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AN HISTORICAL SURVEY OF
LITURGICAL VESTMENTS FOR CLERGY AND SANCTUARY
WITH FINAL REFERENCE TO GOOD LUTHERAN USAGE

A Thesis Presented To
The Faculty of Concordia Seminary
Department of Practical Theology

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Sacred Theology

by

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May 1947

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AN HISTORICAL SURVEY OF
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Introduction.....1-7

Present liturgical trends in the Protestant World.....	1
Vestments in relation to one another; limi- tation of thesis.....	2
Recent adoptions or adaptations.....	4
The attitude of our Lord and the Disciples over against ritualistic Temple Worship.....	5
Four stages in the evolution of vestments.....	6-
Earliest vestments, a continuation of daily apparel.....	7

Section I

Part I : Enumeration and Study of the Historic
Vestments of the Clergy.....7-24

The ALB.....8-12

Origin and name; New Testament references;
alteration during Middle Ages.....8

Sketch showing an early Christian at
prayer.....9

Most ancient references.....10

Sketch showing Greek priest, muffled in
the Phelonion.....11

Use of apparels on the Alb.....12

The CHASUBLE.....12-15

Various designations; illustration of the
different styles of the chasuble.....12

Ancient form; orphrey of chasuble; measure-
ments.....13

"Paenula Nobilissima" illustrated.....14

Date of discontinuance as garb of laity.....15

Evolution of vestment from year 1000.....15-

The CINCTURE.....	16-17
Other names; the cincture defined.....	16
Types of cinctures; proper usage.....	17
The AMICE.....	17
Five different names; description; utilitarian purpose; proper usage.	
The MANIPLE.....	18
The Eight other designations; utilitarian purpose; present purpose; measurement	
The STOLE.....	18-21
Various suggested derivations; use in Eastern and Western churches.....	18
Ancient orarium; reference of Chrysostom; illustration.....	19
Two types of stole; proper measurements; origin of "the bands.".....	20
Present usage; comparison with tippet.....	21
The SURPLICE.....	21-22
Genesis; illustration of surplice.....	21
Proper measurements; usage.....	22
The CASSOCK.....	23
Evolution of cappa clausa; description; Greek and Roman style; proper usage.	
Illustration of Celebrant Wearing the Historic Vestments.....	24
Sacristy Prayers (to be said while vesting).....	25
Part II : The Attitude and Practice of Luther and His Co-Workers in the Matter of the Historic Vestments.....	33
<small>(Luther)</small>	
Luther as liturgist.....	26
The "essential" of Luther's Reformation....	27

Reference to vestments in Luther's letters.....	27
Usage at Wittenberg; Zwingli's attitude.....	29
Luther's rebuff to Carlstadt.....	30
Practice of Evangelical Party as gleaned from the old Church Orders....	31
Luther's use of the cowl and "Doktor-gewand"; his practice at the Communion Office.....	32
Conclusions.....	33-

Part III : Loss of the Historic Vestments to a Part of the Lutheran Church.....34-36-

Edict of Frederick Wilhelm I; Rationalistic and Pietistic Influence; Results.

Part IV : Good Lutheran Usage in the Matter of Clerical Vestments.....37-40

Predominating use in America.....	37
Black robe, a liturgical stranger; the test of vestments.....	37
Reasons for allowing use of black robe....	38
The "why" of a recommended return to the use of Historic Vestments.....	39-40*

Section II

The Vestments for the Sanctuary

Part I : General Discussion.....41-42

Enumeration of the Altar Cloths and Communion Linens; the meager information from early Christian centuries; Canons of the Anglican and Roman churches

Part II : The Altar Cloths.....42-50

The Cerecloth and Frontal.....	43
Frontal illustrated; orphries.....	44
Liturgical Colors.....	45
"Mystic Colors of the Law".....	46
Comparative Table of Liturgical Colors....	47
Colors of Vestments worn by Priesthood of the Old Testament.....	48
The Fair Linen.....	49
The Pulpit-Fall and Book-markers.....	50
The Funeral Pall.....	51

Part III : The Communion Linens.....52-57

The Corporal; Illustration (corporal, purificator, pall).....	52
The Pall.....	53
The Purificator; the Communion Veil.....	54-55
The Burse; Concluding notes.....	56

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LITURGICAL VESTMENTS FOR CLERGY AND SANCTUARY
WITH FINAL REFERENCE TO GOOD LUTHERAN USAGE

Introduction

Throughout the last quarter century, in some areas even longer than that, a strong liturgical trend has manifested itself in almost all communions of the Protestant world. Churches, liturgical and non-liturgical alike, have given, and continue to give serious consideration to methods of worship¹, to the various forms, rituals, and ceremonies employed, to devotional literature and the devotional life, to customs and vestments, to all in brief which is embraced by the term, Liturgics.

In many cases the results of re-study and research have been fortunate: liturgical monstrosities have been discarded, the pure and noble, the historic and genuine has been regained, or, if already present, has been retained and appreciated all the more. Methodists and Presbyterians, for example, are no longer entirely content with the barren meeting-house type of church-building; nor are Southern Baptists and Disciples so sure that red-white-and-blue candles are entirely appropriate on an altar - even for July 4th.²

1. It is interesting to note that the word "worship" is derived from the old Anglo-Saxon, "worth-ship", and it indicates the value we attach to God and holy things.
2. The author actually observed this done in the Army by a Southern Baptist Chaplain. Later, on his return from the Orient, he visited a Lutheran church in Idaho and saw two red candles on the altar!

In other cases, unfortunately, the Liturgical trend has produced no improvement, but quite the opposite. Individuals and groups have been swept along by it, to be sure, but have adopted much that is questionable, if not thoroughly repugnant, because they were impressed with the novelty of the thing adopted, or because it was supposed to be an improvement. As a case in point we mention the imprimatur which a large Lutheran body in America recently placed upon the wearing of a colored stole over an academic robe or so-called Geneva gown, in violation both of liturgical principles and historic practice.¹ These references may serve to introduce the thesis. In the succeeding pages we shall set forth the results of

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Compared to the wide difference of opinion in the matter of proper vestments for Lutheran clergy, that which concerns acceptable paraments for altar, pulpit and lectern, together with the various Communion Linens, is almost negligible. As a natural result, clerical vestments will be treated first in this thesis and receive what at first may appear as being a disproportionate amount of discussion. It is not to be assumed, of course, that more importance is attached to clerical vestments than to others. The fact is that all vestments are of equal importance and value. No more worth can be attached to clerical vestments than to proper vesture in the sanctuary. As Roulin has remarked: "No single piece of ecclesiastical vesture is isolated, but has an intimate relation with other vestments...All have a definite part to play

