind these creeds and the fundamental articles of faith they confessed. This objective theological truth, these fundamental articles could serve as a common, neutral basis and confession upon which the differing confessional positions could agree and finally overcome their current confessional boundaries.⁸³

Calixt found the divisions in the church to be "a very offensive problem, which ran against Christian love . . . generally a great evil, that the church which God

⁸³Miller, 197.

established no longer worships and loves Christ as one.”⁸⁴ However, Calixt did not attempt to unify the church by bringing the different confessions to agree on all disputed questions of faith. This would not guarantee unity. Rather, he asserted that unity was already a reality through the existence of fundamental articles of faith. Calixt then wanted to lead all the confessions to recognize that each of them acknowledged these fundamental articles as the foundational truths of Christianity. As long as all the confessions were in agreement on the fundamental articles they could go their own way in secondary articles of faith in their individual traditions. Calixt exhorted the confessions to meet to discuss the fundamental articles and to acknowledge the relativity of their views of secondary articles. In fact, Calixt believed in agreement among the confessions but not in abrogating existing differences in secondary matters. To this end he participated in colloquies with the Reformed and with Roman Catholics, the most famous being the Thorn Colloquy in Brandenburg with the Reformed in 1645. Foremost, he wrote and encouraged the confessional traditions to be willing to listen to one another in peace.⁸⁵

Calixt’s view of the unitary nature of all theology, human knowledge, and life led him to develop his theology in a practical and ethical direction, as he encouraged Christians to live out their faith in holiness and moral purity. He called on people to live according to the ten commandments and the law of the gospel, in moderation,

⁸⁴Georg Calixt, *Diskurs von der wahren christlichen Religion und Kirchen* (n.p., 1633), 105; quoted in Mager, “Georg Calixt—der niedersächsische Unionstheologie,” 86.

⁸⁵A good, brief summary of his union attempts is available in Fry, 136.

tolerantly and willingly understanding and bearing with the thoughts of others. That included obeying the church and government and daily striving so that one's congregation and neighbors might benefit by one's life and actions. Calixt tried to inculcate a practical knowledge of true piety and faith showing forth in obedience to God and service to one's fellow man.

On account of his methodology and his efforts toward the re-unification of the varied Christian confessions on the basis of fundamental articles, Calixt encountered much opposition.⁸⁶ His relationship with his orthodox colleagues and opponents, especially Abraham Calov (1612-1686),⁸⁷ always remained very strained, and he was unable to publish anything until the death of Sattler without his approval. His participation in the Thorn Colloquy precipitated the Syncretistic Controversy between Calixt and the University of Helmstedt and the University of Wittenberg.⁸⁸ His opponents, endeavoring to safeguard the doctrine of justification by grace through faith alone, did not understand Calixt when he emphasized the work of the Holy Spirit in the reborn Christian which stimulated residual natural powers by which man could attain blessings in this life through his conduct. The struggle between him and his Orthodox opponents became more acrimonious and degenerated eventually to the point

⁸⁶He was also opposed because he rejected the teaching of Christ's ubiquity, he did not confess the doctrines of sin and original sin in orthodox purity, and his doctrine of salvation showed signs of Pelagianism.

⁸⁷Ahlen, 164.

⁸⁸Fry, 136; see also Stoeffler, 189-90.

where they completely misunderstood each other. His opponents would probably agree with Inge Mager's assessment of Calixt:

Calixt's theology raised awareness for Christians to listen to each other's confessions. Certainly, his theology contained weaknesses and difficulties. It prepared the way for rationalism. It placed anthropology ahead of Christology. It mixed synergistic elements with the Christian doctrine of righteousness. Finally, it reduced the totality of Christianity to a fixed minimum, in spite of the fact that the Gospel, in every time and age, will be spoken in new and different ways appropriate to that time and age.⁸⁹

In the end, Calixt had a formative influence upon theological life in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel and touched many generations of Lutheran pastors trained at the University of Helmstedt.⁹⁰ The doctrine of the ministry was apparently not a primary concern for Calixt. Perhaps this was because he had little confidence in pastors, handicapped by their limited theological formation, to be able to carry forward his objective of reconciling the confessional traditions. He believed his objectives could only be accomplished through theologians with the support of the princes. Although Calixt did not give extensive consideration to the pastoral office,⁹¹

⁸⁹Mager, "Georg Calixt—der niedersächsische Unionstheologie," 88. This appraisal however does not recognize that Mager, for the most part, considers Calixt's theology in a favorable light.

⁹⁰Kuhr, 123. For information on Calixt's influence even after his death see Mager, "Georg Calixt—der niedersächsische Unionstheologie," 88-93; also see Miller, 197-218.

⁹¹Shortly before the writing of this thesis the author became aware of materials concerning Calixt's understanding of the office of the ministry. Time did not permit exploration of these resources but they are noted here for future reference: Georg Calixt, *Epitome Theologiae* (1619) in *Dogmatische Schriften*, ed. Inge Mager, *Werke in Auswahl*, ed. Abteilung für Niedersächsische Kirchengeschichte and the Vereinigten Theologischen Seminaren der Universität Göttingen, vol. 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1982) [see especially pp. 253-61]; Hermann Schüssler, *Georg Calixt Theologie und Kirchenpolitik, Eine Studie zur Ökumenizität des Luthertums*, Abteilung

his union theology laid the groundwork for the liturgy, in particular the rites of the vocational process, to be taken with less seriousness. His theology allowed the possibility that the secondary theology expressed in those rites might easily be altered.

The Rites of Ordination and Installation in the Church Order of 1657

Lutheran Orthodoxy, with regard to worship, adhered to the traditional ceremonies established in the church orders of the Reformation. As Friedrich Kalb states:

The use of ceremonies . . . are not left to arbitrary decision of individuals, but that these ceremonies, in so far as they bear a public character, are reduced by the community to a definite order, to which the individual submits for the sake of love. . . . The pronounced conservatism of Orthodoxy regarding the liturgy, which almost seems to militate against freedom in ceremonies, becomes intelligible at this point. . . . For changes can be carried out only by the church as a whole; they are not within the scope of private, subjective judgement.⁹²

From the perspective of Lutheran Orthodoxy, the ceremonies of the church were not to be altered by individual pastors or congregations but only by the church as a whole. If changes did ensue in the liturgy, they must have originated elsewhere as Kalb contends:

In spite of the descent from the high plane of Luther, the tendencies which were really destructive to liturgy and finally made complete havoc of our divine services never emanated from Orthodoxy itself. . . . The real impetus for the great process of dissolution proceeded from Pietism.⁹³

für Abendländische Religionsgeschichte, ed. Joseph Lortz, vol. 25 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1961), pp. 28-31.

⁹²Kalb, 115-16.

⁹³Kalb, p. xi.

Pietism in many places encouraged the dissolution of divine services and the church orders.⁹⁴ This raises the question whether such a dissolution also occurred with regard to the rites used in the vocational process of forming pastors in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel under the forces of Pietism and Calixtinism.

Under Duke August the Younger the first part of a new church order appeared in 1657, containing newly arranged worship rites and ecclesiastical ceremonies.⁹⁵ The ceremonies of this church order proved very influential in the principality over the next two centuries.⁹⁶ They were arranged and composed at the order of the duke by Joachim Lütke mann with the assistance of the duke himself. Given the fact that Lütke mann, who was influenced by Pietism and Calixtinism, prepared many of the worship rites, the question arises as to how much continuity the 1657 rites had with those of 1569, 1615, and 1651. Were those used in the vocational process heavily influenced by the forces of Pietism and Calixtinism at Lütke mann's hand?

The church order of 1657 contains only rites for ordination and installation. There are no instructions regarding nomination, election, and examination of the candidate. This may be due to the fact that the church law section of the church order was never published. These two rites demonstrate close continuity with the rites of the 1569 church order. For the most part, the changes that were made under the

⁹⁴Kalb, 73.

⁹⁵The second part of the church order, the church law section, was never published. Thus the church law of the 1569 church order continued to be valid. See Kuhr, 124.

⁹⁶Rauls, 41. For the influence of Pietism in other areas of worship life, see Rauls, 41-44.

influence of pietistic concerns, do not significantly alter the theological understanding of the office of the holy ministry as it was confessed in the 1569 rites. In fact, most of the changes involve the use of pious phraseology developed in pietistic circles. This change in language is not necessarily detrimental to the rites' understanding of the office.

The ordination rite⁹⁷ begins with more detailed rubrics than the 1569 rite. The second rubric clearly indicates that the service is to occur on a Sunday, although it does not clearly specify that the ordination is to occur during the divine service. Such a requirement removes the ordination service from its intimate connection with the weekly word and sacrament ministry of the congregation and minimizes the primary role of the pastor as one who preaches the word of God and administers the sacraments to the people. However, the rite later compensates for this omission through additional Scripture readings which emphasize that primary role of the pastor.

The first rubric clearly settles the question of the relationship between ordination and installation, a question that was a difficult issue in the sixteenth century. The rubric states that "ordinations shall be performed by the general superintendent . . . exclusively in the principality's capital."⁹⁸ In addition, the title to

⁹⁷*Agenda Oder: Erster Teil der Kirchen-Ordnung UNSER von Gottes Gnaden AUGUSTI, Herzogen zu Brunswyk und Lunäburg. Wie es mit den Ceremonien auch andern nootwendigen Sachen und Verrichtungen den Kirchen Unserer Fürstentume Graf-Herrschaften und Landen zu halten* (Wolfenbüttel: Sternens, 1657), 132-38; see appendix 8.

⁹⁸*Agenda Oder: Erster Teil der Kirchen-Ordnung UNSER von Gottes Gnaden AUGUSTI, Herzogen zu Brunswyk und Lunäburg*, 132.

the installation service, "The Manner in Which a New Preacher Shall be Installed at His Church," as well as the rubrics that follow, clearly indicate that installations were to occur solely before the congregation to which one was called. The division of the two rites into two very different locales expresses, as did the 1569 rite,⁹⁹ the different roles and purposes behind installation and ordination. The rites of 1657 are similar in content, expressing the close connection between the two rites and the nature of installation as a service that calls to mind before the pastor and the congregation the promises God made for this man's service in the office of the holy ministry which apply now in that place.

The changes that the rite of 1657 make on the 1569 version involve expansions of that rite. The additions of certain types of language evoke the influence of Lütkeemann and Pietism. The admonition of Luther, which follows the readings, is expanded in the 1657 rite with explanatory phrases [indicated in italics] added to Luther's words: "*He who is called among us as a bishop, shall be and has been sent as a preacher and pastor to this congregation which the one true Son of God Jesus Christ through his own blood, trials, suffering and bitter death has purchased.*"¹⁰⁰ The end of Luther's admonition calls for the ordinand to respond with a simple "yes." The 1657 rite expands this response, emphasizing the pastor's commitment to the task he is undertaking with God's help:

⁹⁹See p. 82, 83

¹⁰⁰*Agenda Oder: Erster Teil der Kirchen-Ordnung UNSER von Gottes Gnaden AUGUSTI, Herzogen zu Brunswyk und Lunäburg*, 135; cf. LW 53:125.

In so far as you are resolved from your heart and with conviction to carry out this office, bear witness to it with your affirmative response, given you by God, in the presence of the omniscient God and his church: After that the ordinand responds yes and means it with his whole heart.¹⁰¹

This phraseology, focusing on the extent of Jesus' suffering on our behalf, and the references to the candidate's promise from the heart, a promise meant emotionally, typically reflect Pietism.

The phraseology in the admonition draws more attention to the ordinand's promise and to his devoted intentions and draws away from the objective work of God through the pastor.¹⁰² Immediately following the pastor's promise comes a *Vollzugsformel*, a declaration of ordination, at the laying on of hands, something already present in the 1569 installation rite but new to the ordination rite. This declaration begins with this statement: "On the basis of your promises we are ready to entrust to you according to God's institution . . . the holy preaching office."¹⁰³ Once again the congregation and pastor are directed to the man's promises to carry out the office instead of to the Lord's promises for the ministerial office.

On the whole, however, the rite expands on the understanding of the office in the 1569 rite in a confessional and scriptural way. Still central to the rite is the laying on of hands and prayer. The first rubric indicates this by saying, "the ordination of

¹⁰¹*Agenda Oder: Erster Teil der Kirchen-Ordnung UNSER von Gottes Gnaden AUGUSTI, Herzogen zu Brunswyk und Lunäburg, 135-36.*

¹⁰²There is nothing inherently wrong with the ordinand making such promises as long as it is recognized that the strength to keep the promises made is given by God.

¹⁰³*Agenda Oder: Erster Teil der Kirchen-Ordnung UNSER von Gottes Gnaden AUGUSTI, Herzogen zu Brunswyk und Lunäburg, 136.*

the preacher takes place according to ancient Christian and apostolic practice through a devout prayer and the laying on of hands, a ceremony observed in our territory's dominions and lands."¹⁰⁴ The centrality of the laying on of hands and prayer is further expressed through the use of the *Vollzugsformel* and the repeated use of prayer in the service. However, in using the *Vollzugsformel* the rite negates the connection Luther established between the laying on of hands and the Lord's Prayer. As was already discussed with the 1569 rite, this connection clearly indicated that the Lord was acting to ordain and call this man into his service in and through the hands and voice of the pastor doing the ordaining.¹⁰⁵ Yet, the laying on of hands and prayer is clearly the constitutive act in the ordination rite.

The understanding of the office confessed in this rite relates well with the Orthodox understanding of the office and the 1569 rite, and it is seemingly not impacted by Lütkeemann's Pietism, other than the emphasis on the candidate's promises. The rite understands the office of the ministry primarily as an instrument. A man is ordained by the Lord to serve in his office delivering the benefits of Christ's salvation to the people of God through the preaching of the gospel and the administration of the sacraments. The man is first being ordained into an office of teaching. The readings from 1 Timothy, Acts and 1 Peter, as in the 1569 rite, emphasize this purpose for the office. In addition, in the admonition the candidate is

¹⁰⁴*Agenda Oder: Erster Teil der Kirchen-Ordnung UNSER von Gottes Gnaden AUGUSTI, Herzogen zu Brunswyk und Lunäburg*, 132.

¹⁰⁵See p. 72, 73

directed to "tend the flock with the pure Word of God."¹⁰⁶ That instruction would seemingly be intended to guard against relativizing doctrine and scriptural teaching as occurred under Calixt.

The terminology utilized by both the ordination and installation rites further indicates that the pastor is primarily ordained into an office of teaching. Both rites use the word preacher (*Prediger*) and preaching office (*Predigtamt*) most often to refer to the office of the ministry. The term used often by Pietists to refer to the office, "Seelsorger," shepherd of souls, is used only twice in the two documents.¹⁰⁷ The understanding of the office in this rite is not consistent with the Pietist's concern that the pastor be one who "sanctifies the people of God" and "develops the spirituality of the laity." The one ordained into the office is to be a teacher of God's pure and holy word. The Lord through his word will then sanctify and develop the spirituality of his people.

¹⁰⁶*Agenda Oder: Erster Teil der Kirchen-Ordnung UNSER von Gottes Gnaden AUGUSTI, Herzogen zu Brunswyk und Lunäburg*, 135.

¹⁰⁷Of the term, "Seelsorger," Werner Elert states that the Pietist "makes the carer for souls God's policeman, who questions the offender and keeps him in protective custody until he has been born again and has become ripe for the little wreath of Pietism. . . . Luther's belief in the omnipotence of the Gospel and its proclamation is being extinguished. This always was and will be the case where one's attention is directed to the man instead of to God, and this reversal of the direction of one's attention gives rise to the new ideal of a carer for souls. When Luther used the word 'shepherd,' he understood something different. The office of shepherd is the office of preaching. The food for the sheep is the Gospel, which is offered to them through the sermon. . . . This is the opposite of the pietistic ideal of a carer for souls." Elert, 366.

Not only is the one being ordained entering an office that teaches the gospel but an office that delivers the Lord's salvation through the means of grace. The *Vollzugsformel* makes this clear when it states, "The authority is given to you to preach God's Word purely and clearly, to administer the holy sacraments and to loose and bind sins."¹⁰⁸ That is exactly how Chemnitz and Lutheran Orthodoxy conceived of the office's purpose. In addition, four new readings added to the service—John 20:21-23, Matthew 16:19, 18:18, and 28:18-20—also express these additional functions of the pastoral office: the administering of the sacraments and the loosing of sins. These passages indicate that the Lord instituted the office of the holy ministry so that the gifts of his salvation might be delivered to his people. The instrumentality of the office is stressed, an office through which the Holy Spirit, mentioned in the prayers and in the John 20 reading, works faith in those who hear the gospel.

The installation service in the 1657 church order displays more clearly the impact of Pietism.¹⁰⁹ For the most part the form and theology of the rite are identical to those of the 1569 rite.¹¹⁰ The prayers, readings, laying on of hands, and blessing at the laying on of hands are the same as in the 1569 rite. Prayer dominates the service and the congregation is reminded of God's divine institution of the office for its benefit. The liturgy invokes the Holy Spirit's presence with the ordinand in his

¹⁰⁸*Agenda Oder: Erster Teil der Kirchen-Ordnung UNSER von Gottes Gnaden AUGUSTI, Herzogen zu Brunswyk und Lunäburg*, 136.

¹⁰⁹*Agenda Oder: Erster Teil der Kirchen-Ordnung UNSER von Gottes Gnaden AUGUSTI*, 138-50.

¹¹⁰See pp. 84, 85, 86, 87, 88

fulfilling of the office. The prayers focus on the teaching and preaching functions of the pastoral office, while the sermon is to stress the institution, profit and authority of the preaching office. The laying on of hands and the *Vollzugsformel* refer the pastor and congregation back to the pastor's ordination at which time the Lord promised to bless his ministry and be present in it through the means of grace, through word and sacrament.

The only significant structural change from the 1569 rite comes in the fourth rubric that directs the superintendent to "admonish the people, mentioning how this pastor or deacon was chosen and recognized as capable, how he was called with the hope that he would accept them, etc."¹¹¹ How to admonish the people was left up to the superintendent. The 1657 rite, however, provides a specific admonition that the superintendent could speak, although it is only given as a guideline and not as the admonition that had to be spoken.¹¹² The admonition to the congregation is not lengthy, but it does exhibit certain pietistic emphases. The congregation is instructed to "honor and love . . . follow and obey" their pastor "when he instructs and teaches" them "from God's Word to do all good."¹¹³ Here the office is conceived of as a means

¹¹¹"Kirchenordnung unser, von Gottes genaden Julii, herzogen zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg etc. Wie es mit lehr und ceremonien unsers fürstenthumbs Braunschweig, Wulffenbütlischen theils, auch derselben kirchen anhangenden sachen und verrichtungen hinfurt (vermittelst göttlicher gnaden) gehalten werden sol," (1569), in Sehling, 6/1:190.

¹¹²*Agenda Oder: Erster Teil der Kirchen-Ordnung UNSER von Gottes Gnaden AUGUSTI, Herzogen zu Brunswyk und Lunäburg*, 139-44. The superintendent is directed to deliver a short admonition. However, the one provided is rather lengthy.

¹¹³*Agenda Oder: Erster Teil der Kirchen-Ordnung UNSER von Gottes Gnaden AUGUSTI, Herzogen zu Brunswyk und Lunäburg*, 140.

of moral control and as the primary agent leading people to live sanctified lives. In addition the admonition states that "this is the first reason and intention for which God established the office of the service of the Word through the authority of his Son Jesus Christ, to preach his Word" so the congregation should take the proclamation seriously and not "treat it with contempt or disobey God's Word."¹¹⁴ Although this indicates that a primary function of the office is the proclamation of the word, it does not emphasize that the purpose for that proclamation is conveying God's gift of grace in Christ but rather stresses proclamation so that the people might obey. Again the purpose of the office is indicated to be the sanctification of the people.

The admonition to the pastor is much more lengthy and exhibits even more clear pietistic influences. First, it calls on the pastor always to return to his installation and consider "that he was called and confirmed to service in this place through the ordinance and order of the Almighty God."¹¹⁵ The pastor is directed back to his installation where God and the church confirmed his placement as pastor of this congregation. He could find comfort in knowing that God had placed him there.

However, the admonition then reminds him of the burden he is accepting, that this office is "no joke and child's play."¹¹⁶ He is called to accept this congregation and his office in its midst and to recognize the great care he will have to show and how he

¹¹⁴*Agenda Oder: Erster Teil der Kirchen-Ordnung UNSER von Gottes Gnaden AUGUSTI, Herzogen zu Brunswyk und Lunäburg, 140.*

¹¹⁵*Agenda Oder: Erster Teil der Kirchen-Ordnung UNSER von Gottes Gnaden AUGUSTI, Herzogen zu Brunswyk und Lunäburg, 141.*

¹¹⁶*Agenda Oder: Erster Teil der Kirchen-Ordnung UNSER von Gottes Gnaden AUGUSTI, Herzogen zu Brunswyk und Lunäburg, 141.*

will have to work diligently, often in the midst of trouble. Twice it mentions that he will be held accountable by God if his negligence, ineptness, and mischief disrupts the congregation or causes any of God's people to sin. Ezekiel 3, 33 and Matthew 18 are invoked to support this fact. In the service, the mentioning of the demands and burdens the pastor accepts when he is installed into a specific church office is appropriate. However, no mention is made in the admonition of where the strength comes from to carry out the office's burdens. No mention is made that the Lord is active through this man's word and sacrament ministry. Those promises come later in the rite. The admonition's emphasis is appropriate and Scriptural but perhaps legalistic.

The admonition explains that the pastor's burden is twofold. First, he is "not to instruct the church and congregation with human illusions, but with divine, heavenly teaching, so that they may be awakened by the Holy Spirit and their souls remain faithful and believing in the Lord Jesus Christ."¹¹⁷ This statement certainly accords well with the Orthodox Lutheran understanding of the office. It is to serve the proclamation of the word so that people may be led to faith and strengthened in faith.

Second,

the office and call of a church servant demand that he serve and enlighten the people not only with pure, divine teaching, but also with a good example, and adorn his teaching with honorable, Christian conduct. It is necessary that he lead a life by God's grace . . . because his conduct . . . speech, conversation, dress and habits, indeed all his words and deeds serve as a form of teaching and a

¹¹⁷*Agenda Oder: Erster Teil der Kirchen-Ordnung UNSER von Gottes Gnaden AUGUSTI, Herzogen zu Brunswyk und Lunäburg, 141.*

means of inculcating virtue in people. He should live this way so that he does not demolish with one hand what he builds with the other.¹¹⁸

This purpose of the pastoral office is not emphasized in this way by Chemnitz and Lutheran Orthodoxy. They had stressed that a pastor's conduct is not to lead people to doubt that the word he preaches and the sacraments he administers truly are from God. That is included here, but now the pastor's conduct and manner of life also serve as a form of enlightenment, furthering the sanctification and righteous living of the people of God. This is clearly a concern of Pietism.

In the end, the rites of ordination and installation in the 1657 church order are for the most part in line with the church order of 1569. Despite the fact that Pietism had a direct impact on the church order through Lütkeemann and despite the fact that Calixtinism had penetrated throughout the principality, the rites confess the office of the holy ministry in a way consistent with Scripture, the Confessions, and Lutheran Orthodoxy. Certainly the influence of Pietism is felt. The rites focus more on the promises made by the pastor and on the necessity that he live a life of moral integrity and high spirituality as a model to his people. Yet, the rites confess the office as being instituted by the Lord as an instrument for the proclamation of the gospel and administration of the sacraments. Against Pietism they emphasize the pastor's primary role as a teacher of God's word. Against Calixtinism they stress that this word must be taught in its purity and according to the Confessions. The ordination rite focuses on the laying on of hands and prayer, while the installation rite looks back to the

¹¹⁸*Agenda Oder: Erster Teil der Kirchen-Ordnung UNSER von Gottes Gnaden AUGUSTI, Herzogen zu Brunswyk und Lunäburg, 143.*

promises the Lord made at the man's ordination. In the midst of theological syncretism, diversity, and conflict and political upheaval these rites uphold a strongly Biblical and confessional view of the office of the ministry.

CHAPTER IV
MAINTAINING THE CRUMBLING WALLS: THE RITES
OF THE VOCATIONAL PROCESS FROM 1704-1815

The Age of Absolutism in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel

The accession of Anton Ulrich (r. 1704-1714) to sole rule in 1704 at the death of his brother Rudolf August signals the beginning of a new era in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel: the rise of Absolutist government.¹ Of Absolutism Rudolf Vierhaus states:

Absolutism . . . assumed numerous forms within the empire and the multiplicity of German states. If absolutism means the unlimited exercise of authority at will by a sovereign territorial lord, then absolutism did not exist in legal terms within the imperial community. But it also did not exist practically either, because the unlimited exercise of authority was restrained by local and estatist rights and by an inadequate administrative apparatus. Absolutism can more precisely be understood as a system of rule in which the sovereign acted as legislator and supreme judge and possessed military and supreme administrative authority.²

¹John Stroup, *The Struggle for Identity in the Clerical Estate: Northwest German Protestant Opposition to Absolutist Policy in the Eighteenth Century*, Studies in the History of Christian Thought, ed. Heiko A. Oberman, no. 33 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1984), 14. Maehl discusses the reasons for the rise of Absolutist monarchies throughout all of Germany. William H. Maehl, *Germany in Western Civilization* (University, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 1979), 209-10. Rudolf Vierhaus has a good discussion of the nature and reasons for absolutist rule. *Germany in the Age of Absolutism*, trans. Jonathan B. Knudsen (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 113-15.

²Vierhaus, 88-9. He also states that "In the many small states the pattern

In Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel the estates continued to wield power, although limited, over against the sovereign throughout the eighteenth century. Of the estates Vierhaus writes:

They did not represent the country but were the country in their collective entity. But in every case they faced the territorial lords claiming an independent, and not delegated, right to advise or assent to all governmental matters affecting them, their subjects, and indeed the entire country's traditional social and political order.³

However, as the century progressed, the dukes were able to exert increasing control over the political, economic, and spiritual life of the principality.⁴ They could be expected to wield similar control over ecclesiastical and theological life, and to a certain degree they did. The Enlightenment encouraged the sovereign's total control of all aspects of territorial life. In fact, the Peace of Westphalia had given to the territorial princes the right to freely exercise their authority in all political and religious affairs.⁵ William Maehl comments on the growing political and social trend:

Sovereignty was *sui generis absoluti*; and a centralized polity directed by a prince whose power was limited only by supernal law was best for mankind. They believed that sovereignty had to be both incontestible and indivisible, because

varied greatly. In some states . . . a narrow bureaucratism predominated in spite of the existence of a diet; and in still others the estates proved a powerful hindrance to well-intentioned reforms by the territorial ruler." Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel was certainly among the former.

³Vierhaus, 87-88.

⁴Stroup, 194. The power of the empire, the emperor, and the imperial diet continued to wane after 1648 until the dissolution of the empire in 1806. See Maehl, 208-09. For a short political history of the principality in the eighteenth century see Stroup, 194.

⁵Vierhaus, 98-99.

concentrated authority was the latent force in the social order that accounted for the security and organic symmetry of the state.⁶

The nature of absolutist rule in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel changed over the course of the eighteenth century. John Stroup evaluates the approaches of the different dukes:

The history of Braunschweig can be seen to exemplify the stages in the development of absolutism—from the architectural and administrative emulation of the French court under Anton Ulrich to Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand's try at an administrative, financial, and pedagogical reorganization under the leadership of the young K. A. von Hardenberg of later Prussian fame.⁷

Anton Ulrich's absolutist control⁸ did spread into ecclesiastical affairs, primarily for political reasons. His reign was marred by two trying events.⁹ The first involved his attempt to increase Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel's political influence in Europe through the marriage of his granddaughter Elisabeth Christine to the eventual Emperor Charles VI and his other granddaughter Charlotte Christine to the future Russian Czar Alex.¹⁰ The first arranged marriage caused the greatest protests since the wedding would only occur after the princess converted to Roman Catholicism. The possibility of this

⁶Maehl, 248.

⁷Stroup, 14-15. See also C. T. Atkinson, *A History of Germany, 1715-1815* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1908), 26.

⁸For a description of Anton Ulrich's spending habits see Stroup, 194-95.

⁹Information on these two events is taken from Wilhelm Rauls, "Frommigkeit und Bekenntnis in der Braunschweigischen Landeskirche," in *Vier Jahrhunderte Lutherische Landeskirche in Braunschweig: Festschrift zum 400jährigen Reformationsjubiläum der Braunschweigischen evangelisch-lutherischen Landeskirche im Jahre 1968*, ed. Friedrich W. Wandersleb and Martin Wandersleb (Wolfenbüttel: Landeskirchenamt, 1968), 47-48.

¹⁰See Georg Schnath, Hermann Lübbling, Günther Möhlmann, Franz Engel, Dieter Brosius, and Waldemar Röhrbein, *Geschichte des Landes Niedersachsen*, 2nd ed., *Geschichte der deutschen Länder* (Würzburg: Verlag Ploetz KG, 1973), 37.

union arose in the context of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz's (1646-1716) efforts at reconciliation with Rome and with the Reformed.¹¹ The duke's actions thus seemingly threatened the Lutheran territorial church and its theology.

At the instruction of the duke, Abbot Fabricius, a professor of theology at the University of Helmstedt, published in 1706 his "Proof that Between the Fundamental Teachings of the Roman Catholic and Protestant Religions There Is No Essential Difference."¹² This writing prompted severe opposition, even among the theological and political advisors to the duke. The court preacher Johannes Niekamp and the court deacon Albrecht Knopf believed that the conversion of the princess represented a surrender of the Confessions. They threatened not to admit the duke to the Lord's Supper. The duke subsequently relieved them of their offices.¹³ Following this, the princess converted, was married, and Anton Ulrich decreed that all congregations offer a prescribed prayer of thanks for the princess' arrival in Spain. Pastor Georg Nitsch (1695-1709) of St. Trinity in Wolfenbüttel refused to offer the prayer because he believed that it might give the appearance that thanks was also being given for the princess' conversion. As a result, he was dismissed from his office. In the end, however, the political marriage did not trigger a departure from confessional Lutheran theology. However, it did signal what was to come.

¹¹Rauls, 47.

¹²See Rauls, 47.

¹³He also asked Christian Thomasius (1655-1728), one of the first Enlightenment German theologians at the University of Halle, to issue a formal opinion on the marriage and his admittance to the Lord's Supper. Thomasius justified the duke's actions. See Stroup, 46.

The second event involved the duke himself.¹⁴ In 1710, at age 77, Anton Ulrich converted to Roman Catholicism, raising a great outcry throughout the principality, particularly as to whether the territory also would forcibly be converted. His conversion was ironic since a year before he had issued a new church order with an introduction stating that governmental affairs are to be guided by the "holy, revealed Word of God and from it the teaching in our land diligently be kept pure and undefiled according to the tradition of the Reformation."¹⁵ The duke assuaged the concerns of many in the territory by promising, at the request of the estates,¹⁶ that every person in the land was released from obeying the duke if the duke demanded something of his people which was opposed to the Confessions. At his death in 1714 both a Lutheran and a Roman Catholic pastor stood at his side according to his wishes. The conversion of the duke, arguably a political decision,¹⁷ as well as his other ambitious political decisions did not significantly alter the theological climate in

¹⁴See Rauls, 47-48.

