

Concordia Seminary - Saint Louis

## Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary

---

Master of Sacred Theology Thesis

Concordia Seminary Scholarship

---

6-1-1958

### The Saints' Days of The Lutheran Liturgy

Roger Pittelko

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholar.csl.edu/stm>



Part of the [Practical Theology Commons](#)

---

#### Recommended Citation

Pittelko, Roger, "The Saints' Days of The Lutheran Liturgy" (1958). *Master of Sacred Theology Thesis*. 131. <https://scholar.csl.edu/stm/131>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Concordia Seminary Scholarship at Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master of Sacred Theology Thesis by an authorized administrator of Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary. For more information, please contact [seitzw@csl.edu](mailto:seitzw@csl.edu).

SHORT TITLE

THE LUTHERAN LITURGY

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

Roger A. Fittellho

June 1958

Approved by:

72148  
Raymond H. ...  
Advisor  
John ...  
Reader

61850

THE SAINTS' DAYS OF  
THE LUTHERAN LITURGY

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

by

Roger D. Pittelko

June 1958

72161  
Approved by:

Bertram W. Howe  
Advisor

Julius G. Pittelko  
Reader

51850

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
II. HISTORY OF THE SAINTS' DAYS TO THE TIME OF THE REFORMATION . . . . .	4
The Purpose of Saints' Days . . . . .	4
Basic Considerations . . . . .	6
Written Sources for the Study of Saints' Days . . . . .	9
Martyrs' Days . . . . .	16
Apostles' Days . . . . .	20
Feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary . . . . .	23
Multiplication of Saints' Days . . . . .	25
III. THE LUTHERAN RETENTION AND USE OF THE SAINTS' DAYS IN THE SIXTEENTH, SEVENTEENTH, AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES . . . . .	28
Retention and Use of the Saints' Days in the Sixteenth Century . . . . .	28
Retention and Use of the Saints' Days in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries . . . . .	39
IV. THE RETENTION AND USE OF THE SAINTS' DAYS IN AMERICAN LUTHERANISM . . . . .	47
The Calendars of the Hymnals and Agendas . . . . .	47
Annuals . . . . .	59
The Use of the Saints' Days . . . . .	63
V. THE SAINTS' DAYS OF <u>THE LUTHERAN LITURGY</u> . . . . .	72
Introductory Considerations . . . . .	72
Saint Andrew the Apostle's Day . . . . .	72
Common Introits, Collects, and Graduals for the Evangelist', Apostles', and Martyrs' Days . . . . .	76
Saint Thomas the Apostle's Day . . . . .	78
Saint Stephen the Martyr's Day . . . . .	81
Saint John the Apostle and the Evangelist's Day . . . . .	84
The Holy Innocents' Day . . . . .	86
The Conversion of Saint Paul . . . . .	89
The Presentation Of Our Lord and The Puri- fication of Mary . . . . .	91

Chapter	Page
Saint Matthias the Apostle's Day . . . . .	95
The Annunciation . . . . .	97
Saint Mark the Evangelist's Day . . . . .	100
Saint Philip and Saint James the Apostles' Day . . . . .	102
The Nativity Of Saint John the Baptist . . . . .	105
Saint Peter and Saint Paul the Apostles' Day . . . . .	108
The Visitation . . . . .	113
Saint Mary Magdalene's Day . . . . .	115
Saint James the Elder the Apostle's Day . . . . .	117
Saint Bartholomew the Apostle's Day . . . . .	119
Saint Matthew the Apostle and Evangelist's Day . . . . .	122
Saint Michael's and All Angels Day . . . . .	123
Saint Luke the Evangelist's Day . . . . .	126
Saint Simon and Saint Jude the Apostles' Day . . . . .	127
All Saints' Day . . . . .	129
Summary of the Propers . . . . .	132
VI. CONCLUSION . . . . .	133
TABLE--SAINTS' DAYS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY <u>KIRCHEN- ORDNUNGEN</u> . . . . .	135
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	136

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Saints' days are totally foreign to a large segment of the American population. Americans are accustomed to think in terms of a secular calendar. The church year, and in particular the saints of the church year, have passed into obscurity.

Such a secularization of the calendar has also affected the Lutheran Church. Most Lutheran Christians, like other Americans, do not think extensively in terms of the Church's year. Much less do they think in terms of the saints' days found in that year.

This present study is intended to investigate the saints' days of The Lutheran Liturgy. The study will look at the historical warrant for the saints' days. It will further consider the theological content of the propers for each commemoration. Finally, it will look at the extent of the present use of the saints' days.

The main emphasis of this paper will be on the saints' days in the calendar of the Lutheran Church, and in particular The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod. Such a study must broaden its base to include the history of the minor festivals of the pre-Reformation Western Church as well as some of those of the Eastern Church.

The organization of the investigation will broadly follow the three major considerations--that of history, theology, and use of the saints' days. The first major section will treat the historical introduction of saints' and martyrs' days into the calendar of the Church. Their history will be traced through the Medieval Church to the time of the Reformation. The study will then narrow down to the Lutheran Communion and the retention and use of the saints' days in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries in Germany. The next chapter will concern itself with the retention and use of the saints' days in the hymnals and service books of the Lutheran bodies of the United States.

The last major section will view each of the saints' days of The Lutheran Liturgy of the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America. The main emphasis will be on the liturgical celebration accorded the apostle, saint, or martyr rather than the life and history of the individual. The treatment will of necessity be largely historical in nature. However, this section will also consider the theological content of the propers for each commemoration.

The material for the pre-Reformation history of these days has been gathered largely from secondary sources. Primary sources such as the Kirchenordnungen and the collected words of the Reformers were used for the Reformation

period. Hymnals, service books, annuals, and sermon books were used for the Lutheran sources. On the whole then, primary sources, where available, were used in treating the Lutheran retention and use of the saints' days.

The material of the sixteenth century Kirchenordnungen has been organized into a table on page 135. The table lists saints' days retained together with the number of Kirchenordnungen that listed them.

side of the fact that the years are numbered anno Domini, the only other religious intrusions into the calendar are the festivals of Christmas and Easter. With few exceptions, Christianity exerts no major influence on the calendar.

Certainly the idea of celebrating saints' days is unknown to most Protestantism in the United States. Even in the Roman, Orthodox, Anglican, and Lutheran Communion where the saints are commemorated, they exert little effect on the life of the community.

Yet from the foundation of the Church there has been no controversy over the holiness of those who laid down their lives for the faith. The New Testament did not omit to hand on to posterity a record of those who fell in the Biblical era--the Holy Innocents, St. Stephen the Protomartyr, and St. James the Greater. The age of Revelations also saw the martyrs of Christ beneath the altar of God who



## CHAPTER II

### HISTORY OF THE SAINTS' DAYS TO THE TIME OF THE REFORMATION

#### The Purpose of Saints' Days

Modern, Protestant, Puritan, and Anabaptist America lives in a secular calendar. Outside of the fact that the years are numbered anno Domini, the only other religious intrusions into the calendar are the festivals of Christmas and Easter. With few exceptions, Christianity exerts no major influence on the calendar.

Certainly the idea of celebrating saints' days is unknown to most Protestantism in the United States. Even in the Roman, Orthodox, Anglican, and Lutheran Communion where the saints are commemorated, they exert little effect on the life of the community.

Yet from the foundation of the Church there has been no controversy over the holiness of those who laid down their lives for the faith. The New Testament did not omit to hand on to posterity a record of those who fell in the Biblical era--the Holy Innocents, St. Stephen the Protomartyr, and St. James the Greater. The seer of Revelations also saw the martyrs of Christ beneath the altar of God who

did not forget them.<sup>1</sup>

Already in the fourth century The Constitutions of the Holy Apostles had a pronouncement on the saints' days. The slaves were to desist from work on all great holidays of the Church, on all Sundays, and on saints' days.

Let them rest on the days of the apostles, for they were appointed your teachers to bring you to Christ and make you worthy of the Spirit. Let them rest on the day of the first martyr, Stephen, and other holy martyrs, who preferred Christ to their own life.<sup>2</sup>

In medieval times the secular calendar took second place. The civil holidays were Church holidays. Courts recessed, battles ceased, shops closed, and all labor suspended.<sup>3</sup> Such was the practice till the time of the Reformation.

At the time of the Reformation the more radical reformers discarded the church year. In Puritan England and Calvinistic Scotland, from which many of the early American

---

<sup>1</sup>Heinrich Kellner, Heortology: A History of the Christian Festivals from their Origin to the Present Day, translated from the German by a priest of the Diocese of Westminster (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Company, Limited, 1908), p. 204.

<sup>2</sup>Alan A. McArthur, The Evolution of the Christian Year (Greenwich, Connecticut: The Seabury Press, c.1953), p. 159. "Constitutions of the Holy Apostles," translated by James Donaldson, vol. VII in The Ante-Nicene Fathers, edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (American reprint of the Edinburgh Edition; New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1896), p. 495.

<sup>3</sup>Edward T. Horn, III, The Christian Year (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, c.1957), p. 15.

settlers came, the church year was regarded with suspicion as "popery." The result has been that Protestant America has had an impoverished background.<sup>4</sup>

Such an impoverishment was not the background of the Lutheran settlers who came to this country. The Confessions testify eloquently to the Lutheran position regarding the saints.<sup>5</sup> The Kirchenordnungen and agendas also witness to the rich church year retained by the Lutherans.<sup>6</sup>

Until recently the dominant religious tradition of the United States was Protestant. As a result even Lutheranism has tended sometimes to become Protestant in its approach as the Lutheran Church has become an American denomination.<sup>7</sup>

#### Basic Considerations

In the New Testament all Christians were called "holy" (ἅγιοι). In the course of time popular usage tended to restrict the term to those members of the Body of Christ who

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>5</sup>"Article XXI of the Augsburg Confession," Triglot Concordia: The Symbolical Books of the Ev. Lutheran Church (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1921), p. 57.

<sup>6</sup>Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI Jahrhunderts, edited by Emil Sehling (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1904), II, 17, 25, 49, 79. Kirchen-Agenda Baaden (Karls-Ruhe: In der Schmiederischen Buchhandlung, 1775), pp. 126-187.

<sup>7</sup>Paul W. Spaude, The Lutheran Church Under American Influence (Burlington, Iowa: The Lutheran Literary Board, c.1943), pp. 399-402.



had especially distinguished themselves by their witness to Christ, whether by a martyr's death or by their service to His cause and His Church.<sup>8</sup>

Is the purpose of saints' days merely to call to mind some important member of the Church? The real purpose of the saints' days might be summed up in the thoughts of the Confessions. According to Article XXI of the Apology, the saints deserve a threefold honor. First, Christians ought to give thanks to God because He has shown examples of mercy. The second service is the strengthening of faith. For example, when Christians see the denial of St. Peter, they are encouraged to believe that grace superabounds over sin. The final honor is the imitation, first of faith, then of other virtues.<sup>9</sup>

The Roman Catholic position on saints' days has been stated by J. H. Achterfeldt.

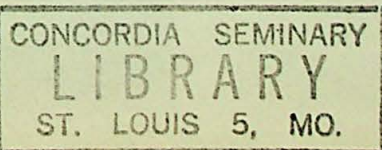
We may best honor the saints in three ways. (1) By considering the virtues displayed by them on earth and their constancy unto the end, and how they pleased God. (2) By stimulating ourselves to virtue by their example. (3) By asking the saints to entreat God to give us His grace to follow in their virtues and godly living.<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup>Massey Hamilton Shepherd, The Worship of the Church (Greenwich, Connecticut: Seabury Press, c.1952), p. 114.

<sup>9</sup>"Article XXI of the Apology of the Augsburg Confession," op. cit., p. 343.

<sup>10</sup>J. H. Achterfeldt, Lehrbuch der Christkatholischen und Sittenlehre (Braunsberg: n.p., 1825), p. 8.



The use of saints' days proclaims the theological belief of the individual or denomination, as Asmussen points out. One would not celebrate a feast of angels if he did not believe in angels.<sup>11</sup>

The most ancient festivals of the Church were the commemorations of martyrs on the day of their death, or as the Church phrased it, their "heavenly birthday." The day the martyr suffered was called dies natalis, the Christian's true birthday.<sup>12</sup> As was pointed out above, the New Testament already took note of the very first martyrs, St. Stephen and St. James the Greater.

Tertullian used the term natalitia, meaning the nativity to the glorious crown in the kingdom of heaven.<sup>13</sup> St. Peter Chrysologus bade his auditors remember that when they heard of the birthday of a saint, not to imagine a day of natural birth, but the day when the person was borne from earth to heaven.<sup>14</sup>

Martyrdom was a highly respected estate in the Primitive Church. For the catechumen martyrdom was considered

<sup>11</sup>Hans Asmussen, Die Lehre vom Gottesdienst (München: Kaiser Verlag, 1937), p. 193.

<sup>12</sup>Shepherd, The Worship of the Church, p. 113.

<sup>13</sup>Tertullian, "The Chaplet," translated by S. Thelwall, The Ante-Nicene Fathers, III, 94.

<sup>14</sup>Peter Chrysologus, "Sermon CXXIX," Patrologiae: Patrum Latinorum, edited by J. P. Migne (Paris: n.p., 1894), LII, col. 555.

equal to Holy Baptism since by martyrdom he identified himself fully with Christ and His cross. This identification was so fully realized in martyrdom, including the coming to resurrection, that it was regarded as a surrogate for baptism.<sup>15</sup>

#### Written Sources for the Study of Saints' Days

The Church, it seems, was always rather careful to note down and remember those of its members who had suffered for the faith. Among the very first written materials used in the services of the Primitive Church were the lists of people, both living and dead, for whom prayers were to be offered. These were written at first on two wax covered tablets that were hinged and folded forming diptychs.<sup>16</sup>

The earliest calendars used by the Church were probably the diptychs of the living, of the dead, and of the local bishop which were originally read at stated places in the service. When it became impossible to read these lists at each service, the Church adopted the scheme of commemorating these distinguished members on the date of their death.<sup>17</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup>Louis Bouyer, Liturgical Piety (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, c.1955), p. 221.

<sup>16</sup>Horn, op. cit., p. 28.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 31.

Each Christian community was at pains to preserve the memory of the martyrs that belonged to it. Chapels were often erected over the martyrs' tombs, and every shred of information relating to the martyr was preserved. The bishops took steps for drawing up authoritative reports concerning the martyrs who belonged to their flock.<sup>18</sup> According to the Liber Pontificalis, Clement I is said to have divided Rome into seven sections with a Christian notary appointed over each section. It was the business of the notary to investigate and record the facts of all martyrdoms.<sup>19</sup>

St. Anterus of Rome (235 A. D. to 236 A. D.) during his forty-two day episcopate collected the gesta martyrum and carefully preserved them in the Roman archives as a notice in the Liber Pontificalis testifies.<sup>20</sup> St. Cyprian of Carthage, during the Decian and Valerian persecutions, adopted a similar system. He ordered the priests and deacons to keep record of the names and dates of the deaths of Christians in order that their memory might be celebrated along with the memorial of the other martyrs.<sup>21</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup>Kellner, op. cit., p. 204.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 205. Liber Pontificalis, edited by L. Duchesne (Paris: E. De Boccard, 1955), I, 53.

<sup>20</sup>Kellner, op. cit., p. 206. Liber Pontificalis, I, 65.

<sup>21</sup>Kellner, op. cit., p. 206. Cyprian, "Letter XXXVII," Patrologiae: Patrum Latinorum, IV, col. 337.

The sources of information on the saints and martyrs are found in a number of different sources. There are the Acta, the Passiones, the legends, the calendars, the martyrologies, and the service books.

The Acta are the reports of the trial taken down by the notary or procurator. They contain the accusation, the examination, the deposition of the witnesses, and the description of judgment and punishment. A proclamation of Emperor Severus, 194 A. D., made it law that all the Acta had to be preserved and be produced at any time for examination. Copies of the Acta could be bought by anyone interested. Some of these are still extant. One of the most famous is the Acta Poconsularia S. Cypriani.<sup>22</sup>

The Passiones are the accounts of the imprisonment, trial, and execution drawn up by eyewitness Christians. Some of the best known of these are the Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas,<sup>23</sup> the Martyrdom of Polycarp,<sup>24</sup> and the Life and Passion of Cyprian, Bishop and Martyr by Pontius the deacon.<sup>25</sup>

---

<sup>22</sup>Kellner, op. cit., p. 208.

<sup>23</sup>"Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas," translated by R. E. Wallis, The Ante-Nicene Fathers, III, 700-706.

<sup>24</sup>"Martyrdom of Polycarp," The Ante-Nicene Fathers, I, 39-44.

<sup>25</sup>Pontius the Deacon, "The Life and Passion of Cyprian, Bishop and Martyr," translated by Ernest Wallis, The Ante-Nicene Fathers, V, 267-274.



The legends are the narratives based on documents such as the Passiones. They were written by later writers for the purpose of edification. The legends form a large volume of material beginning with the account of the Martyrdom of Ignatius.<sup>26</sup> Their worth varies according to the nature of writing, the author, and the purpose. Unfortunately, much of this material is deficient from the historical and critical point of view.<sup>27</sup>

Closely connected with the calendar is the martyrology or menology as it was called in the East. The martyrology is a comprehensive list of all martyrs who are to be remembered. It differs from the calendar in this respect that the calendar was selective rather than comprehensive. Yet the two are often not distinguished and indeed could hardly be in the early days.<sup>28</sup>

Early in the fourth century an official document was issued which was to be the ultimate basis of nearly every subsequent development. It is the so-called "Philocalian Calendar" prepared by Furius Dionysius Philocalus. It embodies two lists, dating from 336 A. D., reissued with

---

<sup>26</sup>Kellner, op. cit., p. 209. "Martyrdom of Ignatius," The Ante-Nicene Fathers, I, 129-131.

<sup>27</sup>Kellner, op. cit., p. 210.

<sup>28</sup>Walter Howard Frere, The Kalendar, in Studies in Early Roman Liturgy (London: Oxford University Press, 1930), I, 7.

additions in 354 A. D. One is the Depositio Episcoporum, the other the Depositiones Martyrum. The earliest martyrs recorded in this, apart from any apostles, are of the third century beginning with St. Callistus of Rome, who died in 223 A. D.<sup>29</sup>

A number of calendars are still extant in addition to the Philocalian of fourth century Rome, for example, the "Hieronymian" of sixth century Gaul, the Martyrology of Silas of seventh century Spain, the Coptic calendars of the seventh and ninth centuries, the Menology of Constantinople of the eighth century, the Martyrology of Bede of eighth century England, the Martyrology of Ado of ninth century France, the martyrology of Usuardus of ninth century France, the Martyrology of Rhabanus Maurus of ninth century Germany, the Martyrology of Balbulus of ninth century Switzerland, and the Menology of Basil of tenth century Constantinople. Missal calendars are also available for Rome, Bologna, Sens, Corbie, Lodeve, Winchester, Durham, Auxerre, Mayence, Werden, Cologne, Essen, Strasborg, Trier, and Worcester.<sup>30</sup>

An example of a fifth century calendar is seen in a fragment from Carmona near Seville, Spain. Among the days it lists, the following are found in The Lutheran Liturgy:

---

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 8. Oscar Cullmann, Peter: Disciple-Apostle Martyr, translated from the German by Floyd V. Filson (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1953), p. 123.

<sup>30</sup>Horn, op. cit., p. 32.

St. Stephen, St. John the Evangelist, St. Philip, St. John the Baptist, and St. Andrew.<sup>31</sup>

The three sacramentaries or books, containing all the prayers used by the celebrant at the administration of the sacraments, that did much to shape the present calendar of the Western Church are the "Leonine," the "Gelasian," and the "Gregorian."

The manuscript of the "Leonine Sacramentary" is that of Verona, dating from the seventh century. The Sacramentary itself probably dates from the middle of the sixth century. The manuscript, originally containing 163 leaves, now lacks the first twenty-four leaves covering January, February, March, and part of April. Among the days listed on the Leonine Sacramentary the following have appeared in many Lutheran calendars.<sup>32</sup>

June 25.	Nativity of St. John the Baptist
June 29.	St. Peter and St. Paul
August 2.	St. Stephen, Protomartyr
August 10.	St. Lawrence
September 30.	St. Michael
November 30.	St. Andrew
December 27.	St. John the Evangelist
December 28.	Holy Innocents

Of the "Gelasian Sacramentary" the oldest manuscript is the Regina 316 that comes from the great Abbey of St. Denys by Paris. It dates from the end of the seventh

---

<sup>31</sup>Gregory Dix, The Shape of the Liturgy (Westminster: Dacre Press, 1945), pp. 283-285.

<sup>32</sup>Frere, op. cit., pp. 30-32.

century. Only a fragment of the index is left, but it gives the calendar for most of the year. In addition to the days listed in the Leonine Sacramentary the following days, appearing in the Gelasian Sacramentary, have appeared on Lutheran calendars.<sup>33</sup>

February 2.	Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary
February 8.	St. Thomas the Apostle
March 25.	Annunciation
May 1.	St. Philip and St. James
August 15.	Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary
August 29.	Passion of St. John the Baptist
August 9.	Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary
September 14.	Exaltation of the Holy Cross
September 29.	St. Michael

The "Gregorian Sacramentary," the last of the three, was requested by Charlemagne from Pope Hadrian. Alcuin worked on the Gregorian Sacramentary and a number of ninth century manuscripts appear with his additions. It gives the same list as the Gelasian Sacramentary but omits St. Thomas and the Passion of St. John the Baptist.<sup>34</sup>

It is interesting to note that in the earliest Roman service books the commemoration of the martyrs is not set apart but incorporated into the ecclesiastical year. The Proprium de Sanctis and Proprium de Tempore were still fused together. Only in the Gelasian Sacramentary are the natalitia sanctorum separated from the ecclesiastical year

---

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., pp. 36-39.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., pp. 51-52.

and collected together in a second volume.<sup>35</sup>

### Martyrs' Days

By the latter half of the second century martyrs' days were being observed.<sup>36</sup> A letter sent by the Church of Smyrna to the Church of Philomelium would seem to indicate this. This letter described the martyrdom of St. Polycarp and stated,

Accordingly, we afterwards took up his bones, as being more precious than the most exquisite jewels, and more purified than gold, and deposited them in a fitting place, whither, being gathered together, as opportunity is allowed us, with joy and rejoicing, the Lord shall grant us to celebrate the anniversary of his martyrdom, both in memory of those who have already finished their course, and for the exercising and preparation of those yet to walk in their steps.<sup>37</sup>

In 258 A. D. after the Decian persecution, when St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, bishop of Neocaesarea, returned to his diocese, he ordered annual feasts in commemoration of martyrs who had been faithful to death.<sup>38</sup>

---

<sup>35</sup>Kellner, op. cit., p. 214.

<sup>36</sup>Georg Rietschel, Lehrbuch der Liturgik, revised by Paul Graff (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1951), I, 157.

<sup>37</sup>"Martyrdom of Polycarp," The Ante-Nicene Fathers, I, 43.

<sup>38</sup>F. E. Warren, The Liturgy and Ritual of the Ante-Nicene Church (Second revised edition; London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, n.d.), p. 143. Gregory of Nyssa, "Life of Gregory Thaumaturgus," Patrologiae: Patrum Graecorum, XLVI, col. 954.

Again in 321 A. D. Constantine ordered the feasts of martyrs kept as holidays like Sunday. Of course, it took a long time before the pagan population was suppressed enough to carry out this order to its fullest. Yet it indicates the widespread observance of martyrs' days.<sup>39</sup>

Such fathers as St. John Chrysostom, St. Augustine, St. Leo, and St. Gelasius often mention martyrs' days and the reading of the martyrs' histories in the services.<sup>40</sup>

A number of the councils also spoke out on the matter of martyrs' days. The Council of Gangra, 325 to 381 A. D., in Canon XX anathematized anyone who condemned or abhorred the assemblies in honor of the martyrs.<sup>41</sup> Canon LI of the Council of Laodicea, 343 to 381 A. D., stated that the natalitia of martyrs were not to be celebrated in Lent, but commemorations of holy martyrs were to be held on the Sabbaths and Lord's days.<sup>42</sup> The Council of Hippo, 393 A. D., passed canons on the celebrations of martyrs' days and the

---

<sup>39</sup>Dix, op. cit., p. 382.

<sup>40</sup>Joseph Bingham, Origines Ecclesiasticae--The Antiquities of the Christian Church (London: William Straker, 1844), VII, 137-143.

<sup>41</sup>"The Council of Gangra," The Seven Ecumenical Councils, edited by Henry R. Percival, in The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, under the editorial supervision of Philip Schaff and Henry Wade (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1956), XIV, 100.

<sup>42</sup>"Synod of Laodicea," The Seven Ecumenical Councils, p. 156.

reading of martyrologies.<sup>43</sup>

The cultus of martyrs developed early in the life of the Church. The official cultus of saints was first confined to martyrs.<sup>44</sup> The commemoration of martyrs far antedate the commemorations of the apostles as such. In the early calendars the title "martyr" far outnumbered the title "saint."<sup>45</sup> In fact, according to Kellner, the earliest example of public commemoration of saints who were not martyrs dates only from the time of Symmachus of Rome. Under him around 500 A. D. a church was built and dedicated to SS. Sylvester and Martin of Tours.<sup>46</sup>

In spite of the fact that martyrs' days were observed very early, the impression must not be gained that these martyrs' feasts were universally kept as were the feasts of our Lord. The days were chiefly celebrated by the church where the martyr suffered and lay buried. It was customary for every church to have her own calendar of martyrs. This state of affairs generally continued until the ninth century.<sup>47</sup>

---

<sup>43</sup>"African Code," The Seven Ecumenical Councils, pp. 473, 463.

<sup>44</sup>Kellner, op. cit., p. 208.

<sup>45</sup>Horn, op. cit., p. 18.

<sup>46</sup>Kellner, op. cit., p. 208.

<sup>47</sup>Bingham, op. cit., p. 136.

A striking example of the local observance of the martyrs is seen in the case of St. Ignatius. Although St. Ignatius of Antioch was martyred at Rome, his day finds no place in the Gelasian or the Gregorian sacramentaries. But at his own church in Antioch, St. Ignatius was commemorated from the beginning.<sup>48</sup>

Normally the festival of the saint or martyr was kept at the grave or crypt. St. John Chrysostom mentions the fact that for the feast of a martyr the whole town went to the burial spot in the country.<sup>49</sup> The underground burial spots were often used for services during the times of persecution. Later churches were built over these spots.<sup>50</sup>

During the sixth century the devastations of the Goths and Lombards made it impossible to celebrate at the cemetery-chapels. The relics of the saints were moved inside the city walls that the day of the martyr might be commemorated.<sup>51</sup> As the commemoration of a martyr lost its exclusive association with the burial spot, it also lost its local association with the calendar of a particular city.

---

<sup>48</sup>Kellner, op. cit., p. 211.

<sup>49</sup>Bingham, op. cit., p. 135. John Chrysostom, "Sermon LXV," Patrologiae: Patrum Graecorum, L, col. 647.

<sup>50</sup>Bingham, op. cit., p. 134.

<sup>51</sup>Dix, op. cit., p. 371.