1. Cf. THE LUTHERAN COMPANION, July 16, 1946
Also UNA SANCTA, Vol. 6, No. 6.
Likewise THE LUTHERAN, Vol. XXI, No. 26, Mar. 29, 1939

in the life of the Church and a definite role to fulfil. They belong, in fact, to that great whole which is called the Liturgy, a great and important thing, for it is concerned with religion and worship and with the mysteries of our faith." ¹

Since the Lutheran Church in America has not adopted the episcopal form of church government nor subscribed to the erroneous doctrine of the Apostolic Succession with its threefold Order of Clergy, it is unnecessary for us to include a discussion of vestments peculiar to the Bishop or the Deacon, or for that matter, the Subdeacon. The first section of this study is confined to those vestments properly worn by the parish pastor. Occasional references to the episcopal and diaconal attire do appear, however, and in each case such reference is made for the sake of a greater clarification of some point, or a fuller appreciation of the subject under discussion.

Such limitations in no way minimize the benefits of such a survey and study for the clergy of our Synod. That our pastors are being influenced by non-liturgical churches in their adoptions and adaptations of things liturgical is everywhere apparent. One need only consider the increasing variety of "robes" which are being donned by our clergy to be encouraged to undertake this study. ²

The current "changing to some other vestment" is perhaps indicative

1. Roulin, VESTMENTS AND VESTURE, pg.1.

2. In Washington, D.C., just before the late war, the author saw prominent clergy of the U.L.C. appear at an important convocation wearing gray habits with matching clerical vests and the so-called Roman collar. -- In the East he often observed Missouri Synod clergy officiating in cassock, surplice, and stole somewhat after the Anglican tradition. -- In the West and South he noted the "white gown coming into popularity," while a pectoral cross (generally too small and tawdry to be worthy of the designation) was being accepted generally as an indispensable item in the pastor's official wardrobe.

that our pastors are questioning the propriety of the traditional black gown, together with its retention. It might also be construed as an acknowledgment of the obvious inconsistency of retaining the historic and colorful seasonal vestments for altar, pulpit, and lectern, while abandoning the historic vestments of the clergy. Many among our clergy have attempted to relieve somewhat the austere blackness of the "pulpit gown" by wearing a pectoral cross.¹ It has become evident, particularly in recent years, that the Black Gown of Reformed origin² is slowly but surely losing its popularity. The question confronting us as a result is this: What shall be the replacement? Shall we reclaim a lost portion of our liturgical heritage (i.e. the historic vestments), or shall we allow ourselves to be influenced by other traditions and adopt a compromise? If the decision and ultimate choice of our clergy is to be sane and wise, a careful study of historic vestments dare not be neglected. There are other considerations which will influence our choice, to be sure. But to neglect this factor entirely, or to brush it aside impatiently as being of no importance and as having no bearing today, and then to choose at random is surely not the path of wisdom. It is the path of folly.³

In beginning such a study it will be well to keep in mind what Dearmer has emphasized in his helpful little book⁴, namely: "...The worship described both in the Old and New Testaments is what is called 'ritualistic.' The minute ornaments and vestments

-
1. One finds this practice rather strange in view of the fact that the pectoral cross is one of the chief insignia of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy, and is permissible only for Bishops and Abbots and other ranking Prelates. Cf. COSTUME OF PRELATES OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, pg. 133.
 2. Cf. THE GOLDEN MEAN, pg. 17.
 3. VESTMENTS AND VESTURE, Roulin, pg. 2.
 4. THE PARSON'S HANDBOOK, pg. 9 ff.

of the ministers are familiar to every reader of the Pentateuch...¹ Nor is there any hint that this 'ritualism' was to be dropped under the New Covenant, as is sometimes gratuitously assumed. Our Lord attended the ritualistic services of the Temple; nay, He was careful to be present at those great feasts when the ceremonial was most elaborate. Yet no word of censor ever escaped His lips. This was the more remarkable because He was evidently far from ignoring the subject." Our Lord's Disciples and many of the early Christians were also acquainted with the Temple services and with the vestments of those who ministered in the sanctuary. Even so, they continued to attend those services for some time after the First Pentecost. As late as twenty years after our Lord's Ascension we find the Apostle Paul returning to Jerusalem to take part in the Temple worship there. It is significant that nowhere in the New Testament do we read a word directed against the vestments or forms or ritual. Those who maintain such things are of little importance and have no place in the distinctively Christian service find scant comfort in appealing either to the New Testament or to the example of the Twelve. At the same time, and with reference to the first lines of the quotation from Dearmer's book, another remark is here in place: "The example of the Old Testament liturgical practice, however, is about as far as one may go. Genesis of 'Vestments' or 'evolution' of them is not from these pre-Christian examples."²

With this observation clearly before us, we may look into the usage of the Church during the first two centuries. Most liturgi-

1. Cf. THE ANCIENT USE OF LITURGICAL COLOURS, pg. 10-13.

2. A MANUAL ON WORSHIP, pg. 164.

Cf. also LITURGY OF THE ANTE-NICENE CHURCH, pg. 223: "But can this theory (i.e. that vestments are of Levitical origin) be true? We think not; because considering the state of alienation and antipathy which existed between Jews and Christians during the early and middle ages, it is unlikely... that the latter should have borrowed their ministerial dress from the former!"

ologists are agreed that there was no distinctive garb for the clergy during the first two, perhaps even the first three, centuries. "The history of the evolution of liturgical vestments is usually divided into four periods, though there are indications that at the present day we are entering upon a fifth stage in the development of ceremonial costume. The first period, extending into the fourth century, was that in which no distinctive vestments were worn at divine service, garments of the type used in ordinary life serving for the liturgical synaxes also, though as far as possible newer clothes, of more ornate fashion, were reserved for ecclesiastical functions. The second period, from the time of Constantine the Great to about the eighth century, marked the introduction of special liturgical vestments, to be worn exclusively in the church over the daily attire of the priest and his attendants. It remained for the third period, that beginning with the eighth and extending into the thirteenth century, to develop the elaboration of ecclesiastical vestments as distinctive insignia of various orders of the clergy and their functions. The fourth period in which we still live may be called the age of decadence, marked by not too happy changes in the form and ornamentation of the vestments of the late mediaeval times. Perhaps we are now on the threshold of a fifth period, one of reaction against the Rococco and minimizing deformations of the past three centuries."¹

The earliest extant reference to a vestment is in the Canons of Hippolytus², and it is significant that this initial reference lays down directions for a white ministerial dress. Nothing is

1. ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW, Vol. III, 1944, pg. 97.