¹⁵*Erneuerte Kirchen-Ordnung; Unser von Gottes Gnaden, Anthon Ulrichs, Herßogen zu Braunnshweig und Lüneburg* (Braunschweig: Johann Georg Zillinger, 1709), n.p.; quoted in Rauls, 47.

¹⁶Vierhaus states that "Since the 17th century the territorial diets became responsible for preserving the confessional allegiance whenever the territorial lord changed his faith." Vierhaus, 87.

¹⁷What Maehl says of Frederick William I of Prussia might also be said of the eighteenth century dukes of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel: "It is said that he was a pious Lutheran . . . but the truth is that he saw in the church less the ladder to heaven than a stepping-stone to power. He declared that while salvation might be the affair of God, everything else belonged to the king." Maehl, 218.

the principality.¹⁸ Rather, it was the increased distancing of the dukes from ecclesiastical and theological concerns, beginning with Anton Ulrich, that allowed the Enlightenment and Rationalism to gain a firm foothold in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel. When the dukes did act in ecclesiastical matters it was usually with a strong hand.

Anton Ulrich's incompetent sons¹⁹ followed him in office: August Wilhelm (r. 1714-31) and Ludwig Rudolf (r. 1731-35). With the death of Ludwig Rudolf another line of the house of Guelph, the Bevern line, came to power.²⁰ Under the next two rulers, Karl I (r. 1735-80) and Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand (r. 1780-1806), absolutism reached its peak in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel.²¹ Both rulers emulated the Prussian king Friedrich II in their absolutist policies.²² Duke Karl I was an autocrat and a spendthrift. Although he established a rich cultural tradition in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel and improved the educational system and commercial sector, his penchant for spending at court²³ and on the army plunged the principality into great

¹⁸In 1717 a Reformation anniversary celebration was decreed in which there was a marked attempt to re-affirm the teaching of the Confessions outside of the University of Helmstedt. See Rauls, 48.

¹⁹Atkinson, 59.

²⁰See appendices 1, 2, and 3.

²¹The political history of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel in the eighteenth century must be read in light of the struggle between Austria and Prussia for hegemony among the German states. See Maehl, 213, 223-25; Vierhaus, 116-46; Michael Hughes, *Early Modern Germany, 1477-1806* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), 124.

²²Stroup, 195.

²³Duke Karl moved the ducal residence and the seat of government from Wolfenbüttel to Braunschweig in 1754.

debt.²⁴ His participation in the Seven Years' War²⁵ strapped the government's budget, forcing the duke to convene the estates. The estates compelled the duke to promise to curb government expenditures and to allow the estates a continuous voice in legislative power and in the leveling of taxes.²⁶

His son and successor, Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand,²⁷ was much more moderate in exerting political control.²⁸ Considered a model ruler in many ways and highly respected throughout Europe,²⁹ he took a keen interest in the intellectual and philosophical movements in Germany and invited Lessing to Wolfenbüttel as librarian of the Herzog August Bibliothek. He tried to curb the severe debt by limiting spending.³⁰ Under the work of minister Karl August von Hardenberg (1750-1822) the effort was made to create "a state completely co-ordinated by central administrative

²⁴Schnath, 37. His spending habits forced him to call the diet of estates into session in 1768, the first time since 1682. Stroup, 14.

²⁵Hughes summarizes the impetus for this war: "In 1756 Prussia began the Seven Years' War by an invasion of Saxony, a pre-emptive strike to ward off another Austrian attempt to retake Silesia. During the ensuing war most of the states of the Empire went to war against Prussia. Only Prussia's clients and allies, Hannover, Hesse-Cassel, Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, and Saxe-Gotha, refused to participate." Hughes, 119-20. See also Atkinson, 203, and Maehl, 242.

²⁶Stroup, 107-08, 195, 196.

²⁷He was tutored in Enlightenment principles by Jerusalem. Stroup, 109.

²⁸Stroup, 109.

²⁹Veit Valentin, *The German People: Their History and Civilization from the Holy Roman Empire to the Third Reich*, trans. Olga Marx, ed. Dorothy Teall (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946), 293; see also Hajo Holborn, *A History of Modern Germany*, 3 vols. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1959), 2:297-98.

³⁰Stroup, 109.

organs, populated by industrious subjects, and thus a state militarily stronger than before."³¹ Stroup further says Hardenberg "opposed the traditional administrative independence of the church and favored greater temporal control of it."³²

Exerting political control over his territory soon became his least concern as Duke Karl Wilhelm faced the threat of the French emperor Napoleon Bonaparte.³³ The duke served as a Prussian army commander in the War of the First Coalition against France (1792-97) and in the wars against Napoleon,³⁴ and in the end gave his life defending German lands in the battle at Auerstadt in 1806³⁵ that led to the occupation of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel by the French.³⁶

In 1807 Napoleon established the Kingdom of Westphalia, incorporating the lands of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel and Hesse-Cassel together with Corvey and Osnabrück, the southern portions of Hannover, parts of Saxony, and the Russian provinces west of the Elbe.³⁷ The emperor installed his "clever, but idle and self-indulgent"³⁸ brother, Jerome, as the king of the territory.³⁹ Jerome's autocratic power

³¹Stroup, 110.

³²Stroup, 111.

³³His provocation of the French revolutionaries helped advance the fall of the Bourbon monarchy. See Maehl, 272.

³⁴For the causes of the Napoleonic wars and the failures of the German princes, see Maehl, 271.

³⁵See Maehl, 291.

³⁶Schnath, 47; see also Atkinson, 511.

³⁷Atkinson, 518.

subjected the land to extreme limitations in the tradition of French Liberalism.⁴⁰ Of this French-modeled state Hajo Holborn writes:

The Westphalian system had a considerable influence on the thinking of German statesmen. It was an exact replica of the French empire, resting on an egalitarian society, the removal of all local immunities, and the strict centralization of all political controls.⁴¹

The land was re-divided into regions lacking any historical precedent, an action not unlike other French revolutionary efforts to wipe away the past, down to renaming days of the week, months, and refiguring the calendar years. In this revamped kingdom, the privileges of the estates were suspended and the guilds were restricted. A new code of law, the Napoleonic code, was issued and enacted arbitrarily. In order to gain revenue Jerome closed the universities of Rinteln and Helmstedt in 1809.

Jerome's autocratic power extended into ecclesiastical affairs. Napoleon had set the stage when he made the church a subservient arm of the government through the Concordat of 1801 in France.⁴² Stroup relates the effects:

Church courts after 1807 were deprived of their jurisdiction. Ecclesiastical administration of schools was curtailed. Civil marriage was introduced. The clergy were required to serve as civil functionaries collecting demographic statistics for a civil register. Traditional clerical exemption from taxation was abolished. Since the state now claimed complete sovereignty over the church, the boundaries of consistories were forcibly redrawn. Members of the consistory

³⁸Atkinson, 518.

³⁹Details on this period taken from Schnath, 47-48. See also Maehl, 291-93.

⁴⁰Napoleon took an active interest and participated in the government of the kingdom. Holborn, 2:387.

⁴¹Holborn, 2:387.

⁴²Holborn, 2:387.

were required to serve without pay. The parish clergy were now named by Jerome Bonaparte himself, who took careful note of their political sympathies.⁴³

Absolutist power nearly subjugated the church to the position of being a department of the state, serving its political goals and cultural aims.

The increase in taxes and suspension of various privileges raised the spirit of nationalistic attachment within the population. The passage of the rightful duke, Duke Friedrich Wilhelm, through Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel on his way from Bohemia to the North Sea area of North Saxony raised the spirits of the population significantly. During the entire time of the occupation by Bonaparte's forces, 1803-13, the remnant of the Hanoverian army continued to wage a subversive fight.

With the liberation of Leipzig in 1813, the ouster of Napoleon's forces and the return of the ducal government was assured.⁴⁴ The battle at Waterloo that insured Napoleon's fate saw the death of Duke Friedrich Wilhelm⁴⁵ and led to the Congress of Vienna in 1815 in which the hereditary government of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel was assured of its position.

⁴³Stroup, 227.

⁴⁴Maehl, 305.

⁴⁵Atkinson, 511, 534-35.

The Theological Impact of the Enlightenment in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel⁴⁶

The Union Theology of Georg Calixt prepared the way for the gradual onset of the Enlightenment in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, but the Enlightenment, especially under Duke Karl I, actually overran the Calixtian tradition.⁴⁷ The principality produced a group of Enlightenment theologians and philosophers who were well respected throughout the German states and whose teaching affected nearly every parish pastor in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel. Rauls believes that at the peak of the Enlightenment in the principality perhaps nine tenths of the pastors in the land adhered to it.⁴⁸ The first member of this Enlightenment group was the philosopher Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz.⁴⁹ He was employed as the librarian of the ducal library at Wolfenbüttel (the Herzog August Bibliothek) where he served his royal patron with his work at compiling the history of the house of Guelph, in addition to his more wide-ranging, influential philosophical thinking and writing. Leibniz championed the idea that reason and the Christian faith did not contradict each other but agreed with and completed one another. He believed that the fundamental truths of religion were

⁴⁶For more details on the principality's theological heritage in this era see Rauls, 49-53. For details on the course of the Enlightenment in North Saxony as a whole see Plath, 52-54.

⁴⁷Stroup, 18.

⁴⁸Rauls, 50.

⁴⁹For a short account of his life and details on his philosophical thinking see Frederick Copleston, *A History of Philosophy* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1958), 4:264-332; also see Bertrand Russell, *A History of Western Philosophy* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1945), 581-96.

discernable through reason, with faith serving to confirm those fundamental, reasonable truths.

The first significant theologian of the Enlightenment in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel was Riddagshausen Abbot⁵⁰ Johann Friedrich Wilhelm Jerusalem (1742-1789), who also served as the ducal tutor, court preacher, and consistorial councilor. For almost four decades he also directed the seminary at Riddagshausen and influenced the theological outlook of countless territorial pastors.⁵¹ Jerusalem did not reject Biblical, confessional, and ecclesiastical theology, but it held no great authority for him. At the same time Jerusalem upheld Leibniz's opinion that the religious truth bolstered by faith and the religious truth derived from reason were not incompatible.

Another Enlightenment theologian, Wilhelm Abraham Teller, was called to Helmstedt at Jerusalem's recommendation in 1756. He went further than Jerusalem, himself a proponent of natural theology, by denying the "reasonableness" of certain Christian teachings, notably the doctrines of original sin, of the devil, of the vicarious sufferings of Christ among others. Both Jerusalem and Teller believed that the content of Christian revelation could include only what experience found reasonable. They advocated a Christian theology consonant with natural theology. Teller's

⁵⁰The abbots, according to Stroup, possessed significant political independence. Stroup, 23.

⁵¹Stroup says of the education of pastors, "Students in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel were required to spend a minimum of two years at Helmstedt University—after Latin school and to undergo examination by the consistory. An additional educational possibility available in both territories was post-university study in one of the small seminaries." Stroup, 22.

Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens caused a great outcry throughout Germany and the number of students at Helmstedt fell considerably. As a result the Helmstedt city council called on the duke to dismiss Teller. The duke was spared such a decision when Teller was called to Berlin in 1767 by Frederick the Great, the brother-in-law of Duke Karl I.⁵²

Although Leibniz was a philosopher of first rank, perhaps the most recognized name of Enlightenment thought in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel was Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729-1781), appointed by Duke Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand as ducal librarian in Wolfenbüttel. Essentially a deist and advocate of natural religion, Lessing demonstrates his contention in his *Nathan the Wise* that “the goal of human history [is] man’s development toward an inclusive rational moral religion.”⁵³ Lessing argued that all historical religions are in the process of realizing that they contain and convey the truth of the one, true positive religion. He was perhaps most famous—or infamous—for his publication of the *Wolfenbüttel Fragments* by Hermann Samuel Reimarus that questioned the historicity of the Gospel accounts of Christ’s life and posited the “undeniable” truths of a natural religion.

The teachings of men such as Leibniz and Lessing were not isolated to the university classroom. As such teachings spread in the universities they were taken by newly trained pastors into the positions to which they were assigned. These

⁵²Regarding Helmstedt theology at this time see Stroup, 203.

⁵³Claude Welch, *Protestant Thought in the Nineteenth Century, 1799-1870* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 1:50.

Enlightenment trained men also moved into positions of authority in the ecclesiastical government of the territory. Once such person was August Christian Bartels, the pastor of St. Martini in Braunschweig (1778-89), successor to Jerusalem as Abbot of Riddagshausen⁵⁴, and eventual court preacher and consistorial councilor (1789-1819), was an advocate of the Enlightenment in the tradition of Jerusalem and Teller. In his sermon for the 300th anniversary of the Reformation on October 31, 1817, he contended that a continuing Reformation was needed since the church still believed in the hideous notion that people need to be reconciled with God because their human nature is originally corrupt. In analyzing this era Rauls states that "they had come so far that the confession of faith of the church revolved only around humanity and humankind."⁵⁵

The abandonment and relativization of Lutheran doctrine and the Lutheran confessions, prepared for by the Union Theology of Calixt, led to a broad move for reconciliation and union between Lutherans and Roman Catholics but especially between Lutherans and the Reformed.⁵⁶ The first champions of these efforts had been

⁵⁴Riddagshausen was established as a seminary in 1690. Stroup says that its original purpose was "to train up to twelve candidates at a time for leadership positions in the church" and "had as its further goal the raising of the prestige of the clerical estate and the creation of churchmen able to defend ecclesiastical self-interest." Stroup, 77.

⁵⁵Rauls, 50.

⁵⁶Hermann Conring (1606-1681) advocated such a relativization. See Inge Mager, "Georg Calixt—der niedersächsische Unionstheologie," in *Vier Jahrhunderte Lutherische Landeskirche in Braunschweig: Festschrift zum 400jährigen Reformationsjubiläum der Braunschweigischen evangelisch-lutherischen Landeskirche im Jahre 1968*, ed. Friedrich W. Wandersleb and Martin Wandersleb (Wolfenbüttel: Landeskirchenamt, 1968), 90.

Gerhard Molanus (1633-1722), a disciple of Calixt, and Leibniz.⁵⁷ Theologians and pastors throughout Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel applauded the union eventually forced in 1817 on the Lutherans and the Reformed in Prussia through King Frederick Wilhelm III's actions and decrees. At the 300th anniversary of the delivery of the Augsburg Confession a Reformed pastor gave a speech in the Brüdernkiche of Braunschweig and the general and city superintendent Theodor Conrad Carl Henke delivered the sermon. In the year 1838 the Braunschweig consistory approved the common celebration of the Lord's Supper in the Bartholomew church for the Lutheran and the Reformed with pastors of both churches officiating.

Were there men who opposed the spirit of the time? Certainly, but they were few in number. In Helmstedt Professor Benedict Carpzov⁵⁸ represented traditional Lutheran Orthodoxy until his death in 1803, and Rauls cites individual pastors and superintendents who opposed the teaching and practical consequences of the Enlightenment. Yet as a whole, the principality became a center of Enlightenment thinking and persuasion.

The Understanding of the Office of the Holy Ministry During
the Enlightenment in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel

The Enlightenment had a profound impact on the way in which both pastors and the laity viewed the office of the holy ministry and its purpose and functions. John

⁵⁷See Mager, "Georg Calixt—der niedersächsische Unionstheologie," 89.

⁵⁸See also Stroup, 204.

Stroup in *The Struggle for Identity in the Clerical Estate: Northwest German Protestant Opposition to Absolutist Policy in the Eighteenth Century* analyzes in great detail the impact of the Enlightenment and political absolutism on the clergy in the electorate of Hannover and the principality of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel. Stroup's primary contention is that not all

Enlightenment churchmen in Protestant Germany were proponents of absolutism and secularization, nor that their undeniable surrender of Orthodoxy necessarily led them to give up all independence of spirit. . . . A significant number of Enlightenment churchmen opposed the secularizing consequences of absolutism, and did so with some ingenuity.⁵⁹

The reason for their opposition, says Stroup, finally rests on clerical particularism. They intended to protect the existence of the clerical estate in society and the clerics' role as servants of principles larger than the goals and intentions of the state.⁶⁰

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the duties of the clergy were essentially the same as those of the sixteenth century. However, they did provide some additional services to the state. Stroup outlines their responsibilities:

For these parish clergy many features of life were regulated by law. . . . For example, besides maintaining already as students the proper *decorum clericale*, or grave and upright conduct becoming a clergyman, the clergy in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel were obligated to give public instruction in the Christian religion to their congregations, administer according to the valid church order the sacraments and rites of their office, wear clerical garb, read aloud spiritual and temporal orders before the congregation, exhibit respect toward their superiors, observe the precepts of Christian doctrine, inspect schools, supervise poor-houses, keep church

⁵⁹Stroup, 12. He counters on pages 1-15 the prevailing view that Enlightenment clergy, to one degree or another secularized in their theology, simply succumbed to the secularization of their office and function.

⁶⁰Stroup, 23.

records and parish statistics, and send in regular reports to their ecclesiastical superiors on any number of matters.⁶¹

The main core of their responsibilities, as in Chemnitz's day, was the teaching of the gospel and the administration of the sacraments.⁶² However, other less significant duties, especially tasks for the state such as reading public orders, are also considered primary responsibilities.⁶³ This linking of the pastoral office to the state by providing the state with certain functions paved the way for the state to attempt a wholesale redefinition of the office.⁶⁴

This redefinition began to occur under Pietism and even more radically with the onset of the Enlightenment. Stroup summarizes the impact of these theological developments:

The first result in the course of the eighteenth century was that the classic Lutheran notion of the clergyman was simplified in that the element of teacher was ever more completely stripped of supernaturalist or 'quasi-priestly' trappings. This process can be seen in the conflicts over the grace conferred at ordination. . . . It is also evident in the Pietist furor over the danger of an unconverted ministry—over, that is, the danger of coming into contact with a pastor who had not felt the immediate operation of the Spirit upon his inner self: for in the Pietist view such a pastor would scarcely be able to transmit the true divine spark despite

⁶¹Stroup, 23.

⁶²Stroup, 34. For the relationship between clergy and laity see Stroup, 17-20, although I believe he overdramatizes the laity's view that the clergy alone constituted the church because of their omnipresence.

⁶³Such demands resulted in ridiculous requests under duke Karl I according to Stroup: "Clergy . . . had been required to read . . . government orders on temporal matters ranging from begging to care of ducal mulberry trees to protect the health of silkworms. In 1748 the militaristic Karl I, sensing the economic potential of the clergy, strongly urged all preachers to take up bee-keeping. Clerical reaction was unfavorable." Stroup, 85.

⁶⁴See also Vierhaus, 44.

his ordination. As a result, with the simultaneous growth of Enlightenment and the increasing tendency of the Pietists to resort to moralism, the pastor became regarded increasingly as a teacher pure and simple—first as a teacher of divine wisdom, then more and more as a teacher of virtue.⁶⁵

It is probable that many of the clergy in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel would have accepted, to one degree or another, the Enlightenment view of their office as one of being a teacher of virtue.⁶⁶

There were those who fought against such a view.⁶⁷ Ironically, one of the great champions of a more traditional view of the office of the ministry was Johann Lorenz von Mosheim (1693-1755), a Calixtinian, yet proof that the Enlightenment had surpassed Calixtinism.⁶⁸ The territory had inherited from Orthodoxy and from Calixt an emphasis on the teaching function of the clergy and respect for their learned character. Of this heritage Stroup states:

It was above all the possession of a special kind of learning (in religious doctrine and biblical exegesis) that constituted the clerical identity. This traditional identity, stressing learning and the divine institution of the clerical estate, was deeply rooted in the Welf territories. Its intellectualism . . . had been elaborated by Calixt with the intention of providing an elitist ideology for the training and legitimation of a clerical leadership that could be assured of preponderance over the temporal government in all matters of ecclesiastical life and order.⁶⁹

⁶⁵Stroup, 35.

⁶⁶Other views of the office's purpose did not die out, including the Orthodox view. See Stroup, 36-38.

⁶⁷Stroup, 60.

⁶⁸On Mosheim's efforts to hold to traditional Christian, Reformation-era theology while appealing to his own day and context, see Paulo W. Buss, "Integrity and Integration in Ecclesiastical Historiography: The Perspective of Mosheim and Neander" (Th.D. diss., Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 1994), chapter 2.

⁶⁹Stroup, 75-76.

Stroup believes that Mosheim would have defended the academic theologian's task in saying that

the main task of the academic theologian must now consist, not simply in refuting theological error, but as well in refuting atheism, skepticism, and secularism of the sort associated with Hobbes [and one might add Jerusalem, Teller, and Bartels].⁷⁰

Mosheim viewed the pastoral office in traditional terms. According to Stroup, "For him the main purpose of the parish ministry is the traditional cure of souls, that is, their conversion and preparation for eternal bliss by use of the supernaturally efficacious Word of God so as to instruct the understanding and move the will."⁷¹

Mosheim held that the minister is "empowered to interpret scripture, admonish the laity concerning their duties, and to administer public worship."⁷² Unlike the Enlightenment, the concept of the pastor as a teacher of virtue is not prevalent.

Consistent with the Calixtinian tradition, Mosheim repeatedly uses the term "minister" to denote the pastoral office.⁷³ For him the minister is one who is

called mediately by God, for the purpose of publicly expounding and interpreting the laws of Christ, and for exhorting and encouraging the citizens in Christ's Kingdom to obedience in faith and morals, so that in their assemblies all things are done as the laws of the church intend.⁷⁴

⁷⁰Stroup, 53. For more information on Mosheim, who taught at Helmstedt and Göttingen—he left for Göttingen on account of disagreements with Duke Karl I's militarism—see Stroup, 51-81.

⁷¹Stroup, 73.

⁷²Stroup, 74.

⁷³Johann Lorenz von Mosheim, *Auserlesene akademische Abhandlungen*, ed. Johann Peter Miller (Leipzig: n.p., 1766), 246.

⁷⁴Johann Lorenz von Mosheim, "Vorrede," in *Heilie Reden* (Hamburg: n.p.,

Mosheim further qualifies the term: a minister is someone in the service of or to someone—for example, the Lord, Christ, God. As Stroup states, "In using the term one must state unequivocally whose servants the clergy are—and by implication, whose they are *not*." [author's emphasis]⁷⁵ Although his understanding of the office upheld a primarily traditional Lutheran understanding, Mosheim did not always maintain a purely Lutheran Orthodox view. For instance, Stroup says this of his view of ordination: "Mosheim holds that, although ordination is to be retained, nonetheless it has 'no divine power connected with it' but is rather 'a ceremonial action' that is time-conditioned and potentially dispensable."⁷⁶ As forceful and persuasive as Mosheim's position was, it did not hold the field, especially after he left Helmstedt. Instead the Enlightenment view of the office of the ministry would continue to undermine the traditional understanding.

The Enlightenment was generally anticlerical, at least in the traditional sense of what a pastor was and what he was to do. The Enlightenment believed that there was a need for clerical reform, including the training of the pastors, and an emphasis upon the development within pastors of the true, inward, moral, and natural religion.⁷⁷ The Enlightenment eventually made three demands for clerical reform: a reform of theology, drastic changes in the clergy's professional training, and alteration of the

1732), 1:889; quoted in Stroup, 73.

⁷⁵Stroup, 73.

⁷⁶Stroup, 73.

⁷⁷For this general overview see Stroup, 43-50.

legal relationship between the pastors and the state. The last aim was forcefully advocated by Christian Thomasius (1655-1728), a jurist at the University of Halle, in his theory of Territorialism.⁷⁸ According to Thomasius "the prince has rights over the church simply on account of his sovereignty."⁷⁹ That puts the church entirely under the legislative prerogative of the ruler.⁸⁰ Stroup indicates that

Thomasius goes so far as to deny that the visible, external church and its external worship were instituted by Christ—and thus implicitly places the church, the clergy, and public worship wholly in the hands of the prince acting according to *raison d'état*.⁸¹

Thomasius' ideas, which were received favorably by Duke Karl I, prepared the way in the middle and late eighteenth century for Enlightenment theologians in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel to attempt a redefinition of the office.

The first redefinitions attempted to reconcile the traditional work of the pastor with this-worldly concerns and activities.⁸² This clerical utilitarianism, moderate in its first manifestations, advocated that the clergy serve the needs of people as they live in the world here and now. The Prussian deist Thomas Abbt was one of the first

⁷⁸Thomasius was a sharp critic of the Pietism advocated by August Hermann Francke (1633-1727), a member of Halle's theology faculty.

⁷⁹Stroup, 48.

⁸⁰Klaus Schlaich, "Der rationale Territorialismus. Die Kirche unter dem staatsrechtlichen Absolutismus um die Wende vom 17. zum 18. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, 85, Kanonistische Abteilung, 54 (1968): 301.

⁸¹Stroup, 49.

⁸²Jerusalem viewed the office from this perspective and did not go as far as the later eighteenth century theologians. Stroup says that he fostered a "more traditionalistic, other-worldly view of clerical activity." Stroup, 86.

representatives, emphasizing that the clergy must serve the state and its interests. For Abbt this meant that the clergy were to be "guardians of morale and morality."⁸³ They were to promote the general good of the public and state as defined by the prince. Abbt's principles were advocated by his cousin Johann Peter Miller (1725-89) in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel. Miller adopted Abbt's aims but in the interest of defending the traditional purposes of the pastoral office.⁸⁴ Although he encouraged pastors to "cooperate with the government in imparting to the peasantry the latest methods of improving crop yield and the well-being of livestock, of modernizing care of the sick and education, and of rationalizing poor relief,"⁸⁵ he also urged the pastor to apply divine truth to the human condition. As Stroup concludes:

Miller develops a model of ministry preserving intact the supernatural care of traditional ministry while still allowing the pastor to undertake on a peripheral basis some of the this-worldly tasks advocated by spokesmen for absolutism. Miller carefully retains a conventional emphasis on preparing the souls of the parishioners for eternity by means of instruction in revealed divine truth.⁸⁶

The first representative of this extreme view was Heinrich Philipp Sextroh (1746-1838) who was first a professor at Helmstedt, pastor of St. Stephen's, general superintendent, and abbot of the Marienthal cloister, and then later court preacher at

⁸³Stroup, 85.

⁸⁴Miller emphasizes the traditional aspects of the ministry such as preaching, teaching, sacramental administration, and pastoral care intended to show "the way through Christ's mediation" toward eternal life. *Ausführliche Anleitung zur . . . Verwaltung des evangelischen Lehramts* (Leipzig: n.p., 1774), 8.

⁸⁵Stroup, 87-88.

⁸⁶Stroup, 88.

Hannover, consistorial councilor, and general superintendent of Hoya.⁸⁷ Sextroh, building upon the work of Abbt, redefined the primary nature of the pastoral office as that of "moral physician" or "ideological officer." As Stroup indicates, Sextroh frames his discussion of the pastoral office by discussing the pastor's religious and moral duties.⁸⁸ The religious duties include the traditional "public preaching and teaching and private instruction (all based on biblical doctrine), the conduct of public worship, [and] the administration of the sacraments."⁸⁹ However, the traditional elements are hardly emphasized by Sextroh. As Stroup indicates, Sextroh

undertakes to show that moral supervision, *moralische Aufsicht* . . . constitutes the chief business . . . of the preaching office. Moreover, arguing in Abbtian fashion that *Seelsorge* or cure of souls has been open to misunderstanding, Sextroh then implies that moral supervision is the true sense of *Seelsorge*; in so doing, moreover, Sextroh necessarily evokes a recollection of Abbt's redefinition of the cure of souls, which had concentrated on this worldly supervision of morals, largely leaving out of account other-worldly matters.⁹⁰

Moral supervision means for Sextroh that the pastor seeks to admonish, persuade, and encourage by example the people under his care so that they correct their moral flaws and live virtuously.⁹¹ Sextroh's redefinition of the purpose of the preaching office is aimed at proving the usefulness of the office in order to justify its continuing place in society.

⁸⁷Stroup, 93.

⁸⁸Heinrich Philipp Sextroh, *Ueber Pflicht, Beruf und Verdienst des Predigers* (Göttingen: n.p., 1786), 30.

⁸⁹Stroup, 95.

⁹⁰Stroup, 95.

⁹¹Stroup, 95.

Sextroh had gone as far as possible in emphasizing the utilitarian function of the office of the ministry without completely divorcing it from traditional, other-worldly concerns. His followers would take that step, making the preaching office one solely aimed at utilitarian service to the state. Duke Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand, having stabilized the government's budget woes inherited from his father, decided to attempt a drastic reform of the educational system. His primary minister, Karl August von Hardenberg, was committed to the centralization of power under the duke and was "critical of the traditional position and privileges of the church . . . the administrative independence of the church . . . specifically . . . supervision of schools by the consistory."⁹² As a result Hardenberg engaged the services of Joachim Heinrich Campe (1746-1818), a supporter of Teller and an educational theorist. Campe hated the traditional clerical role.⁹³ He desired to remove the control of the schools from the consistory and place it under a new ducal board, the *Schuldirektorium*, an action that caused a great outcry and was eventually reversed. Campe essentially equated the pastoral office with that of the schoolteacher, calling the traditional duties of the pastor "onerous."⁹⁴ Campe said in the midst of his reform effort that "the most esteemed and most profitable clerical positions will in future only be conferred on schoolteachers of outstanding merit."⁹⁵ He sought to reform the education of pastors,

⁹²Stroup, 111.

⁹³Stroup, 106.

⁹⁴Stroup, 115.

⁹⁵Friedrich Koldewey, "Campe's Vorschläge zur Verbesserung des braunschweigischen Schulwesens," *Braunschweigisches Magazin* 2 (1896): 99.

removing from the curriculum all study of philosophy, dogmatics, and ancient languages. The pastor was to be educated to assist people "in the business and happiness of life."⁹⁶ All that he learns must be applicable to the practical improvement of the lives of the people he serves.⁹⁷ With Campe the pastor has truly become a moral pedagogue, one inculcating a natural religion for the sake of the improvement of people's lives and manner of life and the consequent betterment of the state.⁹⁸ As Stroup asserts,

with Campe we stand at the logical conclusion to a long development: the traditional metaphysical and philological elements of the pastor's stock-in-trade have been reduced to an absolute minimum the historic *raison d'être* of the clergy (that is, expounding the truths of a supernatural salvation drawn from revealed scripture) has in large measure given way to a new *raison d'être*: the pastor is chiefly concerned with the temporal welfare of his parishioners, and that in a fashion designed to benefit the state. It was immediately clear that Campe's was no idle proposal; seen in context it was a blueprint for transforming the Lutheran clergy into state functionaries deprived of the financial or ideological basis for any purpose independent of that which the temporal government might indicate.⁹⁹

The impact of the Enlightenment and the absolutist policies of Duke Karl I are most readily apparent in the functioning of the Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel consistory.¹⁰⁰ The members of the consistory, both laity and clergy, were appointed

⁹⁶Stroup, 117.