## Apostles' Days

The process of including the great names of the New Testament was a slow one. For the first eight hundred years the calendar was dominated by considerations of local interest. By 348 A. D. the prophets and apostles were included in the eucharistic prayer along with the local martyrs. At Jerusalem they could be considered as being among the glories of the local church. At Rome St. Peter and St. Paul were commemorated for the same reason.<sup>52</sup>

The beginning of the practice of commemorating New Testament saints is probably of Eastern origin with the spread to the other churches of the "Jerusalem model." The cultus of the apostles followed the same line of development as that of the other saints. At first they were merely local, although there was a stronger tendency to observe them throughout the whole Church than in the case of other saints.<sup>53</sup>

It has been suggested that the completion of the calendar was not a doctrinal consideration. It was primarily the availability of relics or supposed relics.<sup>54</sup>

---

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., p. 375.

<sup>53</sup>Kellner, op. cit., p. 277.

<sup>54</sup>Dix, op. cit., p. 376.

Another reason why the anniversaries of so few apostles were observed in the West is that, at least as far as tradition is concerned, many of the apostles did not die in the West but in the East, even beyond the limits of the Roman Empire. The rule was strictly observed even when the apostles were involved: The dies natalis was not celebrated outside the Christian community to which the martyr belonged.<sup>55</sup>

However, it has been stated that the Church was careful to list and record all the facts of a martyr's death. How is it that so little is known about the martyrdoms of the apostles? As was pointed out above, many of the apostles did not do their work within the limits of the Roman Empire but were martyred in the East and the South. Tradition so relates with reference to St. Bartholomew, St. Matthew, St. Thomas, St. Simon Zelotes, and St. Jude. Thus, there was no uniform system for recording the facts of the martyrdoms as in the Roman Empire. As a result most of the commemorations of the apostles have been fixed by the date of the translation of relics or by mere chance.<sup>56</sup>

Some of the heretical sects got around the difficulty of commemorating the exact day of the apostles' death. For

---

<sup>55</sup>William J. O'Shea, The Worship of the Church (Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, c.1957), p. 295.

<sup>56</sup>Kellner, op. cit., pp. 277-279.

example, the Ebionites celebrated the feast of all the apostles on one day.<sup>57</sup> It is also possible that the Western Church may have had a general day of commemoration of all the apostles as appears from a collect in the Gelasian Sacramentary.<sup>58</sup>

The majority of the apostles' days were added to Western calendars from about the fourth to the ninth centuries. St. Peter and St. Paul are attested by the Philocalian Calendar of 336 A. D. and 354 A. D. as having had their relics translated in 258 A. D. St. John the Evangelist appeared in the fourth and fifth centuries. St. Andrew made his appearance under Simplicius of Rome (468 to 483 A. D.) with the dedication of a church in his honor.<sup>59</sup> The feast of St. Philip and St. James the Less is common to both the Gelasian and the Gregorian Sacramentaries. It is the dedication festival of the Church of the Apostles or Basilica Julia, built by Julius between 337 and 352 A. D. Rebuilt and dedicated to St. Philip and St. James, it is

---

<sup>57</sup>Hadrian Baillet, Historische und kritische Abhandlung von der Geschichten der Maetyrer und Heiligen (Leipzig: Johann Christian Kappe, 1753), p. 7.

<sup>58</sup>Frere, op. cit., p. 120.

<sup>59</sup>Edward Lambe Parsons and Bayard Hale Jones, The American Prayer Book (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1955), p. 80.

usually called Basilica Apostolorum.<sup>60</sup> St. Thomas appears in the Gelasian Sacramentary at the end of the seventh century. Between the seventh and ninth centuries St. Mark, St. James, St. Bartholomew, St. Matthew, St. Luke, St. Simon, and St. Jude were added.<sup>61</sup> St. Matthias appeared in the eleventh century.<sup>62</sup>

#### Feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary

The cycle of feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary was the last to be added to the calendar. Although the Virgin was honored above all other saints in the Church, there is no record of a feast in her honor till the fourth century in Syria.<sup>63</sup> Again it has been suggested that the feasts of the Virgin were slow to develop because there were no relics.<sup>64</sup>

A festival of the Blessed Virgin did play a big part on the calendars of both the Nestorians and the Copts. The

---

<sup>60</sup>Massey Hamilton Shepherd, The Oxford American Prayer Book Commentary (New York: Oxford University Press, c.1950), p. 238. Frere, op. cit., p. 101.

<sup>61</sup>Parsons, op. cit., p. 80. Francis Procter, A New History of the Book of Common Prayer, revised by Walter Howard Frere (London: Macmillan Company, Limited, 1905), p. 327. Gerhard Kunze, "Die gottesdienstliche Zeit," Leiturgia (Kassel: Johannes Stauda Verlag, 1954), I, 485. Ludwig Eisenhofer, Grundriss der Liturgik des Römischen Ritus (5th edition; Freiburg: Verlag Herder, 1950), p. 158.

<sup>62</sup>Parsons, op. cit., p. 80.

<sup>63</sup>Shea, op. cit., p. 288.

<sup>64</sup>Dix, op. cit., p. 376.

Copts celebrated her feast on January 16.<sup>65</sup> St. Gregory of Tours in the sixth century also speaks of a January feast in honor of the Virgin Mary.<sup>66</sup> The Hieronymian Martyrology, in its revised form of Auxerre of 595 A. D., assigned January 8 to the Virgin Mary. The Council of Toledo of 656 A. D. enjoined the fixed universal date of December 18.<sup>67</sup>

There were simply no feasts of the Virgin Mary in Rome till the seventh century. The Annunciation, the Purification, the Falling Asleep or Repose, and the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin are all of Eastern origin.<sup>68</sup> These were taken over by Rome and the West in general from the Byzantine Church under the Syrian, Sergius I, 700 A. D.<sup>69</sup>

The present commemorations of the Lutheran bodies in the United States contain three of the so-called Marian Feasts. There are eight general or universal feasts in honor of the Virgin Mary kept by the Roman Communion.<sup>70</sup>

---

<sup>65</sup>L. Duchesne, Christian Worship: Its Origin and Evolution, translated from the French by M. L. McClure (5th revised edition; London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1931), p. 296.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid. Gregory of Tours, "Liber de Gloria Confessorum," Patrologiae: Patrum Latinorum, LXXI, col. 835.

<sup>67</sup>Duchesne, op. cit., p. 269.

<sup>68</sup>Procter, op. cit., p. 326.

<sup>69</sup>Dix, op. cit., p. 377.

<sup>70</sup>The Book of Saints, compiled by the Benedictine Monks of St. Augustine's Abbey, Ramsgate (3rd revised edition; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944), p. 185.

When feasts kept in particular countries are included, the number jumps to seventeen or more.<sup>71</sup>

#### Multiplication of Saints' Days

During the Middle Ages the calendar had gotten out of hand and there were thousands of saints but no free days in the calendar. It should be pointed out that not all saints received ecumenical veneration, but each received some commemoration somewhere.<sup>72</sup> This increase and development of the festivals of the saints had a disturbing effect on the church year. Ordinary Sundays lost their position and gave way to commemoration of saints.<sup>73</sup> In some cases the feasts of the sanctoral cycle had octaves and so changed the emphasis and thinking from the temporal cycle to the sanctoral cycle for a whole week.<sup>74</sup> Many of the saints' days evidenced no close relationship to the broad scope of the church year. They were not based on concrete events as were the days of the temporal cycle. The result was that the people were spiritually nourished on the proper of the

---

<sup>71</sup>James L. Monks, Great Catholic Festivals (New York: Henry Schuman, c.1951), p. 93.

<sup>72</sup>Horn, op. cit., p. 179.

<sup>73</sup>Kellner, op. cit., p. 215.

<sup>74</sup>Illyd Trethowan, Christ in the Liturgy (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1952), p. 103.

saints rather than on the proper of time dealing with our Lord.<sup>75</sup>

A complicated system of ranking festivals rose. This system became so complex that the preface to the 1549 edition of The Book of Common Prayer stated, "Many times there was more business to find out what should be read than to read it when it was found out."<sup>76</sup> The classification included Dominicae majores of the first and second classes, Dominicae minores, feriae majores both privileged and unprivileged, feriae minores, festae duplicia of the first and second classes, duplicia majora, duplicia, semi-duplicia, and simplicia.<sup>77</sup>

As with the commemoration of martyrs, the process of canonization was purely local. Each bishop was called upon to decide the veneration of the saints in his own diocese. Canonization through papal declaration for the entire Western Church did not take place till late medieval times. The oldest instance of such a papal canonization is that of Bishop Ulric of Augsburg undertaken by John XV during a

---

<sup>75</sup>Ernest Benjamin Koenker, The Liturgical Renaissance in the Roman Catholic Church (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, c.1954), p. 57.

<sup>76</sup>The Two Liturgies, A. D. 1549 and A. D. 1552, edited by Joseph Ketley for the Parker Society (Cambridge: The University Press, 1844), p. 18.

<sup>77</sup>Kunze, op. cit., p. 476.

synod held in Rome in 993 A. D.<sup>78</sup>

The canonization of saints was reserved to the papal see by Alexander III in the twelfth century.<sup>79</sup> But the process of canonization was difficult to centralize, and bishops continued to bring forward local saints despite efforts of papal restrictions. Not until 1634 under Urban VIII was the pope able to confine the making of saints in the Roman Communion to the papal curia.<sup>80</sup>

---

<sup>78</sup>Otto Haering, Living with the Church, translated from the German by Rembert Bularzik (New York: Benziger Brothers Inc., c.1930), pp. 166-167.

<sup>79</sup>O'Shea, op. cit., p. 286.

<sup>80</sup>Horn, op. cit., p. 178.

All the saints' Festivals are to be dropped, or where there is a good Christian legend, this may be added after the Gospel on Sunday as an example. But I allow the Festival of the Purification of Mary and the Annunciation to remain; the Festival of the Assumption and of the Nativity of Mary one must allow to remain a while longer even though the songs in them are not pure. The Festival of John the Baptist also is pure. Not one of the legends of the apostles is pure, except St. Paul's; therefore suppression of the Apostles'

---

<sup>81</sup>Edward F. Horn, III, The Christian Year (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, c.1957), p. 179.



### CHAPTER III

## THE LUTHERAN RETENTION AND USE OF THE SAINTS' DAYS IN THE SIXTEENTH, SEVENTEENTH, AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

### Retention and Use of the Saints' Days in the Sixteenth Century

The dawn of the sixteenth century saw a demand for a reform in the calendar in both ecclesiastical and in secular circles. The overfrequent holidays were interfering unduly with the development of a commercial economy.<sup>1</sup> It was this overburdened calendar and the demands for reform that Luther and the Reformers fell heir to.

The demand for reform was not one of economic pressure only, but a theological consideration as well. Luther in 1523 in Concerning the Ordering of Divine Worship in the Congregation wrote,

All the saints' festivals are to be dropped, or where there is a good Christian legend, this may be added after the Gospel on Sunday as an example. But I allow the Festival of the Purification of Mary and the Annunciation to remain; the Festival of the Assumption and of the Nativity of Mary one must allow to remain a while longer even though the songs in them are not pure. The Festival of John the Baptist also is pure. Not one of the legends of the apostles is pure, except St. Paul's; therefore observances of the Apostles'

---

<sup>1</sup>Edward T. Horn, III, The Christian Year (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, c.1957), p. 179.

Festivals may be transferred to the Sunday, or if preferred, they may be specially observed.<sup>2</sup>

Again in 1523 in the Formula Missae et Communione

Luther said,

If any desire to approve the introits for Apostles' Days for feasts of virgins and other saints, we do not condemn this, if they have been chosen from the Psalms and other Scriptures. We, of Wittenberg, seek to celebrate on the Lord's Days and on Festivals of our Lord, abrogating completely the festivals of all saints; or if there is anything worthy in them we think they should be referred to in the Lord's Day preaching. We regard the Festivals of Purification and Annunciation as Festivals of Christ, like Epiphany and Circumcision. In place of the Festivals of St. Stephen and St. John the Evangelist, it pleases us to use the office of the Nativity. Let the Festivals of the Holy Cross be anathema.<sup>3</sup>

In the Deutsche Messe of 1526 Luther, merely in passing, mentions Purification and St. Michael and like festivals when Latin services might be continued.<sup>4</sup>

Luther's attitude seems to have been one of unconcern. Once the objectionable parts had been removed it made no difference if the saints' days were kept or dropped. On the whole he seemed to be more in favor of letting them drop.

---

<sup>2</sup>Martin Luther, "Concerning the Ordering of Divine Worship in the Congregation, 1523," translated from the German by P. Z. Strodach, The Works of Martin Luther (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, c.1923), VI, 63.

<sup>3</sup>Martin Luther, "Formula of Mass and Communion for the Church at Wittenberg," translated from the German by P. Z. Strodach, Works of Martin Luther, VI, 86-87.

<sup>4</sup>Martin Luther, "The German Mass and Order of Service," translated by A. Steimle, Works of Martin Luther, VI, 185.

In spite of this apparent lack of concern Luther continued to preach on the saints' days. For example, between the years 1521 and 1546 Luther preached fifteen sermons on the Purification of the Virgin Mary.<sup>5</sup> Luther's sermons for the year 1529 reveal that he preached on first vespers of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, and again at the morning service on the Nativity of St. John the Baptist.<sup>6</sup> For the Feast of the Visitation in 1529, Luther preached on first vespers, the morning service, and again at vespers.<sup>7</sup> While Luther preached sermons headed by the title "St. Stephen" and "St. John the Evangelist" in 1529, they are in reality sermons for second and third Christmas day.<sup>8</sup>

On the matter of the saints the Confessions take a more positive stand. While they do not speak explicitly to the point of liturgical celebration, they do hold that the memory of the saints is to be set forth that Christians may follow the faith and good works of the saints and thank God for the mercy He has shown. The Confessions also cheerfully grant that the angels and the Blessed Virgin Mary

---

<sup>5</sup>"Register über sämtliche Predigten," D. Martin Luthers Werke (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1929), XXII, lix.

<sup>6</sup>Martin Luther, "Predigten des Jahres 1529," D. Martin Luthers Werke (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1904), XXIX, 412-436.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 444-468.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., pp. 669-691.

pray for the Church in genere. However, they maintain that this does not mean the Church should invoke the saints.<sup>9</sup>

The calendar was simplified by setting up new criteria of judgment. The new standard of judgment did not ask when the feast was first commemorated. It asked rather if the saint commemorated was a New Testament personage. However, this rule does not apply universally. St. Lawrence and St. Nicholas, two frequent exceptions to this rule, appear on many Lutheran calendars. On the other hand, the general dropping of St. Timothy's Day cannot be explained by the general rule. On the whole, it might be said that the guiding principle of reform was not a break with the past but a purification and simplification of the old.<sup>10</sup>

In line with this purification of the old not all the feasts retained were retained with the pre-Reformation propriety and emphasis. Luther himself took a hand in this work of purification. Luther's Festpostille of 1527 contain some rather interesting entries along this line. In addition to the apostles' days and the Purification, Annunciation, and Visitation of the Virgin Mary such days as St. Barbara, St. Nicholas, Invention of the Holy Cross,

---

<sup>9</sup>"Article XXI of the Apology of the Augsburg Confession," Triglot Concordia: The Symbolical Books of the Ev. Lutheran Church (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1921), pp. 343, 349.

<sup>10</sup>Horn, op. cit., p. 34.

St. Margaret, Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Exaltation of the Holy Cross, St. Martin, and St. Catherine appear.<sup>11</sup> It is in the sermons on these days that Luther's desire to purify is seen. In the St. Barbara's Day sermon Luther states that he wants to preach on the Gospel and not on legends that have grown up about the saint.<sup>12</sup> A similar attitude is revealed in the St. Nicholas' Day sermon. Luther says that the legends of the saints are full of lies, and because of this he intends to preach on the Gospel.<sup>13</sup>

Bugenhagen, Luther's co-worker in Wittenberg, expressed thoughts similar to those of Luther. In the Kirchenordnung für Pommern of 1535, Bugenhagen specified that such days as the Purification of the Virgin Mary, Annunciation, the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, Visitation, and St. Michael should be retained. However, the legends and fables should not be the subject of the sermons for these days. It is rather the Gospel that is to be treated in the sermons.<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup>Martin Luther, "Festpostille," D. Martin Luthers Werke (Weimar: Hermann Böhlhaus Nachfolger, 1927), XVII, 252-493.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 265.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 270.

<sup>14</sup>Johann Bugenhagen, "Kirchenordnung für Pommern von 1535," Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI Jahrhunderts, edited by Emil Sehling (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1911), IV, 343.

Melanchthon also took a hand in this work. Between 1549 and 1560 Melanchthon's Postilla were written. The days included were the apostles' days, St. Stephen, Holy Innocents, Purification, the Annunciation, Nativity of St. John the Baptist, Visitation, St. Mary Magdalene, St. Margaret, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, St. Augustine, Holy Cross, St. Michael, St. Gall, St. Dionysius, All Saints, St. Martin, St. Catherine, Conception of the Virgin Mary, and St. Nicholas.<sup>15</sup> Melanchthon's method was to give a short historical account of the individual and then proceed to his work or significance. For example, under St. Augustine's Day, Melanchthon takes up St. Augustine's work against the Pelaginas, the Arians, and the Donatists.<sup>16</sup>

Books of sermons treating the saints' days by less well known theologians also appeared in the Reformation century and reveal the extent to which the saints' days were retained and used. The sermon books by Simon Musaeus and Simon Pauli treat the apostles' days, Purification, Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity of St. John the Baptist, St. Mary Magdalene, Beheading of St. John the Baptist, and St.

---

<sup>15</sup>Philip Melanchthon, Postilla, in Corpus Reformatorum (Brunsvigae: C. A. Schwetschke et Felium, 1856), Vol. XXIV and XXV.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., XXV, 414-418.

Michael.<sup>17</sup> In addition Pauli's book contains a sermon for Holy Innocents and All Saints.<sup>18</sup>

Johann Wörner, a Schwenkfelder, provides sermons for a much wider group of saints' days. In addition to those mentioned above, Wörner provides sermons for St. Nicholas, Conception of the Virgin Mary, St. George, St. Margaret, St. Lawrence, Assumption of the Virgin Mary, Nativity of the Virgin Mary, Exaltation of the Holy Cross, St. Wenceslaus, St. Martin, St. Catherine, and St. Zachaeus.<sup>19</sup>

The books containing musical settings for the propers are another source of information for the retention and use of the saints' days. Johan Spangenberg's Cantiones Ecclesiasticae contains the proper Introit, Collect, Epistle, Sequence, and Gospel for St. Stephen, St. John the Evangelist, Purification of the Virgin Mary, Annunciation, Nativity of St. John the Baptist, Visitation, a Feast of Angels with the Epistle from Revelation chapter twelve speaking about St. Michael, and a common of the

---

<sup>17</sup>Simon Musaeus, Postilla: Das ist Auszlegung des Evangelien von den Fürnemsten Festen (Frankfort am Mayn: Nicolaum Besseum, 1574), pp. 7-333. Simon Pauli, Postilla: Das ist Auszlegung der Episteln und Evangelien an Sonntagen und fürnemsten Festen (Frankfort am Mayn: Peter Schmidt, 1577), pp. 1-133.

<sup>18</sup>Pauli, op. cit., pp. 30, 133.

<sup>19</sup>Johann Wörner, Postill: Kurtze Auslegung über die Evangelien so man pfegt zu lesen an den Sontagen und der Heyligen Fest (n.p., 1586), Part III, cols. 1-82a.

apostles.<sup>20</sup> Lucas Lossius' Psalmodia, with the preface by Melanchthon, containing introits, antiphons, responsories, and hymns, gives a larger group of commemorations. Included are the Purification, the Annunciation, Visitation, the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, Conversion of St. Paul, St. Philip and St. James, Nativity of St. John the Baptist, St. Peter and St. Paul, St. Mary Magdalene, Beheading of St. John the Baptist, St. Michael the Archangel, All Saints, a common of apostles, a common of evangelists, and a common of martyrs.<sup>21</sup>

One of the most interesting works illustrating the importance of the saints' days is a calendar and history of the saints prepared by Andrew Hondorff, a Lutheran theologian. It is a work similar in nature to Butler's Lives of the Saints. For example, March 12 lists St. Gregory, St. Gregory Nazianzen, and St. Gregory bishop of Pontus.<sup>22</sup> The birth of Martin Luther is recorded under St. Martin as an important event falling on November 10.<sup>23</sup>

---

<sup>20</sup>Johan Spangenberg, editor, Cantiones Ecclesiasticae (Magdeburg: Michael Lotther, 1545), pp. 27-144.

<sup>21</sup>Lucas Lossius, editor, Psalmodia hoc est Cantica sacra verteris Ecclesiae selecta (Wittenberg: Zacharias Lehman, 1594), pp. 203-271.

<sup>22</sup>Andrew Hondorff, Calendarium Sanctorum et Historiarum (Frankfort am Mayn: Nicholaum Basseum, 1587).

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 637.



The Interims and the Lutheran reaction to them are also important in determining the Lutheran attitude toward the commemoration of saints. The Augsburg Interim of 1548 relaxed only two major rules of the papal party, that is, communion under both kinds and the marriage of priests. The Wittenberg theologians voiced their protests against the Interim, but the celebration of the saints' days they held were adiaphora.<sup>24</sup> Bugenhagen, Pfeffinger, Caspar, Creutziger, Major, Melancthon, and Froschel, in opposing the Augsburg Interim, said that in the Lutheran churches the important ceremonies were retained for good order--such as Sundays, feast days, and the usual lessons and hymns. However, hymns to the saints and processions of the Blessed Sacrament were discontinued.<sup>25</sup>

The Lutheran theologians, meeting in July of 1548, submitted their report to Maurice, the Elector of Saxony. They maintained that the Lutherans celebrated after the old, accustomed way all Sundays, Christmas, St. Stephen, St. John the Evangelist, Circumcision, Epiphany, Conversion of St. Paul, Purification, Annunciation, Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, Easter and the two following days, feasts of the

---

<sup>24</sup>Gerhard Kunze, "Die gottesdienstliche Zeit," Leiturgia (Kassel: Johannes Stauda Verlag, 1954), I, 508.

<sup>25</sup>Johann Bugenhagen, et al., "Iudicium IV de libro Interim," Corpus Reformatorum (Halle: C. A. Schwetschke et Felium, 1839), VI, cols. 939-941.

apostles, Ascension, Pentecost and the two days following, Nativity of St. John the Baptist, St. Mary Magdalene, Visitation, and Feast of the Angels.<sup>26</sup>

Meeting again on November 19, 1548, in Altzella, the theologians drew up a list of saints' days to be commemorated. They named St. Stephen, St. John the Evangelist, Feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary, days of the apostles, Nativity and Beheading of St. John the Baptist, St. Mary Magdalene, St. Michael, and Conversion of St. Paul.<sup>27</sup> The diet met in Leipzig on the twenty-first of December and accepted the resolutions of Altzella putting the Leipzig Interim into effect.<sup>28</sup>

The last and perhaps the best source of information are the numerous Kirchenordnungen put into force during the sixteenth century. They reveal a diversity of saints' days commemorated. However, in examining these Kirchenordnungen it must be kept in mind that the calendar contained regional differences. Thus, as the Reformation spread each region was faced with the problem of reforming its own calendar. Uniformity did not seem important to the people, in fact

---

<sup>26</sup>"Ordines in conventu Misnico ad Mauritium," Corpus Reformatorum (Halle: C. R. Schwetschke et Felium, 1840), VII, col. 67.

<sup>27</sup>"Ultima sententia Consiliariorum de Adiaphoris in Adiaphoris in Conventu Cellensi," Corpus Reformatorum, VII, col. 220.

<sup>28</sup>Kunze, op. cit., p. 510.

the political situation was against uniformity. No one order could be adopted and have control. This gave rise to the differences in the retention of the saints' days.<sup>29</sup>

The days most frequently kept by the Kirchenordnungen are the apostles' days, Purification, Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity of St. John the Baptist, St. Mary Magdalene, St. Michael, St. Stephen, and Conversion of St. Paul. However, such days as All Saints, Holy Innocents, Nativity of the Virgin Mary, Assumption of the Virgin Mary, St. Lawrence, St. Martin, and St. Catherine appear frequently.<sup>30</sup>

If the 1549 edition of the Book of Common Prayer is to be regarded as a Lutheran order,<sup>31</sup> England and its calendar will have to be considered. There are two calendars extant which belong to Cranmer's hand. The first list contains the names of all the apostles, St. John the Baptist, St. Mary Magdalene, St. Timothy, St. Titus, St. Michael, Holy Innocents, four feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary, twelve chief doctors of the Church, and a number of English saints. The second list has large additions. The opening days of January are filled with Old Testament saints such as Able, Noah, Abraham, Sarah, and Isaac. In February New Testament

---

<sup>29</sup>Horn, op. cit., pp. 213, 214.

<sup>30</sup>Infra, p. 135.

<sup>31</sup>Arthur Carl Piepkorn, "Anglo-Lutheran Relations during the Reign of Edward VI," Concordia Theological Monthly, VI (September, 1935), 670-686.

names were added such as Ananias, Simeon, and Zaccheus. Yet neither of these ever became official calendars of the Church of England.<sup>32</sup>

The calendar of the Book of Common Prayer of 1549 includes all the days found in the calendar of The Lutheran Liturgy with the exception of the Visitation. The 1549 calendar adds St. Barnabas and keeps the twenty-ninth of June as St. Peter's Day.<sup>33</sup>

#### Retention and Use of the Saints' Days in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

The continued use of the saints' days is evidenced by numerous sermon books published during the seventeenth century containing sermons for the saints' days. Sermons for the apostles' days, Purification of the Virgin Mary, Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity of St. John the Baptist, St. Mary Magdalene, and St. Michael appeared regularly.<sup>34</sup>

---

<sup>32</sup>Francis Procter, A New History of the Book of Common Prayer, revised by Walter Howard Frere (London: Macmillan Company, Limited, 1905), pp. 335, 336.

<sup>33</sup>The Two Liturgies, A. D. 1549 and A. D. 1552, edited by Joseph Ketley for the Parker Society (Cambridge: The University Press, 1844), pp. 23-28.

<sup>34</sup>Paul Nicander, Auszlegung der Episteln (Leipzig: Abraham Lambergs, 1602), pp. 1-336. Conrad Schlüsselburg, Postilla: Das ist Auszlegung der Episteln und Evangelien (Frankfort: Johann Saur, 1604), pp. 23-570. Matthias Hoe, Fest Postill (Leipzig: Abraham Lambergs, 1614), pp. 2-1084. Johann Michael Dilherm, Augen und Herzens-Luft (Nürnberg: Johann Andreas, 1661), pp. 235-361. Johann Michael Dilherm,

But this far from exhausts the list of saints' days treated by the sermon books. The following days were included: Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary,<sup>35</sup> St. Nicholas,<sup>36</sup> Holy Innocents,<sup>37</sup> John Hus,<sup>38</sup> St. Mark,<sup>39</sup> St. Lawrence,<sup>40</sup> Beheading of St. John the Baptist,<sup>41</sup> Assumption of the Virgin Mary,<sup>42</sup> Holy Cross,<sup>43</sup> Corpus Christi,<sup>44</sup> Nativity of the Virgin Mary,<sup>45</sup> All Saints,<sup>46</sup> and St. Martin.<sup>47</sup>

---

Heilig-Epistolischer Bericht, Licht, Geleit und Freud (Nürnberg: Johann Andreas, 1663), pp. 429-625. Heinrich Müllern, Evangelische Schluss-Kette und Kraft-Kern (Frankfort am Mayn: Balthasar Christoph Wusten, 1698), pp. 89-235.

