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GENERAL CONFSSION AND ABSOLUTION IN
LUTHER'S REFORM OF THE CANON OF THE MASS


A Thesis Presented to the Faculty
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,
Department of Systematic Theology
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Sacred Theology

by


Daniel T. Torkelson

May 1997

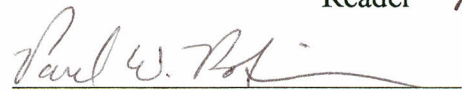
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INTRODUCTION

Is. 6:1-7 In the year that king Uzziah died I saw also the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple. Above it stood the seraphims: each one had six wings; with twain he covered his face, and with twain he covered his feet, and with twain he did fly. And one cried unto another, and said, Holy, holy, holy, [is] the Lord of hosts: the whole earth [is] full of his glory. And the posts of the door moved at the voice of him that cried, and the house was filled with smoke. Then said I, Woe [is] me! for I am undone; because I [am] a man of unclean lips, and I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips: for mine eyes have seen the King, the Lord of hosts. Then flew one of the seraphims unto me, having a live coal in his hand, [which] he had taken with the tongs from off the altar: And he laid [it] upon my mouth, and said, Lo, this hath touched thy lips; and thine iniquity is taken away, and thy sin purged. [King James Version]

The liturgy is *Gottesdienst*. God serves His people with His gifts of forgiveness and life. He absolves the people through His instrument, the Pastor. He absolves them through the proclaimed Word. He forgives their sins in Christ's own Body and Blood under the bread and wine. He does not give His gifts from a distance. He deigns to be present with His people to give His gifts. Where the *Gottesdienst* is going on, there God is present and giving His gifts. Isaiah saw the Lord with his own two eyes and received God's forgiveness with his own lips. As it was for Isaiah, so it is with us. Where the absolution is spoken and received, the Word of God preached and heard, and the Body and the Blood eaten and drunk, there is God giving His gifts to His people. This fact is at the core of the liturgy.

Such a study naturally begins with absolution. Absolution is, by definition, the delivered forgiveness of sins, the Gospel. This fact fuels Heiko Oberman's observation that the Reformation was centered specifically on the issue of Confession and Absolution and was indeed triggered by Rome's abuse of it in the Sacrament of Penance.¹ This issue

¹Heiko Oberman, *Martin Luther: Man between God and the Devil*, trans. Eileen Walliser-Schwarzbart, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 164.

drove Luther to nail the Ninety-Five Theses to the door of All Saints Church in Wittenberg on the Eve of All Saints, Oct. 31, 1517. Thesis One states the matter with great clarity.

1. When our Lord and Master Jesus Christ said, "Repent" [Matt. 4:17], he willed the entire life of believers to be one of repentance.²

For this study, we may note the central role of absolution in Luther's liturgical reforms, particularly the two masses, the *Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wuittembergensi* (1523) and the *Deutsche Messe* (1526). Feuerhahn observes here Luther's "evangelical principle."³ Bryan D. Spinks, the Anglican liturgiologist, who stands on more solid ground than many Lutherans in Lutheran liturgical studies, notes even more specifically the weight of justification for Luther's reforms of the liturgy.

According to Luther, it is in worship that the Christian receives primarily the Word of God's promise, and chiefly the promise of forgiveness; worship is an occasion when a man hears about justification. Reading Scripture was important, for it proclaimed the gospel; but the oral proclamation is the proper form of the word. Originally, the gospel was not a book, but a sermon, and the church not a *Federhaus* (pen (quill)-house), but a *Mundhaus* (mouth-house).⁴

Forgiveness, though, is such in Luther's thinking that it comes in more places and ways than simply by the mouth of the one who preaches justification. Absolution is given to us in many and varied ways. In his Eighth Invocavit Sermon of 1522, Luther preaches,

²Martin Luther, *Luther's Works: American Edition*, vol. 31: "Career of the Reformer," gen. ed. Helmut T. Lehmann, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1957), 25. Hereafter referred to as *AE*. *Luthers Werke: kritische Gesamtausgabe*, (Weimar: Hermann Bohlaus Nachfolger, 1912), 1:233, 10-11. Hereafter referred to as *WA*.

³Ronald R. Feuerhahn, "Luther's Mass: Origin, Content, Impact," (M. Phil. thesis, University of Cambridge, 1980), 23.

⁴Bryan D. Spinks, *Luther's Liturgical Criteria And His Reform Of The Canon Of The Mass*, (Bramcote, Eng.: Grove Books, 1982), 23.

For our God, the God we have, is not so niggardly that he has left us with only one comfort or strengthening for our conscience, or only one absolution, but we have many absolutions in the gospel and we are richly showered with many absolutions. For instance, we have this in the gospel: “If you forgive men their trespasses, your Father will also forgive you.” Also in the Lord’s Prayer: “Forgive us our trespasses,” etc. [Matt. 6:12]. A third is our baptism, when I reason thus: See, my Lord, I have been baptized in thy name so that I may be assured of thy grace and mercy. Then we have private confession, when I go and receive a sure absolution as if God himself spoke it, so that I may be assured that my sins are forgiven. Finally, I take to myself the blessed sacrament, when I eat his body and drink his blood as a sign that I am rid of my sins and God has freed me from all my frailties; and in order to make me sure of this, he gives me his body to eat and his blood to drink, so that I shall not and cannot doubt that I have a gracious God.⁵

Luther here identifies Baptism, Private Confession and the Lord’s Supper as each a means of bestowing quite surely the comfort which comes through the forgiveness of sins.

Particularly the Lord’s Supper, (because of its centrality to the Mass and Roman abuses), held a primary place in Luther’s liturgical reforms.

Luther’s reforms of the liturgy, therefore, disclose a very recognizable criterion.⁶

While the liturgies were considerably different from the Roman liturgy, Luther did not set out to change for the sake of change. Rather, Luther’s focus was the forgiveness of sins.

This is Luther’s weightiest contribution to liturgical reform and will be noted as we engage in a careful look at the two aforementioned masses.

Luther’s theology of worthy preparation for the Lord’s Supper will play a central role. Confession and absolution along with discernment of Christ’s Body and Blood are clearly the main focus of Luther’s understanding of such preparation. This study inquires into the actual inclusion of confession and absolution in the rites, particularly the *Formula*

⁵AE 51:99. WA 10^m:63(5)-64(7). In anticipation of what will be shown in the FM, the connection of Absolution to the Fifth Petition of the Lord’s Prayer is particularly noteworthy.

⁶A word for which I am indebted to Bryan Spinks’ title, *Luther’s Liturgical Criteria And His Reform of the Canon of the Mass. Reform of the Canon of the Mass*.

Missae and its words about the Pax Domini. From these words, observations will be made also for the role of the Lord's Prayer in the liturgy. Thus, this study seeks to answer two questions: Is General Confession and Absolution a part of Luther's liturgies? Why or why not?

This study will proceed in three parts. The first part, encompassing chapters one and two, seeks to lay out the data from Luther's liturgies, letting Luther speak first with "pro-active" comment from the secondary sources, those which simply teach the theology without critical comment. The Scriptural foundation for Luther's comments will be of primary concern. In these chapters also, we engage the question of what Luther tells us of his knowledge of the early church, particularly early liturgies, in his words. Lastly, this part hopes to rejoice in Luther's contributions to liturgics as both liturgies may prompt us to do.

The second part of the study will engage the modern scholarship of Luther, particularly as it pertains to the main subject of General Confession and Absolution and its place in the Mass according to Luther's liturgies. Here we observe one representative from each of three different "schools" of liturgical scholarship. Yngve Brilioth represents the "comparative liturgies"-school; largely a phenomenon of the modern liturgical renewal of the twentieth century. Luther D. Reed represents a viewpoint from within American Lutheranism. Bryan D. Spinks will conclude the chapter, giving us a more balanced, contemporary, appraisal of Luther from outside the Lutheran tradition. Spinks may also prompt us to apply Luther's reforms to the concerns of the moment in modern liturgiology.

The third part of this study provides the most challenging task; that of presenting the evidence, either for or against Luther, from the early liturgies. This is a necessary part of this study because both Luther and the modern critics address the subject of the early church's understanding of the topic in question, each coming to different conclusions. This part will also endeavor to place the various parts of the liturgy in question into their places within both the eastern and western traditions and make observations for what Luther knew of, and to what extent he borrowed from, each tradition.

Primary sources for this study will include the Scriptures, the Lutheran Confessions, the liturgies (both Luther's and the early liturgies to which his will be compared), Luther's writings, and the writings of the Church Fathers. Secondary sources will include the vast sea of scholarship on all of the primary sources above.

To that end, as Lutherans approach a new century, it is the prayer of this author that this study will prompt the readers to study and consider further the center of the *Gottesdienst*, the forgiveness of sins in the Means of Grace, and how Lutherans may continue to confess this glorious Gospel in their liturgies of the future.

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Sunday of Reminiscere, 1997

PART I:

THE DATA FROM LUTHER'S MASSES

CHAPTER I

THE FORMULA MISSAE ET COMMUNIONIS PRO ECCLESIA VUITTEMBURGENSIA [1523]

The Mass and The Lord's Supper

While this study focuses on Absolution in Luther's reforms of the liturgy, the overarching concern in reforms of the Mass such as *Formula Missae* (FM) and the *Deutsche Messe* (DM) was the Lord's Supper. In the case of FM, the Roman emphasis on the Lord's Supper as a *sacrifice* (where the believers "resacrifice" Christ, thus making the mass more of an anthropocentric matter), was of first importance. The sacrificial aspect became a hallmark of the Roman liturgy. Vajta notes,

For contrary to Christ's own Words of Institution, the Canon prayers stamped the mass as a sacrifice rendered to God on behalf of the living and the dead. Instead of a "eucharist," or an act of thanksgiving for the good gifts of God, the mass had become an act of propitiation by which men sought to appease God. This was incompatible with the Gospel, as Luther had come to understand it. The sacrifice of the mass stood against the gospel. Co-existence of the two was out of the question. It could be only one or the other and Luther chose the Gospel.¹

The consequence of the sacrificial orientation of the Roman Mass was that Luther was particularly compelled to engage in reform for the sake of the Service of the Sacrament (from the Preface to the end of the service). What prompted Luther in FM is clearly stated at the beginning of the Service of the Sacrament.

From here on almost everything smacks and savors of sacrifice. And the words of life and salvation [the Words of Institution] are imbedded in the midst of it all, just as the ark of the Lord once stood in the idol's temple next to Dagon. And there was no Israelite who could approach or bring back the ark until it "smote his enemies in the hinder parts, putting them to a perpetual reproach," and forced them to return it--which is a parable of the present time. Let us, therefore, repudiate everything that smacks of sacrifice, together with the entire canon and retain only that which is pure and holy, and so order our mass.²

¹Vilmos Vajta, *Luther on Worship*, (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1958), 31.

Of utmost importance was what had become of the Words of Institution. Imbedded in a series of prayers and nearly not heard by the people, the Words of Institution, by which the church had received the gift in the first place were lost. From Luther's own words, then, the ordering of FM involved two matters:

- 1) the repudiation of all things sacrificial.
- 2) the retention of all things "pure and holy."³

[We may deduce from the context that the retention of the "pure and holy" things was the retention of all things that were in accord with the Words of Institution and did not interfere with their primacy].

Thus, for the theology and structure of FM, central importance belongs to the *Verba Domini*. In Luther's understanding of the Mass, everything derives from the *Verba*. In "The Babylonian Captivity of the Church," he writes,

According to its substance, therefore, the Mass is nothing but the aforesaid words of Christ: "Take and eat, etc.," as if he were saying: "Behold, O sinful and condemned man, out of the pure and unmerited love with which I love you, and by the will of the Father of mercies, apart from any merit or desire of yours, I promise you in these words the forgiveness of all your sins and life everlasting. And that you may be absolutely certain of this irrevocable promise of mine, I shall give my body and pour out my blood, confirming this promise by my very death, and leaving you my body and blood as a sign and memorial of this same promise. As often as you partake of them, remember me, proclaim and praise my love and bounty toward you, and give thanks."⁴

Structurally, what this means for FM is best considered in comparison with the *Missa Romana*, the liturgy with which Luther had grown up.

²WA 12:211, 15-22. AE 53:26.

³Ibid.

⁴WA 6:515, 17-26. AE 36:40. There are any number of quotations from Luther to this effect. A good compilation is included in Spinks, *Luther's Liturgical Criteria*, 33-34.

<i>Missa Romana</i>	<i>Formula Missae</i>
Offertory	--
Preface (w/Sanctus)	Preface (w/o Sanctus)
Pre-consecratory prayers	--
Consecration	Words of Institution
Our Father	Sanctus (elevation)
(w/ <i>libera nos</i> and <i>Commixtio</i>)	Our Father
Pax Domini	Pax Domini
Agnus Dei	--
Communion Prayer	--
Communing of Priests	Communing of Priests
Communing of the Faithful	Communing of the Faithful (Agnus Dei) ⁵

After the Nicene Creed and prior to the Words of Institution, the service is considerably abbreviated. While it is not necessary for our purposes to go into great detail into these abbreviations,⁶ two things must be noted. One, the service moves with an urgency toward the *Verba*. Only the Sursum Corda and Preface stand between the Nicene Creed and the Words of Institution. Secondly, the Sanctus is moved from its traditional position following the Preface to immediately following the Words of Institution. More will be said on this change below. For the purpose of this study, though, what follows the Words of Institution is of utmost importance.

⁵Fritz Schmidt-Clausing, *Zwingli als Liturgiker*, (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1952), 115. This work provides a very helpful side-by-side comparison of the *Missa Romana*, *Formula Missae*, and Zwingli's *Epicheiresis*. The inclusion of Zwingli's liturgy was not necessary to this study since Luther's concern with FM is the Roman Mass.

⁶If one wishes to examine Luther's reforms prior to the *Verba* in more detail, Spinks' work is highly recommended. Cf. also Hans Bernhard Meyer, *Luther und die Messe*, (Paderborn: Verlag Bonifacius-Druckerei Paderborn, 1965).

Absolution and the Pax Domini

The most detailed explanation of any part of the liturgy after the Words of Institution belongs to the Pax Domini. Luther rejoices in the Pax as a sure point of absolution.

But immediately after the Lord's Prayer shall be said, "The peace of the Lord," etc., which is, so to speak, a public absolution of the sins of the communicants, the true voice of the Gospel announcing the remission of sins, and therefore the one and most worthy preparation for the Lord's Table, because faith holds to these words as coming from the mouth of Christ himself.⁷

Most notably, the *Pax Domini* is called an absolution and, because it is so, it is the "most worthy preparation for the Lord's Table, if faith holds to these words as coming from the mouth of Christ himself." Here, along with the stress on the forgiveness of sins, Luther notes the significance of the bishop's role in speaking the Pax. Such a statement bears a remarkable resemblance to the words of the Fifth Chief Part in *The Small Catechism*.

What is Confession?

Confession has two parts. First, that we confess our sins, and second, that we receive absolution, that is, forgiveness, from the pastor as from God himself, not doubting, but firmly believing that by it our sins are forgiven before God in heaven. [SC V¹⁶]⁸

In the *Mundhaus*, the mouth that speaks the *Pax* is the mouth of the pastor and so it is the Office which is given to speak God's absolution. It is also given to the Office of the Keys to administer the Lord's Supper and to see to it that no one may receive the Body and the Blood of Christ unworthily.⁹

⁷WA 12:213, 7-11. AE 53: 28-29.

⁸*Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche. Herausgegeben im Gedenkjahr der Augsburgischen Konfession 1930, Elfte Auflage.* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), 517. Hereafter referred to as *BKS*.

Here, too, we may note Luther's very specific rubrics for the speaking of the Pax.

On this account I would like to have it pronounced facing the people, as the bishops are accustomed to do, which is the only custom of the ancient bishops that is left among our bishops.¹⁰

In keeping with the theology of the absolution, the bishop is directed to speak it facing the people. The action is from God to the communicant through his instrument, the bishop.

Although the specific rubric of the congregational response is not given, that "faith holds to these words as coming from the mouth of Christ himself" seems to suggest only one appropriate response: the "Amen" of faith.¹¹

Also inherent in the words of Luther's rubric is that the practice of saying the *Pax* facing toward the people is an ancient one that has been retained. Luther suggests that the bishops of his time had no idea as to why this rubric was retained. But Luther's point is an important one: What happens in the liturgy confesses the theology of the liturgy: who is giving what gifts to whom. The liturgical rubrics act as important indicators of the original theology of the liturgy. What one may deduce from the survival of such an action despite changes in the theology of the Mass itself is important here: What Luther under-

⁹Cf. Edgar M. Carlson, "The Doctrine of the Ministry in the Confessions," *Lutheran Quarterly* VII:1 (Spr. 1993), 79-91, and Norman E. Nagel, "The Office of the Holy Ministry in the Confessions," *Concordia Journal*, 14:3 (July 1988), 283-299. Also Kent A. Heimbigner, "The Relation of the Celebration of the Lord's Supper to the Office of the Holy Ministry," (STM, thesis, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, MO, 1991). The first two studies make the point that much of the Lutheran doctrine of the Office of the Holy Ministry begins with the Office of the Keys. Heimbigner's is a particularly helpful study in gaining an appreciation of the pastor's role in the celebration of the Sacrament.

¹⁰WA 12:213, 11-13. AE 53:29.

¹¹This point is lost in some modern Lutheran liturgies. In "Divine Service II" (both settings) of the LC-MS' own *Lutheran Worship*, the congregational response given to the Pax is "And also with you," which, in effect, turns the Pax into a mutual endeavor, rather than from Christ to us through His instrument, the pastor. This response is ignorant of the Luther's understanding of the Pax as an Absolution and of the attendant theology of the Office of the Ministry which accompanies it. Cf. *Lutheran Worship*. Prepared by The Commission on Worship of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1982), 171, 191.

stood of the Pax as an Absolution did not originate with him, but it belongs to Scripture and ancient practice and its importance for an understanding of the liturgy is vital.

We may here consider Luther's Scriptural understanding of peace here with regard to its meaning for the liturgy. All of the same ingredients which Luther identifies in the Pax (namely, peace, absolution, and the Office of the Holy Ministry) may be found in John 20:19-23.

Then the same day at evening, being the first [day] of the week, when the doors were shut where the disciples were assembled for fear of the Jews, came Jesus and stood in the midst, and saith unto them, Peace [be] unto you. And when he had so said, he shewed unto them [his] hands and his side. Then were the disciples glad, when they saw the Lord. Then said Jesus to them again, Peace [be] unto you: as [my] Father hath sent me, even so send I you. And when he had said this, he breathed on [them], and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost: Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; [and] whose soever [sins] ye retain, they are retained. [King James Version]

Of first importance in this text is the coming of Jesus, after his resurrection, for the purpose of peace. Luther explains in a 1526 sermon:

This means now this figure, that Christ has come in through the closed doors, and stands in the middle of the disciples. For this standing is none other than that he stands in our hearts, there he is in the middle of us, so that he is ours, and they have him among them. And when he stands now also in the middle of our hearts so we immediately hear at once a lovely voice, which says to our consciences, "Be at peace. There is no danger. Your sins are forgiven you and are taken away, and should harm you no more."¹²

Here again we see Luther's definition of peace as forgiveness. Something of Luther's understanding of the Divine Service is expressed here. The risen Lord comes into the midst of His disciples and forgives them. The same happens in the Divine Service. The Risen

¹²Martin Luther, "Predigt am Sonntag nach Ostern [1526]," in *Dr. Martin Luthers Sämtliche Schriften*, hrsg. Dr. Joh. Georg Walch, (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1881), vol 1: *Kirchenpostille*, 725-726.

Lord is present forgiving sins. For the Pax this happens through his human instrument, the pastor. The people simply receive in faith.

And this same entrance, which the Lord does here, he did through closed doors, and goes through wood and stone, and still leaves everything whole and nothing broken, and yet comes into them. By this is illustrated by which way the Lord comes into our hearts and stands in us: it happens through the Preaching Office (*das geht durch das Predigtamt zu*). Therefore one should in no way despise a mortal man into whose mouth he has put his Word, because God has urged that his Word be preached; that we don't get the idea that anyone should wait on a special sermon from heaven, that God should speak with him by his mouth. Therefore, to whom he wishes to give faith, there he needs the Means that he receives through human preaching and the external, lovely Word.¹³

The Office of the Holy Ministry (*Predigtamt*) is central to this text according to Luther. This Office is the Office of the Holy Spirit. Thus, when Jesus breathed on the disciples, He put them into the Apostolic Office by giving them the Holy Spirit. Where the Holy Spirit is, there is Christ. For Luther, these are Jesus' "words of institution" in John for the Office of the Holy Ministry.

And here you see that Christ throws out and institutes the Preaching Office of the external Word for every Christian; for he himself came with this Office and external Word.¹⁴

Christ is the pattern for the Office of the Holy Ministry. He came to earth and exercised it, forgiving the sins of many through the external words of his mouth. He puts men in this ministry. Luther can say that he gives the Ministry to all because through it they received the forgiveness of sins.¹⁵

¹³Ibid., 726.

¹⁴Ibid., 730.

¹⁵This is remarkably confessed in the ordination prayer of Luther's 1539 rite, "The Ordination of Ministers of the Word." The prayer is remarkable because it is a paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer. It reads [in part]: Upon this thy divine command, we pray heartily that thou wouldst grant thy Holy Spirit richly to these thy servants 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 firm against the devil, the world, and the flesh,

One element in the John 20 and the sermon that is lacking in Luther's exposition of the Pax is the Holy Spirit. In fact, Spinks' suggestion that an epiclesis be included in modern versions of Luther's liturgies may be understood as a tacit suggestion that Luther's liturgies have no pneumatology at all.¹⁶ Perhaps this is understood in the Pax through Luther's narrow definition of the work of the Spirit. Where the Holy Spirit is, there is the forgiveness of sins. Because the *Predigtamt* for Luther is the Office of Word and Spirit, Luther's highlighting of the Office in his rubrics also may imply more of a pneumatology than Spinks realizes.

Nevertheless, and most important for our purposes, is that Luther's explanation of the Pax is quite clear. It is an absolution. This point is thoroughly Scriptural. In the structure of the liturgy, it comes between the *Verba* and the Distribution. Further liturgical data may help toward a better understanding of the Pax in FM.

The Lord's Prayer as a general confession of sins

Luther clearly identified the point of Absolution in the Pax, which his rubrics suggest should be said "immediately after the Lord's Prayer" (*statim post orationem dominicam dicatur*).¹⁷ The *statim* of Luther's rubric effectively removes the actions associated with the Lord's Prayer: the commixture and the *libera nos*. The result is that no interruptions should take place between the praying of the Our Father and the bishop's speak-

to the end that thy name may be hallowed, thy kingdom grow, and thy will be done." Martin Luther, "Ordinatio ministrorum verbi," in WA 38:430, 11-24. AE 53:126.

¹⁶Bryan D. Spinks, "Berakah, Anaphoral Theory and Luther," *Lutheran Quarterly* 3:3, (Aut. 1989), 275.

¹⁷WA 12:213, 7-8. AE 53:28.

ing of the Pax. Luther's rubric may also be understood to indicate a connection between the theology of the Lord's Prayer and the Pax which follows.¹⁸

Such a move reveals the intimate connection between doctrine and liturgy. For instance, the Fifth Chief Part of the *Small Catechism* proves a tremendous help in that it teaches that the Lord's Prayer is given as a general confession of sin before God. In answer to the question, "Which sins should one confess?," general confession *für Gott* (*coram Deo*) is recommended for "*aller Sünden sich Schuld geben, auch die wir nicht erkennen, wie wir im Vaterunser tun.*" [SC V³⁻⁴].¹⁹ Thus we have a definition of general confession. General confession before God enjoins the Christian to consider to whom he is confessing and who he is before Him. It means the confessing of all sins; that is to say, that one is a debtor before God.

As the *Small Catechism* notes, general confession before God is made in the praying of the Lord's Prayer. Luther leaned on the Fifth Petition as a guide to its placement in the liturgy, particularly the first half of the petition, "*Und verlasse unser Schulde, als wir verlassen unsern Schuldigern*" [SC III¹⁵⁻¹⁶].²⁰ The Fifth Petition asks God to be who He is, that is, forgiving and gracious, to us as a result of our confession of who we are to Him, debtors in need of forgiveness. The condition of the penitent is stated tellingly in the LC's exposition of this petition.

This part now relates to our poor, miserable life, which, although we have and believe the Word of God, and do and submit to his will, and are supported by His gifts and blessings, *is nevertheless not without sin*. For we still stumble daily and

¹⁸I. Furburg, *Das Pater Noster in der Messe*, (Lund: CWK Geerups Forlag, 1968), 196-199. Hans Bernhard Meyer, *Luther und die Messe*, 193.

¹⁹*BKS*, 517.