⁹⁷See Stroup, 113-19.

⁹⁸Joachim Heinrich Campe, *Über einige verkannte, wenigstens ungenützte Mittel zur Beförderung der Industrie, der Bevölkerung und des öffentlichen Wohlstandes* (Wolfenbüttel: n.p., 1786), 79.

⁹⁹Stroup, 119.

¹⁰⁰At this time Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel was divided into 6 superintendencies. See Stroup, 24.

by the duke. Traditionally consistories had jurisdiction over clerical and marital disputes and were not simply tools of the government. As Stroup indicates, "The clerical members of the consistory . . . could reinterpret or ignore orders perceived as inimical to the self-interest of the clergy as a particularist corporation."¹⁰¹ In return, the duke could affect the potency of the consistory by neglecting it.¹⁰² Toward the end of the century the consistory, traditionally composed of two lay members and three or four clerical members, had two clerical members and at one time, 1758-65, none.¹⁰³ When the seat of government was moved to Braunschweig in 1754 it appeared that the consistory might be abolished completely.¹⁰⁴ At the time Duke Karl relied for ecclesiastical advice upon Jerusalem, who did not sit on the consistory. As Stroup points out, this state of affairs meant that many issues in the church "were decided to the disadvantage of ecclesiastical and clerical independence"¹⁰⁵ and interests.

Napoleon's establishment of the Kingdom of Westphalia, as indicated earlier, curtailed church independence and privileges. Under Jerome Bonaparte's rule the prospect of the disestablishment of the clergy became a real possibility (although that prospect was apparent from 1789 onwards). This prospect forced those striving to

¹⁰¹Stroup, 24.

¹⁰²Stroup, 50.

¹⁰³Stroup, 25.

¹⁰⁴For this episode see Vitus Dettmer, *Das Konsistorium zu Wolfenbüttel: Ein Beitrag zur Braunschweigischen Kirchen- und Kirchenverfassungsgeschichte* (Braunschweig: E. Appelhans and Co., 1922), 80-85.

¹⁰⁵Stroup, 109.

prevent the redefinition of the preaching office by the state—for example, Campe’s redefinition—to fight on two fronts: against such a redefinition and against disestablishment. Yet Stroup offers this assessment:

The churchmen, however caught up they might have been on the eve of invasion in the domestic struggle to preserve clerical self-interest and independency in the face of the tradition of Thomasius and Campe, would in the long run be forced by revolution to conclude that alliance with domestic Christian governments was preferable to the radical reorganization or virtual disestablishment promoted by the centralism of revolutionary imperialism in its more extreme phases.¹⁰⁶

This reality led to somewhat seemingly contradictory aims¹⁰⁷ on the part of those defending a more traditional role for the clergy. They urged, in a clerical utilitarian sense, that the government continue to support the clergy because it was beneficial to society and useful to the state. Yet, since the office of the ministry served non-temporal purposes—proclamation of divine truth and administration of sacraments—it must not be exploited by the state or simply redefined as an office of moral pedagogy. They did encourage reforms to improve “the functioning and reputation of pastors and students of theology” and to “counteract propaganda for the disestablishment of the clergy.”¹⁰⁸ Although a radical redefinition of the office of the holy ministry was avoided, the Enlightenment and absolutist rule did significantly reshape the office’s traditional purpose and function in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel. This defense of the

¹⁰⁶Stroup, 150.

¹⁰⁷See Stroup, 151-52. Typical of this accommodationist redefinition was Heinrich Philipp Conrad Henke (1752-1809), a church historian and Rationalist dogmatician on the faculty at Helmstedt and later director of the new seminary at Helmstedt. See Stroup, 134-38, 174-186.

¹⁰⁸Stroup, 152.

office of the holy ministry and semi-accommodation to the state, as Stroup indicates, point to developments at the end of the nineteenth century:

The demand for autonomy of the clerical profession and the concern for defense of clerical status or privilege even as they recall Lutheran orthodoxy and Mosheim simultaneously anticipate certain elements of the Neoconfessional revival of clerical ideology that was to flower in the course of the nineteenth century. The reserve with regard to the central state (whether German absolutist or French imperial) and the hesitation to commit oneself unthinkingly to its mercies anticipate both the difficulties of later extreme confessional groups (e.g. *Altlutheraner*). . . . Yet the emphasis on service to the patriotic and conservative aims of the territorial central government as a bulwark against French deistic radicalism and revolutionary expansionism foreshadows the kind of reaction which one associates with the post-1848 alliance of throne and altar in Germany.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹Stroup, 152. Stroup's language seems to betray a predilection on his part against the traditional understanding of the office of the ministry and the conservative, confessional pastors, theologians, and groups that tried to keep that understanding alive. Such a predilection is neither Biblical nor confessional.

The Rites of the Vocational Process in the Church Orders of 1709 and 1769¹¹⁰

Given the impact of the Enlightenment and absolutism on the understanding of the office of the ministry one would expect the rites of the vocational process to have been equally affected. Interestingly, this is not the case. Only two church orders were published in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel during the entire period.¹¹¹ The first, the *Erneuerte Kirchen-Ordnung; Unser von Gottes Gnaden, Anthon Ulrichs, Herßogen zu Braunnshweig und Lüneburg*, published in 1709 by Duke Anton Ulrich, and the second, a republication of the 1709 order in 1769. The next church order does not appear until 1853! The fact that the determinative church order for this era was published at the beginning of the Enlightenment may help to explain why the rites

¹¹⁰*Erneuerte Kirchen-Ordnung; Unser von Gottes Gnaden, Anthon Ulrichs, Herßogen zu Braunnshweig und Lüneburg* (Braunschweig: Johann Georg Zillinger, 1709); *Fürstliche Braunschweig-Lünebergische Kirchen-Ordnung* (Braunschweig: Waisenhaus-Buchhandlung, 1769) [Reprint of the New Church Order of 1709]; see Appendix 9. According to the available secondary literature the 1769 church order is a republication of the church order of 1709. Thus its rites of the vocational process should differ little from those of the 1709 church order. Analysis of this order has therefore been omitted to avoid repetition. Further study of this church order may provoke a revision of this conclusion, but at this point it is assumed that it reflects the evidence provided by the 1709 church order concerning the rites of the vocational process. (The author requested copies of this church order from Herr LKAR Hermann Kuhr of the Landeskirchenamt of the Evangelisch-Lutherische Landeskirche in Braunschweig in a letter of 6 December 1993. Professor Dr. Inge Mager of the Universität Hamburg directed me to contact Herr Kuhr. As of the writing of this thesis I had received no response from Herr Kuhr. I intend to procure this church order at a later date.)

¹¹¹There was acutally a third church order published for the territory of Calenberg-Göttingen in 1739. This territory had been acquired by the ruling house of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel. It is entitled *Braunschweig-Lüneburgische Kirchen-Ordnung Zum Gebrauch Der Fürstenthumer, Graff und Herrschaften, Calenbergischen Theils*, (Göttingen: Verlag der Königl. privilegirten Universitäts Buchhandlung, 1739), and was a reprint of the 1569 and 1615 church orders.

show such a minimal impact by the Enlightenment. At the same time, the way the office came to be viewed in contrast to the image reflected in the liturgy, raises questions about how seriously people took these rites and the extent to which they were used at all to place men into the office of the ministry.¹¹²

Worship in general, however, was not neglected. The Enlightenment and absolutism had a very significant impact upon worship life generally in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel.¹¹³ Rauls outlines all of the significant changes, especially in the divine service.¹¹⁴ Private confession was abolished in 1775. This apparently had a repercussion upon attendance at the Lord's Supper, since only three years later attendance was cut in half. Most sung portions of the liturgy were removed from the divine service and the creed was eliminated. Various festivals on the church calendar either were transferred—for example, the Marian festivals—or abolished—for instance, the four repentance days and the three post-high festival days (Easter Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday). The baptismal liturgy also suffered alterations, since so many people no longer viewed a seemingly pure or harmless child as being born in original sin. Rather, the child was considered innocent and the changes reflected that. Some contended that making of the sign of the cross over the child

¹¹²Answering this question would require examining various records in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel. Does the fact that the 1569 agenda was republished in 1739 allow a very tentative response? Does that republication indicate that some pastors were offended by the agenda of 1709 and wanted to return to a doctrinally purer agenda? Obviously this is purely speculation.

¹¹³As Rauls indicates it had a greater impact in various portions of the principality, for example, the cities, than in others. Rauls, 51.

¹¹⁴See Rauls, 50-53.

represented superstition. At crown prince Friedrich Wilhelm's baptism in 1804 the Braunschweig Dom preacher substituted for the Apostle's Creed his own creed in which the 3rd article stated, "We Christians believe in God 'the holy Spirit, the spirit of truth, who is our leader of virtue.'"¹¹⁵ It became a common practice to hold burials at night so that they could be conducted with great pomp and lighted processions, often without the pastors involved. The Enlightenment affected worship by lessening the degree to which the service was seen as an encounter between the Lord and his people.

In contrast to these dramatic changes, the rites of ordination and installation in the 1709 church order, other than minor variations in word usage and the restructuring of two small sections, are the same as the rites in the 1657 church order. Since the changes made in the rites were so minimal, the theological confession of the rites also changes little from 1657. One rubric is changed: ordinations may now occur at a worship service during the week.¹¹⁶ The word changes that are made do not reflect highly significant changes in theology. For instance, in the installation rite the word used in the prayer before the readings for the devil's attacks upon the pastor is changed from "onslaughts" to "interference."¹¹⁷ This does seem to indicate a tempering of the power of the devil's temptations, but at least the devil is still there.

¹¹⁵Rauls, 51.

¹¹⁶*Erneuerte Kirchen-Ordnung; Unser von Gottes Gnaden, Anthon Ulrichs, Herßogen zu Braunnshweig und Lüneburg* (Braunschweig: Johann Georg Zillinger, 1709), 89.

¹¹⁷*Erneuerte Kirchen-Ordnung; Unser von Gottes Gnaden, Anthon Ulrichs, Herßogen zu Braunnshweig und Lüneburg*, 100.

Another change is the elimination of the word "true" in the admonition to the ordinand in the ordination service to describe the Son of God.¹¹⁸ This might indicate a tempering of the divine nature of Christ, but that is a supposition at best. He is still called the Son of God. Another example is the elimination of the exhortation to pray "heartily" the prayer after the readings in the installation service.¹¹⁹ Were it not for the fact that this exhortation remains in the ordination service,¹²⁰ it might indicate a deliberate attempt to erase the influences of Pietism from the rites. An addition made to the service is the option to sing "May God Embrace us with His Grace" instead of "Lord God We Praise You" at the end of the installation service. None of these omissions or additions, however, radically alters the theological nature of the rites.

The same can be said for the two significant alterations made from the 1657 rites. The first, in the installation service, is that the sermon is now to be delivered not by the superintendent but by the one being installed or one of the other preachers present, and it is to be based not on the institution, profit, or authority of the preaching office but on an appointed or assigned text for the day. Then, following the singing of "Come Holy Ghost, God and Lord," the superintendent delivers a talk before the congregation concerning the institution/necessity and authority of the holy

¹¹⁸*Erneuerte Kirchen-Ordnung; Unser von Gottes Gnaden, Anthon Ulrichs, Herßogen zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg*, 91.

¹¹⁹*Erneuerte Kirchen-Ordnung; Unser von Gottes Gnaden, Anthon Ulrichs, Herßogen zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg*, 102.

¹²⁰*Erneuerte Kirchen-Ordnung; Unser von Gottes Gnaden, Anthon Ulrichs, Herßogen zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg*, 92, 93.

preaching office.¹²¹ This alteration does not change the theological import of installation and actually adds the benefit that a clear connection is made, if the sermon is preached by the new pastor, between the one being installed and the reason he is being installed, namely, to preach and teach the gospel to the people of God.

The most glaring alteration concerns the post-laying-on-of-hands prayer in both the ordination and installation rites. In the ordination rite in the 1657 order only the prayer of Luther was included. In the installation rite of 1657 two possible prayers, Luther's prayer and the prayer from the Württemberg church order¹²² are given as options. In the 1709 rites much of Luther's prayer is deleted, except for the opening section (quoting Matthew 9:37-38), and the other optional prayer from the installation rite is substituted for the bulk of Luther's prayer with minor word changes and the elimination of one entire section.¹²³ In other words, the same amalgamated prayer is offered after the laying-on-of-hands in both rites. This part is omitted:

Upon this divine command, we pray heartily that thou wouldst grant thy Holy Spirit richly to these thy servants, to us, and to all those who are called to serve thy Word so that the company of us who publish the good tidings may be great, and that we may stand faithful and firm against the devil, the world, and the flesh, to the end that thy name may be hallowed, thy kingdom grow, and thy will be done. Be also pleased at length to check and stop the detestable abomination of the pope, Mohammed, and all the enemies of Christianity like other sects . . . which blaspheme thy name, hinder thy kingdom, and oppose thy will.¹²⁴

¹²¹*Erneuerte Kirchen-Ordnung; Unser von Gottes Gnaden, Anthon Ulrichs, Herßogen zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg, 94.*

¹²²See p. 87.

¹²³*Erneuerte Kirchen-Ordnung; Unser von Gottes Gnaden, Anthon Ulrichs, Herßogen zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg, 93.*

¹²⁴*Agenda Oder: Erster Teil der Kirchen-Ordnung UNSER von Gottes Gnaden*

If the omission indicates anything it is the ecumenical and anti-confessional nature of the age. (Remember at the turn of the century discussions under Leibniz were in full swing to reconcile the Lutherans with the Roman Catholics and the Reformed.) If the goal is to reconcile the confessions, one does not want to speak of them as "detestable abominations" or as "sects." Omitting the section of the prayer also eliminates the call for the Holy Spirit to be granted to the ones being ordained/installed and the petition that the number of pastors may be great. Could this reflect the Enlightenment's tendency to rationalize the doctrine of the Trinity and its anti-clericalism?

The issue of language usage does raise one problem. Although there are few changes in the language of the ordination rite, this does not necessarily guarantee that the rite is understood by those who participate in it and those who hear it in a confessional Lutheran way. In other words, the rites, orthodox as they might sound, can be imbued with another significance or meaning, namely, that of the Enlightenment. An example is the use of the word *Seelsorger*, "shepherd or caretaker of souls." This word, although used infrequently to describe the office of the ministry in the rites, was intended by the Pietists to denote a pastor's loving concern for the spiritual lives of the people under his care. Under Enlightenment influence the term came to denote a pastor concerned primarily with the people's morality and helping to improve their efforts at living a virtuous life.¹²⁵ It also signified a pastor concerned

AUGUSTI, Herzogen zu Brunswyk und Lunäburg. Wie es mit den Ceremonien auch andern nootwendigen Sachen und Verrichtungen den Kirchen Unserer Fürstentume Graf-Herrschaften und Landen zu halten (Wolfenbüttel: Stern, 1657), 137.

¹²⁵See Abbt's definition of the term on page 155.

with the temporal lives of his people, helping them to work hard and to become more educated about their livelihoods. In other words, this is a hermeneutical issue. How are the rites to be understood? The language of these rites, although sounding very confessional, were not understood by Enlightenment superintendents and pastors in a Biblical, confessional sense. The language of the rites point to an orthodox understanding of the office of the holy ministry and may help encourage such an understanding, but they did not guarantee it. The listener of that day, as even of our own, shaped the message he heard in the rites according to his context and theological presuppositions whether of the Enlightenment or of confessional Lutheranism. That shaping may not be justified, but it nevertheless occurred.

As has been indicated, the theology of the rite, at least as far as the language indicates, is essentially the same as that of the rite of 1657.¹²⁶ Stroup captures this fact:

The newer church order in force for Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel during the eighteenth century shows only minor departures from this pattern [that of the 1569 church order]. It stresses the importance of teaching the pure doctrine that leads to blessedness, and develops an Orthodox view of the ministry on this basis. Though by this time the exercise of church discipline required the prior consent of the consistory, and though the absolution formulae are cast in a somewhat less objective or "quasi-priestly" mold in response to the currents of the day, nonetheless the formula for ordination makes extensive use of the classic passages (e.g., Matthew 16 and 18; John 20) identifying the ministerial power of the keys in disciplining matters and the pastoral authority to teach with the very divine power of Jesus Christ. Nor any noticeable effort can be detected to widen the scope of the minister's temporal duties so as to benefit the state at the expense of the cure of souls. The Orthodox Lutheran concept of the ministry was then, at least on paper, largely intact in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel at the start of the

¹²⁶See pp. 124, 125, 126.

Enlightenment despite the issue of a new church order under the authority of a duke desirous of emulating Louis XIV.¹²⁷

As Stroup indicates, the concept of the office of the holy ministry and of the vocational process changes little in the 1709 rite. The office is still conceived of primarily as an office of instrumentality, an office serving the word of God and the means of grace to the people of God by divine command of Christ. The primary function of the pastor is to teach the gospel. Through the entire vocational process, as indicated by ordination and installation, one becomes a pastor when placed by God into this divinely instituted office. Central to ordination is the laying on of hands and prayer indicating that God is acting through those already in the office, through the church, to place this man into his office. God has promised the presence of the Holy Spirit in his ministry, through the word and the means of grace, to bring people to faith and to strengthen them in their faith. Theologically the 1709 rites confess the same office of the ministry confessed in the church order of 1657.

This is further witnessed to by the doctrinal section of the church order. It contains discourses on a multitude of doctrinal points, including the filling of church offices, the pastor's style of preaching, catechization, colloquy meetings, his life and conduct, and his relationship to the temporal government.¹²⁸ As in the rite and the 1657 church order, the pastor is encouraged to model a godly life to his people:

¹²⁷Stroup, 33.

¹²⁸See *Erneuerte Kirchen-Ordnung; Unser von Gottes Gnaden, Anthon Ulrichs, Herßogen zu Braunnschweig und Lüneburg*, 11-22.

It is not enough that the preacher properly conduct the office of teaching, but at the same time he must promote that teaching with the example of his daily conduct before his entrusted flock as a model, thereby strengthening them through his example.¹²⁹

In addition, the primary teaching role of the office is stressed through the detailed instructions given regarding the preparation of sermons:

Chiefly through the sermon the pastor is to apply the text distinctly, explaining it with vigor and for them to apply to their lives. It is to concentrate on edifying their work and it should therefore be able to bring about that the Christian congregation according to the revealed, divine Word is strengthened in simple faith and is confirmed and stimulated in the way of salvation.¹³⁰

Finally, the instructions indicate the priority of the pastor being properly nominated, called, approved by the congregation, examined, and ordained and installed according to the rites in the church order.¹³¹ The doctrinal section confirms the theological understanding of the office of the holy ministry as confessed by the rites.

Obviously given the way the office is understood in the rites of 1709 and the way the vocational process of forming pastors continues to be a priority, these rites eventually come to stand in contradiction to the Enlightenment as it developed in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel. These rites understand the pastor to be called to an office of teaching a supernatural, divine proclamation of God and of serving as an instrument conveying salvation through the means of grace. The Enlightenment

¹²⁹*Erneuerte Kirchen-Ordnung; Unser von Gottes Gnaden, Anthon Ulrichs, Herßogen zu Braunnshweig und Lüneburg, 19.*

¹³⁰*Erneuerte Kirchen-Ordnung; Unser von Gottes Gnaden, Anthon Ulrichs, Herßogen zu Braunnshweig und Lüneburg, 17.*

¹³¹*Erneuerte Kirchen-Ordnung; Unser von Gottes Gnaden, Anthon Ulrichs, Herßogen zu Braunnshweig und Lüneburg, 11-12.*

understood the pastoral office as an office of teaching morals, developed in the context of a natural religion deducible from reason. The pastor, as has been shown in the thought of men like Abbt, Sextroh, and Campe, was to be a servant of the state in encouraging people to live virtuous lives and in assisting them with temporal affairs—their farming, cattle raising, and more. Whether the Enlightenment superintendents continued to use the rites of the vocational process as found in the 1709 church order throughout the eighteenth century cannot be determined.¹³² It would certainly be suspected that given their theological and philosophical presuppositions, they changed the rites in practice. Fortunately for the church in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel the rites on paper were not changed. They provided a resource for the church orders to be prepared in the nineteenth century. The *lex credendi* of the church did not entirely overwhelm the *lex orandi*. Rather, through the rites of the vocational process a proper understanding of the office of the ministry and of its purpose and service to the church survived in the midst of the *lex credendi* of the church which had gone severely astray.

¹³²Stroup indicates that questions of liturgical reform were raised in this century. This author has not been able to determine what course those questions took. As Stroup indicates the legal status of the church orders, they were legally binding since they were issued by the prince, probably also helped protect the theology of the rites. Although the theologians could have easily convinced the duke to sponsor the preparation of a new agenda, the fact that Dukes Karl I and Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand took little active interest in ecclesiastical affairs, except where it affected the governing of the principality, probably hindered any efforts at the preparation of a new church order. Stroup, 181.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION: THE OFFICE OF THE HOLY

MINISTRY ALIVE IN THE LITURGY

Let us talk about the term "liturgy." It does not really mean a sacrifice but a public service. Thus it squares with our position that a minister who consecrates shows forth the body and blood of the Lord to the people, just as a minister who preaches shows forth the gospel to the people, as Paul says (I Corinthians 4:1), "This is how one should regard us, as ministers of Christ and dispensers of the sacraments of God," that is, of the Word and sacraments; and II Corinthians 5:20, "We are ambassadors for Christ, God making his appeal through us. We beseech you on behalf of Christ, be reconciled to God."¹

This statement from the Lutheran Confessions summarizes in a nutshell the understanding of the office of the holy ministry from a Lutheran perspective. The office is intended to deliver the gospel to God's people through preaching, teaching, and the means of grace. The Apology to the Augsburg Confession also reminds us that in the liturgy God's people see what the pastoral office is all about. It is there as a service to God's people in the name and by the command of Christ. In the liturgy God's people know why the Lord has given them pastors.

The relationship between the liturgy and theology is a dynamic one. There are probably a myriad of ways in which they affect one another. In the liturgy the church confesses what it believes about God, about Christ, about salvation, and, in the case

¹Apology 24:80; Tappert, 264.

of the rites of the vocational process, about the office of the ministry. That has been nowhere more apparent than in the 1569 church order of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel. In it the biblically and confessionally formulated understanding of the preaching office, especially as voiced by the towering father of Lutheranism in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Martin Chemnitz, is expressed and confessed.

Not only does the church confess what it believes in the liturgy, the liturgy also shapes the church's belief and piety. In the continuing encounter with God, in the liturgy's language and actions, the church is reminded of the Lord's promises to all men through Jesus Christ. The Lord speaks to his church and the church learns and grows. All of the rites of the vocational process in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel have exhibited the teaching power of the liturgy. Through the rites the Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel church learned from 1569 to 1815 that the office in its midst was one placed there to teach. The rites would not let Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel forget that.

The dynamic relationship between the liturgy and theology does not stop there. The liturgy not only shapes theology and doctrine, but the church's theology and doctrine can shape both the content of the liturgy and what the liturgy means to people. The church's theology provides a hermeneutical framework in which the liturgy is heard and understood. The changes in theology in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had an impact on the content of the rites—for example, adding lengthy admonitions and altering prayers. Perhaps more significantly, the theological and political context helped to determine how the rites were understood. Even though the content of the rites changed little from

century to century, the understanding of what the rites said about the pastoral office did change. This was perhaps most discernible in the rites of the 1709 church order. Although the expressed content varied little, the theological milieu altered the basic significance of the office's purpose. It was no longer viewed as an office of teaching divine truths but as an office of teaching virtuous moral conduct according to the constraints of reason.

As indicated at the beginning of this study, examining liturgical documents from a historical perspective is part of the process enunciated by Prosper of Aquitaine in his phrase "*Lex orandi, lex credendi.*" Paul De Clerck indicates that Prosper's phrase, often misinterpreted over the centuries, intends to show that liturgical content can serve as a support of doctrinal truth. However, it is only the third support following that of the church's response to Scriptural mandates and the Lord's actual mandate itself. Thus, the content of the liturgy does not replace the Lord's institution of the office of the holy ministry, nor is the way that office has been filled in the church a proof of how the office should be understood. The liturgical witness provides more evidence that one hopes will confirm both the mandate and the church's response.

This study sought to determine the liturgical witness for the vocational process of forming pastors in one specific Lutheran territory, that of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel. The study was conducted from a contextual-historic or interpretive-synthetic framework, that is, it realized that the content and meaning of the rites could never be divorced from the theological and political milieu in which they were framed and understood. The attendant theological and political structure of the principality of

Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel during a specific historical era determined how the rites were constructed. The attendant structures also deeply influenced the way in which the rites were heard and understood. In short, the study hoped to determine what the church, theologians, superintendents and pastors in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel believed they were doing when they called, elected, examined, ordained and installed a pastor into the office of the ministry.

As has been shown, a great degree of continuity was maintained between the first rite prepared in the sixteenth century and those of the eighteenth century. The content and language of the rites did change in response to the era's tenor, but they did not vary drastically. The primary theological understanding of the office as witnessed to by the content and language of the rites remained intact. What did change was the theological and political milieu in which the rites were celebrated. The hermeneutical framework altered drastically from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries: from Orthodox Lutheranism to Enlightenment Christianity.

In content and apart from the hermeneutical issue, the rites examined do witness to a strong continuity in the understanding of the vocational process and the ministerial office's nature and purpose. In terms of the vocational process itself, all the elements—nomination, call, election, examination, ordination, and installation—are stressed as part of the process of forming a pastor. In none of the church orders are the elements played off against each other. None is more important than another. Only the 1569 church order contains detailed instructions regarding nomination, call, election, and examination. The 1657 church order only contains the

ordination and installation rites. But this does not signify a devaluation of the other elements. The ecclesiastical law section of this church order was simply never finished. The law section from 1569 continued to apply until 1709. In 1709 the other elements are reaffirmed, although not in as great detail, especially the involvement of the whole church in the process. As in 1569 no candidate may be placed in a congregation that does not approve of him as their pastor. The lack of detail regarding the process after 1569 may simply betray the fact that the entire church was well-acquainted with the procedure.

Pietism perhaps effected the greatest change in the vocational process. It emphasized the call, in the narrow sense, and examination so that the efficacy of the pastor might be assured. If the pastor was unconverted, contended Arndt, then he could not model a morally sound and spiritually alive Christian life to his parishioners. The examination was to ascertain not only the orthodoxy of the pastor's teaching but also his mode of conduct and spiritual fervor. Chemnitz had emphasized examining a pastor's life but not so that his ministry might be more efficacious. Rather the pastor's conduct was to be examined in order to prevent doubt from arising in the congregation's mind that his ministry actually conveyed the forgiveness of sins. The emphasis on the conduct of the pastor as a model appeared in the 1657 church order in the lengthy admonition to the candidate. Also, as a result of emphasizing the call and examination, the Pietists devalued ordination to simply a ratification and confirmation of the call without any idea of bestowing the office at ordination. However, this emphasis did not appear in the ordination rite of 1657.

Throughout the entire period, the relationship between ordination and installation grew closer and closer. With the 1569 church order the content of the ordination and installation rites was very similar. For example, both included the laying on of hands. However, the location in which the rites took place—ordination in the capital and installation at the church to which one was called—separated the two acts. The 1657 church order in its initial rubrics made this distinction very clear. Yet since the content and intent of the installation rite was so similar to the ordination rite, the connection between the two was solidified. Installation pointed back to the man's ordination and reminded both him and the congregation of the Lord's promises at his ordination to be active in his ministry of word and sacrament. The 1657 church order further cemented this relationship by substituting the *Vollzugsformel*, the declaration of ordination, for the Lord's Prayer at the laying on of hands. The 1709 church order continued this solidification by making the prayers after the laying on of hands identical in both rites. The rites in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel leave no doubt that ordination and installation are indivisibly related to one another.

The understanding of the nature and purpose of the ministry changes little in the rites. Only slight alterations in emphasis can be detected. In all the rites the laying on of hands and prayer is primary. Chemnitz had enunciated five reasons for observing ordination, that is, the laying on of hands and prayer.² They emphasize that in ordination the candidate is placed by God into the ministry and promised the Holy Spirit's presence in his ministry. Chemnitz indicates that ordination leaves no doubt

²See pp. 41, 42, 43.

in the minds of those present that this man has been properly called by God. The rites of 1657 and 1709, by substituting the *Vollzugsformel* for the Lord's Prayer, lose some of the emphasis on the ordination being a divine action, the Lord's placing a candidate into his office according to his command. However, the *Vollzugsformel* does not diminish the reality that God is active and the formula, like the Lord's Prayer, emphasizes the reason for the pastoral office, namely, the preaching of the word of God and the administration of the means of grace. Even the 1709 church order retains the *Vollzugsformel* in the midst of a theological climate that all but denied the purpose of the office as being the preaching of God's word and the administration of sacraments that convey forgiveness and the loosing of sins in the Lord's name.

The laying on of hands, the prayers and the *Vollzugsformel* in the rites all point to the nature of the office as one of instrumentality. They confess the office as one that delivers the forgiveness of sins and salvation through the pastor's preaching and administration of the sacraments. There is a slight change of emphasis between the rites of 1569 and that of 1657 concerning what kind of teaching is to occur. In 1569 the emphasis is on teaching the gospel, of the divine will toward people revealed in Jesus Christ. The 1657 rites emphasize this as well as the pastor's teaching through the example of his life. He instructs not only by what he says, but also, and maybe more importantly, by living a morally pure, virtuous, and spiritual life. This is most apparent in the long admonition to the pastor in the 1657 ordination rite and in the increased usage of the term *Seelsorger* to denote the preaching office. The emphasis

upon teaching changes dramatically in Enlightenment theology, but the understanding of teaching as moral inculcation and education concerning temporal affairs and devoid of any supernatural instruction does not creep into the rites of 1709.

The content of all the rites from 1569 to 1815 witness to a consistent understanding of the vocational process and the office of the holy ministry. Although the rites in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel are no guarantee that the church will remain orthodox, biblical, and confessional in its understanding of the office of the ministry, they do endeavor to keep the church's teaching pure. These rites can and do help to shape the church's belief and piety when it is in danger of losing a biblical and confessional understanding of its preaching office. That apparently occurred in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel. When the liturgy has served the church in that capacity, guarding and protecting its confession, the greatest doxology to God has surely been rendered.

APPENDIX I

THE FAMILY OF GUELPH

The origins of the family of Guelph lie in the marriage of Henry the Proud, the duke of Bavaria and Saxony, to Gertrude, the daughter of the Emperor Lothair and the heiress to the original Lords of Braunschweig. Their son, Henry the Lion, lost the duchies of Saxony and Bavaria in 1180 but retained possession of the family lands of Braunschweig and Lüneburg. In 1235 Emperor Frederick II made Otto I, the Child, duke of both Braunschweig and Lüneburg¹ and all subsequent family lines descend from him.