2. Canon 37, parag. 20lff.: "As soon as the bishop wishes to celebrate the mysteries, let the deacons and presbyters come together to him, clad in white vestments more beautiful than all the people, and as splendid as possible."

clearer than the fact that the earliest vestments were a continuation of the daily apparel of both laity and clergy when the Church was in her infancy. The style of the clothing worn by the laity changed gradually, some articles disappeared altogether, but the clergy clung to these garments as the distinctive vestments of the Christian service. We do not know their reason for doing so. But there is a safe conjecture: the distinctive vestments were the tangible symbols of a distinctive faith, "the faith once delivered to the saints." Behind the usage, and bolstering its continuation, must have been the concept of continuity. Here was a visible link, joining these Christians to all those who had gone before, a link in the lengthening chain which led back to the original Twelve.¹

I

We may now proceed to the enumeration and study of those articles of everyday wear which in the course of time became the historic vestments of the church, and which are classified as such today. For general use there are three: the cassock; the surplice; the stole. But for the Celebration of Holy Communion and on Festival Days these are deemed proper: the cassock; the alb; the amice; the cincture; the maniple; and the stole.

Two of these articles of everyday wear are mentioned in the New Testament, and in early Christian tradition; they appear in the sculpture of that era, and in pictorial representations still preserved in some of the catacombs.²

-
1. This is surely one of the strongest arguments in favor of a return to the Church's historic vestments. "It is because today learns wisdom from yesterday that it can teach wisdom tomorrow."
 2. See ROMA SUBTERRANEA, Tom. II, pg. 105, and the illustration which follows of the ancient Paenula.

The first of them is the tunic,¹ the vestment we classify as the ALB², (alba linea, linea dalmatica, tunica dalmatica, supparus, roccus, camisale). It is the tunica (ὁ χιτῶν) of Antiquity. The name "Alb" originates from its color --- always white.³ Augusti labels it: "eigentlich die Diakonats-tracht, das spaetere Chorhemd."⁴ Its form⁵ about the beginning of the Christian era was like a sack which is open below. The upper end had a hole cut in it for the head to pass through. So it was put on -- over the head -- and not like a coat which is open in front. At first it had no sleeves but only slits at the side for the arms to pass through. Sleeves in a tunic were not considered manly at first, neither that it reached lower than the knees. A short time later, however, sleeves were added, narrow and gathered tight at the wrist. The garment was also lengthened until it reached to the ankles.⁶ It was always held to the proper length by a girdle (Cf. Fig.1). This style was bequeathed to the Church, and, except during the Middle Ages, it has suffered but few alterations in the succeeding centuries. The Alb in one of her



The Alb

Fig. 1.

1. New Testament references: Matt.5:40;10:9; John 19:23; Rev.1:13.
 2. A simple sketch of the present-day Alb is given in Fig.1 above.
 3. Because of snow-white vestments of Christian minstrelers St. Gregory Nazianzen was inspired to sing:
 οἱ δ' αὖ ὑποδρηστῆρες ἐν εἰμασι καμψανόωσιν
 ἕστασαν, ἀγγελικῆς εἰκόνες ἀγγελῶν

Somnium de Anastasiae, v.11

4. HANDBUCH DER CHRISTLICHEN ARCHAEOLOGIE, III, 502.
 5. DIE LITURGISCHE GEWANDUNG, pg.57: "Ein mit engen Aermeln und einem Durchschlupf fuer den Kopf versehenes, sackartiges Gewandstueck."
 6. THE PROPER COMMUNION VESTMENTS, pg.9.



Fig. 2

A male figure in the act of prayer;
taken from a fresco in one of the
chambers of the Catacombs, Cemetery
of SS. Marcellinus and Peter

See Aringhi, Roma Subterranea, Tom. II, 105

The garment is the ancient Paenula,
now called the Chasuble, and exhi-
bits its ancient form. It is adorned
with Clavi, strips of purple
cloth.

oldest and universally used vestments.¹ Moreover, this is the vestment unquestionably referred to in the Canons of Hippolytus,² quoted above. There is also a reference to it in the Apostolic Constitutions³, and in the Testamentum Domini⁴, of a somewhat later date. Many scholars consider the description of the deacons' garb in Book II, Sec.VII of the Constitutions of the Holy Apostles as also referring to the Alb.⁵

1. BRITANNICA, Vol.23, pg.109: "When, in the year 258, St.Cyprian was led to martyrdom he wore an under tunic (linea), an upper tunic (tunica dalmatica) and mantle (lacerna, byrrus)."
2. See Footnote 2, pg.6

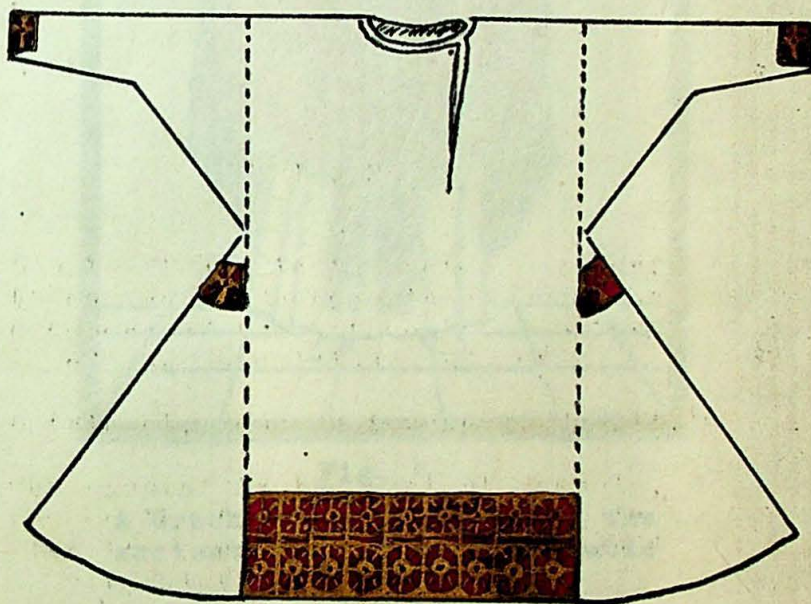


Fig. 3

Alb with Apparels - Sens Cathedral

3. In Book 8, Chap.12, parag.3, the celebrant is described as standing at the altar clad in a shining garment: *Λύμπεραν ἐφοῆτα μετενδύς*
4. In Book 1, Chap.34, pg. 83, the chief deacon is ordered to wear a white vestment (vestis alba) and a stole (orarium).
5. "And let the deacons stand near at hand, in close and small girt garments, for they are like mariners and managers of the ship..."