<sup>35</sup>Dilherm, Augen und Herzens-Luft, p. 243. Dilherm, Heilig-Epistolischer Bericht, Licht, Geleit und Freud, p. 439.

<sup>36</sup>Dilherm, Augen und Herzens-Luft, p. 239. Hoe, op. cit., p. 12.

<sup>37</sup>Dilherm, Heilig-Epistolischer Bericht, Licht, Geleit und Freud, p. 465. Hoe, op. cit., p. 117.

<sup>38</sup>Hoe, op. cit., p. 898.

<sup>39</sup>Dilherm, Augen und Herzens-Luft, p. 303.

<sup>40</sup>Hoe, op. cit., p. 934. Schlüsselburg, op. cit., p. 429.

<sup>41</sup>Schlüsselburg, op. cit., p. 480.

<sup>42</sup>Hoe, op. cit., p. 952. Schlüsselburg, op. cit., p. 442.

<sup>43</sup>Dilherm, Augen und Herzens-Luft, p. 311.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 327.

<sup>45</sup>Hoe, op. cit., p. 1005.

<sup>46</sup>Schlüsselburg, op. cit., p. 570.

<sup>47</sup>Hoe, op. cit., p. 1084.

Another indication of the importance of saints' days, even in popular piety, is a handwritten prayer book completed in 1679. This book contains longer devotional prayers for the following days: St. Stephen, St. John the Evangelist, Purification of the Virgin Mary, Annunciation, Nativity of St. John the Baptist, and St. Michael.<sup>48</sup>

A Kirchenordnung promulgated by the Saxon Duke, Johann Ernst, ordered that the Purification of the Virgin Mary, Annunciation, Nativity of St. John the Baptist, Visitation, and St. Michael be kept as whole day feasts. The apostles' days were to be kept as half day feasts, and St. Gregory's Day was to be a school festival with the celebration to include a procession of the school boys.<sup>49</sup>

Perhaps the most imposing group of saints' day sermons are to be found in the second part of Valerius Herberger's Evangelischen Hertz Postilla. In addition to giving full sermons for all of the days found in The Lutheran Liturgy Herberger provides sermons for St. Nicholas, Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Lucy, St. Agnes, St. Timothy, St. Brigid, St. Dorothy, St. Valentine, St. Gregory, St. George, Invention of the Holy Cross, St. Stanislaus, St. Liberata, St. Vitus, John Hus, St. Margaret, St. Ann,

---

<sup>48</sup>"Einer Beständigen und Gläubigen Liebhaberin Jesu Christi Ihres Heylan des Zusammen geschriebne Sonn und Festtäg Liche Gebete" (Handwritten book, 1679), pp. 36-392.

<sup>49</sup>Kirchen-Ordnung (Weimar: E. Witben, 1664), pp. 115-118.

St. Martha, St. Peter's Chains, St. Lawrence, Assumption of the Virgin Mary, St. Bernard, Beheading of St. John the Baptist, Nativity of the Virgin Mary, Exaltation of the Holy Cross, St. Francis, St. Hedwig, St. Ursula, All Souls, St. Martin, St. Elizabeth, Presentation of the Virgin Mary, and St. Catherine. In addition the book contains short devotions for saints' days covering six columns of index space.<sup>50</sup>

The eighteenth century produced a similar number of sermon books with saints' day sermons. The apostles' days, the three feasts of the Virgin Mary, Nativity of St. John the Baptist, and St. Michael are the most frequent commemorations,<sup>51</sup> although St. Nicholas, St. Lawrence, Beheading of St. John the Baptist, and All Saints do make their appearance.<sup>52</sup> Two very significant works are reprints. In 1710

---

<sup>50</sup>Valerius Herberger, Evangelischen Hertz Postilla (Leipzig: Schürischen, Gotzischen Erben und Johann Fritz, 1668), Part II.

<sup>51</sup>Gottfried Kleiner, Prediger-Hirten Stime: Episteln auf alle Sonn- Fest- und Feyer-Tages des ganzen Jahres (Hirschberg: Immanuel Krahn, 1743), pp. 698-814. Gottfried Kleiner, Evangelische Prediger-Hirten Stime: Evangelia auf alle Sonn- Fest- und Feyer-Tage des ganzen Jahres (Hirschberg: Immanuel Krahn, 1746), Part II, pp. 8-87. Carl Gottlob Hofmann, editor, Die in die Evangelischen Kirche gewöhnlichen Sonn und festtäglichen Episteln und Evangelia mit summarischen Betrachtungen (Leipzig: Sebastian Heinrich Barnbeck, 1770), pp. 8-89.

<sup>52</sup>Johann Arndt, Postillia: oder Auszlegung und Erklärung der Evangelien (Lüneburg: Johann Stern, 1701), Part III, pp. 511, 658-692.

Luther's Kirchen Postille was reprinted which included St. Barbara, Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Margaret, St. Lawrence, and the Nativity of the Virgin Mary.<sup>53</sup> Herberger's Evangelischen Hertz Postilla was reprinted in complete form in 1754.<sup>54</sup>

Not to be overlooked are the propers provided by the hymnals, agendas, and prayer books of this period. Here again the apostles' days, St. Stephen, Purification, Annunciation, Visitation, St. Mary Magdalene, Nativity of St. John the Baptist, and St. Michael are normally included.<sup>55</sup> Hymnals often provided special hymns for Purification, Annunciation, Nativity of St. John the Baptist, Visitation,

---

<sup>53</sup>Martin Luther, Kirchen Postille (Leipzig: Thomas Fritschen, 1710), pp. 1114-1305.

<sup>54</sup>Valerius Herberger, Evangelischen Hertz Postilla (Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Gleditsch, 1754).

<sup>55</sup>Vollständiges Kirchen-Buch (Leipzig: Gottfried Richtern, 1681), pp. 14-240. Gebet-Buch (Altenburg: Johann Ludwig Richtern, 1718), pp. 88-91. Neu-eingerichtetes Kirchen-und Haus Gesang-Buch, edited by Johann Adam Steinmetz (Magdeburg: Michael Jacob Behlen und Gabriel Gotthilf Fabern, 1760), pp. 75-463. Witembergisches Kirchen-Buch (Stuttgart: Christoph Friederich Cotta, 1765), pp. 35-53. Kirchen-Gebet-Buch (Chemnitz: Joh. Dav. Stroszel, 1775), pp. 60-73. Kirchen-Agenda Baaden (Karls-Ruhe: In der Schmiederischen Buchhandlung, 1775), pp. 126-187. Altenburgisches Gesang- und Gebetbuch (Altenburg: Herzogl. Sächs. Hofbuchdruckerey, 1793), pp. 103-127.



and St. Michael.<sup>56</sup>

Generally speaking Purification and Annunciation ranked under the high feasts of our Lord. Visitation, Nativity of St. John the Baptist, and St. Michael were next in importance with the apostles' days ranking last.<sup>57</sup>

With the coming of Rationalism and Enlightenment changes in the calendar were urged. The old calendar with its strong emphasis on Christ and His saints did not lend itself to the "freed" and "enlightened" mind. The calendar was considered a hold-over from the Middle Ages. For example, it was suggested that the Sunday after Epiphany should be celebrated as "The Feast of Enlightenment." Again it was suggested that the day after Pentecost should be "The Feast of the Fatherland." In some rationalistic calendars Easter became "Spring Festival." A "Feast of

---

<sup>56</sup>Neu Vollständiges Marggräf. Brandenburg. Gesang-Buch (Nürnberg: Joachim Bathasar Endrer, 1706), pp. 219-450. Gesangbuch (Chemnitz: n.p., 1712), pp. 121-449. Das privilegierte Vollständige und verbesserte Leipziger Gesang-Buch, edited by Carl Gottlob Hofmann (Leipzig: Sebastian Heinrich Barnbeck, 1735), pp. 108-383. Dreszdñische Gesang-Buch (Dreszden und Leipzig: Friedrich Hekeln, 1744), pp. 47-156. Sammlung auserlesener geistreicher Lieder zu sonderbarem Gebrauch der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeinen in Grasz-Pohlen (n.p., 1750), pp. 48-172.

<sup>57</sup>Erich Roth, Die Geschichte des Gottesdienstes der Siebenbürger Sachsen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, c.1954), p. 186. Theodore Kliefoth, Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienst-Ordnung in den deutschen Kirchen lutherischen, ihre Destruction und Reformation, in Liturgische Abhandlungen (Schwerin: Verlag der Stiller'schen Hof-Buchhandlung, 1861), VII, 332.

Parents," "Feast of Children," and a "Feast of Maidens" were all urged for inclusion in the calendar.<sup>58</sup>

In spite of the efforts of the Rationalists much of the old calendar remained. The Saxon Kirchenbuch published in 1812 gave the proper Gospel and Epistle for all the apostles' days, St. Stephen, Conversion of St. Paul, Purification of the Virgin Mary, Annunciation, Nativity of St. John the Baptist, Visitation, St. Mary Magdalene, and St. Michael.<sup>59</sup>

The question might be validly asked if the saints' days were actually observed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The appearance of numerous sermons for saints' days stands as good evidence that the days were observed. Generally, Purification, Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity of St. John the Baptist, and St. Michael were full day feasts. The apostles' days and other saints' days became half day feasts that people might go to work after attending services in the morning.<sup>60</sup> Roth reports

---

<sup>58</sup>Paul Graff, Geschichte der Auflösung der alten gottesdienstlichen Formen in der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1939), II, 93.

<sup>59</sup>Kirchenbuch für den evangelischen Gottesdienst der Königlich Sächsischen Lande (Dresden: Königlichen Hofbuchdruckerei, 1812), pp. 12, 16, 157-191.

<sup>60</sup>Paul Graff, Geschichte der Auflösung der alten gottesdienstlichen Formen in der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1937), I, 114.

that the apostles' days were observed by the Saxons in Transylvania into the nineteenth century.<sup>61</sup>

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the picture began to change. With the coming of Rationalism and Enlightenment the calendar and liturgical commemorations of the saints' days came under criticism. The celebrations of the apostles' days were dropped or transferred to the next Sunday. In some areas even Purification, Annunciation, Nativity of St. John the Baptist, and St. Michael were dropped or transferred.<sup>62</sup> The trend was to narrow down the church year.

---

<sup>61</sup>Roth, op. cit., p. 154.

<sup>62</sup>Graff, op. cit., II, 89.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE RETENTION AND USE OF THE SAINTS' DAYS IN AMERICAN LUTHERANISM

#### The Calendars of the Hymnals and Agendas

From the available evidence, it would seem that the saints' days did not fare so well in the early days of Lutheranism in America. In 1748 Henry Melchior Mühlenberg organized the Pennsylvania Ministerium.<sup>1</sup> The liturgy, prepared by Mühlenberg, was not printed. Each pastor and candidate had to prepare his own copy. One of the most complete copies is that of Jacob Van Buskerk prepared in 1763. In 1898 this copy was published for its historical value. Paragraph four of the "Mühlenberg's liturgy" specified that the propers for the Sunday or feast day were to be taken from the Marburger Gesang-Buch.<sup>2</sup> The Marburger Gesang-Buch appeared in American reprint in 1764. It included propers for St. Stephen, Purification, Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity of St. John the Baptist, St. Michael,

---

<sup>1</sup>F. E. Mayer, The Religious Bodies of America (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1954), p. 178.

<sup>2</sup>"Church Agenda of 1748," Documentary History of the Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States (Philadelphia: Board of Publication of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, 1898), p. 14.

and all the apostles.<sup>3</sup> Since no records are available, it is impossible to determine if these commemorations were ever used. Since the various editions of the hymnal of the Pennsylvania Ministerium did not provide propers for the saints' days, the indication is that the saints' days were not used.

The first edition of the hymnal of the Pennsylvania Ministerium published in 1786 did not follow the church year and provided no special hymns for any of the great festivals of the Church.<sup>4</sup> The second edition of 1795 remedied at least one defect of the first edition by providing hymns for the major festivals of our Lord. There is, however, no mention made of the saints' or martyrs' days.<sup>5</sup>

The complete absence of any saints' days was generally the case for the Lutheran synods that later formed the General Synod.<sup>6</sup> The one exception to this is found in the

---

<sup>3</sup>Vollständiges Marburger Gesang-Buch (Germantown: Christoph Saur, 1764), pp. 5, 6, 61-72.

<sup>4</sup>Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung zum Gottesdienstlichen Gebrauch in den Vereinigten Evangelisch Lutherischen Gemeinden in Nord-America (1st edition; Germantown: Leibert und Billmeyer, 1786).

<sup>5</sup>Lieder-Sammlung zum Gottesdienstlichen Gebrauch in den Vereinigten Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeinden in Pennsylvanien (Germantown: Michael Billmeyer, 1795), p. 0.

<sup>6</sup>Liturgy or Formulary for use of Evangelical Lutheran Churches, authorized by the Synod of Ohio (Lancaster, Ohio: John Herman, 1830). Liturgie order Kirchen-Agende der evangelische-lutherischen Gemeinden in Pennsylvanien (Lebanon: Heinrich Diezel, 1839 and 1841). Paul Henkel, editor,

1855 and 1857 editions of the Liturgie und Agende published for the Pennsylvania, New York, and Ohio Ministeriums. These two editions give an alternate name to Second Christmas Day, St. Stephen's Day, although the propers are for Second Christmas and not for St. Stephen.<sup>7</sup> The last Liturgy issued by the General Synod in 1881 provided propers for only the major festivals of our Lord.<sup>8</sup>

A group of interesting hymnals put out between 1846 and 1863 for Lutheran and Reformed congregations gives almost the same pattern as that set by the General Synod. The major days of the church year are listed such as

---

Church Hymn Book, authorized by the Ev. Luth. Synod of Tennessee (2nd revised edition; New Market: Solomon Henkel, 1838). Liturgie und Kirchenagende für die Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeinden in Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio (Philadelphia: Julius Bötticher, 1842). Liturgy for the use of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, authorized by the General Synod (Baltimore: Publication Rooms of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, 1847). Paul Henkel, editor, Church Hymn Book, authorized by the Ev. Luth. Synod of Tennessee (3rd revised edition; New Market: Solomon Henkel and Brothers, 1850). Hymns Original and Selected for Public and Private Worship in the Ev. Lutheran Church, authorized by the General Synod (Philadelphia: Lutheran Board of Publication, 1850). Liturgy for use of Ev. Lutheran Churches, authorized by order of the New York State Ministerium (New York: Henry Ludwig, 1859). Book of Worship, authorized by the General Synod (Columbia, South Carolina: Duffie and Chapman, 1867).

<sup>7</sup>Liturgie und Agende ein Kirchenbuch für die Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche, authorized by the Pennsylvania, New York, and Ohio Ministeriums (New York: Heinrich Ludwig, 1855 and 1857), p. 26.

<sup>8</sup>The Liturgy of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, authorized by the General Synod (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1881), pp. 7ff.

Christmas, New Year, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, and Trinity. Here again the one exception is that St. Stephen's Day appears as an alternate name for Second Christmas Day.<sup>9</sup>

Loeche of Neuendettelsau had a profound influence on the Lutheran Church in the United States, in particular upon the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod and the synods that later formed the American Lutheran Church.<sup>10</sup> Hence, Loeche's liturgical books must be examined especially since his Agende of 1844 and 1853 were dedicated "To Friedrich Wyneken." The 1853 dedication read, "To Friedrich Wyneken, Pastor at St. Louis and President of the Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and other States."<sup>11</sup>

The Agende of 1844 provides propers for Purification, Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity of St. John the Baptist,

---

<sup>9</sup>Das Gemeinschaftliche Gesangbuch zum gottesdienstlichen Gebrauch der Lutherischen und Reformirten Gemeinden in Nord America (Philadelphia: Mentz und Kovondt, 1846), pp. 371-373. Neues Gemeinschaftliches Gesangbuch zum gottesdienstlichen Gebrauch der Lutherischen und Reformirten Gemeinden in Nord America (New York: Wilhelm Radde, 1849), pp. 418, 419. Neuestes Gemeinschaftliches Gesangbuch zum gottesdienstlichen Gebrauch der Lutherischen und Reformirten Gemeinden in Nord America (New York: Kock Company, 1850 and 1863), p. xi.

<sup>10</sup>H. E. Jacobs, The Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States, in The American Church History Series (New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1893), IV, 419.

<sup>11</sup>Wilhelm Löhe, Agende für christliche Gemeinden des Lutherischen Bekenntnisses (Nordlingen: C. H. Beckschen, 1844 and 1853).

St. Michael, and a common set of propers for the apostles.<sup>12</sup> In the 1853 and 1884 editions all of the same days again appear. However, in these two editions all of the apostles' days are provided with an individual set of propers. In addition there are propers for St. Mary Magdalene, St. Lawrence, All Saints, St. Stephen, and Holy Innocents. St. Mark and St. Luke, the two non-apostolic evangelists, do not appear.<sup>13</sup> Loehe provided these saints' days and their propers to be used and himself celebrated these days with the liturgy and a sermon.<sup>14</sup>

In his Haus- Schul- und Kirchenbuch Loehe included a calendar that listed a saint for every day in the year. Common lessons for martyrs, confessors, and virgins were provided that the days might be observed.<sup>15</sup>

The Ohio Synod and the Iowa Synod who together with the Buffalo Synod organized the American Lutheran Church<sup>16</sup> for the most part had fewer commemorations. The Ohio Synod Gesangbuch, published between 1870 and 1896, provided

---

<sup>12</sup>Wilhelm Löhe, Agende, 1844, table of contents, pp. 1, 2.

<sup>13</sup>Wilhelm Löhe, Agende, 1853, table of contents, p. 4.

<sup>14</sup>Hans Kressel, Wilhelm Löhe als Liturg und Liturgiker (Neuendettelsau: Freimund Verlag, 1952), p. 101.

<sup>15</sup>Wilhelm Löhe, Haus- Schul- und Kirchenbuch (Stuttgart: Verlag von C. K. Liesching, 1859), II, 116-140.

<sup>16</sup>Mayer, op. cit., p. 180.



propers for Purification, Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity of St. John the Baptist, and St. Michael.<sup>17</sup> The Agende for altar use with this hymnal provides no propers for these days nor does any listing of these days appear in the book.<sup>18</sup> The same pattern holds true for the Iowa Synod hymnals.<sup>19</sup>

The hymnal gotten out by F. A. August Grabau, founder of the Buffalo Synod, provided hymns, prayers, collects, and lessons for Purification, Annunciation, Nativity of St. John the Baptist, Visitation, St. Michael, common for all the apostles, St. Gregory, St. Peter and St. Paul, St. Mary Magdalene, St. Lawrence, All Saints, and St. Martin.<sup>20</sup>

The Buffalo Synod Agende of 1888 dropped all the apostles' celebrations with the exception of St. Peter and St. Paul. It continues to provide propers for the three feasts of the Virgin Mary, Nativity of St. John the Baptist,

---

<sup>17</sup>Gesangbuch für Gemeinden des Evang.-Lutherischen Bekenntnisses, authorized by the Ev. Luth. Synode von Ohio u. a. Staaten (Columbus: Lutherische Verhandlung, 1870, 1875, and 1896), pp. 483-538.

<sup>18</sup>Agende der Allgemeinen, authorized by the Ev. Luth. Synode von Ohio u. a. Staaten (Columbus: Schulze und Gassmann, 1870). Agende fuer Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden Ungeaenderter Augsburgischer Konfession von Allgemeinen, authorized by the Ev. Luth. Synode von Ohio u. a. Staaten (Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1909).

<sup>19</sup>Geistliche Lieder für Schule und Kirche (Decorah, Iowa: Lutheran Publishing House, 1865 and 1879).

<sup>20</sup>Evangelisch-Lutherisches Kirchen-Gesangbuch (Buffalo: Georg Zahm, 1842), pp. 71-279.

St. Mary Magdalene, St. Gregory, St. Lawrence, St. Catherine, St. Martin, and All Saints.<sup>21</sup>

The hymnals and agendas containing the largest number of commemorations are those that have been published by the synods forming the present Synodical Conference of North America. In 1847, the year the present Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod was organized, the first hymnal was printed by that synod. Hymns were provided for Purification, Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity of St. John the Baptist, St. Michael, and common hymns for the commemorations of the apostles.<sup>22</sup> In 1853 the book was reprinted. This edition provided propers for the days listed above and individual propers for the apostles' days, St. Mary Magdalene, Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and All Saints.<sup>23</sup> The propers for these saints' days appeared through the 1876 edition

---

<sup>21</sup>Evangelisch Lutherische Agende, auf grund der alten Pommerschen und Sächsischen Agenden, authorized by the Synode von Buffalo (Buffalo: Reinecke und Zesch, 1888), table of contents, p. vii.

<sup>22</sup>Kirchen-Gesang-Buch für Evangelische-Luth. Gemeinden ungeänderter Augsburgischer Conf. (St. Louis: Verlag der deutschen evang. luth. Gemeinde u. A. C., 1847), table of contents, pp. iii-v.

<sup>23</sup>Kirchen-Gesang-Buch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden ungeänderter Augsburgische Confession (St. Louis: Verlag der deutschen evan. luth. Gemeinde u. A. C., 1853), table of contents, pp. iii-v.

of the Gesangbuch.<sup>24</sup>

In the 1880 edition of the Missouri Synod Gesangbuch propers were also provided for St. Nicholas, St. Lawrence, and the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. The propers for these days remained through 1888.<sup>25</sup> The 1889 edition dropped the additions of St. Nicholas, St. Lawrence, and Holy Cross made in 1880.<sup>26</sup> The 1892 edition restored these three days, and they have appeared since 1892 down through the last edition of the Gesangbuch in 1955.<sup>27</sup>

The Wisconsin Synod German hymnal has had a similar number of commemorations including St. Nicholas, St. Lawrence, Nativity of the Virgin Mary, and Holy Cross.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>24</sup>Kirchen-Gesangbuch für Evang.-Lutherische Gemeinden ungeänderter Augsburgische Confession (St. Louis: Verlag der Evan. Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio, u. a. Staaten, 1865 and 1876), pp. 322-387.

<sup>25</sup>Kirchen-Gesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden ungeänderter Augsburgischer Confessions (St. Louis: Lutherischer Concordia Verlag, 1880, 1884, 1885, 1888), pp. 376-448.

<sup>26</sup>Kirchen-Gesangbuch für Evang. Lutherische Gemeinden ungeänderter Augsburgische Confession (St. Louis: Verlag der ev.-luth. Synode von Miss., Ohio u. a. Staaten, 1889), pp. 70-136.

<sup>27</sup>Kirchen-Gesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden ungeänderter Augsburgischer Confessions (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1892, 1893, 1895, 1898, 1899, 1903, 1955), pp. 376-448.

<sup>28</sup>Evang.-Lutherisches Gesangbuch von der Evang. Lutherischen Synode von Wisconsin u. a. Staaten (Milwaukee: Georg Brumder, 1872, 1903), pp. 475-529.

The Missouri Synod Kirchen-Agende, appearing between 1856 and 1902, provided a proper collect for Purification, Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity of St. John the Baptist, St. Michael, and two common collects for apostles' days.<sup>29</sup> The Perikopenbuch gave the proper Gospel and Epistle for the days listed above and included also St. Nicholas, St. Mary Magdalene, St. Lawrence, Nativity of the Virgin Mary, Holy Cross, and All Saints.<sup>30</sup> The last Kirchenagende published in 1922 has cut the number of commemorations. It provides collects and lessons for Purification, Annunciation, Nativity of St. John the Baptist, Visitation, Conversion of St. Paul, St. Peter and St. Paul, St. Michael, and one common collect for the apostles' days.<sup>31</sup>

Although the Wisconsin Synod Gesangbuch provides propers for twenty-three saints' days, the Agende provides propers for only the three festivals of Mary, Nativity of

<sup>29</sup>Kirchen-Agende für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden, authorized by the Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten (St. Louis: Druckerei der Evangel.-Lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten, 1856, 1866, 1876, 1880, 1890, 1896, 1902), pp. 274-281.

<sup>30</sup>Evangelisch-Lutherisches Perikopenbuch, authorized by the Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten (St. Louis: M. C. Barthel, General Agenten der Synode, 1876), pp. 25-132.

<sup>31</sup>Kirchenagende für Ev.-Luth. Gemeinden, authorized by the Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1922), pp. 274-281.

St. John the Baptist, and St. Michael.<sup>32</sup>

With the organization of the General Council in Fort Wayne, Indiana, in 1867, and the publishing of the Church Book a new day had dawned for English-speaking Lutherans.<sup>33</sup> As was pointed out above, the calendar and the liturgical usage of the General Synod tended more toward the Reformed tradition than toward the Lutheran. The General Council was a reaction toward a more conservative Lutheran position in theology and worship.

The first edition of the Church Book of 1868 included all the apostles, St. Stephen, St. John the Baptist, St. Michael, and the three festivals of the Virgin Mary.<sup>34</sup> The 1893 edition added All Saints.<sup>35</sup>

The culmination of the efforts of the General Council came in the form of the Common Service Book published by the General Council, the General Synod, and the United Synod of the South in 1917. The Common Service Book added the two non-apostolic evangelists, St. Mark and St. Luke, to those

---

<sup>32</sup>Agende, authorized by the Synode von Wisconsin u. a. Staaten (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 1896), table of contents, p. 11.

<sup>33</sup>Mayer, op. cit., p. 179.

<sup>34</sup>Church Book for the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Congregations, authorized by the General Council (Philadelphia: Lutheran Book Store, c.1868), p. v.

<sup>35</sup>Church Book, 1893, p. viii.

commemorations appearing in the Church Book.<sup>36</sup>

The General English Lutheran Conference of Missouri and other States took the lead in pushing the Missouri Synod into English work. In 1889 the English Conference published a hymnal containing hymns for the Presentation of Christ and Michaelmas.<sup>37</sup> With this incentive the Missouri Synod published its own English hymnal. Instead of going to the German Gesangbuch and Agende for a source, it went to what was available in English. Thus, the calendar is identical with the first edition of the Church Book.<sup>38</sup> The "green" hymnal of the Missouri Synod published between 1912 and 1931 and the Liturgy and Agenda included the same group of saints appearing in the 1893 edition of the Church Book.<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>36</sup>Common Service Book and Hymnal, authorized by the General Synod, the General Council, the United Synod of the South (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, c.1917), p. 6.

<sup>37</sup>Evangelical Lutheran Hymn Book, authorized by the General English Lutheran Conference of Missouri and other States (Baltimore: Harry Lang, 1889), table of contents, p. xvii.

<sup>38</sup>Evangelical Lutheran Hymn Book, authorized by the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and other States (Chicago: American Lutheran Publication Board, 1895), p. v.