There have been numerous divisions in the Welfischen lands. The first division occurred in 1267 when Albrecht I divided the duchy in half, he receiving the Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel lands and his brother John I the Braunschweig-Lüneburg lands. This first Braunschweig-Lüneburg line died out in 1369. Albrecht's sons divided the Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel lands among three lines: A Braunschweig-Grubenhagen line that lasted until 1596, a Braunschweig-Göttingen line that died out quickly and the dominant Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel line. Bernhard I in 1428 further divided the dominant Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel lands and line, also called the Old

¹See Geoffrey Barraclough, *The Origins of Modern Germany* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1963), 235.

House of Braunschweig, between his heirs and his brother, Henry II's heirs.

Bernhard's son Frederick received the Braunschweig-Lüneburg lands and Henry's son, William I, the Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel line. The latter Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel lands were split again in 1498 by Henry I and Erich I into the duchies of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel and Braunschweig-Kalenberg (also called Kalenberg-Göttingen). The latter Braunschweig-Kalenberg line died out in 1584. The former Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel line, also called the Middle House of Braunschweig, lasted through the Reformation and died out in 1634 with the death of Duke Friedrich Ulrich.

With the death of Friedrich Ulrich the Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel lands reverted back to the original Braunschweig-Lüneburg line of Bernhard I. The descendants of this line had also acquired the areas of Kalenberg, Celle, and Grubenhagen in the mid 1600's. William the Younger, the duke of Braunschweig-Lüneburg and his brother Henry, the duke of Dannenberg (the Braunschweig-Lüneburg line had been divided in half) divided the newly acquired lands, including the Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel parts, between them. Braunschweig-Lüneburg and all its associated regions such as Kalenberg, Celle, and Grubenhagen went to William the Younger and his descendants whose grandson, Ernest Augustus, was made elector of Hanover in 1692 and whose great-grandson George I was both elector of Hanover and King of Great Britain. Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel and Dannenberg went to the descendants of Henry, the Duke of Dannenberg. This line lasted from 1635 until 1884 when after the death of Duke Wilhelm the duchy was ruled respectively by Prussia, Mecklenburg, and Hanover.

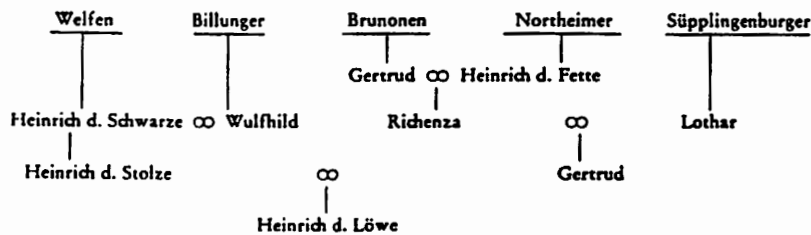
APPENDIX II

THE RULING HOUSES OF BRAUNSCHWEIG-WOLFENBÜTTEL

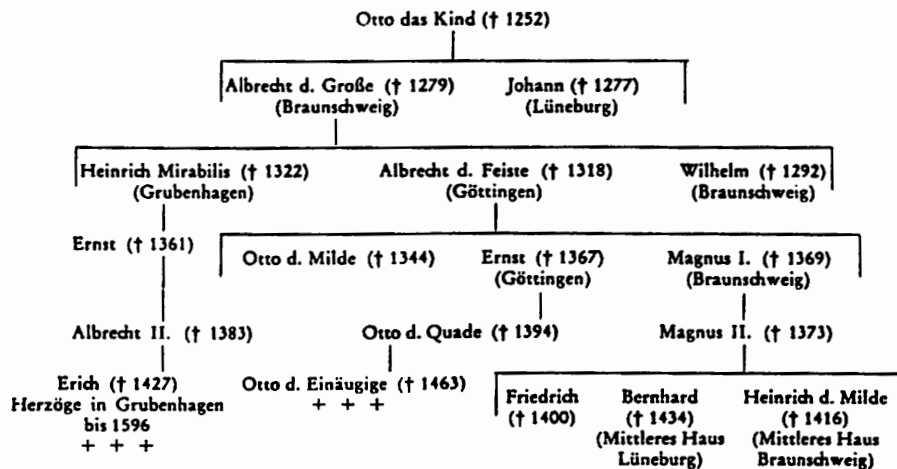
Source: Joseph König, "Landesgeschichte," in *Braunschweigische Landesgeschichte im Überblick*, 2nd ed., Quellen und Forschungen zur braunschweigischen Geschichte, ed. Richard Moderhack, vol. 23 (Braunschweig: Selbstverlag des Braunschweigischen Geschichtsvereins, 1977), 105-07.

STAMMTAFELN UND REGENTENFOLGEN

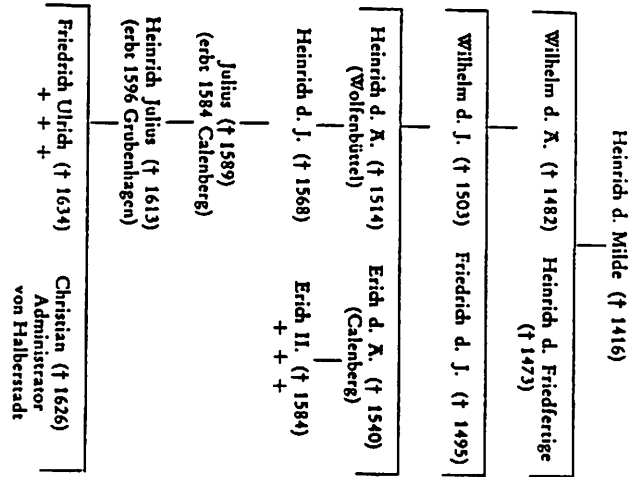
1. Heinrich der Löwe als Erbe der großen Geschlechter Sachsens



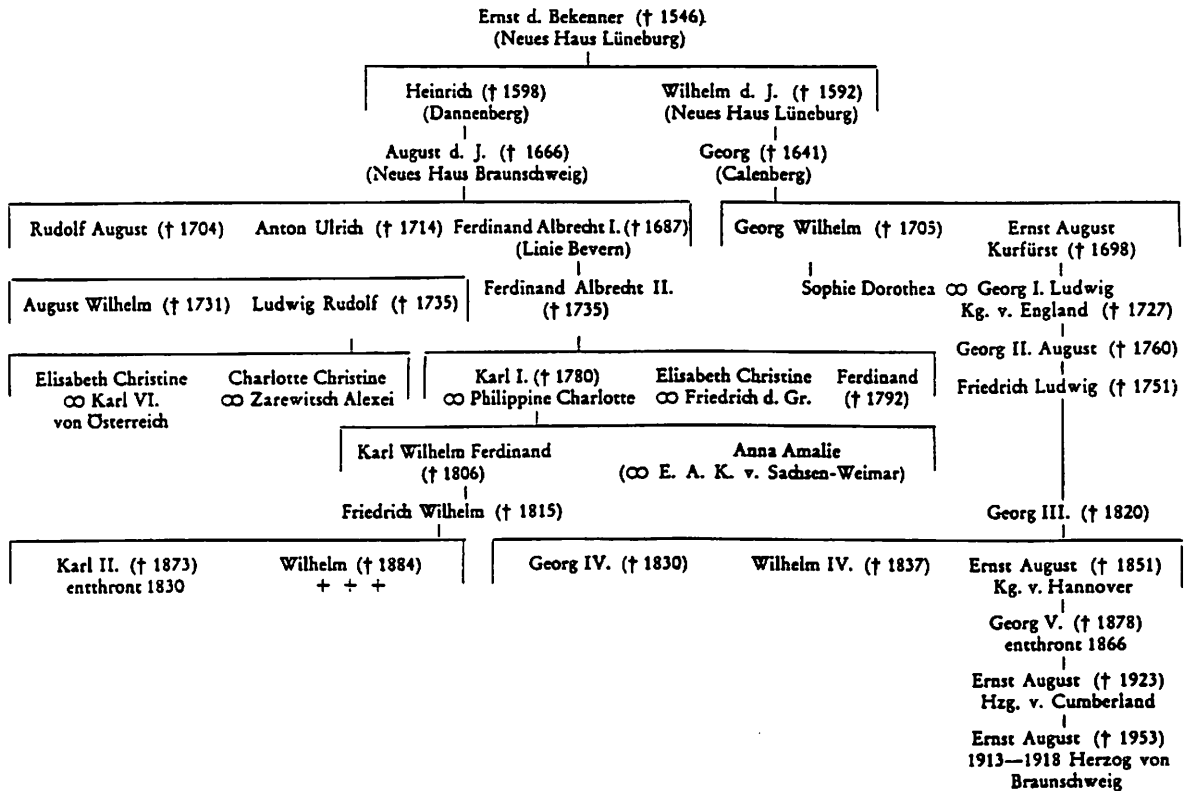
2. Altes Haus Braunschweig



3. Mittleres Haus Braunschweig



4. Neues Haus Braunschweig



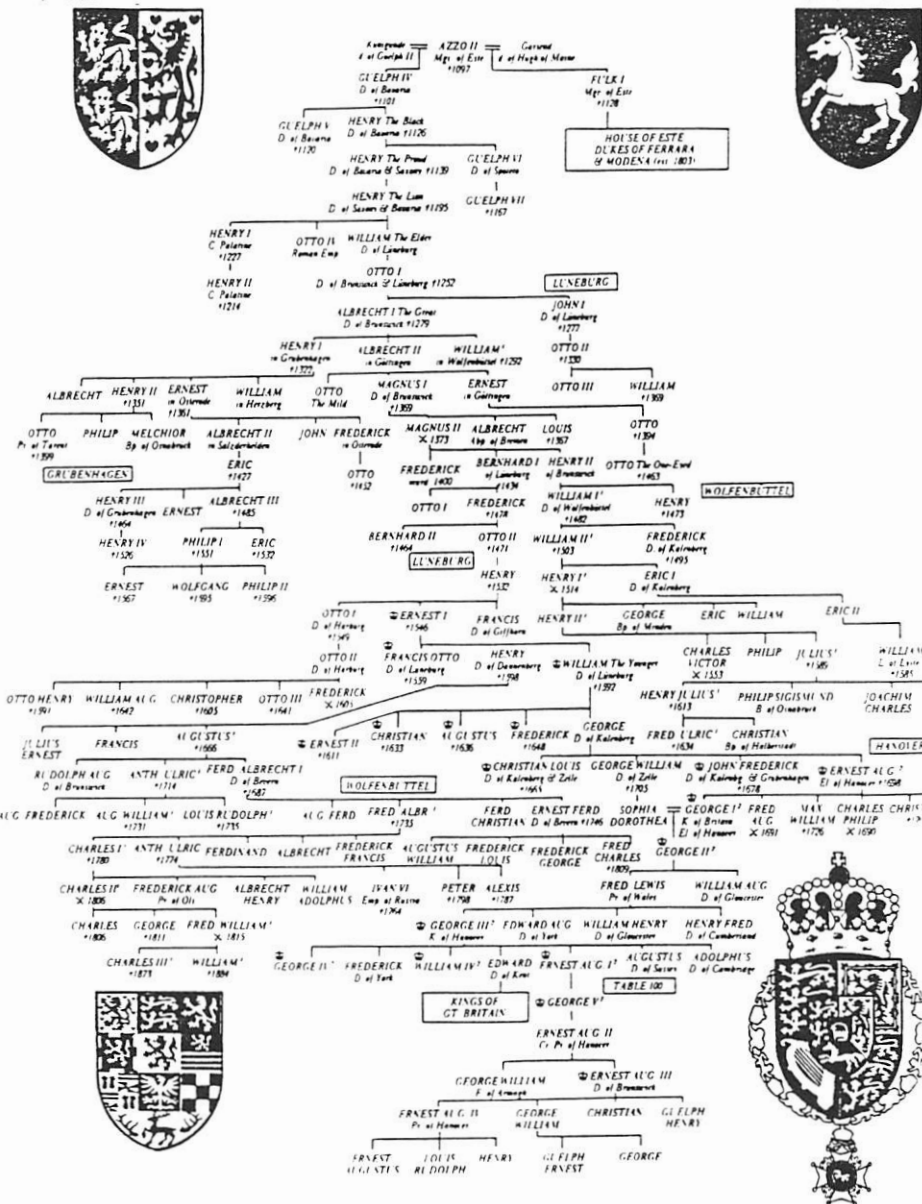
APPENDIX III

THE RULERS OF THE DUCHY OF BRAUNSCHWEIG-LÜNEBURG

Source: Jirí Louda and Michael Maclagan, *Heraldry of the Royal Families of Europe* (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1981), Table 99.

TABLE 99

BRUNSWICK AND HANOVER
General survey (House of Guelph)



APPENDIX IV
THE STRUCTURE OF THE RITE OF ORDINATION

Rubric Text	Approbation	Proclamation/ Bidding	Invitation	Prayer of people or Litany	Sign of the Cross
Apostolic Tradition				X	
Canons of Hippolytus	X			X	
Apostolic Constitution	X				
Testamentum Domini	(X)				
Sacramentary of Sarapion					
Byzantine		X		X	X
East Syrian	(X)	X			X
Jacobite	(X)	X		(X)	X
Leonine Sacramentary			X		
Ordo XXXIV		X		(X)	
Statua Ecclesiae Antiqua					
Missale Francorum	X	X			
Pontifical of Durandis of Mede	X		X		
Luther's Rite (1569)	X	X		X	X
Rite of the 1657 Order	X	X	X	X	
Rite of the 1709 Order	X	X	X	X	

Rubric Text	Laying on of Hands	Imposition of Book of Gospels	Ordination/ Consecration Prayer	Concluding Ceremonies Kiss
Apostolic Tradition	X		X	(X)
Canons of Hippolytus	X		X	X
Apostolic Constitution	X	(X)	X	(X)
Testamentum Domini	X		X	X
Sacramentary of Sarapion	X		X	
Byzantine	X	(X)	X	X
East Syrian	X	(X)	X	X
Jacobite	X		X	
Leonine Sacramentary			X	
Ordo XXXIV			X	X
Statua Ecclesiae Antiqua	(X)	X		
Missale Francorum			X	
Pontifical of Durandis of Mede	X		X	
Luther's Rite (1569)	X		Lord's Prayer	
Rite of the 1657 Order	X		Ordination Formula	
Rite of the 1709 Order	X		Ordination Formula	

Rubric Text	Bestowal of Symbols of Office	Declaration of Ordination	Enthronement/ Seating	Anointing
Apostolic Tradition				
Canons of Hippolytus			(X)	
Apostolic Constitution			(X)	
Testamentum Domini				
Sacramentary of Sarapion				
Byzantine	X			
East Syrian	X	X		
Jacobite	X	X	(X)	
Leonine Sacramentary				
Ordo XXXIV	X			
Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua				
Missale Francorum				X
Pontifical of Durandis of Mende	X			X
Luther's Rite				
Saxon Rite of 1580				
Rite of the 1856 Agenda				

Rubric Text	Delivery of Chalice and Paten	Delivery of Book of Gospels	Final Imposition of Hands
Apostolic Tradition			
Canons of Hippolytus			
Apostolic Constitution			
Testamentum Domini			
Sacramentary of Sarapion			
Byzantine			
East Syrian		X	
Jacobite			
Leonine Sacramentary			
Ordo XXXIV			
Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua			
Missale Francorum			
Pontifical of Durandis of Mende	X		X
Luther's Rite			
Saxon Rite of 1580			
Rite of the 1856 Agenda			

Key: X = present in both the ordination of bishops and presbyters (X) = present only in the ordination of bishops

APPENDIX V

THE RITE OF ORDINATION OF WILLIAM DURANDUS

Source: Michel Andrieu, ed., *Le Pontifical Romain au Moyen-Age*, vol. 3, *Le Pontifical de Guillaume Durand* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1940): 364-373.

Ordination of Presbyters - prior to the reading of the Gospel

 Approbation

 Admonition to People

 Admonition to Ordinands

 Laying on of Hands

 Ordination Prayer

 Prayer: Exaudi nos

 Preface

 Bestowal of Symbols of Office

 Blessing

 Veni Sancte Spiritus or Veni Creator Spiritus

 Anointing of Hands

 Delivery of Chalice and Paten

 Reading of Gospel

 Canon of the Mass

 Response

 Creed

 Second Imposition of Hands

 Oath of Allegiance to Bishop

 Instruction to New Presbyters

 Postcommunion Prayer

 Benediction

APPENDIX VI

TEXT OF THE 1571 PASTORAL CODE

Source: "Ordnunge, wie es hinfuro mit den nominationibus, vocationibus und annhemunge der herren predicanten in den kirchen zu Braunschweig gleichformig und einhellig gehalten werden soll, berathschlagt, gewilligt und beschlossen," (1571), in *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, ed. Emil Sehling (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1955), 6/1:456-58.

Braunschweig

2. Ordnunge, wie es hinfuro mit den nominationibus, vocationibus und annhemunge der herren predicanten in den kirchen zu Braunschweig gleichformig und einhellig gehalten werden soll, berathschlagt, gewilligt und beschlossen anno 1571 am 12. tage des monats Junii.¹

In dem namen Gottes Amen. Zu wissen, das sich die ehrwürdige, würdige, hoch und wolgelerte herren Martinus Chemnitius, der heiligen schrift doctor, superintendens², M. Andreas Pouchenius, coadjutor³ und die andere herren predicanten des ganzen colloquii⁴ und ein erbar rath der stadt Braunschweig aus christlichem bedenken und notwendigen ursachen einhelliglich vorgliehen und vorabschiedet haben, wie es hinfuro mit den nominationibus, vocationibus und annhemunge der herren predicanten in den kirchen in allen funf weichbildern⁵ alhier zu Braunschweig gleichformig und einhellig gehalten werden soll, nemblich:

Zum ersten: Weil die prediger von Got musen gegeben und gesandt werden und seine almechtigkeit auch den segen darzu geben mus, wen es zu gedei und erbawunge der kirchen gerathen solle, so wollen ein erbar rath und die kastenherren, wie die kirchenordnunge meldet⁶ und auch an ihme selbs christlich, nützlich und nötig ist, ehe der handel der election und vocation furgenomen wird, das gemeine gebet in allen kirchen bestellen, das es eine woche, vier oder funf furhero gehe, ehe zu der election eins predigers gegriffen werde.

Zum andern: Nachdem die electio oder nominatio einer gewissen personen, die zu einem prediger angenommen werden soll, in der kirchenordnunge einem erbaren rathe und den kasten-

herren in jedem weichbilde gegeben wird, die solchs auf ihr gewissen in namen und von wegen der ganzen gemeine nach der instruction 1. Thim. 3 [1-7] et Tit. 1 [7-9] zu vorhandeln und zu vorrichten, so soll das also pleiben und anderer gestalt damit nicht gebaret werden, zu vorhuten, das nicht etwa eine unordnunge darauß werde, wen aus der weitluftigen gemeinde ein jeder seins kopfs sich darin mengen, mitrathen und den herren furschreiben wolte, das nicht sein soll. So sollen und wollen sich auch die herren des colloquii darin nicht mengen, sonder es bei der kirchenordnunge pleiben lassen.

Das aber nicht unwillig und weiterunge zwuschen dem ministerio und den herren der weichbilde entstehen muge, wen etwa unvorwarneter sache eine persone zum predigambte zu berufen, nominiert worde, die aus erheblichen ursachen dem colloquio nicht leidlich were, so sollen ein erbar rath und die kastenherren des weichbildes die personen, unter welchen sie eine zum predigambte vormittels gotlicher hulfe zu wahlen gedenken, entweder muntlich namhaftig machen oder schriftlich vorzeichnet übergeben den herren superintendenten und coadjutori mit beger, so unter den personen eine oder mher weren, die aus ursachen unleidlich, solchs zu vermeiden und anzuzeigen. Dies soll also in allen weichbildern gleichformig geschehen und gehalten

¹ Druckvorlage: Original-Hs mit Siegel im Stadtarchiv Braunschweig unter B IV 11 Nr. 38.

² Vgl. die Bestallungsordnung von 1567 unter Nr. 3. S. 459 ff.

³ Mag. Andreas Pouchenius hatte am 16. 3. 1571 in die Vokation zum Koadjutor gewilligt. Er war aus Gardelegen gebürtig, Schüler Melanchthons in Wittenberg, später Konrektor zu Helmstedt und an der Martinsschule in B., nach einjähriger Sekretärszeit in Helmstedt 12 Jahre Rektor der Martinsschule in B.

und seit 1584 Pastor an der Martinskirche ebd. 1575 folgte er einem Ruf als Superintendent nach Lübeck, wo er 1600 starb. Vgl. Ph. J. Rehtmeyer III, S. 388 ff. — J. Beste, Album, S. 26.

⁴ Zum seit 1529 bestehenden Kolloquium vgl. Einleitung S. 343, auch H. Hachfeld, Martin Chemnitz, 1367, S. 32.

⁵ Vgl. S. 365 u. Anm. 35.

⁶ Vgl. S. 374.

Vokationsordnung für die Prediger 1571

werden, dadurch allerleige unrath zuvorkommen, dan der personen gelegenheit und geschicklichkeit den herren des colloquii oft besser bekant ist als den herren des raths und den kastenherren, und soll gleichwol nichtz desto weniger die wahl den herren des raths und kastenherren der weichbilde frei sein und pleiben, das sie aus den angegebenen personen eine erwählen und nominieren mügen.

Zum dritten: Wen nu also von einem erbaren rathe und den kastenherren des weichbildes eine persone zum predigambte nominiert und eligiert sein wird, soll sie vormuge der kirchenordnunge⁷ den herren superintendenten und coadjutori angezeigt werden, dieselbe ferner dem ganzen colloquio anzumelden, und gleiche anmeldunge soll auch geschehen einem ganzen erbarn kuchenrathe⁸, alles zuvor und ehe dan die geschehene wahl der nominierten personen insinuiert werde.

Zum vierten: Wen man nu allenthalben mit der election also zufrieden sein wird, so soll solche election der nominierten personen in forma vocationis schriftlich oder mundlich insinuiert werden mit dieser angehengten condition, das die vocierte persone sich solle für das ministerium alhie zum examine oder vorhor instellen, und so ehr alda zum ambte tüchtig und in der lehre reine befunden wird, so soll darauf die vocatio volzogen und bestetigt werden, wie dieser punkt der kirchenordnunge also inverleibet ist.

Und nach gelegenheit der itzt gefeulichen zeiten sollen zum examine furgestellet werden nicht alleine die, so nicht im predigambte gewesen, sonder auch die, so vorhin anderswo das predigambt gehabt und vorwaltet, zu vornemen, ob sie auch in der lehre rein, auf das nicht etwa unkraut vorborgen sein muge.

Zum fünften: Soll das examen oder vorhor vormuge der kirchenordnung stehen bei den

herrn des colloquii, denselbigen auch nicht entgegen sein soll, sonder begeren es, das ein erbar radt und die kastenherren eins jeden weichbildes aus ihrem mittel oder sonsten etliche personen darzu deputieren, die bei dem examine mit sein und anhoren mügen, was und wie gefragt und geantwort werde, so kan in diesem fhäl kein vordacht auf das colloquium geleet werden und können auch die herren durch die ihren, die bei dem examine gewesen, berichtet werden, was sie vor einen prediger bekommen.

Zum sechsten: Soll das juditium oder urtheil von dem examine vormuge der kirchenordnunge stehen und pleiben bei den herren superintendenten, coadjutore und dem ganzen colloquio und nach dem urtheil, so aus grunde und mit bestande gefellet werden soll, mag dan die examinierte persone von dem erbaren rathe und kastenherrn des weichbildes angenommen werden oder nicht, wie solchs auch die ordnunge also disponiert und saget.

Zum siebenden: Wen nach diesem allen die vocatio volzogen, so soll die angenommen person durch einen erbaren rath und kastenherren des weichbildes dem colloquio presentiert und darselbst mit ihme gehandelt werden, das ehr dem corpori doctrinae⁹ dieser loblichen kirchen unterschreibe und angelobe, das ehr sich der wolhergebrachten christlichen ordnunge des colloquii unterwerfe, alsdan soll ehr vor ein membrum des colloquii auf und angenommen werden.

Zum achten und letzten: Wen also eine vocatio nach allen obberurten punkten ordentlich und christlich hergangen und volzogen ist, soll dieselbige auch der gemeinde des weichbildes öffentlich von der kanzel cum aliqua solennitate angezeigt werden. Und wo dan die vocierte persone noch nicht ordiniert, so soll der herr superintendens oder coadjutor de vocatione eine öffentliche predigt thun, darauf alsdan nach geendigter predigt die ordinatio in der kirchen und

⁷ Vgl. S. 374.

⁸ Der Küchenrat war der engere Rat, ein Teil des Gesamtrates, so genannt, weil er sich gewöhnlich in der „Ratsküche“, einem Gebäude

neben dem Neustadtrathause, versammelte, vgl. H. Dürre, Geschichte, S. 307.

⁹ Vgl. unter Nr. 4 § 1. S. 471.

Braunschweig

vor der gemeinde, do der angenommen prediger das ambt fuhren wird, nach hergebrochtem gotseligen und christlichen gebrauche und gewonheit geschehen soll, und mügen alsdan auch ein erbar rath und die kastenherren des weichbildes zum zeugnis der vocation bei der ordination des predigers im chore stehen und gegenwertig sein.

Und wen gleich die vocierte person vorhin anderswo ordiniert und im ambte gewesen und derwegen keiner weitem ordination von notten were, so soll dennoch solchem prediger, ehe dan das ehr in das ambt tritt, dasselbige sein predigambt in einer offentlichen predigt fur der ganzen kirchen von dem herrn superintendenten oder in mangel desselben von dem herrn coadjutore beholen, der kirchen damit presentirt und die kirche an ihne als an ihren sehelsorger solenniter geweiht werden, das beide, prediger und zuhorern, gute nuzliche erinnerunge geben wird, weil es aus Gottes worte mit dem gebette

in gegenwertigkait Gottes, seiner engel und der ganzen gemeinde geschicht.

Zu urkund und stetter vester haltunge aller und jeder obgeschriebner punkte und articul ist diese gegenwertige ordenunge von uns, Martino Chemnitio, der helgen schrift doctore, superintendenten, und Magistro Andrea Pouchenio, coadjutore, vor uns und von wegen des ganzen colloquii mit unsern eigen handen unterschrieben und mit unserm, des raths der stadt Braunschweig, signete wissentlich gesiegelt und bei ein jede pfarkirche in den funf weichbilden, sich jedesmal hirin zu ersehen und darnach zu richten, hinterleget worden. Geschehen und gegeben nach Jhesu Christi unsers Herrn und salichmachers geburt im funfzehnhunderteinundsiebzigsten jare am zwolften tage des monats Junii.

[Mit aufgedrucktem Ratssignum und eigenhändiger Unterschrift von Martinus Kemnitius, D., Superintendentens, und M. M. Andreas Pouchenius, Coadjutor].

APPENDIX VII

TEXT OF THE RITES FROM THE 1569 CHURCH ORDER

Source: "Kirchenordnung unser, von Gottes genaden Julii, herzogen zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg etc. Wie es mit lehr und ceremonien unsers fürstenthumbs Braunschweig, Wulffenbütlischen theils, auch derselben kirchen anhangenden sachen und verrichtungen hinfurt (vermittelst göttlicher gnaden) gehalten werden sol," (1569), in *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, ed. Emil Sehling (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1955), 6/1:182-92.

Wolffenbüttel

Wie alle pfarren und kirchenämpter besetzt werden sollen.

Nachdem der kirchen noch nicht geholffen. wenn die summen reiner lehre verfasst und christliche ordnung, dieselb zu führen und die beilige sacrament zu handeln, begriffen, sondern auch von noten, das taugliche und geschickte diener zu pfarherrn und seelsorgern verordnet, durch welche ermelte lehr dem volk nutzlich fürgetragen, darzu der leidig sathan durch die rottengeister sich understehet, das predigamt entweder ganz und gar zu vertilgen oder falsche lehr einzutringen, dardurch das arme volk von der rechten heilsamen lehr und erkantnuß Gottes abgeföhret, solchem zu begegnen und das, soviel an uns, an unser underthanen seelenheil und seligkeit nichts versaumbt werde: so ordnen, bevehlen und wöllen wir, wa in unsers fürstenthumbs oberkeit und gepieten, stedten, flecken und dörfern von alters eigene gestifte pfarren, predicatur und vicareyen oder was sonst zum kirchendienst und predigamt verordnet gewesen und erhalten worden, das dieselben furthin noch also unabgengig bleiben und von der kirchen nicht entwendet werden. Derhalben unser consistorium sein veissiges aufsehens, achtung und superintendens haben soll, damit solche ministeria, so oft die vaciren, es habe gleich de lure patronatus, dieselben zu verleißen, wer oder wes standes der seye, jederzeit fürderlichen und unverlengt mit gottsfürchtigen, eyferigen, gelerten und erfarnen dienern und ministris obgedachter augspürgischen confession, kirchen und nachgesetzter derselben gleicher fernerer ordnung gemuß bestelt und keine unversehen gelassen werden ²⁹.

Wo dann einer oder mehr weren, so, als obstehet, die collaturen zu einiger oder mehr pfarren, predicaturen, kaplaneyen und vicariaten oder andern kirchendiensten unsers fürstenthumbs hetten, welche sich ihrer rechten gebrauchten wolten, das sol ihnen zugelassen sein, doch das nicht (wie etwan geschehen) die pfarren zum predigamt untüchtigen personen conferiert werden. Derhalben die personen, so dermassen nominirt, zuvor unserm consistorio gen Wulffenbüttel, oder wohin wir dasselbig jederzeit verordnen würden ³⁰, zur prob und examen presentirt und gestelt, und wa derselbig in solchem der augspürgischen confession nach zu solchem kirchendienst taugenlichen und sonsten geleret und eines erbarn christlichen lebens und wandels mit gnugsamer urkund und testimonius erfunden, wa sie zuvor uns zu der kirchen und ministerio, wie andere unsere kirchendiener gebürliche hernach gesetzte promission erstattet, von unserm consistorio (doch anderer gestalt gar nicht) admittiert und verordnet werden.

Im fall aber einiger, wer gleich der were, so in unserm fürstenthumb auf die ministeria von alters zu nominieren gehabt, keine solche taugenliche hetten oder nicht stellen wolten, dieweil dann aus Gottes des Herrn ordnung wir uns schuldig erkennen, unser von seiner allmechtigkeit bevehlene kirchen, auch underthanen obgehörtermassen zu versehen, und darzu die jüngste reichsabschied ³¹ uns solchs zugeben, damit auch solche kirchenempter nicht vaciren, so wöllen wir, das unser consistorium mit versehenung selbiger pfarren, predicaturen, kapla-

²⁹ Ueber die Schwierigkeiten, die die Realisierung dieser Forderung anfangs bot, vgl. Dettmer, S. 25 f.

³⁰ 1579 wurde das Consistorium nach Helmstedt verlegt, erhielt seinen Sitz aber schon 1589 wieder in Wolfenbüttel; vgl. Dettmer, S. 29 — 34.