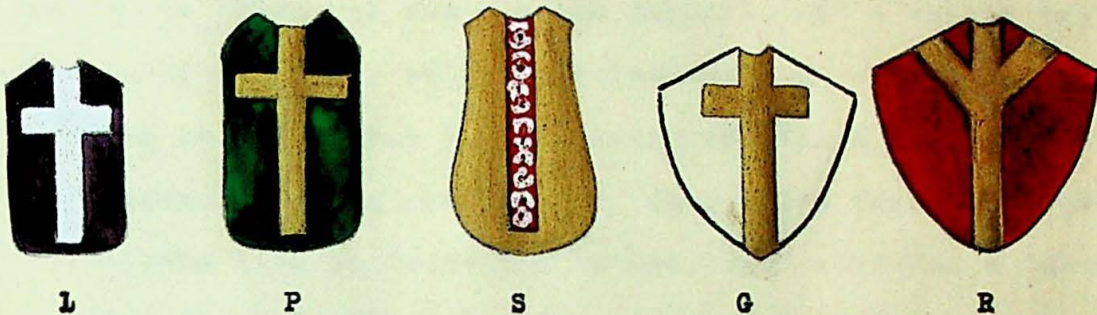


Fig. 4

A Greek Priest muffled in the
ancient Phelonion or Chasuble

Sketch made after Plate in Rock's
HIERURGIA

In Fig.3 we have pictured an Alb in use during the Middle Ages, complete with "Besaeetze" or apparels. The Alb itself was made of fine linen; the apparels were made of silk, brocade, or other suitable materials.¹ It is only necessary to add that lace ought never be sewn on to the skirt of the Alb.



Various styles of Chasubles as used at the present time in various parts of the Church. L and P are styles most common in Scandinavian Lutheran Churches. G and R are examples of the "Gothic" Chasuble and closer to the Phelonion of antiquity.

Fig. 5

The history of the other vestment, referred to in the New Testament, is quite as interesting as it is ancient. The CHASUBLE was the garment worn by everybody, as in the case of St. Paul (Cf. 2 Tim. 4:13), for protection against cold or inclement weather. It is known by various names: Paenuia, the ancient and proper one, takes us back to the Greek *φαιλόνη*. The Greek Orthodox Church still calls it Felonion. In Germanic languages it is designated

1. HIERURGIA, pg. 215: "In the Middle Ages the alb was adorned with apparels embroidered in silk and gold, sometimes enriched with pearls and precious stones, or with four pieces of rich silken stuff, two at the wrists and two at the foot, one in front and one behind."

as "Hagel" -- "Messehagel" in Scandinavian lands. The Italians refer to it as the Planeta. But the most common designation today is CHASUBLE, from the Latin, casula, meaning "little house."

The form or cut of the chasuble is somewhat like a bell.¹ It was closed all around and had an opening only for the head. Later on we find chasubles that were elliptical in shape. The garment hung down over both arms, and therefore it had to be lifted if one desired to use his hands. It fell round the wearer in free and ample folds; it was a noble garment, not a scanty decoration. The early chasubles still in existence, and especially those painted or sculptured by pre-Gothic craftsmen, invariably display a remarkable length and fulness. They allow for a seam which forms the middle line in front and behind, and calls for a decoration to hide it. This consists of a piece of material or embroideries in the form either of the "column" as it has been called, now of the Y-shaped cross, which became so common from the twelfth century onward. On some of the vestments there was placed at the top of the long vertical strip in front a short horizontal strip which served to strengthen the lower part of the opening of the neck, and no doubt it also suggested the Tau-shaped cross, the symbol of our redemption. With very few exceptions, the Latin cross did not make its appearance until the fourteenth century as a decoration for chasubles.² This vestment, if it is to drape properly, ought not be less than 46 inches in width.

In the Catacomb of St. Priscilla is seen a picture from the third century which is thought to represent either the consecra-

1. See Fig. 4

2. Cf. VESTMENT AND VESTURE, pg. 58-60.



Fig. 6.

"Paenula Nobilissima"

A modern chasuble which expresses that amplitude of charity which it is supposed to symbolise.

tion of a virgin or a wedding. The bishop who officiates is wearing a chasuble. But there is nothing episcopal about that garment. He is simply following the custom of the time, "the fashion" of the day, in wearing it. This is true also in the case of St. Paul.¹

The Chasuble passed out of common use about the year 600, and was succeeded by a Frankish cloak, called Sagum. From this time forth the chasuble became a distinctive garment of the

clergy. It was decided in the German National Council of 742 where St. Boniface presided that priests should not wear the Sagum, worn by the laity and the military, but should "according to the custom of God's servants" wear the Casula.²

* Succeeding centuries shortened the Chasuble until it reached only to the knees. From about the year 1000 it became a regular vestment for the Communion office only. In later German writings -- because of the close association of the two -- it is called "Messegewandt." "The form of the chasuble was gradually changed by cutting out the sides to free the arms. At first only enough was cut away to leave the hands free---later it was cut to reach only to the elbow and in these two forms we have what is generally known as the Gothic Chasuble. But the change went on until the

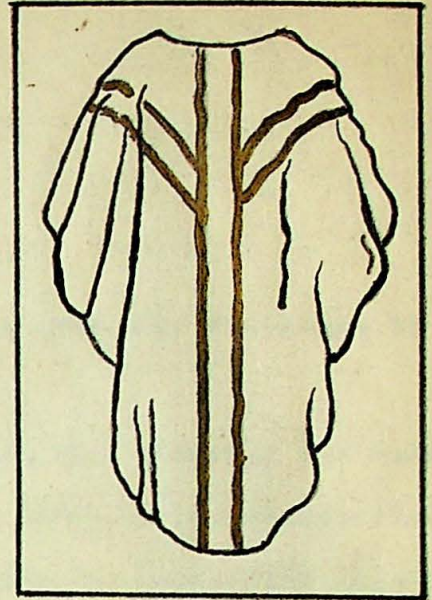
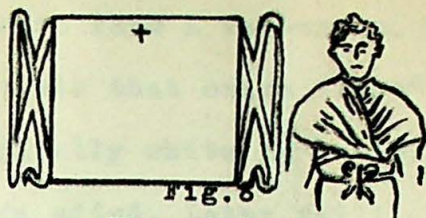


Fig. 7

A simple linen Chasuble. When properly cut, this vestment falls in natural and dignified folds.