²⁰*Ibid.*, 514. Furburg, 265ff.

transgress because we live in the world among men who do us much harm and give us cause for impatience, anger, revenge, etc. (LC III⁸⁶).²¹

Luther's definition of sin, in both the Fifth Chief Part and the Fifth Petition, is the overwhelming inclination of people to do away with God, as is shown by the sheer number of our sins and inability to do anything about them. Finally, in the confession of the utter depravity of their sinfulness, God calls on His people to consider His true nature according to his promise of forgiveness.

It is therefore the intent of this petition that God would not regard our sins and hold up to us what we daily deserve, but would deal graciously with us, and forgive, as He has promised, and thus grant us a joyful and confident conscience to stand before him in prayer. (LC III⁹²).²²

In the Lord's Prayer, the Christian confesses his guilt before the Father who created him and sustains him, which is true of him before he even commits sins.²³

The lack of a eucharistic prayer in FM is a matter of considerable debate. With the exception of the Preface, all reference to the mass as a eucharist is removed. In FM, the incorporation of general confession and absolution can be viewed as a means by which Luther was able to remove certain parts of the liturgy that were sacrificial or eucharistic in a sacrificial way.

In this regard we may consider the weight also of the First Petition, "Hallowed be thy Name," to this portion of the liturgy. The Lord's Prayer follows the Sanctus, which

²¹BKS, 683. English translation in *Concordia Triglotta: Die Symbolischen Bücher der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche*, (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1921), 723. Hereafter *Triglotta*.

²²BKS, 684. *Triglotta*, 723, 725.

²³Cf. also Stephen D. Reed, "The Decalogue in Luther's Large Catechism," *Dialog* (Fall 1983), 264-269. Reed's article begins from the Large Catechism's exposition of the Fifth Petition.

traditionally was associated with the eucharistic prayer. This is true also of the Roman Canon. The suggestion here is that, where the Lord's Supper is being celebrated, God's Name is being hallowed. Thus, the Large Catechism confesses,

For God's Name was given to us when we became Christians and were baptized, so that we are called children of God and have the Sacraments through which he brings us into Himself so that all which is God's should serve our need [LC III³⁷].²⁴

“Our need” is the forgiveness of sins. God freely forgives His people, and in so doing, His Name is hallowed. Where the Sacraments are being given, there His Name is hallowed. This shall be considered further below with regard to the Sanctus.

With the Lord's Prayer/Pax combination constituting a general confession and absolution post *Verba* and prior to the Distribution, Luther has constructed a tight unit within a tight unit. FM is free of the fanciful words and actions that nearly obscured these parts of the liturgy along with the *Verba* in the *Missa Romana*. The liturgy moves quickly to the *Verba* and nearly as quickly to the Distribution. As was noted before, particularly in the Service of the Sacrament, Luther's changes were considerable. One may not conclude, however, as did Brilioth and Reed, that these changes were liturgical barbarism.²⁵ Nor should these changes in any way be understood that Luther was unconcerned with the whole theology of the Lord's Prayer. The Second and Fifth Petitions are essential simply for the placement of the Lord's Prayer in the Mass and it will be shown below that this was no innovation. We have already seen his reforms as the product of the recognition of

²⁴BKS, 670.

²⁵Yngve Brilioth, *Eucharistic Faith And Practice Evangelical And Catholic*, trans. A.G. Hebert. (London: SPCK & New York: Macmillan, 1939), 117. Luther D. Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1947), 366.

what is at the heart of the Mass. Next, we consider these changes in the context of the whole of Luther's changes in FM.

The Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ and the structure of FM

Up to this point, the focus of this study has been on establishing the Lord's Prayer and Pax Domini as a general confession and absolution, and to some extent, this has been rooted in the greater context of FM itself, particularly its Service of the Sacrament. But it remains to be shown what these reforms meant for FM as a whole and the theology of the Lord's Supper that it confessed. Much of this study has focused on what FM indicates concerning the Roman understanding of the Lord's Supper. Now we shall endeavor to draw conclusions from FM for the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper. In this section, we shall follow Scripture as the guide and criterion.

One may not consider the import which Luther recognizes in the Words of Institution without considering the Real Presence of Christ's Body and Blood "under the bread and wine for us Christians to eat and to drink" [SC VI¹⁻²].²⁶ Luther received great comfort from the certainty of Christ's words at the Last Supper, "This is my body...This is my blood." Of course, there was no good reason to disbelieve these words or to treat them symbolically.²⁷ The *Small Catechism* gives a most clear, concise, literal, and simple explanation of the Lord's Supper from the *Verba*.

²⁶BKS, 519-520.

²⁷This issue became perhaps more pronounced and important later as Luther took up the struggle against the "fanatics," (i.e. Zwingli, Bucer, Oecolampadius), who denied the Real Presence. Cf. Hermann Sasse, *This Is My Body*, (Adelaide, Aus.:Lutheran Publishing House, 1977). Rome's doctrine of transubstantiation, although itself an abuse, did not deny a physical presence of Christ in the Body and Blood as did the fanatics.

What is the Sacrament of the Altar? It is the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, under the bread and wine, for us Christians to eat and to drink, instituted by Christ Himself.

Where does this stand written? So write the holy Evangelists Matthew, Mark, Luke, and St. Paul:

Our Lord Jesus Christ, in the night when he was betrayed, took bread, gave thanks, broke it and gave it to his disciples and said, “Take, eat. This is my body, which is given for you. Do such to my remembrance.”

In the same way he took also the cup after the evening meal, gave thanks and gave [it] to them and said, “Take and drink, all, from it. This cup is the new Testament in my blood, which is given for you for the forgiveness of sins. Do such, so often as you drink, to my remembrance.” [SC, VI,¹⁻⁴]²⁸

For Luther, though, the Real Presence of Christ’s Body and Blood was important because they are what our Lord says he is giving and these are *for you* to eat and to drink. The Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ is the Gospel. The Lord gives His Body and Blood to be eaten and drunk for the forgiveness of sins. Thus the following question of the *Small Catechism* rejoices in the benefits of eating and drinking in the Lord’s Supper.

What is the benefit of such eating and drinking? That is shown by these words, “given for you” and “shed for the forgiveness of sins,” namely, that there is forgiveness of sins, life and salvation given for us through such word in the Sacrament: because where (*wo*) forgiveness of sins is, there is also life and salvation (SC VI⁵⁻⁶).²⁹ [emphasis added]

The *Small Catechism* makes much of the location of Christ’s Body and Blood in the Sacrament. Where the Body and Blood of Christ are really present there one receives with them the forgiveness, life, and salvation which they give. Thus, Luther redefined the Sacrament in terms of *beneficium* rather than Rome’s *sacrificium*. This is the heart and core

²⁸BKS, 519-520. Translation provided.

²⁹BKS, 520. Translation provided.

of the theology of the Lord's Supper to Luther. Thus, the structure of FM's Service of the Sacrament is also best understood from the Lord's Words of Institution.

Contrary to much modern scholarship, which treats the *Verba* prescriptively, Luther does not use the actions of the Last Supper, which are recounted therein, to give the liturgy its "shape."³⁰ The Lord's Supper is not an action-by-action repetition of the actions of the Last Supper. Such interpretations have largely held the field in modern liturgical studies in the 20th century. For Luther, the gift of the forgiveness of sins in the Lord's Supper holds primary importance to actual actions such as giving thanks, offerings, fraction, and the like.

The Sanctus in the theology of FM

Between the *Verba* and the Pax is the Sanctus. Luther's rubrics call for the elevation of the Body and Blood of Christ to occur at the "Benedictus qui venit" portion of the Sanctus, thus giving the Sanctus a close connection to the Verba. The *Sanctus*, taken from Isaiah 6, gives us an important Scriptural reference point in interpreting what is actually happening in FM's Service of the Sacrament. By lifting it from its place in MR following the Sursum Corda and Preface and moving it, Luther uses the order to teach what is going on. Spinks notes the significance of this.

In FM Luther retained the Sursum Corda and Preface, which for modern liturgists is the classical introduction to the eucharistic prayer. However, it has already been noted above from the printed texts of the period, (and it is in Langford's meditations), that the canon was regarded as beginning with *Te igitur*, and thus in Luther's day, these elements were not considered to be part of the canon. This partly

³⁰This language is borrowed from perhaps the most influential of these scholars, Dom Gregory Dix, who shapes the Lord's Supper's liturgy around four actions. Cf. Dom Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, (Westminster: Dacre Press, 1947). Brilioth, who will receive considerable attention below, gives five aspects to the Lord's Supper by such methods.

accounts for its retention in 1523. The mention of angels and archangels was deleted since its natural connection with the Sanctus was broken. Likewise the Sanctus, which at high mass was sung by the choir, was not regarded as part of the canon, but merely an anthem leading into it, accompanied by the sacring bell, or even with *Benedicus qui venit*, sung while the priest hurried silently through the canon and read the words of institution. Luther thus found a new, and arguably more fitting place for this anthem, after the words of institution.³¹

The moving of the Sanctus reflects yet another profoundly Scriptural point in the ordering of FM. Here Luther rejoices in the text from which the Sanctus came in its entirety, Isaiah 6:1-7.

In the year that king Uzziah died I saw also the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple. Above it stood the seraphims: each one had six wings; with twain he covered his face, and with twain he covered his feet, and with twain he did fly. And one cried unto another, and said, Holy, holy, holy, [is] the Lord of hosts: the whole earth [is] full of his glory. And the posts of the door moved at the voice of him that cried, and the house was filled with smoke. Then said I, Woe [is] me! for I am undone; because I [am] a man of unclean lips, and I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips: for mine eyes have seen the King, the Lord of hosts. Then flew one of the seraphims unto me, having a live coal in his hand, [which] he had taken with the tongs from off the altar: And he laid [it] upon my mouth, and said, Lo, this hath touched thy lips; and thine iniquity is taken away, and thy sin purged [King James Version].

Isaiah here describes the heavenly throne room come to earth in the location of the temple in Jerusalem. This pericope was important to Luther, not strictly as a Lord's Supper text, but as a text which helps to interpret the real meaning of the liturgy as *Gottesdienst* (God serving out his gifts to his people). Luther wrote of this pericope in his lectures on Isaiah,

The angels were borne aloft like birds, that is, they served God not with their endeavours, but with a confession in which they sing the Trishagion, that is, the thrice holy, whereby they indicate that all holiness in the whole earth must be ascribed to God alone. All the words are grandly put. They shouted. The truest worship of God is a pure and simple confession. God says (Ps. 50:23): "He who brings thanksgiving as his sacrifice honors me". The other things we have, such as gifts, intellect, good habits, our best endeavours, let these be concealed. We must

³¹Spinks, *Luther's Liturgical Criteria*, 31-32.

glory in the Word alone and confess that we have received these gifts from God, we do not bring them along...It is necessary that God be hallowed and that I be defiled, but in that act of hallowing I must know, believe, praise, and confess that God Himself is alone holy, that He gives and does not receive.³²

The liturgy confesses with the angels that the Lord is present. They sing the song of God's holiness. In the Lord's Supper, He is present in His Body and Blood under the bread and wine and His Name is hallowed for this presence. The Lord who is present in Isaiah six comes to take away guilt and forgive sins, as He does for Isaiah. These are gifts from God and the Sanctus serves to confess what happens in the Lord's coming and giving His presence in His Body and Blood "for us Christians to eat and to drink." FM further confesses this with the elevation at the point of the *Benedictus qui venit*.³³ He who comes in His Body and Blood is the Lord. He comes to forgive sins.

The whole of Isaiah 6:1-7 gives us even more. If we may briefly summarize Isaiah's vision through verse seven, we see that it basically happens in four parts:

1. Isaiah sees the Lord's Presence (vv. 1-2)
2. The seraphim cry, "Holy, holy, holy" (vv. 3-4)
3. Isaiah confesses his sins (v. 5)
4. The Lord forgives Isaiah (vv. 6-7)

³²WA 31^{II}:48-49, 26-6. AE 16:70.

³³Keith Alan Killinger, "Hoc Facite: The Role of the Words of Institution in the Lutheran Understanding of the Celebration of the Lord's Supper in the Sixteenth Century," (Th. D. diss., Lutheran School of Theology, Chicago, 1992), 80. "For Luther the Elevation was the public assertion of the reality of the real presence." Also Carl F. Wisloff, *The Gift of Communion*, trans. Joseph M. Shaw, (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1964), 156-157. Tom G.A. Hardt, *Venerabilis et adorabilis Eucharistia: Eine Studie über die lutherische Abendmahlslehre im 16. Jahrhundert*, hrsg. von Jürgen Diestelmann, (Göttingen, Germany: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988), 251-253.

What follows the Lord's Presence and the singing of the Trisagion in the Temple is Isaiah's confession of sin and the Lord's forgiveness of Isaiah. Spinks notes the importance of this for Luther.

Luther saw the Sanctus as a true sacrifice of praise--something which men could render to God. But there is deeper significance. Isaiah was overawed by a sense of sin. One of the seraphim cleansed him by putting a burning coal on his lips and saying, "Behold, this has touched your lips; your guilt is taken away, and your sin forgiven." Then the prophet was sent out as a servant of God. For Luther, the gospel and the mass were for sinners because both were a declaration of sins forgiven. The bread and wine are the tokens or seals of that promise, and they touch the lips of the communicant as a declaration of forgiveness. After communion, the Christian is sent out as a servant of God. Thus, the Sanctus fits the Testament of forgiveness.³⁴

Spinks brings us to the threshold of the theology of the structure of FM. According to Spinks, the Sanctus and its position is particularly relevant for the understanding of the *Verba Domini* (Real Presence) and the Distribution. Spinks does not draw conclusions for the Lord's Prayer and the Pax in their placement after the *Verba*.

If one compares the order of events in Is. 6:1-7 to the structure of FM from the *Verba* to the Distribution, it may be observed that the order of events in Isaiah 6 is replicated in the Service of the Sacrament in FM.

Words of Institution-Real Presence	The Lord's Presence (vv. 1-2)
Sanctus (Holy, holy, holy)	Sanctus (v.3)
The Lord's Prayer (Confession)	Isaiah's Confession (v.5)
The Pax Domini (Absolution)	The Lord's Absolution (vv.6-7)

Isaiah's response to being in the presence of the Lord is not a confession of specific sins as much as it is a general confession of his own sin spoken directly to the Lord. The Lord's absolution of Isaiah in this pericope may add a great deal of meaning to Luther's comment

³⁴Spinks, *Luther's Liturgical Criteria*, 36. Spinks stops short of Luther on Isaiah 6:1-11 in that Luther saw this also as Isaiah's call into the prophetic office, rather than a general sending of the Christian into the world.

that the Pax as an absolution is “the one and most worthy preparation for the Lord’s Table, if faith holds to these words as coming from the mouth of Christ himself.”³⁵

It must be here admitted that Luther does not explain the placement of the Sanctus where it is in FM or its theology. In DM, there is an explanation. Nevertheless, Luther’s ordering of the liturgy from the *Verba* to the Distribution in FM should not be considered accidental. Luther has allowed the whole pericope from which the Sanctus is given to inform the liturgy at this particular point in the service.³⁶

In FM, therefore, Luther has gone to great pains to reform the liturgy from the central point of the Words of Institution and the theology of the Real Presence of Christ’s Body and Blood which they proclaim. While FM is a considerable abbreviation of the Roman rite, it may be better concluded, as did Luther, that the Roman rite was considerably enlarged as it became unglued from the *Verba*. Spinks helpfully adds that Luther’s new canon should not be understood as a “remnant of the old canon.”³⁷ These reforms have a life and identity of their own apart from the sacrificialism of the earlier rites. As a result of this Gospel criterion, Confession and Absolution in the Lord’s Prayer and the Pax comes forward as a very Scriptural way of reorientating the Mass around the forgiveness of sins.

³⁵WA 12:213, 11. AE 53:28-29.

³⁶Bryan D. Spinks, *The Sanctus in the Eucharistic Prayer*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 151.

³⁷Spinks, *Luther’s Liturgical Criteria*, 37.

Conclusions

FM represents a major revision of the Roman Canon. In fact, the modern classification of Luther's liturgies as "conservative" perhaps downplay the radicalness of the removal of the Verba from the eucharistic prayer and the moving of the Sanctus to its position after the Verba. These moves are radical, but they are not arbitrary. They speak to the theology of the moment in the liturgy. The attention of the people is fixed upon Christ who is present in His Body and Blood.

To this end, confession of sins is an appropriate and Scriptural response on the part of the people to being in the presence of the Lord's Body and Blood. Absolution is that which the Lord cannot help but do for repentant sinners in their confession. In summary, confession and absolution is a factor in FM for three reasons.

1. Luther clearly identifies the Pax Domini as an absolution. To the end that it is such, it is the best preparation for the Lord's Table. Luther has leaned on his understanding of the words of Christ in John 20:19-21 to confess that where the Lord gives His peace, He gives the forgiveness of sins. Where the Lord is present He is forgiving sins.

2. Luther's rubric calls for the Pax "immediately following the Lord's Prayer." In the removal of the superfluous actions of the Roman Canon, Luther implies an inherent connection between the Lord's Prayer and the Pax. The connection is directly linked to the Fifth Petition which is a general confession of sins by the one who prays the prayer. Further historical evidence for this connection is inherent in the historical data in the later chapters of this study.

3. Luther's use of the Sanctus is contextual in that his incorporation of it reflects the whole of Isaiah 6:1-7. This explains why the Sanctus was moved after the Verba. The Verba are consecratory in that they affect the Real Presence. The Sanctus proclaims this as truth. In the end, the Sanctus fulfills a double role at this point in the liturgy. It proclaims the presence of Christ in His Body and Blood and it prepares the worshipper to receive Christ's Body and Blood by foreshadowing the general confession and absolution which follows. The people confess as did Isaiah (Is. 6:5) and are forgiven by God as was Isaiah (Is. 6:6-7).

A more positive appraisal of Luther's reforms in FM is appropriate. Luther clearly did not engage in reform of FM for the sake of reform. The changes which he made have serious theological freight and reflect not only that he understood the inner workings of the liturgy but also the centrality of the Verba to this liturgy. The best Luther could have hoped for in reforming the Roman Canon was a new awareness of the Verba by the people. This he accomplished. Luther would expand on this in his later liturgy: the *Deutsche Messe*.

CHAPTER II

THE DEUTSCHE MESSE (1526)

The *Deutsche Messe* of 1526 presents a new set of circumstances and a different occasion for liturgical revision. FM had set out to reform the Roman Mass. DM, while not completely uninterested in the Roman Mass, was set forth by Luther primarily for catechetical reasons. While an historical investigation into the pressure placed on Luther to write a German Mass is not necessary to this study, it may be appropriate before considering the liturgy itself, to consider Luther's own words on the necessity of this service.

Liturgy and Catechesis

The fact that DM is a German service perhaps should not be overemphasized. Spinks, for instance, considers DM an early example of liturgical inculturation, thus reading Luther through the eyes of concerns unique to modern liturgiology.¹ Certainly, that a German service should be devised for German-speaking people was part of Luther's desire to write this liturgy. In "Against the Heavenly Prophets" [1525], Luther wrote,

I would gladly have a German mass today. I am also occupied with it. But I would very much like it to have a true German character. For to translate the Latin text and retain the Latin tone or notes has my sanction, though it doesn't sound polished or well done. Both the text and notes, accent, melody, and manner of rendering ought to grow out of the true mother tongue and its inflection, otherwise all of it becomes an imitation, in the manner of apes.²

¹Bryan D. Spinks, "Berakah, Anaphoral Theory and Luther," 275. Spinks, *Luther's Liturgical Criteria*, 32. Spinks concludes from this that DM does not represent any major theological changes in addition to those made in FM. DM is a further refinement (in language and style) of what was begun with FM.

²WA 18:123, 19-24. AE 40:141.

But how much of a concern this was for Luther is a matter for further inquiry. In Luther's lengthy introduction to the *Deutsche Messe*, he places a great deal of weight on the importance of catechesis and its connection with the liturgy as the major concern for the writing of a German mass.

It is the first thing that the German *Gottesdienst* needs a plain, fair, and simple catechism... This instruction or catechization I cannot put better or more plainly than has been done from the beginning of Christendom and retained until now, i.e. in these three parts, the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Our Father. These three plainly and briefly contain exactly everything that a Christian needs to know.³

The liturgy is shaped by, and thus confesses, the very heart of Christian doctrine, which Luther defines as the Decalogue, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. While the musical styles of the hymns may indicate something of its cultural ambitions, the order of DM itself cannot be explained culturally. It is best explained catechetically.

As far as the Christian is concerned, this teaching is absolutely vital toward reception of the Lord's Supper. Luther even went to the point of recommending that all who intend to receive the Sacrament in the Divine Service be "questioned point-by-point and give answer what each part means and how they understand it."⁴ For Luther this is no joking matter and the seriousness with which he makes this point is important to an understanding of his growing catechetical concerns, finally realized in the publishing of the Small and Large Catechisms.

And let no one think himself too wise for such child's play. Christ, to train men, had to become man himself. If we wish to train children, we must become children with them. Would to God such child's play were widely practiced. In a short time we would have a wealth of Christian people whose souls would be so enriched in Scripture and in the knowledge of God that of their own accord they would add

³WA 19:76, 1-10. AE 53:64-65.

⁴WA 19:76, 15-17. AE 53:65.

more pockets, just as the *Loci Communes*, and comprehend all Scripture in them. Otherwise, people can go to church daily and come away the same as they went. For they think they need only listen at the time, without any thought of learning or remembering anything. Many a man listens to sermons for three or four years and does not retain enough to give a simple answer concerning his faith--as I experience daily. Enough has been written in books, yes: but it has not been driven home to the hearts.⁵

From Luther's words, the situation behind the writing of the German Mass was not simply the call for a German service for German people, but the importance of the need to catechize. Luther is already in 1526 quite aware of the ignorance of the laity in doctrinal matters. Also driving this issue was the emergence of Zwingli and the threat he posed to the laity's understanding of the Real Presence of Christ's Body and Blood. It would not be until 1528's visitations, though, that Luther would be pushed to write the Catechisms. Nevertheless, DM is freighted with the theological concern of catechesis and reveals Luther's understanding of the importance of the liturgy in the teaching of the people.

Confession and Absolution and Catechesis

All of the foregoing has importance for this study because of the role which confession and absolution, particularly private, played in the pastoral care of Luther. It was Luther's practice, (as suggested by the earlier quote), that the Christians entrusted to his pastoral care be questioned on their knowledge of doctrine and Scripture on an annual basis. This practice, which Luther retained from ancient church practice, was in the form of an annual examination (*interrogatio de fide*).⁶ Confession and Absolution was a part of

⁵WA 19:78, 12-24. AE 53:67.

⁶For examples of this form of questioning in the early church, cf. August Hahn, ed., *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der Alten Kirche*, (Breslau: Verlag von E. Morgenstern, 1897), 34-36.

this questioning only when the questions were not answered to the pastor's (Luther) satisfaction.

Since 1551, the *Small Catechism* has included what may be regarded as a form of the *interrogatio de fide* in the "Christian Questions and Their Answers."⁷ The title of this collection of simple questions and answers includes the words "prepared by Dr. Martin Luther for those who intend to go the Sacrament."⁸

We may note from the opening questions of this section the emphasis of the confession of sin.

1. *Do you believe that you are a sinner?*
Yes, I believe it. I am a sinner.
2. *How do you know this?*
From the Ten Commandments, which I have not kept.
3. *Are you sorry for your sins?*
Yes, I am sorry that I have sinned against God.
4. *What have you deserved from God with your sins?*
His wrath and ungrace, temporal death, and eternal damnation.
5. *Do you hope to be saved?*
Yes, I hope.⁹

Preparation for reception of the Body and the Blood, as we saw previously and again here, involves the confession of sins, and although no absolution is here given, the hope of

The forms contained herein are notably shorter and treat Trinitarian theology. These forms eventually gave birth to the Creeds.

⁷M. Reu, *Dr. Martin Luther's Small Catechism: A History of its Origin, its Distribution, and its use: A Jubilee Offering*, (Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1929), 44. Reu notes that the first edition to include these questions appeared in Erfurt in 1548. It did not become a standardized part of the *Small Catechism* until 1551.

⁸*Dr. Martin Luthers Kleiner Katechismus*, (Leipzig und Dresden: Christian Gottlob Hilscher, 1680), 55. Hereafter *KK 1680*. Because *BKS* does not give a German translation of this addendum, this text will be treated as the *textus receptus*. M. Reu has contested the authorship of this collection of questions, suggesting that it was written by Dr. Lange of Erfurt, although his evidence is circumstantial at best, citing that its authorship was discussed at its printing. This author sees no reason to conclude, as is stated by the text, that it is Luther's. Reu, 44-45.

⁹*KK 1680*, 56.

salvation in the fifth question certainly refers to this. The importance of confession is further punctuated at the end of the document in questions nineteen and twenty.