³¹ § 67 f. im Abschied des Reichstags zu Augsburg 1566 u. § 37 im Abschied des Reichstags zu Regensburg 1567 machten es den Obrig-

keiten zur Pflicht, in ihren Gebieten dafür zu sorgen, daß die Untertanen durch Pfarrer, Praedicanten usw. zu Buße und Besserung ihres Lebens sowie zu emsigem Gebet ermahnt würden. — Die Veranlassung zu diesem Gebot hatte die Not des Türkenkrieges gegeben. Durch Buße und Gebet sollte der göttliche Zorn abgewandt werden. So wurde auch befohlen, daß allerorts zur Mittagszeit eine Glocke geläutet würde, die das Volk

Kirchenordnung 1569

neyen und vicariaten als ob laut fürgehen, doch den patronis an den collaturis biß zu allgemeiner christenlicher vergleichung in der religion unnachtheilig oder abbrüchig.

Derowegen unser consistorium mit ernst daran sein, auch darob halten solle, damit in unsers fürstenthumbs oberkeit und gepieten keine pfarherr, prediger, kaplan oder vicarii, noch auch schulmeister oder custodes unser christlichen augspürgischen confession, kirchen und dieser ordnung entgegen, wie hernacher weitleunfiger begriffen, gedüllet noch gestattet werden.

Von den kirchendienern, wie die aufgenommen sollen werden.

Demnach sol keiner zu pfarher, prediger, kaplaney oder anderm kirchendienst vocirt noch verordent werden, er bringe dann zuvor glaubwürdige, rechtmessige testimonia seiner geburt, herkommens, haltens, thun und lassens an lehr und leben. Er sey dann auch hievor von unsern verordenten theologen erstlich und fürnemlich auf nachfolgende punkten notturfüglichen, wol, privatim und latine examinirt, und dann darauf in gegenwertigkeit unserer verordenten theologen in publico mit einer predigt gehört und approbiret, auch mit ihme allerdings zuvor procediret und gehandelt vermög volgender ordnung.

Von der election und examine der kirchendiener.

Nachdem unter allen emptern, so den menschen aus göttlicher ordnung auferlegt sein, kein schwerers erfunden wird, dann die kirchen des Sohn Gottes recht regieren, so sol soviel desto grösser ernst und vleiß, ein kirchendiener zu wölen, fürgewendet werden, soviel gefehrlicher geirret wird, da man einem, der mit falscher lehr beflecket oder mit ergerlichem, lasterlichem leben geschendet, ein kirchen zu regieren befihlet. Hierauf so bevehlen wir, das sich niemands in diß göttlich ampt ohne ordent-

liche vocation eintringen solle. Demnach so oft und dick unser verordnet consistorium einen kirchendiener wölen und ordnen würde, sollen sie fürnemlich auf drey punkten gute vleissige achtung haben:

Erstlich auf die lehre des kirchendieners, nemlich was er für ein lehr der religion gelernt und wie er gegen der rechten wahren lehr gesinnet sey.

Zum andern auf sein leben, wie er von jugend auf sein leben hergebracht und was er jetziger zeit für ein leben und wandel führe.

Zum dritten auf sein alter, ob er nicht zu jung sey, dann Paulus [1. Tim 3,6] sagt, du solt niemands die hand bald auflegen (das ist, zum kirchenampt erwelen), ja kein neuling, auf das er sich nicht aufblase und dem lesterer ins urtheil falle.

Darumb, da sich einer des kirchendienstes anbieten würde, des lehre und leben, kunst und sitten unbekant, sol er am allerersten, ehe dann er in das examen admittiert und zugelassen, öffentliche glaubwürdige testimonia und kundschaft seines herkomens und lebens, entweder von seinen praeceptoribus oder von der obrigkeit, darunter er gewohnet, oder von seinen collegis, bey welchen er in kirchenampt gedienet, fürbringen und darlegen.

So dann dieselbigen testimonia richtig, sol er darauf von den articuln unsers christlichen glaubens vermöge der heiligen, göttlichen, prophetischen und apostolischen schriften, auch der augspürgischen confession, fürnemlich aber von den articuln, darin man zu dieser zeit nicht allein mit dem bapsthumb und der andern falschen religion und glauben, sondern auch mit allerley sekten streitig und zweyspaltig ist, verhöret und examinirt werden. Demnach so haben wir ein kurz register derselben articul frageweiß, darauf unsere theologen der examinanden meinung einnemen sollen, nacheinander, wie volget, begreifen lassen.

zum Gebet um Ueberwindung des Feindes aufrufe. — Vgl. Neue vollständigere Sammlung der Reichsabschiede samt den wichtigsten

Reichsschlüssen (Senkenberg-Koch'sche Sammlung), 1747, Theil 3, S. 223 u. 254.

Wolfenbüttel

Von Gott.³²

Ob ein Gott sey? Und wahr man erkennet, das ein Gott sey?

Ob nur ein einiger Gott sey?

Ob in dem einigen göttlichen wesen drey unterschiedliche personen seyen?

Was jeglicher der dreyen personen eigenschaft sey?

Von dem Son Gottes.³³

Ob der Son Gottes sey ein wahrer, ewiger Gott. von seinem himlischen Vater vor der welt erschaffung, von ewigkeit her. gleichs wensens. gewalts und majestet geboren?

Von dem heiligen Geist.³⁴

Ob der heilig Geist sey ein warer, ewiger Gott, der von dem Vater und Son von ewigkeit außgehe?

Von den engelñ.

Ob die engel von Gott erschaffen oder von ewigkeit gewesen seyen?

Ob die engel alle nach ihrer erschaffung gut und bey Gott bestendig blieben?

Was der guten engel ampt sey?

Von der schöpfung der welt.

Ob diese welt sey im anfang von Gott aus nichts erschaffen oder sey von ewigkeit gewesen und werde ewiglich also bleiben?

Ob nur ein einige welt sey und sonst keine?

Von dem fall des menschen.³⁵

Ob der mensch am anfang gut, gerecht und fromm von Gott erschaffen sey?

Ob er in derselben güte und gerechtigkeit bestanden sey?

Ob er nach dem fall, da er gesündigt und den heiligen Geist verloren hat, dennoch so-

viel tugend und kraft behalten, das er aus natürlichen vermögen sich möge zu Gott bekeren, auch fromm und selig werden?

Was die erbsünde sey, und ob sie sich auf alle, so von Adam natürlicher geburt herkommen, erstrecke?

Von der menschwerdung des Sohns Gottes.³⁶

Ob der Son Gottes sey zu seiner bestimpten zeit ein wahrer mensch, von dem heiligen Geist in der jungfrauen Maria empfangen und aus derselben (vermög der heiligen propheten verheissungen) geboren?

Ob der Son Gottes und Mariae, Jhesus Christus, ein person sey, doch mit zweyen unterschiedlichen naturen, nemlich der göttlichen und menschlichen natur?

Was der Son Gottes für ein ampt hie auf erden gefüret und was er außgerichtet habe?

Ob er kommen sey, ein neu gesetz zu geben und nur allein ein exempel eines göttlichen lebens fürzutragen?

Von dem kirchen oder predigampt.

Ob das predigampt sey die schlüssel des himelreichs³⁷ und ein werkzeug, dardurch der heilige Geist nicht allein die kirch des Sons Gottes aus allen völkern versamble, sondern auch den glauben im herzen gebe und bestettige, auch die gleubigen in dem gehorsam erhalte?

Von dem gesetz.

Wie und welcher gestalt das gesetz Mosi abgethan und aufgehbt sey?

Ob man schuldig sey, den zehen gebotten, die da sind ein kurzer begriff des ganzen göttlichen gesetzts, gehorsam zu sein?

Ob der gehorsam, den wir hie in diesem leben den zehen gebotten leisten mögen, dem

³² Vgl. Conf. Aug. I. 1—4. Bek. Schr. S. 50. Apol. I. Bek. Schr. S. 145. Schmalk. Art. 1. Teil. Bek. Schr. S. 414.

³³ Vgl. Symb. Nicaen. Bek. Schr. S. 26.

³⁴ Vgl. Symb. Nicaen. Bek. Schr. S. 27.

³⁵ Vgl. Conf. Aug. II. Bek. Schr. S. 52 f., XVIII. Bek. Schr. S. 70 ff. — Apol. II. Bek. Schr. S.

145 ff., XVIII. Bek. Schr. S. 311 ff. — Schmalk. Art. 3. Teil, Von der Sunde. Bek. Schr. S. 433—435.

³⁶ Vgl. Conf. Aug. III. Bek. Schr. S. 53 ff. — Apol. III. Bek. Schr. S. 158.

³⁷ Vgl. Conf. Aug. XXVIII.8 f. Bek. Schr. S. 121 f.

Kirchenordnung 1569

menschen die verzeihung der sünden vor Gott erlange und ihne fromm mache?

Welches sey der rechte gebrauch der zehen gebott oder des göttlichen gesetzes?

Von dem evangelio.

Was der gebrauch dieses namens evangell in der kirchen sey?

Was der recht unterscheid sey zwischen dem gesetz und evangelio³⁸?

Ob das evangelion von Christo dem Sohn Gottes allererst geprediget worden sey, da Christus ist in dise welt komen und hat seine apostel in die ganzen welt ausgeschicket, oder ob es auch von anfang der welt her geprediget worden sey?

Von der rechtfertigung des menschen.

Ob der mensch gerechtfertigt, (das ist) von den sünden und ungerechtigkeit absolviret und erledigt werde durch den verdienst seiner werk oder allein durch den glauben in Jhesum Christum, das derselbe allein uns die verzeihung der sünden durch sein leiden und sterben verdient habe?

Nachdem der verdienst unserer werk uns nicht erlangt die vergebung der sünden, warumb sollen wir dann gute werk thun?

Ists auch recht geredt, allein der glaub macht uns gerecht?

Ists auch recht geredt, die gute werk seind zur seligkeit nötig³⁹?

Nachdem wir haben verzeihung der sünden allein durch den glauben von wegen Jhesu Christi, ist es auch notwendig, das wir durch den heiligen Geist erneuert werden und hie in diesem leben anfahren, gute werk zu thun,

biß wir im künftigen leben ganz rein und heilig werden?

Von der taufe.

Ob die taufe, so von Johanne angefangen und von Christo bevolen, zu unserm heil notwendig sey?

Ob die tauf nicht allein sey ein eusserlich zeichen⁴⁰ des innerlichen taufs, sonder sey auch ein mittelwerkzeug, dardurch wir in Christo von dem heiligen Geist wiedergeboren und erneuert werden?

Ob man auch die kinder teufen soll?

Von dem h. abendmal des Herrn Christi.

Ob das brodt und der wein in dem abendmal des Herrn Christi sey laut seiner wort (Nemet hin und esset, das ist mein leib; nemet hin und trinket, das ist mein blut etc.) der recht und warhaftig leib und blut Christi, werde auch durch wein und brodt warhaftig, wesentlich und gegenwertig außgetheilet⁴¹?

Ob das brodt werde also in den leib und der wein in das blut Christi verwandelt, das da wider brodt noch wein, sondern allein die gestalt des brodts und weins bleibe⁴²?

Ob der unwirdig auch den leib und blut Christi im nachtmal empfahe⁴³?

Ob man aus dem nachtmal Christi sol ein meß machen, darin man den leib und blut Christi offer für die sünd der lebendigen und toden⁴⁴?

Ob man das brodt und wein für den leib und blut Christi halten sol, so man dabey kein verkündigung des tods Christi haltet und es nicht nach der einsetzung Christi der kirchen austeilet, sondern sperret es in ein sacrament-

³⁸ Vgl. oben S. 98 ff.

³⁹ Vgl. oben S. 111 ff.

⁴⁰ Vgl. oben S. 125 f.

⁴¹ Vgl. Conf. Aug. X. Bek. Schr. S. 62 f. — Kl. Katech., Das Sakrament des Altars, 1—4. Bek. Schr. S. 519 f., Gr. Katech., Von dem Sakrament des Altars, 8. Bek. Schr. S. 709.

⁴² Vgl. Schmalk. Art., Vom Sakrament des Altars, 5. Bek. Schr. S. 452.

⁴³ Vgl. Schmalk. Art., ibid. 1. Bek. Schr. S. 450 f. — Gr. Katech., Von dem Sakrament des Altars, 5. Bek. Schr. S. 708 f.

⁴⁴ Vgl. Conf. Aug. XXIV, 21—33. Bek. Schr. S. 93 f. — Apol. XXIV, 62 f. Bek. Schr. S. 367; auch Apol. XXIV, 89 ff. Bek. Schr. S. 373 ff. — Schmalk. Art. Das ander Teil, Der ander Artikel, 1. Bek. Schr. S. 416.

Wolfenbüttel

heußlein oder tregt es umbher in einer mon-
stranzen?

Von der absolution.

Was die absolution sey?
Ob man auch die gemein und sonderlich oder
privatabsolution gebrauchen sol⁴⁵?
Warzu die absolution dienstlich und nützlich
sey⁴⁶?

Von der buß.⁴⁷

Ob einer, so nach dem tauf in todtsünd und
laster gefallen, möge widerumb zu Gottes gna-
den und verzeihung der sünden durch die buß
kommen?
Welche seind die rechte stück der christlichen
buß?

Von dem gebet.

Ob man allein Gott den Vater durch Jhesum
Christum im heiligen Geist oder auch durch
die heiligen sol anrufen⁴⁸?
Nachdem die Türken und Jüden auch Gott
anrufen, was zwischen derselben und der rech-
ten Christen anrufung unterschied sey?

Von der christlichen kirch.

Welchs die recht christlich kirch sey, und
wobey man sie erkenne⁴⁹?
Ob man ausserhalb der rechten christlichen
kirchen möge die verzeihung der sünden und
ewigs leben erlangen?

Von dem ehestand.⁵⁰

Ob der ehestand von Gott oder den menschen
sey eingesetzt?

Ob der ehestand durch menschengesetz
einigem stand mög verboten werden?

Von weltlicher oberkeit.⁵¹

Ob die weltliche oberkeit sey von Gott ge-
stift und eingesetzt?
Ob ein Christ möge mit gutem gewissen das
ampt der weltlichen oberkeit tragen?

Es möchten gleichwol viel mehr punkten und
artickelein der christlichen lehr erzelet werden,
welche auch zum theil in der augspürgischen
confession vermeldet, zum theil in den schriften
der augspürgischen confession verwandten theo-
logen weitleuftig erkleret seien. Jedoch dieweil
in den vorgemelten artickelein ongeferlich alle
punkten, darin man zu dieser zeit mit unsern
gegenparten zweyig, in genere angeregt und die
theologi examinatores sich wol hierin nach ihrer
von Gott verliehener gabe und nach ansehung
und erzeigung des examinanden zu halten wis-
sen werden, was sie vermög der heiligen göt-
lichen schrift, auch der augspürgischen confes-
sion, in examine fragen und erforschen sol-
len, so lassen wirs auf dißmal bey den erzelten
articuln beruhen.

Nachdem nun der examinirt auf die fürge-
haltenen punkten und articul christlich und,
wie jetzt vermeldet, nach ausweisung der hei-
ligen prophetischen und apostolischen schrift,
auch der augspürgischen confession geantwort
hat, sollen unsere theologi und kirchenrethe
denselben nicht alsbald zu der kirchen, dahin
er bedacht, schicken, sondern dieweil Paulus
[1. Tim 3,2] an eim kirchendiener erfordert,
das er aptus ad docendum, lehrhaftig sey, so

⁴⁵ Vgl. Conf. Aug. XI,1. Bek. Schr. S. 63. —
Schmalk. Art., Von der Beicht. 1. Bek. Schr.
S. 453.

⁴⁶ Vgl. Conf. Aug. XXV,2 ff. Bek. Schr. S. 97 f.
— Apol. XI,2. Bek. Schr. S. 249 f.

⁴⁷ Vgl. hierzu Conf. Aug. XII. Bek. Schr. S. 64 f.
— Apol. XII,1; 28 ff. Bek. Schr. S. 252; 257 ff.

⁴⁸ Vgl. Conf. Aug. XXI,2—4. Bek. Schr. S. 81. —
Apol. XXI,1 ff. Bek. Schr. S. 316 ff. Schmalk.
Art., Von Heiligen-Anrufen. Bek. Schr. S. 424 f.

⁴⁹ Vgl. Conf. Aug. VII; VIII,1. u. Apol. VII u.
VIII. Bek. Schr. S. 59 f., S. 233 ff. — Schmalk.
Art., Von der Kirchen. Bek. Schr. S. 459 f.

⁵⁰ Vgl. Conf. Aug. u. Apol. XXIII. Bek. Schr.
S. 86 ff. u. S. 332 ff. — Schmalk. Art., Von
der Priesterehe. Bek. Schr. S. 459.

⁵¹ Vgl. Conf. Aug. u. Apol. XVI. Bek. Schr.
S. 67 ff., S. 307 ff.

Kirchenordnung 1569

sol dem examinirten zuvor auferlegt werden von dem argumento, so ihme von unsern theologis proponirt, ein predigt zu thun, damit man nicht allein sein erudition, sonder auch sein prononciation und action der predigt vernemen und, was daran strefflich, ihne berichten möge.

So ist auch ferner unser will und meinung, das keiner kirchen wider ihren willen ohne sonderlich billich und beweglich ursach ein kirchendiener aufgedrungen werde. Darumb nachdem ein solcher, so des kirchendienstes begeret, sein gewisse testimonia, beide, der rechten lehr und des erbarn wandels, dargethan hat und er also zu lehren geschickt erfunden wird, so sol dennoch zuvor und ehe er zu derselbigen kirchen geordnet wird, dem superintendenten selbigen gezirks und dem amptman mit bevelch zugeschicket werden, ihne der kirchen, deren er vorstehen und verordnet werden sol, zuvor in sein superintendentenbeysein etliche öffentliche predigen thun zu lassen. So dann der superintendenten vermerket, das die kirch desselben orts ab dem fürgestellten kirchendiener kein abscheuen tregt, sonder ihne im kirchenamt wol leiden mag, sol er superintendenten sampt dem amptman solches schriftlich unsere kirchenrethe berichten, damit was ferner hierin zu handeln sein, von denselben unsern kirchenrethen ördentlich verrichtet werde, das also die kirch ihr vocation auch ordentlich haben und behalten mög.

Darauf und sobald der kirchendiener seine testimonia von dem superintendenten und amptman unserm consistorio also zugestellt und von der kirchen, dahin er bedacht, bewilliget, sol er ungefehrlich auf folgende weiß vermanet werden:

Das er anfangs mit höchstem vleiß bedenke und zu herzen fasse, mit was grosser sorge, mühe, vleiß und arbeit er das regiment der kirchen annehmen und verrichten sol.

Dann die kirch ist ein gesponß Christi, des Sohns Gottes, welche Christus so herzlich liebet, das er ihr heil und ewiges leben zu erlangen, vom himel herabgestiegen und sich mit allerley menschlicher blöde beladen, auch sein

eigen bluth vergossen und den schmelichsten todt auf sich genommen hat, damit er sie von dem todt errettet. Darumb sol der kirchendiener sein besten möglichem vleiß ankeren, das er die kirch nicht mit menscentraum, sondern mit göttlicher himlischer lehr unterrichte, damit sie durch den heiligen Geist erwecket werde, dem Herrn Christo, ihrem breutigam treue und glauben zu halten und darin unverrücket und unbeflecket zu verharren nach dem exemplo Pauli [2. K 11,2], der da saget: Ich habe euch vertrauet einem manne, das ich ein reine jungfrau Christo zubrechte.

Und sol der kirchendiener allwege mit höchstem ernst bedenken, da etwas an der kirchen durch sein faulkeit, nachlässigkeit, versaumbnuß, verkerung und ergernuß versaumbt oder gehindert werde, so wölle unser Herr und Gott, der himlisch Vater, ihr blut von seiner des kirchendieners hand erfordern.

Hierauf soll er predigen und lehren die heilige prophetische und apostolische schrift, welche mit göttlichen himlischen wunderzeichen bestetiget, ein lucern unserer füß (wie der psalm sagt [Ps 119,105]) und ein liecht auf unserm weg seind.

Und nachdem die erklerung solcher artickel, darin man in glaubenssachen zu dieser zeit streitig, in der augspürgischen confession und unserer theologen angehefter declaration kurz und klar nach anweisung des rechten wahren catholischen verstands der prophetischen und apostolischen schrift begriffen und verfasst seind, so erfordert die noturft des kirchenampts, das der kirchendiener in solchen articuln sein lehr nach der erklerung und inhalt bemelter confession getreulich verrichte.

Diweil auch dem ampt und vocation des kirchendieners gebüret, das er der kirchen nicht allein mit reiner göttlicher lehre, sonder auch mit gutem exempel und vorbild diene, auch die lehre, soviel an ihm, mit seinem ehrlichen wandel ziere, so erfordert abermals die notturft, das ein jeglicher, so sich die kirchen zu regieren underfahen, sein leben dieser gestalt durch Gottes gnad anschicke, das nicht allein

Wolfenbüttel

alle sein gescheft und hantierung, sonder auch sein rede, kleidung und wandel, ja auch alle seine wort und werk ein ehr und tugend seien, damit nicht, was er mit einer hand erbaue, gleich wider mit der andern abreisse und er nicht die kirch, beid, mit strefflichem laster und ergerlichem exempel, verderbe.

Er soll auch bedenken, das ihme vor allen andern menschen der spruch Christi zugehöret, Math. 18 [6]: Welcher ergert dieser geringsten einen, die an mich glauben, dem were es besser, das ein mülenstein an seinen hals gehenket und erseufet würde im meer, da es am tiefsten ist.

Und der kirchendiener sol auf das vleissigst die epistolas Pauli ad Timotheum und Titum lesen, widerlesen und oft repetiren, damit er drauß erlerne, wie er sich, beide, in lehr und leben halten, auch wie sein eigen haußgesind sein und er dasselbig regieren sol [1. Tim 3,4].

Das er auch unserer hievor in diesem buch gedruckten kirchenordnung, die wir haben anrichten lassen, vleissig nachkommen und seinen superintendenten in ihrem ampt und von uns habendem bevelch gehorsam sein, und da sich was irrung und mißverstand zwischen ihm und andern unsern kirchendienern, amptleuten, underthanen und zugewandten zutrüge, dasselb an den superintendenten oder unser consistorium gelangen lassen und von ihnen bescheids erholen. Wo aber solche irrung dermassen geschaffen, das die vermeldermassen nicht entscheiden, sonder zu recht remittiert müsten werden, so sol er darumb an örtern und enden, dahin wir ihne volgender freyheit nach ördentlich bescheiden werden, recht geben und nemen und sich selbigen ohne weigerlich, entlichen und ohne einige appellation settigen lassen, auch von seinem kirchenampt ohne unser vorwissen und willen nicht abtreten.

Und dieweil er die zeit seines kirchenampts und dienstes aller unser lands und bürgerlicher freyheiten nicht weniger als unsere under-

thanen theilhaftig ist, so sol er unsern nutzen fürdern, auch schaden warnen, wie er denn solchs alles und jedes zu halten bey hand gebener treu versprechen und zusagen sol.

Nach verrichtung dieses sol er nach der ordnung, durch D. Luthern⁵² gestelt, ordinirt und alsdann erst, inmassen hernach begriffen, praesentirt werden.

Folget die form der ordination, durch D. Martinum Luther gestellet.

Erstlich singet man Veni sancte Spiritus⁵³ etc. und wird die collect gelesen. Darnach liest der superintendent diese folgende text:

So schreibt S. Paulus in der ersten epistel an Timotheon am dritten capitel [1—7]:

Das ist je gewislich war, so jemand ein bischoffsampt begeret, der begeret ein köstlich werk. Es sol aber ein bischoff unstrefflich sein, eines weibes man, nüchtern, messig, sittig, gastfrey, lernhaftig, nicht ein weinseufer, nicht beissig, nicht unehrliche hantierung treiben, sondern gelinde, nicht haderhaftig, nicht geizig, der seinem eigen hause wol fürstehet, der gehorsame kinder habe, mit aller erbarkeit. So aber jemand seinem eigenen hause nicht weiß fürzustehen, wie wird er die gemeine Gottes versorgen? Nicht ein neuling, auf das er sich nicht aufblase und dem lesterer ins urtheil falle. Er muß aber auch ein gut zeugniß haben von denen, die draussen sind, auf das er nicht falle dem lesterer in die schmach und stricke.

So ermanet Paulus die eltisten der gemeine zu Epheso, Actor. 20 [28—31]:

So habt nun acht auf euch selbst und auf die ganze herde, unter welche euch der heilige Geist gesetzt hat zu bischoffen, zu weyden die gemeine Gottes, welche er durch sein eigen blut erworben hat. Denn das weiß ich, das nach meinem abschied werden unter euch kommen greuliche wölfe, die der herde nicht verschonen werden. Auch auß euch selbs werden aufstehen menner, die da verkerte lehr reden.

⁵² Luther, Das deutsche Ordinationsformular. 1535. WA 38, S. 423 ff. (R). Höfling, S. 137 ff.

⁵³ Wackernagel I, Nr. 160.

Kirchenordnung 1569

die jünger an sich zu ziehen. Darumb seid wacker und denket daran, das ich nicht abgelaßen hab, drey jar tag und nacht, einem jeglichen mit trenen zu vermanen.

Hie höret ihr, das uns, so bischoffe, das ist prediger, pfarher beruffen sind und sein sollen, nicht wird bevohlen, gense oder kühe zu hüten, sondern die gemeine, so Gott durch sein eigen blut erworben hat, das wir sie weyden sollen mit dem reinen wort Gottes, auch wachen und zusehen, das nicht wölfe und rotten unter die armen schaffe einreissen. Darumb nennet er es ein köstlich werk. Auch für unser person sollen wir züchtig und ehrlich leben, unser hauß, weib, kind und gesinde christlich halten und ziehen.

Seid ihr nun solches zu thun bereit, so sprecht: Ja.

Da lege der superintendens und die andern diener des worts, so dabey sind, dem ordnando die hende auf das heupt. Darnach spreche er:

Lasset uns beten.

Vater unser, der du bist im himel etc.

Barmherziger Gott, himlischer Vater, du hast durch den mund deines lieben Sons, unsers Herrn Jhesu Christi [Mt 9.37], zu uns gesagt: Die ernste ist groß, aber wenig sind der arbeiter, bittet den Herrn der ernste, das er arbeiter in seine ernste sende. Auf solchen deinen göttlichen bevelch bitten wir von herzen, du wöllest diesen deinen diener sampt uns und allen, die zu deinem wort beruffen seind, deinen heiligen Geist reichlich geben, das wir mit grossen haufen deine evangelisten sein, treu und fest bleiben wider den teufel, welt und fleisch etc., damit dein name geheiligt, dein reich gemehret, dein wille volbracht werde. Wöllest auch dem leidigen greuel des bapsts und Mahomets und allen feinden deiner Christen sampt andern rotten, so deinen namen lestern, dein reich zerstören, deinen willen wiederstreben, entlich steuren und ein ende machen. Solch unser gebet (weil du es ge-

heissen, geleret und vertröstet hast) wöllestu gnediglich erhören, wie wir gleuben und trauen, durch deinen lieben Sohn, unsern Herrn Jhesum Christum, der mit dir und dem heiligen Geist lebet und herschet in ewigkeit. Amen.

So gehet nun hin und weidet die herde Christi, so euch bevohlen ist, und sehet wol zu, nicht gezwungen, sondern willig, nicht umb schendlichen gewins willen, sondern von herzengrund, nicht als die uber das vok herschen, sondern werdet fürbilde der herde, so werdet ihr, wenn der erzhirte erscheinen wird, die unverwelkliche kron der ehren empfaßen [1. Petr 5.2 — 4].

Benedicat vobis Dominus, ut faciatis fructum multum. Amen.

Wo aber die commun, als pfarkinder, einen redlicher und ehehafter ursachen halber recusiren würde, so sol, wie hievor begriffen, derselben keiner wider ihren willen aufgebunden werden, es were dann, das die recusation liederlichen und ohne ehafte ursachen, sonder aus unverstand oder eigenwillig fürgenommen würde, darauf dann unsere verordente kirchendrehte ihr sonders gut aufmerken haben. So sollen sie die verordenten nicht gleich also umb solch liederlich sachen ohne redliche ursachen einem zum ministerio tauglichen und approbirten diener zu verschmehung des ministerii in contempt fallen und kommen lassen, sonder die gemein ihres miß und unverstands halben bessers berichten.

Wenn dann solchs alles ordentlich geschehen, so sol ein jeder solcher kirchendiener unsern verordenten specialsuperintendenten und amptleuten praesentiert, auch commendiert und installiert werden auf solche form, wie volget.

Auf welche weiß ein neuer kirchendiener von den superintendenten seiner kirchen commendiert, eingeleibt und installirt werden sol.⁵⁴

Als oft nun einer zu einem kirchendiener aufgenommen, verordnet und der kirchen vermöge der superintendenzordnung annemlich, sol

⁵⁴ Zum Folgenden s. Höfling, S. 145 — 151.

Wolfenbüttel

der specialsuperintendens aufs fürderlichst neben dem amptman selbigen orts, auch einem genachbaurten pfarrer als gezeugen der handlungen daselbsten erscheinen, denselbigen angenommen diener mitbringen.

Und so das volk in der kirchen versamlet, anfangs singen: Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist ⁵⁵ etc.

Auf diß gesang der superintendens oder sein adjunct aufstehen und ein predigt thun vom ministerio verbi oder sonst von einem argument, dahin dienlich, von wem es eingesetzt sey und worzu es nutz etc., und also das volk entlich zur predigt vermanen. Nach der predigt gesungen werden der glaub ⁵⁶.

Unter dem gesang sol der superintendens für den altar treten, den neuen pfarherr oder diacon zu sich beruffen und vor ihme zu dem gebet niderknien lassen, nach vollendetem gesang ein kurze vermanung zu dem volke thun, darin anzeigen, wie das dieser zu ihrem pfarherr oder diacon erwölt und taugenlich erkennt, auch ördentlich darzu beruffen der hoffnung, sie würden mit ihme versehen sein etc., und also das volk weiter zu dem gebet ermanen, damit der Herr sein gnad und gedeyen darzu geben wölle, und alsdann folgende gebet mit heller, lauter und verstendlicher sprach vorbeten etc. und sagen:

Last uns beten.