-
1. See Fig. 2, showing an early Christian in an attitude of prayer.
2. Braun, DIE LITURGISCHE GEWANDUNG, pg.156, includes another interesting note: "Eine casula villosa, caprina lanugine sancte Bonifatius, der Apostel Deutschlands, ca.742 dem Bischoff Daniel von Winchester."



The Amice

sides were entirely cut away, and it hung over the shoulders to the knees in front and back."¹

Originally the material out of which the chasuble was made was linen, white in color. From the year 1000 different materials have been used, such as silk and ornamented brocade. Many beautiful and priceless examples have come down to us, some embellished with pearls and precious stones. Poorer parishes were content with chasubles made of less expensive materials, such as leather. There were also vestments made of straw.²

Since earliest times these two vestments, the Alb and the Chasuble, have been in universal use. They are basic in the matter of ecclesiastical apparel for sacramental and formal actions.

We may now mention a third article -- not a garment -- whose only purpose seems to have been utility. It is the CINCTURE. The girdle, as the cincture is also known, bound the Alb close to the officiant's body. Other designations are zona and baltheus. Augusti describes it as follows: "Der aus Leinen oder Kamelhaaren oder Seide verfertigte Guertel."³ Braun points out that three types of cinctures were in use, especially during the Middle Ages. The first is a long narrow band of linen, or simply a linen rope. The second is made of two pieces of linen band, somewhat broader, and

1. THE PROPER COMMUNION VESTMENTS, Severinsen, pg. 13
2. Excellent prints may be found in Braun's work, DIE LITURGISCHE GEWANDUNG. A chasuble of leather is to be seen in the Bishop's Palace in Eichstaett. The chasuble of straw was used in the first Christmasmass, the so-called "Hirtenmesse."
3. CONCORDIA THEOLOGICAL MONTHLY, Vol. I, 1930, pg. 839.

sewn together to form a Tau-cross. The third type differs from the first in this that extra "ties" are added to it. The cincture was originally white in color. Later on tassels in seasonal colors were added. Later still, the entire cincture corresponded in color to the color of the day.

The cincture should not be too long; four yards form a good length. After the cincture has been tied and adjusted, the ends should be pendant from the left side of the body.

Next in order is a study of the AMICE (Amictus, Humerale, Superhumerale, Shultertuch, Hovedlin - as it is known in Scandinavian lands). For a sketch of this vestment see Fig. 8. The Amice is a short linen cloth, oblong in shape, and is worn round the neck and over the shoulders.¹ As a vestment its purpose, too, was utilitarian.² It prevents the Alb and the Stole from coming into contact with the perspiration of the body. A small Greek cross is usually embroidered in the exact center of one side of the Amice. For a rather interesting comparison, see Footnote 3.

1. In THE PROPER COMMUNION VESTMENTS, Severinsen, pg. 11, is this illuminating comment: "From the end of the 9th century it became customary to lay it over the head and when the officiating priest reached the altar it was pushed back and lay around the neck."
2. FROM VESTURE TO VESTMENT, pg. 100: "Perhaps when the stole ceased to be a sacerdotal neckcloth, the amice was introduced as a kind of muffler to protect the throat... The amice was for centuries a headcovering, worn, as it is still in monastic orders, in going to and from the altar, and in general as the predecessor of the clerical biretta."
3. HIERURGIA, Daniel Rock, pg. 213: "By some ecclesiastical writers the amice has been likened, and not without reason, to the ephod of the Jewish priesthood; others have assimilated it to the sackcloth of penance which the prophets of the Old Testament recommended to the people.* The corresponding garment in the Coptic liturgy of S. Basil is called Epomis."

*Hinc humerale, quod intellige Ephod, apud nos amictus dicitur, sibi imponit, et illo caput, et collum et humeros, unde et humerale dicitur, cooperit.

The MANIPLE (Manipulus, or Mappula¹, Manula, Mantile, Sudarium, Sindon, Fanon, Haandlin - as it is called in Scandinavian countries) is an ornamented band of cloth, hung over the left arm. It was originally a hand napkin, an article of etiquette. Augusti writes: "Urspruenglich ein Tuch, womit man den Schweiss und Schmutz von Gesicht und Haenden abwischt; spaeter wurde es eine blosse Binde."² It is now a mere ornament with little to indicate its earlier intention or use. In shape the maniple is somewhat like a miniature stole, the vestment we study next. Both should agree in the matter of ornamentation. Roulin has suggested 48 inches as a good length for the full maniple, including the fringe.³

The STOLE⁴ came into use comparatively early in the history of the Church, and was common both to the Eastern and Western branches. "It has been variously derived from the ancient stola, which was, however, a tunic, from the Jewish prayer-blanket (Tallith), from the ancient orarion (neck-cloth) and, as regards the deaconal stole, from a napkin used in the liturgy."⁵ This last suggested origin has found favor with Strodach⁶, who defines it as "a long, oblong napkin, carried over the left shoulder...It was used in the East in Divine Worship, waved back and forth by

1. DIE LITURGISCHE GEWANDUNG, Braun, pg. 517: "Mit Mappa bezeichnete man im klassischen Latein ein Tuch, dessen man sich bei Tisch zum Abputzen des Mundes und der Haende bediente, also, wie wir sagen wuerden, eine Serviette."
2. HANDBUCH DER CHRISTLICHEN ARCHAEOLOGIE, III, 524.
3. VESTMENTS AND VESTURE, Roulin, pg. 139.
4. The earliest reference to the use of the stole is found in The Apostolic Constitutions, Book 8, chap. 12, parag. 3.
5. THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITANNICA, 14th Ed., Vol. 21, pg. 434. Note: A different view is expressed in Vol. 25, Edition 1911, where the stole is designated as a symbol of obedience to the Bishop of Rome.
6. A MANUAL ON WORSHIP, Paul Z. Strodach, pg. 165.



Stole

Fig. 9

servers to drive away insects. Then adopted as a distinctive mark of priest and deacon." From this in all probability our present-day stole is derived. Mgr. L. Duchesne, a noted Catholic authority, says the stole is a development of the "orarium... merely the ancient sudarium (handkerchief, neckcloth), which came finally to take a special shape." ^{1,2}

He also points out that "toward the end of the fourth century, the Council of Laodicea ³ in Phrygia forbade the minor orders (subdeacons) to usurp the orarium." In a Homily on the Prodigal Son, attributed to St. John Chrysostom, another term is used: ὀβόνη .