19. What should admonish and incite a Christian often to receive the Sacrament?
*From God's place, both the command and the promise of Christ the Lord should move him, and in respect to himself, the trouble that lies heavy on him, on account of which such command, encouragement, and promise are given.*¹⁰

The Christian in this world is always *simul justus et peccator*. The fact that he is still a sinner is always his need for the Sacrament and he can never receive it too much. Luther picks up on this once again in the last question and his reason for doing so is not to be missed. If a person is not sensible of his trouble with sin, question twenty suggests that he is not alive. As long as the Christian lives, he is ever conscious of his sin.

20. But what shall a person do if he cannot feel such trouble and feel no hunger and thirst for the Sacrament?
*To him no better advice can be given than that he first grip his bosom, and feel whether he still have flesh and blood, and that he certainly believe what the Scriptures say of it in Gal. 5 and Rom. 7.
 Secondly, that he look around to see whether he is still in the world, and think that there will be no lack of sin and trouble, as the Scriptures say in John 15 and 16; 1 John 2 and 5.
 Thirdly, he will certainly have the devil also about him, who with his lying and murdering, day and night, will let him have no peace within or without, as the Scriptures picture him in John 8 and 16; 1 Peter 5; Eph. 6; 2 Tim. 2.*¹¹

Here Luther invokes the unholy Trinity, the devil, the world, and our sinful flesh, as a means by which the Christian may know of his ever-present trouble with sin and ongoing need for the Sacrament. The Christian's need for the Sacrament is his own sin. Not to know and confess this truth is a sin in itself.

¹⁰KK 1680, 61-62.

¹¹KK 1680, 62.

The rest of the questions concern themselves particularly with the doctrine of the Lord's Supper and may be divided accordingly:

1. The crucified Christ is the Christ of the Lord's Supper. (Questions 6-10)
2. The Lord's Supper is the benefits of Christ's death in the Real Presence of Christ according to His Words of Institution. (Questions 11-16).
3. The centrality of the Sacrament to the Christian life. (Questions 17-20).

Questions 6-10 are notably punctuated twice in questions nine and ten with the phrase "He died for me and shed His blood for me." Such repetition may be worthy of note. In FM, the concern was simply that the Mass be reformed to fit the doctrine of the Real Presence of Christ's Body and Blood and the forgiveness of sins they bestow. In DM, the catechetical concern is the same that underlies the "Christian Questions and their Answers," that the people know and be able to confess the forgiveness of sins in the testament of Christ's Body and Blood. This topic will be taken up again in the section on the Admonition to Communicants in DM.

At the center of this line of questioning is the death of Christ and the benefits of that death in the Lord's Supper. The document centers on the person and work of Christ. They are not to be separated. What a Christian confesses of the person of Christ he knows from the work of Christ. Only God could atone for the sins of the world. He did so in the person of Christ. He did so in the death died on the cross. This gets punctuated twice in questions nine and ten.

9. What, then, has Christ done for you that you trust in Him?
He died for me and shed blood for me on the cross for the forgiveness of sins.
10. Did the Father also die for you?
He did not; for the Father is God only, the Holy Ghost likewise; but the Son is true God and true man; He died for me and shed His blood for me.

The answers to both nine and ten are framed around the expression, “He died for me and shed His blood for me.” The Lord’s Supper’s death is Christ’s death.

At the heart and core of the annual examination for Luther was that the people understood and confessed the Real Presence and knew how to prepare for the eating and drinking of Christ’s Body and the Blood. Such who could not confess this or didn’t know it could not receive the Lord’s Supper, as it would be to their detriment (1 Cor. 11:28).

The point is put succinctly in the *Large Catechism*.

For it is not our intention to admit to it and to administer it to those who know not what they seek, or why they come. (LC V²)¹²

For Luther, such examinations, being centered in the Gospel of the forgiveness of sins in the Body and the Blood, were matters of the Gospel and unquestionably central to pastoral care.¹³

In light of the foregoing, we may notice that questions one and two and thirteen and fourteen of this interrogation bear certain theological and semantical similarities.

1. Do you believe that you are a sinner?

¹²BKS, 709. *Triglotta*, 752, 753

¹³Claus Harms and Peter Brunner disagree that the *interrogatio de fide* was a necessary matter of pastoral care on the grounds that the examinations were legalistic. Brunner makes distinctions between those who could answer the questions (which it cannot be said that Luther did) and those who could not and draws conclusions from them that are damaging to such a practice. He writes: “This examination, announced by Luther as early as 1523, was conducted in the form of a doctrinal test. For the “intelligent people” one such examination sufficed for a lifetime. As a rule it was to be administered once annually. In special cases it could be omitted entirely. Unfortunately Luther used the expression “confession” after the year 1524 also as a designation for this examination; and this proved disastrous for the further development. In fact, this examination, when applied to the “simple” and “unintelligent,” soon included also the confession of individual sins and the reception of absolution.” Peter Brunner, *Worship In The Name Of Jesus*, trans. Martin H. Bertram. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1968), 287-288. Brunner’s conclusions are ignorant of the theology of the ancient *interrogatio de fide* and the centrality of the *Verba* in both the ancient and the Lutheran versions. Cf. also Claus Harms, *Die gottesdienstliche Beichte als Abendmahlsvorbereitung in der evangelischen Kirche in Geschichte und Gestaltung*, Schriften der pommerschen Gesellschaft zur Forderung evangelisch-theologischer Wissenschaft. (Greifswald: Verlag Ratsbuchhandlung L. Bamberg, 1930), 64ff.

- Yes, I believe it; I am a sinner.*
2. How do you know this?
From the Ten Commandments; these I have not kept.
13. So you believe that the true body and blood of Christ are in the Sacrament?
Yes, I believe it.
14. What brings you to believe this?
The word of Christ, "Take, and eat, this is My body; Drink all of it, this is My blood."¹⁴

Questions one and thirteen are "faith questions," characterized by the words "you believe." Questions two and fourteen are "Word questions." What a Christian confesses as true articles of faith he may only confess from the Word of God. A Christian, being *simul justus et peccator*, believes and confesses his own sinfulness before God. He knows this, as was observed before, from the mirror of the law, the Decalogue. A Christian at the altar believes and confesses that what He receives is the Body and Blood of the Lord because he has the Word of Christ, "this is My body...this is My blood." The similarities in questions one and two and questions thirteen and fourteen underscore quite remarkably what Luther taught concerning preparation for the reception of the Sacrament, which is the purpose given for this addendum to the Catechism in the first place.

The best and most worthy preparation for the Lord's Supper happens in both types of confession. The first part of preparation is the confession of one's sins before God. The second type of confession is the confession of faith in the testament of Christ's Body and Blood. We may observe both types of confessions operative in the Admonition to Communicants of DM.

¹⁴KK 1680, 56, 59.

The Service of the Sacrament in DM

The structure of the Service of the Sacrament in DM is short in comparison to FM.

<i>Formula Missae</i>	<i>Deutsche Messe</i>
Sursum Corda	--
Preface	Admonition/Lord's Prayer
<i>Verba</i>	<i>Verba</i>
Sanctus	Sanctus
Lord's Prayer	--
Pax	--
Agnus Dei	Agnus Dei
Distribution	Distribution

The basic Service of the Sacrament has three parts in DM: The admonition, the Verba (Distribution), and the Sanctus. Most notably, the Admonition to the Communicants, given a prescribed wording, is a paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer and is followed immediately by the *Verba*.

By 1526, Luther had come further in his understanding of the role of the Lord's Prayer in the liturgy. For Luther, the whole action of the Sacrament began with the Lord's Prayer. In a letter to Wolferinus of 1543, Luther explained the theology behind what may be observed in the order of DM. Luther wrote this letter largely to clarify matters with the pastor concerning Melancthon's ongoing discussion of reception of the Sacrament.

So also we wish to define the time or the handling of the Sacrament, that it begins from the beginning of the Lord's Prayer and continues through all the communing, the cup being drunk which completes the oblation, the people are dismissed and released from the Altar.¹⁵

¹⁵*WA Briefwechsel* 10:348, 27-30. Jürgen Diestelmann, "Konsekration: Luthers Abendmahlsglaube in dogmatisch-liturgischer Sicht, and Hand von Quellenausügen dargestellt," in *Luthertum*, Heft 22 (Hamburg und Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1960), 34. Diestelmann writes: "Luther saw by this that the Sacramental handling began already with the Lord's Prayer, which stood before the Verba Testamenti in the German Mass and all of Bugenhagen's masses. He did this so because the Our Father as a eucharistic table prayer established the proclamation of the Institution mandate as a

Thus, everything in the liturgy from the Our Father through the communion itself is one whole unit, centered on the Verba.

As a result, the Verba come into their own importance for the order of DM. Every part of the liturgy here is directed by the Verba. Diestelmann notes the Our Father's paraphrase as a εὐλογήσας in place of the eucharistic prayer.¹⁶ The exhortation to discern the testament of Christ's Body and Blood call on the worshipper to confess the forgiveness of sins in the Real Presence. The Verba follow, thus consecrating the elements. The Sanctus then proclaims the Really Present Christ in His Body and Blood.

Even Luther's rubric for the distribution of the elements reflects a "massively realistic" understanding of the Verba in DM.¹⁷ Luther calls for the communing of the people with the Body of Christ immediately following the words, "This is my Body," thus interrupting the Verba.

It seems to me that it would accord with [the institution of] the Lord's Supper to administer the sacrament immediately after the consecration of the bread, before the cup is blessed; for both Luke and Paul say: He took the cup after they had supped, etc. [Luke 22:20; 1 Cor. 11:25].¹⁸

While Sasse is probably correct when he asserts that Luther had been confused as to the meaning of the expression, "After they had supped..." this rubric reveals the absolute

εὐλογήσας rather than a εὐχαριστήσας and thereby he saw it as the first main part of the action of the sacrament."--p. 34. Translation provided.

¹⁶Diestelmann, "Konsekration," 34.

¹⁷Hans Grass, *Die Abendmahlslehre bei Luther und Calvin: Eine kritische Untersuchung* (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1954), 118.

¹⁸WA 19:99, 5-9. AE 53:81.

integrity with which Luther confessed the Verba.¹⁹ The Verba were determinative for the order of the liturgy down to the manner of distribution. This rubric, perhaps more than any other, reflects the absolute preoccupation of Luther with catechesis in this liturgy. The distribution of the Body immediately following the consecration of the bread and before the consecration of the cup facilitated the teaching of the Real Presence of Christ's Body and Blood in the Sacrament. The Words are the consecration of the elements. Short of arguing for a moment of the consecration, Luther's letter to Wolferinus indicates that the Real Presence in the liturgy is temporal and liturgical. The Real Presence occupies a period of time in the liturgy, beginning with the Lord's Prayer and extending through the pastor's leaving of the altar area.

The *Sanctus* is retained in its position after the *Verba*, perhaps for the same reasons as were shown in FM.²⁰ The Sanctus also paraphrases Isaiah 6 through verse four, indicating that Luther understood more than the thrice-holy utterance to have a place in the Sacrament. The elevation at the singing of the *Benedictus qui venit* is retained, and Luther's rubric gives insight into this retention.

We do not want to abolish the elevation, but retain it because it goes well with the German Sanctus and signifies that Christ has commanded us to remember him. For just as the sacrament is bodily elevated, and yet Christ's Body and Blood are not seen in it, so he is also remembered and elevated by the word of the sermon and is confessed and adored in the reception of the sacrament.²¹

¹⁹ Hermann Sasse, "Consecration and Real Presence," in *Scripture and the Church: Selected Essays of Hermann Sasse*, transl. Ronald R. Feuerhahn and Jeffrey J. Kloha, (St. Louis: Concordia Seminary, 1995), 315.

²⁰ Charles J. Evanson, "The Service of the Sacrament" in *Lutheran Worship: History and Practice*, ed. Fred L. Precht, (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1993), 422-423.

²¹ *WA* 19:99, 17-22. *AE* 53:82.

Clearly, the theology of the Sanctus and its bearing on the Real Presence of Christ's Body and Blood is important and accounts for its placement after the Verba. This is an important matter for Luther and may be noted in the fact that rubric concerning the elevation is not couched in the permissive language that is so characteristic of this liturgy. The theology of the Real Presence of Christ's Body and Blood calls for its proclamation in the elevation. Killinger concludes from this:

That the elevation "goes well with the German Sanctus" leaves little doubt that Luther fully intended the trisagion to be impressed into people's minds as a the proper response to the sight of the consecrated bread and wine.²²

There are two different interpretations of this order. Spinks, in what may be termed the "majority view," argues that Luther moved the Sanctus after the *Verba*.²³ Knolle, on the other hand, argues that the *Verba* were moved forward.²⁴ Both Knolle and Spinks seem to understand the important theology which Luther found in the Sanctus. Knolle's unique contribution is that he argues that the Preface-Verba-Sanctus ordering is a reflection of Luther's understanding of adoration. Nevertheless, a great deal of import is rightly given in both interpretations of the order here. In FM, the Sanctus as a "response to the sight of the consecrated bread and wine" went so far as to include confession and absolution in the Lord's Prayer and the Pax. While DM does not replicate this order, its concerns are the same. Whether one argues that it was the *Verba* or the Sanctus which was moved, the

²²Keith Alan Killinger, "Hoc Facite: The Role of the Words of Institution in the Lutheran Understanding of the Celebration of the Lord's Supper in the Sixteenth Century," (Th. D. diss., Lutheran School of Theology, Chicago, 1992), 81. Carl F. Wisloff, *The Gift of Communion*, trans. Joseph M. Shaw, (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1964), 156-157.

²³Spinks, *Luther's Liturgical Criteria*, 35-36. Meyer, 185-190.

²⁴Theodor Knolle, "Luthers Reform der Abendmahlsfeier in ihrer konstitutiven Bedeutung," in *Schrift und Bekenntnis: Zeugnisse Lutherischer Theologie*, hrsg. von Volkmar Hentrich und Theodor Knolle, (Hamburg und Berlin: Furche-Verlag, n.d.), 89.

importance for our understanding of what is happening in the liturgy at this moment is the same. The Sanctus stands out as a significant indicator of the Real Presence of Christ's Body and Blood and suggests only one proper response, adoration, which evidently for Luther called for the confession of sins and the reception of absolution for them. In DM, the absolution is given in the Body and Blood of Christ.

The role of the Sanctus in DM is more narrowly focused than in FM. Whereas in FM the Sanctus proclaimed the Real Presence of Christ's Body and Blood after the proclamation of the Verba and foreshadowed the confession and absolution to follow, in DM the Sanctus merely focuses on the Verba and proclaims the presence of Christ's Body and Blood. This is reflected in Luther's German hymn for the Sanctus, "Jesaja, den Prophet," paraphrasing only of Is. 6:1-4 instead of the first seven verses as was observed in FM.

Confession and the Admonition to the Communicants

The admonition is the proper beginning of the service of the Sacrament and is a paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer. While in FM the Fifth Petition accounted for the placement of the Lord's Prayer, this is not entirely true of DM. Diestelmann's argument that the Lord's Prayer in DM is a εὐλογίασας not withstanding, the Lord's Prayer is always a general confession of sins in that the Fifth Petition is prayed. Thus, while the Fifth Petition's importance is muted in DM, it should not be ruled out entirely in the theology of the canon. Luther's comments on the origin of the admonition give us an idea of his understanding of its meaning.

Whether such paraphrase and admonition should be read in the pulpit immediately after the sermon or at the altar, I would leave it to everyone's judgment. It seems that the ancients did so in the pulpit, so that it is still the custom to read general prayers or to repeat the Lord's Prayer in the pulpit. But the admonition itself has since become a public confession. In this way, however, the Lord's Prayer together with a short exposition would be current among the people, and the Lord would be remembered, even as he commanded at the Supper.²⁵

Luther did not question the "reinterpretation" of the admonition as a public confession.

He subsumed the current understanding of the admonition as a confession into his thinking that the admonition should be based on the Lord's Prayer.

It is generally accepted that the Admonition was an addition to the liturgy originating in the Middle Ages. There is some disagreement in the scholarship concerning which medieval Admonition Luther knew. Christoph Wetzel points to the Admonition of Durandus.²⁶ Hans Bernhard Meyer, acknowledging the difficulty of establishing Luther's roots in this matter, agrees that Durandus provides the general structure which Luther incorporated in DM: Preaching, the Lord's Prayer, and the admonition concerning Christ's Body and Blood. Meyer also suggests the Admonition contained in Johann Eck's *Pfarrbuch*.²⁷

The Admonition reflects Luther's pedagogical concern and contains a two-part structure of which the first is the paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer:

Friends in Christ: Since we are here assembled in the name of the Lord to receive his Holy Testament, I admonish you first of all to lift up your hearts to God to pray with me the Lord's Prayer, as Christ our Lord has taught us and graciously promised to hear us.

²⁵AE 53:80. WA 19:96(29)-97(2).

²⁶Christoph Wetzel, *Der Träger des liturgischen Amtes*, in *Leiturgia: Handbuch der Evangelischen Gottesdienste*, ed. Karl Ferdinand Mueller and Walter Blankenburg, (Kassel: Johannes Stauda Verlag, 1955), IV:291.

²⁷H.B. Meyer, *Luther und die Messe*, 191-192.

That God, our Father in heaven, may look with mercy on us, his needy children on earth, and grant us grace so that his holy name be hallowed by us and all the world through the pure and true teaching of his Word and the fervent love of our lives; that he would graciously turn from us all false doctrine and evil living whereby his precious name is being blasphemed and profaned.

That his kingdom may come to us and expand; that all transgressors and they who are blinded and bound in the devil's kingdom be brought to know Jesus Christ his Son by faith, and that the number of Christians may be increased.

That we may be strengthened by his Spirit to do and to suffer his will, both in life and death, in good and in evil things, and always to break, slay, and sacrifice our own wills.

That he would also give us our daily bread, preserve us from greed and selfish cares, and help us to trust that he will provide for all our needs.

That he would forgive our debts as we forgive our debtors so that our hearts may rest and rejoice in a good conscience before him, and that no sin may ever fright or alarm us.

That he would not lead us into temptation but help us by his Spirit to subdue the flesh, to despise the world and its ways, and to overcome the devil with all his wiles.

And lastly, that he would deliver us from all evil, both of body and soul, now and forever.

All those who earnestly desire these things will say from their very hearts: Amen, trusting without any doubt that it is Yea and answered in heaven as Christ has promised: Whatever you ask in prayer, believe that you shall receive it, and you will [Mark 11:24]. Amen.²⁸

The paraphrase itself is both prayer and catechesis. The address is confessional in that it asks that God would “turn us from all false doctrine and evil living whereby his precious name is blasphemed and profaned.” Within the explanations of the petitions, Luther gives that which the Lord does *pro nobis* in this prayer and, negatively, the ways in which we sin against them. For instance, sins against the third petition might be considered the refusal of the prayer to God to “break, slay and sacrifice our own wills.” The fourth petition asks God to “preserve us from greed and selfish cares.” The fifth petition prays God that we might not be overcome in fear over our sins. The sixth asks for the Lord to

²⁸AE 53:79. WA 19:95(22)-96(19).

help us to “subdue the flesh, to despise the world and its ways, and to overcome the devil with all his wiles.” The Christians, after the pastor prays such a paraphrase on behalf of the congregation (essentially speaking the confession for the congregation), then respond with the “Amen.”²⁹

While the general confession of the Fifth Petition does not account specifically for the placement of the Lord’s Prayer, it cannot be overlooked as not having any importance for DM. The general confession of sins that the Lord’s Prayer is stands as a stark contrast to the confession of faith in the testament of Christ’s Body and Blood in the second half of the Admonition.

The Exhortation of The Testament of Christ’s Body and Blood

The second part of the paraphrase completes Luther’s two-fold understanding of preparation for the reception of the Lord’s Supper with an exhortation to discern the Body and the Blood in the testament of the Lord’s Supper.

Secondly, I admonish you in Christ that you discern the Testament of Christ in true faith and, above all, take to heart the words wherein Christ imparts to us his body and his blood for the remission of our sins. That you remember and give thanks for his boundless love which he proves to us when he redeemed us from God’s wrath, sin, death, and hell by his own blood. And that in this faith you externally receive the bread and wine, i.e., his body and his blood, as the pledge and guarantee of this. In his name therefore, and according to the command that he gave, let us use and receive the Testament.³⁰

As was shown before, Luther had been brought to the realization that, while confession and absolution was the most worthy preparation for the Lord’s Supper, the laity was

²⁹Meyer, *Luther und die Messe*, 125.

³⁰WA 19:96, 20-28. AE 53:79-80.

uncatechized to the point that they were not certain as to what they were receiving in the Lord's Supper.

Perhaps this is why Luther did not include a Pax in DM. The special catechetical concern of DM was that the communicant know that he received the forgiveness of sins in the Body and Blood, the testament which God gave to the communicant in the suffering and death of Christ, as they are spoken in the Words of Institution. Thus, the exhortation at the end: "In his name therefore, and according to the command that he gave, let us use and receive the Testament." Use of the Sacrament was the reception of it for the forgiveness of sins; sins which had been confessed in the paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer just spoken.

The admonition thus rejoices in both "types," for lack of a better term, of confession. The general confession of sins in the Lord's Prayer is followed with an exhortation to discern the testament of Christ's Body and Blood; that is, to confess the forgiveness of sins which is received in the Body and Blood of Christ.

Note also that the pastor is given to speak the prayer, and may even do so from the pulpit if so desired. Here the pastor rejoices in a number of different roles that are given him in his office. The admonition could be considered a proclamation of the Gospel if spoken from the pulpit. In its didactic nature, the pastor fulfills the teaching office in speaking the admonition. Third, we may note that it is his Office which is given to speak, teach, and pray the admonition all at once. Because of his core commitment to the *Verba*, there is no separation between Luther's pastoral care and his liturgical reforms.

While Luther's rubrics in DM are notably permissive,³¹ it is with the wording of the paraphrase that Luther forgoes permissiveness and suggests a prescribed wording.

I would, however, like to ask that this paraphrase or admonition follow a prescribed wording to be formulated in a definite manner for the sake of the common people. We cannot have one do it one way today, and another, another way tomorrow, and let everybody parade his talents and confuse the people so that they can neither learn nor retain anything. What chiefly matters is the teaching and guiding of the people. That is why here we must limit our freedom and keep to one form of paraphrase or admonition, particularly in a given church or congregation--if for the sake of freedom it does not wish to use another.³²

The two-part structure, which so perfectly mirrors Luther's two-part understanding of preparation for the Lord's Supper, was not to be lost in a variety of different wordings.

This reinforces the importance of catechesis as the overarching concern in Luther's order in DM.

What the admonition accomplished within the entire structure of FM is truly a remarkable achievement: the entire removal of anything that might be termed sacrificial.³³ If one approaches this study from Luther's concern for the removal of sacrifice, then it is quite clear what Luther recognized as vital for the congregation's preparation: the reception of the Body and the Blood of Christ as nothing but gift. Rather than seeing itself "resacrificing" Christ (or in modern Roman expression, "re-presenting Christ's

³¹A point which Spinks uses to justify the inclusion of a eucharistic prayer in potential variations of this liturgy. Spinks, "Berekah, Anaphoral Theory, and Luther," 275.

³²*AE* 53:80. *WA* 19:97, 3-11.

³³This is contrary to Diestelmann who argues that the Lord's Prayer in DM subsumes the role of the eucharistic prayer in that liturgy. This is difficult to accept simply on the grounds of Luther's exposition of the prayer itself. A eucharistic prayer imbedded in a part of the liturgy which is so thoroughly catechetical seems to be a contradiction. Jürgen Diestelmann, "Konsekration: Luthers Abendmahlsglaube in dogmatischliturgischer Sicht, an Hand von Quellenauszügen dargestellt," in *Luthertum*, Heft 22 (Hamburg und Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1960), 34.

sacrifice”), the hearer did only what the Lord would have him do when he comes into His presence: confess his sins and receive the Lord’s absolution.³⁴ Luther had cited the repudiation of all things sacrificial in FM, even though he included the Sursum Corda and the Preface, which for that generation were still associated with the sacrifice prayers in the Roman Mass. In DM, the Sursum Corda and Preface are replaced with the admonition, the Verba, the Sanctus, and the Distribution.³⁵

Conclusions

If FM’s place in the liturgies of Luther is as a reform of the Roman Canon, then DM may properly be understood as the first genuinely “Lutheran” Mass in that the order reflects Luther’s ever-growing appreciation of the centrality of the Verba in the doctrine of the Lord’s Supper. In FM, the doctrine of the Sacrament of the Altar which is confessed in the liturgy is confessed by both the Verba and the Sanctus. In DM the order replicates the order of things as they happened in the Verba alone. From this, we may deduce a few conclusions:

1. The paraphrase of the Lord’s Prayer is, as Diestelmann suggested, a εὐλογία in keeping with the Verba that Jesus took the bread and blessed it. This move reflects Luther’s concern that the Lord’s Supper be confessed in the liturgy as a *beneficium*, rather than a *sacrificium*. This should not be understood that Luther was in

³⁴Wisloff makes the marvelous point of the vanity of the association of anything sacrificial in the mass with Luther. The Real Presence of Christ’s Body and Blood, in and of itself, is judgment on any notions of sacrifice in the mass, according to Luther. Wisloff, 140-155.