Allmechtiger, ewiger Gott, himlischer Vater, du hast selbst dem armen menschlichen geschlecht zur wolfart, trost und hülff das hochwirdig predigampt des heiligen evangelfi von deinem geliebten Son, unsern Herrn Jhesu Christo, geordnet und eingesetzt, auch darbey zugesagt und versprochen, das welcher gleubt und getauft wird, selig sein sol. Dieweil uns aber unserer verderbten natur und sündlichen fleisches halben beschwerlich und gefערlich sein wil, solchen so theuren und werden schatz wider den anlauf des tausentlistigen und grimmigen feindes ohn dein sonderliche hülff und gnedi-

gen beystand unter uns zu bewaren und zu erhalten, so bitten wir dich herzlichen, du wöllest uns durch dein grundlose gnad und barmherzigkeit in nöten nicht verlassen, sondern mit deiner göttlichen hand uber uns halten und sonderlich uber diesem deinem diener N., welchem jetzund das heilig evangelium zu predigen bevohlen ist, damit solcher dein so heilsamer, nutzlicher und notwendiger bevelch biß zu ende der welt in deiner heiligen christenheit wieder alle gespenst des bösen geistes sein fürgang hab und wir des himlischen trosts nimmermehr beraubt werden, durch Jhesum Christum, deinen geliebten Son, unsern Herrn, welcher mit dir und dem heiligen Geist lebet und regieret, gleicher Gott, hochgelobt in ewigkeit. Amen.

Höret das heilig evangelium, welchs uns beschreibet der heilig evangelist Johannes [Joh 20, 21 — 23].

Der Herr sagt zu seinen jüngern: Wie mich mein himlischer Vater gesandt hat, also sende ich euch auch. Und als er solchs gesagt hat, bließ er sie an und sprach: Nemet hin den heiligen Geist, welchen ihr die sünd erlasset, denen sollen sie erlassen sein, und welchen ihr die sünd behaltet, denen sollen sie behalten sein.

Der superintendens mag auch nachfolgende epistel nach gelegenheit der zeit und kirchen umb mehr erinnerung wegen fürlesen, nemlich also:

So schreibt S. Paulus in der ersten epistel an Timotheon am dritten capittel [1 — 7]:

Das ist je gewisslich war, so jemand ein bischoffampt begeret, der begeret ein köstlich werk. Es sol aber ein bischoff unstrefflich sein, eines weibs man, nüchtern, messig, sitzig, gastfrey, lehrhaftig, nicht ein weinseufer, nicht beissig, nicht unehrliche hantierung treiben, sonder gelinde, nicht haderhaftig, nicht geizig, der seinem eignen hause wol fürstehe, der gehorsame kinder habe, mit aller erbarkeit.

⁵⁵ Wackernagel III, Nr. 28. Ev. Kgb. Nr. 99.

⁵⁶ Wackernagel III, Nr. 23. Ev. Kgb. Nr. 132.

Kirchenordnung 1569

(So aber jemand seinem eignen hause nicht weiß furzustehen, wie wird er die gemein Gottes versorgen?) nicht ein neuling, auf das er sich nicht aufblase und dem lesterer ins urtheil falle. Er muß aber auch ein gut zeugniß haben von denen, die draussen seind, auf das er nicht falle dem lesterer in die schmach und strick.

So ermanet S. Paulus die eltisten der gemeine zu Epheso [Act 20,28 – 31]:

So habt nun acht auf euch selbst und auf die ganze herde, under welche euch der heilige Geist gesetzt hat zu bischoffen, zu weiden die gemeine Gottes, welche er durch sein eigen blut erworben hat. Dann das weiß ich, das nach meinem abschied werden under euch kommen greuliche wölfe, die der herd nicht verschoenen werden. Auch aus euch selbs werden aufstehen menner, die dar verkerte lehr reden, die jünger an sich zu ziehen. Darumb seid wacker und denket daran, das ich nicht abgelassen habe, drey jahr, tag und nacht, einen jeglichen mit threnen zu vermanen.

Hierauf so last uns herzlich bitten, und sprecht mit mir:

Ach gnediger Gott, himlischer Herr und Vater, der du uns durch deinen heiligen apostel Paulum veterlichen getröst und zugesagt hast, das es dir, o himlischer Herr und Vater, wolgefalle, durch die thoricht predigt des kreuzes selig zu machen alle die, so dran gleuben [1. K 1.21], so bitten wir dich nun auf solches ganz ernstlich, das du deinen diener N., hie zugegen, welchen du zu diesem so seligen und hochwirdigen predigamt beruffen hast, mit deiner göttlichen gnaden begaben und deinen heiligen Geist geben und mittheilen wöllest, durch welches kraft er gesterket, wieder alle anfechtung des teufels bestehen und deine geliebte herde, durch das blut unsers Herrn Jhesu Christi, deines Sohns, theur erkauft und erworben, mit deinem heilsamen und ungefelschten wort nach deinem göttlichen wolgefallen weiden möge zu

lob und preiß deines heiligen namens und fürderung der ganzen christenheit durch Jhesum Christum, deinen geliebten Son. Amen.

Oder nachgesetzt gebet gesprochen werden:

Barmherziger Gott, himlischer Vater, du hast durch deinen mund deines Sons, unsers Herrn Jhesu Christi [Mt 9,37], zu uns gesagt: Die ernte ist groß, aber wenig seind der arbeiter. Bittet den Herrn der ernte, das er arbeiter in sein ernte sende. Auf solchen deinen göttlichen bevelch bitten wir von herzen, du wöllest diesem deinem diener sampt uns und allen, die zu deinem wort beruffen seind, deinen heiligen Geist reichlich geben, das wir mit grossen haufen deine wahre diener, erkenner und bekenner seyen, treu und fest bleiben wider den teufel, welt und fleisch, damit dein name geheiligt, dein reich gemehret, dein will volbracht werde. Wöllest auch dem leidigen greuel des bapsts und Mahomets sampt andern rotten, so deinen namen lestern, dein reich zerstören, deinen willens widerstreben, entlich steuren und ein ende machen. Solch unser gebet (dieweil du uns geheissen, geleret und vertröstet hast) wöllestu gnediglich erhören, wie wir gleuben und trauen, durch deinen lieben Sohn, unsern Herrn Jhesum Christum, der mit dir und dem heiligen Geist lebt und herschet in ewigkeit. Amen.

Solchs alles zu erlangen, sprecht mit mir von herzen das heilig Vater unser.

Es mag auch, wa schüler vorhanden, alsbald das Vater unser⁵⁷ gesungen werden etc.

Nach dem gebet oder gesang des Vater unsers sol sich der superintendent vor dem altar gegen dem volk wenden und, wie nach christlicher freyheit, so von dem Herrn Christo der kirchen in eusserlichen mittelmessigen ceremonien gegeben, gebreuchlich, sein rechte hand dem neuen pfarrer oder diacon auf sein bloß haupt legen und also sagen:

Dieweil wir im heiligen Geist versamlet, Gott unserm himlischen Vater durch Jhesum Christum, unsern Herrn und heiland, uber dich ange-

⁵⁷ Wackernagel III. Nr. 41. Ev. Kgb. Nr. 241.

Wolfenbüttel

ruffen und gebeten und deshalb nicht zweifeln, er werde uns laut seiner göttlichen zusagung gnediglich erhöret und gewehret haben, demnach so ordne, confirmire und bestettige ich dich auß götlichem bevelch und ordnung zu einem diener und seelsorger dieser gemein, hie zugegen, mit ernstlichem bevelch, das du solcher ehrlich und ohne alle ergerniß mit höchstem vleiß und treuen vorstehen wöllest, wie du dann vor dem gerichtstul unsers Herrn Jhesu Christi an jennem tag rede und antwort geben must dem rechten richter im namen des Vaters und des Sohns und heiligen Geistes. Amen.

Darauf singe die kirch Te Deum laudamus⁵⁸, oder Grates nunc omnes⁵⁹, deudsch. und beschlies es der superintendentens mit dem segnen etc.

Von der kirchendiener underhaltung und besoldung.

Nachdem Christus der Herr [1. K. 9, 14] verordnet, das die, so das evangelium verkündigen, sich sollen vom evangelio nehren, und die des altars pflegen, vom altar leben sollen, ist billich, das auch den treuen gottseligen pastorn und kirchendienern ihr underhaltung nottürftiglich geschafft und verordnet werde. Derwegen ganz beschwerlich, das bißdaher an vielen örtern sich etliche unrechtmessige, wieder das göttlich, ja auch des bapsts selbs und alle recht und billichkeit eingedrungen, und was zu underhaltung der pastorn verordnet und also zu Gottes dienst ergeben, außgebeten, zu sich gezogen, sich selbs oder ihre kinder mit den pfarren haben belehnen lassen und also der pfarren einkommen in ihren eigenen nutz ver-

wendet, darneben aber wenig sorg getragen, welcher gestalt die armen leut mit der predigt, Gottes wort und gebrauch der heiligen sacramenten versehen⁶⁰, der ursachen oft die kinder ungetauft hingestorben, desgleichen alte und schwache leute an ihrer seligkeit nicht wenig versaumbt.

Solcher unordnung zu begegnen, so ordnen, bevehlen und wöllen wir, was zu jeder kirchen und derselben getreuen diener underhaltung von alters gestiftet und verordnet, auch bey der kirchen bleiben und von derselben keineswegs abalieniert, sonder solches einkommen niemands anders, dann diesen personen gereicht werden solle, so der kirchen mit der predigt des worts Gottes und austheilung der heiligen sacrament dienen.

Dann auch des bapsts recht außweiset: beneficium dari propter officium.⁶¹ Derhalben wer der kirchen nicht dienet und solche güter zu sich zeucht, von dem crimine sacrilegii nicht mag entschuldiget werden, welchen leuten der spruch S. Jacobs [Jak. 5, 4] wol zu bedenken, da er schreibt: Der arbeiter lohn, die euer land ingeerntet haben und von euch abgebrochen ist, das schreyet, und das ruffen der ernter ist kommen für die ohren des Herrn Zebaoth.

Damit sich auch die kirchendiener dester besser erhalten mögen, so sollen die gewöhnliche alten accidentalia, als von kinderteufen, verhehlichung, besuchung der kranken, begrebniß, vierzeitpfenning⁶², umbgeng und dergleichen hinfurt wie bißher den kirchendienern gereicht werden.

Wo aber an etlichen örtern die pfarren so gering, das sich die kirchendiener sampt ihrem

⁵⁸ Wackernagel III, Nr. 31. Ev. Kgb. Nr. 137.

⁵⁹ Wackernagel III, Nr. 266.

⁶⁰ Vielfach hatten die Lehnsherren die Pfarrgüter als Belohnung für treue Dienste ohne Rücksicht auf den Stand der zu Belehrenden ausgetan. Die auf diese Weise in die Pfarrstellen Eingesetzten mußten dann einen Pfarrer mieten, wobei ihnen der billigste der angenehmste war, vgl. Krusch, Entwicklung, Forts. S. 98.

⁶¹ Corp. iur. can. lib. sext. I, tit. III, c. 15; Friedberg II, S. 943. Vgl. dazu Tract. de potestate papae, 80. Bek. Schr. S. 495. H. E. Feine, Kirchl. Rechtsgesch. I, 1950. S. 172 ff. 304. 327.

⁶² Gewöhnlich war das Michaelisfest als „vierter Hochfesttag“ neben Weihnachten, Ostern und Pfingsten der Termin, an dem Abgaben an die Geistlichen entrichtet wurden, vgl. H. Pfannenschmid, Germ. Erntefeste. 1878, S. 118 f.

APPENDIX VIII

TEXT OF THE RITES FROM THE 1657 CHURCH ORDER

Source: *Agenda Oder: Erster Teil der Kirchen-Ordnung UNSER von Gottes Gnaden AUGUSTI, Herzogen zu Brunswyk und Lunäburg. Wie es mit den Ceremonien auch andern nootwendigen Sachen und Verrichtungen den Kirchen Unserer Fürstentume Graf-Herrschaften und Landen zu halten* (Wolfenbüttel: Sternen, 1657), 3-6, 132-50.

AGENDA

Oder:

Erster Theyl der

 Kirchen-Ordnung /


Unser von Gottes Gnaden

AUGUSTI,

Herzogen zu Brunswyk

und Lunäburg.

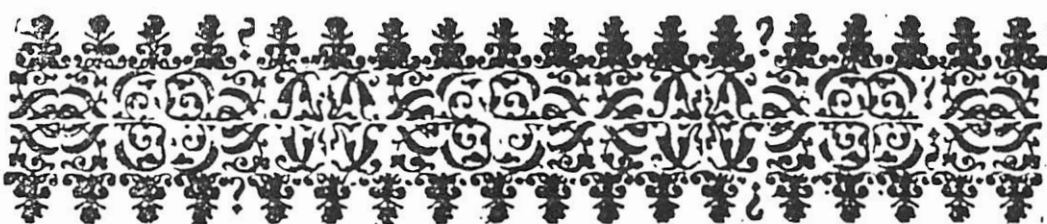
Wie es mit den Ceremonien / auch andern
nootwendigen Sachen und Verrichtungen in den Kir-
chen Unserer Fürstentume Graf-Herrschaften und
Landen zu halten.



Gedruckt in Sr. Fürstl. Gn. Residenz und Vestung
Wolfenbüttel /

Beij den Sternen / Im Jahr / 1657.

*Zu Aufhuf der 106. Pünxten in Wolfenbüttel
1657. 7. 24. 1657.*




Ditt Gottes Gnaden /
 Wyr AUGUSTUS, Herzog zu
 Bruns-Byß und Lunda-Burg / 2c.
 Entbiten allen und jeden Unfern / und
 Unserer Fürstentume Prælaten, Grafen/ Herrn/ De-
 nen von der Ritterschaft/ Haupt- und Ambleuten/ Su-
 perintendenten, Pfarr-Herren/ Predigern/ Kirchen-
 dinern/ Bürger-Meistern/ Richtern und Räten der Stä-
 te/ und allen unsern Untertanen/ Angehörigen und Ver-
 wanten / wy dy Namen haben mögen/ unsern Gruus/
 Gnad und alles Gutes zuvoor/ und fügen Euch hymit zu
 wissen:

Demnach Wyr bald bey Antretung Unserer Landes-
 Fürstl. Regierung Uns erinnert/ welcher gestalt das vor-
 nemste Stük solcher Unserer Regierung darin bestche/
 daß in den Kirchen und Schulen unserer Fürstentume/
 Graf-Herrschaften und Landen das H. Woort Gottes
 rein und lauter gehöret / dy hochheilige Sacramenta

PRÆFATIO.

nach der Einsetzung unsers Heylandes Jesu Christi administrirt, unsere Untertanen ins gemein zu einem Gottseeligem Leben und Wandel angewisen / und in Summa / das Regiment in Kirchen und Schulen wol gefüret werde.

Wyr auch daneben waar genommen / daß bey dero durch Gottes Verhängnis in dem ganzen heiligen Römischen Reich / und dessen angrenzenden Provinzien erregten Unruhe / dahero entstandenem langwirigem Krieger / und ergangenen erbärmlichen Bluttstürzungen / nebenst dem Weltlichen / auch das Kirchen-Regiment in groosse Zerrüttung geraten.

So haben Wyr Uns zwar höchlich angelegen seyn lassen / das fast zerfallene und in Unordnunge geratene Kirchen-Wesen / wider aufzurichten / dero Behuuf auch von Unfern in Gott ruhenden Vorfaren an Unserer Landes-Fürstl. Regierung aufgerichtete Kirchen-Ordnung zu revidiren, und was gestalten Sachen und Umständen nach darin verbessert werden könnte / in sorgsame Obacht zunehmen.

Weil Wyr aber aller angewendeten Mühe und Sorgfalt unerachtet / solchen unsern wolgemeinten Vorsatz ganz


PRÆFATIO.

gänzlich zu vollbringen / durch allerhand Einfälle ver-
hindert worden.

So haben Wir eine hohe Nothtuft befunden / bis
zur Publication einer völligen und ausführlichen Kir-
chen-Ordnung / gleichsaam Vorlaufs-Weise eine Ord-
nung heraus zu lassen / woy es mit den Ceremonien o-
der ritibus in den Kirchen unserer Fürstentumen /
Graf-Herrschaft- und Länden zu halten / damit dieselbe
unter sich gänzlich / auch mit den Benachbarten / der rei-
nen unverenderten Augspurgischen Confession zuge-
tanen Kirchen / so vyl als immer möglich / gleichförmig
seyn mügen. Und bleiben dennoch nicht desto weniger
der unverenderten Meinung / so bald nur immer mög-
lich / mit Gottes Hülfe und Beystande / nicht allein di-
sen / als den Ersten Theil unser Fürstlichen Kirchen-Ord-
nung etwas ausführlicher / zu meererm nothwendigem
Unterricht so wol der Prediger als Zuhörer unserer
Länden : Sondern auch den Andern Theil / von besse-
rer richtiger und beständiger Verfassung des eüßerli-
chen Kirchen-Regiments / woy es uns gemein genemmet
wird / heraus zu lassen.

Befälen demnach einem Jeden wy obstehet / hinit ernstlich und wollen / daß sy ingesamt / und so vyl einen jeden daselbe betrifft / unterdessen sich nach diser Unserer Ordnung; Welche gleichwol nicht anders als ein kurzer Auszug dessen ist / was vermittels Göttlichen Beystandes bald folgen sol; gehoorfamlich in allen und jeder derselben Articulu / Puncten / Begriff und Meynung / unfeilbar und one einige Enderung richten / und sich also dabey erweisen / damit Wyr den Gehoorfaam mit Gnade zu erkennen Ursach haben / dy etwa verspürte Widersetzlichkeit aber mit swerer Ungnade und Strafe anzusehen nicht genottrenget werden mögen. Solches meinen Wyr ernstlich / und haben dessen zu Urkund dise Agenda oder Ordnung mit Unserer Fürstl. Unterschrift und Insigel bekräftiget / So geschehen in Unserer Hauptfestung und Residenz Wolfenbüttel / den 7. Januarii. Anno 1657.

Wdy neüe angehende Pastores ordi- ret werden sollen.

1.  Ordination der Prediger geschihet nach Uraltem Christlichem Apostolischem Gebrauch/durch ein andächtiges Gebet / und Auflegung der Hände / welche Ceremonia in der Kirchen Unserer Fürstentum: Graf: Herschaft und Landen behalten/und also dy Ordinationes in hifigem Unserm Fürstentum Wolfenbüttel / in Unser Fürstl. Residenz alhy / von dem obersten Superintendenten / verrichtet werden solle / folgender Gestalt:
2. Es sol der Ordinandus auf einen Sonntag nach gehaltenen Predigt / (zu dem Ende dy Gemeine auf der Canzel vermanet werden sol / zu Verrichtung eines andächtigen Gebets bei der Ordination zusammen zu bleiben /). Wan der Superintendentens nebenst alch verhandenen Kirchen: Dinern / und wen deren etwa etliche krank oder abwesend / alsdan von der Nachbarschaft jemand dazu gefordert / und auß allerwenigste one den Superintendenten / noch zweien Prediger anwesend seyn sollen / sich für den Altar mitten in der Kirchen für dem Coor stellen / alsdan mit einem erbaren Prediger: oder Kirchen: Habit, für gedachten Altar nider knien.
Und alsdan von der ganzen Gemeine gesungen werden:
Kom heiliger Geist / 2c.
3. Nach dessen Endigung sol der Superintendentens eine kurzze Erinnerung vom Predig: Amt tuun / dem Ordinandus ins Gewissen reden / und dy ganze umstehende Gemeine zu einem andächtigen gläubigen Gebet vermauen / und darauf folgendes sein langsam und deutlich läsen:

I.

Höret anfänglich das Woort Gottes über
dy Einsetzung des Predig-Amtes.

So schreibt der heilige Evangelist Johannes/in seinem Evangelio am 20. Capitel:

DEr Herr Jesus sprach zu seinen Jüngern: Friede sey mit euch / gleich wy mich mein Vater gesand hat / also sende ich euch / und als er das sagete / blys er sy an und sprach zu ihnen: Nemet hin den heiligen Geist / welchen yr dy Sünde erlasset / denen seynd sy erlassen / und welchen yr sy behaltet / denen seynd sy behalten.

By dem Mat. 17. am 16. und 18. Capitel.

Ich wil dyr des Himmels-Schlüssel gäben / Alles was yr auf Erden binden werdet / sol auch im Himmel gebunden seyn / und was yr auf Erden lösen werdet / sol auch im Himmel loos seyn.

Und im 28. Capitel:

Yr ist gegeben alle Gewalt / im Himmel und auf Erden / darum gehet hin und leset alle Völcker / und täufet sy im Namen des

CAP. 25. Vaters / und des Soons / und des heiligen Geistes / und leeret sy halten / alles was ich euch befohlen habe / und sihe / ich bin bey euch bis an der Welt Ende.

II.

Zum andern von dem Verhalten eines Predigers / bey dem Predig-Amte.

Schreibet S. Paulus in der ersten Epistel an Timotheum am dritten Capitel.

Was ist je gewislich waar / so jemand ein Bischofs Amt begeret / der begeret ein köstlich Werk / Es sol aber ein Bischof unsträflich seyn / eines Weibes Mann / nüchtern / mäsig / sittig / gastfrey / leerhaftig / nicht ein Weinfäufer / nicht beissig / nicht uneerliche Handtirung treiben / sondern gelinde / nicht haderhaftig / nicht geizzig / der seinem eigenen Hause wol fürstehe / der gehorsame Kinder habe / mit aller Erbarkeit / (so aber jemand seinem eigenen Hause nicht weis fürzustehen / wy wird er dy Gemeine Gottes versorgen) nicht ein Neuling auf das er sich nicht aufblase / und dem Lasterer ins Urtheil falle / er mus auch ein guut Zeugnis haben / von denen dy draussen seynd / auf das er nicht falle dem Lasterer in dy Schmach und Strik.

Imgleichen ermanet gemelter Apostel Paulus dy Eltesten der Gemeine zu Epheso in der Apostel-Geschichte am 20. Capitel.

So habt nuun acht auf euch selbst / und auf dy ganze Heerde / unter welche euch der heilige Geist gesetzt hat /

Kirchen Ordnung.

135

hat / zu Bischöfen / zu weiden dy Gemeine Gottes / wel. ^{CAP. 25.}
 che er durch sein eigen Blut erworben hat / den das weis
 ich / daß nach meinem Abscheid werden unter euch kom-
 men / greuliche Wölfe / dy der Heerde nicht verschonen
 werden / auch aus euch selbst / werden aufstehen Männer /
 dy da verkerte Leer reden / die Jünger an sich zuziehen / dar-
 um seyd wacker und dencket daran / daß ich nicht abge-
 lassen habe / drey Jaar / Tag und Nacht einen jeglichen mit
 Tränen zuvermanen.

Hirauß rede er den Ordinandura also an:

4.

Aus disen Woorten höret und verstehet yr 1. worin
 euer Amt bestehe / 2. wy yr dasselbige führen / 3. euch in
 euren Leben und Wandel bezeugen und verhalten sollet.
 Fürnemlich aber das uns / so Bischöfe / das ist / Prediger
 und Pfar-Heerz berufen seynd und seyn sollen / besole wird /
 dy Gemeine so der einige waare Gottes Eoon / Jesus
 Christus / durch sein eigen Blut / Angst / Smerzzen und
 bittern Tode erworben hat / daß wir sy weiden sollen / mit
 dem reinen Woort Gottes / auch wachen und zusehen /
 daß nicht Wölfe und Kotten unter dy arme Schafe ein-
 reissen / darum nennet er es ein köstlich Werk.

Yr sollen auch für unsere Person züchtig und eer-
 lich leben / auch unser Haus / Weib / Kinder und Gesinde
 Christlich halten und erziehen.

Sehd yr nun demselben mit Göttlicher Verleung
 also nachzukommen / von Herzen und mit Ernst gemeis-
 net / so bezeuget jizzo allhy für dem Angesicht des gegen-
 wärtig

136

Fürstliche Brunswygsche

CAP. 25. Wärtigen allwissenden Gottes und seiner Christlichen Kirchen mit einem Ja-Boort.

Dauf sage der Ordinandus, und meine
es auch von ganzzen Herzen/
Ja.

5. Da läge der Superintendens und dy sämtliche anwesende Prediger / so dabey seyn / dem Ordinando dy rechte Hände auf das Haupt / und spreche also:

Als dise eüere Zusage wollen wyr euch hünit an Gottes Stat / nach uralten Christlichen Apostolischen Gebrauch / vermittelst einem inbrünstigen Gebät / und Auflegung der Hände / das heilige Predig-Amte anbefolen haben / auch Macht gegeben haben / Gottes Boort rein und lauter zu predigen / dy heilige Sacramenta zu administriren / Auch Sünde zu lösen und zu binden / wy yr solches demaleins an dem groossen gestrengen Gericht Jesu Christi zuverantworten getrauet / und solches im Namen Gottes des Vaters / Gottes des Soons / und Gottes des heiligen Geistes / Amen.

Lasset uns bäten.

Water unser / der du bist / &c.

Barmh.

Du Armherziger Gott / himlischer Vater / du ^{CAP. 25.}
 hast durch den Mund deines liben Soons
 unsers Herrn Jesu Christi zu uns gesaget / dy
 Ernte ist groos / aber wenig seynd der Arbeiter /
 Bittet den Herrn ^{der} Ernte / daß Er Arbeiter in
 seine Ernte sende / auf solchen deinen Götlichen
 Befäl / bitten wy von Herzen / du wollest die-
 sem deinem Diner samt uns / und allen / dy zu
 deinem Voort berufen seynd / deinen heil. Geist
 reichlich gäben / daß wy mit groossen Haufen
 deine Evangelisten seyn / treu und fest bleiben /
 wider den Teufel / Welt und Fleisch / &c. Damit
 dein Name geheiliget / dein Reich gemäret / dein
 Will vollenbracht werde / wollest auch den lei-
 digen Greuel des Pabsts und Mahomets / und
 allen Feindē deiner Christen / samt andern Kot-
 ten / so deiner Namen lestern / dein Reich zerstö-
 ren / deinem Willen widerstreben / endlich steu-
 ren / und ein Ende machen :

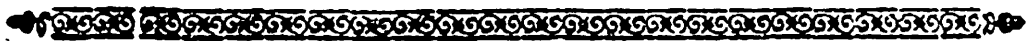
Solch unser Gebet / (dieweil du es geheissen /
 geläret und vertröstet hast /) wollest du gnädig-
 lich erhören / wy wy glauben und trauen / durch
 deinen liben Soon unsern Herrn Jesum Chris-
 tum /

CAP. 26. stum / der mit dyr und dem heiligen Geiste le-
bet und herrschet in Ewigkeit / Amen.

6. Wan nun dem Ordinato dy Hände wider von dem Haupt
genommen / spreche der Superintendens zu demselben weiter:

So gehet nun hin / und weidet dy Heerde
Christi / so euch befohlen ist / und sehet wol zu /
nicht gezwungen / sondern willig / nicht um
süchtlichen Gewinnst willen / sondern von Herz-
zen Grund / nicht als dy über das Volk herr-
schen / sondern werdet ein Fürbilde der Heerde /
so werdet yr / wan der Erz-Hirte erscheinen wird /
dy unverwelkliche Kroon der Eeren empfangen.

Der HERR Jesus segne Euch / daß yr vñl
Nutz und Frucht stiften / und Euch und eüere
Zuhörer zur Seeligkeit befördern möget / Amen.



CAPUT VIGESIMUM SEXTUM.

Auf welche Weise ein neuer Prediger bey
seiner Kirchen eingefüret werden sol.

1. **D**Y Einführung des neuen Predigers sol von dem Special-
Superintendenten in Gegenwart der Beamten oder Ge-
richts-Herren / oder Burgermeister und Raat jedes Dorfs / im-
gleichen eines Benachbarten Pfar-Herrn / als Zeugen dieser Hand-
lung nachfolgender Gestalt / auf einen Sonn- oder Fest-Tag ge-
schehen. Dy

Kirchen-Ordnung.

139

Die Gemeinde sol des vorigen Sontags mit Fleiß ermanet/^{CAP. 26.}
auch von den Gerichten dazu mit Ernst angehalten werden/ daß
sy one Ausbleiben in der Kirche den folgenden Son-oder Feyer-
Tag erscheinen. 2.

Nachdem nuun der Superintendentens eine Predigt / von der
Einsezzung / Nutz und Autorität / des heiligen Predig-Amts ver-
richtet / und das Volk zu einem inbrünstigen Gebet vermanet / sol
dy Gemeinde nach geendigten gewöhnlichen Gottesdinst auf der
Canzel / einmütiglich singen:

Kom heiliger Geist / Herr Gott / ic.

Unterdessen der Superintendentens für den Altar in der Kir-
che treten / den neuen Kirchen-Diner für ym zu dem Gebet nieder-
knien lassen / und eine kurzze Vermanung zu der Gemeinde etwa
auf folgende massz tuun. 3.

S Elbten Freunde in Christo dem Herrn / weiln yr
Wisander nach dem Befal unsers einigen Seeligma-
chers Jesu Christi / Den barmherzzigen Gott / als dem
Herrn der Kirchen-Ernt um einen getreuen (Superinten-
denten oder Seelsorger) an des vorigen (Seelig-Ver-
storbenen / oder anderstwhin beförderten) Statt und
Stell gebeten / und angerufen habt / So hat derselbige
vyl fromme Gott euer Gebet und Seufzen in Gnaden
erhöret / und euch den gegenwertigen N. N. zugewisen
und bescheret.

Seynd also wyr nuunmeer dises maal bey euch zugegen /
daß Wyr zusörderst wegen unsers Herrn Jesu Christi /
dessen dise Sache ist / und wegen unsers gnädigen Für-
sten und Herrn / solchen euren neuen (Superintendenten
und Pastorn oder Prediger) installiren, in seine Kirche ein-
füren/

S ij

füren/

CAP. 26. führen / und euch allen yn zu euren ordentlichen Seelen Hirten fürstellen. Vermähnen Euch demnach an Statt des almächtigen Gottes / und jetzt-hochgedachter Unserer gnädiger Fürstlichen Landes-Obrigkeit / daß yr alle miteinander yn dafür erkennen / eeren und liben / auch für allen Dingen ime folgen und gehoorfamen sollet / wen er euch aus Gottes waaren Woort / zu allein Guten anweist / und unterrichtet / wy yr es demaleins am jüngsten Tage / für dem Richter alles Fleisches gedencket zuverantworten.

Dan das ist der ernste Will und Meinung Gottes / der Uns Diner des Woorts an seines Soons Jesu Christi Statt / sein Woort zu predigen verordnet hat / Wy S. Paulus klärlich schreibt / 1. Cor. 4. Dafür halte uns jeder man / nemlich für Christi Diner und Haus-Halter über Gottes Geheimnis / und 2. Cor. 5. Wyr seynd Bootschaften an Christi Statt / den Gott vermanet durch uns / ja Christus zeuget selber von uns / Luc. 10. Wer Euch höret / der höret mich / un wer Euch verachtet / der verachtet mich / wer aber mich verachtet / der verachtet Den der mich gesandt hat / das sollet yr sein bedencken / und Euch für Verachtung und Ungehorsam hüten. Yr sollet auch hyrnegst disem euren Pastorn für seine treue Arbeit und Dynste / al das Einkommen / Fälle und Berechtigkeiten / dy einem Prediger von Alters her alhy zustehen / gebüren und gehören / gern und willig zu rechter Zeit gönnen / reichen und gäben / one alle Verkürzung / Abrechnung und Hinterhaltung / dan dy Schrift zeuget / Matth. 10. Ein Arbeiter

Kirchen-Ordnung.