This great Preacher of the Early Church mentions that the deacons, while ministering in their holy office during the Holy Supper, appear to move and glide about like angels with their wings expanded. ⁴ The

Greek deacons still wear the stole in this manner, and its ancient name of orarium (ὀράριον) still clings to it. But the priestly orarium of the Greek clergy is worn, like the stole of the Latin priests, around the neck, with the two ends falling in

1. CHRISTIAN WORSHIP, Duchesne, pg. 390.

2. HIERURGIA, Daniel Rock, pg. 223. This author agrees with Duchesne: "Over the stole and around the neck was worn an oblong piece of linen called Orarium which served the purpose of a handkerchief, and was by females spread, in time of prayer, over the head and shoulders, falling around the body like a veil. The Orarium worn by ecclesiastics was bordered with stripes of purple, and when, in course of time, its dimensions were contracted, those ornaments were retained as marks of honor, while the plain linen portions were cut away in such a manner that it was reduced to a band which surrounded the neck and fell down below the knees on both sides of the body. It afterwards exchanged the name or denomination of orarium for that of stole, by which name it is now known."

3. Duchesne refers to the 22nd Canon of this Council.

4. Hom. in Parabolam de Filio Prodigio. Text in footnotes on page 20.

front almost down to the feet. This is the form of the Stole as we have it today. And this priestly orarium is called in the Greek Orthodox Church the epitachelion (ἐπιτραχήλιον).¹ It is the insignium of the order of clergy which corresponds to the pastors of our own Synod, and in early documents the rights of such a pastor are referred to as "the rights of the Stola."

We have two types of the Stole in current use. It may take the shape of a narrow band of silk or of other suitable material, of the same width throughout. More commonly it is a band, narrowest at the neck and shoulders, and widening gradually at the ends, which are finished with a fringe. A good stole never ends in a trapezium, or in a huge spade.² And it should not be too short. A stole which measures 54 inches from its center cross at the neck to each extremity would be approximately correct for the pastor of average height. Stoles are generally adorned with beautiful embroidery, sometimes done in gold and silk thread. They are made in the color of the Day or Season, and their use is governed by the rubrics

Ἐπίστασθε τὴν πνευματικὴν εὐφροσύνην, οἱ ταύτης
γευσάμενοι καὶ μωσωμένων τὰς τῶν ἀγγελῶν πτέρυγας,
ταῖς ἑπτά, ὁσάνας, ταῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἰμῶν
κειμέναις, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ περιτρεχόντων.

1. We feel constrained to add a most interesting paragraph from Alt (KIRCHL. GTTSD., pg. 130) which designates "the Bands", worn by Lutheran clergymen, as remnants of the epitachelion: "Statt des in der griechischen Kirche ueblichen Epitrachelium waehlen die lutherischen Prediger das Peritrachelium (den hie und da noch ueblichen weissen Halskragen) oder, wie es jetzt in der katholischen (zum Teil) und in der lutherischen Kirche allgemein ueblich ist, die beiden kleinen weissen Streifen, welche vorn am Halse getragen werden; allerdings sehr duerftige Ueberreste des griechischen Epitrachelium, das bis zu den Fuessen reicht, waehrend jene in der Regel nur die Laenge eines Fingers haben."
2. VESTMENTS AND VESTURE, Roulin, pg. 132.

scheduling the change of paramounts. When worn over the surplice, the vestment we study next, the ends are pendant. However, when a stole is worn over the Alb, the ends are generally crossed and enclosed by the cincture. In view of a current practice in some areas, we are constrained to add that to wear a stole over a cassock or "black gown" is contrary to every liturgical law, and violates the best tradition. It is a declaration to all and sundry that a man "halts between two opinions." The use of a black stole Sunday after Sunday is likewise out of taste and out of harmony. This is not an imitation as some suppose of the Anglican tradition. The "black stole" of the Anglicans is a tippet¹, (much broader in width), and not a stole.

We have already referred to the SURPLICE, pointing out that it is reserved for general use, such as baptism and preaching, while the Alb is to be worn at the celebration of the Eucharist. There can be no doubt but that the Alb is "father of the surplice."² The Jesuit Braun points out that this close relationship is apparent in the name given this vestment: "Das Gewand hat zweifelsohne seinen Namen wirklich von dem Umstand, dass es über pelliceae, Pelzröcken, getragen wurde."³ Most churches and cathedrals in northern Europe, where this vestment first appeared around 1050 A.D., were cold, especially during the winter



Surplice
and
Cassock

Fig. 10

1. The G.I. Chaplain's Scarf of World War II is really a tippet, but with this difference: its ends were fringed, while the tippet's ends, as a general rule, are pinked.
2. THE PROPER COMMUNION VESTMENTS, Severinsen, pg. 7.
3. DIE LITURGISCHE GEWANDUNG, Braun, pg. 139.

months. For this reason monastics and clergy in general wore long fur coats during the services, which reached almost to the floor. But white fur was scarce, and white (!) vestments only were fitting for the sanctuary. This naturally led to the introduction of the Surplice. It was a garment worn over the fur coat, and for this reason it is very loose and has wide sleeves. However, it was not worn in this era of its history by the celebrant of the Holy Communion.

The material of the Surplice, like that of the Alb and Cincture, is linen. Other materials, such as China silk, or crepe silk, are ill-advised substitutes. Plain, unadorned linen, the "true liturgical fabric," has beauty of itself without adornment.¹ The sleeves of the Surplice are full, unlike those of the Alb, and pointed. Too often the Surplices used today -- all products of Mail-Order House assembly-lines!-- are far too short. They are little more than cottas which are proper only for male choristers. It is to be noted that the Surplice was at first as long, or nearly as long, as the Alb, and remained so for several centuries. The proper length of this vestment is to have it reach well below the pastor's knees.

The CASSOCK is so familiar that we need give it only a passing reference. Its origin is rather obscure, but the probabilities are that it evolved from the early Roman Cappa clausa.²

1. For an admirable discussion of this subject cf. VESTMENTS AND VESTURE, Roulin, Chapter II.

2. ANGLICAN STUDY IN CHRISTIAN SYMBOLISM, E.C. Neff, pg. 179. This author designates the Cassock as "the ancient Caracalla of the Roman. A close linen coat, with sleeves, which came down to the calf of the leg, and was worn by soldiers, and afterwards adopted by the clergy... The Greeks button it on the shoulder, the Roman clergy down the front."