<sup>39</sup>Evangelical Lutheran Hymn Book, authorized by the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and other States (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1912, 1924, 1927, 1928, 1931), p. 493. Liturgy and Agenda (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1921), p. 425.

In 1941 the Synodical Conference of North America, composed of the Missouri Synod, the Wisconsin Synod, the Slovak Synod, and the Norwegian Synod, published a new hymnal. The calendar was revised at that time and St. Mark and St. Luke were added, bringing it into line with the Common Service Book. In addition, Holy Innocents and St. Mary Magdalene were added, which are not found in the Common Service Book.<sup>40</sup>

The final remaining large group of calendars to be considered are those of the Lutherans with Scandinavian antecedents. Since the Church of Sweden has been characterized by a very conservative liturgical heritage, one might assume that the Scandinavian calendars would be full. The opposite is true. The Augustana Church has consistently included only the Presentation of Christ, Annunciation, Nativity of St. John the Baptist, St. Michael, and All Saints.<sup>41</sup>

The Norwegian synods forming the Evangelical Lutheran Church note only three saints' days--St. Stephen, Annunciation,

---

<sup>40</sup>The Lutheran Hymnal, authorized by the Synods constituting The Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1941), p. 3.

<sup>41</sup>Hymnal and Order of Service, authorized by the Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod (Rock Island: Augustana Book Concern, 1899), pp. 276-292. Hymnal and Order of Service, authorized by the Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod (Rock Island: Augustana Book Concern, 1925), pp. 834-840. Church Service Book and Ministerial Acts of the Augustana Ev. Lutheran Church (Rock Island: Augustana Book Concern, 1928 and 1951), pp. 128, 129.

and All Saints.<sup>42</sup>

In closing this section, it should be pointed out that the new Service Book and Hymnal to be used by all synods except those of the Synodical Conference has added Holy Innocents to the commemorations of the saints.<sup>43</sup> With the exception of one day, St. Mary Magdalene's Day, the calendars of the Lutheran churches in America are in agreement.<sup>44</sup>

#### Annuals

The Lutheran annuals that have appeared in the United States present a striking contrast to the calendars in the hymnals and service books of the Lutheran Church. The hymnals and service books present a list that is for the most part made up of New Testament saints while the early annuals include a saint for every day in the year.

To be sure, the majority of the saints' days listed in the annuals were never meant to be kept as liturgical celebrations. An explanation for their inclusion on the calendar of an official church publication may be similar to the

---

<sup>42</sup>The Lutheran Hymnary, authorized by the Norwegian Ev. Lutheran Synod, Hauge's Ev. Lutheran Synod, the United Norwegian Lutheran Church of America (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1920 and 1935), pp. 57-77. The Altar Book (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, c.1952), pp. 182, 255, and 421.

<sup>43</sup>Horn, op. cit., p. 219.

<sup>44</sup>The Lutheran Hymnal, p. 3.



explanation given by the Anglican bishops in justification of the "Black Letter Days" in the Book of Common Prayer. The bishops explained that the days were restored for convenience sake and for the preservation of the memory of the great saints.<sup>45</sup>

The privately published Lutherischer Calendar of 1843 is an impressive example of a full calendar. It lists such Old Testament worthies as Abel, Seth, Aaron, Moses, Jonah, Amos, Abraham, Noah, David, and Adam and Eve. For the most part these Old Testament saints are not given on the days assigned to them in the medieval calendars. One notable exception is Adam and Eve falling on the twenty-fourth of December.<sup>46</sup>

Seven feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary are given-- Candlemas, Annunciation, Visitation, Assumption, Nativity, Presentation, and Conception. A sample listing of the saints of the Church includes St. Polycarp, St. Agatha, St. Nestor, St. Perpetua, St. Urban, St. Leo, St. Pius, St. Dominic, St. Jerome, and St. Francis. John Hus, Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, and Erasmus are some of the Reformation personages that appear. Finally such names as Ben Franklin,

---

<sup>45</sup>W. K. Lowther Clarke, "The Calendar," Liturgy and Worship (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1932), p. 216.

<sup>46</sup>Heinrich Frost, editor, Lutherischer Calendar (Baltimore: Evang. Luth. Buchhandlung, 1843), pp. 2-26.

Lord Bacon, and George Washington appear.<sup>47</sup> Perhaps these men were noted and recorded on the calendar for their leadership in the secular sphere.

From 1853 to 1885 the Lutherische Calendar (known as Lutherische Kalender from 1855 on) under the auspices of the Pennsylvania Ministerium appeared listing the Lutheran clergy for all Synods in the United States. The Lutherische Kalender carried on in the spirit of its predecessor, listing a saint or noteworthy person for every day in the year.<sup>48</sup>

In 1875 the Missouri Synod began publishing its Amerikanischer Kalender für deutsche Lutheraner. It continued the precedent set by the Lutherische Kalender and listed a saint or noteworthy person for every day. A random sampling from 1875 through 1940 includes Kilian, Hans Sachs, Domitilla, Anselm, All Souls, Spalatin, Polycarp, Forty Martyrs, Perpetua, John Chrysostom, Jerome of Prague, Veronica, Basil, Ursula, Ambrose, Athenasius, Gregory, Eusebius, George, Edward, Catherine, and Assumption of the Virgin Mary.<sup>49</sup> A representative week taken from the 1940

---

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., pp. 4-26.

<sup>48</sup>Der Lutherische Calendar (known as Der Lutherische Kalender from 1855; Allentown, Pennsylvania: G. K. Brobst and Company, 1853-1885).

<sup>49</sup>Amerikanischer Kalender für deutsche Lutheraner (St. Louis: Lutherischer Concordia Verlag, 1875-1940).

Kalender lists Willibald, Kilian, Cyril, Pius, Henry, and Eugen.<sup>50</sup>

In 1941 the pattern was changed. For example, the fifteenth of August was no longer listed as the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, but "The Founding of the Valparaiso University Association."<sup>51</sup> Although the listing day by day no longer followed the saints of the Church, a number were retained. From 1941 through 1952 John Chrysostom, Ansgar, John Hus, Ambrose, Irenaeus, Anselm, Eusebius, Ulfilas, Nativity of the Virgin Mary, Columba, Caecelia, Silvester, Sixtus, Athenasius, Cyprian, Jerome, Willibard, and Justin have appeared.<sup>52</sup>

The Lutheran Annual of the Missouri Synod first appeared in 1910 and followed the German example of listing a saint or notable person for every day in the year. A sample listing from the 1910 edition from the sixth of August through the fifteenth of August gave "Transfiguration, Donatus, Cyriacus, Romanus, Laurentius, Herman, Clara, Hippolytus, Eusebius, and Departure of Mary."<sup>53</sup>

---

<sup>50</sup>Amerikanischer Kalender für deutsche Lutheraner, 1940, p. 10.

<sup>51</sup>Amerikanischer Kalender für deutsche Lutheraner, 1941, p. 12.

<sup>52</sup>Amerikanischer Kalender für deutsche Lutheraner, 1941-1952.

<sup>53</sup>The Lutheran Annual (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1910), p. 9.

Between 1925 and 1940 only the present calendar of The Lutheran Liturgy was listed, except for the addition of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary and the omission of Holy Innocents.<sup>54</sup> Since 1941 a number of the saints and fathers of the Church have appeared occasionally in the calendar of The Lutheran Annual. Those listed are similar to the lists that have appeared in the Kalendar since 1941.<sup>55</sup>

#### The Use of the Saints' Days

In trying to gain an idea of the actual use of the saints' days in America we face a problem. There are no authoritative sources on which to rely. There are no Kirchenordnungen that prescribed when services were to be held. The official calendars and agendas, although they list the saints' days, do not prescribe with the force of law what days are to be observed. The major sources of information are the published sermons, the homiletical magazines and aids containing sermons and outline, and the devotional and prayer books. The fact that a sermon book is published seems to indicate that services were conducted on the day for which the sermon was written.

With regard to early Lutheranism in America it is known that Henry Melchior Mühlenberg conducted services on the

---

<sup>54</sup>The Lutheran Annual, 1925-1940.

<sup>55</sup>The Lutheran Annual, 1941-1958. Supra, p. 62.

Conversion of St. Paul in 1743 even though the day fell on a Tuesday.<sup>56</sup> Another entry in Mühlenberg's Journal indicates that he conducted services on the Nativity of St. John the Baptist in 1747.<sup>57</sup>

Martin Stephan, the leader of the Saxon immigrants to Perry County, Missouri, while still in Germany in 1826 preached on the Purification of the Virgin Mary, the Annunciation, Nativity of St. John the Baptist, Visitation, and St. Michael.<sup>58</sup> The published sermons of C. F. W. Walther indicate that these days continued to be observed by the Lutherans in Perry County and St. Louis.<sup>59</sup>

Since The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod is of prime interest in this investigation, an examination of the sermon books published by Concordia Publishing House, the official publication house for the Synod, was made. Books of Lenten

<sup>56</sup>Henry Melchior Mühlenberg, Journals, translated from the German by Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1942), I, 87.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., p. 156.

<sup>58</sup>Martin Stephan, Der Christliche Glaube in einem vollständigen Jahrganze Predigten (Dresden: Königlich Hofbuchdruckerei, 1826), pp. 228-500.

<sup>59</sup>Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther, Amerikanisch-Lutherische Evangelien Postille (St. Louis: Lutherischer Concordia Verlag, 1870), pp. 356-384. C. F. W. Walther, Amerikanisch-Lutherische Epistel Postille (St. Louis: Lutherischer Concordia Verlag, 1882), pp. 475-481. C. F. W. Walther, Predigtentwürfe (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1891), p. 117. C. F. W. Walther, Festklänge: Predigten über Festtexte des Kirchenjahrs (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1892), pp. 178-389.

sermons, Advent sermons, wedding addresses, confessional addresses, and special addresses were not included in the study since they did not claim to cover the saints' days. Of the seventy-four sermon books published by Concordia Publishing House since 1866, when its first sermon book appeared, only sixteen<sup>60</sup> have contained a sermon for one or more saints' day. Of that number six were reprints from

---

<sup>60</sup>F. G. W. Keyl, editor, Predigt-Entwürfe über die Sonn- und Festtags Evangelien aus D. Luthers Predigten und Auslegungen (St. Louis: Lutherischer Concordia Verlag, 1866). Echt evangelische Auslegung der Sonn- und Festtags-Evangelien des Kirchenjahrs (St. Louis: Druckerei der Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten, 1872), Vol. VII. C. F. W. Walther, Amerikanisch-Lutherische Evangelien Postille. C. F. W. Walther, Amerikanisch-Lutherische Epistel Postille. C. F. W. Walther, Lutherische Brosamen (St. Louis: M. C. Bartel, General Agent der deutschen evang.-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten, 1876). Martin Luther, Die Haus-Postille, in Sämtliche Schriften, edited by Johann Georg Walch (St. Louis: Lutherischer Concordia Verlag, 1883), Vol. XIII. C. F. W. Walther, Predigtentwürfe. C. F. W. Walther, Festklänge. C. F. W. Walther, Das walte Gott!, edited by August Crull (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1893). Anton Corvinus, Auslegung der Evangelien so auf die Sonntage und vornehmsten Fest durch das ganze Jahr, edited by A. L. Gräbner (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1899). Tilemann Hesshusius, Postilla, das ist, Auslegung der sonntäglichen Evangelien (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1901). Henry Sieck, Sermons on the Gospels of the Ecclesiastical Year (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1902), Vol. I. Henry Sieck, Sermons on the Gospels of the Ecclesiastical Year (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1904), Vol. II. C. F. W. Walther, Licht des Lebens, edited by C. O. Hanser (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1905). Immanuel Gottlob Brastberger, Evangelische Zeugnisse der Wahrheit zur Aufmunterung in wahren Christentum, edited by W. H. T. Dau (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1912). Fred H. Lindemann, The Sermon and the Propers (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1958), 2 vols.

older Lutheran sources.<sup>61</sup> However, the mere fact that these books would be reprinted with the saints' days included indicates that there was recognition of the value of the saints' days.

Up to 1908, Concordia Publishing House had published nineteen books of sermons. Of that number fourteen<sup>62</sup> contained saints' days and only five had none.<sup>63</sup> Since 1908 the picture has completely reversed itself. Two books have contained saints' days<sup>64</sup> while fifty-two have not.

The days that have appeared most often are Purification, Annunciation, Nativity of St. John the Baptist, and St.

---

<sup>61</sup>Keyl, op. cit. Echt evangelische Auslegung der Sonn- und Festtags-Evangelien des Kirchenjahrs, op. cit. Luther, op. cit. Corvinus, op. cit. Hesshusius, op. cit. Brastberger, op. cit.

<sup>62</sup>Keyl, op. cit. Walther, Amerikanisch-Lutherische Evangelien Postille. Echt evangelische Auslegung der Sonn- und Festtags-Evangelien des Kirchenjahrs, op. cit. Walther, Lutherische Brosamen. Walther, Amerikanisch-Lutherische Epistel Postille. Luther, op. cit. Walther, Predigtentwürfe. Walther, Festklänge. Corvinus, op. cit. Walther, Das walte Gott! Hesshusius, op. cit. Sieck, op. cit. Walther, Licht des Lebens.

<sup>63</sup>W. Sihler, Zeit und Gelegenheits Predigten (St. Louis: Druckerei des Luther. Concordia Verlag, 1883). W. Sihler, Predigten über die Sonn und Festtags Evangelien des Kirchenjahres (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1893). C. F. W. Walther, Gnadenjahr (St. Louis: Lutherischer Concordia Verlag, 1890). C. C. Schmidt, Katechismuspredigten (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1905). L. Fürbringer, editor, Die evangelischen Perikopen des Kirchenjahres (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1908).

<sup>64</sup>Brastberger, op. cit. Lindemann, op. cit.

Michael. All of the saints' days of the present Lutheran Liturgy have appeared at least once in the fifteen sermon books.

While the traditional saints' days have receded into the background, new minor festivals are being observed. Mother's Day, July Fourth, Memorial Day, Sunday School Rally, and Stewardship Sunday head the list of modern "minor festivals."<sup>65</sup>

The Magazin für Ev.-luth. Homiletik, the official homiletical magazine of the Missouri Synod, was published between 1877 and 1929. From 1877 through 1893 sermons or outlines appeared every year for the Purification of the Virgin Mary, Annunciation, Nativity of St. John the Baptist, Visitation, and St. Michael.<sup>66</sup> From 1894 through 1909 the feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Nativity of St. John the Baptist, and St. Michael appeared occasionally. In 1907, 1908, and 1909 a few other saints made their appearance-- St. Philip and St. James, St. Mary Magdalene, St. Simon and

---

<sup>65</sup>Paul Lindemann, Festival Days (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, c.1935). O. A. Geiseman, Where God Meets Man (New York: Ernst Kaufmann, Inc., c.1940 and 1941), Vols. I and II. O. A. Geiseman, God's Answer (New York: Ernst Kaufmann, Inc., 1943 and 1945), Vols. I and II. In Season Out of Season (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1944).

<sup>66</sup>Magazin für Ev.-luth. Homiletik (St. Louis: Druckerei der Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten, changed to Luth. Concordia Verlag in 1888, changed to Concordia Publishing House in 1891, 1877-1893), Vols. I-XVII.



St. Jude,<sup>67</sup> St. Matthew, St. Peter and St. Paul,<sup>68</sup> and St. James the Elder.<sup>69</sup>

In 1913 the magazine became bi-lingual adding the English. Since that time no saints' days have appeared.<sup>70</sup>

The English counterpart to the Magazin für Ev.-luth. Homiletik, the Evangelical Lutheran Homiletic Magazine, appeared from 1903 through 1912. In 1913 the German and English were joined into one magazine. The Homiletic Magazine, during the ten years of its existence, never included any sermons or outlines for the saints' days.<sup>71</sup>

Concordia Theological Monthly, continuing the work of Magazin für Ev.-luth. Homiletik in one of its departments, has generally disregarded the saints' days also. St. Sylvester's name has appeared occasionally as a title for New Year's Eve with no reference to that fourth century bishop of Rome.<sup>72</sup> St. Michael appeared once in 1935 as a

<sup>67</sup>Magazin für Ev.-luth. Homiletik, XXXI (1907), 129, 161, 193, 289.

<sup>68</sup>Magazin für Ev.-luth. Homiletik, XXXII (1908), 161, 258.

<sup>69</sup>Magazin für Ev.-luth. Homiletik, XXXIII (1909), 193.

<sup>70</sup>Magazin für Ev.-luth. Homiletik, XXXVII-LIII (1913-1929).

<sup>71</sup>Evangelical Lutheran Homiletic Magazine (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1903-1912), Vols. I to X.

<sup>72</sup>Concordia Theological Monthly, II (January, 1931), 45; V (December, 1934), 948; X (December, 1939), 925.

day for special observance.<sup>73</sup> In 1953 St. John the Evangelist; in 1954 St. Stephen, St. Mark, and St. James the Elder; in 1955 Saints Philip and James; in 1956 St. John the Baptist and St. Mary Magdalene appeared.<sup>74</sup> For the most part these days fell on a Sunday and were not included for special observance.

The final series of homiletical aids published by Concordia Publishing House is the Concordia Pulpit. Concordia Pulpit, appearing yearly with sermons for the church year and special occasions, has been published since 1931. Between 1931 and 1939 Michaelmas appeared regularly.<sup>75</sup> The 1943 edition contained sermons for the Conversion of St. Paul, St. Bartholomew, and St. Matthew.<sup>76</sup> Since that time no saints' days have appeared.<sup>77</sup>

The prayer books and devotional books published for use in the Missouri Synod reveal a similar disregard for the saints' days. Of the nineteen publications examined

---

<sup>73</sup>Concordia Theological Monthly, VI (September, 1935), 699.

<sup>74</sup>Concordia Theological Monthly, XXIV (December, 1953), 923; XXV (November, 1954), 862; XXV (March, 1954), 210; XXV (June, 1954), 483; XXVI (April, 1955), 277; XXVII (May, 1956), 393; XXVII (June, 1956), 490.

<sup>75</sup>Concordia Pulpit (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1931 through 1939).

<sup>76</sup>Concordia Pulpit, 1943, pp. 378-387.

<sup>77</sup>Concordia Pulpit, 1944-1958.

only four contain any saints' days.<sup>78</sup> In reality three of these books are the same, the Gebets-Schatz of 1884 containing prayers for the Purification of the Virgin Mary, Annunciation, Nativity of St. John the Baptist, Visitation, and St. Michael.<sup>79</sup> An abridgment in English was published in 1906 and again in 1956 containing prayers for the same days.<sup>80</sup>

A daily devotional publication has appeared regularly since 1937 under the title Daily Devotion and since 1948 Portals of Prayer. During the twenty odd years of publication the saints' days as a rule have not been used.<sup>81</sup> One of the rare exceptions to this is the issue of 1938, "Redeemer Come!" by F. H. Lindemann. Lindemann includes St. Andrew, St. Thomas, St. Stephen, St. John the Evangelist, and Holy Innocents.<sup>82</sup>

---

<sup>78</sup>Evangelisch-Lutherischer Gebets-Schatz (St. Louis: M. C. Bartel, General-Agent der evang.-luth. Synode, 1884). William A. Kramer, Devotions for Lutheran Schools (Revised edition; St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1946). The Abridged Treasury of Prayers (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1906 and 1956).

<sup>79</sup>Gebets-Schatz, table of contents, p. iii.

<sup>80</sup>The Abridged Treasury of Prayers.

<sup>81</sup>Daily Devotions (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1937-1947). Portals of Prayer (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1948-1957).

<sup>82</sup>Fred H. Lindemann, "Redeemer, Come!," Daily Devotions, 1938.

The general trend, as indicated from the sermon books, homiletical magazines, homiletical aids, and devotional books of the Missouri Synod, seems to have been the use of the saints' days, at least Purification, Annunciation, Nativity of St. John the Baptist, and St. Michael, till the early part of the twentieth century. From that point on they play less and less a role. Notable exceptions to this general trend of disregarding the saints' days are seen in the series of devotional articles on the saints' days appearing in The Lutheran Chaplain,<sup>83</sup> and the Sermon and the Propers published by Concordia Publishing House in 1958 covering all the saints' days of The Lutheran Liturgy till Pentecost.<sup>84</sup>

In summary, the words of the Lutheran Quarterly of 1897 seem to apply to the use of the saints' days now as they did then. "The saints' days and apostles' days are no longer generally observed."<sup>85</sup> This seems to be the picture in the Lutheran Church today.

---

<sup>83</sup>Delvin E. Ressel, "The Minor Festivals of the Church Year," The Lutheran Chaplain, XII (December, 1951) through XIII (December, 1952).

<sup>84</sup>Fred H. Lindemann, The Sermon and the Propers.

<sup>85</sup>A. G., "Public Worship in the Lutheran Church," Lutheran Quarterly, I (April, 1897), 180.

## CHAPTER V

### THE SAINTS' DAYS OF THE LUTHERAN LITURGY

#### Introductory Considerations

In this chapter the individual days of the calendar will be studied in more detail. The main emphasis will not be upon the life of the apostle, saint, or martyr, but upon the commemoration of the saint as it found its way into the calendar. The propers of The Lutheran Liturgy will be compared to the basic attitude toward the saints expressed in the Confessions. An attempt will be made to show how The Lutheran Liturgy fulfills the Confessions' attitude toward the saints.

#### Saint Andrew the Apostle's Day

St. Andrew, a native of Bethsaida, and brother of St. Peter, according to a second century tradition is supposed to have gone to Scythia (near modern Roumania), Greece, and Patros and was crucified on an X-shaped cross on November 30.<sup>1</sup> In 357 A. D. St. Andrew's alleged relics were translated to

---

<sup>1</sup>Sabine Baring-Gould, The Lives of the Saints (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1914), XIV, 594. Francis Procter, A New History of the Book of Common Prayer, revised by Walter Howard Frere (London: Macmillan Company, Limited, 1905), p. 325.

Constantinople<sup>2</sup> and on November 30 in 359 A. D. a church was dedicated to his honor in that city.<sup>3</sup> St. Andrew was regarded as the founder of the Christian Community in Constantinople and is listed as the ordinator of the first bishop, Stachys.<sup>4</sup>

There is almost universal agreement in assigning the date of November 30 to St. Andrew.<sup>5</sup> One unusual commemoration of St. Andrew occurs in the Hieronymian Martyrology on February 5. The entry reads, "Patros in Achaia ordinatio episcopatus sancti Andraeae apostoli."<sup>6</sup>

The commemoration of St. Andrew has been observed in the East since the fourth century,<sup>7</sup> while the cult of

<sup>2</sup>Heinrich Kellner, Heortology: A History of the Christian Festivals from their Origin to the Present Day, translated from the German by a priest of the Diocese of Westminster (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Company, Limited, 1908), p. 289.

<sup>3</sup>Heinrich Alt, Das Kirchenjahr des christlichen Morgen- und Abendlandes, in Der christliche Cultus (Berlin: G. W. F. Müller, 1860), II, 85.

<sup>4</sup>Kellner, op. cit., p. 289.

<sup>5</sup>Alban Butler, Lives of the Saints, edited and revised by Herbert Thurston and Donald Attwater (London: Burns Oates, 1956), IV, 451. S. K. Lowther Clarke, "The Calendar, Liturgy and Worship" (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1932), p. 236. L. Duchesne, Christian Worship: Its Origin and Evolution, translated from the French by M. L. McClure (5th revised edition; London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1931), p. 283.

<sup>6</sup>Butler, op. cit., IV, 451.

<sup>7</sup>Luther D. Reed, The Lutheran Liturgy (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, c.1947), p. 510.

St. Andrew began in the West in Rome under Simplicius, 468 to 483 A. D., with the founding of the Church of St. Andrew. Four masses are provided in the Leonine Sacramentary for St. Andrew's Day.<sup>8</sup> According to Duchesne St. Andrew occurs on all calendars from the sixth century on.<sup>9</sup>

In 1210 the crusaders captured Constantinople and removed the relics of St. Andrew to Amalfi near Naples.<sup>10</sup>

St. Andrew is also closely connected to Russia and Scotland. Russia has adopted him as one of their patron saints and maintains that he preached the Gospel in Poland.<sup>11</sup> The relation to Scotland is based on an eighth century legend in the Aberdeen Breviary.<sup>12</sup>

The Apology has set up the threefold honor of the saints, that of thanksgiving, strengthening of faith, and imitation of faith and other virtues. How well does the celebration accorded St. Andrew in The Lutheran Liturgy

<sup>8</sup>Walter Howard Frere, The Kalendar, in Studies in Early Roman Liturgy (London: Oxford University Press, 1930), I, 142, 143. Massey Hamilton Shepherd, The Oxford American Prayer Book Commentary (New York: Oxford University Press, c.1950), p. 226.

<sup>9</sup>Duchesne, op. cit., p. 283.

<sup>10</sup>Pius Parsch, Das Jahr des Heiles (Klosterneuburg: Verlag Volksliturgisches Apostolat, 1952), I, 172.

<sup>11</sup>The Book of Saints, compiled by the Benedictine Monks of St. Augustine's Abbey, Ramsgate (3rd revised edition; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944), p. 22.

<sup>12</sup>Butler, op. cit., IV, 451.

fulfill this triple honor?

The concept of thanksgiving is best brought out in the Epistle (Romans 10:8-18),<sup>13</sup> which extols the preaching of the Gospel. "And how shall they believe in Him of whom they have not heard?" "How beautiful are the feet of them that preach the Gospel of peace." Had it not been for the apostles, and in particular on this day St. Andrew, the Gospel would not have been proclaimed.

The imitation of the faith of the apostle and his obedience to the call is best exemplified in the Gospel (Matthew 4:18-22)<sup>14</sup> and the Collect.<sup>15</sup> The Gospel is the historic account of St. Andrew obeying the call of our Lord and following Him. The Collect prays for grace to obey the call of our Lord and follow in heart and life. The note of the mercy of God in calling St. Andrew and in calling all Christians is not to be overlooked. Thus, the element of thanksgiving again enters at this point.

---

<sup>13</sup>The Lutheran Lectionary, authorized by the Synods Constituting the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, [1949] ), p. 250.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 251.

<sup>15</sup>The Lutheran Liturgy, authorized by the Synods Constituting the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, [1948] ), p. 209.