148

ter sey seines Loons und seiner Speise wert/ ja der H^{ER}Z^{AP}. 10.
 Jesus selber hat es befohlen/ dy das Evangelium verkün-
 digen/ sollen sich vom Evangelio nren / 1. Cor. 9.

Und yr Herz Pastor, nach dem yr durch Sciffung
 und Verordnung des Allerhöchsten Gottes zum Kir-
 chen-Dynst dises Orts ordentlich beruffe und bestetiget
 seyd/ so solt yr hinwiderum auch auf euer Seiten mit son-
 derbarem Fleisse oft und vyl / bey euch herzlich betrach-
 ten/ und mit höchstem ernstestem Fleis bedencken. Einmal
 mit was grosser Sorge/ Müe/ Fleis und Arbeit yr euch
 diser eurer Kirchen anzunehmen/ und euer Amt bey eurer
 Gemeine zuverrichten habt/ denes ist waarlich darun kein
 Scherz oder Kinderspyl/ sondern dy werthe Kirche ist ei-
 ne Gespons und Braut des Soons Gottes/ welche er
 so feurig und herzbrünstig libet einet und meinet/ daß er
 yr das ewige Leben zuerlangen vom Himmel kommen/
 und sich mit aller menschlicher blöde beladen/ auch sein
 eigen Blut vergossen / und für sy den allermaßlich-
 sten und Smerzlichsten Creuzzes Toot gelitten / und
 auf sich genommen hat / damit er sy vom Toot errette/
 darum sollet und müsfet yr eüern besten möglichsten
 Fleis anwenden / daß yr dy Kirche und Gemeine nicht
 mit Menschen träumen/ sondern mit Göttlicher himlis-
 cher Leer unterrichtet/damit sy durch den heiligen Geist
 erwecket werde / dem H^{ER}IN Jesu Christo irem Seelen
 Bräutigam Treue und Glauben zuhalten/ und darinnen
 unverrücket und unbefleket zuverharren / das yr euch
 mit dem Apostel Paulo in der Warheit rümen könnet/

CAP. 26. ich habe euch einem Mann vertrauet / daß ich euch eine reine reine Jungfraue Christo zubrächte / 2. Cor. 11. und habe euch nichts verhalten / daß ich euch nicht verkündiget hätte / allen Raat Gottes / Act. 20.

Sollet yr also stets mit groossem Ernst erwegen / wo etwas durch eure Saarlässigkeit / Ungeschicklichkeit und Unfleis der Gemeine zum Ergernis / Schaden und Nachtheil muutwillig eingefüret / und verursachen solte / als wyr nicht hoffen wollen / daß unser HERR GOTT aller und jeder verwarlosen Seelen Blut von euren Händen fordern / und es ewig an Euch rechnen und strafen werde / wy er zu zweyen malen überaus screcklich gedräuet hat / Ezech. 3. und 33. Cap.

Hyrnechst solt yr predigen und leeren dy heilige Prophetische und Apostolische Schrift / welche mit Göttlichen himlischen Wunderzeichen befestiget / und eine Leucern und Leuchte unserer Füße ist / ja gar ein Licht auf unserm Wege / Psal. 119. Und nach dem die Erklärung der fürnemsten Glaubens-Articul / darinnen man in Religions-Sachen dise Zeit über streitig ist / nach Anweisung des rechten waaren Catolischen Verstandes der Prophetischen und Apostolischen Schrift artlich begriffen und verfasst stehet / in den dreyen Haupt-Symbolis in der unveränderten Augspurgischen Confession samt derselben Apologia in den Smalkaldischen Articulis / den grössern und kleinen Catechismis Lutheri, so erfordert es dy Nootturft des Kirchen-Amtes / daß yr in solchen Articulis eure Leer / vermög der Erklärung und Inhalts jetzt gemel-

ter

ter Scriften getreulich füret/next und nach der heiligen CAP. 26.
 Bibel dieselbigen oft und vyl / mit sonderbarem Fleisse
 durchleset und fürsichtig seyd / daß yr davon nicht abweis
 chet / weder zuur Rechten noch zuur Linken / und eüch kei
 nen einigen Menschen davon / auf schädliche Ir-Wege fü
 ren und abkeren lasset.

Alldiweiln aber auch ferner das Amt und der Beruf
 eines Kirchen-Diners erheischet / daß er der Kirchen
 nicht allein mit reiner Göttlichen Leer / sondern auch mit
 gutem Exempel, dine und fürleuchte / und also dy Leer so
 vyl an ym ist / mit einem Christlichen und eerliche Wan
 del zire / so ist es von neuen eine hohe Nootturft / daß yr
 hinfüro eüer Leben durch Gottes Gnade dergestalt an
 stellet / daß nicht allein eüre Geschäfte und Fürnamen / son
 dern auch eüre Redē / Conuersation, Kleidung und Wan
 del / ja alle Woort und Werk eine Leer und Tugend seyn /
 damit yr nicht was yr mit einer Hand bauet / mit der an
 dern wider abreisset / und die Kirche mit strafbaren La
 stern und ärgerlichem Wandel / gefährlich verderbet / in Er
 wegung das uns Predigern vor allen andern gesaget
 worden : Wehe dem Menschen durch welchen Ergernis
 kommet / den wer ergert der Geringsten einen / dy an mich
 gläuben / dem wäre es besser / daß ein Mühlstein an seinen
 Hals gehänget / und er ersäufet würde im Meer / da es am
 tyfsten ist / Matth. 18. Zu dem Ende solt yr aufs fleissig
 ste läsen / widerläsen und oft repetiren dy Episteln Pauli
 an Timotheum und Titum / daraus yr gnugsam zuersehen
 habt / wy yr beydes im Leeren und Leben eüch halten / und
 auch

CAP. 26. auch euer eigenes Haus-Gesinde regiren und erbauen müsset.

Entlichen sollet yr nicht allein Unserer hohen Obrigkeit treu und hold seyn / und iren Nutzen fördern / allen Schaden aber nach bestem Wissen und Gewissen abwenden helfen / sondern auch für sy zu Gott herzlich baten.

Seyd yr nuun solches alles zu tuun / nochmals gesinnet / so machet Euch darzu Pflichtbaar / und sprechet /

Ja.

Lasset uns baten:

O Allmächtiger ewiger Gott / himlischer Vater / Du hast selbst dem armen Menschlichen Geschlechte zur Wohlfart / Troost un Hülfe das hochwürdige Predig-Amt / des heiligen Evangelij von deinem gelibten Soon unserm Herren Jesu Christo geordnet und eingesetzt / auch dabey gesaget und versprochen / daß / welcher gläubet und getaufet wird / selig seyn sol. Diweil uns aber unserer verderbten Natur und sündlichen Fleisches halben beswerlich seyn wil / solchen so teuren und werten Schatz wider den Anlauf des tausendlistigen und grimmigen Feindes / one deine sonderliche Hülfe und gnädigen Beystand unter uns zu bewaren und zuerhalten.

ten/ so bitten wir dich herzlich / du wollest uns CAP. 16
 durch deine grundlose Gnade und Barmher-
 zigkeit in Nöten nicht verlassen/ sondern mit dei-
 ner Göttlichen Hand über uns halten/ und son-
 derlich über diesem deinem Diner N. welcher | m
 jetzt und das heilige Evangelium/ an diesen Ort zu
 predigen befohlen ist / damit solcher dein so heil-
 samer/ nützlicher und nootwendiger Befäl bis zu
 Ende der Welt / in deiner heiligen Christenheit
 wider alle Gespenst des bösen Geistes / sein
 Fürgang habe/ und wir des himlischen Tro-
 stes nimmermeer beraubet werden / durch Je-
 sum Christum deinen gelibten Soon unsern
 Herrn / welcher mit dir und dem H. Geist le-
 bet und regiret/ gleicher Gott/ Hochgelobet in
 Ewigkeit/ Amen.

Höret das heilige Evangelium / welches uns
 beschreibt der H. Evangelist Johannes.

Der Herr saget zu seinen Jüngern / **W**y
 mich mein himlischer Vater gesand hat/
 also sende ich euch auch / Und als er solches ge-
 saget hatte/ blys er sy an und sprach: **N**amet hin
Z den

CAP. 16. den heiligen Geist / welchen yr dy Sünde erlasset / denen sollen sy erlassen seyn / und welchen yr dy Sünde behaltet / denen sollen sy behalten seyn.

Der Superintendens mag auch nachfolgende Epistel nach Belägenheit der Zeit und Kirchen / um meer Erinnerung wegen / fürlesen / nemlich also :

So sreibet S. Paulus in der 1. Epistel an Timotheum am 3. Capitel.

WAS ist je gewislich waar / so jemand ein Bischofs-
 Amt begeret / der begeret ein köstlich Werk / Es sol aber ein Bischof unsträflich seyn / eines Weibes Mann / nüchtern / mässig / sittig / Gastfrey / leerhaftig / nicht ein Weinsäufer / nicht beissig / nicht uneerliche Handtirung treiben / sondern gelinde / nicht haderhaftig / nicht geizzig / der seinem eigenen Hause wol fürstehe / der gehoorsame Kinder habe / mit aller Erbarkeit / (so aber jemand seinem eigenen Hause nicht weis fürzustehen / wo wird er dy Gemeine Gottes versorgen?) nicht ein Neuling / auf daß er sich nicht aufblase / und dem Lasterer ins Urteil falle / er mus auch ein guut Zeügnis haben / von denen dy draussen seynd / auf daß er nicht falle dem Lasterer in dy Emach und Stricke.

So ermanet S. Paulus dy Eltisten der Gemeine zu Epheso.

Kirchen-Ordnung.

147

So habt nuun acht auf euch selbst/und auf dy ganze ^{CAP. 26.} Heerde/ unter welche euch der heilige Geist gesezset hat/ zu Bischöfen/ zu weiden dy Gemeine Gottes/ welche er durch sein eigen Blut erworben hat / denn das weis ich/ daß nach meinem Abscheid werden unter euch kommen / greüliche Wölfe / dy der Heerde nicht verschonen werden/ auch aus euch selbst werden aufstehen Männer/ dy da verkerte Leer reden/ dy Jünger an sich zuzihen/ darum seyd wakker / und dencket daran / daß ich nicht abgelaßen habe/ drey Jaar/ Tag und Nacht einen jeglichen mit Tränen zuvermanen.

Hir auf lasset uns herzlich bitten/und sprecht mit myr:

Ich gnädiger Gott / himlischer HERR und Vater/ der du uns durch deinen heiligen Apostel Paulum/ Väterlichen getröstet und zugesaget hast/ daß es dyr O himlischer HERZ und Vater wolgefalle/ durch dy törichte Predigt des Creüzzes seelig zu machen/ alle dy so daran gläuben / So bitten wyr dich nuun auf dises ganz ernstlich/ daß du deinen Diner N. hy zugegen/ welchen du zu disem so seeltigen und hochwürdigigen Predig Amt berufen hast / mit deiner Göttlichen Gnaden begaben/ und deinen heiligen Geist gäben und mitteilen wollest / durch
 I ij wel-

CAP. 26. welches Kraft er gestärket / wider alle Anfechtung des Teufels bestehen / und deine gelybte Heerde / durch das Blut unsers Herrn Jesu Christi deines Soons teur erkauft und erworben / mit deinem heilsamen und ungesälchten Woort / nach deinem Göttlichen Wolgefallen weiden möge / zu Lob und Preis deines heiligen Namens / und Förderung der ganzen Christenheit / durch Jesum Christum deinen gelybten Soon / Amen.

D Armherziger Gott / himlischer Vater / du hast durch den Mund deines lieben Soons unsers Herrn Jesu Christi zu uns gesaget / dy Ernte ist groos / aber wenig seynd der Arbeiter / Bittet den Herrn der Ernte / daß Er Arbeiter in seine Ernte sende / auf solchen deinen Göttlichen Befäl / bitten wir von Herzen / du wollest diesem deinem Diner samt uns / und allen / dy zu deinem Woort berufen seynd / deinen heil. Geist reichlich gäben / daß wir mit groossen Haufen deine ware Diner / Erkennen und Bekenner seyn / treu und fest bleiben / wider den Teufel / Welt und

und Fleisch/ꝛ. Damit dein Name geheiliget/^{CAP. 26.}
 dein Reich gemäret / dein Will vollenbracht
 werde / wollest auch dem leidigen Greuel des
 Pabsts und Mahomets / samt andern Kot-
 ten/ so deinen Namen lestern/ dein Reich zerstö-
 ren/ deinem Willen widerstreben/ endlich steu-
 ren/ und ein Ende machen; Solch unser Gebet/
 (diweil du uns geheissen / geläret und vertro-
 stet hast/-) wollest du gnädiglich erhören/ wir
 wir gläuben und frauen / durch deinen lieben
 Soon unsern HErrn Jesum Christum / der
 mit dir und dem heiligen Geiste lebet und herr-
 schet in Ewigkeit/ Amen.

Solches alles zu erlangen/ sprechet mit mir
 von Herzen/ das heilige Vater unser:

Vater unser / der du bist / ꝛ.

Nach geendigtem solchen Gebät / läge der Superintendentens,
 nach Christlicher gebräuchlicher Freiheit / so von dem HErrn
 Christo der Kirchen in eüsserlichen Ceremonien gefasset / seine
 rechte Hand dem neuen Prediger auf das bloosse Haupt / und
 spreche also:

Weil wir im heiligen Geist versamlet / Gott unsern
 himlischen Vater / durch Jesum Christum unsern
 HErrn

CAP. 26. HERRN und HEPLAND / über euch angerufen und gebeten /
 und deshalb nicht zweifeln / Er werde uns laut seiner
 Göttlichen Zusagung / gnädiglich erhöret und geweret ha-
 ben. Dennoch so ordne / confirmire und bestetige ich
 euch aus Göttlichem Befäl und Ordnung / zu einem Dia-
 ner und Seelsorger diser Gemeine hy zugegen / mit ernst-
 lichem Befäl / daß yr solcher Ertlich / und one alle Erger-
 nis / mit höchstem Fleis und Treuen voorstehen wollet /
 wy yr dan voor dem Bericht / Eiuul / unsers HERRN JE-
 su Christi / an jenem Tage Rede und Antwort gäben müs-
 set / dem rechten Richter / im Namen des Vaters / und des
 Soons / und des heiligen Geistes / Amen.

5. Der ganze Actus wird beslossen / mit dem Gesange:

HERR GOTT dich loben wir / &c.

Der HERR segne dich / und behüte dich /
 Der HERR erleuchte sein Angesicht über dich /
 und sey dyr gnädig /
 Der HERR erhebe sein Angesicht auf dich / und
 gebe dyr Fride / Amen.



APPENDIX IX

TEXT OF THE RITES FROM THE 1709 CHURCH ORDER

Source: *Erneuerte Kirchen-Ordnung; Unser von Gottes Gnaden, Anthon Ulrichs, Herzogen zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg* (Braunschweig: Johann Georg Zillinger, 1709), 11-22, 88-104.

Erneuerte
Kirchen-Ordnung

Unser
Von Gottes Gnaden
Anthon Ulrichs
Herzogen zu Braunschweig und
Lüneburg.

Erster Theil.



Erststat 1709

Braunschweig/
Gedruckt durch Johann Georg Zilligern/ Hochfürstl. privilegirte. Hof-Buchdr. 1709.

Kirchen-Ordnung.

II

Erkundigung und erhaltenen näheren information die völlige Bewandniß an Uns oder Unser Geheimbten-Raths-Collegium bringen / damit solchen gefährlichen Bewegungen zeitig gesteuert / die reine Lehre aber gerettet und bewahret werden möge.

CAP. II.

Von Besetzung der Kirchen- Aempter.

*Ministry &
Giv. out by*

Mann bey denen Kirchen in Unsern Fürstenthumen und Länden die Prediger mit Tode abgehen und die Pfarren vacant werden / so sollen unser Superintendenten zeitige Besetzung thun / daß von denen benachbahrten Predigern das Kirchen-Ambt in allen Stücken so lang / bis die vacants wieder ersetzt / verrichtet werde.

II. Bey wieder Besetzung solcher erledigten Pfarren sollen denen Patronis ihre wol hergebrachte jura Patronatus und in specie daß in denen Rechten gesetzte fatale präsentandi ohngefräncket gelassen / wann aber solcher peremptorischer terminus ohn vorher bey Uns oder Unserm Consistorio aus erweislichen Behinderungs-Ursachen erhaltene extension vergeblich abgelauffen / so dann soll mit Ersetzung der Pfarz Unserntwegen *ex jure devoluto* ohnverzüglich verfahren werden.

III. So bald nun Uns oder unserem Consistorio eine præsentation eingesandt / wie auch / wann behueff der Uns allein zustehenden Pfarren wir entweder einen von Uns selbstem aus sonderbahrer Bewegniß erkandten oder einen Uns von Unserm Consistorio unterthänigst vorgeschlagenen Candidatum an dasselbe remittiren werden / so soll solchem Candidato eine gewisse Zeit zu Einbringung glaubwürdiger Zeugnissen von seinen Herkommen / Erudition , Leben und Wandel angesetzt / und darauf ferner nach Befinden das gewöhnliche Examen mit demselben fürgenommen werden / wann er dann nach allen requisitis zum Kirchen = Ambt geschickt zu seyn befunden worden / so soll der Superintendent des Orts ihn eine sogenannte Probe = Predigt in der vacirenden Pfarr = Kirche abzulegen antweisen / und wann er vernimmt daß die Gemeinde mit seinen Gaben ziemlich zufrieden / selbige wegen der gewöhnlichen vocation erinnern und nebst gehöriger relation den Candidatum hinwieder an Unser Consistorium zu Erlangung der ordination und introduction verweisen / mit welchen actibus sodann nach der Form / wie in denen Agendis, Capite von ordination und introduction der Prediger / mit mehren geordnet / gebührlich verfahren werden soll.

IV. Wann aber eine ziemlich austrägliche Pfarr in Unsern Städten oder auch auf dem Lande sich eröffnen würde / so soll zu deren wieder Besetzung nicht so gleich ein junger Candidatus admittiret / sondern zuvor von Unserm Consistorio geurtheilet werden / ob etwa ein oder
ander

Kirchen-Ordnung.

13

ander begabter und um die Christliche Kirche wol verdienster Prediger auf dem Lande sich finde / welcher zu solcher Pfarz befodert und dadurch zu einer Verbesserung gebracht werden könne ; Fals aber dergleichen Prediger nicht vorhanden / oder auch zu solcher mutation nicht geneigt seyn würde / So soll der geschickteste Collegiat aus Unserm Kloster Ribdagshausen / vermöge Unser vor dem ergangenen schriftlichen resolution, für andern dazu befodert werden.

V. Ob auch wol an sich nicht unzulässig daß bey Ersetzung eines oder andern erledigten Pfarr-Dienstes darauf mit reflectiret werde / ob etwa vermittels einer Heyraht die hinterlassene Wittwe oder eine Tochter auf der Pfarz verbleiben könne ; So wollen wir doch durchaus nicht daß daher allein die bewegende Ursach zu der Befoderung genommen / sondern vornemlich auf die an der Person des Candidati erforderete Stücke / nemlich auf die erudition, orthodoxie, gute Gaben in Predigen und auf dessen geführten Wandel / mithin auch ob bey der in Vorschlag gebrachten Heyraht sich eine Göttliche direction spühren lasse / gesehen werden soll.

VI. Als wir Uns auch Gott und der Christlichen Kirchen verbunden erkennen gegen das greuliche Laster der Simonie ; so bey Erlangung der Pfarm vorzugehen pffeget / mit allen rigeur procediren zu lassen ; So setzen / ordnen wir hiemit und wollen / daß kein Patronus vor die Collation ein mehres als in Unserm Land-Tags-Ab-scheiden erlaubet / von dem Candidato fodern oder an-
 B 3 nehmen

nehmen solle; Gestalt dann derjenige / welcher sich nur unterstehen wird solcher Unser Verordnung zuwieder ein höheres sub quocunque prætextu entweder selbst oder durch andere zu prætendiren / auf des Candidati blosses wahrscheinliches Anmelden entweder sich endlich zu reinigen schuldig oder der Collation vor selbigen Fall verlustig seyn soll. Solte der Patronus aber beschuldiget werden daß er würcklich etwas unzuläßiges angenommen / so soll aufs schärfste darauf inquiriret und / wann entweder durch Beweisthum / oder durch Verweigerung des aufgegründeten Verdacht erfordereten juramenti purgatorii die Verbrechere des delicti convinciret worden / der Patronus, Er sey inner- oder aufferhalb Landes / Geist- oder Weltlich / dadurch ipso facto seines Patronat-Rechts verlustig seyn / und niemahlen eine præsentation ferner von Ihm angenommen / der Candidatus aber mit Gefängniß auch wol dem Befinden nach mit zeitlicher Landes-Verweisung bestraffet werden. Da auch sonst jemand / der sey wer er wolle / von einem Candidato oder dessen Freunden wegen Befoderung zum Kirchen-Umbt einiges Geschenk angenommen zu haben überführet werden könnte / so soll derselbe den Wehrt dessen zehenfach zu bezahlen schuldig / das Geschenk aber oder die vor das Kirchen-Umbt bezahlete Summ demjenigen / der es anmelden wird / gegeben werden / und die Straffe dem Fisco heimgefallen seyn.

VII. Diemeil auch die existimation eines Predigers bey der Gemeine dadurch gänglich hinweg fället /
und

und ein groß Uergerniß entstehet / wann von demselben entweder eine vor Untretung seines Pfarz-Dienstes begangene straffbare Uebelthat ausbricht / oder nachher von ihm begangen wird / und er sich dagegen zurechte öffentlich nicht zu justificiren vermag; So soll in solchen und dergleichen Fällen das Uergerniß ohngesäumt abgethan / und der Delinquent von selbigem Orte removiret werden.

CAP. III.

Von der Prediger schuldigen Bezeigung gegen ihre hohe Landes-Fürstliche Obrigkeit.

Alle und jede Prediger / welche wir zum Kirchen-Ambt aufnehmen / ordiniren und instituiren lassen / sollen wie bisher also ferner Uns und Unseren Successoren an der Regierung gleich anderen Unseren Unterthanen den gewöhnlichen Huldigungs-End abzustatten gehalten seyn.

II. Und wie dieselbe in Kirchen-Sachen und was dahin gehöret allein nach Unsern als des Landes-Fürsten Befehlen und nechst dem nach Unserm Consistorii Verordnung sich zu achten und selbigen gehorsamlich nachzukommen / mithin auch ihrer vorgesezten Superintendenten Erinnerungen gebührende Folge zu leisten schuldig seyn;

III. Also

Kirchen-Ordnung.

15

und ein groß Vergerniß entsethet / wann von demselben entweder eine vor Untretung seines Pfarr-Dienstes begangene straffbahre Ubelthat ausbricht / oder nachher von ihm begangen wird / und er sich dagegen zurechte öffentlich nicht zu justificiren vermag; So soll in solchen und dergleichen Fällen das Vergerniß ohngesäumt abgethan / und der Delinquent von selbigem Orte removiret werden.

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III. Also

III. Also sollen sie sich nicht unternehmen Uns in Kirchen-Sachen ergangenen Befehlen. (als von welchen / daß sie Gottes Wort gemäß seyn / billig zu präsumiren) unter ein oder andern prætext sich zu widersetzen / sondern / wann sie etwa wobey einen erheblichen Scrupel zu haben vermeinen / darüber ohnverzüglich bey Uns oder Unserem Consistorio explication suchen und erwarten / keines weges aber bey Vermeidung arbitrarischer Bestrafung / was ihnen von der Kanzel abzulesen oder sonst zu thun befohlen worden / proprio iudicio und nach eigenen Gutdüncken unterlassen / vielweniger solches durch eigenmächtiges Ab- und Zuthun ändern.

CAP. IV.

Von Einrichtung der Predigen / von Haltung der Catechisation, von den Colloquiis, und von der Prediger Leben und Wandel.

I.

Aldieweil viel daran gelegen daß auf Einrichtung der Predigen gebührende attention und Fleiß gewendet / dieselbe nach Anleitung des Textus wol disponiret / keines weges aber tumultuariè, wie es dem Prediger benfället / ohne Connexion heraus gestossen / oder von historien, Sprüchen und Geistlichen Liedern zusammen

Kirchen-Ordnung.

17

men gestücket werden; So verordnen Wir hiemit und ist Unser gnädigster auch ernster Will / daß ein jeder Prediger die Predigt / so er abzulegen hat / jedesmahl schriftlich entwerffen / dabey die Regulen der Theologiae homileticae für Augen haben / und sich einer angenehmen diction und solcher deutlichen Redens-Arten / welche auch von den ungelehrten und einfältigen verstanden werden können / befleißigen; Hingegen keine frembde oder neu erfundene dem gemeinen Mann unbekante Worte und Redens-Arten mit einmischen / von allzu weitläufftigen paraphrasiren oder Rethorischen amplificationen / von tautologien, überflüssigen allegiren / und vieler historien-Erzehung abstrahiren / keines weges auch die Zuhörer mit Controversien und Streit-Fragen irremachen soll; Daneben soll Er die gestus und eusserliche Geberden vernünftig moderiren / sich alles Schreyens / Polderens und Stürmens auf der Kanzel enthalten / keine privat affecten spühren lassen / und sich allerdings bey willkührlicher Straffe hüten / wann Er etwa mit jemanden in privat-Sachen zu thun oder sonsten woben ein eigen interesse hat / daß Er davon nichts in der Predigt gedencke / noch urgire; sondern allein sich hauptsächlich darauf appliciren wie Er die textus deutlich / nervose und ad usum erklären / seine Arbeit ad aedificationem richten / und es dahin bringen möge / daß die Christliche Gemeine nach dem geoffenbahrten Göttlichem Wort in simplici fide erbauet / darinen befestiget und solcher Gestalt zur Seeligkeit befodert werde.

II. Weil auch die Erfahrung bezeuget daß durch die lange und weitläufftige Predigen die Erbauung der Christlichen Gemeine mehr gehindert als befodert / der übrige Gottesdienst auch dadurch aufgehalten wird / und die Gemeine leicht in der Andacht verdrossen werden kan ; So sollen die Prediger Ihre Predigten so concipiren und einrichten / daß dieselbe nebst dem gemeinen Kirchen-Gebet innerhalb drey Viertel Stunden / oder zum allrängsten in einer Stunde abgehandelt werden können ; Die Wochen-Predigten aber sollen mit dem Gebete und völligem Gottesdienste in einer Stunde gänglich absolviret werden / damit niemand zu lang von seinem Beruff und Arbeit aufgehalten werde.

III. Bey denen Catechisationen sollen Unsere Prediger die Lehren und Fragen nach Anleitung des in Unseren Kirchen eingeführten und von Unsern privilegirten Buchdrucker Zilligern gedruckten Catechismi Geseni einrichten / und daneben die dahin gehörige Sprüche aus der Bibel der Jugend bekandt machen / selbige auswendig lernen und reciriren lassen / dieselbe auch mithin von denen quatuor Novissimis oder vier letzten Dingen unterrichten und zuweilen darauf die Fragen anstellen / Im übrigen auch bey denen examinibus geziemenden Eilimpff und Sanfftmuht gebrauchen / alles harten Redens und Scheltens (als wodurch die lerende Jugend nur geschreckt und confundiret wird) sich enthalten / auch von obscuren / schweren und zu einer solchen information nicht

Kirchen-Ordnung.

19

nicht gehörigen Fragen gänzlich abstrahiren / Und hingegen nur dahin sehen / wie Sie juxta captum der Kinder und des Gesindes einem jeden die heilsahmen Lehren deutlich beybringen und nach dem rechten Verstande wol begreifen machen.

IV. Damit auch die Prediger bey dem officio homiletico die principia Theologiae desto besser in Gedächtniß conserviren mögen / so sollen die Superintendenten mit Ihren untergebenen Predigern zu gewissen Zeiten ordentliche Colloquia anstellen / und dero Behuff über die vor einigen Jahren heraus gegebene aus der Augsburgischen Confession: gezogene theses mit einander communiciren / und die einem oder dem andern bey dem vorhabendem loco Theologico befallende dubia durch eine glimpffliche discussion resolviren.

V. Dieweil aber nicht gnug daß die Prediger das Ambt der Lehre gebührlich führen / sondern zugleich mit erfordert wird / daß Sie die Lehre mit ihrem Leben öffentlich für dem Volcke beweisen und ihren anvertrauten Heerden als Vorbildern mit erbaulichen exempeln vorgehen; So sollen die Prediger vor allen Dingen sich eines gottesfürchtigen ohnsträfflichen Wandels befließen / damit Ihr Leben mit der Lehre überein kommen / und niemand geärgert werden / und nicht nöthig seyn möge jemanden wegen ungebührlichen und ärgerlichen Lebens seines Pfarr-Dienstes zu entsetzen.

VI. Ob auch zwar die Prediger schuldig seyn / wann zwischen einigen Ihrer Seelen = Sorge anbefohlenen

Zanck und Widerwill sich ereuget / durch Ermahnungen und Vorstellungen die mit einander zerfallende Personen privatim zu vergleichen und Fried und Einigkeit zu befodern; So sollen Sie dennoch sich nicht ermächtigen darüber förmliche Verhören und cognitiones anzustellen / sondern / wann auf bewegliches Zureden kein Vertrag zu erhalten / die Sache von sich ab und an das weltliche Gerichte zu schleuniger Entscheidung verweisen.

VII. Wir gebiechten ihnen auch hiemit insonderheit ernstlich / daß Sie sich nicht unternehmen sollen in weltliche Handel / bevorab in Sachen / so vor dem weltlichen Richter in Rechten hangen / zu immisciren und auf einer Partheye suggestion von solchen und dergleichen Rechts-Handelen etwas pro concione anzuführen / oder das Obrigkeitliche Richter-Umbt darüber zu taxiren / vielweniger über die in Gerichts-Sachen ergangene Civil- und Criminal Urtheln Ihre Censur von der Sankel zu geben / oder auch wol gar unter Bedreung des zu verweigerenden Beichtstuhls die Partheyen zum transigiren zu zwingen. Solte sich jedoch jemand finden / der aus unChristlichem zancksüchtigem Gemüht seinen Nächsten in Proceß und Kosten zu bringen / und aus Bosheit zu fatigiren trachten würde / und auf beschene Vermahnung sich nicht weisen lassen wolte / davon soll an Unser Consistorium referiret und Verordnung erwartet werden. Wer dawider handeln wird / der soll entweder mit einer ziemlichen Geld-Busse oder befundenen Umständen nach gar mit Entsetzung des
Pfarrs

Kirchen-Ordnung.