The Cassock is a comfortably fitting garment as regards the body from the waist upward, but full and flowing below. There are two types, the Roman and the Greek or Anglican. The former is open in front, center, from top to bottom, but provided with buttons and buttonholes throughout the whole length, and is always worn buttoned up. It has a narrow standing collar, fitting tightly to the white "clarical collar," with a small step in front. The Anglican pattern differs from it in this that it buttons on the side rather than at center. The Cassock is the first garment put on by the minister when vesting. It should be worn while he is in the sacristy; when he enters the chancel or sacristy to prepare for the service; and when he meets people after the service.

This completes the survey of Liturgical Vestments for the Clergy. If we are now to make a final reference to good Lutheran usage, it will be necessary first to ascertain, as far as possible, what vestments Luther and his co-workers wore at the time of the Reformation and thereafter, and also to hear their opinion in this particular. By way of transition we shall include an illustration in color of the historic vestments in use at that time, as well as in our own age. For the sake of completeness, we shall include a number of Sacristy Prayers which were said by the celebrant as he vested himself. Originally these prayers were in Latin, but there are excellent translations in the German, the Swedish, and the English languages.

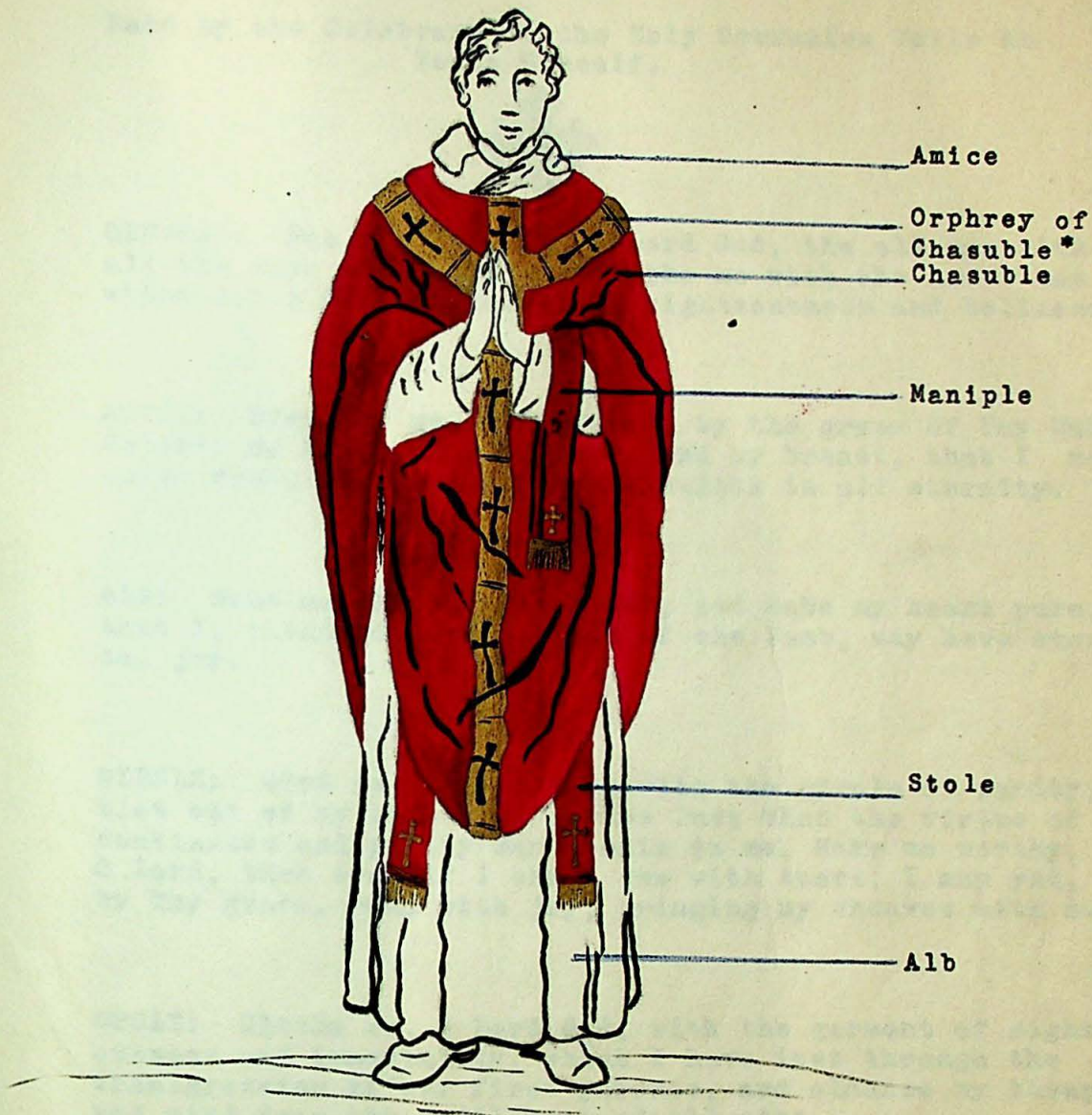


Fig.11

* ANGLICAN STUDY IN CHRISTIAN SYMBOLISM, Neff, pg.170: "The Orphrey, from "aufrigium," indicative of beauty and splendour, took the place of the bands called clavi (see Fig.2) used for decorating the ordinary dresses of the ancient Romans. And thus as the clavus of the people was in the course of time abandoned by the Christian priesthood for the more distinguishing orphrey, so, again, the latter began to take other forms of arrangement on the vestment. The earliest deviation of the straight band was what we now term the Y-cross."

-: SACRISTY PRAYERS :-

Said by the Celebrant at the Holy Communion While He
Vests Himself.



GENERAL: Put off from me, O Lord God, the old man with
all his ways and works and clothe me with the new man
which after God is created in righteousness and holiness.

AMICE: Preserve me, O Lord God, by the grace of Thy Holy
Spirit: my head, my shoulders, and my breast, that I may
serve Thee, the living God who ruleth in all eternity.

ALB: Make me white, O Lord God, and make my heart pure,
that I, cleansed in the Blood of the Lamb, may have eter-
nal joy.

GIRDLE: Gird me, O Lord God, with the girdle of purity;
blot out of my loins all impure lust that the virtue of
continnence and purity may remain in me. Make me worthy,
O Lord, that even if I shall sew with tears, I may yet,
by Thy grace, reap with joy, bringing my sheaves with me.