³⁵Modern liturgical scholarship in Luther’s liturgies has been reluctant to conclude anything for the further reform of the Roman canon in DM, perhaps to their discredit. This will be discussed further in the following section. Cf. Brilioth, Reed, and Spinks for various accounts of the impact of DM.

any way against eucharistic prayers. The primary thrust of the liturgy was not that the people are giving thanks, but that God himself is present in Body and Blood celebrating His Supper and blessing the elements for distribution. Rather than a eucharistic prayer devised by humans and only approximating what Jesus may or may not have said at the Last Supper, the Lord's Prayer functions as a Scriptural prayer which God himself has given to be prayed and which Luther understood as the prayer which prays that God will do exactly what He does in the Lord's Supper, forgive sins. With this understanding, the Lord's Prayer is the most appropriate prayer to be prayed at this point in the liturgy, prior to the Verba.

2. In that the Fifth Petition is prayed, general confession is still an element in the liturgy. It's importance for the liturgy is more incidental in contrast to its importance in FM as a Scripturally-appropriate response to the presence of Christ in His Body and Blood.

3. The second part of the admonition, the exhortation to the communicants to discern the testament of Christ's Body and Blood, teaches the communicants to confess that the forgiveness of the sins which they just confessed in the Fifth Petition comes through the Body and Blood of Christ. Short of an absolution as tersely stated as the Pax, the communicants are exhorted to receive the Body and Blood for their forgiveness.

Further, we get a glimpse into Luther's liturgical method in that the Verba are prescriptive for the order of the liturgy to the extent that even the distribution of the bread comes upon the consecration of it in the Verba. This interruption in the Verba shows how

thoroughgoingly central the Verba were to the Lord's Supper in DM. This stems most likely from Luther's catechetical concerns behind DM.

In contrast to Spinks, DM deserves more consideration by 20th century Lutherans who are looking to confess their liturgical heritage. DM is not simply a product of inculturation, although the musical styles and the language are distinctively German. The *order* of the liturgy, however, has nothing in it which would indicate that it reflects purely German concerns. Luther's order, and particularly his rubrics regarding the Elevation and the distribution of the Sacrament, are thoroughly theological and catechetical. The order replicates Luther's understanding of the action of the sacrament as confessed in the Verba and for this reason alone makes DM the first distinctively "Lutheran" liturgy.

PART II:

THE MODERN CRITIQUE OF LUTHER'S LITURGIES

CHAPTER III

THE STATE OF THE SCHOLARSHIP

Luther is not without critics of his liturgical reform. This is particularly true since the modern liturgical renewal movement of the 20th century. Luther has not fared well in the “comparitive liturgies” school of liturgiology. Surprisingly, some of the most stinging indictments of Luther in the twentieth century come from Lutherans such as Yngve Brilioth and Luther D. Reed. These men have largely perpetuated the notion of Luther’s liturgies as “hatchet jobs,” which still largely holds the field today. As was noted in the introduction, things have improved somewhat with Bryan Spinks, although his concerns also require some reflection. In this chapter, we shall enquire into the position which Luther holds in modern liturgical studies through an analysis of the critique of these men. Of primary concern will be the matter of Confession and Absolution, most notably the Lord’s Prayer/Pax combination in FM and the admonition to communicants in DM. This chapter also will, of necessity, address the general attitudes of these men to Luther’s liturgical reforms and the theology behind them.

YNGVE BRILIOTH

Brilioth’s book, *Eucharistic Faith and Practice: Evangelical and Catholic*, is a very critical work on the centrality of the Sacrament of the Altar in reforms of the liturgy. The work sets out to compare different understandings of the Eucharist and the different liturgies that have arisen as a result of these diverse understandings. Brilioth, himself, favors a more sacrificial understanding of the Lord’s Supper as is shown by his term of

choice for the sacrament, “eucharist.” He classifies the sacrament into a number of aspects which helped to shape the liturgy; aspects which he references to the early church: the eucharist, the communion, the commemoration, the eucharistic sacrifice, and the mystery or presence in the sacrament.¹ It is from the perspective of these aspects that Brilioth compares and evaluates the various lituriges with which his study is concerned.

On Luther’s Doctrine of the Lord’s Supper

At initial observation, an important part of Brilioth’s argument about Luther’s liturgical reforms stems first from the years of Luther’s life in which they were written. For him, Luther’s most positive contribution to “eucharistic” doctrine occurred in the years prior to 1520.

Luther’s earliest writings about the eucharist are specially important for the understanding of the positive basis of his teaching, all the more because they are mainly homiletic and non-controversial...Equally also the Augustinian note is evident. I am persuaded that the best starting point for a study of Luther’s teaching is to be found here, and not in the controversial writings which began in 1520.

What enamours Brilioth in these early years in Luther’s scholarly life is the singular emphasis on *communio* in his treatment of the Lord’s Supper.

The idea of communion-fellowship was indeed in the air at this time--it was part of the humanism of Colet and Erasmus--Luther’s contribution was to bring out the *mystery* of sacramental fellowship, which has indeed rarely found nobler expression than in his *Sermon von dem hochwurdigen Sakrament* [ed. 1519]. The rediscovery of the idea of communion is the greatest positive contribution of the Reformation in regard to the eucharist; it is of more value than all the criticisms of the mass.²

¹Yngve Brilioth, *Eucharistic Faith And Practice Evangelical And Catholic*, trans. A.G. Hebert. (London: SPCK & New York: Macmillan, 1939), 49-69.

²Ibid., 95-96.

The emphasis on *mystery* should not be missed. It is one of his five criteria for eucharistic faith and practice. For Brilioth, mystery is presence. Such presence has its roots in Graeco-Roman heathen rites and traditions. The presence of the god was for the specific purpose of union.

The mysteries of the earlier classical period, standing in sharp contrast with the chilly formalism of the state ceremonials, had offered the worshipper a personal religious experience of union with the mystery-god. In the ecstatic wildness of the worship of Bacchus and Cybele, in the mysterious liturgy with its sacred emblems and ritual, there was the sense of the presence of the cult-god in the midst of the worshippers,³

Union with the mystery-god was so intense that it finally indicated a deification of the person so clothed with the god. This was important for developing a piety and, then, a liturgy.

“Attis, Osiris, Adonis were men, who died and rose again as gods...If we can become united with them, receive them into ourselves, or clothe ourselves with them, we have the most certain assurance of our own immortality, even our deification.” So a personal piety became possible...To actualise this union with the god the cult needed a liturgy; and we have every reason to believe that such existed, even though at best only fragments are known to us.⁴

Union with the cult-god also meant fellowship with others who had been united with that god.

Finally, mystical initiation united all the faithful in a universal fellowship, independent of race or social standing, though never attaining a stability comparable for a moment with that of the Christian church.⁵

In this ancient, mystical rite the “sense of presence” of the god depends upon the doing of the liturgy. Whether or not the god was really present, physically or otherwise, is

³Ibid., 50-51.

⁴Ibid., 51.

⁵Ibid.

less important than that the worshipper sense the presence of the god through the ecstasy brought about by the liturgy.

The aspect of mystery gets special treatment within Brilioth's five dimensions.

We have tried to show that in the eucharist there are both a manifoldness of diverse aspects and a central unity; just as the jewel shows endless changes of light and color as it is regarded from different angles. But the light which it refracts is one and the same; the holy Presence, the Mystery. It is true to say that the other aspects of the eucharist are only different ways to approach to it; and the various forms of liturgy and systems of doctrine which we have surveyed have helped to show the richness of its variety in constantly changing forms. But it is also true that since the early centuries no part of Christendom has succeeded in expressing all the aspects together, in their harmony and completeness. Is it over-bold to look forward in hope to a future day when a fuller unity of Christendom shall again reveal the great Christian Sacrament in the wholeness of its many-sided glory?⁶

Such mystery seems to offer some ecumenical possibility. Different interpretations of such mystery-presence in the Sacrament are tolerable since they give an indication of the greater meaning of the mystery which could draw all Christendom together in a common understanding of the Sacrament. Finally, then, for Brilioth mystery as presence floats in experimental religiosity. It is not fixed in the specific location of bread and wine, Body and Blood, and so it may take on the mystical potencies which were attached to the Graeco-Roman pagan rites.

Brilioth can refer to *mystery* in Luther's early writings, not because Luther actually used the term, but because of the Augustinian understanding of the Lord's Supper which permeated Luther's thinking in these early years. The synonym for *mystery* to which Brilioth holds is the word *sign*. The bread and the wine are signs in the Lord's Supper. Quoting Luther, the sign produces the communion that

⁶Brilioth, 288.

Christ with all his saints is one spiritual body, just as the people in a city are a community and a body, and every citizen is related as a member to his neighbor and to the city. So are all saints members in Christ and in the church, which is a spiritual, eternal City of God; and when one is received into this City, he is said to be received into the fellowship of the spiritual Body... Thus to receive this sacrament in bread and wine is naught else than to receive a sign of this fellowship and incorporation with Christ and all his saints.⁷

Brilioth here is quite probably making Luther say more than he intends to say. Luther does not intend Brilioth's understanding of presence at this point in his life. As a transubstantiationist, Luther's presence means physical body and blood, which is saying more than Brilioth would grant.

Brilioth notes that 1520 introduced a change in Luther's writings, namely that they became more polemical. The first of these writings were anti-Roman; the second, anti-Zwinglian. Because of their polemical nature, Brilioth draws conclusions about these writings.

From 1520 onwards, all Luther's eucharistic teaching is controversial. The battle front changes; first he is fighting against the Roman misuse of the mass, particularly in the doctrine of sacrifice, then against the rationalism of Zwingli, which explained away the element of Mystery. It is rash, however, to assume that in either series of writings Luther expressed his whole mind, or that his change of front proves a change in his belief. Certainly he never gave up the thought of communion-fellowship, even if it gradually dropped into a place of secondary importance.⁸

The Real Presence of Christ's Body and the Blood is the catalyst which breaks Luther from his earlier-held beliefs concerning the Lord's Supper and thus makes the communion aspect secondary. It took a combination of Rome and Zwinglian, anti-Real Presence, doctrine for Luther to jettison transubstantiation and still hold to the words "This is my

⁷Ibid., 96.

⁸Brilioth, 98.

Body...This is my Blood” as giving what they proclaim. For Luther, the Presence of Christ’s Body and Blood was not dependent upon anything, including the liturgy; it was given in the Lord’s Words of Institution. This is the impetus behind Luther’s liturgical reforms and perhaps goes a long way toward explaining Brilioth’s criticisms of these liturgies, and suggests what we may observe at work in Luther’s liturgical reform, and specifically in confession and absolution.

On the *Formula Missae*

Brilioth characterized the Lutheran contribution to liturgical reform in critical fashion.

On the liturgical side the Lutheran Reformation showed little creative power; and this is especially true of Luther himself. The conservative and the unpractical side of his mind comes out in the fact that he was never really interested in liturgical forms; to him they were indifferent things, wherein a man might be content to conform to the established usage.⁹

In Brilioth’s opinion, Luther’s doctrinal concerns had little import for the mass itself.

Whatever doctrinal aberrations had seeped into the mass could be overlooked on the basis of freedom.

He could dream of an ideal church in which complete freedom would be allowed; and even when he was most violently attacking the Sacrifice of the Mass, he never allowed himself to condemn wholesale its ceremonial setting.¹⁰

Brilioth finally concludes of Luther’s liturgical concerns,

When he was driven by force of circumstances to undertake liturgical composition he came to a more positive estimate of the historic forms of the liturgy; but he never attained to any real liturgical insight.¹¹

⁹Ibid., 110.

¹⁰Ibid.

Of FM, Brilioth notes one simple criterion for reform of the Roman rite, the removal of sacrifice on the grounds that the mass is not such, but rather a “testament.” The result of this criterion is largely negative. While the Service of the Word remains largely unchanged, the Service of the Sacrament suffers not from any new, noteworthy innovation, but the wholesale discarding of much of the canon.¹² The sharp conclusion which Brilioth draws is that FM represents a step backward in liturgical development, although not nearly as great a step as that which was brought about by DM.¹³

On the Service of the Sacrament in FM

Brilioth has a much different interpretation of Luther’s moving of the Sanctus to its position after the *Verba* than does Spinks. For Spinks, this move was of the most profound import for understanding Luther’s theological criteria because of the centrality of the forgiveness of sins in Isaiah 6. Brilioth does not set out to explain the significance of Isaiah 6 to the Sanctus, but does make note of Luther’s change.

The transposition of the Sanctus and the words of institution is without doubt one of the least successful of Luther’s suggestions for reform. Two reasons are conceivable: either, because he was accustomed to attach the real presence to the words of institution, he felt an impropriety in singing the *Benedictus qui venit* at an earlier point; or it may be simply that he found this to be a simple way of making a grammatical connection with the words of institution. In a variety of ways this arrangement has kept its place in various Lutheran liturgies; and the Swedish mass still perpetuates the false step.¹⁴

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid., 117.

¹³Ibid., 119.

¹⁴Ibid., 117.

While the first explanation gives a considerably more theological explanation of the move, Brilioth failed to give the significance of the text itself, in connection with its context in the whole of the chapter. What Brilioth meant by the ordering here as the “least successful of Luther’s suggestions for reform” is difficult to determine. It may be understood in terms of widespread acceptance, (which it does not have), or it may mean that it fails to convey the theology of Christ’s presence in Body and Blood as Luther insisted.

The Pax, however, gets Brilioth’s most vehement objections. In his explanation, he follows Rome’s interpretation and considers the Pax as attendant to the Lord’s Prayer, thus making the Lord’s Prayer the more important part of the service.

The Sanctus is followed by the Our Father, without the embolismus or fraction, but with the Pax.

Brilioth’s observation of the weight of Luther’s confession of the Pax comes with the most stringent indictment.

This last (the Pax) was specially valued by Luther, and interpreted by him as a declaration of the forgiveness of sins, which is “the one worthy preparation for the Lord’s table.” It was a violent importation of Luther’s favorite idea into a phrase which was originally intended to convey a different meaning; but is it not another sign that the phrase “forgiveness of sins” had for him a deeper meaning than the words normally bear?¹⁵

While the Pax “was originally intended to convey a different meaning,” nowhere does Brilioth give the original meaning to which he refers. We may presume that Brilioth’s understanding of the Pax was consistent with Rome’s more mutual understanding, since Luther’s attempt to redefine it according to more ancient witnesses is considered to be “a violent importation of Luther’s favorite idea.” This is Reed’s conclusion and his reasons

¹⁵Ibid.

will be considered below. Nevertheless, Luther's rubric for the saying of the Pax, toward the people, may reveal that Luther was more faithful to ancient liturgical practice than Brilioth is willing to grant.

The concluding question of whether or not the phrase "forgiveness of sins had a deeper meaning for Luther than the words normally bear" is difficult. Certainly, as was shown before from the 8th Invocavit Sermon of 1522, forgiveness comes in ways other than the Lord's Supper. For Luther, the matter or preparation for the Lord's Supper had an importance which Brilioth does not share. Perhaps a more detailed study of general confession and absolution and Luther's confession of preparation may have yielded different conclusions, but such study is lacking in Brilioth and his conclusions suffer from it.

On the *Deutsche Messe*

Brilioth's greater concern in Luther's liturgical reform is reserved for DM. DM represents a major step backward in liturgical development, not simply because it is a further abbreviation of FM, but also for the widespread acceptance it has enjoyed over the years. Brilioth concludes of it,

It is important rather because it came out with Luther's own authority than for its liturgical merits; for in this respect it is inferior to many of the rites which had already been published.¹⁶

Brilioth is conscious of Luther's catechetical concerns with DM, although he refuses to grant that these concerns may have been the impetus behind a more simple

¹⁶Ibid., 120.

form. Rather, Brilioth invokes Luther's sense of the old Roman forms as his motivation for not discarding the mass entirely.

Doubtless his dogmatic controversy with Zwingli accounts in part for his illogical attitude [toward catechesis' role in the liturgy], and also his fear of making simplicity itself a new law. But surely the true cause lay deeper still; for his subconscious sense the language of the old ceremonial was the expression of the sacredness of the Mystery, and therefore he dared not touch it.¹⁷

Aside from the psychological overtones of such words, Brilioth seems intent on conforming Luther to his own criteria for liturgical reform, particularly mystery and eucharistic presence; a much more vague presence from that which Luther actually confessed.

Brilioth does not explain the Admonition in great depth nor the Words of Institution. He does, however, note the words of Luther concerning the Sanctus.

During the communion German hymns are to be sung, and among these Luther's own paraphrase of the Sanctus is named and his German Agnus Dei. The elevation is retained "since it suits well with the German Sanctus, and means that Christ has commanded us to remember him"--the meaning is obscure, but the connection is interesting. Certainly the loss of the Sanctus in its old form is one of the gravest faults of the Deutsche Messe. Nevertheless, the use of the metrical paraphrase testifies ever more directly how for Luther the eucharistic action is surrounded with the same "numinous" holiness, which made it natural for the ancient church to link with the celebration of the mysteries the song of the Seraphim to God's majesty.¹⁸

Brilioth notes the connection of the Sanctus with what is happening at this point in the service, although he chooses to define this in terms of mystery and not in Christ's Body and Blood as Luther confessed. Brilioth's treatment of the Sanctus here tends to mysticize the matter considerably.

¹⁷Ibid., 122.

¹⁸Ibid., 123.

The lack of any treatment of the Admonition shows again the disregard for Luther's concern for preparation for the eating and drinking of Christ's Body and Blood. A great deal of theology is contained in this short paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer which is left unnoticed in Brilioth's comments. Also Brilioth's use of rubrics here seems conditioned by his own criteria. He gives tremendous weight to the rubrics for the Sanctus, but ignores the rubric that prescribes a specific wording to the Admonition. Such a rubric suggests that the Admonition is of great importance to Luther, which Brilioth either ignores or fails to note.

The failure to accept Luther's emphasis on the Words of Institution in the second part of the Admonition seems to fit Brilioth's attempt to interpret Luther in a more mystical manner. The earthly locatedness of Christ's Body and Blood is reinterpreted in Brilioth's interpretation of the Sanctus in terms of eucharistic action and "'numinous' holiness" which tends toward spiritualizing religiosity. Luther had no such pretensions concerning the presence of Christ's Body and Blood.

Conclusions from Brilioth

While it cannot be concluded that Brilioth's work holds the field in comparative studies of the Eucharist *in general*, Spinks notes the authority with which it is regarded as a contribution to the understanding of Luther's liturgical reforms.

It is clear--from phraseology, footnotes, and bibliography--that Brilioth has passed on to other scholars certain conclusions about Luther's work; conservative, unclear, and by direct comparison with the canon of the mass, the concept of knife-work or violent treatment, without any constructive thought. But not only have Brilioth's conclusions on Luther been repeated in so many liturgical studies;

they have been repeated without question, and usually without reference to his criteria--the five motifs--which were his frame of reference.¹⁹

Spinks goes on to conclude that "there is nothing sacrosanct about Brilioth's five motifs, useful as they might be."²⁰ His point is well taken. It is unfair to judge Luther on criteria that are different from those which were operative in his own reforms; Spinks notes especially justification. Certainly, Brilioth was aware of Luther's criterion of the forgiveness of sins but chose to ignore it in his evaluation of Luther. A question which remains outside of the scope of this study is the question of the authority of Brilioth's criteria.

Perhaps even more distressing is Brilioth's relativism as regards the Lord's Supper. His book is not only an exercise in comparative liturgy but, as such, it is also an exercise in comparative doctrine. Pless notes that Brilioth's relativism is championed by the ecumenical movement.

The ecumenical movement has capitalized on the divergence of opinion as to the meaning of the Lord's Supper. According to a number of ecumenical statements it is really unnecessary and even dangerous to attempt to define the exact meaning of the Lord's Supper on the basis of the New Testament text since each writer was really an individual theologian with a particular "theology." Pluralism within the New Testament canon, therefore, gives validity to a whole range of different "theologies" of the Sacrament within Christendom today.²¹

It may, in point of fact, be argued that Brilioth is not so relative as Pless indicates. His understanding of the Lord's Supper is traced through the liturgy to ancient pagan rites of

¹⁹Bryan D. Spinks, *Luther's Liturgical Criteria And His Reform Of The Canon Of The Mass*, (Bramcote, Eng.: Grove Books, 1982), 14.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹John T. Pless, "Implications of Recent Exegetical Studies for the doctrine of the Lord's Supper: a survey of the literature," *Concordia Theological Quarterly*, 48, no. 2-3, 211.

mystical presence. Here there is no emphasis on the Verba, only a spiritualizing tendency which he lends to Luther when he sees fit, as he does, for instance, with the meaning of Luther's placement of the Sanctus. As far as Luther studies are concerned, Luther's early writings on the *sacrament* reveal a different emphasis than his writings on the *Lord's Supper* in the liturgies and the writings contemporaneous with them. Brilioth's criticism of Luther's liturgies was based on his criticism of Luther's theology within which they were done, a theology which had left behind the Augustinian theology discernable in the 1519 treatise.

It cannot be avoided that not all of Brilioth's judgments of Luther are attendant to the text; at best they may be seen as overstated. For instance, the liturgy was not simply a matter of indifference to Luther. Here Brilioth seems to confuse *adiaphora* and Christian freedom in Luther's reforms. Luther invoked freedom in removing all things in the Roman canon which "smacked of sacrifice," which he saw as contradictory to the words of the Lord as given in Scripture and confessed as Gospel. Notably, he kept all that was in keeping with the forgiveness of sins. These matters were not matters of indifference. Keeping various parts of the liturgy or doing away with them indicated the distinction between Law and Gospel for Luther. While it may be granted that Luther reluctantly went into liturgical reform, his reforms may not be classified as indicative of an indifferent attitude toward the liturgy. The liturgy, acclaimed by Luther as *Gottesdienst*, was the place where much of Scriptural doctrine underscored the fact of the Real Presence of Christ's Body and Blood, given to be eaten and drunk for the forgiveness of the sins of the

people of God. The liturgy was a matter of great importance since it was a matter of the Gospel.

LUTHER D. REED, *The Lutheran Liturgy*

Luther D. Reed's influence on the Lutheran Church in the 20th century with regard to liturgical matters is unparalleled. His book, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, has long been the most widely accepted authority on Lutheran liturgiology. Reed's own treatment of Luther's masses is informed by Brilioth, although more detailed and more fairly argued. The strength of Reed's book is the amount of pages devoted to the historical backgrounds of the mass and its parts, and the theology behind them. Here, we shall gain much important insight into the Pax, Lord's Prayer, Sanctus, and Admonition to Communicants.

On the *Formula Missae*

We must first recognize that Reed's book is not primarily concerned with Luther's reforms, but largely engages the Lutheran liturgies of his time, many of which bore little resemblance to the liturgies of Luther. Nevertheless, Reed writes quite positively of FM,

The *Formula Missae* was Luther's greatest liturgical writing. It was his objective criticism of a historic and vital institution. He was not concerned, as he was later in his German Service, with introducing a new liturgical language or with paraphrasing portions of the historic order in German verse for immediate use by congregations of limited capacity and unaccustomed to active participation in the service. Luther was not a special student of the liturgy, as was Cranmer. He took the local use, probably his Augustinian missal, and prepared his reconstruction without going further afield. His *Formula* was intended to be a local program and not a general order for the whole church. It proved to be, however, of all his many works his greatest contribution to general liturgical reform.²²

²²Luther D. Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1947), 72. That Luther "was not a special student of the liturgy as was Cranmer" is probably best taken that he was not

Reed notes the overall endurance of FM in Lutheran liturgies. Comparing its influence with its original intent as a local service, he draws the conclusion that it was the greatest of his reforms, despite Luther's words about not requiring this particular liturgy in any particular location. The first conclusion is drawn toward understanding Luther's liturgical influences by noting that FM was a reconstruction of the Augustinian missal. The concerns of Luther are then spelled out.

If we would understand some of Luther's sharpest criticisms, we must study the missals of his time. The Augustinian missals contained not only the usual Offertory and Canon, but features peculiar to local or monastic uses...Many of these objectionable features were later corrected by Tridentine reform.²³

Reed observes the "critical nature" of the way Luther undertook liturgical reform in FM.²⁴ Very faithfully to Luther, Reed notes that FM's distinguishing mark is that it removes all that is consistent with sacrifice "while seeking to preserve the historic order and much material of the Mass."²⁵ This differs from Brilioth who makes much of the removal of sacrifice as the only serious criterion with which Luther approached the liturgy. Finally, he concludes that FM was conservative in its moderation, and constructive "in its effort to approach worship from the congregational rather than from the priestly side."²⁶ Reed here falls short of the recognition of the liturgy from God's side, *Gottesdienst*.

singularly devoted to liturgical reform in the same way that Cranmer was. It should not be taken to indicate that Luther was unconcerned with the liturgy or did not regard the matter as important.