27

Pfarr-Dienstes bestraffet werden; Wie ihnen dann auch ferner hiedurch bey willkürlicher Straffe verboten wird Pacta dotalia, Testamenta, Donationes inter vivos & mortis causa, Contractus und dergleichen weltliche Handlungen auszufertigen; Zumahlen dergleichen documenta auch weder in- noch ausserhalb Gerichts agnosciret werden / sondern hiedurch für ungültig und kraftlos erkläret seyn sollen:

VIII. Weil aber / so viel die Verlobungen anlanget / um guter Ordnung willen nicht ohndiensam ist daß der Pastor loci, sonderlich auf den Dörffern / dabey gegenwärtig sey; so kan derselbe / wann er wil / die vorkommende puncten solcher gestalt kürzlich notiren / wie selbige denen Beambten und Gerichts-Herren / umb nach Befinden daraus eine formliche Ehestiftung zu machen und selbige gerichtlich zu confirmiren / vorgebracht werden sollen.

IX. Kein Prediger soll ohn Vorwissen des Superintendenten eine Reise / so mehr als über einen Tag und Nacht Zeit erfordert / vornehmen / keines weges auch zu einer solchen Zeit verreisen wann gefährlich Krancke oder Frauen deren Gebuhrt-Zeit sehr nahe sich in der Gemeine finden; Daseru aber die Reise so nohtwendig / daß sie gar nicht aufgeschoben werden könnte / so hat Er den vicinum pastorem zu Vertretung seines Umbts zu ersuchen.

X. So soll auch kein Prediger einem Studioso Theologiae die Kanzel öffnen / der nicht vorher und zu-

forderst von Unseren Consistorio oder wenigstens von einem Unser General-Superintendenten oder Doctore Theologiæ auf Unser Universität zu Helmstädt examiniret / und mit einem so wol de eruditione & orthodoxia als de vita & moribus erhaltenem gutem Attestato versehen ist.

CAP. V.

Von dem Straff- und Ermahnungs- Amte.

I.

Dleichwie die Prediger als Seelen-Sorger schuldig seynd in Ihren Predigen nicht nur alle Bosheiten / die Sünden und das ärgerliche Leben / und sonderlich die Unbußfertigkeit ins gemein zu straffen und für den erschrecklichen Verlust der ewigen Seeligkeit zu warnen / sondern auch ihre anbefohlene zu Bewahrung des seligmachenden Glaubens und zur Übung eines wahren thätigen Christenthumbs beweglich zu ermahnen; Also sollen Sie sich auch darauf vornemlich appliciren / und in Ihren Predigten oft Gelegenheit dazu ergreifen / Sich aber dabey vorsichtiglich hüten / daß sie nicht durch harte expressiones sich erhizen / auf ein unordentliches Reden und Schreien verfallen / und sich mit der Schwachheit Ihrer affecten nicht prostituiren.

und bey unserm HERN Christo zu seyn. Verleihe O
höchster Tröster/daß wir uns auch sehnen nach der himm-
lischen Erbschafft/und in Hoffnung des Zukünftigen/ge-
trost überwinden das Gegenwärtige. Ach HER durch
deine Krafft uns bereit/und stärke des Fleisches Blödig-
keit/daß wir hie ritterlich mögen ringen/durch Todt und
Leben zu dir bringen/Amen.

Solte die Todes-Angst lange anhalten / können die Capita
aus den Evangelisten Matthæo, Marco, Luca und Johanne von
der Passions-Histori verlesen/auch die vorgesezte Gebeter öfters
wiederholet werden.

Es wird auch ein jeder frommer Christ von den Umstehenden
in solcher grossen Noth des Sterbenden mit dem Gebet nicht ab-
lassen/ sondern sich dabey also erweisen/wie er gern wil/ daß bey
seinem Abschied von andern frommen Christen ihm mit Trost
und Fürbitt bey GOTT beygesprungen/ und die arme in höchster
Angst und der letzten Gefahr liegenden Seele / welche der Sohn
GOTTES mit seinem theuren Blut und bitterm Todt erworben hat/
dem Teuffel aus den Rachen gerissen werden möge.

CAP. XV.

Wie die neue angehende Pastores ordini- ret werden sollen.

Die Ordination der Prediger geschiehet nach ibralten Christ-
lichen Apostolischen Gebrauch/durch ein andächtiges Gebet/
und Auflegung der Hände/welche Ceremonie in der Kirchen unserer
Fürstenthumen und Landen behalten / und also die ordinationes
in hiesigem unserm Fürstenthum Wolffenbüttel in unserer Fürstl.
Residenz allhie von dem Obristen Superintendenten verrichtet
werden soll / folgender Gestalt:

Kirchen-Ordnung.

87

Es soll der Ordinandus auf einen Sonntag nach gehaltenener Predigt / oder in der Wochen nach denen Betstunden oder Predigten (zu dem Ende die Gemeinde vernahmet werden soll / zu Verrichtung eines andächtigen Gebets bey der Ordination zusammen zu bleiben) wenn der Superintendentens nebst allen in loco ordinationis verhandenen/und da deren etwa ehliche krank oder abwesend/einigen aus der Nachbarschaft darzu gefoderten Kirchen-Dienern/und auffß allerwenigste ohn den Superintendenten noch zween Prediger sich für den Altar mitten in der Kirchen für dem Chor gestellet / alsdenn mit einem ehrbaren Prediger- oder Kirchen-Habit für gedachtem Altar nieder knien ; Und von der ganzen Gemeine gesungen werden:

Komm heiliger Geist HERRE GOTT ic.

Nach dessen Endigung soll der Superintendentens eine kurze Erinnerung vom Predig-Amte thun / dem Ordinando ins Gewissen reden/und die ganze umstehende Gemeinde zu einem andächtigen gläubigen Gebet vernahmen/ und darauf folgendes fein langsam und deutlich lesen.

**Höret anfänglich das Wort Gottes über die
Einsetzung des Predig-Amtes:**

So schreibet der heilige Evangelist Johannes in seinem
Evangelio am 20. Capitel:

DER HERR JESUS sprach zu seinen Jüngern:
Friede sey mit euch / gleich wi: mich mein Vater gesand hat / also sende ich euch / und als Er das sagete / blieb Er sie an / und sprach zu ihnen: Nehmet hin den heiligen Geist/ welchen ihr die Sünde erlasset/denen sind sie erlassen / und welchen ihr sie behaltet / denen sind sie behalten.

Ben den: Matthæo am 16. Capitel:

Ich wil dir des Himmelreichs Schlüssel geben / alles was ihr auf Erden binden werdet / soll auch im
M Him-

Himmel gebunden seyn / und was ihr auf Erden lösen werdet / soll auch im Himmel loß seyn.

Und im 28. Capitel:

Mir ist gegeben alle Gewalt im Himmel und auf Erden / darum / gehet hin und lehret alle Völcker / und tauffet sie im Nahmen des Vaters / und des Sohnes / und des heiligen Geistes / und lehret sie halten alles was ich euch befohlen habe / und siehe ich bin bey euch alle Tage bis an der Welt Ende.

Zum andern von dem Verhalten eines Predigers bey dem Predig=Amte.

Schreibet S. Paulus in der ersten Epistel an den Timotheum am 3. Capitel.

Das ist je gewislich wahr / so jemand ein Bischoffs=Amte begehret / der begehret ein köstlich Werck; Es soll aber ein Bischoff unsträfflich seyn / eines Weibes Mann / nüchtern / mäßig / sittig / gastfren / lehrhaftig / nicht ein Weinsäuffer / nicht beißig / nicht unehrliche Handthierung treiben / sondern gelinde / nicht haderhaftig / nicht geißig / der seinem eigenem Hause wol fürstehe / der gehorsahme Kinder habe / mit aller Ehrbarkeit / (so aber jemand seinem eigenen Hause nicht weiß fürzustehen / wie wird er die Gemeine Gottes versorgen) nicht ein Neuling / auf daß er sich nicht aufblase / und dem Lasterer ins Urtheil falle / Er muß auch ein gut Zeugniß haben von denen die draussen sind / auf daß er nicht falle dem Lasterer in die Schmach und Stricke.

Zugleich ermahnet gemeldter Apostel die Aeltesten der Gemeinde zu Epheso in der Apostel Geschicht am 20. Capitel.

So habet nun Acht auf euch selbst und auf die ganze Heerde/unter welche euch der heilige Geist gesetzt hat zu Bischöffen/ zu weiden die Gemeine Gottes/ welche er durch sein eigen Blut erworben hat/ denn das weiß ich daß nach meinem Abschiede werden unter euch kommen greuliche Wölffe/ die der Heerde nicht verschonen werden/ auch aus euch selber werden aufstehen Männer die da verkehrte Lehren reden/ die Jünger an sich zu ziehen/ darum seyd wacker und dencket daran/ daß ich nicht abgelassen habe/ drey Jahr Tag und Nacht einen jeglichen mit Thränen zu vermahnen.

Hierauf redet Er den Ordinandum also an:

Aus diesen Worten höret und verstehet ihr 1. Worinn euer Amt bestehe. 2. Wie ihr dasselbige führen. 3. Euch in euren Leben und Wandel bezeugen und verhalten sollet.

Zürnemlich aber/ daß uns/die wir zu Bischöffen/ das ist Predigern und Pfarrherrn beruffen sind/ und seyn sollen/ befohlen wird die Gemeine/ so der einzige Gottes Sohn Jesus Christus durch sein eigen Blut/ Angst/ Schmerzen und bitterm Todt erworben hat/ daß wir sie wenden sollen/ mit dem reinen Worte Gottes/ auch wachen und zusehen/ daß nicht Wölffe und Kotten unter die arme Schaaffe einreissen/ darum nennet ers ein köstlich Werck.

Wir sollen, auch für unsere Person züchtig und ehrlich leben/ auch unser Haus/ Weib/ Kinder/ und Gesinde Christlich halten und erziehen.

Seyd ihr nun demselben mit göttlicher Verleihunge also nachzukommen von Herzen und mit Ernst gemeinet/ so bezeuget es jeso allhie für dem Angesichte des gegenwärtigen allwissenden Gottes / und seiner Christl. Kirchen mit einem Ja- Wort?

Darauf sage der Ordinandus und meine es auch von ganzem Herzen
Ja.

Da lege der Superintendens und die sämtlichen anwesenden Prediger / dem Ordinando die rechte Hände auf das Haupt / und spreche also:

Wuf diese eure Zusage wollen wir euch hiemit an Gottes statt nach ubralten Christlichen Apostolischen Gebrauch vermittelst einem inbrünstigen Gebet und Auflegung der Hände / das heilige Predig- Amt anbefohlen haben / auch Macht geben / Gottes Wort rein und lauter zu predigen / die Heil. Sacramenta zu administriren / auch Sünde zu lösen und zu binden / wie ihr solches demahl- eins an dem grossen gestrengen Gericht Jesu Christi zu verantworten getrauet / und solches im Nahmen Gottes des Vaters / Gottes des Sohnes / und Gottes des heiligen Geistes / Amen.

Lasset uns beten :

Vater Unser der du bist im Himmel / geheiligt werde dein Nahme / zu uns komme dein Reich / dein Wille geschehe / wie im Himmel also auch auf Erden / unser täglich Brodt gib uns heute / und vergib uns unser Schuld / als wir vergeben unsern Schuldigern / und führe uns nicht in Versuchung / sondern erlöse uns von allem Bösen / denn dein ist das Reich / die Krafft / und die Herrlichkeit in Ewigkeit / Amen.

Barm-

Hierauf lasset uns hertzlich beten / und
sprechen mit mir.

Ich gnädiger **G**OTT himmlischer **H**Err und **V**ater / du hast durch den Mund deines lieben Sohns unsers **H**Errn **J**ESU Christi zu uns gesagt: Die Erndte ist groß / aber wenig sind der Arbeiter / bittet den **H**Errn der Erndte daß Er Arbeiter in seine Erndte sende; du hast uns auch durch deinen heiligen Apostel Paulum väterlich getröstet / und zugesaget / daß es dir **O** **H**ERR und himmlischer Vater wellgefalle / durch die thörichte Predigt des Creuzes seelig zu machen / alle die so dran glauben / So bitten wir dich nun auf dieses ganz ernstlich / daß du deinen Diener **N.** hiezu gegen / und uns alle / welche du zu diesen so seligen und hochwürdigen Predig-Amt beruffen hast / mit deiner Göttlichen Gnaden begaben / und deinen heiligen Geist geben und mittheilen wollest / durch welches Krafft wir gestärcket / wider alle Anfechtung des Teuffels bestehen / und deine geliebte Heerde durch das Blut unsers **H**Errn **J**ESU Christi deines Sohnes theurererkaufft und erworben / mit deinem heilsahmen und ungefälchten Wort noch deinem Göttlichen Wellgefallen weiden mögen / zu Lob und Preis deines heiligen Namens und Forderung der ganzen Christenheit. Solch unser Gebet (dieweil du es uns geheissen / gelehret und vertröstet hast) wollestu gnädiglich erhören / wie wir glauben und trauen durch **J**ESUM Christum deinen geliebten Sohn / Amen.

Wann nun dem Ordinato die Hände wieder von dem Haupte genommen / spreche der Superintendentens zu demselben weiter:

So gehet nun hin/und weidet die Heerde Christi/ so euch befohlen ist/ und sehet wol zu/nicht gezwungen/sondern willig/nicht um schändlichen Gewinns willen/sondern von Herzengrund / nicht als die über das Volck herrschen / sondern werdet ein Fürbilde der Heerde / so werdet ihr wenn der Erz-Hirte erscheinen wird / die unverwelckliche Krone der Ehren empfangen.

Der HERR IESUS segne euch / daß ihr viel Nutz und Frucht stiftet/ und euch und eure Zuhörer zur Seeligkeit befördern möget/ Amen.

CAP. XVI

Auf welche Weise ein neuer Prediger bey seiner Kirchen eingeführt werden soll.

Die Einführung des neuen Predigers soll von dem Special-Superintendenten in Gegenwart der Gerichts-Herrn oder Beamten/oder Bürgermeister und Rath jedes Orts/ imgleichen eines benachbarten Pfarherrns als Zeugen dieser Handlung nachfolgender Gestalt auf einen Sonn-oder Fest-Tag geschehen.

2. Die Gemeinde soll des vorigen Sonntages mit Fleiß ermahnet / auch von den Gerichten dazu mit Ernst angehalten werden / daß sie ohne Ausbleiben in der Kirchen den folgenden Sonn-oder Feyer-Tag erscheine;

Nachdem nun der einzuführende oder ein ander Prediger eine Predigt über den ordentlichen oder aufgegebenen Text verrichtet/ soll die Gemeinde nach geendigten gewöhnlichen Gottesdienst auf der Cantzel/ einmüthiglich singen:

Komm heiliger Geist ꝛc.

3. Unterdessen der Superintendenten für den Altar mitten in der Kirche (wo derselbe vorhanden) treten / eine kurze Rede von der Einsetzung/Nutz und Autorität des Heil. Predig-Ampts halten / und die Gemeinde zu einem brünstigen Gebet / Liebe und wil-

willigen Folge vermahnen/darauf den neuen Kirchen-Diener für ihm zu dem Gebet nieder knien lassen/ und die Gemeinde etwa auf folgende masse anreden:

Geliebte Freunde in Christo dem HERN / weiln ihr bis anhero nach dem Befehl unsers einigen Seeligmachers IESU Christi dem barmherzigen GOTT/als dem HERN der geistlichen Kirchen-Erndte um einen getreuen (Superintenderen oder Seelsorger) an des vorigen (seelig Verstorbenen oder anders wohin beförderten) Statt und Stell gebeten und angeruffen habt. So hat derselbige viel fromme GOTT euer Gebet und Seuffzen in Gnaden erhöret / und euch den gegenwärtigen N. N. zugewiesen und bescheret. Sind also wir nunmehr diesesmahl bey euch zugegen/das wir zufoberst wegen unsers HERN IESU Christi / dessen diese Sache ist / und wegen unsers gnädigen Fürsten und Herrn / solchen euren neuen Superintendenten und Pastoren oder Prediger installiren/in seine Kirche einführen/und euch allen ihn zu euren ordentlichen Seelen-Hirten fürstellen wollen.

Vermahnen euch demnach an statt des Allmächtigen Gottes / und ist hochgedachter unser gnädigen Fürstlichⁿ Landes-Obrigkeit / das ihr alle mit einander ihn dafür erkennen/ehren und lieben / auch für allen Dingen ihm folgen und gehorsahmen sollet / wenn er euch aus Gottes wahren Worte zu allem Guten antweist und unterrichtet / wie ihr es demahleins an Fürstlichen Tage für dem Richter alles Fleisches gedencket zu verantworten; denn das ist der ernste Wille und Meinung Gottes/ der uns Diener des Worts an seines Sohnes IESU Christi

sti statt sein Wort zu predigen verordnet hat / wie S. Paulus klärlich schreibet 1. Cor. 4. Dafür halte uns jedermann / nemlich für Christi Diener und Haushalter über Gottes Geheimniß / und 2. Cor. 5. Wir sind Gottes Botschafften an Christi statt / denn Gott vermahnet durch uns / ja Christus zeuget selber von uns Luce 10. Wer euch höret der höret mich / und wer euch verachtet der verachtet mich / wer aber mich verachtet / der verachtet den der mich gesand hat. Das sollet ihr sein bedencken / und euch für Verachtung und Ungehorsam hüten.

Ihr sollet auch hiernächst diesen euren Pastoren für seine treue Arbeit und Dienste alle dessen Einkommen / Gefälle und Gerechtigkeiten / die einem Prediger von Alters her allhier zustehen / gebühren und gehören / gerne und willig zu rechter Zeit gönnen / reichen und geben / ohn alle Verkürzung / Abrechnung und Hinterhaltung ; denn die Schrift zeuget Matth. 10. Ein Arbeiter sey seines Lohns und seiner Speise werth / ja der Herr Jesus selber hat es befohlen / die das Evangelium verkündigen / sollen sich vom Evangelio nehren 1. Cor. 9.

Und ihr Herr Pastor, nachdem ihr durch Schickung und Verordnung des allerhöchsten Gottes zum Kirchen-Dienst dieses Orts ordentlich beruffen und bestätigt seyd ; So sollet ihr hinwiederum auch auf eurer Seiten mit sonderbahren Fleisse oft und viel bey euch herzlich betrachten / und mit höchsten ernstern Fleisse bedencken / einmahl / mit was grosser Sorge / Mühe / Fleiß und Arbeit

Arbeit ihr euch dieser eurer Kirchen anzunehmen / und euer Amt bey eurer Gemeinde zu verrichten habt. Denn es ist warlich darum kein Schertz oder Kinder Spiel / sondern die werthe Kirche ist eine liebe Braut des Sohns Gottes / welche er so seurig und heß-brünstig liebet und meinet / daß er ihr das ewige Leben zu erlangen vom Himmel kommen / und sich mit aller Menschlicher Blöde beladen / auch sein eigen Blut vergossen / und für sie den allerschmähligsten und schmerzlichsten Creutz-Todt gelitten und auf sich genommen hat / damit er sie vom Tode errette. Darum sollet und müisset ihr eurer Seiten besten möglichsten Fleiß anwenden / daß ihr die Kirche und Gemeinde nicht mit Menschen-Träumen / sondern mit Göttlicher himmlischer Lehre unterrichtet / damit sie durch den heiligen Geist erwecket werde / dem HERN JESU Christo ihrem Seelen-Bräutigam Treu und Glauben zu halten / und darinnen unverrücket und unbefleckt zu verharren / daß ihr euch mit dem Apostel Paulo in der Wahrheit rühmen könnet : Ich habe euch einem Manne vertrauet / daß ich euch eine reine Jungfrau Christo zubrächte 2. Cor. 11. und habe euch nichts verhalten / das ich euch nicht verkündiget hätte / allen Nach Gottes Act. 20.

Sollet ihr also stets mit großem Ernst erwegen / wo Etwas durch eure Fahrlässigkeit / Ungeschicklichkeit und Unfleiß / der Gemeinde zum Mergerniß / Schaden un Nachtheil nichtwillig eingeführet / und veruhrfacht werden sollte / als wir nicht hoffen wollen / daß unser HERR GOTT

aller und jeder verwarloseten Seelen Blut von euren Händen fodern/ und es wigg an euch rächen und straffen werde / wie er zu zweyen mahlen überaus schrecklich gedräuet hat Ezech: 3. & 33. Capit.

Hiernechst sollet ihr predigen und lehren die heilige Prophetische und Apostolische Schrift/welche mit Göttlichen himmlischen Wunderzeichen befestiget / und eine Lucern und Leuchte unserer Füsse ist/ ja gar ein Licht auf unsern Wegen Psalm 119. Und nachdem die Erklärung der fürnehmsten Glaubens Articul darinnen man in Religions-Sachen diese Zeit über streitig ist/nach Anweisung des rechten wahren Catholischen Verstandes / der Prophetischen und Apostolischen Schrift artlich begriffen und verfasst stehet in den dreyen Haupt Symbolis, in der unveränderten Augspurgischen Confession, samt derselben Apologia in dem Schmalkaldischen Articulu, in den größern und kleinern Catechismis Lutheri; So erfordert es die Nohtdürfft des Kirchen-Amts / daß ihr in solchen Articulu eure Lehre vermöge der Erklärung und Inhalts istgemeldter Schriften getreulich führet/ nechst und nach der Heil Bibel dieselbigen oft und viel mit sonderbahrem Fleisse durchleset / und fürsichtig seyd/ daß ihr davon nicht abweichet/weder zur Rechten noch zur Linken / und euch keinen einigen Menschen davon auf schädliche Irre-Bege führen und abkehren lasset.

Alldieweil aber auch ferner das Amt und der Beruff eines Kirchen-Dieners erheischet / daß er der Kirchen nicht allein mit seiner Göttlichen Lehre / sondern auch mit

Kirchen-Ordnung.

99

mit guten Exempeln diene und fürleuchte / und also die Lehre so viel an ihm ist / mit einem Christlichen und ehrlichen Wandel ziere; So ist von neuen eine hohe Nothdurft / daß ihr hinführo euer Leben durch Gottes Gnade dergestalt anstellet / daß nicht allein euer Geschäfte und Fürnehmen / sondern auch euere Reden / Conuersation, Kleidung und Wandel / ja alle Worte und Wercke eine Lehre und Tugend seyn / damit ihr nicht / was ihr mit einer Hand bauet / mit der andern wieder abreisset / und die Kirche mit straffbahren Lastern und ärgerlichen Wandel gefährlich verderbet / in Erwöhnung / daß uns Predigern vor allen andern gesaget worden: Wehe dem Menschen / durch welchen Mergerniß kömmt / denn wer ärgert der geringsten einen die an mich glauben / dem wäre es besser / daß ein Mühlstein an seinen Hals gehänget / und er ersäuffet würde im Meer da es am tieffesten ist Matth. 18. Zu dem Ende solt ihr auß fleißigste lesen / wiederlesen und oft repetiren die Episteln Pauli an Timotheum / daraus ihr gnugsam zu ersehen habt / wie ihr beydes im Lehren und Leben euch halten / und auch euer eigenes Haus-Gesind regieren und erbauen müßet. Endlich sollet ihr nicht allein unserer hohen Obrigkeit treu und hold seyn / und ihren Nutzen fodern / alle Schaden aber nach bestem Wissen und Gerissen abwenden helfen / sondern auch für Sie zu Gott herzlich beten.

Seyd ihr nun solches alles zu thun nochmahls gesinnet / so machet euch dazu pflichtbahr und sprecht:

Ja.

N 2

Lasset

Lasset uns beten:

Almächtiger ewiger **GOTT** himmlischer Vater / du hast selbst dem armen Menschlichen Geschlecht zur Wohlfahrt/Trost und Hülffe das Hochwürdige Predig-
 Amt des heiligen Evangelii durch deinen geliebten Sohn unsern **HERN** **IESUM** **CHRISTUM** geordnet und eingesetzt / auch dabey gesaget und versprochen / daß welcher gläubet und getauffet wird / selig seyn soll. Dieweil uns aber unserer verderbten Natur und sündlichen Fleisches halben beschwerlich und gefährlich seyn wil / solchen so theuren und werthen Schatz wider den Anlauff des tausend-
 listigen und grimmigen Feindes ohne deine sonderliche Hülffe und gnädigen Beystand unter uns zu bewahren und zu erhalten ; So bitten wir dich herzlich / du wollest uns durch deine grundlose Gnade und Barmherzigkeit in Tröhten nicht verlassen / sondern mit deiner Göttlichen Hand über uns halten / und sonderlich über diesen deinen Diener **N.** welchem jesund das heilige Evangelium an diesen Orte zu predigen befohlen ist / damit solcher dein so heilsahmer / nützlicher und nohtwendiger Befehl biß zu Ende der Welt in deiner heiligen Christenheit wider alle Hinderung des bösen Geistes seinen Fortgang habe / und wir des himmlischen Trostes nimmermehr beraubt werden / durch **IESUM** **CHRISTUM** deinen geliebten Sohn unserm **HERN** / welcher mit dir und dem heiligen Geist / lebet und regieret / gleicher **GOTT** hochgelobet in Ewigkeit / Amen.

Höret

Höret das heilige Evangelium welches uns beschreibet der heilige Evangelist Johannes.

Der HERR saget zu seinen Jüngern: Wie mich mein Vater gesand hat/also sende ich euch / und als er solches gesagt hatte / blieb Er ste an und sprach: Nehmet hin den heiligen Geist / welchen ihr d. Sünde erlasset/ denen sollen sie erlassen seyn / und welchen ihr die Sünde behaltet/ denen sollen sie behalten seyn.

Der Superintendentens mag auch nachfolgende Epistel nach Gelegenheit der Zeit und Kirchen / um mehr Erinnerung wegen fürlesen/nemlich also:

So schreibet S. Paulus in der 1. Epistel an Timotheum am 3. Capitel.

Als ist je gewislich wahr / so jemand ein Bischoffs-Amt begehret/der begehret ein köstlich Werck / Es soll aber ein Bischoff unsträfflich seyn/eines Weibes Mann/nüchtern / mäßig / sittig / gastfrey / lehrhaftig / nicht ein Weinsäuffer/nicht heißig/nicht unehrliche Handthierung treiben/sondern gelinde/nicht haderhaftig/nicht geizig/der seinem eigenen Hause wol fürstehe / der gehorsahme Kinder habe/mit aller Ehrbarkeit. (So aber jemand seinem eigenen Hause nicht weiß fürzustehen/wie wird Er die Gemeinde Gottes versorgen) nicht ein Neuling/auf daß er sich nicht aufblase/ und dem Lasterer ins Urtheil falle./ er muß auch ein gut Zeugniß haben von denen die draussen sind / auf daß er nicht falle dem Lasterer in die Schmach und Stricke.

So ermahnet S. Paulus die Aeltesten der Gemeinde zu Epheso.

So habet nun Acht auf euch selbst/und auf die ganze Heerde / unter welche euch der heilige Geist gesetzt hat zu Bischöffen / zu weiden die Gemeinde Gottes/ welche Er durch sein eigen Blut erworben hat/denn das weiß ich / daß nach meinem Abschiede werden unter euch kommen greuliche Wölffe die der Heerde nicht verschonen werden/ auch aus euch selbst werden aufstehen Männer/ die da verkehrte Lehre reden/die Jünger an sich zu ziehen/ darum seyd wacker und denccket daran / daß ich nicht abgelassen habe / drey Jahr Tag und Nacht einen jeglichen mit Thränen zu vermahnen.

Laßt uns beten.

Ich gnädiger GOTT himmlischer HERR und Vater / du hast durch den Mund deines lieben Sohns unsers HERRN JESU Christi zu uns gesagt: Die Erndte ist groß / aber wenig sind der Arbeiter/bittet den HERRN der Erndte daß Er Arbeiter in seine Erndte sende; du hast uns auch durch deinen heiligen Apostel Paulum väterlich getröstet / und zugesaget / daß es dir O HERR und himmlischer Vater wolgefalle / durch die thörichte Predigt des Creuzes seelig zu machen / alle die so dran glauben / So bitten wir dich nun auf dieses ganz ernstlich/daß du deinen Diener N. hiezugegen / und uns alle/ welche du zu diesen so seeligen und hochwürdigen Predig-Amt beruffen hast / mit deiner Göttlichen Gnaden begaben/und deinen heiligen Geist geben und mittheilen wollest / durch welches Krafft wir gestärcket / wider alle

An

Anfechtung des Teuffels bestehen / und deine geliebte Heerde durch das Blut unsers HERRN JESU Christi deines Sohnes theuer erkauft und erworben / mit deinem heilsahmen und ungefälschten Wort nach deinem Göttlichen Wohlgefallen weiden mögen / zu Lob und Preis deines heiligen Namens und Forderung der ganzen Christenheit. Solch unser Gebet (dieweil du es uns geheissen / gelehret und vertroestet hast) ~~du~~ wollest gnädiglich erhören / wie wir glauben und trauen durch JESUM Christum deinen geliebten Sohn / Amen.

Solches alles zu erlangen / sprechet mit mir von Herzen das heilige Vater Unser:

Vater Unser / der du bist im Himmel / geheiligt werde dein Name / zu uns komme dein Reich / dein Wille geschehe wie im Himmel also auch auf Erden / unser täglich Brodt gib uns heute / und erlaß uns unser Schuld / als wir erlassen unsern Schuldigern / und führe uns nicht in Versuchung / sondern erlöse uns von dem Bösen / denn dein ist das Reich / die Krafft / und die Herrlichkeit in Ewigkeit / Amen.

4. Nach geendigtem solchen Gebet lege der Superintendent nach Christlicher gebräuchlicher Freyheit / so von dem HERRN Christo der Kirchen in äußerlichen Ceremonien gelassen / seine rechte Hand dem neuen Prediger auf das bloße Haupt / und spreche:

Dieweil wir im heiligen Geist versammelt / **GOTT** unserm himmlischen Vater durch JESUM Christum unsern HERRN und Heyland über euch angeruffen und gebeten / und deshalb nicht zweifeln / Er werde uns laut seiner Göttlichen Zusagung gnädiglich erhöret und gewehret haben;

Dem-

Demnach so ordne/confirmire und bestätige ich euch aus Göttlichen Befehl und Ordnung zu einem Diener und Seelsorger dieser Gemeinde hie zu gegen mit ernstlichen Befehl / daß ihr solcher ehrlich und ohne alle Vergerniß mit höchstem Fleiß und Treuen vorstehen wollet / wie ihr dann vor dem Gericht-Stuhl unsers HERN JESU Christi an jenem Tage Rede und Antwort geben müßet dem rechten Richter / im Nahmen des Vaters/und des Sohnes/ und des heiligen Geistes/Amen.

5. Der ganze Actus werde beschloffen mit dem Gesange:

HERR GOTT dich loben wir ic.

Oder:

Es woll uns GOTT genädig seyn ic.

Und beschlesse der Superintendentens mit dem gewöhnlichen Kirch-a-Gegen:

Der HERR segne dich/und behüte dich/

**Der HERR lasse sein Angesicht leuchten über dich/
und sey dir gnädig/**

**Der HERR erhebe sein Angesicht auf dich/ und gebe
dir seinen Frieden/Amen.**



Allge

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