Common Introits, Collects, and Graduals for the  
Evangelists', Apostles', and Martyrs' Days

The first of the common Introits is a cry of thanksgiving to God for having selected and called men to His salvation.<sup>16</sup> The first Introit for apostles includes the thoughts of strengthening and imitation of faith. The antiphon repeats the words of our Lord, "Blessed are ye when ye are persecuted for my sake for the kingdom of heaven is yours."<sup>17</sup> The antiphon of the second common Introit for apostles' days sounds a similar note. It is a promise to those who are faithful that they will shine as the brightness of the firmament.<sup>18</sup> The common Introit for evangelists reminds the Church of the work of the evangelists. What they have written will endure. The Church in turn will give thanks for this work of the evangelists.<sup>19</sup>

The first common Collect is a reminder that the apostles are the foundation stones of the Church resting on Christ, the Head Corner-stone. This prayer in the Church's mouth becomes a cry of thanksgiving for the apostles and their

---

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., pp. 192, 193.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 193.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 194.

work.<sup>20</sup> The second Collect petitions that the Church might remain in the doctrine of the evangelists and the apostles. In this collect both the honor of imitation and the honor of thanksgiving are included. The third Collect is a direct petition for the grace to follow the virtue and examples of the saints.<sup>21</sup>

The note of thanksgiving again appears in the antiphon of the first common Gradual of apostles. "Their sound is gone out into all the earth and their words to the end of the earth."<sup>22</sup> The second Gradual reminds the Church of the work of the apostles and evangelists. Their work was "the edifying of the body of Christ." This should lead the Church to imitate the work of the apostles as a community of people edifying one another.<sup>23</sup> The last Gradual for apostles identifies the apostles with "the righteous who flourish like the palm-tree." The implication is that all Christians are to flourish in the same manner. The allusion is to the imitation of the apostles' faith.<sup>24</sup>

The first common Gradual for evangelists again is a reminder of the work of the evangelists. "The Lord Jesus

---

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 195.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

gave some, apostles, and some, evangelists, for the edifying of the body of Christ."<sup>25</sup> The last Gradual speaks of the word of God. It is an allusion to the fact that the evangelists have recorded the word of God. This is to motivate the Church to thanksgiving.<sup>26</sup>

The dominant note of the common propers is that of thanksgiving to God for giving apostles and evangelists and for the work of these saints.

#### Saint Thomas the Apostle's Day

In Syriac Thomas means a twin, Didymus being the Greek equivalent. Eusebius states that St. Thomas went to Parthia.<sup>27</sup> Yet the most persistent tradition states that St. Thomas went to India and established seven churches in Malabar. The chief support of this comes from the third century document, Acta Thomae. In this document an extravagant legend is told about St. Thomas' journey to India.<sup>28</sup> The story records the name of the king as Gudnaphar or Gondophorus. This name has turned up on an inscription

---

<sup>25</sup>Ibid.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 196.

<sup>27</sup>Butler, op. cit., IV, 589. Eusebius, "Church History," Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1952), I, 132.

<sup>28</sup>Butler, op. cit., IV, 590. Shepherd, op. cit., p. 228.

found at Shahbaz-Garhi in the Yusufzai country on the Punjab frontier. The inscription includes the date with the king's name, Samvat 103, fourth day of the month Vesakh in the twenty-sixth year of the king, or in Western reckoning 46 A. D.<sup>29</sup> The Acta Thomae were repudiated by St. Epiphanius, St. Augustine, and Innocent I. The mere mention of the name Gudnaphar does not warrant the supposition that St. Thomas actually went to India. Such an authentic detail could easily be learned from travelers or traders and incorporated into the story.<sup>30</sup>

In the modern Indian states of Cochin and Travancore, there is a large population of native Christians who call themselves "Christians of St. Thomas." Their history is not known in detail before the sixteenth century. Although Christianity in that part of India is ancient, these Christians are probably descendants of a mission of the Nestorian Church and do not go back to St. Thomas.<sup>31</sup>

St. John Chrysostom reports that the body of St. Thomas was buried in the cathedral at Edessa, Syria. In 1258 these relics were translated to Chios and from there to Ortona, Italy.<sup>32</sup> Yet in 1522 the Portuguese discovered the alleged

---

<sup>29</sup>Baring-Gould, op. cit., XV, 233.

<sup>30</sup>Butler, op. cit., IV, 592.

<sup>31</sup>Shepherd, op. cit., p. 228.

<sup>32</sup>Parsch, op. cit., I, 225.

tomb of St. Thomas in Madras, India, where the relics of St. Thomas are preserved in the cathedral to the present time.<sup>33</sup>

In the earliest martyrologies the third of July was observed, but the Hieronymian Martyrology places St. Thomas' day on the twenty-first of December. The December date has been observed in the West rather generally since the ninth century.<sup>34</sup> The choice of the twenty-first of December has been somewhat fancifully associated with the unbelief of St. Thomas on the ground that this is the shortest and darkest day of the year.<sup>35</sup>

The great theological stress of the propers of St. Thomas is the strengthening of faith. The Collect states, "didst strengthen the faith of Thy Apostle St. Thomas, by Thy same Word keep us ever steadfast in the faith unto our end."<sup>36</sup> The Gospel (John 20:24-31) is the historic incident of St. Thomas' unbelief and subsequent belief in the risen Lord. "Thomas, because thou hast seen Me, thou hast believed:

---

<sup>33</sup>Butler, op. cit., IV, 591.

<sup>34</sup>Baring-Gould, op. cit., XV, 226. Clarke, op. cit., p. 237. Reed, op. cit., p. 496.

<sup>35</sup>F. Xaver Schmid, Kultus der christkatholischen Kirche (Passau: Druck und Verlag von Ambrosius Ambrosi, 1841), II, 462.

<sup>36</sup>The Lutheran Liturgy, p. 196.

blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed."<sup>37</sup>

### Saint Stephen the Martyr's Day

The three post-Christmas feasts have been explained as illustrating three kinds of martyrdom. St. Stephen was a martyr in will and in deed. St. John was a martyr in will though not in deed. The Holy Innocents were martyrs in deed, but not in will.<sup>38</sup>

The commemoration of St. Stephen may be as old as the New Testament. St. Paul in Acts 22:20 calls him a "martyr of Christ." Under Constantine a church was dedicated to St. Stephen, and the Arian martyrology of 360 A. D. lists him.<sup>39</sup>

Other early witnesses to the commemoration of St. Stephen are found in the Constitutions of the Holy Apostles.<sup>40</sup> St. Gregory of Nyssa, in his funeral oration over St. Basil, preached in Cappadocian Caesarea in 379 A. D., stated that it was customary to commemorate St. Stephen and St. John

---

<sup>37</sup>The Lutheran Lectionary, p. 213.

<sup>38</sup>Gueranger, The Liturgical Year, Christmas, translated from the French by Laurence Shepherd (4th edition; Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1950), I, 279.

<sup>39</sup>Kellner, op. cit., p. 224.

<sup>40</sup>Butler, op. cit., IV, 617. "Constitutions of the Holy Apostles," translated by James Donaldson, The Ante-Nicene Fathers, edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (American reprint of the Edinburgh Edition; New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1896), VII, 495.

after Christmas.<sup>41</sup> St. Augustine stated in a sermon in 426 A. D., "Yesterday we celebrated the birthday of our Lord, today of his servant."<sup>42</sup>

The feasts of St. Stephen and St. John were probably fixed in Jerusalem in the fourth century before the Jerusalem Church admitted the Roman Nativity celebration to its calendar. It is quite possible that they were fixed before the date of Christmas since they are kept by the Armenian Church which rejects Christmas.<sup>43</sup>

In 415 A. D. the supposed body of St. Stephen was discovered at Kaphar-Gamala, a town situated on the eastern shore of Lake Gennesareth. The finding of this grave gave great impetus to the commemoration of St. Stephen.<sup>44</sup>

The Western celebration was begun under Simplicius of Rome, who died in 483 A. D. He erected a basilica in St. Stephen's honor.<sup>45</sup> From the fifth century onward all Western calendars give the twenty-sixth of December as

<sup>41</sup>Alt, op. cit., p. 95. Duchesne, op. cit., p. 265. Ludwig Eisenhofer, Grundriss der Liturgik des Römischen Ritus (5th edition; Freiburg: Verlag Herder, 1950), p. 148.

<sup>42</sup>Alt, op. cit., p. 96.

<sup>43</sup>Edward Lambe Parsons and Bayard Hale Jones, The American Prayer Book (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1955), p. 77. Gregory Dix, The Shape of the Liturgy (Westminster: Dacre Press, 1945), p. 378.

<sup>44</sup>Duchesne, op. cit., p. 267. Kellner, op. cit., p. 223.

<sup>45</sup>Kellner, op. cit., p. 224.

St. Stephen's Day with the exception of the Leonine Sacramentary. The Leonine Sacramentary lists nine masses for St. Stephen, Protomartyr, but places them on the second of August, the martyrdom of St. Stephen of Rome in 255 A. D.<sup>46</sup>

In northern England the day was known as "Wrenning Day" from the custom of stoning a wren in commemoration of St. Stephen's death.<sup>47</sup>

The propers for St. Stephen encompass all three honors mentioned by the Confessions. The Psalm verse of the Introit can be considered an ascription of thanksgiving to God for the mercy shown. "Blessed are the undefiled in the way who walk in the law of the Lord."<sup>48</sup> The Epistle from Acts is the account of St. Stephen's sermon and martyrdom which stands as an encouragement and strengthening of faith.<sup>49</sup> The Collect petitions that Christian people imitate the example of St. Stephen. As he prayed for his persecutors may Christians love and bless their persecutors.<sup>50</sup> The Gospel (Matthew 23:34-39) is a final encouragement to strong faith, not from the words or life of St. Stephen but from our Lord Himself.<sup>51</sup>

---

<sup>46</sup>Duchesne, op. cit., p. 267. Frere, op. cit., p. 122.

<sup>47</sup>Baring-Gould, op. cit., XV, 299.

<sup>48</sup>The Lutheran Liturgy, p. 196.

<sup>49</sup>The Lutheran Lectionary, p. 214.

<sup>50</sup>The Lutheran Liturgy, p. 197.

<sup>51</sup>The Lutheran Lectionary, pp. 215, 216.



### Saint John the Apostle and The Evangelist's Day

St. John according to tradition was banished to Patmos where he wrote the Apocalypse. After the death of the emperor, Domitian, in 96 A. D., St. John returned to Ephesus. St. Epiphanius reports that in the third year of the reign of Trajan, 100 A. D., at the age of ninety-four, St. John died.<sup>52</sup>

In the fourth century under Constantine the grave of St. John was opened and only powder was found. This may have given rise to the story that St. John was assumed into heaven.<sup>53</sup> Another explanation for the early widespread belief of the assumption of St. John occurs in the apocryphal Acts of St. John. According to this second century tradition, St. John simply disappeared. His body was never found.<sup>54</sup>

According to the Menology of Constantinople and the Calendar of Naples, the twenty-sixth of September was commemorated in honor of St. John the Evangelist. The Calendar of Naples gives the entry, "Adsumptio Joannis Evangelistae."<sup>55</sup> However, in the writings of St. Gregory of Nyssa, the Syriac Breviarium of the early fifth century, the calendar of the

---

<sup>52</sup>Butler, op. cit., IV, 620, 621.

<sup>53</sup>Kellner, op. cit., p. 297.

<sup>54</sup>Butler, op. cit., IV, 623.

<sup>55</sup>Kellner, op. cit., p. 297.

Copts, the calendar of Carthage, and the Hieronymian Martyrology, the twenty-seventh of December was St. John's Day.<sup>56</sup>

In the calendar of Carthage, the Hieronymian Martyrology, and the Gallican Martyrology, St. John is listed with St. James the More. Such a listing occurred as late as the eighth century in the Gothico-Gallic Calendar.<sup>57</sup> The Leonine Sacramentary appoints propers for St. John alone and this tradition has generally been followed.<sup>58</sup>

The story of St. John safely drinking the poisoned chalice led to the medieval German custom of drinking a cup in honor of St. John. Wine was blessed on this day and given to brides and grooms in the ensuing year. The cup was to protect health and help in attaining heaven. So widespread was this practice that the Pfalz-Neuberg Kirchenordnung specifically forbade the consecration of wine on St. John's Day.<sup>59</sup>

The propers for this day present no unified system.<sup>60</sup> Thanksgiving is briefly alluded to in the Psalm verse of the

<sup>56</sup>Butler, op. cit., IV, 622. Duchesne, op. cit., pp. 267, 268.

<sup>57</sup>Duchesne, op. cit., p. 268. Kellner, op. cit., p. 297.

<sup>58</sup>Shepherd, op. cit., p. 101.

<sup>59</sup>Edward T. Horn, III, The Christian Year (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, c.1957), p. 75.

<sup>60</sup>The Lutheran Liturgy, pp. 197, 198. The Lutheran Lectionary, pp. 217, 218.

Introit, "It is a good thing to give thanks unto God." It is hard to fit the rest of the propers into either the category of imitation of the apostle's example or strengthening of faith through his example. Rather the propers dwell on the theme of instruction. The Collect states, "being instructed by the doctrines of Thy blessed Apostle and Evangelist St. John." The Epistle (1 John 1:1-10), the Gradual, and the Gospel (John 21:19-24) might be summed up in the final phrase of the Gospel, "This is the disciple which testified of these things, and wrote these things and we know his testimony is true."

#### The Holy Innocents' Day

The number of innocent babes, slaughtered not only for Christ but instead of Christ, has generally been assumed to have been large. The Byzantine liturgy speaks of 14,000 while the Syrian menologies number 64,000. The figure has even been placed at 144,000. These figures are completely fictitious since Bethlehem was a small town.<sup>61</sup>

St. Irenaeus, St. Cyprian, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, and St. John Chrysostom all speak of the Holy Innocents. However, this does not imply that the day was liturgically commemorated at that time.<sup>62</sup> According to McArthur the

---

<sup>61</sup>Alt, op. cit., p. 97. Butler, op. cit., IV, 626.

<sup>62</sup>Baring-Gould, op. cit., XV, 311.

first indication of a celebration may be found in fourth century Jerusalem when a day was commemorated in Bethlehem forty days after Christmas.<sup>63</sup> There is definite proof that Holy Innocents was celebrated in North Africa at the time of St. Augustine in the fifth century.<sup>64</sup> From the latter part of the fifth century it was observed in the West on the twenty-eighth of December. The one exception to this was the Mozarabic rite that placed Holy Innocents after Epiphany.<sup>65</sup>

Liturgically Holy Innocents' Day is not treated as a martyr's day. The day is celebrated like those of Advent and Lent. The color of the vestments is violet. The Gloria and the Alleluia are not sung.<sup>66</sup> One explanation given for this is that the children were martyred at a time when they could not attain the beatific vision.<sup>67</sup> However, when the day falls on a Sunday, it is treated as a martyr's day.<sup>68</sup>

---

<sup>63</sup>A. Alan McArthur, The Evolution of the Christian Year (Greenwich, Connecticut: The Seabury Press, c.1953), p. 155.

<sup>64</sup>Dix, op. cit., p. 368. Eisenhofer, op. cit., p. 148. Shepherd, op. cit., p. 102.

<sup>65</sup>Butler, op. cit., IV, 627. Duchesne, op. cit., p. 268.

<sup>66</sup>Baring-Gould, op. cit., XV, 142.

<sup>67</sup>Frederick C. Holweck, "Holy Innocents," Catholic Encyclopedia, edited by Charles G. Herbermann, et al. (New York: Robert Appleton Company, c.1910), VII, 419.

<sup>68</sup>Butler, op. cit., IV, 626.

The term "Innocents" derives from Roman liturgical usage. The Gallican books employed the term "Infantes."<sup>69</sup>

During the Middle Ages Holy Innocents' Day was a day devoted to children and fools. In England it was called Childermas, and in Germany Narrenfest. A child was elected bishop and the sacred services were mocked and parodied. In 1260 the Council of Cognac forbade dancing in the churches on this day. A circular letter issued by the University of Paris states that clerics danced in the choir, sang indecent songs, ate meat at the altar, and burned old shoes in the censer. In 1473 the Council of Toledo banned such performances.<sup>70</sup>

The two alternate Collects<sup>71</sup> stress the imitation of the virtues of the martyred Holy Innocents. The first Collect petitions, "mortify all vices within us that our lives may in deed confess Thy faith." Here the Holy Innocents are brought to mind as being martyrs "in deed." The second Collect expresses a similar thought.

The narration of the Gospel (Matthew 2:13-18) ought to lead all Christians to thank God for His unsearchable wisdom

---

<sup>69</sup>Duchesne, op. cit., p. 268.

<sup>70</sup>Charles Alexander, The Church's Year (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), p. 37. Baring-Gould, op. cit., XV, 312-314.

<sup>71</sup>The Lutheran Liturgy, pp. 198, 199. The Lutheran Lectionary, p. 220.

that through the death of the Holy Innocents our Lord might be protected for His work of redeeming the world from its sin.

#### The Conversion of Saint Paul

The feast of the Conversion of St. Paul is peculiar to the West. It is rather strange that in the East St. Ananias, the baptizer of St. Paul, is commemorated on this day.<sup>72</sup>

The origin of the feast is very obscure. Both Frere and Shepherd state that it is purely Gallican. Frere notes that the Conversion of St. Paul is found in the Bibbo Sacramentary and the Missale Gothicum of the early eighth century.<sup>73</sup>

Duchesne, Kellner, and Butler trace the Conversion of St. Paul back to the Hieronymian Martyrology. In the Auxerre recension of the Hieronymian Martyrology an entry "Romae Translatio S. Pauli Apostoli" occurs. This is then linked up to the "Conversione S. Pauli" appearing in the Missale Gothicum.<sup>74</sup> Butler, without explanation, states that the ninth century Bern manuscript of the Hieronymian Martyrology shows traces of a transition from "translation"

---

<sup>72</sup>Baring-Gould, op. cit., I, 370.

<sup>73</sup>Frere, op. cit., pp. 91, 92. Shepherd, op. cit., p. 229.

<sup>74</sup>Duchesne, op. cit., p. 281. Kellner, op. cit., p. 288.

to "conversion."<sup>75</sup> Clarke explains that the commemoration appears as "Translatio et Conversio S. Pauli."<sup>76</sup> During the tenth century the day was inserted into the margin of the Gregorian Sacramentary.<sup>77</sup>

The Conversion of St. Paul was a day of obligation in all of England and much of Germany. In 1308 it became a day of obligation in the diocese of Cologne.<sup>78</sup>

The honors of imitation, strengthening of faith, and thanksgiving are seen in the propers.<sup>79</sup> The Collect is a petition to follow the example of St. Paul in spreading the Gospel to all the world. Such an imitation would be an imitation both of the apostle's faith and virtue.

The Epistle (Acts 9:1-22), relating the conversion of St. Paul, should lead the Church to give thanks to God for the mercy He has shown not only to St. Paul but to all Christians.

Strengthening of faith is also one of the objectives of the Gospel (Matthew 19:27-30). The promise and the

<sup>75</sup>Butler, op. cit., I, 162.

<sup>76</sup>Clarke, op. cit., p. 220.

<sup>77</sup>Shepherd, op. cit., p. 229.

<sup>78</sup>Horn, op. cit., p. 187.

<sup>79</sup>The Lutheran Liturgy, p. 199. The Lutheran Lec-tionary, pp. 221-223.

strengthening assurance are contained in the words of our Lord.

The Presentation Of Our Lord and The  
Purification of Mary

The first reference to such a commemoration belongs to the latter part of the fourth century at the Church of Jerusalem.<sup>80</sup> The festivities are described by a certain Abbess Etheria from Spain who was visiting in Jerusalem at that time. The day was described as "Quadragesimae de Ephiphani." Since the sixth of January was considered the birthday of our Lord at that time, the day fell on the fourteenth of February.<sup>81</sup>

It was from Jerusalem that the festival spread to the Eastern Church. By 540 A. D. it was introduced into the city of Ephesus. In 542 A. D. the emperor, Justinian, enjoined its celebration in Constantinople and the entire Eastern Church.<sup>82</sup>

---

<sup>80</sup>Butler, op. cit., I, 233. Clarke, op. cit., p. 221. Duchesne, op. cit., p. 272. Eisenhofer, op. cit., p. 150. Kellner, op. cit., p. 174.

<sup>81</sup>Duchesne, op. cit., p. 272.

<sup>82</sup>Fernand Cabrol, The Year's Liturgy (London: Burns Oates and Washbourne Limited, 1940), p. 10. Parsons, op. cit., p. 78. Georg Rietschel, Lehrbuch der Liturgik, revised by Paul Graff (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1951), I, 154.



Just when the feast made its way into the West is not known. Some would place it as early as St. Gelasius, 492 to 497 A. D.,<sup>83</sup> while the greater majority assign it a later date in Western calendars. Only in the course of the sixth or seventh century was it introduced into Rome.<sup>84</sup> It is listed in the early edition of the Gregorian Sacramentary.<sup>85</sup>

The feast has long been associated with a candle procession. There is dispute on the introduction of the procession with candles. Kellner reports that many believe the candle procession was introduced by Gelasius I to run competition with the pagan feast of Lupercalia.<sup>86</sup> However, he discounts this by stating that Lupercalia fell on the fifteenth of February, and since Purification fell on the second of February, such a theory cannot be maintained.<sup>87</sup> Butler and O'Shea reason that Purification, while still

---

<sup>83</sup>Alt, op. cit., p. 49. Kellner, op. cit., p. 175.

<sup>84</sup>Cabrol, op. cit., p. 10. Wilhelm Löhe, Martyrologium (2nd edition; Gütersloh: Druck und Verlag von C. Bertelsmann, 1913), p. 38.

<sup>85</sup>Frere, op. cit., p. 93.

<sup>86</sup>Lupercalia was a pagan fertility rite of antiquity which presented a purification of the land. Goats and dogs were sacrificed, and the priests, called Luperci, after cutting the skins of the victims into thongs, ran naked in the streets striking the women they met with the thongs. The celebration lasted until the fifth century of the Christian era. Butler, op. cit., I, 234.

<sup>87</sup>Kellner, op. cit., pp. 175, 176.

attached to the fifteenth of February, was adopted at Rome with a candle procession to supply a Christian substitute for Lupercalia. The fortieth day celebration was borrowed from the East precisely because it fell on the fifteenth of February. The keeping of the twenty-fifth of December as the Nativity of our Lord in time brought about the change to the second of February.<sup>88</sup> The blessing and distribution of candles which now form the principal feature in the Roman Rite cannot be traced back earlier than the eleventh century.<sup>89</sup>

The name of the feast has differed widely. The Greeks have known the day as "The Meeting" referring to Simeon's meeting our Lord in the temple. In the Gelasian Sacramentary the day is called "Purificatio." The candle procession has given the popular title "Candlemas."<sup>90</sup> The strong emphasis on our Lord in the propers has given this feast the name "Presentation." The title "Presentation of our Lord" has been adopted by the Common Service Book while The Lutheran Liturgy combines both the Presentation and the

---

<sup>88</sup>Butler, op. cit., I, 235. William J. O'Shea, The Worship of the Church (Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, c.1957), p. 246.

<sup>89</sup>Shepherd, op. cit., p. 232.

<sup>90</sup>Kellner, op. cit., p. 174.

Purification in its title.<sup>91</sup> Most authorities agree that the feast is first and foremost one of our Lord and secondly a feast of the Virgin Mary.<sup>92</sup>

This day has had two other connotations. First is the "Churching of Women."<sup>93</sup> Second is the association of the day with the weather. In medieval times if the day was fair a long hard winter season was yet to follow. In the United States this superstition still survives under the less churchly title of "Ground Hog Day."<sup>94</sup>

The propers bear out the fact that this is a feast of our Lord.<sup>95</sup> The Introit, the Collect, the Gospel, and the Gradual all speak of the historical event of our Lord's presentation and the meeting with St. Simeon. The Epistle

<sup>91</sup>Common Service Book of the Lutheran Church, authorized by the United Lutheran Church in America (Philadelphia: Board of Publication of the United Lutheran Church in America, 1930), p. 156. The Lutheran Liturgy, p. 187.

<sup>92</sup>Butler, op. cit., I, 232. Kellner, op. cit., p. 176. Otto Haering, Living with the Church, translated from the German by Rembert Bularzik (New York: Benziger Brothers Incorporated, c.1930), p. 20. Parsch, op. cit., I, 453. Reed, op. cit., p. 499. Rodrigue Villeneuve, An Introduction to the Liturgical Year, translated from the French by J. A. Otto Eisenzimmer (New York: Frederick Pustet Company, c.1946), p. 57.

<sup>93</sup>Baring-Gould, op. cit., II, 35.

<sup>94</sup>Horn, op. cit., p. 189.

<sup>95</sup>The Lutheran Liturgy, pp. 187-189. The Lutheran Lectionary, pp. 201-203.

(Malachi 3:1-4) is interpreted as a prophecy of our Lord's presentation in the temple.

#### Saint Matthias the Apostle's Day

Of St. Matthias, selected to fill the place of Judas, nothing is known either before or after the event related in the first chapter of Acts. One tradition places his ministry in Judea, another in Ethiopia, and a third in Persia.<sup>96</sup> The Greek menologies, which are corroborated by several ancient breviaries, relate that St. Matthias was crucified.<sup>97</sup>

According to tradition the relics of St. Matthias were translated by St. Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, to Rome. On May 6, 1084, Gregory VII translated St. Matthias' relics to Salerno, Italy.<sup>98</sup>

The first occurrence of St. Matthias' Day in Western liturgical books dates from the eleventh century.<sup>99</sup> The rule for dating the feast is that it is to fall five days before the first of March or the VIII Kalends of March. In a normal year the feast would occur on the twenty-fourth of

---

<sup>96</sup>Alt, op. cit., p. 89. The Book of Saints, p. 187. Parsch, op. cit., III, 620.

<sup>97</sup>Baring-Gould, op. cit., II, 394.

<sup>98</sup>Parsch, op. cit., III, 620.

<sup>99</sup>Parsons, op. cit., p. 80. Reed, op. cit., p. 500.

February, but in a leap year it would occur on the twenty-fifth. The Roman Church still follows this rule.<sup>100</sup> At least one Lutheran Kirchenordnung of the sixteenth century took note of this rule and specified that St. Matthias' Day should be celebrated on the twenty-fourth even in a leap year.<sup>101</sup> The Lutheran Liturgy assigns St. Matthias to the twenty-fourth.<sup>102</sup>

Pius V gave St. Matthias' Day a vigil and placed it in the same category as the other apostles. St. Matthias is treated liturgically like the other apostles although he was not one of the twelve during the life of our Lord on earth.<sup>103</sup>

The Gospel (Matthew 11:25-30), the Epistle (Acts 1: 15-26), and the Collect are references to God's action.<sup>104</sup> In the Epistle and the Collect it is God's action in selecting a successor for Judas. In the Gospel our Lord is speaking. Perhaps in the context of the feast the "yoke" spoken of is to be interpreted as the yoke of discipleship.

---

<sup>100</sup>Clarke, op. cit., p. 222.

<sup>101</sup>"Lüneburg KO, 1575," Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI Jahrhunderts (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1955), VI, 661.

<sup>102</sup>The Lutheran Liturgy, p. iv.

<sup>103</sup>Cabrol, op. cit., p. 97.

<sup>104</sup>The Lutheran Liturgy, p. 200. The Lutheran Lectionary, pp. 224, 225.

The propers seem to be lacking any reference to the triple honor of the saints. The propers rather indicate thankfulness to God for His continued rule in the Church.

#### The Annunciation

The general liturgical observance of the Annunciation cannot be traced earlier than the seventh century, though as early as the third century Christian chronographers had fixed the twenty-fifth of March as the date of the Annunciation.<sup>105</sup> Hippolytus, in the first half of the third century, in commenting on the book of Daniel, says that Christ was killed and begotten on the twenty-fifth of March. Both St. Augustine and Tertullian reecho this. However, this does not imply liturgical observance at that time.<sup>106</sup>

Before 400 A. D. a church in Nazareth was dedicated to the Annunciation. Whether this was the cause of a festival or the building of the church was inspired by the feast is impossible to determine.<sup>107</sup> An indication of such a primitive feast of the Annunciation is a sermon by Proclus, bishop of Constantinople around 446 A. D.<sup>108</sup>

---

<sup>105</sup>Shepherd, op. cit., p. 235.