²³Ibid., 73.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid., 73-74.

²⁶Ibid., 74. Luther's rubrics may suggest more of a balance than Reed grants here.

The Pax Domini

Reed writes of the meaning of the Pax,

This is a short benediction which is the remaining fragment in the liturgy of two observances of the early church: a solemn blessing of the people by the celebrant immediately before the communion, according to the Eastern, Mozarabic, and Gallican liturgies; and the Kiss of Peace, which as a mark of fellowship and unity is found in all early liturgies at the beginning of the Mass of the Faithful.

As retained in the Roman services, the Pax is one of the private prayers of the priest which accompany such ritual actions as the Offertory, the commixture, the ablutions, etc. In this case, the Pax is connected with the first part of the fraction, or ceremonial breaking of the bread which immediately follows the silent recitation of the Lord's Prayer.²⁷

Here the Pax originates in fragmentary form from two observances. One, the solemn blessing, is sacramental in nature. The other, the Kiss of Peace, is sacrificial. Reed calls it a prayer in the Roman rite.

Following on Brilioth's quote that the Pax in FM was "a violent importation of Luther's favorite idea on a phrase originally intended to convey a different meaning," Reed observes,

This is a true observation. It is probable that the emptiness of the Roman form at this place invited it, and Luther's insight and directness enabled him to relate this brief sentence in a living way to the deepest thought of the liturgy at this moment.²⁸

Reed takes the conciliatory approach. Luther's interpretation of the Pax as an absolution is owing less to ancient influences than to the meaningless actions which enshrouded not only the Pax, but the Lord's Prayer and the *Verba* in the Roman Mass. To some extent, Reed acknowledges that such an interpretation accounts for "the deepest thought of the liturgy at this moment," which we must assume is the forgiveness of sins. Nevertheless,

²⁷Ibid., 366.

²⁸Ibid.

Luther's interpretation of the Pax, albeit justified by the Roman alternative(s), is little more than an innovation. Brilioth's point still stands that the Pax itself originally did not hold such a meaning. Luther's words alone give indication to the early church as regards this meaning.

That the Lord's Prayer may be interpreted as a general confession in light of its position just before the Pax in FM is missed or ignored by Reed. Reed's overview of the Lord's Prayer largely treats its theology, although he is careful to remove any connection between the Fourth Petition, *Give us this day our daily bread*, and the Lord's Supper, as opposed to Luther.²⁹ With regard to Luther and the early church's understanding of the Fourth Petition, more will be given below.

On the Sanctus

Luther's movement of the Sanctus to a place after the Verba gets more balanced treatment from Reed than from Brilioth. His is a lesson from liturgical history.

This was probably not altogether an innovation. Fortescue in *The Mass* (p.323) speaks of the practice of waiting until after the consecration and then singing the *Benedictus qui venit*, etc. as "once common" but no longer tolerated. Whether this was particularly intended to heighten the emphasis upon the thought of the Real Presence is debatable. Luther's direction that the bread and the cup should be elevated while the Benedictus was sung lends some substance to this opinion.³⁰

Most important is that Reed doesn't attribute this move of the Sanctus, as does Brilioth, merely to Luther. Luther has precedent, and even more importantly, he has Scriptural and, thus, theological reasons. The Elevation at the *Benedictus qui venit* allies the Sanctus

²⁹Ibid., 364.

³⁰Ibid., 332.

with the Verba. Still, early church witnesses to this practice are lacking in Reed and Luther's rubrics also lack any explicit reference to earlier liturgies.

Reed's own concern was to define the Sanctus in its most common location in the liturgy, prior to the Preface. Here we may see where the order of the service can affect its meaning. Reed's own definition of the Sanctus lacks the connection to the Verba which Luther made.

The Sanctus, which derives its name from the Latin word for "holy," is the climax and conclusion of the Preface. In it the congregation dramatically joins in the song of the angels. It is the solemn act of adoration and thanksgiving in the spirit of holy awe.³¹

Rooted in its traditional placement after the Preface, the Sanctus becomes a "joining in the song of the angels." Reed writes of the Sanctus in sacrificial terms as an "act of adoration and thanksgiving." Even in its rubrics, Reed remains remarkably sacrificial, "The Sanctus is an act of adoration, and the minister continues to face the altar."³² We may only deduce the divine presence of Isaiah 6 from this through expressions like "in the spirit of holy awe." There is nothing in Reed's explanation, outside of his treatment of FM, which connects the Sanctus to Christ's Body and Blood in Reed's explanation.

On the *Deutsche Messe*

Reserving the more positive appraisal for FM, Reed notes with Brilioth the catechetical quality of this work and concludes, "This German Service, even more than

³¹Ibid., 330.

³²Ibid., 333.

Luther's Latin service, is a treatise rather than a formula."³³ Particularly important in connection with this conclusion is Reed's evaluation of the Admonition to Communicants.

The Preface is omitted and the Lord's Prayer is placed before the Verba and expanded into a paraphrase. The latter feature is all the more remarkable in view of Luther's vehement opposition to any but the precise words of Scripture in connection with the Verba.³⁴

The "precise words of Scripture in connection with the Verba" are indeed the Verba themselves. As far as we know, it was not a prescription on the part of Luther for a word-for-word praying of the Lord's Prayer, although its inclusion would suggest this. While aware of the catechetical nature of the service, Reed still finds the Lord's Prayer-paraphrase "remarkable." Even more significant is that Reed ignores the second part of the Admonition, the exhortation to discern the testament of Christ's Body and Blood. Here no comparisons with Brilioth can be made since Brilioth leaves the Admonition without comment. Reed's treatment is superficial and does not probe the significant catechetical import of the Admonition.

The order of DM receives the biggest critique in Reed's treatment of DM.

The transfer of the Lord's Prayer to a place before the Verba unfortunately gained wide acceptance, though some orders of the first rank never adopted it. It created permanent confusion in all subsequent Lutheran orders and its wisdom on other accounts is questionable.³⁵

Reed does not here identify the "orders of the first rank" which never adopted the placement of the *Verba* before the Sanctus.

³³Ibid., 78.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Ibid., 79.

BRYAN D. SPINKS

Bryan D. Spinks enters this chapter not as a critic of Luther's reforms as much as a critic of Luther's critics. Spinks has done more in the fifteen years to advance a more positive understanding of Luther's liturgical reforms than anyone currently in the area of liturgiology. Most helpfully, he has set forth an interpretation of Luther's liturgies on their own criteria: the Gospel, the forgiveness of sins. His study comes short of treating the matter of Confession and Absolution and its importance in the liturgies. His work, however, does help to consider the weight of Luther's reforms for the whole subject of sacrifice in the mass.

The Matter of Sacrifice

Spinks' own unique contribution to the study of liturgiology in general is his concern for the eucharistic prayer and its place in Lutheran liturgies and, more specifically, FM and DM. Noting that neither liturgy includes the eucharistic prayers that so embellished the Roman rite, Spinks seeks to answer the question of whether or not Luther had set out to remove such prayers entirely from the liturgy. With regard to FM, his conclusion is in the negative.

Luther argued strongly that in the mass it is not we who offer a sacrifice to God, but rather God offers something to us, namely the body and the blood of Christ. Did this imply that a eucharistic prayer before communion was ruled out? Apparently not. Luther in FM retained *sursum corda* and preface--the only eucharistic part of the *canon missae*.³⁶

³⁶Bryan D. Spinks, "Berakah, Anaphoral Theory and Luther," *Lutheran Quarterly* 3:3, (Aut. 1989), 274.

Spinks is aware of Luther's two principles by which the ordering of FM was determined: the retaining of all things which confessed the Words of Institution and the repudiation of all things sacrificial. Because Luther is so clear on these points, the fact that both *sursum corda* and *preface* are retained lead Spinks to conclude rightly that Luther did allow for more sacrificial elements in the liturgy. Also strengthening Spinks' argument is that Luther himself does not comment on the theology of either of these two parts, thus compelling the reader to conclude that there was nothing inherently false about them. It must be granted to Spinks that, for Luther, the repudiation of sacrifice may not completely exclude eucharistic prayers. We may at least conclude as much of FM.

Spinks notes from historical witness that the Sanctus is more closely associated with the eucharistic prayers. This is in "practically all" anaphoras after the 4th century in both East and West³⁷. He also notes its absence in earlier liturgies. Spinks' conclusion is that Luther's moving of the Sanctus has no impact on its meaning for the place of eucharistic prayers in the service, despite the fact that they are lacking in these liturgies.³⁸

Most significant, though, are Spinks' words concerning DM. He gives three reasons by which such prayers could be retained.

Here [in DM] it could be concluded that Luther ruled out the use of a eucharistic prayer, and I am aware that some Lutheran scholars have argued this. I am not sure this is a necessary or the only conclusion. Luther made it quite clear that DM was a German mass, in the German idiom, for the German people of the sixteenth century. There is nothing to suggest that Lutherans living elsewhere, or even at a later date, would be bound by these forms. Luther in fact was urging what is a very modern liturgical concept--contextualization, or inculturation...

Secondly, Luther's struggle with the fanatics over eucharistic doctrine often means that his own liturgical recommendations are felt to be necessary badges of Lutheran allegiance. The permissive of his liturgical rubrics is missed:

³⁷Spinks, *The Sanctus in the Eucharistic Prayer*, 1.

³⁸Ibid., 151-152.

“as may seem most suitable...that is a matter of choice...or the preacher may use his own judgment.” The implication of these rubrics is that Luther believed that other valid evangelical answers and solutions are possible.

Thirdly, Luther’s remarks were of course addressed to the Roman *canon missae*. To ask his opinion of Eastern anaphoras is rather fatuous, since as far as we know, he never expressed an opinion. Melanchthon made favourable comments, but I am aware that for some Lutherans Melanchthon is far from kosher! But, since Luther retained the short praise section of the Roman canon (ed. in FM), one may speculate that faced with St. Basil or Syriac Twelve Apostles--the latter having no mention of oblation in its anamnesis--he may well have retained much more of these eucharistic prayers.³⁹

Spinks is remarkably cautious in making suggestions for the understanding of Luther’s liturgies and his careful scholarship should not be overlooked. Spinks will not conclude that Luther did not rule out eucharistic prayers in DM.

Conclusions from Spinks

From the perspective of confession and absolution and its relation to the removal of sacrifice from the mass, FM and DM give two different models. In FM, confession and absolution occur after the *Verba* and before the Distribution. In DM, confession of sins alone appears before the *Verba* and we may assume from the lack of a Pax that the forgiveness is intended to be given in the distribution of the Body and the Blood.

If there is a consistency in FM and DM, however, it is the placement of the Sanctus after the Verba. This has received a most positive appraisal by Spinks, faithfully rooted in the meaning of the text. The question that requires answering is whether or not Luther has, in removing sacrifice from the mass in DM, repudiated the mass as *eucharist* altogether. Luther’s confession of the Sanctus puts the whole text of Isaiah 6 into the

³⁹Ibid, 275.

mix, as is shown most profoundly by the German Sanctus in DM.⁴⁰ Isaiah witnessed the cry of the Trisagion. He confessed his sins. He received absolution from the Lord.⁴¹ In the end, what we may conclude about the importance of confession and absolution toward the removal of sacrifice hangs on the placement of the Sanctus and its freight for Luther and the fathers.

In his treatment of Isaiah 6 aforementioned, Luther does not exclude overtones of eucharist.

The angels were borne aloft like birds, that is, they served God not with their endeavours, but with a confession in which they sing the Trishagion, that is, the thrice holy, whereby they indicate that all holiness in the whole earth must be ascribed to God alone. All the words are grandly put. They shouted. The truest worship of God is a pure and simple confession. *God says (Ps. 50:23): "He who brings thanksgiving as his sacrifice honors me"*. The other things we have, such as gifts, intellect, good habits, our best endeavours, let these be concealed. We must glory in the Word alone and confess that we have received these gifts from God, we do not bring them along...It is necessary that God be hallowed and that I be defiled, but in that act of hallowing I must know, believe, praise, and confess that God Himself is alone holy, that He gives and does not receive.⁴² [italics added]

What is primary is that God has given His Presence. The Lord gives His Presence in order that He may give His gifts. That thanksgiving is an appropriate sacrifice before Him is only because He has given His gifts. Thus, Luther speaks of thanksgiving as something which is confessed, as did the angels. Luther remains consistent with more ancient understandings of the Sanctus as a "joining in with the angels." His confidence, however,

⁴⁰AE 53:82-83. WA 19:100-102. The hymn, "Jesaja den Prophet," is a paraphrase of Isaiah 6:1-4.

⁴¹The same may be said of Peter in his calling in Luke 5:1-11. Both Peter and Isaiah's calls are marked by the presence of the Lord, their own confession of sins, and the forgiveness of sins by the Lord himself.

⁴²WA 31ⁱⁱ:48-49, 26-6. AE 16:70.

is not that he has joined in with the angels, but that God has given His gifts. Where faith receives His gifts, such confession in thanksgiving is a rejoicing in the Word. For Luther, Isaiah 6:1-7 brings the Christian to both kinds of confession, a confession of God's gifts in faith, and confession of sins in the presence of the Lord. Where God's Name is hallowed, Luther very clearly points out that the Christian must be defiled. This Luther sees in Isaiah's confession of sins, and one may note its relation to the Lord's Prayer and the hallowing of God's Name. Where God's Name is being hallowed, confession of sins happens.

In Spinks' treatment of the eucharistic prayer as a possibility in DM, a few points require further reflection. First, Spinks' point that DM represented an early attempt at inculturation needs to be correctly understood. It was observed in the previous chapter that Spinks' concern for inculturation overlooks Luther's words about catechesis in the actual text of DM. In fact, there is very little in the text of DM itself to support inculturation as a primary concern; albeit as a secondary concern it cannot be denied. Inculturation as a motivation for DM is gleaned primarily from other documents.⁴³ Catechesis is the more engaging concern in DM itself. To what extent also Luther understood culture compared with much of the modern understanding of the term, with which Spinks is certainly familiar, is an issue for debate and entirely too broad for this study.

The second point of contrast has also already been discussed and is related to the concern for catechesis. This is Spinks' point about Luther's permissive rubrics as a

⁴³Particularly "Wider den himmlischen Propheten" of the previous year [1525]. *WA* 18:62-125, 134-214.

justification for the inclusion of the eucharistic prayer. Luther's rubrics are not so permissive when it comes to the Admonition. According to Luther, the theology of the Admonition is primary and may not be changed with different wordings. This is due to the close connection of the theology of the Admonition, particularly the discernment of the Body and Blood, to the Verba themselves. One may even suggest that the eucharistic prayer is replaced by, or at least subsumed into, the Lord's Prayer in FM and its paraphrase in DM.⁴⁴ Luther's rubric for a prescribed wording rejoices in the whole theology of the prayer of the Baptized in DM; the Fifth Petition of which acts as both confession and prayer for absolution, which immediately follows. In FM this is shown simply by the order: Lord's Prayer/Pax. In DM, this would indicate that the Lord's Supper follow the admonition without interruption in light of the confession which has already been made.⁴⁵ The delay of absolution upon one's confession of sins is an interruption of the Lord's giving of His gifts in His Body and Blood. It challenges Luther's understanding of the Lord's Supper as nothing but gift.

Also the aforementioned rubric in DM concerning the elevation lacks the permissiveness of which Spinks writes. Here, too, Luther's rubric rejoices in the Real Presence of Christ's Body and Blood and the Sanctus/Elevation as the public proclamation of it. This rubric and that concerning the Admonition frame this section of the liturgy and highlight its attendant theology. To conclude that Luther had foregone permissiveness

⁴⁴Diestelmann, "Konsekration," 34.

⁴⁵Many forms of individual absolution include the exhortation to come quickly to the Sacrament to receive Christ's Body and Blood for the forgiveness of sins. Cf. *Lutheran Worship*, 311. The Pastor says after the absolution: "Go in the strength, the peace, and the joy of the Lord, and come soon to receive Christ's body and blood and, being joined to him, live toward the work and the beauty he would fulfill in you for himself and for others. Go, you are free."

here is perhaps not as accurate as to conclude that Luther's rubrics teach and confess the Real Presence as that which is the center of the mass. For this reason, Luther's rubrics here lack the permissiveness of his rubrics elsewhere.

Conclusions

To this end, the role of Confession and Absolution in Luther's liturgies comes into greater clarity. It may be concluded in FM that the Lord's Prayer/Pax combination after the Verba and Sanctus allows for little sacrifice. If sacrifice is retained in FM, it is prior to the Verba. In DM, the Lord's Prayer, treated in such a catechetical fashion and prayed by the pastor, challenges the notion that it is simply a prayer offered by the people to God. It is that and more. Because it is the Word of God, it prays the people and also instructs them in its doctrine. The rubrics and the words themselves in the Admonition are directed from God to the people. The best alternative to a eucharistic prayer is a prayer which comes directly from Scripture, even in paraphrase.

The exhortation to discern the testament of Christ's Body and Blood is also catechetical in that it teaches the theology of the Verba while at the same time confessing this theology. Because it immediately precedes the Verba themselves, the inclusion of a eucharistic prayer anywhere in this order seems to be an intrusion of sacrifice in a section that is remarkably unsacrificial. This is so because the order is prescribed by the Verba. Here, too, we may note Luther's words, in general, concerning prayers in the mass. In "The Babylonian Captivity of the Church," Luther writes,

For these [the prayers of James 5:16 and 1 Tim. 2:1-2] are not the mass but works of the mass, if the prayers of heart and mouth ought to be called works. For the mass, or the promise of God, is not implemented in speaking, but by believing

alone. Believers, however, we pray and by such we do a good work. But what priest sacrifices this way, so that the prayers are only offered by him? They all imagine to offer up Christ himself to God the Father, this most sufficient sacrifice and to do a good work for all those whom they propose to benefit because they are confident in the work which works, who do not attribute it to prayer. Thus, gradually, this error has grown, until they have attributed to the sacrament what is prayer, and to offer up to God what ought to be received as a benefit.

Therefore, we must sharply discern between testament and sacrament itself and between the prayers which we pray simultaneously. Not only this, but also we must know that the prayers avail absolutely nothing, neither to that one who offers, nor to those for whom he has offered., unless first the testament is perceived in faith, so that faith offers the prayers, for faith alone is heard, just as James 1:6 teaches. There is a great difference between prayer and the mass.⁴⁶

The testament to which Luther referred is the testament of Christ's Body and Blood. As early as 1520 Luther noted that the testament of the Lord's Supper and the prayers of the mass do not mix. The simple lack of eucharistic or any sacrificial prayers in FM gives witness to this. What occurs in their place is the confession and absolution of the Lord's Prayer and the Pax. In DM, with a greater catechetical emphasis on the testament, Luther notes only one appropriate prayer, the Lord's Prayer.

The lack of eucharistic prayers in FM and DM does not necessarily mean that Luther was against them *per se*. That the Lord's Supper had become a eucharist in the Roman Mass, however, was a great concern for him. Perhaps we may rely on Luther's joy in catechesis to explain their absence. Both liturgies reflect Luther's pastoral concern that the people not be confused by anything that fails to "discern between the testament and the sacrament itself and between the prayers which we pray simultaneously."⁴⁷ The inclusion of a eucharistic prayer may have brought this about and confused the people into thinking that the Sacrament was more than, or less than, nothing but gift.

⁴⁶WA 6:522, 19-34. Translation provided.

⁴⁷WA 6:522, 30-31.

What stands in the place of the sacrificial prayers which loomed over the Roman mass is confession and absolution in FM. In DM it is the Lord's Prayer itself as a blessing and as a confession. We have observed the close connection which Luther confessed between confession and absolution and catechesis and its place in his pastoral care.

We may observe in these three scholars something of a paradox in 20th century research into Luther's liturgies. The first half of the 20th century is marked by Lutherans such as Brilioth and Reed who were sharply critical of Luther's liturgies and who encouraged Lutheranism to look toward the Anglican Church for suitable liturgies. The second half of the twentieth century, particularly at its close, saw the emergence of an Anglican, Bryan D. Spinks, who has helped Lutheranism to confess its own liturgical heritage and has pointed Lutherans away from the dominance of Anglicanism in protestant liturgical thought. This paradox does not reflect positively upon Lutheranism as it engages a new century, but Spinks has helped greatly in giving Lutheranism a renewed sense of liturgical identity and one hopes that this is a glimmer of hope for the future as Lutherans continue to engage the liturgy as did Luther.

The burden of proof of the remainder of this study is thus clearly defined. A matter of doubt for Brilioth and Reed, in particular, is the extent to which Luther knew of ancient liturgies and borrowed from them. Luther's rubrics suggest that he knew more than Brilioth and Reed have granted. From here, it remains to be shown whether the ancient liturgies prove Luther correct or whether or not his reforms deserve the repudiation which they receive from the likes of Brilioth and Reed.

PART III:
THE DATA OF THE EARLY LITURGIES:
EAST AND WEST

CHAPTER IV

THE PRIMARY EARLY LITURGIES

The remainder of this study is concerned with the witness of the early church and the eastern and western traditions with regard to the parts of the mass already discussed. Luther's rubrics are at odds with much of the modern scholarship because they invoke earlier practices without supplying references. Luther's lack of reference can probably best be explained as an assumption that the evangelical pastors (Romanly trained) knew of these practices and something of their origins, thus making such references unnecessary. Certainly, that so much has been concluded from Scripture may also mean that the early church witness is less necessary, but still important. But with the coming of Brilioth and, even more significantly Reed, we are faced with what is a contradictory interpretation of the early church data. The Pax, for instance in Reed's explanation, held the same meaning of mutual sharing throughout the history of the church.

This part of the study is then faced with something of a daunting task. To ascertain what early liturgies Luther was familiar with and borrowed from is a very difficult task, albeit not entirely impossible. Where there are consistencies in the early church with Luther's rubrics, we may not necessarily conclude that Luther knew the data directly. Nevertheless, it cannot be shown that he did not know the earlier liturgical tradition either. The specific liturgies with which Luther was familiar and from which he may have borrowed is not here our primary concern. Primary for this study will be the various understandings of the Lord's Prayer and the Pax, with some consideration of the Sanctus. Thus, we may determine whether or not Luther's liturgies are novelties or in

congruence with ancient practice, or whether Luther primarily followed Scripture as his guide, the Verba Domini in the way of gift-giving Gospel.

For as long as we know the Lord's Prayer (LP) has had an intimate connection with the Lord's Supper. This may be shown simply from a cursory reading of the liturgies. It may also be shown from the earliest commentaries on the prayer itself. Rordorf has shown that the connection of the LP to the Lord's Supper in the early church occurs for three reasons:

- 1) The eschatological element in both,
- 2) The exposition of the Fourth Petition, *Give us this day our daily bread*,
- 3) The exposition of the Fifth Petition, *Forgive us our trespasses*.¹

As we look in particular toward Luther's incorporation of the LP and the Pax in both FM and DM, Rordorf's third reason appears to be of the most importance. The reason for this is that the Pax in the early church hangs directly on the meaning of the Fifth Petition of the LP. This is clearly the case in Luther's dealing with the Missa Romana, despite the cumbersome actions which interrupted the rhythm of the liturgy from confession in the LP to absolution in the Pax. How, then, did the Lord's Prayer come into its position just prior to the Pax? The answer lies in the liturgical data, with additional comment from the fathers.

The Didache

The earliest liturgy to give us an indication of the use of the LP is the *Didache* (ca.

¹Willy Rordorf, "The Lord's Prayer in the light of its liturgical use in the early church," *Studia Liturgica* 14:1, (1980-1981), 6-12.

A.D.60).² It quotes Jesus' command to pray the LP and indicates its corporate use, "When you pray, pray like this..."[οὕτως προσεύχεσθε].³ The liturgy gives the instruction to "pray like this three times a day."⁴ Most interesting is that paragraph eight of the *Didache* addresses the subject of fasting. Here the discipline of fasting is reinforced by the repetition of the prayer around which the Christian life is given its meaning.

This liturgy does give instructions for proper reception of the Sacrament and these show the influence of the Fifth Petition.

On the Lord's Day of the Lord, come together, break bread, and give thanks, having first confessed your transgressions, that your sacrifice may be pure. But let none who has a quarrel with his companion join with you until they have been reconciled, that your sacrifice may not be defiled. For this is that which was spoken by the Lord, "In every place, and at every time, offer me a pure sacrifice; for I am a great king, says the Lord, and my Name is wonderful among the nations.[*Did.* 14.1-3]⁵

The Scripture, Malachi 1:11b, brings the reconciliation of brethren into the context of the hallowing of God's Name. In a further exposition of the meaning of the First Petition, the *Didache* teaches that where reconciliation occurs, there God's Name is hallowed. These

²R.C.D. Jasper & G.J. Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist*, 3rd ed., (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1990), 20.

³Matt. 6:9, Luke 11:2, *Did.* 8.2.

⁴*Didache* 8.3, as cited in J.B. Lightfoot, J.R. Harmer, and Michael W. Holmes, eds., *The Apostolic Fathers*, (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1988), p. 221.

⁵κατὰ κυριακὴν δὲ κυρίου συναχθέντες κλάσατε ἄρτον καὶ εὐχαριστήσατε προσεξομολογῆσάμενοι τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν, ὅπως καθαρὰ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν ᾗ. Πᾶς δὲ ἔχων τὴν ἀμφιβολίαν μετὰ τοῦ ἐταίρου αὐτοῦ μὴ συνελθέτω ὑμῖν, ἕως οὗ διαλλαγῶσιν, ἵνα μὴ κοινωθῇ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν. αὕτη γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ ῥηθεῖσα ὑπὸ κυρίου. Ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ προσφέρειν μοι θυσίαν καθαρὰν· ὅτι βασιλεὺς μέγας εἰμί, λέγει κύριος, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα μου θαυμαστὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι. Adolf Harnack, *Der Lehre der Zwölf Aposteln, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur*, hrsg. Oscar von Gebhardt und Adolf Harnack, II. Band, (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1886), 53-56. English translation in Jasper and Cuming, 24.

instructions are closely linked to Jesus' words in the Sermon on the Mount prior to the teaching of the Lord's Prayer.

Matt. 5:23-24 Therefore if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee; Leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift. [King James Version]

The one who brings offerings in the Lord's Presence should leave the gift until that person is reconciled with his brother. Particularly in the praying of the Lord's Prayer, there is a contradiction of the worst kind in the praying of the Our Father by two unreconciled brothers.

Matt. 6:14-15 For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you: But if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses. [King James Version]

Neither brother, on account of his sin, rejoices in the Father as that one who gladly gives His gifts of forgiveness. Such an attitude is rejection of the gift.

In the prayer over the broken bread, Didache 9.3-4, the matter is explained further with regard to the Lord's Supper.

We give thanks to you, our Father, for the life and knowledge which you made known to us through your child Jesus; glory to you forevermore. As this broken bread was scattered over the mountains, and when brought together became one, so let your Church be brought together from the ends of the earth into your kingdom; for yours are the glory and the power through Jesus Christ for evermore.⁶

Here we may observe the importance of *κοινωνία*. Such communion is rejected when the forgiveness of sins is denied. The prayer is prefaced with an eucharistia addressed to

⁶Εὐχαριστοῦμεν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ γνώσεως ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ὡσπερ ἦν τοῦτο τὸ κλάσμα διεσκορπισμένον ἐπάνω τῶν ὄρέων καὶ συναχθὲν ἐγένετο ἓν, οὕτω συναχθήτω σου ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν· ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Harnack, 30-31. Jasper and Cuming., 23.

the Father. This eucharistia, like all the eucharistic petitions in the *Didache*, is understood as given in light of the gift of the Lord's Supper.⁷ The Lord's gifts come first.

Although its order places the actual praying of the Lord's Prayer apart from the rubrics concerning reconciliation, the two are in congruence and give us an early liturgy where the centrality of the forgiveness of sins is observed. The rubrics concerning reconciliation with the brother are closely tied to the Lord's Prayer and are akin to the Pax/Kiss of Peace in at least an embryonic form. In such an order, the Fifth Petition gets special attention. We may note then that in the earliest liturgies the Fifth Petition is in organic relation to the Pax.

The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus

This particular liturgy, western in origin and dated ca. 215, gives two particular liturgies of the Lord's Supper, one upon a baptism and the other following the ordination of a priest. Both liturgies are illuminating for this study. The Kiss of Peace follows the ordination prayer in the ordination service, just prior to the anaphora which begins the Service of the Sacrament.

The ordination prayer lends a great deal of theology to the Kiss of Peace in this particular liturgy.

God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Father of mercies and God of all comfort, who dwellest on high yet has respect to the lowly, who knowest all things before they come to pass. Thou hast appointed the borders of thy church by the word of thy grace, predestinating from the beginning the righteous race of Abraham. And making them princes and priests, and leaving not thy sanctuary without a ministry, thou hast from the beginning of the world been well pleased to be glorified among those whom thou hast chosen. Pour forth now that power,

⁷R.D. Richardson, "The Lord's Prayer as an early eucharistia," *Anglican Theological Review* 39 (Apr. 1957), 124.

which is thine of thy royal Spirit, which thou gavest to thy beloved Servant Jesus Christ, which he bestowed upon his holy apostles, who established the church in every place, the church which thou hast sanctified unto unceasing glory and praise of thy name. Thou who knowest the hearts of all, grant to this thy servant, whom thou hast chosen to be bishop, [to feed thy holy flock] and to serve as thy high priest without blame, ministering night and day, to propitiate thy countenance without ceasing and to offer thee the gifts of thy holy church. And by the Spirit of high-priesthood to have authority to remit sins according to thy commandment, to assign the lots according to thy precept, to loose every bond according to the authority which thou gavest to thy apostles, and to please thee in meekness and purity of heart, offering to thee an odour of sweet savour. Through thy Servant Jesus Christ our Lord, through whom be to thee glory, might, honor, with [the] Holy Spirit in [the] holy church, both now and always and world without end. Amen.⁸

What the ordinand receives in this prayer is the Holy Spirit and thus the authority to loose sins. The rubric calls for this prayer to be prayed with the laying on of the hands of one of the ordained bishops.⁹

Once this prayer has been prayed, the next rubric calls for the Kiss of Peace.

4. And when he is made bishop, all shall offer him the kiss of peace, for he has been made worthy.¹⁰

The Kiss of Peace is bestowed upon the ordinand as a confession of that which his Office now gives, the forgiveness of sins. The sense that the peace here is an absolution is missing, but the Kiss of Peace is attached to the theology of the Office of the Holy Ministry. Thus, as the congregation confesses to whom it has been given to forgive sins, the liturgy is handed over to him. In rubric four, the Kiss of Peace ends the ordination

⁸Hippolyte de Rome, "La Tradition Apostolique," *Sources Chretiennes* vol. 11, 2nd ed., Bernard Botte, ed. (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1984), 40-46. Hereafter *Sources*. English translation in Burton Scott Easton, ed. and trans., *The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus* (Cambridge University Press, 1934), 34-35. Paul F. Bradshaw, *Ordination Rites of the Ancient Churches of East and West*, (New York: Pueblo Publishing Company, 1990), 107-109.

⁹*Sources*, 40. Easton, 33.

¹⁰*Sources*, 46. Easton, 35.

liturgy and begins the Lord's Supper's liturgy

To him then the deacons shall bring the offering, and he, laying his hand upon it, with all the presbytery, shall say as the thanksgiving:

The Lord be with you.

And all shall say

And with thy spirit.

Lift up your hearts.

We have them to the Lord.

Let us give thanks to the Lord.

*It is meet and right.*¹¹

The liturgy then continues with the anaphora. Here we may note the beginnings of the connection between the Pax and the various salutations, "The Lord be with you." Both are freighted with the theology of the Office of the Holy Ministry. The congregation's response is a confession of the Office of the Holy Ministry as the Holy Spirit's instrument through which forgiveness is given: "And with thy spirit." This congregational response became the standard response in the early church for the Pax as well, as we will observe below.

The Lord's Prayer is not specifically mentioned as an integral part of either the ordination nor the baptismal liturgy. The baptismal liturgy, however, does offer an intriguing contribution to this study in light of what is known from other early sources. After the baptism, the bishop anoints the baptizand(s) with oil. The rubrics continue:

And signing them on the forehead he shall say:

The Lord be with thee;

and he who is signed shall say:

And with thy spirit.

And so he shall do to each one.

And immediately thereafter they shall join in prayer with all the people, but they shall not pray with the faithful until all these things are completed. And at the close of their prayer they shall give the kiss of peace.¹²

¹¹*Sources*, 46-47. Easton, 35.

¹²*Sources*, 90. Easton, 47-48.

The baptizands are not allowed to pray with the congregation until they have been baptized and anointed by the bishop. No specific prayer here is recommended, although it is quite likely that only one prayer would be commonly known by the baptizand and the congregation. This may imply the praying of the Lord's Prayer. Even more astonishing is the Kiss of Peace which occurs after the praying of the communal prayer. If the community, probably Roman, for whom this liturgy was written understood the Kiss of Peace by way of John 20 and the forgiveness of sins, the prayer at least is likely to have been understood as a general confession of sins just prior to the anaphora and the distribution of the Lord's Supper itself.

The baptizand also receives the blessing, "The Lord be with you." To this he replies, "And with your spirit," thus confessing the bishop as the one to whom has been given the Holy Spirit for the forgiveness of the people's sins. This is in keeping with the ordination liturgy of this document.

The Apostolic Constitutions

This particular Syrian liturgy, dated ca. A.D. 375, is important for its inclusion of the Pax Domini at the beginning of the Mass of the Faithful, after the Prayers and prior to the Anaphora. In this Pax, we may observe the pneumatology of the Office of the Holy Ministry which was evident in the western rite. (The rubrics, both in Greek and English, are in italics).

Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο λεγέτω ὁ διάκονος

And after this the deacon says

Πρόσχωμεν

Let us pray.

καὶ ἀσπαζέσθω ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ λεγέτω

And the Bishop greets the church and says
 Ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν.
 The peace of God always be with you.
 καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἀποκρινάσθω
And the people answer
 Καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος σου.
 And with your Spirit.
 καὶ ὁ διάκονος εἰπάτω πᾶσιν
And the deacon says to all
 Ἀσπάσασθε ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι ἁγίῳ.
 Greet one another with a holy kiss.¹³

Here the rubrics give important theological direction. While the deacon (διάκονος), or assistant, in this service may direct the congregation, it is the bishop (ἐπίσκοπος) who gives the Peace. In this liturgy, we may note what Reed has identified as the two-part understanding of the Pax.¹⁴ The first part is the proclamation of the Pax by the bishop, identified as a greeting, presumably spoken facing the congregation. The congregation responds, “And with thy Spirit,” thus associating the Office which he has been given with the Holy Spirit for the forgiving of sins. The second part is the exhortation to the congregation to “greet one another with a holy kiss.” This direction quotes exactly Paul’s closing words to the Corinthians in his first epistle, “Greet one another with a holy kiss” (1 Cor. 16:20). What is exchanged in the Kiss of Peace is the Peace which has already been proclaimed, given, by the Bishop. The congregation’s greeting of each other in holy love is the outpouring of the giving of the Peace by the Bishop.

The Kiss of Peace is not merely to be understood as a greeting, much like any ordinary greeting. It is a greeting in which Peace is exchanged. Confessing the Peace of

¹³F.E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1946), 13. Translation provided.

¹⁴Reed, 366.

John 20, referenced to the forgiveness of sins, Cyril of Jerusalem comments on the Pax in Lecture V of his catechetical lectures on the Sacraments:

Think not that this kiss is of the same character with those given in public by common friends. It is not such: but this kiss blends souls with one another, and courts entire forgiveness for them. The kiss therefore is the sign that our souls are mingled together, and banish all remembrance of wrongs. For this cause Christ said, "If thou art offering thy gift at the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thess, leave there thy gift upon the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come offer thy gift." The kiss therefore is reconciliation, and for this reason holy: as the blessed Paul somewhere cried, saying, "Greet ye one another with a holy kiss;" and Peter, "with a kiss of charity."¹⁵

The peace confesses reconciliation. It is the forgiveness of sins proclaimed by the Bishop and flowing through to the people in the holy kiss. Reconciliation, then, is called "holy."

In the same lecture, Cyril comments on the First Petition,

We pray that in us God's Name may be hallowed; not that it comes to be holy from not being holy, but because it becomes holy in us, when we are made holy, and do things worthy of holiness.¹⁶

God's Name becomes holy in us when we are made holy. Holiness is a gift of God's

Name and thus comes through an external word. That word is the Pax, the forgiveness of

¹⁵μη ὑπολάβης τὸ φίλημα ἐκεῖνο σύνηθες εἶναι τοῖς ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς γινομένοις ὑπὸ τῶν κοινῶν φίλων· οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτο τοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ τὸ φίλημα τοῦτο ἀνακίρησι τὰς ψυχὰς ἀλλήλαις καὶ πᾶσαν ἀμνησικακίαν αὐταῖς μνηστεύεται. σημεῖον τοιούτων ἐστὶ τὸ φίλημα τοῦ ἀνακραθῆναι τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ πᾶσαν ἐξορίζειν μνησικακίαν. διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Χριστὸς ἔλεγεν· ἐὰν προφέρῃς τὸ δῶρον σου ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ ἐκεῖ μνησθῆς, ὅτι ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἐπὶ τὸ δῶρον σου ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ ὑπαγε πρῶτον καὶ διαλλάγηθι τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου, καὶ τότε προσελθὼν πρόσφερε τὸ δῶρόν σου. οὐκοῦν τὸ φίλημα διαλλαγή ἐστὶ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἅγιον, ὡς που ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος ἐβόα λέγων ἀσπάσασθε ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι ἁγίῳ, καὶ Πέτρος· ἐν φιλήματι ἀγάπης. St. Cyril of Jerusalem, "Lecture V: The Eucharistic Rite," *St. Cyril of Jerusalem ON THE SACRAMENTS*, F.L. Cross ed., (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1977), 31, 3. English translation in Phillip Schaff and Henry Wace ed., *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 7, (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1995), 153.

¹⁶εὐχόμεθα ἐν ἡμῖν ἁγιασθῆναι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ· οὐχ ὅτι ἐκ τοῦμῃ εἶναι ἅγιον ἐπὶ τὸ εἶναι ἔρχεται, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐν ἡμῖν ἅγιον γίνεται ἁγιαζομένοις καὶ ἄξια τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ ποιοῦσιν. Cross, 34. Schaff and Wace, 155.

sins.

We may observe, then, that there is a distinct pneumatology in the early church which centers on the forgiveness of sins. This pneumatology has tremendous weight for the theology of the Pax. A later eastern theologian confirms that this meaning of the Pax was not lost in later years. Narsai of Nisibius (d. ca. A.D. 502) teaches quite emphatically of the Pax in a catechetical sermon:

Then the priest blesses the people in that hour with that saying which the lifegiving mouth prescribed: ‘Peace be with you,’ says the priest to the children of the Church, for peace is multiplied in Jesus our Lord who is our peace. “Peace be with you, for death is come to naught, and corruption is destroyed through a Son of our race who suffered for our sake and quickened us all. ‘Peace be with you’ for sin is removed and Satan is condemned by a Son of Adam who has conquered and given victory to (*or* justified) the children of Adam.¹⁷

Narsai then goes on to teach the relevance of this for doctrine of the Office of the Holy Ministry. The Holy Spirit forgives the church through means of his human instrument, the bishop.

The people answer the priest lovingly and say: ‘With thee, O priest, and with that priestly spirit of thine.’ They call ‘spirit’ not that soul which is in the priest, but the Spirit which the priest received by the laying on of hands. By the laying on of hands the priest receives the power of the Spirit, that thereby he may be able to perform the divine Mysteries. That grace the people call the ‘Spirit’ of the priest, and they pray that he may attain peace with it, and it with him.

The priest’s “spirit” is the Holy Spirit. Narsai’s words indicate that, where the Holy Spirit is, there is forgiveness and life. The Holy Spirit’s gift is the gift of peace. It is given through the instrument, to whom it has been given by means of the laying on of hands.

¹⁷Narsai, *Homiliae et Carmina, An Exposition of the Mysteries* (Hom. XVII), p. 277 [in Syriac]. English translation in R.H. Connolly, ed., *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1909), 8-9. Cf. also Kent A. Heimbigner, “The Relation of the Celebration of the Lord’s Supper to the Office of the Holy Ministry,” (Master of Sacred Theology thesis, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, MO, 1991), 89-91.

Narsai is careful to attach this to the theology of ordination, where the ordinand receives the Holy Spirit for the Office of the Holy Ministry, the Office of the forgiveness of sins.¹⁸ In continuity with the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus the priest also administers the Lord's Supper and Holy Baptism because the bishop has received the Holy Spirit in the laying on of hands in his ordination.

The *Apostolic Constitutions* curiously lacks the Lord's Prayer, although the placement of the Pax after the general prayers appears to link it with them. Because the early church confessed the Lord's Prayer as did Luther, as the foremost of all Christian prayer, one might see the Pax in this liturgy as the Lord's answer to the prayer of the church.¹⁹ The Bishop is given to give the gift of the Peace.

The early church confessed the Pax as the forgiveness of sins. In doing so, it confessed a vital and located pneumatology which is also evident in its doctrine of the Office of the Holy Ministry. Its position of prominence in the liturgies of the church has continued to this day.

Conclusions

The early church confessed the Pax as an absolution and, in so doing, confessed the Fifth Petition as a general confession of sins. This can be shown for the following reasons:

1. The Didache, referring to Matt. 6:14-15, confessed the centrality of the

¹⁸David Scaer, *Ordination: Human Rite or Divine Ordinance?* (Fort Wayne, IN: Concordia Theological Seminary Press, n.d.), 11-12.

¹⁹Vasily Voinyakov, "Divine Liturgy--The Lord's Prayer," *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate*, 5 (May 1980), 75.

forgiveness of sins to the Lord's Prayer. These two verses accent the forgiveness of sins and the Father's attitude toward those who forgive each other their sins. With regard to the Lord's Supper, the Didache points to Matt. 5:23-24 and the importance of brotherly reconciliation before leaving a sacrifice in the presence of the Lord. The Didache reveals the Scriptural roots for the Pax and the Kiss of Peace and shows an organic relation between them and the Lord's Prayer.

2. The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus, the Apostolic Constitutions, as well as the Didascalia, accent the role of the Office of the Holy Ministry in the speaking of the Absolution. It is the bishop's role to pronounce the Pax and once the bishop has done so, the people extend the absolution they have received to each other. The Kiss of Peace is first shared immediately in the Apostolic Tradition immediately following the Ordination of the bishop and the celebration of the Lord's Supper. In the Baptismal rite of the same liturgy, the Baptizand is anointed with oil after his baptism and finally is able to pray with the others, presumably, the Lord's Prayer. The liturgical rubrics of the Apostolic Constitutions call for the bishop to speak the Pax. The congregation's response is "And with your Spirit," confessing the Holy Spirit which forgives through the human instrument, the Pastor. Such theology recalls John 20:19-21, the text in which Luther confessed the same theology.

3. The Pax was understood and confessed as an absolution long into the Church's history despite the objections of modern scholars. Luther had invented nothing new with his expositions of both the Lord's Prayer and the Pax and his removal of the extraneous actions which nearly obscured them revealed the depth to which understood

the early church's theology of confession and absolution.

We reiterate what was observed at the beginning of this chapter. It is difficult to prove that Luther actually knew any of these liturgies. Nevertheless, his confession of the Pax and the Lord's Prayer is not contradictory to the early witness as is Brilioth and Reed's.

CHAPTER V

GENERAL CONFESSION AND ABSOLUTION IN THE EASTERN LITURGIES

It is generally accepted in liturgical studies that the eastern and western churches developed liturgies along different tracks in light of their differing ways of doing theology. This may be noted in this study by the different positions of the Pax and the Lord's Prayer in the various traditions. The Western liturgies are linear, connecting various parts of the liturgy by placing them together in the order. The eastern liturgies are more repetitive. The differences that exist in the eastern and western traditions, however, may not necessarily be understood to indicate that there is a difference in their confessions of the theological freight of these parts themselves. The Pax may serve as a good example of this. Luther, raised in the western medieval tradition, writes of the Pax in much the same way as the eastern sources which have been quoted above. His *placement* of the Pax in FM and DM, however, is more in keeping with the western tradition than it is with the east.

While we may refer to differing traditions between east and west, it should also be observed with Deiss that the eastern liturgies are categorized into two different "families": Alexandrian and Antiochene. The Alexandrian family comprises the Egyptian and Coptic liturgies. The Antiochene is divided between East and West Syrian liturgies.¹

In this representative study of eastern liturgies, particular attention will be given to three liturgies, all for differing reasons: The Liturgy of Saints Addai and Mari, The Liturgy of Saint James, and the Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom.

¹Lucien Deiss, *Springtime of the Liturgy*, (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1979), 157.

The Liturgy of Saints Addai and Mari

Deiss classifies this liturgy in the East Syrian category of the Antiochene family.² Bryan D. Spinks has been particularly responsible for bringing new attention to this third century liturgy.³ For Spinks, this liturgy is important as an early example of the development of the anaphora, particularly the inclusion of the Sanctus in the anaphora. Paul F. Bradshaw notes that this particular family, due to its isolation, was minimally influenced by outside traditions.⁴ Charles E. Hammond has contended that this liturgy be considered the norm for the East Syrian family.⁵ The consensus of scholarship is agreed that this liturgy was originally written in Syriac.

The Peace is worthy of note. As is typical of eastern liturgies, the Peace appears in more than one place in the liturgy. The liturgy begins with the Enarxis. While there are variations on the order given in Brightman's text, the basic components of the Enarxis include:

The Invocation
 The Gloria Patri (repeated three times)
 The Our Father
 The Sanctus
 The deacon's Salutation at the Collect: "Let us pray. Peace be with us."
 The Collect⁶

²Ibid.

³Cf. Bryan D. Spinks, *Addai and Mari--The Anaphora of the Apostles: A Text for Students*, (Bramcote, Eng.: Grove Books, 1980). Also Bryan D. Spinks, *The Sanctus in the Eucharistic Prayer*.

⁴Paul F. Bradshaw, *Ordination Rites of the Ancient Churches of East and West*, (New York: Pueblo Publishing Company, 1990), 9.

⁵Charles E. Hammond, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1878), xxii.

⁶Brightman, 252-253.

This cohortative Salutation is repeated at the beginning of all the prayers. The close connection of this Salutation to the Lord's Prayer and the Sanctus at the beginning of the liturgy seems to indicate a more general profession of forgiveness or declaration of grace.

The proclamation of the Pax by the priest occurs in three places and uses the following formula:

The Priest proceeds and says
Peace be with you
and they answer
And with thee and with thy spirit.⁷

The first occurrence is prior to the reading of the Gospel. The second is associated with the elevation. After the formula above, the rubrics continue at this point:

and he (the Priest) proceeds
The holy thing to the holies is fitting in perfection
and they answer
One holy Father, one holy Son, one holy Spirit
Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost world without end.
Amen.⁸

The Elevation is preceded by the Lord's Prayer. The Prayer is preceded by the following litany which sets a repentant tone for this moment in the liturgy.

The deacon
We condone the transgressions of our fellowservants
People: O Lord, pardon the sins and transgressions of thy servants.
And we purify our consciences from divisions and strife
O Lord, pardon the sins and transgressions of thy servants.
With our souls freed from anger and enmity.
O Lord, pardon the sins and transgressions of thy servants.
Let us receive the holy and be hallowed by the Holy Ghost
O Lord, pardon the sins and transgressions of thy servants.
And in union and concord of minds let us receive the fellowship of the mysteries in peace one with another.
O Lord, pardon the sins and transgressions of thy servants.

⁷Brightman, 260, 296,

⁸Brightman, 296. Jasper & Cuming, 44.

That they be to us, o my Lord, for the resurrection of our bodies and the salvation of our souls and life world without end.⁹

This liturgy gives every indication that the confession of sins and the absolution of them is absolutely central to the liturgy. The congregation is given nothing other than to confess its sins and pray the prayer which the Lord taught them. While the congregation prays the Lord's Prayer aloud, the priest prays the following prayer for grace quietly.

O Lord God of hosts our good God and our merciful king, we desire of thee and beseech the abundance of thy mercifulness: Lead us not, O my Lord, into temptation but deliver us from the evil one and his hosts: For Thine is the kingdom and the power and the might and the strength and the dominion in heaven and in earth now and ever and world without end. Amen.¹⁰

Upon the conclusion of both prayers the Pax follows. The prayer of the priest seems specifically to mark the Lord's Prayer as a prayer for God's grace and the deliverance from evil. The Pax, being an absolution, would follow in natural order such a prayer. Thus the people, by means of the Lord's Prayer and the Pax, are made holy for the eating and drinking of the holy things. The communion then follows.

This liturgy does include the Kiss of Peace, without a proclaimed Pax, at the beginning of the Anaphora. This placement is fairly typical, as we have observed with *The Apostolic Constitutions* and shall observe in the later eastern liturgies. It rejoices in reconciling the people to each other before the Communion through the forgiveness of sins.

The Sanctus is part of the Anaphora and comes prior to the Distribution of the elements. One of the most unusual features of this liturgy is its lack of mention of the

⁹Ibid., 295.

¹⁰Ibid., 296.