<sup>106</sup>Butler, op. cit., I, 674.

<sup>107</sup>Ibid., p. 675.

<sup>108</sup>Kellner, op. cit., pp. 232, 233.

By the seventh century the feast had become common and well established as is attested by the Chronicon Paschale of 641 A. D.<sup>109</sup> The Eastern Church in the Council of 692 A. C., in Trullo, adopted Annunciation on the twenty-fifth of March. The date entered the West when it was adopted by Sergius I of Rome, 687 to 701 A. D.<sup>110</sup> Propers are found in the Gelasian Sacramentary but not in the Gregorian Sacramentary till after Alcuin's revision at the end of the eighth century.<sup>111</sup>

The date of celebration has differed widely. The Auxerre recension of the Hieronymian Martyrology of about 595 A. D. places a "depositio" of Mary on the eighteenth of January. In Milan, Aquileia, and Ravenna the Annunciation was kept on the last Sunday in Advent.<sup>112</sup> The Council of Toledo of 656 A. D. deplored the diversity of dates and placed it on the eighteenth of December. The early Mozarabic rite retained it for celebration on the eighteenth.<sup>113</sup>

---

<sup>109</sup>Duchesne, op. cit., p. 272.

<sup>110</sup>Eisenhofer, op. cit., p. 154. Rietschel, op. cit., p. 153. Shepherd, op. cit., p. 236.

<sup>111</sup>Parsons, op. cit., p. 78.

<sup>112</sup>Alt, op. cit., p. 51. Butler, op. cit., I, 475.

<sup>113</sup>Butler, op. cit., I, 475. Clarke, op. cit., p. 224. Kellner, op. cit., p. 234.

The significance of the twenty-fifth of March has been manifold. Some of the ancient calendars carry the note, "Natale Mundi," or creation day.<sup>114</sup> In the Middle Ages the twenty-fifth of March marked the beginning of the civil year. Until 1751 the day was still observed as New Year in England.<sup>115</sup>

Does this day properly belong to our Lord or to the Virgin Mary? Some of the ancient titles would seem to indicate it was early considered a feast of our Lord. It appeared as "Annuntiatio Domini," "Annuntiatio Christi," and "Conceptio Christi."<sup>116</sup> In the Roman Rite, Annunciation is regarded as a feast in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary.<sup>117</sup> The Lutheran Liturgy seems to regard the feast in honor of both Christ and His mother.<sup>118</sup> The first Introit has changed the original sense of the Psalm. "Shall intreat Thy favor" is made to apply to God by the capitalization of the pronoun. In the Psalm it applies to the king's daughter. Thus, if it is used in that sense it would apply to the Virgin Mary. The verse continues by

---

<sup>114</sup>Horn, op. cit., p. 191.

<sup>115</sup>Alexander, op. cit., p. 86.

<sup>116</sup>Haering, op. cit., p. 151.

<sup>117</sup>Kellner, op. cit., p. 231.

<sup>118</sup>The Lutheran Liturgy, pp. 189, 190. The Lutheran Lectionary, pp. 203-206.



referring to the king's daughter, "She shall be brought. . . ." The first Collect speaks of our Lord's incarnation by the message of an angel while the second alludes to the Virgin Mary's willing agreement to the angel's message.

The Gospel (Luke 1:26-38) and the Gradual contain the words, "Hail Mary." These two propers ought to incite Christians to thanksgiving, strengthening of faith, and imitation of the faith of the Virgin Mary. Christians thank God for the incarnation of our Lord. They are strengthened in faith when they see God's mercy in coming to the lowly Virgin. They are led to imitate her faith when they see her willing acceptance of the angel's message. All three honors advocated by the Confessions are included in the celebration of Annunciation.

#### Saint Mark the Evangelist's Day

St. Mark, companion of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Barnabas, is the traditional author of the second Gospel. According to Eusebius in the fourth century, St. Mark was the founder of the Church at Alexandria.<sup>119</sup> According to tradition St. Mark was martyred at the season of Easter in 68 A. D. in Alexandria. The great solemnities of Serapis were being celebrated. The mobs broke in upon St. Mark, bound him, dragged him through the streets, and threw him

---

<sup>119</sup>Shepherd, op. cit., p. 236.

into prison. The next day the performance was repeated until St. Mark died. The pagan mob burned St. Mark's body. Later Christians collected the bones and ashes.<sup>120</sup>

Not till the ninth century does St. Mark's name appear on Western calendars.<sup>121</sup> The founding of St. Mark's cult in the West is related to the removal of his relics. The Venetians in 829 A. D. stole the supposed relics of St. Mark from Alexandria and translated them to the cathedral in Venice. They repose there under the high altar.<sup>122</sup>

Rome did not adopt the feast till the twelfth century. One explanation for this is the extreme conservatism of Rome in not including saints who were not buried or martyred in Rome.<sup>123</sup>

The Litaniae Majores on the twenty-fifth of April in Rome considerably predate the feast of St. Mark in Rome. They probably go back to St. Gregory the Great. The rogation processions were the Christian adaptations of the Robigalia occurring on the same day.<sup>124</sup>

According to the propers there is no explicit statement

<sup>120</sup>Baring-Gould, op. cit., IV, 336.

<sup>121</sup>Kellner, op. cit., p. 300.

<sup>122</sup>Shepherd, op. cit., p. 237.

<sup>123</sup>Reed, op. cit., p. 501.

<sup>124</sup>Butler, op. cit., II, 162. Kellner, op. cit., p. 301.

of the three honors of the saints.<sup>125</sup> The propers rather carry the general theme of thanksgiving for the work of the evangelist as God's spokesman to the Church through the Sacred Scriptures.

#### Saint Philip and Saint James the Apostles' Day

St. Philip came from Bethsaida in Galilee and was responsible for bringing Nathanael to Christ. However, St. Philip has been incorrectly identified with St. Philip the Deacon mentioned in Acts. Eusebius quotes Clement of Alexandria as saying that the apostles were married. "For Peter and Philip begat children; and Philip also gave his daughters in marriage."<sup>126</sup> In the next book Eusebius speaks of the apostle Philip and his daughters, but then he says, "Luke, in the Acts of the Apostles, mentions the daughters of Philip who were at that time at Caesarea in Judeas with their father, and were honored with the gift of prophecy."<sup>127</sup> From this it is evident that Eusebius identifies St. Philip the evangelist and deacon with St. Philip the apostle.

St. Philip is supposed to have preached in Hierapolis in Phrygia in 80 A. D. against the worship of a serpent.

---

<sup>125</sup>The Lutheran Liturgy, pp. 200, 201. The Lutheran Lectionary, pp. 225-225-227.

<sup>126</sup>Eusebius, op. cit., p. 162.

<sup>127</sup>Ibid.

The magistrates of the city seized him and hanged him on a pillar.<sup>128</sup>

The identification of St. James also presents problems. There are three James recorded in Sacred Scripture; James the son of Zebedee whose death is recorded in Acts 12:2, James the brother of our Lord recorded in Acts 12:17 and 15:13, and James the son of Alphaeus also one of the twelve.<sup>129</sup> The identification of the James commemorated on this date is in question. The identification of James the son of Alphaeus and James the brother of our Lord has been made and generally followed.<sup>130</sup> However, Clement of Alexandria maintained that these two James were two individuals and not to be confused.<sup>131</sup> Some scholars have followed this conclusion.<sup>132</sup> Perhaps the safest course to follow is that of Duchesne when he admits that he does not know which James is really meant.<sup>133</sup>

---

<sup>128</sup>Baring-Gould, op. cit., V, 2.

<sup>129</sup>Horn, op. cit., p. 193.

<sup>130</sup>Alt, op. cit., p. 87. The Book of Saints, p. 144. Butler, op. cit., II, 204. Clarke, op. cit., p. 225. Kellner, op. cit., p. 293. Løhe, op. cit., p. 75. Otto L. Schreiber, The Lives of the Twelve Apostles of Jesus The Christ (Philadelphia: General Council Publication House, 1912), p. 80.

<sup>131</sup>Alt, op. cit., p. 88.

<sup>132</sup>Alexander, op. cit., p. 113. Baring-Gould, op. cit., V, 5. Gehard Kunze, "Die gottesdienstliche Zeit," Leiturgia (Kassel: Johannes Stauda Verlag, 1954), I, 485.

<sup>133</sup>Duchesne, op. cit., p. 282.

St. James the brother of our Lord was called "the Just." He remained at Jerusalem for thirty years after the Resurrection and Ascension of our Lord and was finally martyred by being cast from a pinnacle of the temple in 61 A. D.<sup>134</sup> Josephus reports that St. James' death caused great grief and regret to all good men even among the Jews.<sup>135</sup>

The relics of both St. James and St. Philip were taken to Rome and placed in the Church of the Apostles erected under Julius I, 341 to 352 A. D. Under Pelagius I, 556 to 561 A. D., the church was rebuilt, and rededicated under John III on May 1, 561 A. D., to the honor of St. Philip and St. James. The church was usually referred to as Basilica Apostolorum. The feast is common to both the Gelasian and the Gregorian Sacramentaries.<sup>136</sup>

In medieval times May Eve or Roodmas was one of the four sabbaths of witches. In northern Europe it was also a day of pagan festivals and sacrifices to appease the devil.<sup>137</sup>

---

<sup>134</sup>Butler, op. cit., II, 205. Löhe, op. cit., p. 76.

<sup>135</sup>Baring-Gould, op. cit., V, 8.

<sup>136</sup>Clarke, op. cit., p. 225. Dix, op. cit., p. 377. Duchesne, op. cit., p. 282. Frere, op. cit., p. 101. Procter, op. cit., p. 325. Shepherd, op. cit., p. 238.

<sup>137</sup>Horn, op. cit., p. 194.

The propers again contain a general note of thanksgiving for the work of the apostles as a whole. Through the Collect this is directed especially for the work of St. Philip and St. James.<sup>138</sup>

#### The Nativity Of Saint John the Baptist

This feast was one of the earliest to gain universal recognition. St. John the Baptist was an exception to the general rule--the commemoration of martyrs was confined to the particular locale of the martyr's death.<sup>139</sup> The East ranks St. John the Baptist next to Christ and the Virgin Mary,<sup>140</sup> although this commemoration is found at an earlier date in the West than in the East.<sup>141</sup> St. Augustine in the fourth century left seven sermons for the day. In one of the sermons St. Augustine remarked that the feast was kept "by tradition of our forefathers." It can logically be assumed that the feast goes back at least to 375 A. D.<sup>142</sup> In 506 A. D. the Council of Agde numbered the Nativity of St. John the Baptist as a chief festival. Christians were

---

<sup>138</sup>The Lutheran Liturgy, p. 201. The Lutheran Lectionary, pp. 227, 228.

<sup>139</sup>Kellner, op. cit., p. 217.

<sup>140</sup>Rietschel, op. cit., p. 154.

<sup>141</sup>Dix, op. cit., p. 378. Duchesne, op. cit., p. 271. Reed, op. cit., p. 503. Shepherd, op. cit., p. 242.

<sup>142</sup>Dix, op. cit., p. 378. Duchesne, op. cit., p. 271.

to attend services in their parish church on this day.<sup>143</sup>

The Leonine Sacramentary provided a vigil, a fast, and two masses. As early as the fifth century three masses were celebrated on the Nativity of St. John the Baptist as on Christmas. The Gelasian Sacramentary contains two masses, and the Gregorian Sacramentary has three.<sup>144</sup>

The date of the Nativity of St. John depends on the date of Christmas. It falls on the same day exactly six months before Christmas even though they appear one day different on present day calendars. Both dates are the VIII Kalends. The twenty-fourth of June is the VIII Kalends of July, and the twenty-fifth of December is the VIII Kalends of January. Since June has thirty days, you arrive at the date, the twenty-fourth, counting back from the end. Since December has thirty-one days, the VIII Kalends falls on the twenty-fifth.<sup>145</sup>

According to tradition Samaria was the place of St. John's burial. His remains lay buried there till 362 A. D. when, under the persecution of Julian, the tomb was violated and the remains burned. This alleged discovery of St. John's relics gave impetus to the spread of the feast in his honor.

---

<sup>143</sup>Kellner, op. cit., p. 218.

<sup>144</sup>Ibid., p. 222.

<sup>145</sup>Cabrol, op. cit., p. 232. Eisenhofer, op. cit., p. 156.

St. John's head was removed to Constantinople between 391 and 453 A. D. There are three accounts of its translation to Constantinople.<sup>146</sup>

The twenty-fourth of June has had pagan customs associated with it. Bathing on the day was forbidden by St. Augustine as a pagan custom. A similar custom was reported by Petrarch in a letter to Cardinal Colonna as late as 1330. The women of Cologne are described in the letter as washing in the Rhone that all ills of the coming year might be cleansed. The custom still prevails in Walloon country. The fourth canon of the Council of Leptines, 743 A. D., forbade the pagan custom of fire making on the day. In spite of this the use of fires has continued to modern times as a way of observing Midsummer.<sup>147</sup>

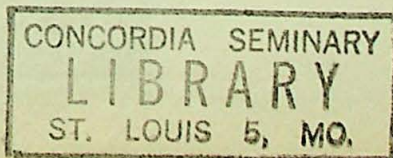
The triple honor of the saints is clearly brought out in the propers for this feast.<sup>148</sup> The Introit carries the note of thanksgiving, "it is a good thing to give thanks unto the Lord." The strengthening of faith is contained in the first Collect, "we may at all times find comfort and joy in his witness." The second Collect speaks of imitation of faith and other virtues, "we may know this Thy salvation and serve Thee in holiness and righteousness."

---

<sup>146</sup>Kellner, op. cit., pp. 219-222.

<sup>147</sup>Baring-Gould, op. cit., VI, 333.

<sup>148</sup>The Lutheran Liturgy, pp. 201, 202. The Lutheran Lectionary, pp. 229-231.





### Saint Peter and Saint Paul the Apostles' Day

The joint celebration of the two apostles has had varied explanations. According to one tradition both St. Peter and St. Paul suffered martyrdom on the twenty-ninth of June in 67 A. D. Another tradition states that they were both martyred on the same day but in different years.<sup>149</sup> Frere, on the other hand, believes that the joint observance does not rest on any history of their death. Rather they were martyred at two different spots at two different times. St. Peter and St. Paul were early associated in men's minds as the founders of the Church at Rome. When the cult of the martyrs gained impetus in the third century it was natural to give them a joint festival.<sup>150</sup>

Whether St. Peter was ever in Rome has been argued by the scholars. Karl Heussi concludes that the "unanimous" idea that St. Peter worked in Rome cannot be proved with certainty.<sup>151</sup> Oscar Cullmann states that the proof of St. Peter's stay in Rome must be derived from the literary witness. On the basis of that he concludes that St. Peter was

---

<sup>149</sup>Alt, op. cit., p. 79. Baring-Gould, op. cit., VI, 453. Löhe, op. cit., p. 105. Shepherd, op. cit., p. 243.

<sup>150</sup>Frere, op. cit., pp. 109, 110.

<sup>151</sup>Karl Heussi, Die römische Petrustradition in kritischer Sicht (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1955), p. 59.

in Rome and was martyred there under Nero.<sup>152</sup>

The tradition that St. Peter was in Rome is attested by Dionysius, bishop of Corinth in 170 A. D. He states in his epistle to the Romans,

You have thus by such admonition bound together the planting of Peter and Paul at Rome and Corinth. For both of them planted and likewise taught us in our Corinth. And they taught together in like manner in Italy, and suffered martyrdom at the same time.<sup>153</sup>

At one time it was generally accepted that St. Peter was bishop in Rome for twenty-five years. This was based on incorrect chronological data.<sup>154</sup> The Quo Vadis legend about St. Peter's return to Rome was first related by St. Ambrose in his sermon against Auxentius. Tertullian reports that St. Peter was crucified head downwards.<sup>155</sup> Eusebius, on the authority of Origen, adds that the downward position was of St. Peter's own choice.<sup>156</sup>

St. John Chrysostom records that St. Paul converted one of Nero's favorite concubines. By inducing her to pursue a life of chastity, St. Paul incurred the wrath of

---

<sup>152</sup>Oscar Cullmann, Peter: Disciple--Apostle--Martyr, translated from the German by Floyd V. Filson (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1953), pp. 70-152.

<sup>153</sup>Eusebius, op. cit., p. 130.

<sup>154</sup>Butler, op. cit., II, 667.

<sup>155</sup>Baring-Gould, op. cit., VI, 429. Butler, op. cit., II, 667.

<sup>156</sup>Eusebius, op. cit., p. 132.

the emperor who imprisoned him.<sup>157</sup> As a Roman citizen, by Valerian and Parcian law, St. Paul was exempt from crucifixion. Crucifixion was reserved for slaves and malefactors. St. Paul suffered death by decapitation which was considered a more noble death.<sup>158</sup>

The joint celebration of the two apostles dates from an early time. The Philocalian Calendar of 336 and 354 A. D. lists the day as deposition, "Petri ad Catacumbas et Pauli Ostense," adding the date 258 A. D. It is thought that the 258 date records the institution of the joint feast.<sup>159</sup> Lietzmann reconstructs this to read,

Petri in Vaticano  
Petri et Pauli in catacumbas  
et Pauli Ostensi. Tusco et Basso consulibus.<sup>160</sup>

The feast found acceptance over all the Church. It is recorded in the Arian martyrology, the Armenian calendar, and the Nestorian calendar although on different dates. The twenty-ninth of June was a well established date in Milan when St. Ambrose was bishop. St. Augustine has left five sermons for the feast. The feast was introduced at Constantinople in 491 A. D. when the Roman senator Festus

---

<sup>157</sup>Baring-Gould, op. cit., VI, 453.

<sup>158</sup>Ibid. Löhe, op. cit., p. 106.

<sup>159</sup>Duchesne, op. cit., p. 277. Eisenhofer, op. cit., p. 156. Kellner, op. cit., p. 284.

<sup>160</sup>Hans Lietzmann, Petrus und Paulus in Rom (Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Weber's Verlag, 1915), p. 83.

induced Emperor Anastasiu to celebrate the day.<sup>161</sup>

According to the view held by many Roman archeologists, the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul were in 258 A. D. conveyed from their tombs on the Vatican and Ostian Way to a hiding place, ad catacumbas, on the Appian Way close to the site of the present basilica of St. Sebastian.<sup>162</sup>

Between 1915 and 1922 excavations were made that revealed the basin or hollow (κύμβη). The original name "catacomb" derives from the natural depression in the ground (κατὰ κύμβας). Walls of a large room constructed about 250 A. D. were also discovered. From the decoration and details it was a place intended for a meeting of a ceremonial nature, perhaps the agape. Scribblings still remaining in the plaster carry inscriptions to St. Peter and St. Paul. Nearly eighty of these Latin and Greek inscriptions are legible to the point of reading the apostles' names.<sup>163</sup> It has been suggested that the apostles' bodies were transferred here in 258 A. D. and later removed to their respective basilicas.<sup>164</sup>

---

<sup>161</sup>Alt, op. cit., p. 80. Kellner, op. cit., pp. 282-285.

<sup>162</sup>Shepherd, op. cit., p. 244.

<sup>163</sup>Butler, op. cit., II, 667, 668.

<sup>164</sup>Cabrol, op. cit., p. 92. Duchesne, op. cit., p. 277. Procter, op. cit., p. 325.

Between 1938 and 1950 excavations were made under St. Peter's Basilica. Remains of a tomb and a body were found. Whether they are the human remains of St. Peter can not be determined.<sup>165</sup>

The general trend in the observance of St. Peter and St. Paul the Apostles' Day has been to commemorate St. Peter at the expense of St. Paul. The Leonine Sacramentary provides masses for both. The Gregorian Sacramentary lists a vigil and a feast for both. The Gelasian Sacramentary lists a mass for St. Peter, one for both, and a third mass for St. Paul on the following day.<sup>166</sup> The reason for this may be found in the celebration accorded the apostles in Rome. Prudentius in 405 A. D. reported that he visited the tombs of the apostles and their churches. Since the distance was great, it was fatiguing to celebrate mass in both places on the same day. Thus, the celebration was cut in half with St. Paul commemorated on the following day.<sup>167</sup> The propers of The Lutheran Liturgy follow this pattern of commemorating only St. Peter although St. Paul is named in the Collect.<sup>168</sup>

---

<sup>165</sup>Butler, op. cit., II, 668.

<sup>166</sup>Frere, op. cit., pp. 109-112.

<sup>167</sup>Cabrol, op. cit., p. 235. Kellner, op. cit., p. 285.

<sup>168</sup>The Lutheran Liturgy, p. 203. The Lutheran Lectionary, pp. 231-233.

The general theme of the propers conveys the triple honor that the Confessions approve. The Epistle (Acts 12: 1-11) relates the story of God's deliverance of St. Peter from prison. The Gospel (Matthew 16:13-20) relates St. Peter's confession of Christ. Both of these propers should lead Christians to give thanks. Strengthening of faith is seen in the Collect and the Gradual through which the Church is reminded of the martyrdom of the apostles. Imitation of the apostles' faith and life is especially contained in the Collect, "with like constancy we may at all times be ready to lay down our lives for Him."

#### The Visitation

The Visitation originated in France in the middle of the thirteenth century. The Council of Le Mans, 1247, ordered its observance in that diocese. St. Bonaventure, General of the Friars Minor, ordered it observed in that order in 1263. Since the Franciscan breviary was widely used, the feast found its way into many parish churches. The archbishop of Prague, John of Jenstein, induced Pope Urban VI to introduce it in the hope that through the supplication of the Virgin Mary the schism of the Church might be healed. Boniface IX published the decree of his predecessor in the first year of his reign, 1389. The Council of Basel in 1441 decreed it be celebrated in the

entire Western Church.<sup>169</sup>

Why the second of July was picked is unclear. It is rather an unhappy choice chronologically. The Visitation should logically precede the Nativity of St. John the Baptist since the Gospel records that St. John leaped in the womb of St. Elizabeth. The second of July has been celebrated in the Eastern Church since Emperor Leo I, 469 A. D., as the translation of Mary's garments at Constantinople. Perhaps the date was picked because it was being used in the Eastern Church for a feast of the Virgin Mary.<sup>170</sup>

The Visitation, a minor festival, was presumably retained in the Lutheran Kirchenordnung of the sixteenth century because it was based on an incident recorded in Scripture. It is recorded in the first chapter of St. Luke, verses thirty-nine and following.<sup>171</sup>

The resounding note of the propers is the honor of thanksgiving to God for the mercy that He has shown.<sup>172</sup> The words of Mary herself bring this out. "My soul doth

---

<sup>169</sup>Baring-Gould, op. cit., VII, 32. Haering, op. cit., p. 154. Rietschel, op. cit., p. 156.

<sup>170</sup>Dix, op. cit., p. 376. Kellner, op. cit., pp. 266-268.

<sup>171</sup>Reed, op. cit., p. 504.

<sup>172</sup>The Lutheran Liturgy, pp. 191, 192. The Lutheran Lectionary, pp. 206-209.

magnify the Lord." The Collects include the honor of imitation. "Grant us grace in all humility and meekness to receive Thy word."

#### Saint Mary Magdalene's Day

It has been generally held that St. Mary Magdalene was the sinner who anointed our Lord's feet, the sister of Martha and Lazarus of Bethany, and the witness to the Risen Christ.<sup>173</sup> This tradition of identifying the three as St. Mary Magdalene has been attested to by Tertullian, Victor of Antioch, and St. Gregory the Great.<sup>174</sup> The Roman Martyrology has followed this identification.<sup>175</sup> Although this identification has been generally followed in the West, St. Ambrose, St. Albert the Great, and St. Thomas Aquinas did not accept the identification and left it an open question.<sup>176</sup> The East has always held that St. Mary Magdalene and St. Mary of Bethany were two different people.<sup>177</sup>

---

<sup>173</sup>Butler, op. cit., III, 161. Cabrol, op. cit., p. 295. Kellner, op. cit., pp. 309, 310.

<sup>174</sup>Baring Gould, op. cit., VIII, 508. Parsch, op. cit., III, 429.

<sup>175</sup>Butler, op. cit., III, 161. Parsch, op. cit., III, 429.

<sup>176</sup>Butler, op. cit., III, 161.

<sup>177</sup>Baring-Gould, op. cit., VIII, 508. Kellner, op. cit., p. 310.



A number of tales sprang up in the Middle Ages about St. Mary Magdalene. One story related that she was engaged to St. John the apostle. When he followed Christ and left her, she gave herself over to a life of lust. Our Lord converted her because it was not fitting that the call of one should be the occasion for the damnation of another.<sup>178</sup> Another tradition relates that she accompanied St. John and the Virgin Mary to Ephesus, died, and was buried there. St. Willibald was shown her shrine when he visited Ephesus in the eighth century.<sup>179</sup> The tradition of the Roman Martyrology is that she together with Martha and Lazarus evangelized Provence in France. Her supposed relics have been kept by the abbey of Vezelay in Burgundy since 1279. The story of evangelization seems to have originated in the eleventh century.<sup>180</sup>

The liturgical celebration of St. Mary Magdalene appears for the first time in the tenth century Verona Missal. It is found in some eleventh century missals, and was finally adopted by Rome in the thirteenth century.<sup>181</sup>

The day was extremely popular in pre-Reformation

---

<sup>178</sup>Butler, op. cit., III, 162.

<sup>179</sup>Ibid.

<sup>180</sup>The Book of Saints, p. 185.

<sup>181</sup>Clarke, op. cit., p. 228.

Germany. Luther favored the retention of the day.<sup>182</sup>

The Lutheran Liturgy has identified St. Mary Magdalene as the sinner who anointed our Lord's feet.<sup>183</sup> The main stress of the propers is that Christians are to honor her example of a penitent life. The Gospel (Luke 7:36-50) brings this out most strikingly by relating the historical fact of the anointing. The Epistle (Proverbs 31:10-31) applies the example of a virtuous woman to the lives of Christians. The Collect has changed the person whom we are to follow as an example from St. Mary Magdalene to our Lord, "daily endeavor ourselves to follow the blessed steps of His most holy life."

#### Saint James the Elder the Apostle's Day

St. James, the first martyr, the son of Zebedee, and brother of St. John, was martyred by Herod Agrippa I at Easter time in 43 or 44 A. D.<sup>184</sup>

St. James was buried at Jerusalem, but, again according to the tradition of Spain dating from about 830 A. D., the body was translated first to Iria Flavia, now El Padron, in Galicia, and then to Compostela, Spain. During the

---

<sup>182</sup>Horn, op. cit., p. 219.

<sup>183</sup>The Lutheran Liturgy, pp. 203, 204. The Lutheran Lectionary, pp. 234-237.

<sup>184</sup>Alt, op. cit., p. 83. Clarke, op. cit., p. 228.