Verba. While one might question whether or not this liturgy should be considered a Lord's Supper's liturgy because of this, it bears all the marks of one (i.e. elevation, fraction, commixture, etc.). Much scholarship has spoken both for and against this liturgy as a eucharist. Because of the centrality of the *Verba* to the Lutheran understanding of the Lord's Supper's liturgy, this subject must be taken up in earnest.

E.C. Ratcliff offers one explanation:

This is a εὐχαριστία pure and simple. There is in it no thought of oblation, whether of bread and wine or of the Body and Blood of Christ made present by consecration. But it is a εὐχαριστία of a particular kind. It is a commemorative of Christ's death and resurrection; and the commemoration is one, not in word only, but also in act, in an imitating of Christ's act, for the εὐχαριστία is said over bread and wine (at one time, perhaps over bread alone), and the bread and wine thus blessed are eaten and drunk by the assemblage. The communal character of the rite is marked; it is the act of all present, and all are to answer Amen at the end of the prayer.¹¹

On the presupposition of two types of eucharist, Mass and Agape, Ratcliff invents a third into which he places Addai and Mari: the δρᾶμα. The rite is a ceremonial reenactment, using bread and wine, or possibly bread alone, of the death and resurrection of Christ.¹²

Louis Bouyer has solved the problem by concluding that this liturgy was a mass and even suggesting where the *Verba* may have occurred, prior to the Epiklesis. He suggests using a form of the *Verba* from Theodore of Mopsuestia.

Our Lord Jesus Christ, together with his apostles on the night he was betrayed, celebrated this great, awesome, holy and divine mystery; taking bread, he blessed it, and broke it, gave it to his disciples and said: This is my body which is broken for you for the remission of sins. Likewise the cup: he gave thanks and gave it to them and said: This is my blood of the New Testament which is shed for many for the remission of sins. Take then all of you, eat of this bread and drink of this cup,

¹¹Edward C. Ratcliff, "The Original Form of the Anaphora of Addai and Mari: A Suggestion," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 30 (1929), 24-28.

¹²Ibid.

and do this whenever you are gathered together in my name.¹³

While this is an admirable attempt, the text itself does not necessarily justify the conclusion that the *Verba* be interpolated here or, for that matter, anywhere in the Mass of the Faithful of this liturgy. As Heimbigner succinctly notes, following Dom Gregory Dix, “That they [the *Verba*] were originally included, however, cannot be demonstrated.”¹⁴

To this end, while this liturgy includes no text of the *Verba*, Spinks points our attention to a third option, firmly grounded in the text.

The words ‘received by tradition of the example (model) which is from you’ [v.s. p. 83] are clearly a reference to the institution of the eucharist...Perhaps we have here an East Syrian ‘shorthand’ narrative of institution.¹⁵

This leads to the penetrating question of whether or not the reading of the *Verba* is necessary in the application of the words to the bread and wine. While such practices may seem foreign to western “catholic” ears, who have been catechized in the singular importance of the *Verba* as an Incarnational/Christological reality, we must bear in mind that this liturgy comes out of the eastern tradition, which places a greater emphasis not on the Incarnational reality which the *Verba* bear, but the holiness of the elements in light of the Incarnational freight of the words. Truly, the bread and wine are holy because they are Christ’s Body and Blood, but the *Verba* are not so much an introduction of the Lord’s presence in Body and Blood on earth as they are a simple confession of what these elements are in heaven. The Lord is present in his heavenly temple throughout the Divine

¹³Louis Bouyer, *Eucharist*, trans. Charles Underhill Quinn (South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968), 151-152.

¹⁴Heimbigner, 87. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 179 (note).

¹⁵Bryan D. Spinks, *Addai and Mari--the Anaphora of the Apostles: A Text for Students* (Bramcote, Eng.: Grove Books, 1980), 28.

Liturgy. The people, then, through prayer and forgiveness, are swept up into the Lord's Presence in heaven; holiness being the chief element in the eastern mass. In light of this, while no *Verba* at all is inexcusable, a "short-hand" version may very well carry the freight of the theology of the Lord's Supper in the eastern churches. Of utmost importance is the fact that this practice of "short-hand" did not become the norm in the eastern churches.

Heimbigner does well to add that there is no confusion in this mass concerning the priestly actions of the Mass and the theology of the Office which they confess. Should such a mass be simply a commemoration or a "drama," one is left with the impression that the priestly Office is of no vital value to such a service. Any layperson or deacon ought to be allowed to officiate such a service where the gifts are there in "commemoration" but not in reality. Where the Word is not applied to the elements, there is no need for one in the Office specified for applying it. Thus it may be concluded that the East Syrians who confessed this liturgy did understand it as a true celebration of the Lord's Supper.¹⁶

In light of this, one might consider also the placement of the Lord's Prayer and the Pax prior to the elevation. If indeed this service was a drama, what need would the people have of preparing for reception of mere bread and wine? While there is always the need for forgiveness in the life of the Christian, the liturgies rejoice in Absolution as the most worthy preparation for the Lord's Supper. The inclusion of the Lord's Prayer, with its litany of confession, and the Pax which follows, is also then considered a "commemoration." The liturgy, rather than giving the gifts, simply calls to mind the gifts we received from the Lord's death and resurrection. Such an interpretation fails to

¹⁶Heimbigner, 88.

acknowledge that for which the liturgy was given, the forgiveness of sins.

Addai and Mari gives a fascinating look into the eastern theology of the Divine Liturgy. The central component for our study is the importance of the confession of sins and prayer for Divine grace in the Lord's Prayer and the Pax which immediately follows. Because this occurs in such close proximity to the Communion itself, the east, at least in the early years, may be observed as confessing confession and absolution as preparation for the Lord's Supper.

The Liturgy of Saint James

This liturgy, whose main use was in the Church of Jerusalem, dates probably to the early fourth century.¹⁷ This is due to its similarity to Cyril's exposition of the liturgy in Lecture V of his *Mystagogical Catecheses* and a reference to it in a sermon of Eusebius of Caesarea delivered somewhere between A.D. 314 and 319.¹⁸ Jasper and Cuming note that it is probably the fusion of a more ancient rite in Jerusalem and the earliest form of the anaphora of St. Basil.¹⁹ Spinks observes that there was probably a common tradition concerning this liturgy by the fifth century.

This liturgy is of specific value to this study for its many and varied incorporations of the Pax. These usually occur at pivotal points in the liturgy and are proclamatory in nature. The first occurrence is in the Mass of the Catechumens immediately following the

¹⁷Jasper and Cuming, 88.

¹⁸Massey H. Shepherd, "Eusebius and the Liturgy of St. James," in *Yearbook of Liturgical Studies* 4 (1963), 109-123. Cited in Spinks, *The Sanctus in the Eucharistic Prayer*, 61, 217.

¹⁹Jasper and Cuming, 88.

“Little Entrance” (Introit).

*Μετὰ τὸ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον λέγει ὁ ἱερεύς
Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν
ὁ λαός
Καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου.²⁰*

Most of the occurrences which follow use this particular formula. They may be found at the following places in the liturgy.

1. After the The Little Entrance.
2. Prior to the readings.
3. Prior to the reading of the Holy Gospel.
4. After the Prayers.
5. Prior to the Creed.
6. The Kiss of Peace after the Creed.
7. At the beginning of the Anaphora.
8. Prior to the Lord’s Prayer.
9. Prior to the Inclination.
10. After the Thanksgiving.²¹

After the reading of the Gospel, there follows another utterance of the Peace, more personally stated:

*Καὶ μετὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὁ ἱερεύς
Εἰρήνη σοι
ὁ λαός
Δόξα σοι Κύριε²²*

In contrast to the earlier liturgies, one may note the singular “you” after the reading of the Holy Gospel. Whether or not this constitutes a particular theological nuance, (perhaps communion in the forgiveness of sins given in the Gospel, for example), is difficult to defend.

²⁰*The Liturgy of St. James.* Brightman, 35.

²¹Brightman, 31-68.

²²Brightman, 38.

The Kiss of Peace is preceded by a prayer for the Lord's salvation.

O God of all and Lord, account us unworthy servants worthy in this hour that, pure of all guile and hypocrisy, O Lover (of man), we may be united one to another in the bond of peace and love, being confirmed in the holiness of the knowledge of God; through your only Son, our Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ, through whom and with whom to your all-holy and worthy and life-working Spirit, now and ever, into the ages of ages. Amen.²³

The prayer is Trinitarian in form and confessional in nature. Before one may be united to the congregation in the Holy Kiss, he confesses that he is unworthy to do so, save for the grace of God. The liturgy continues:

The Archdeacon:

Let us stand well. In peace let us pray to the Lord.

The priest:

For you are a God of peace, mercy, love, compassion and love for man, you and your only-begotten Son and your all-holy Spirit, now and ever, into the ages of ages.

The people:

Amen.

The priest:

Peace be unto all.

The people:

And with your Spirit.

The Archdeacon:

Let us love one another with a holy kiss.²⁴

²³Ο πάντων θεός και δεσπότης αξίους ημάς απέργασαι τής ώρας ταύτης τους αναξιους φιλάνθρωπε ινα καθαρεύοντες παντός δόλου και πάσης ύποκρίσεως ένωθώμεν άλλήλοις τώ τής ειρήνης και τής αγάπης συνδέσμω, βεβαιούμενοι τώ τής σής θεογνωσίας αγιασμώ· δια του μονογενοϋς σου υιου, κυριου δε και σωτηρος ημων Ιησου Χριστου μεθ ου εϋλογητος ει συν τώ παναγιώ και αγαθώ και ζωοποιώ σου πνεύματι νυν και αιει και εις τους αιώνας των αιώνων τών αιώνων· αμήν. Brightman, 43.
Translation provided.

²⁴ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος

Στώμεν καλώς. Ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθώμεν.

ὁ ἱερεὺς

Ἵτι Θεός εἰρήνης ἐλέους ἀγάπης οἰκτιρμῶν και φιλανθρωπίας ὑπάρχεις και ὁ μονογενής σου υἱος και τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ πανάγιον νυν και αιει και εις τους αιώνας των αιώνων.

ὁ λαός

Ἄμήν.

ὁ ἱερεὺς

Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.

The liturgy confesses the Peace as that which naturally flows out of the nature of God. The prayer asks God to be merciful to sinners and to count them worthy of his salvation. After this, the priest prays to God what is, in reality, a confession of what manner of God he is; a “God of peace, mercy, love, compassion, and love of man (“philanthropy” in the Greek).

Thus, the proclamation of the Pax by the priest which follows is a confession of what manner of God he is. It follows then that it is also a giving of God’s gifts through his instrument, the priest. The rubrics confess the importance of the priestly Office. Having received peace from God through his human instrument, the peace overflows in love as the archdeacon enjoins the people to “love one another with a holy kiss.” Theologically, this liturgy confesses that one may only forgive another as he has been forgiven by God. This point is here confirmed even more than powerfully than in the previous occurrences of the Peace to this point. Although the Lord’s Prayer has not yet been prayed at this point in the liturgy, the theology of the Fifth Petition is observed as absolutely critical at this point in the liturgy.

The order of the liturgy follows:

The Catholic Synapte
 The Prayers (of the faithful, of the offertory, and of the veil)
 The Anaphora
 Prayer and the Lord’s Prayer
 The Prayer of Inclination
 The Prayer of Elevation and Fraction
 Communion.²⁵

ὁ λαός
 Καὶ τῷ πνεύματι σοῦ.
 ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος
 Ἄγαπήσωμεν ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι ἁγίῳ. Brightman, 43-44. Translation provided.

²⁵Jasper and Cuming, 90-99.

Jasper and Cuming observe that the order “has close verbal echoes of the *catecheses* of St. Cyril.”²⁶ There is much debate over whether St. Cyril actually wrote the Mystagogical Catecheses and, if he did, whether or not St. James actually was the liturgy with which he was familiar.²⁷ As Spinks observes, whether or not this was the particular liturgy with which Cyril was familiar, his commentary in the *catecheses* is of extreme value here.²⁸ We observed before Cyril’s comments on the Kiss of Peace and its being holy. In the Liturgy of St. James, we have an early Anaphora with the inclusion of the Sanctus. Cyril comments on the giving of thanks:

The priest says next: “Let us give thanks to the Lord!” We should indeed give thanks to the Lord, for he has called us to so wonderful a grace when we were unworthy of it; he reconciled us when we were still enemies; he judged us worthy of the Spirit of adoption.

You answer: “That is right and just.” When we offer thanks, we do a work that is right and just. As for God, however, he did not merely do what was just, but went far beyond what justice required when he heaped blessings upon us and deemed us worthy of such wonderful gifts.²⁹

Here Cyril acknowledges that the giving of thanks is right and just, as is confessed in the liturgy, but the matter of giving thanks bows low in comparison to the work of God in the forgiveness of sins. We do what is right and just. God, on the other hand, far surpasses even the greatest of our works. He made friends out of enemies. He gave us the Spirit of adoption.

²⁶Ibid., 88.

²⁷For a breakdown of the scholarship, cf. Spinks, *The Sanctus in the Eucharistic Prayer*, 62.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Cross, 32. Translation in Lucien Deiss, *Springtime of the Liturgy*, (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1979), 285.

The anaphora continues with the Preface and the Sanctus.

It is truly meet and right, fitting and necessary, to praise Thee, to sing unto Thee, to bow down to Thee, to glorify Thee, to give thanks unto Thee, the Creator of every visible and invisible creature, the treasury of eternal good, the source of life and immortality, the God and Master of everything, of Whom the heavens and the highest heavens sing and all their hosts, the sun and moon, the whole choir of stars, the earth, the sea, and all that is in them, the heavenly Jerusalem, the gathering of the elect, the Church of the first-born, those enrolled in the Heavens, the spirits of the righteous and the prophets, the souls of the martyrs and apostles, the angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principalities, and virtues, and the dread powers; the many-eyed Cherubim, and the six-winged Seraphim, who with two wings cover their faces, with two their feet, and with two fly, and cry one to another with tireless lips, and unsilenced doxologies:

Singing the triumphal hymn of Thy majestic glory, with clear voices, shouting, glorifying, crying and saying:

Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of Sabaoth: Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory.
Hosanna in the highest! Blessed is he that comes in the Name of the Lord.
Hosanna in the highest.³⁰

The Preface does not receive much comment from Cyril; save for the Sanctus. Here Cyril centers his attention on Isaiah 6.

We also make mention of the Seraphim, whom Isaiah contemplated when he was caught up in ecstasy by the Holy Spirit. They encircled the throne of God. They had two wings to hide their faces, two wings to cover their feet, and two wings for flying. And they were exclaiming.

“Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Sabaoth!” (Is. 6:3)

We sing this doxology, which comes to us from the Seraphim, in order that we may participate in the song of the heavenly armies.³¹

There is a distinctly eastern flavor to Cyril’s words. In Isaiah 6 it is not the Lord who deigns to manifest *on earth*, but Isaiah who is caught up in ecstasy, presumably *in heaven*.

Isaiah’s call was a heavenly vision. In the liturgy, the people are caught up into the

³⁰Brightman, 50-51. English translation in *The Divine Liturgy of the Holy Glorious Apostle James the Brother of God, First Hierarch of Jerusalem set to the melodies of the Russian Orthodox Church*. (Basking Ridge, NJ: The Monastery of Saint Mark of Ephesus, 1978), 24-25. Hereafter *TDL*.

³¹*Ibid.*

heavenly Temple. This is reflected in the Preface to the anaphora of St. James, by the exact description of the heavenly companies in the Preface.

The Sanctus, then, much as Luther confessed, is a “joining in with the song of the angels,” although with a subtle nuance. Luther confessed the Sanctus as a joining in with the angels in confession of the Incarnational presence of Christ’s Body and Blood. The eastern church sings the Sanctus as the song of the angels upon their entrance into the heavenly liturgy with all the companies of heaven. In the western tradition, the liturgy is where heaven touches earth. In the east, the liturgy is where those on earth are swept into heaven.³² It is in the singing of the Sanctus that the congregation is made holy. As St. Cyril writes,

Then having sanctified ourselves with these spiritual hymns, we beseech God, the Lord of all, to send forth his Holy Spirit.³³

At the end of the Anaphora is the Lord’s Prayer, which is enshrouded in a series of smaller prayers. This whole portion of the liturgy begins with the priest’s proclamation of the Pax. While the deacon prays for the Sacramental gifts, the offering which the Lord “hath accepted...upon His holy and noetical and spiritual altar above the Heavens for a spiritual fragrance,”³⁴ and the communion prayer, the priest quietly prays a prayer for the reception of the offering and for forgiveness of sins and holy living. We particularly note the second half of this prayer.

³²Aleksandr Slozhenikin, “Divine Liturgy--The Holy Things Unto Them That Are Holy,” *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate*, 5 (June 1980), 77.

³³Εἶτα ἀγιάσαντες ἑαυτοὺς διὰ τῶν πνευματικῶν τούτων ὕμνων παρακαλοῦμεν τὸν φιλόθρωπον θεὸν τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐξαποστεῖλαι. Cross, 32-33. Spinks, *The Sanctus In the Eucharistic Prayer*, 64.

³⁴Brightman, 58-59. TDL, 32.

By the grace of Thy Christ, and of Thine all-holy Spirit, sanctify us as well, O Master, our souls, bodies, and spirits, touch our thoughts, search out our consciences, and turn away from us every evil thought, every shameful thought, all passion and shameful lust, every unfit word, all envy, foolish thinking, and hypocrisy, all falsehood, all evil, all temptations of this life, all greed, all vainglory, everything bad, all anger, all wrath, every evil remembrance, all blasphemy, all avarice, all negligence, every evil movement of the flesh and spirit, at variance with the will of Thy holiness.³⁵

The Lord's Prayer is then prayed by the people. After the priest terminates the prayer, the familiar Pax-formula is repeated. The forgiveness of sins comes immediately after the praying of the prayer. In light of the priest's prayer for forgiveness and holy living, we may observe again the weight of the Fifth Petition at this point in the liturgy.³⁶

From this point of the liturgy to the actual communion, the emphasis is on holiness, particularly the giving of God's holiness to the people. The priest prays quietly after the Pax:

We Thy servants, O Lord, have bowed our necks to Thee, before Thy holy altar, awaiting from Thee rich mercies and Thine abundant grace now. Send down upon us Thy blessing, O Master, and sanctify our souls and bodies and spirits, so that we may be worthy to be communicants and partakers of Thy holy Mysteries for the remission of sins and for life everlasting.³⁷

After the praying of this prayer is the signing of the diskos and the chalice, thus making them holy for their use in the Communion. The priest then blesses the people:

And may the grace and mercy of the holy, one in essence, uncreated, undivided, and adorable Trinity be with you all.

The people:

And with thy Spirit.³⁸

³⁵Brightman, 58-59. *TDL*, 32-33.

³⁶Furburg, 20-21.

³⁷Brightman, 60-61. *TDL*, 34.

³⁸Καὶ ἔσται ἡ χάρις καὶ τὰ ἐλέη τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ὁμοουσίου καὶ ἀκτίστου καὶ προσκυνητῆς τριάδος μετὰ πάντων ἡμῶν.
ὁ λαός

The priest follows up the blessing with the signing of the holy cross on the people. He then takes the bread with his fingertips, elevates it, and prays:

O Holy One, Who dwellest amongst the saints, O Lord, sanctify us by the word of Thy grace and the coming of Thine all-holy Spirit; for Thou, O Master, hast said: Be holy as I am holy. O Lord our God, unapproachable God, O Word, of one essence with the Father and the all-holy Spirit, coeternal, undivided, receive this pure hymn from me, a sinner, in Thy holy bloodless sacrifices with Cherubim and Seraphim, as I cry and say: THE HOLIES ARE FOR THE HOLY.³⁹

Next to the communion itself, this is the climax of the service. The elevation of the Host comes upon the sanctification of the people in the liturgy. Thus, the holy people are able to look upon the Holy Body of Christ. This happens through the Sanctus, the bishop's prayers, the praying of the Lord's Prayer, as well as in the forgiveness of sins in the Pax.⁴⁰

Particularly in the eastern church, the Lord's Supper's liturgy was and still is a confession of "the holy things unto the holy ones." The Lord's Supper was given to those who had been "holied," which happened in a number of ways. The repetition of the Pax so many times over in this liturgy is but one of the means by which a person is "holied." The liturgy, with commentary from St. Cyril, affords many more "means of holiness."

The Liturgy of St. James has had a great deal of influence on the eastern church. Liturgies are still extant which are based upon it. We will observe the essentials of what has been presented in St. James in the Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom as well.

Καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος σοῦ. Brightman, 61. Translation provided.

³⁹Brightman, 61-62. *TDL*, 34-35.

⁴⁰Slozhenikin, 78.

The Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom

Of the ancient liturgies of the eastern church, Brightman observes that the liturgies of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom have had the greatest influence.⁴¹ We have reported verbal and written accounts of Luther's familiarity with the theology of both men, although he makes no specific reference to either liturgy. The reason behind special treatment of the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom is given by Jasper and Cuming:

This liturgy became, and has remained, the principal and normal rite of the Orthodox Church, having ousted St. Basil from that position by A.D. 1000. The structure of the anaphora has become regarded as the norm, being identical with that of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, *St. Basil*, *St. James*, and upwards of eighty West Syrian anaphoras. It may well have preserved the form used in Antioch during Chrysostom's episcopate (370-380).⁴²

Authorship of this document is very difficult to prove. This is complicated by Chrysostom's penchant (a good one indeed) for quoting the liturgy in his sermons. As Jasper and Cuming remark, the similarities that may exist between Chrysostom's sermons and this liturgy does not indicate his authorship of the liturgy, but rather indicates his quotation of it. Thus, we may conclude that early forms of this liturgy, or perhaps parts of it later to be assimilated, existed in the late fourth century and earlier.⁴³

Most of the observations here will be structural. As Jasper and Cuming noted, there are many affinities between this liturgy and the *Apostolic Constitutions*. The Pax, spoken by the priest, comes just prior to the Creed immediately following the Prayers. The people's response is as has been observed in prior liturgies: Καὶ τῷ πνεύματι

⁴¹This Brightman shows from a side-by-side comparison of these two liturgies. Brightman, 309-344.

⁴²Jasper and Cuming, 129.

⁴³Ibid., 129-130.

σοῦ. Having been forgiven by God in the priest's proclamation, the deacon calls for the people to "love one another" [Ἀγαπήσωμεν ἀλλήλους] in the outpouring of love of those who have received the Pax. The rubrics here identify the Kiss as "the greeting of all the ones who are called by the Spirit" [ὁ πᾶσι προσφωνούμενος πνευματικὸς ἀσπασμός].⁴⁴ The pneumatology of the Pax and the theology of the Office of the Holy Ministry is here again observed. Having been called by the Spirit, the congregation then confesses the Creed.

After the Creed begins the anaphora. The strength of this abbreviated anaphora is the fact that the Sanctus enjoys more prominence. The Preface reflects the eastern theology of the Divine Liturgy:

You brought us out of non-existence into existence; and when we had fallen, you raised us up again, and did not cease to do everything until you had brought us up to heaven, and granted us the kingdom that is to come.⁴⁵

The granting of the kingdom to come is in the "bringing up" of the people to heaven. Here we have a very concisely worded statement in the liturgy which interprets the theology of this moment in the liturgy. The eucharistic paragraph just prior to the singing of the Sanctus does not describe God in earthly presence, but in heavenly glory.

We give you thanks also for this ministry; vouchsafe to receive it from our hands, even though thousands of archangels and ten thousands of angels stand before you, cherubim and seraphim, with six wings and many eyes, flying on high, singing the triumphal hymn [proclaiming, crying, and saying]:

Holy, holy, holy...⁴⁶

⁴⁴Brightman, 320.

⁴⁵Brightman, 322. Jasper & Cuming, 132.

⁴⁶Brightman, 322-323. Jasper & Cuming, 132.

Holiness then becomes the central point of the theology of the liturgy. The priest prays privately after the Sanctus.

With these powers, Master, lover of man, we also cry and say: holy are you and all-holy, and your only-begotten Son, and your Holy Spirit; holy are you and all-holy and magnificent is your glory; for you so loved the world that you gave your only-begotten Son that all who believe in him may not perish, but have eternal life.⁴⁷

As we noted in the Liturgy of St. James, the Sanctus as a “joining in with the angels” means that the people are swept up with all of the angels and archangels into the presence of all-holy God who gives Christ’s Body and Blood in the Sacrament. The Verba follow with the eucharistic prayer following.

The Lord’s Prayer comes at the end of the anaphora before the elevation, fraction, and distribution. Immediately following the Lord’s Prayer, the Pax is proclaimed.

The Pax, in all its various forms and locations in the eastern liturgies, holds a critical position in defining the eastern liturgical tradition. In this tradition, the Pax is always considered an absolution and, by virtue of placement after the Lord’s Prayer, gives indication of the importance of the Fifth Petition for the placement of the Lord’s Prayer in the Divine Liturgy.⁴⁸ This absolution is necessary if one is to be holy before God and thus brought into His presence. The Kiss of Peace, particularly in the later liturgies, took on a position of its own at the beginning of the Mass of the Faithful prior to the confession of the Creed. This theology most probably underlines Jesus’ words about being reconciled

⁴⁷Ibid., 324. Jasper & Cuming, 132.

⁴⁸Rordorf’s article misses the proclamation of the Peace which follows the Lord’s Prayer in the eastern liturgies. His study is focused on the Kiss of Peace and its place in the eastern tradition prior to the anaphora. Rordorf, 12.

with the brother before partaking in the holiness of God in the Divine Liturgy.⁴⁹

Conclusions

The eastern tradition has resisted great liturgical change down through the centuries. Even modern eastern scholarship confesses the Pax as an absolution. For our purposes we may note some distinctive aspects to the Pax and the Lord's Prayer in the eastern tradition.

1. The repetition of the formula: "The Peace of the Lord be with you," and the response, "And with your Spirit," reveals a remarkable characteristic of eastern liturgies: They understood and confessed the centrality of the forgiveness of sins in the liturgy. This repetition could be understood legalistically, but the overwhelming confession of the Pax as an absolution seems to prevent this conclusion. The Pax shows the circular tendency of the eastern liturgy. The east confesses absolution as a gift of the Lord which one cannot receive too often.

2. The Kiss of Peace comes at the beginning of the Mass of the Faithful rather than between the Verba and the Distribution. DM seems to be influenced by this characteristic in that it shares with the eastern tradition the concern for the distribution to happen as quickly as possible after the Verba.

3. The Lord's Prayer happens before the Verba in the eastern liturgies. This move also seems reflected in DM. As with point two above it also points to a particular eastern concern that the Distribution follow the Verba as closely as possible. We observed

⁴⁹Slozhenikin, 77. Slozhenikin's presentation of the holiness of the Divine Liturgy begins with the Pax as that which gives the forgiveness of sins which makes holy. This is important in that it shows the continuity of the eastern church with its past. This theology has not changed in 1600 years.

also in Addai and Mari the strong connection between the Lord's Prayer and the confession of sins confessed by the liturgy.

CHAPTER VI

LITURGICAL CONFESSION AND ABSOLUTION IN THE ROMAN TRADITION

The Canon of the Roman Mass

The Western Church has a liturgical tradition of its own, with different emphases than that of the east. The most dominant of these liturgies, the Canon of the Roman Mass, the liturgy which Luther reformed, is the center of this study. While this liturgy is not entirely representative of the western tradition, its influence and the fact that it was the liturgy in which Luther was raised, indicate that it should be central to this section of our study. Other liturgies will be considered in comparison, and as they have relevance to this study.

This study of the Canon of the Roman Mass begins with the eucharistic prayer. Although there was variation in different locales, the anaphora followed a fairly stable pattern:

Sursum Corda
Vere dignum
Sanctus
Te igitur
Memento Domine
Communicantes
Hanc igitur
Quam oblationem
Qui pridie
Unde et memores
Supra quae
Supplices te
Memento etiam
Nobis quoque
Per quem¹

¹Jasper and Cuming, 163-166.

In the western tradition, as in the east, the Sanctus comes toward the beginning of the eucharistic prayer.

Luther's reforms, as has been observed, centered in this area and eventually led to the complete removal of the anaphora with the exception of the Sursum Corda and the Sanctus, albeit the latter was moved after the Verba. The Verba are imbedded in this anaphora at the point of the Qui pridie. Thus, Luther's removal of the eucharistic prayer freed the Verba and brought them to the highest prominence in FM.

The Lord's Prayer

While various blessings (i.e. chrism or water, milk, and honey) may take place after the Per quem, the liturgy generally follows with the Lord's Prayer. The liturgy follows:

The Lord's Prayer with embolism and fraction
 The Pax
 The Communion Prayers
 The Communion
 The Post-Communion Prayer
 The Dismissal²

Furburg concludes that the liturgy here is built around the Lord's Prayer in light of the fact that the Verba have already been spoken in the anaphora. He concludes that this order reached its final form around the year A.D. 600.³ The Lord's Prayer anchors this section of the liturgy in a Scriptural prayer. It was traditionally introduced with the expression, "Taught by your saving precepts and formed by your divine institution, we dare to pray, Our Father..." [*Praeceptis salutaribus moniti et divina institutione formati, audemus*

²Ibid., 167.

³Furburg, *Das Pater Noster in der Messe*, 29.

dicere Pater Noster...].⁴ The prayer which followed, in some locations, read:

Deliver us, Lord, we pray you, from all evil, past, present, and future, and by the intercession of the blessed, glorious, always pure virgin and mother of God, Mary, as also with your holy apostles, Peter, Paul and Andrew, give merciful peace in our days. Come to help us with your mercy, that we may be ever free from sin and secure from every unrest.⁵

It was with this prayer that the embolism and fraction occurred and most likely indicated the Mass as a work of man to Luther. This explains the wholesale removal of this prayer and the actions associated with it. It may also indicate an interruption between the Lord's Prayer and the Pax. Just as a pastor would not delay the absolution in a private confession, there is no good reason for the withholding of the absolution in favor of the works of man.

It is fairly common in the western tradition that the Lord's Prayer is generally associated with the fraction. One may note its connection to the fraction in the Gallican (French) rite and the Mozarabic (Spanish with Turkish affinities) rite. The Creed interrupts the Lord's Prayer and the fraction in the latter rite.⁶

The Peace

Rome did retain the Kiss of Peace, although there is question as to whether it continued to be understood in the light of God's forgiveness through the bishop or if it

⁴Furburg notes that Jerome explains the origin of this expression, "So taught Jesus his apostles daily, in faith in his bodily sacrifice, to dare to pray." Jerome, "Dialogue against the Pelagians." Cited in Furburg, 29-30. Luther encouraged the retention of this introduction in FM. *WA* 12:213, 2.

⁵Furburg, 30. Translation provided. Luther was familiar with this prayer also, but recommended it not be used in FM. *Ibid.* Cf. also Luther D. Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, 727-728, for another translation.

⁶Cf. Jasper and Cuming, 147-154.

had become sacrificial; a work of man. This is accounted for by the observation that both the Pax and Kiss appear in the Roman Canon after the consecration, rather than at the beginning of the Mass of the Faithful. Nagel notes the placement of the Pax here to be uniquely Roman;⁷ the tradition which Luther inherited and reflected in his order of FM. Indeed, where the eastern liturgies did follow the Our Father with a Pax, both happened prior to the Verba. Nagel is critical of Rome on this order most likely because it reduced the liturgy to sacrificial actions after the Verba. The Mass itself, by imbedding the Verba in the anaphora, had reduced these gift-giving words to something we say to God in the way of an offering to God. There is no reason to suggest that Rome did not understand the confession in the Lord's Prayer and the Kiss of Peace in the same way, that is, sacrificially.

The placement of the Pax is not a settled issue in the western tradition. It is likely that the Roman Canon kept it with the Lord's Prayer for reasons of confession and absolution, although the centuries may have obscured this point. The Mozarbic and Gallican rites are unique in the western tradition in that their placement of the Pax and the Kiss of Peace is similar to that of the east. In both liturgies, the Pax immediately precedes the anaphora. Both the Gallican and the Mozarbic rites precede the Pax with a prayer emphasizing the unity of peace for the purpose of receiving the Body and Blood worthily.⁸ This echoes the whole accent of brotherly reconciliation that permeates the ancient understanding of the Pax and the second part of the Fifth Petition of the Lord's Prayer.

⁷Norman Nagel, "Holy Communion," in *Lutheran Worship History and Practice*, ed. Fred. L. Precht, (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1993), 307.

⁸W.S. Porter, *The Gallican Rite*, (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co. Ltd., 1958), 37. A.A. King, *Liturgies of the Past* (London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 1959), 171.

The West African Rite

One local order worth noting in this study is the ancient rite of the West African church, the church of Augustine. This is particularly valuable because it was the liturgy to which Augustine referred in his writings. Furburg concentrates on the order just prior to the Distribution. This order is reconstructed by Furburg from the data of Augustine's sermons.

West African Rite

Fraction of the bread
 "as preparation to communion"
 Blessing of the penitents and the laying
 on of hands
 Introduction to the Lord's Prayer
 The Lord's Prayer
 The Pax vobiscum⁹

Canon of the Roman Mass

The Lord's Prayer
 Embolism and Fraction
 Pax Domini

All of this is preceded by the anaphora. Nevertheless, this liturgy does not interfere with the Lord's Prayer/Pax combination as does the Roman Canon. Here the fraction and the actions attendant to the Lord's Prayer in the Canon occur before the Lord's Prayer and the liturgy proceeds uninterrupted from the Lord's Prayer to the Pax Vobiscum, suggesting a connection between the two. Augustine, in particular, draws on the Fifth Petition for explaining the placement of the Lord's Prayer. In his "Sermon concerning the Lord's Supper to infants," he preaches,

Why is this prayer prayed before the reception of Christ' Body and Blood? Because just as humans are fragile, because our thoughts do not discern to conceive strong thoughts, our tongues speak unjustly, our eyes do not see rightly, our ears do not hear the good things which they should hear, we shrink so at the struggles of this world and the fragility of human life, as it is described in the Lord's Prayer when it is said, "Forgive us our debts," so that freely and joyfully we

⁹Furburg, 27. Jasper and Cuming, 167.

may approach and, therefore, not eat and drink to our judgment.¹⁰

For Augustine as for Luther the right preparation for the Lord's Supper is important. The Lord has given us a means by which we may confess to him in the Lord's Prayer. We have that means just prior to the eating and drinking that we may be freed from all the "struggles of this world and the fragility of human life."

Augustine calls the Pax, "the great mouth sacrament of peace" [*Magnum sacramentum osculum pacis*].¹¹ He preaches,

For if some unfriendly spirit has something against you, and you are not able to convince him, you are brought together to bear [it].¹²

The Pax, proclaimed as it is for the people's forgiveness, brings the people together in peace for the forgiveness of one another.

Most notably, Augustine places the weight of the placement of the Lord's Prayer in the Lord's Supper's liturgy on the first half of the Fifth Petition, on God's forgiveness of sinners. Furburg argues, with good reason, that the first half of the Fifth Petition was the dominant element in the placement of the Lord's Prayer in the western tradition.¹³ One may underscore this point by the observation that the Pax appears only once in the western liturgies, as opposed to the various appearances of it in the eastern tradition. In the West, the Pax and the Our Father developed together and remained together in the liturgies. The East, while interpreting the Pax as an absolution, did not specifically

¹⁰S. Augustini Episcopi, *Sermo VI: Item de Sacramento altaris ad infantes*, in *Patrologia Patrum Latinorum*, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris: 1857-1866) 46:836. Furburg, 51. Translation provided.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Furburg, 50. Cf. also Rordorf, "The Lord's Prayer in the Light of its Liturgical Use in the early Church," 12-13.

indicate its connection to the Lord's Prayer so clearly. The strength of the eastern incorporation of the Pax, as we have observed, was the way in which its liturgies were centered around the forgiveness of sins through such multifarious proclamations.

The *Offene Schuld*

This brings us to a study of how Rome had come to understand confession by the time of Luther. The Roman tradition did confess Confession and Absolution as the proper preparation for the Lord's Supper but had made a law of it, making it solely a work of man. Such works reduced this marvelous gift of God to a work of the Law. The place of general confession within the sacrifice of the Mass is confirmed as more a matter of the law than a confession of the Gospel.

A rite of General Confession and Absolution also arose in the Middle Ages; with this Luther was certainly familiar. The *Offene Schuld*, as it was known, was used in two ways, generally as the preparation of those who wished to receive the Lord's Supper.¹⁴ This particular order also became associated with liturgies that did not include the Lord's Supper, but were characterized as "Preaching-liturgies."¹⁵

Bernard Klaus gives an example of the form of this rite from the twelfth century. The order after the sermon is as follows:

Creed (congregation)
Confession (congregation)

¹⁴Fred L. Precht, "Confession and Absolution: Sin and Forgiveness," in *Lutheran Worship History and Practice*, ed. Fred. L. Precht (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1993), 366. Precht writes: "As to the inclusion of a general confession, in contrast to the then-ongoing, prevalent practice of private, or individual, confession for the laity, this was undoubtedly in anticipation of receiving the Lord's Supper."

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 365.

Misereatur: “May almighty God have mercy...” (priest in Latin)

Indulgentiam: “May the almighty God and merciful Lord grant us pardon...”

(priest in Latin)

Lord’s Prayer (congregation)

Oratio pro ecclesia (priest in German)¹⁶

The Lord’s Prayer’s association with this liturgy may be confessional, although general confession has already been made. This rite lacks the purely proclamatory nature of the Pax, or an absolution much like modern Lutheran liturgies with their stress on the Office (“I forgive you...”).¹⁷

Klaus notes that this rite was given to abuse. One such example is the Regensburg variation of this rite from around 1500. The confession called for five Our Fathers and seven Ave Marias to be prayed by the penitent “during the Office of the Holy Mass” [*unter den Amt der heiligen Mess*].¹⁸ The emphasis by such requirements is not on Absolution as much as it is on the Confession.¹⁹

Klaus’ final conclusion regarding the *Offene Schuld* is the most distressing. He notes that, by the time of Luther, it “failed to show anymore a theological definition of what the *Offene Schuld* was.”²⁰ This is a stark indication that, for Rome at the time of Luther, confession and absolution as a means of preparation for the Lord’s Supper had

¹⁶Bernard Klaus, “Die Rustgebete,” in *Leiturgia: Handbuch des Evangelischen Gottesdienstes*, ed. Karl Ferdinand Mueller and Walter Blankenburg (Kassel: Johannes Stauda Verlag, 1955), II:534. This translation in Precht, 365-366.

¹⁷*Lutheran Worship*, 158. Sadly, that there are Lutheran services on the Lord’s Day with General Confession and Absolution or Declaration of Grace, but without the Lord’s Supper, is a particularly negative side effect of this medieval practice. Precht, 366.

¹⁸Klaus, *Leiturgia*, 534.

¹⁹For Luther’s own comments on this, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church* and Smalcald Articles, Part III, Art. III, are recommended.

²⁰Klaus, 535.

become a matter of the Law. Then perhaps it is not surprising that this rite eventually came to be a substitute for the Lord's Supper. This might follow naturally from the development of the Mass into a sacrifice.

Luther and the Traditions

The foregoing may give something of an indication, then, for Luther's moving of the Sanctus in FM. The Sanctus, by grounding the whole of the liturgy after the Verba in a Scriptural context, proclaims Christ's Presence and makes appropriate the praying of the Lord's Prayer in confession of sins and the proclamation of the Pax after the Verba. This is how God's Name is properly hallowed. Thus, in the whole unit of the liturgy from the Verba through the Pax, the sacrificial nature of the LP and the Kiss of Peace in the Roman Mass is firmly regrounded in the Real Presence of Christ's Body and Blood. What was thoroughgoingly sacrificial is confessed sacramentally at this point in the service. Not only had Luther freed the Verba from sacrificial misinterpretation, he did so by moving the Sanctus and freeing it for the purpose of confessing Christ's Presence in His Body and Blood. The action is remarkably from God to the people. The people then respond in the only way which the context of the Sanctus would have them respond; in contrition and repentance, confessing their sins and receiving absolution in the Pax.

The Kiss of Peace and its placement in the ever-increasingly sacrificial Mass gives a strong indication of how the Roman Canon slipped into sacrificialism. Luther's point in the rubric of the Pax in FM underscores this:

On this account I would like to have it pronounced facing the people, as the bishops are accustomed to do, which is the only custom of the ancient bishops that is left among our bishops.²¹

As was observed previously, this comment suggests that Luther knew more of the early church liturgies than the modern scholarship gives him credit for.

Given the catechetical concerns of DM, the change in order is much more understandable. By moving the Lord's Prayer-paraphrase prior to the Verba, Luther had divorced it from hundreds of years of the western tradition as represented by the Roman Mass. This move, whether Luther realized it or not, was remarkably eastern. Unlike the east, however, Luther kept the Sanctus in its place after the Verba and thus allowed for little action on the part of the people after the Verba. While the Verba are central in both liturgies, DM accents this differently than FM. The Verba are central in DM in that all action stops in the Presence of Christ, thus the liturgy appears almost bald in the service of the proclamation of the Gospel. In FM, the Sanctus presents a Scriptural solution to the problem of the West's placement of the Lord's Prayer and Pax after the Verba; certainly an acceptable one.

Despite the difficulty of establishing what Luther knew of the different traditions and the early church, one should not conclude that Luther was ignorant of them. Luther's liturgical reforms provide the liturgies with the "best of both worlds" in the confession of the forgiveness of sins in the Mass. Even more important, however, is that Luther rejoiced in that which both traditions confessed as Scriptural, the Pax, the Lord's Prayer, the Verba, and the Sanctus.

²¹*WA* 12:213, 11-13. *AE* 53:29.

Conclusions

There is no reason to conclude that, in its earliest forms, the Roman Canon did not confess the Lord's Prayer and the Pax as a general confession and absolution. However, certain developments in the early centuries obscured this theology and had long-lasting negative ramifications for the Church until and after the time of Luther.

1. The addition of certain actions, such as the fraction and commixtio, at this point in the liturgy served to eclipse the central theology of the Lord's Supper as a gift which the liturgy had so long confessed as well as the Scripturally appropriate preparation for the Lord's Presence in His Body and Blood that Confession and Absolution is. This is one of many aspects of the Roman Canon which prove the extent to which the Roman Church had abandoned the Lord's Supper as a sacrament and completely redefined as a sacrifice.

2. The disintegration of the organic Scriptural connection between Confession and Absolution and the Lord's Supper reached its nadir in the fact that Confession and Absolution came to be given its own liturgy, the *Offene Schuld*. The *Offene Schuld* eventually came to be associated with preaching services which were celebrated without the Lord's Supper. This practice predates Luther and the abuses associated with it were certainly known to him. Remnants of this fracture of the Means of Grace are still evident today in the Lutheran tradition in the celebration of the Divine Service with a confession and absolution or declaration of grace, but lacking the Lord's Supper.

Luther had inherited a fractured tradition and the loss of the Lord's Supper and General Confession and Absolution as Means by which the Lord forgives His people was

reflected in the liturgies with which he grew up. Luther's reforms in general were motivated by an understanding on his part of the depths to which Rome had fallen and it is a powerful tribute to the Lutheran Reformation as a liturgical movement that Luther had set out to reform the Roman Canon at such an early date with 1523's *Formula Missae* and 1526's *Deutsche Messe*.

CONCLUSION

Joh 20:19-23: Then the same day at evening, being the first [day] of the week, when the doors were shut where the disciples were assembled for fear of the Jews, came Jesus and stood in the midst, and saith unto them, Peace [be] unto you. And when he had so said, he shewed unto them [his] hands and his side. Then were the disciples glad, when they saw the Lord. Then said Jesus to them again, Peace [be] unto you: as [my] Father hath sent me, even so send I you. And when he had said this, he breathed on [them], and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost: Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; [and] whose soever [sins] ye retain, they are retained. [King James Version]

Peace inheres in the forgiveness of sins. This the liturgy has confessed through the centuries. This Luther confessed in the Pax Domini of the Formula Missae. The best preparation for the Lord's Supper is a sinner forgiven through the word of peace spoken by the Office. The early church also rejoiced in the words of Christ that a brother be reconciled to the brother who has anything against him before both should be gathered into the Lord's Presence at the altar. This reconciliation happened in the Kiss of Peace, the kiss of reconciliation. Ideally, the proclamation of the Peace and the Kiss form an organic whole in the words of the prayer our Lord taught us: *Forgive us our sins as we forgive those who sin against us*. The liturgy proclaims the forgiveness of sins through the human instrument, the pastor, to the people and then one to another. Thus the liturgy is thoroughly grounded in Scripture.

The modern critiques of Luther's reforms of the mass reveal the startling ramifications of the failure to confess the "Scripture-centered"-ness of the liturgy. Many theories abound as to the importance of the Lord's Supper to the liturgy, but that which holds is that which confesses the words, "This is my Body...This is my Blood." Just as Scripture is the revelation of God to man, the liturgy is the vehicle through which God comes to man in earthly, fleshly reality in the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. He comes to forgive sins. "Blessed is

he that comes in the Name of the Lord,” the liturgy says, quoting Psalm 118:9. Here the people join in with the song of the angels, which is the same song as the crowds sang in Matthew 21:9 upon the entrance of Jesus into Jerusalem. Jesus came to Jerusalem this last time in order that his body would be broken and his blood be shed on the cross, where our redemption was won. He gives us that Body and Blood in the liturgy. He comes to us in the liturgy to forgive our sins, as he did for Isaiah at the singing of the first Sanctus.

Luther rejoiced in the Scripture of the liturgy. Nothing in his liturgies, (or any liturgies for that matter), has any weight without a proper source in the Scriptures.

When one is in the presence of the Lord, the Scriptures teach how one reacts and responds. Contrition and humbleness of heart are of first importance. In the Old Testament, the hiding of the face before the Lord was appropriate, but even there the Lord teaches us what His presence is about. The Lord gives His presence because that is the kind of Lord He is. He is a gift-giving Lord. When Gideon finally confessed that he had been dealt with by the Angel of the Lord, the Lord reassured him, “Peace! Do not be afraid. You will not die” [Judges 6:23 (NIV)]. Isaiah, upon the confession of his sins in the Lord’s presence in the Temple, was forgiven in the touch of a coal upon his lips. The coal reached him through an instrument, the Seraph [Is. 6:6-7]. Peter, in the New Testament, confessed his and his brothers’ sins to Christ when he had come to confess Christ as Lord. Christ replied with the words of salvation, “Fear not, from now on you will be catching men” [Luke 5:10]. The forgiveness of sins given in the liturgy is a Scriptural truth. It is delivered by the sure words of the Lord.

Because Luther rejoiced in the incarnational freight of Christ's Body and Blood in the Lord's Supper it may be concluded that he was truly a son of the western tradition. While the east confessed the Real Presence of Christ's Body and Blood; theirs was a presence of Christ's Body and Blood pulling up to heaven, and only thither attainable through a holiness, given in the Peace, and exercised in so many other works such as prayers, inclinations, and the like. The west had a Christ who deigned to come to man on earth in the body and blood of humanity. Salvation for those on earth comes as a result of the work of Christ, who came to earth in the flesh and who now gives us to eat and to drink of His Body and Blood. It was for this reason only that man's prayers of thanksgiving could be given to God. The Mass confessed the Incarnational Presence of Christ's Body and Blood for the forgiveness of sins. This Presence was not conditional upon man's works. If both the east and the west share a common flaw, it is that both came to add actions-upon-actions to the liturgy, thus breeding confusion and making the liturgy into the work of man rather than the gift of God for his giving out of his forgiveness.

While Luther's liturgical reforms may look radical in light of the liturgical situation of his day, to see them as an impoverishment is to deny the heart and core of the Scriptures. Just as the Scriptures are centered on God's revelation of his saving grace in Christ Jesus, so the liturgy brings Christ to the people in His Body and Blood for their forgiveness. Luther was no liturgical innovator. Rather, he confessed the Scriptures as did the great liturgies of the past.

Although he was brought up in another tradition, Luther's confession of the Pax as an absolution is one part of the liturgy which brings both traditions together. Cyril and others confessed here what Luther would confess many centuries later. In fact, the eastern

confession of the Pax in the liturgies is to be envied. The Liturgy of St. James could not get enough of the Pax. Addai and Mari and St. Chrysostom also, although not as frequently as St. James. Repetition of the Pax at pivotal points in the Divine Liturgy, shows the liturgy to be rooted in the forgiveness of sins. The Pax was also instrumental in confessing the instrument, the bishop, whose Office it was to give out such a gift.

The Canon of the Mass, by enshrouding the Lord's Prayer in actions, had obscured the meaning of both the Lord's Prayer and the Pax. Just as in the East, a preponderance of man-centered actions got in the way of that which the liturgy gives. The anaphora became long and swallowed up the Verba, thus making a sacrifice of the Lord's Supper. The Prayer which our Lord gave us and the clear proclamation of the Gospel in the Pax were enshrouded in a similar manner to the Verba and the confession of the liturgy as the giving of the gifts had come into doubt.

When one views FM and DM from Luther's Gospel-resources, and in the light of what had happened to the Roman Mass, these liturgies look less like "hatchet-jobs" and more like bold confessions of that which was central to the liturgy, Absolution and the Lord's Supper. Luther's reforms have Scripture and its saving Gospel of Christ at the center. They also, if not always in form, at least in substance proclaim the theology of the early church and showed the early church to be in step with the Scriptures.

The liturgy is about the giving of the gifts. This Luther knew and confessed. His liturgies give tremendous insight into the Church's confession of the Gospel of Christ Jesus.

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