Middle Ages the shrine of Santiago in Compostela became one of the greatest of all Christian shrines.<sup>185</sup> The relics still rest in the cathedral at Compostela. Leo XIII in 1884 referred to the relics as authentic although their genuineness is seriously disputed.<sup>186</sup>

A legend relates that St. James preached the Gospel in Spain before he was martyred by Herod Agrippa in Palestine. Isidore of Seville in the seventh century is the first to make mention of the legend, but he mistakenly calls St. James the author of the epistle.<sup>187</sup> St. Julian of Toledo rejected this alleged visit of the apostle to his country.<sup>188</sup>

In Western calendars St. James' appearance is ascribed to Charlemagne. The commemoration of St. James dates from the ninth century in Spain.<sup>189</sup>

The choice of the twenty-fifth of July may be connected with the translation of the relics of St. James.<sup>190</sup> The Greeks, Russians, Copts, Maronites, and Abyssinians

---

<sup>185</sup>Butler, op. cit., III, 183. Parsch, op. cit., III, 437. Shepherd, op. cit., p. 246.

<sup>186</sup>Butler, op. cit., III, 183.

<sup>187</sup>Baring-Gould, op. cit., VIII, 550. Cabrol, op. cit., p. 239.

<sup>188</sup>Butler, op. cit., III, 183.

<sup>189</sup>Kellner, op. cit., p. 292.

<sup>190</sup>Clarke, op. cit., p. 228.

keep the thirtieth of April as St. James the Elder.<sup>191</sup>

The propers lead in a giving of thanks.<sup>192</sup> The Collect for the day evokes the honor of example. "As Thy Apostle St. James readily obeyed . . . we may by Thy grace be enabled . . . to follow." The Gospel (Matthew 20:20-28) reveals the service of strengthening of faith. The mother of St. James had asked for a special place for her son. Our Lord's answer, while a rebuke, leads to strengthening of faith. Finally, the Epistle (Romans 8:28-39) with its emphasis on God's love in tribulation, understood in the light of the martyrdom of the first apostle, leads the Church to give thanks for God's mercy in His dealings with St. James and with all Christians.

#### Saint Bartholomew the Apostle's Day

Beyond the fact of his existence nothing certain is known about St. Bartholomew. Bartholomew is a patronymic meaning "son of Tolmai." The traditional identification of St. Bartholomew with Nathanael is only a reasoned guess.<sup>193</sup> St. John's Gospel never mentions Bartholomew, while the Synoptic Gospels make no mention of Nathanael. The Synoptic

---

<sup>191</sup>Baring-Gould, op. cit., VIII, 546.

<sup>192</sup>The Lutheran Liturgy, p. 204. The Lutheran Lectionary, pp. 237-239.

<sup>193</sup>Cabrol, op. cit., p. 306. Shepherd, op. cit., p. 249.

Gospels constantly link St. Philip and St. Bartholomew just as the Fourth Gospel links St. Philip and Nathanael. Thus the identification is made.<sup>194</sup>

Popular tradition of St. Bartholomew is summed up in the Roman Martyrology. "Preached the Gospel of Christ in India, thence to Greater Armenia where he converted many people and was flayed alive by the barbarians."<sup>195</sup> The earliest reference to India is given by Eusebius in the fourth century. He relates that a hundred years before, Pantaenus went to India and found the Gospel of St. Matthew which the people said St. Bartholomew brought.<sup>196</sup> However, "India" in the Latin and Greek writers referred to Arabia, Ethiopia, Libya, Parthia, and Persia.<sup>197</sup> The Greek Menology of Emperor Basil relates that St. Bartholomew went to Hierapolis in Phygia.<sup>198</sup> Finally, the town of Albana on the shore of the Caspian Sea north of Caucasus has a strong tradition that St. Bartholomew met martyrdom there.<sup>199</sup>

St. Bartholomew's Day first appears in the

---

<sup>194</sup>Butler, op. cit., III, 391.

<sup>195</sup>Ibid.

<sup>196</sup>Baring-Gould, op. cit., IX, 255.

<sup>197</sup>Butler, op. cit., III, 392.

<sup>198</sup>Baring-Gould, op. cit., IX, 256.

<sup>199</sup>Ibid.

sacramentaries of the ninth century.<sup>200</sup> The twenty-fourth of August is said to commemorate the translation of St. Bartholomew's relics. There are conflicting stories regarding the translation of the relics. One legend relates that Emperor Otto II ordered the relics translated to Rome in 832 A. D.<sup>201</sup> Another states that Emperor Anastasius removed the relics to Daras on the borders of the Mesopotamia in 500 A. D.<sup>202</sup> The final story relates that when St. Bartholomew was martyred at Derbend, the king, to make sure the body would not fall into Christian hands, put the body in a lead coffin and threw it into the Caspian Sea. The coffin floated like wood and sailed to the island of Lipari near Sicily. In 839 A. D. it was translated to Beneventum and finally to Rome.<sup>203</sup>

Since little is known of St. Bartholomew, the reference to him in the propers is limited to the Collect.<sup>204</sup> The Collect leads the Church to give thanks to God for the mercy of providing apostles and faithful stewards of the Gospel, especially St. Bartholomew.

---

<sup>200</sup>Clarke, op. cit., p. 230. Frere, op. cit., p. 127.

<sup>201</sup>Alt, op. cit., p. 86.

<sup>202</sup>Reed, op. cit., p. 505.

<sup>203</sup>Baring-Gould, op. cit., IX, 258.

<sup>204</sup>The Lutheran Liturgy, p. 205. The Lutheran Lectionary, pp. 239-240.

### Saint Matthew the Apostle and the Evangelist's Day

Little is known of St. Matthew other than the information reported by St. Matthew 9:9. The Galilean publican was first called Levi and named Matthew when he became a follower of our Lord.<sup>205</sup>

The field of St. Matthew's labor is much disputed. Eusebius said that St. Matthew went to Ethiopia. St. Ambrose reported that he went to Peria. Isidore of Seville stated that St. Matthew labored among the Macedonians. St. Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria list his activity among the Hebrews. The most accredited opinion is that St. Matthew was the apostle to Ethiopia since accounts of his martyrdom are extant in Africa.<sup>206</sup>

St. Matthew's martyrdom is an open question. Heracleon, disciple of Valentine, living in the second century, said that St. Matthew died a natural death. Clement, Origen, and Tertullian attest this.<sup>207</sup>

The feast of St. Matthew is of Eastern origins and spread tardily to the West. It entered the West through

---

<sup>205</sup>Butler, op. cit., III, 609.

<sup>206</sup>Alt, op. cit., p. 87. Butler, op. cit., III, 610. Cabrol, op. cit., p. 308. Löhe, op. cit., p. 160.

<sup>207</sup>Baring-Gould, op. cit., X, 324.

the sacramentaries of the ninth century.<sup>208</sup> The Eastern Church celebrates him on the sixteenth of November. The Western date of the twenty-first of September is supposed to be derived from the translation of St. Matthew's relics to Salerno, Italy, in 954 A. D.<sup>209</sup> His relics are claimed by Salerno,<sup>210</sup> Naples, Monte Cassino, Rome, and Bologna.<sup>211</sup>

The Collect leads the Church to imitate the example of St. Matthew in following Christ.<sup>212</sup> The Epistle (Ephesians 4:7-14) and the Gospel (Matthew 9:9-13) encourage Christians to give thanks for the gift of apostles and evangelists.<sup>213</sup>

#### Saint Michael's and All Angels' Day

The cultus of angels and especially St. Michael can be traced back to remote antiquity. Constantine built a church in honor of St. Michael on the Bosphorus. On the opposite Asiatic headland of the Bosphorus, Justinian erected another church to St. Michael.<sup>214</sup> The present commemoration

---

<sup>208</sup>Frere, op. cit., p. 134. Shepherd, op. cit., p. 250.

<sup>209</sup>Alt, op. cit., p. 87.

<sup>210</sup>Cabrol, op. cit., p. 308. Clarke, op. cit., p. 232.

<sup>211</sup>Baring-Gould, op. cit., X, 324.

<sup>212</sup>The Lutheran Liturgy, p. 205.

<sup>213</sup>The Lutheran Lectionary, pp. 240, 241.

<sup>214</sup>Kellner, op. cit., p. 238.



of St. Michael goes back to the dedication of a basilica on the Via Salaria seven miles from Rome. Little is known of this church that was superseded by two churches of St. Michael in the city of Rome. The cultus of St. Michael therefore dates from at least the fifth century, perhaps much earlier.<sup>215</sup> The Leonine Sacramentary gives five masses for the dedication of St. Michael's in Rome on the thirtieth of September. The Gelasian Sacramentary places St. Michael on the twenty-ninth of September. This latter date is followed by the Gregorian Sacramentary.<sup>216</sup>

The cultus of St. Michael was extremely popular during the Middle Ages. He was popularly thought to be the angel who conducted people into the realms of bliss. St. Michael's Day divides the season of Trinity and is the beginning of the school terms and court sessions in England.<sup>217</sup>

The Council of Mayence in 813 A. D. adopted the feast.<sup>218</sup> In France the Synod of Tours, 858 A. D., fixed the date.<sup>219</sup> In England King Ethelred in 1014 provided

---

<sup>215</sup>Butler, op. cit., III, 679. Frere, op. cit.  
Procter, op. cit., p. 325. Shepherd, op. cit., p. 251.

<sup>216</sup>Duchesne, op. cit., p. 276.

<sup>217</sup>Horn, op. cit., pp. 203, 204.

<sup>218</sup>Alt, op. cit., p. 75. O'Shea, op. cit., p. 293.

<sup>219</sup>Kellner, op. cit., p. 331.

the day be observed with a vigil and a three day feast.<sup>220</sup>

The popular name of the feast is Michaelmas. The Roman Missal's commemoration still bears the title, "Dedicationis S. Michaelis Archangeli." However, the prayers of the Missal make it clear that all good angels are to be included.<sup>221</sup> The Roman Missal also commemorates the Guardian Angels, St. Gabriel, and St. Raphael.<sup>222</sup> The Lutheran Liturgy adds "All Angels" to the name of St. Michael's Day. The inclusion of all the angels is mentioned in a number of sixteenth century Kirchenordnungen.<sup>223</sup> At least one entitles the day, "St. Michael, Archangel and All Angels."<sup>224</sup> Another source for the addition of "All Angels" may have been the 1662 edition of the Book of Common Prayer.<sup>225</sup>

The addition "All Angels" in 1941 is certainly appropriate in the propers of the liturgy.<sup>226</sup> The dominant note

<sup>220</sup>Reed, op. cit., p. 507.

<sup>221</sup>Butler, op. cit., III, 679.

<sup>222</sup>Kellner, op. cit., p. 328.

<sup>223</sup>"Suhla, 1562," Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI Jahrhunderts, edited by Emil Sehling (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1904), II, 350. "Anhalt, 1568," ibid., p. 569. "Preussen, 1544," op. cit., 1911, IV, 68. "Pommern Agenda, 1569," ibid., p. 469.

<sup>224</sup>"Kurlandische KO, 1570," op. cit., 1913, V, 98.

<sup>225</sup>Clarke, op. cit., p. 232.

<sup>226</sup>The Lutheran Liturgy, pp. 206, 207. The Lutheran Lectionary, pp. 242-244.

of the day is thanksgiving for the work of the angels in aiding Christians. This is especially clear in the Introit, Collect, and Gradual. The power of God evidenced in His angels is also an encouragement and strengthening of faith.

#### Saint Luke the Evangelist's Day

St. Luke, traditionally a native of Antioch, is called the "beloved physician" in Colossians 4:14. St. Luke, according to an early tradition, was unmarried and wrote his Gospel while in Greece. At the age of eighty-four he died as the bishop of Boeotian Thebes.<sup>227</sup>

Besides being a physician St. Luke is reputed to have been an artist. A writer of the sixth century stated that Empress Eudokia had a century before sent to St. Pulcheria an icon of our Lady supposedly painted by St. Luke.<sup>228</sup>

St. Gregory of Nazianzus indicates that St. Luke was a martyr. Gaudentius, bishop of Brescia in the fifth century, also speaks of St. Luke as having been martyred. Later in the eighth century Elias of Crete denied that St. Luke was martyred.<sup>229</sup>

---

<sup>227</sup>Alt, op. cit., p. 91. Butler, op. cit., IV, 143.

<sup>228</sup>Butler, op. cit., IV, 143. Cabrol, op. cit., p. 364.

<sup>229</sup>Baring-Gould, op. cit., XII, 469.

During the fourth century the supposed relics of St. Luke were discovered. Emperor Constantius II ordered the relics brought to Constantinople. On March 3, 357 A. D. St. Luke's relics along with those of St. Andrew and St. Timothy were translated to the Church of the Apostles in Constantinople.<sup>230</sup> The feast of St. Luke first appeared in the West on the eighteenth of October in the sacramentaries of the ninth century.<sup>231</sup>

The propers are an ascription of thanksgiving for the evangelists and in particular for St. Luke.<sup>232</sup> This theme is brought out in the Introit, the Collect, and the Gradual. The Epistle (2 Timothy 4:5-15), relating the desertion of St. Paul in prison by his fellow laborers, gives an example of the steadfastness of St. Luke. St. Paul says, "Only Luke is with me." The third honor of imitation of St. Luke's steadfastness is placed before the Church.

#### Saint Simon and Saint Jude the Apostles' Day

Very little is known of these two apostles. They are mentioned together in Luke 4:14-16 and again in Acts 1:13. St. Simon was surnamed Zelotes. This may refer to his zeal

---

<sup>230</sup>Kellner, op. cit., p. 289. Shepherd, op. cit., p. 252.

<sup>231</sup>Frere, op. cit., p. 134.

<sup>232</sup>The Lutheran Liturgy, p. 207. The Lutheran Lectionary, pp. 244-247.

for the law and does not necessarily mean that he was a member of the Jewish party, the Zealots.<sup>233</sup> In the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Matthew, St. Simon is called a Canaanite, and St. Jude is replaced by Thaddaeus also called Lebbaeus. Thaddeus is called the brother of James and is usually regarded as the brother of St. James the Less.<sup>234</sup>

Perhaps because there is so little known about these two apostles, the legends about their lives abound. Western tradition generally holds that St. Simon after preaching in Egypt joined St. Jude who came from Mesopotamia. Both then proceeded to Persia where they were martyred together.<sup>235</sup> Pseudo-Dorotheus says that St. Simon labored in Africa and Britain. Pseudo-Hippolytus relates that St. Simon succeeded St. James the brother of our Lord as bishop at Jerusalem living to be 120 years old and dying a peaceful death.<sup>236</sup> Another tradition states that St. Jude married and raised a family before accompanying St. Simon to Persia.<sup>237</sup>

---

<sup>233</sup>Butler, op. cit., IV, 213, 214. Shepherd, op. cit., p. 254.

<sup>234</sup>Butler, op. cit., IV, 214. Löhe, op. cit., p. 189. Parsch, op. cit., III, 716. Schreiber, op. cit., p. 124.

<sup>235</sup>Cabrol, op. cit., p. 362. Kellner, op. cit., p. 298.

<sup>236</sup>Alt, op. cit., p. 89. Baring-Gould, op. cit., XII, 673.

<sup>237</sup>Horn, op. cit., p. 206.

Why the twenty-eighth of October was selected for commemoration is unknown. Both apostles were supposedly martyred on the first of July. The feast made its way into the calendar through the sacramentaries of the ninth century.<sup>238</sup>

In accord with the vague information available, the propers for the commemoration are vague.<sup>239</sup> The Introit, Collect, and Gradual are the common propers for apostles. Both the Epistle (1 Peter 1:3-9) and the Gospel (John 15:17-21) speak of persecution and can be interpreted as a forewarning to strengthen faith.

#### All Saints' Day

A feast in honor of all the martyrs of God has been known from an early date in the Church. How the commemoration evolved into the November first date in honor of all the saints is still a problem. St. Ephraem who died in 373 A. D. mentions a feast kept in honor of "the martyrs of all the earth." The date was apparently fixed on the thirteenth of May. This may have been the reason for choosing the thirteenth of May for the dedication of the

---

<sup>238</sup>Clarke, op. cit., p. 233. Frere, op. cit., p. 135. Shepherd, op. cit., p. 254.

<sup>239</sup>The Lutheran Liturgy, p. 207. The Lutheran Lectionary, pp. 246-247.

Pantheon in Rome to St. Mary and All the Martyrs in  
609 A. D.<sup>240</sup>

A feast in honor of all martyrs can be traced through several stages. Emperor Phocas gave the Pantheon to Boniface IV who dedicated it to All Martyrs in 609 A. D.<sup>241</sup> Under Gregory III, in the eighth century, an oratory was dedicated to "All Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, and All at Rest."<sup>242</sup> During the ninth century the date in honor of All Saints was changed to the first of November.<sup>243</sup>

A number of arguments and counter-arguments have been advanced as to the reason for the change from the thirteenth of May to the first of November. One theory is that the day was so popular that pilgrims flocked into the city of Rome. In spring the food supply was low. In order to alleviate the situation the date was changed to November since food was more plentiful at that season.<sup>244</sup> Shepherd believes that the November festival was actually an Irish invention that spread to England, to the continent, and finally to

---

<sup>240</sup>Butler, op. cit., IV, 234.

<sup>241</sup>Löhe, op. cit., p. 192. Procter, op. cit., p. 326.

<sup>242</sup>Alt, op. cit., p. 79. Clarke, op. cit., p. 234.

<sup>243</sup>Butler, op. cit., IV, 234. Cabrol, op. cit., p. 357. Frere, op. cit., pp. 136-138. Kellner, op. cit., pp. 324, 325. Shepherd, op. cit., p. 256.

<sup>244</sup>Kellner, op. cit., p. 325.

Rome.<sup>245</sup> Some evidence seems to point to the fact that the November feast may have been kept in England a century before it was generally adopted.<sup>246</sup> Emperor Louis the Pious, with the consent of all the bishops of Gaul and Germany, introduced the feast in the empire in 835 A. D.<sup>247</sup>

During the Middle Ages All Saints was extremely popular in England, France, Ireland, and Germany. It was retained in a number of Lutheran Kirchenordnungen of the sixteenth century. However, the celebration of the Reformation has generally over-shadowed the ancient and ecumenical feast of the Church.<sup>248</sup>

In this festival the Church is mindful not only of those saints celebrated during the year, but also of the many others who have no feast in their honor. It is a day when all the faithful departed are remembered. The propers for All Saints' Day are strong in thanksgiving to God for the mercy shown all His saints.<sup>249</sup> The propers are also an exhortation to imitate the faith and life of God's saints. The Gospel (Matthew 5:1-12), recording the Beatitudes, and

---

<sup>245</sup>Shepherd, op. cit., p. 256.

<sup>246</sup>Frere, op. cit., p. 138.

<sup>247</sup>Kellner, op. cit., p. 325.

<sup>248</sup>Horn, op. cit., pp. 208-210.

<sup>249</sup>The Lutheran Liturgy, p. 208. The Lutheran Lectionary, pp. 247-250.



the Collect lead to the honor of imitation. "Grant us grace so to follow Thy blessed saints in all virtuous and godly living." The Introit, Epistle (Revelation 7:2-17), and the Gradual are a cry of thanksgiving.

#### Summary of the Propers

In only a few instances such as the Nativity of St. John the Baptist and St. Peter and St. Paul the Apostles' Day do all three honors of the saints advocated in the Confessions come out clearly. In other commemorations such as St. John the Evangelist's Day, St. Mark the Evangelist's Day, and St. Bartholomew the Apostle's Day they are completely absent. Reed points out that many of the propers are from pre-Reformation sources and were certainly not composed with the Confessions' triple honor of the saints in mind.<sup>250</sup> In spite of this, the propers, considered as a whole, are in harmony with the theology of the Lutheran Church on the matter of saints and their honor.

---

<sup>250</sup>Reed, op. cit., pp. 493-511.

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSION

It has been pointed out in the historical survey that the saints' days of The Lutheran Liturgy are quite old. The youngest, Visitation, is about 569 years old while many of the others date back to the fourth and fifth centuries. From the historical survey it is evident that saints' days do have a place in the calendar of The Lutheran Liturgy.

The propers of the saints' days are in harmony with the official attitude of the Lutheran Church respecting the honor of the saints as expressed in the Apology of the Augsburg Confession. The propers of the saints' days included the threefold honor of thanksgiving, strengthening of faith, and imitation of faith and other virtues. Theologically they are well within the scope of the worship of the Church.

It is only the present day non-use of the saints' days that argues against them. Even here the complete disregard of the saints' days is a rather modern innovation in the Lutheran Church. It would appear that instead of being an argument against them, it is an argument in favor of keeping and celebrating the saints' days. Any major revision of the calendar that might affect Lutherans in the United States for a long time to come should be tempered by sound

historical judgment. The recent non-celebration of the saints' days by the Lutheran Church must be viewed against the centuries that the saints' were regularly commemorated by the Church.

The present investigation seeks only to show that the saints' days on the calendar of The Lutheran Liturgy are historically warranted, in keeping with the theology of the Lutheran Church, and have been used by the Church with profit for centuries.

The entire matter of the calendar, especially the saints' days and festivals, needs much further study. The calendar as now constituted gives the impression that after the apostolic age nothing of importance happened till October 31, 1517. There is nothing to remind Christians of those who lived the faith and often died for it during the fifteen centuries before the Reformation and the four thereafter. Might not such men as St. Lawrence, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Martin, and St. Francis be added to the calendar of the Lutheran Church? What of men such as Luther, Gerhardt, Mühlenberg, and Walther? Should the title "saint" be restricted only to those in Scripture or to those who are so certified by the Roman Curia?

The lives of the saints continually remind Christians of the great host of witnesses who have gone before. They stand as a continual reminder of the existence of the Body of Christ, and of the fact that the Church is one, holy, catholic, and apostolic.

## TABLE

SAINTS' DAYS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY  
KIRCHENORDNUNGEN

The Arabic numeral indicates the number of Kirchen-  
ordnungen that retained the commemoration.

St. Andrew . . . . .	20
St. Thomas . . . . .	20
St. Stephen . . . . .	29
St. John the Evangelist . . . . .	27
Holy Innocents . . . . .	5
Conversion of St. Paul . . . . .	38
Purification . . . . .	100
St. Matthias . . . . .	20
Annunciation . . . . .	94
St. Merk . . . . .	3
St. Philip and St. James . . . . .	20
Nativity of St. John the Baptist . . . . .	91
St. Peter and St. Paul . . . . .	27
Visitation . . . . .	89
St. Mary Magdalene . . . . .	62
St. James the Elder . . . . .	26
St. Bartholomew . . . . .	20
St. Matthew . . . . .	20
St. Michael . . . . .	86
St. Luke . . . . .	3
St. Simon and St. Jude . . . . .	24
All Saints . . . . .	18
All the Apostles' Days . . . . .	62

The following comemorations, not found in the calendar  
of The Lutheran Liturgy, were also retained.

Assumption of Mary . . . . .	14
Beheading of St. John the Baptist . . . . .	22
St. Catherine . . . . .	6
Conception of Mary . . . . .	1
St. Gregory . . . . .	2
St. Lawrence . . . . .	22
St. Martin of Tours . . . . .	7
Martyrs . . . . .	1
Nativity of Mary . . . . .	11
St. Peter's Chains . . . . .	2

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abbetmeyer, C. Daily Prayers. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1916.
- The Abridged Treasury of Prayers. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1906 and 1956.
- Achterfeldt, J. H. Lehrbuch der Christkatholischen und Sittenlehre. Braunsberg: n.p., 1825.
- Adams, Caroline. The Prayer Book Pattern. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957.
- A. G. "Public Worship in the Lutheran Church," Lutheran Quarterly, I (April, 1897), 161-187.
- Agende. Herausgegeben von der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Wisconsin und anderen Staaten. Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 1896.
- Agende der Allgemeinen, Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Ohio und andern Staaten. Columbus: Schulze und Gassmann, 1870.
- Alexander, Charles. The Church's Year. London: Oxford University Press, 1950.
- Alt, Heinrich. Das Kirchenjahr des christlichen Morgen- und Abendlandes. Vol. II of Der christliche Cultus. Berlin: G. W. F. Müller, 1860.
- Alter Book. Authorized by the United Norwegian Lutheran Church of America. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, c.1952.
- Altenburgisches Gesang- und Gebetbuch. Altenburg: Herzogl. Sächs. Hofbuchdruckerey, 1793.
- Amerikanischer Kalender für deutsche Lutheraner. St. Louis: Lutherischer Concordia Verlag, changed to Concordia Publishing House in 1891, 1875-1952.
- "Apology of the Augsburg Confession," Triglot Concordia: The Symbolical Books of the Ev. Lutheran Church. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1921. Pp. 97-451.
- Arndt, Johann. Postillia: oder Auszlegung und Erklärung der Evangelien. Lüneburg: Johann Stern, 1701.

- Asmussen, Hans. Die Lehre vom Gottesdienst. München: Kaiser Verlag, 1937.
- "Augsburg Confession," Triglot Concordia: The Symbolical Books of the Ev. Lutheran Church. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1921. Pp. 37-93.
- Baillet, Hadrian. Historische und kritische Abhandlung von der Geschichte der Maetyrer und Heiligen. Leipzig: Johann Christian Kappe, 1753.
- Baring-Gould, Sabine. The Lives of the Saints. 16 vols. Edinburgh: John Grant, 1914.
- Bauer, Walter E. In Thy Light. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1944.
- Behnken, J. W. Mercies Manifold. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1950.
- Behnken, J. H. Noonday Sermons. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1925.
- Bingham, Joseph. Origines Ecclesiasticae--The Antiquities of the Christian Church. Vol. VII. London: William Straker, 1844.
- The Book of Saints. Compiled by the Benedictine Monks of St. Augustine's Abbey, Ramsgate. 4th revised edition. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944.
- Book of Worship. By order of the General Synod. Columbia, South Carolina: Duffie and Chapman, 1867.
- Bouyer, Louis. Liturgical Piety. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, c.1955.
- Brastberger, Immanuel Gottlob. Evangelische Zeugnisse der Wahrheit zur Aufmunterung in wahren Christentum. Edited by W. H. T. Dau. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1912.
- Brillioth, Yngve. Eucharistic Faith and Practice Evangelical and Catholic. Translated from the Swedish by A. G. Herbert. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1930.
- Buchheimer, L. Faith and Duty. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1913.
- From Advent to Advent. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1924.

- Things New and Old. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1931.
- Bugenhagen, Johann. "Kirchenordnung für Pommern von 1535." Vol. IV in Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI Jahrhunderts. Edited by Emil Sehling. Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1911. Pp. 328-344.
- Butler, Alban. Lives of the Saints. 4 vols. Edited and revised by Herbert Thurston and Donald Attwater. London: Burns Oates, 1956.
- Cabrol, Fernand. The Year's Liturgy. II. London: Burns Oates and Washbourne Limited, 1940.
- Chrysologus, Peter. "Sermon CXXIX," Patrologiae: Patrum Latinorum. LII. Edited by J. P. Migne. Paris: n.p., 1894. Col. 55.
- "Church Agenda of 1748," Documentary History of the Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States. Philadelphia: Board of Publication of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, 1898.
- Church Book for the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Congregations. Authorized by the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America. Philadelphia: Lutheran Book Store, c.1868, 1893.
- Church Service Book and Ministerial Acts. Authorized by the Augustana Evangelical Lutheran Church. Rock Island: Augustana Book Concern, 1928, 1951.
- Clarke, W. K. Lowther. "The Calendar," Liturgy and Worship. Edited by W. K. Lowther Clarke. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1932.
- Coates, Thomas. The Chapel Hour. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1955.
- Common Service Book. By order of the General Synod, the General Council, and the United Synod of the South. Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1917.
- Common Service Book of the Lutheran Church. Authorized by the United Lutheran Church in America. Philadelphia: Board of Publication of the United Lutheran Church in America, 1930.
- Concordia Pulpit. Vols. I-XXVIII. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1931-1958.

Concordia Theological Monthly. Vols. I-XXVIII. St. Louis:  
Concordia Publishing House, 1930-1957.

"Constitutions of the Holy Apostles." Translated by James  
Donaldson. Vol. VII of The Ante-Nicene Fathers.  
Edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson.  
American reprint of the Edinburgh edition. New York:  
The Christian Literature Company, 1896. Pp. 391-505.

Corpus Reformatorum. VII. Halle: C. R. Schwetschke et  
Fellum, 1840.

Corvinus, Anton. Auslegung der Evangelien so auf die  
Sonntage und vornehmsten Fest durch das ganze Jahr.  
Edited by A. L. Gräbner. St. Louis: Concordia Pub-  
lishing House, 1899.

Cullmann, Oscar. Peter: Disciple--Apostle--Martyr. Trans-  
lated from the German by Floyd V. Filson. Phila-  
delphia: The Westminster Press, 1953.

Cyprian. "Letter XXXVII," Patrologiae: Patrum Latinorum.  
IV. Edited by J. P. Migne. Paris: n.p., 1891. Col.  
337.

Daily Devotions. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House,  
1937-1947.

Dilherrn, Johann Michael. Augen und Herzens-Luft. Nürnberg:  
Johann Andreas, 1661.

-----, Heilig-Epistolischer Bericht, Licht, Beleit und  
Freud. Nürnberg: Johann Andreas, 1663.

Dix, Gregory. The Shape of the Liturgy. Westminster:  
Dacre Press, 1945.

Dreszdnische Gesang-Buch. Dresden und Leipzig: Friedrich  
Hekeln, 1744.

Duchesne, L. Christian Worship Its Origin and Evolution.  
Translated from the French by M. L. McClure. 5th  
revised edition. London: Society for Promoting Chris-  
tian Knowledge, 1931.

-----, editor. Liber Pontificalis. I. Paris: E. De Boccard,  
1955.

Echt evangelische Auslegung der Sonn- und Festtags-Evangelien  
des Kirchenjahrs. 7 vols. St. Louis: Druckerei der  
Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten, 1872.



"Einer Beständigen und Gläubigen Liebhaberin Jesu Christi  
Ihres Heylan des Zusammen geschriebne Sonn und Festtäg  
Liche Gebete." Handwritten book, 1679.

Eisenhofer, Ludwig. Grundriss der Liturgik des Römischen  
Ritus. 5th edition. Freiburg: Verlag Herder, 1950.

Eissfeldt, Carl F. Gelenheitspredigten. St. Louis: Con-  
cordia Publishing House, c.1932.

Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung zum Gottesdienstlichen Gebrauch  
in den Vereinigten Evangelisch Lutherischen Gemeinden  
in Nord-America. Germantown: Leibert und Billmeyer,  
1786.

Eusebius, "Church History." Vol. I in The Nicene and Post  
Nicene Fathers. Edited by Philip Schaff and Henry  
Wace. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing  
Company, 1952. Pp. 81-387.

Evangelical Lutheran Homiletic Magazine. Vols. I-X. St.  
Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1903-1912.

Evangelical Lutheran Hymn Book. By order of the General  
English Lutheran Conference of Missouri and other  
States. Baltimore: Harry Lang, 1889.

Evangelical Lutheran Hymn Book. By authorization of the  
Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, and other  
States. Chicago: American Lutheran Publication Board,  
1895.

Evangelical Lutheran Hymn Book. St. Louis: Concordia Pub-  
lishing House, 1912, 1924, 1927, 1928, 1931.

Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI Jahrhunderts.  
Founded by Emil Sehling. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr,  
Paul Siebeck, 1955.

Evangelisch-Lutherischer Gebets-Schatz. St. Louis: M. C.  
Bartel, General-Agent der evang.-luth. Synode, 1884.

Evangelisch-Lutherisches Gesangbuch. Von der Evangelisch  
Lutherischen Synode von Wisconsin und anderen Staaten.  
Milwaukee: Verlag von Georg Brumder, 1872, 1903.

Evangelisch Lutherische Agende, auf grund der alten  
Pommerschen und Sächsischen Agenden. Von der  
Lutherischen Synode von Buffalo. Buffalo: Reinecke  
und Zesch, 1888.

Evangelisch-Lutherisches Perikopenbuch. Von der Deutschen ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio, und andern Staaten. St. Louis: M. C. Barthel, General Agenten der Synode, 1876.

Fortescue, Adrian. The Mass: A Study of the Roman Liturgy. London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1912.

Frere, Walter Howard. The Kalendar. Vol. I of Studies in Early Roman Liturgy. London: Oxford University Press, 1930.

Frost, Heinrich, editor. Lutherischer Calender. Baltimore: Evang. Luth. Buchhandlung, 1843.

Fürbringer, L., editor. Die evangelischen Perikopen des Kirchenjahres. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1908.

-----, editor. The Thomasius Gospel Selections. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1937.

Gebet-Buch. Altenburg: Johann Ludwig Richter, 1718.

Geiseman, O. A. God's Answer. 2 vols. New York: Ernst Kaufmann Inc., 1943 and 1945.

-----, Old Truths for a New Day. 2 vols. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1949.

-----, Where God Meets Man. 2 vols. New York: Ernst Kaufmann Inc., 1940 and 1941.

Geistliche Lieder für Schule und Kirche. Decorah, Iowa: Lutheran Publishing House, 1865 and 1879.

Das Gemeinschaftliche Gesangbuch zum gottesdienstlichen Gebrauch der Lutherischen und Reformirten Gemeinden in Nord America. Philadelphia: Mentz und Kovondt, 1846.

Gesangbuch. Chemnitz: n.p., 1712.

Gesangbuch für Gemeinden des Evangelisch Lutherischen Bekenntnisses. Von der Evangelisch Lutherischen Synode von Ohio und andern Staaten. Columbus: Lutherische Verhandlung, 1870, 1875, 1896.

Gibson, George M. The Story of the Christian Year. New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, c.1945.

- Graff, Paul. Geschichte der Auflösung der alten gottesdienstlichen Formen in der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands. 2 vols. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1937 and 1939.
- Gregory of Tours. "Liber de Gloria Confessorum," Patrologiae: Patrum Latinorum. LXXI. Edited by J. P. Migne. Paris: n.p., 1849. Col. 835.
- Gueranger. The Liturgical Year, Christmas. Book I. Translated from the French by Laurence Shepherd. Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1950.
- Haering, Otto. Living with the Church. Translated from the German by Rembert Bularzik. New York: Benziger Brothers Incorporated, c.1930.
- Hartenberger, J. H. Kasualpredigten. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1920.
- Plain Sermons. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1925.
- Unser Heiland. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1916.
- Zeugnisse der Wahrheit. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1930.
- Hemmeter, Henry B. Family Prayers. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1930.
- Henkel, Paul, editor. Church Hymn Book. By order of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Tenn. New Market: Solomon Henkel and Brothers, 1838, 1850.
- Herberger, Valerius. Evangelischen Hertz Postilla. Leipzig: Schürsichen, Gotzichen Erben und Johann Fritz, 1668.
- Evangelischen Hertz Postilla. Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Gleditsch, 1754.
- Herzberger, F. W. The Family Altar. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1920, 1922, 1947.
- Hesshusius, Tilemann. Postilla, das ist, Auslegung der sonntäglichen Evangelien. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1901.
- Heussi, Karl. Die römische Petrustradition in kritischer Sicht. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1955.

- Hoe, Matthias. Fest Postill. Leipzig: Abraham Lamberg, 1614.
- Hofmann, Carl Gottlob, editor. Das privilegierte Vollständige und verbesserte Leipziger Gesang-Buch. Leipzig: Sebastian Heinrich Barnbeck, 1735.
- , editor. Die in die Evangelischen Kirche gewöhnlichen Sonn und festtäglichen Episteln und Evangelia mit summarischen Betrachtungen. Leipzig: Sebastian Heinrich Barnbeck, 1770.
- Holweck, Frederick C. "Holy Innocents," Catholic Encyclopedia. VII. Edited by Charles G. Herbermann, et al. New York: Robert Appleton Company, c.1910. P. 419.
- Hondorff, Andrew. Calendarium Sanctorum et Historiarum. Frankfurt am Mayn: Nicholaum Basseum, 1587.
- Horn, Edward T., III. The Christian Year. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, c.1957.
- Huchthausen, Johannes. Tröstet mein Volk! St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1928.
- Hymnal and Order of Service. Authorized by the Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod. Rock Island: Augustana Book Concern, 1899, 1925.
- Hymns Original and Selected for Public and Private Worship in the Evangelical Lutheran Church. 5th edition. By direction of the General Synod. Philadelphia: Lutheran Board of Publication, 1850.
- Jacobs, H. E. The Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States. Vol. IV of the American Church History Series. New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1893.
- Jungmann, Joseph A. The Mass of the Roman Rite. I. Translated from the German by Francis A. Brunner. New York: Benziger Brothers Incorporated, c.1951.
- Kellner, Heinrich. Heortology: A History of the Christian Festivals from their Origin to the Present Day. Translated from the German by a priest of the Diocese of Westminster. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Company, Limited, 1908.
- Ketley, Joseph, editor. The Two Liturgies, A. D. 1549 and A. D. 1552. Cambridge: The University Press, 1844.

Keyl, F. G. W., editor. Predigt-Entwürfe über die Sonn- und Festtags Evangelien aus D. Luthers Predigten und Auslegungen. St. Louis: Lutherischer Concordia Verlag, 1866.

Kirchen-Agenda Baden. Karls-Ruhe: In der Schmiederischen Buchhandlung, 1775.

Kirchen-Agenda für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden un-  
geänderter Augsburgischer Confessions. Aus den alten rechtgläubigen Saechsischen Kirchenagenden. Authorized by der Allgemeinen deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten. St. Louis: Druckerei der deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten, changed to Luth. Concordia Verlag in 1888, changed to Concordia Publishing House in 1891, 1856, 1866, 1876, 1880, 1890, 1896, 1902.

Kirchenagende für Ev.-Luth. Gemeinden zusammengestellt aus alten rechtgläubigen Kirchenagenden. Von Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1922.

Kirchenbuch für den evangelischen Gottesdienst der Königlich Sachsischen Lande. Dresden: Königlichen Hofbuchdruckerey, 1812.

Kirchenbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden. By order of the General Council. Philadelphia: F. W. Weiskotten, 1877, 1911.

Kirchen-Gebet-Buch. Chemnitz: Johann Dav. Stroszel, 1775.

Kirchen-Gesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden un-  
geänderter Augsburgischer Confessions. St. Louis: Verlag der deutschen evan. luth. Gemeinde u. A. C., changed to Druckerei der deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten, changed to Luth. Concordia Verlag in 1888, changed to Concordia Publishing House in 1891, 1847, 1853, 1857, 1862, 1865, 1876, 1880, 1881, 1884, 1885, 1888, 1889, 1892, 1895, 1898, 1899, 1903, 1955.

Kirchen-Ordnung. Weimar: E. Witben, 1664.

Klein, H. A. Sermons for the Home. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1932.

Kleiner, Gottfried. Evangelische Prediger-Hirten Stime: Evangelia auf alle Sonn- Fest- und Feyer-Tage des ganzen Jahres. Hirschberg: Immanuel Krahn, 1746.

- Prediger-Hirten Stime: Episteln auf alle Sonn- Fest- und Feyer-Tages des ganzen Jahres. Hirschberg: Immanuel Krahn, 1743.
- Kliefoth, Theodore. Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienst-Ordnung in den deutschen Kirchen lutherischen Bekenntnisses, ihre Destruction und Reformation. Vol. VII in Liturgische Abhandlungen. Schwerin: Verlag der Stiller'schen Hof-Buchhandlung, 1861.
- Koenker, Ernest Benjamin. The Liturgical Renaissance in the Roman Catholic Church. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, c.1954.
- Kramer, W. A., editor. Teen-Agers Pray. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1955.
- Kramer, William. Devotions for Lutheran Schools. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1934.
- Kramer, William A. Devotions for Lutheran Schools. Revised edition. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1946.
- Kressel, Hans. Wilhelm Löhe als Liturg und Liturgiker. Neuendettelsau: Freimund Verlag, 1952.
- Kunze, Gehard. "Die gottesdienstliche Zeit," Leiturgia. I. Kassel: Johannes Stauda Verlag, 1954.
- Lankenau, F. J. Occasional Addresses. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1941.
- Lietzmann, Hans. Petrus und Paulus in Rom. Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Weber's Verlag, 1915.
- "The Life and Passion of Cyprian, Bishop and Martyr." Translated by Ernest Wallis. Vol. V in The Ante-Nicene Fathers. Edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. American reprint of the Edinburgh edition. New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1896. Pp. 267-274.
- Lindemann, Fred H. The Sermon and the Propers. 2 vols. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1958.
- Lindemann, Paul. Festival Days. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, c.1945.
- Link, Geo., editor. Luthers Tägliche Hausandacht auf alle Tage des Kirchenjahres. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1892.

Liturgie oder Kirchen-Agende der evangelische-lutherischen Gemeinden in Pennsylvanien. Lebanon: Heinrich Diezel, 1838, 1841.

Liturgie und Agende. Pennsylvania Ministerium. New York: Heinrich Ludwig, 1855, 1857.

Liturgie und Agende: Ein Kirchenbuch für die Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche. By order of the Pennsylvania Ministerium, the New York Ministerium, and the Ohio Ministerium. New York: Heinrich Ludwig, 1855, 1857.

Liturgie und Kirchenagende für die Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeinden in Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio. Philadelphia: Julius Bötticher, 1842.

Liturgy and Agenda. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1921.

Liturgy for the Use of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. Published by order of the General Synod. Baltimore: Publication Rooms of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, 1847.

Liturgy for use of Evangelical Lutheran Churches. By order of New York State Ministerium. New York: Henry Ludwig, 1859.

The Liturgy of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. By order of the General Synod. Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1881.

Liturgy or Formulary for use of Evangelical Lutheran Churches. Authorized by Synod of Ohio. Lancaster, Ohio: John Herman, 1830.

Lochner, William. The Good Shepherd: A Book of Devotion for the Christian Home. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1929.

Löhe, Wilhelm. Agende für christliche Gemeinden des lutherischen Bekenntnisses. Nördlingen: Druck und Verlag der C. H. Beck'schen Buchhandlung, 1844, 1853.

----- Haus- Schul- und Kirchenbuch. Stuttgart: Verlag von C. K. Liesching, 1859.

----- Martyrologium. 2nd edition. Gütersloh: Druck und Verlag von C. Bertelsmann, 1913.

Lossius, Lucas, editor. Psalmodia hoc est Cantica sacra verteris Ecclesiae. Wittenberg: Zacharias Lehman, 1594.

Luther, Martin. "Concerning the Ordering of Divine Worship in the Congregation, 1523." Translated from the German by P. Z. Strodach. Vol. VI of The Works of Martin Luther. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, c.1923. Pp. 60-64.

----- Die Haus-Postille. Vol. XIII in Sämmtliche Schriften. Edited by Johann Georg Walch. St. Louis: Lutherischer Concordia Verlag, 1883.

----- "Festpostille." Vol. XVII of D. Martin Luthers Werke. Weimar: Herman Böhlhaus Nachfolger, 1927. Pp. 251-516.

----- "Formula of Mass and Communion for the Church at Wittenberg." Translated from the German by P. Z. Strodach. Vol. VI of The Works of Martin Luther. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, c.1923. Pp. 83-101.

----- Kirchen Postille. Leipzig: Thomas Fritschen, 1710.

----- "Predigten des Jahres 1529." Vol. XXIX of D. Martin Luthers Werke. Weimar: Hermann Böhlhaus Nachfolger, 1904. Pp. 1-691.

----- "The German Mass and Order of Service." Translated from the German by A. Steimle. Vol. VI of The Works of Martin Luther. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, c.1923. Pp. 170-186.

The Lutheran Annual. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1910-1958.

Lutheran Book of Prayer. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1941.

Lutheran Hymnal, The. Authorized by the Synods Constituting the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, [1941].

Lutheran Hymnary, The. Authorized by the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Synod, Hauge's Evangelical Lutheran Synod, United Norwegian Lutheran Church of America. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1920, 1935.

Lutheran Lectionary, The. Authorized by the Synods Constituting The Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, [1949].



Lutheran Liturgy, The. Authorized by the Synods Constituting the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, [1948].

Der Lutherische Calendar. (Known as Der Lutherische Kalendar from 1855.) Allentown, Pennsylvania: C. K. Brobst and Company, 1853-1885.

Magazin für Ev.-luth. Homiletik. Vols. I-LIIII. St. Louis: Druckerei der Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten, changed to Luth. Concordia Verlag in 1888, changed to Concordia Publishing House in 1891, 1877-1929.

Majer, Walter A. America Turn to Christ. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1944.

----- Christ for Every Crisis. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1935.

----- Christ for the Nation. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1936.

----- Christ, Set the World Aright! St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1945.

----- Courage in Christ. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1941.

----- For Christ and Country. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1942.

----- Fourth Lutheran Hour. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1937.

----- Global Broadcasts of His Grace. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1949.

----- Go Quickly and Tell. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1950.

----- He Will Abundantly Pardon. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1948.

----- Jesus Christ our Hope. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1946.

----- Let Us Return Unto the Lord. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1947.

----- One Thousand Radio Voices for Christ. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1950.

- . Peace Through Christ. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1940.
- . Rebuilding With Christ. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1946.
- . The Airwaves Proclaim Christ. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1948.
- . The Cross from Coast to Coast. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1938.
- . The Lutheran Hour. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1931.
- . The Radio for Christ. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1939.
- . Victory through Christ. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1943.
- "Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas." Translated by R. E. Wallis. Vol. III of The Ante-Nicene Fathers. Edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. American reprint of the Edinburgh edition. New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1896. Pp. 699-706.
- "Martyrdom of Polycarp." Vol. I in The Ante-Nicene Fathers. Edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. American reprint of the Edinburgh edition. New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1896. Pp. 39-44.
- Mayer, F. E. The Religious Bodies of America. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1954.
- McArthur, A. Alan. The Evolution of the Christian Year. Greenwich, Connecticut: The Seabury Press, c.1953.
- Meditations from Portals of Prayer. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1957.
- Melanchthon, Philip. Postilla. Vols. XXIV and XXV of Corpus Reformatorum. Brunsvigae: C. A. Schwetschke et Felium, 1856.
- Monks, James L. Great Catholic Festivals. New York: Henry Schuman, c.1951.
- Mühlenberg, Henry Melchior. Journals. I. Translated from the German by Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1942.

- Müllern, Heinrich. Evangelische Schluss-Kette und Kraft-Kern. Frankfort am Mayn: Balthasar Christoph Wusten, 1698.
- Musaeus, Simon. Postilla: Das ist Auszlegung des Evangelien von den Fürnemsten Festen. Frankfort am Mayn: Nicolaum Besseum, 1574.
- Neu Vollständiges Marggräf. Brandenburg. Gesang-Buch. Nürnberg: Joachim Balthasar Endrer, 1706.
- Neues Gemeinschaftliches Gesangbuch zum gottesdienstlichen Gebrauch der Lutherischen und Reformirten Gemeinden in Nord Amerika mit einem Anhang. New York: Verlag von Wilhelm Radde, 1849.
- Neuestes Gemeinschaftliches Gesangbuch zum gottesdienstlichen Gebrauch der Lutherischen und Reformirten Gemeinden in Nord America. New York: Koch Company, 1850, 1863.
- Nicander, Paul. Auszlegung der Episteln. Leipzig: Abraham Lambergs, 1602.
- Obermeier, Arnold. What Shall I Say? St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1954.
- Oldsen, Armin C. A Message from God. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1953.
- O'Shea, William J. The Worship of the Church. Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, c.1957.
- Parsch, Pius. Das Jahr des Heiles. I Band Weihnachtsteil, 14. edition. Klosterneuburg: Verlag Volksliturgisches Apostolat, 1952.
- Das Jahr des Heiles. III Band Nachpfingsteil, 14. edition. Klosterneuburg: Verlag Volksliturgisches Apostolat, 1953.
- Parsons, Edward Lambe and Bayard Hale Jones. The American Prayer Book. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1955.
- Pasche, F. E. Daily Bread or Home Devotions. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1926.
- Pauli, Simon. Postilla. Das ist Auszlegung der Episteln und Evangelien an Sonntagen und fürnemsten Festen. Frankfort am Mayn: Peter Schmidt, 1577.

- Percival, Henry R., editor. The Seven Ecumenical Councils. Vol. XIV of The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. Under the editorial supervision of Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1956.
- Pfotenhauer, F. Predigten. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1938.
- Pieper, R. Predigten über Alttestamentliche Texte. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1915.
- Piepkorn, Arthur Carl. "Anglo-Lutheran Relations during the Reign of Edward VI," Concordia Theological Monthly, VI (September, 1935), 670-686.
- Polack, W. G. Beside Still Waters. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1950.
- Portals of Prayer. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1948-1957.
- Procter, Francis. A New History of the Book of Common Prayer. Revised by Walter Howard Frere. London: Macmillan Company Limited, 1905.
- Reed, Luther D. The Lutheran Liturgy. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, c.1947.
- "Register über sämtliche Predigten." Vol. XXII of D. Martin Luthers Werke. Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1929. Pp. XLI-LXXXIX.
- Ressel, Delvin E. "The Minor Festivals of the Church Year," The Lutheran Chaplain, XII (December, 1951) through XIII (December, 1952).
- Ressmeyer, Rudolph S. Headline News. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1949.
- Richter, Aemilius Ludwig. Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts. 2 vols. Weimar: Verlag des Landes-Industrie-comptoirs, 1846.
- Rietschel, Georg. Lehrbuch der Liturgik. I. Revised by Paul Graff. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1951.
- Roth, Erich. Die Geschichte des Gottesdienstes der Siebenbürger Sachsen. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, c.1954.

- Sammlung auserlesener geistreicher Lieder zu sonderbarem Gebrauch der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeinen in Grasz-Pohlen. 1750.
- Schlüsselburg, Conrad. Postilla: Das ist Auszlegung der Episteln und Evangelien. Frankfurt: Johann Saur, 1604.
- Schmid, F. Xaver. Kultus der christkatholischen Kirche. II Band. Passau: Druck und Verlag von Ambrosius Ambrosi, 1841.
- Schmidt, C. C. Erkenntnis des Heils. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1920.
- Glaube und Liebe. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1911.
- Katechismuspredigten. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1905.
- Weg des Lebens. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1915.
- Schreiber, Otto L. The Lives of the Twelve Apostles of Jesus the Christ. Philadelphia: General Council Publication House, 1912.
- Sehling, Emil, editor. Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI Jahrhunderts. 5 vols. Leipzig; O. R. Reiland, 1902, 1904, 1909, 1911, 1913.
- Sermonic Studies. I. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1957.
- Shepherd, Massey Hamilton. The Oxford American Prayer Book Commentary. New York: Oxford University Press, c.1950.
- The Worship of the Church. Greenwich, Connecticut: Seabury Press, c.1952.
- Sieck, Henry. Sermons on the Epistles of the Ecclesiastical Year. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1912.
- Sermons on the Gospels of the Ecclesiastical Year. 2 vols. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1902 and 1904.
- Sihler, W. Predigten über die Sonn und Festtags Evangelien des Kirchenjahres. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1893.

- Zeit und Gelegenheits Predigten. St. Louis: Druckerei des Luther. Concordia Verlag, 1883.
- Spangenberg, Johan, editor. Cantiones Ecclesiasticae. Magdeburg: Michael Lotther, 1545.
- Spaude, Paul W. The Lutheran Church under American Influence. Burlington, Iowa: The Lutheran Literary Board, c.1943.
- Stark, Johann Friedrich. Tägliches Handbuch. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1902.
- Stark's Prayer Book. Translated from the German by W. H. T. Dau. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1921.
- Steinmetz, Johann Adam. Neu-eingerichtetes Kirchen- und Haus Gesang-Buch. Magdeburg: Michael Jacob Behlen und Gabriel Gotthilf Fabern, 1760.
- Stephen, Martin. Der Christliche Glaube in einem vollständigen Jahrganze Predigten. Dresden: Königlich Hofbuchdruckerei, 1826.
- Strauss, Friedrich. Das evangelische Kirchenjahr in seinem Zusammenhange. Berlin: Jonas Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1850.
- Strodach, Paul Zeller. A Manual on Worship. Revised edition. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, c.1946.
- Tertullian. "The Chaplet." Translated by S. Thelwall. Vol. III of The Ante-Nicene Fathers. Edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. American reprint of the Edinburgh edition. New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1896. Pp. 93-103.
- Trethowan, Illyd. Christ in the Liturgy. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1952.
- Vesper Sermons. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1919.
- Villeneuve, Rodrigue. An Introduction to the Liturgical Year. Translated from the French by J. A. Otto Eisenzimmer. New York: Frederick Pustet Company, c.1946.
- Vollständiges Kirchen-Buch. Leipzig: Gottfried Richter, 1681.

- Vollständiges Marburger Gesang-Buch. Germantown: Christoph Saur, 1764.
- Walther, C. F. W. Amerikanisch-Lutherische Evangelien Postille. St. Louis: Lutherischer Concordia Verlag, 1870.
- Amerikanisch-Lutherische Epistel Postille. St. Louis: Lutherischer Concordia Verlag, 1882.
- Das walte Gott! Edited by August Crull. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1893.
- Festklänge: Predigten über Festtexte des Kirchenjahrs. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1892.
- Gnadenjahr. St. Louis: Lutherischer Concordia Verlag, 1890.
- Licht des Lebens. Edited by C. O. Hanser. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1905.
- Lutherische Brosamen. St. Louis: M. C. Bartel, General-Agent der deutschen evang.-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten, 1876.
- Predigtentwürfe. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1891.
- Warren, F. E. The Liturgy and Ritual of the Ante-Nicene Church. Second revised edition. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, n.d.
- Wessel, Louis. Festival and Occasional Sermons. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1922.
- Sermons and Addresses on Fundamentals. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1921.
- Witembergisches Kirchen-Buch. Stuttgart: Christoph Friederich Cotta, 1765.
- Wörner, Johann. Postill: Kurtze Auslegung über die Evangelien so man pflegt zu lesen an den Sontagen und der Heyligen Fest. 1586.
- Zorn, Carl M. Brosamlein: Kurze Andachten für alle Tage des Jahres. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1909.
- Crumbs: Short Devotions for Every Day of the Year. Translated by H. M. Zorn. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1914.