STOLE: Clothe me, O Lord God, with the garment of righte-
ousness and immortality, which I have lost through the
transgression of our first parents, and cleanse my thought
and mind from the defilement of all sins.

CHASUBLE: Clothe me, O Lord God, with humility, love, and
peace, that I, fully armed with Thee, avoiding every of-
fense and blame, may resist all my enemies, spiritual and
temporal.



These Sacristy Prayers are a translation of the Swedish,
appearing in "De Rette Messeklaeder" by Severinsen, 1924.

II

The question may be asked, Is it possible to know "the mind" of Luther and his co-workers with respect to the externals of worship, such as vestments? The answer depends in a measure upon the student, upon his attitudes and prejudices. It is possible to ascertain the Reformer's opinion and, to a degree, his practice, from his liturgical writings -- to get down to the bed-rock truth of both only if we are content, when reading them, to "let Luther say what he wants to say."

The Reformer was not a "liturgist" in the strict sense of the term. That is to say, he lacked a so-called scientific liturgical knowledge. But he possessed a native sense "both of the fitness of things liturgical and of their honest purpose" -- and who shall say that this is not the more valuable of the two? Deeply spiritual man that he was, Luther could not help but follow the feel for the loftiest and noblest in expressing his own worship, and in desiring to provide for the expression of worship of the common people as well. The practical and the external in the worship life of the Church must be the glorious dress of the more glorious Jewel -- the infinitely precious Word. For Luther this Word was ever primary and all-embracing, this Word which had been almost discarded by an unthinking priesthood. A re-statement of this well-known fact is necessary here because the one all-controlling principle in every liturgical reform or recommendation is the centralization of and approach to the Word. That which Luther and "the dear Christian folk" possessed as a heritage from the fathers, in which they were expressing their worship life, and which had become part and parcel of their own life, was not to

be cast aside ruthlessly as being inadequate or worthless; for that it was not. Life had proved otherwise. But it was to be measured by, and treasured for, the life it had found in and through this Word. In this area, then, reformation meant the retention and the cleansing of the pure and the true, not necessarily rejection and innovation. Too often we forget -- wilfully or no! -- that which Strodach has bound up in a neat bundle: "The essential of the Reformation is the perpetuation of the true, not abrogation; renewal, not invention and fabrication de novo."¹ And this essential is surely demonstrated in Luther's approach to the externals of worship. He did not want to lay violent hands upon them; it was rather a gentle hand that wished to be helpful. Few things contribute so much to the greatness of Luther as this attitude. He could -- and would! -- be emancipated from whatever was objectionable in the formalism of the day, and still retain the form. Such was his approach to the matter of vestments. All the ancient vehicles of worship, the forms and the vestments, were precious to Luther; they harmonized with the purest teachings of Christ and His Apostles. Therefore Luther deemed them worthy not only to be retained, but to be cherished in evangelical practice.

This is "the mind of Luther" when we search it for his opinion regarding the use of vestments. In his celebrated letter of Dec. 4, 1523, to Nicholas Hausman, Bishop of the Church at Zwickau, which accompanied a copy of the Formula Missae, Luther "spoke his mind" on the matter of the historic vestments

1. WORKS OF MARTIN LUTHER, Holman Ed. Vol. VI, pg. 54

in the following: "We think about these (vestments) as we do about other uses; we permit them to be used without restraint, only let pomp and the excess of splendor be absent. For neither are you the more acceptable if you should consecrate in vestments; nor are you the less acceptable should you consecrate without vestments. For vestments do not commend us to God. But I do not wish them to be consecrated or blessed, -- as if they were about to be something sacred as compared with other garments, -- except by that general benediction, by which it is taught that every good creature of God is sanctified through word and prayer."¹

Again, in the year 1539, in a letter to Provost Buchholzer, we have an insight into Luther's thinking in this regard. Of that letter we quote the following paragraph: "If your lord, the margrave and elector, will permit you to preach the pure Gospel of Christ clearly and unadulterated, without man-made additions, and to administer the two Sacraments of Baptism and the Blood of Christ according to the institution... then go in the name of God and wear a silver and golden cross and a cap or a cope of velvet, silk, or linen. And if your lord, the elector, is not satisfied with one cap or cope which you have donned then put on three of them."² And still later he writes to the point: "Pictures, bells, eucharistic vestments, and the like, I hold to be free."

And now, what about the practice of the Reformer and

1. WORKS OF MARTIN LUTHER, Vol. VI, pg. 93.

Note a) The underscorings in these quotations are mine.

b) These vestments were not to be "consecrated" in the former ritualistic fashion, but blessed by a general benediction. Over against the perfunctory ceremonialism of Rome is placed the Evangelic benediction.

2. St. Louis Edition, XIX, 1026.

his colleagues? There is no doubt but that Luther at first continued the use of the historic vestments when a particular office called for them. "Luther personally acted in agreement with the principles which he so clearly laid down in various writings. All the information which we have concerning Wittenberg indicates that the vestments in use for the Mass were in the main retained in this city for the time being: the cassock and the amice, over which was worn the long white alb, also the shorter surplice, and over these the chasuble, together with the stole."¹ We must call to mind once more that Luther's aim was not to found a new Church, but to reform the ancient Church, the Church he loved, Christ's Church -- not the Roman. Everything wholesome in that Church he wished to retain; they were expressive of historic continuity --- and none of the Reformers was more impressed by this continuity than was Luther.² As Strodach has stated, "Luther never breaks with Roman use without deliberate reason and purpose."³ This is a fact which present-day "butchers of the Liturgy" might

1. CONCORDIA THEOLOGICAL MONTHLY, Vol. I, 1930, pg. 838; "Clerical Vestments in the Lutheran Church" - P. E. Kretzmann
 2. Compare the attitude of Zwingli; at first he merely wanted to eliminate the superfluous pomp of the priestly vestments, but later declared: "So sind Kutten, Kreutze, Henden, Platten nich nur weder gut noch boes, sondern sie sind allein boes; darum ein jeder Christ rechter tut, so er sie verlaesst, weder dass er darin stecke, wo es anders ohne Aergernis und Aufruhr geschehen mag." LITURGISCHE ABHANDLUNGEN, Kliefoth, IV, 305.
 3. WORKS OF MARTIN LUTHER, VI, pg. 22, Holman Ed.
- Note: This attitude is, perhaps, best illustrated in the Formula Missae. Also by the fact that Luther retained the Elevation and Self-communication.

ponder with profit to themselves and the Church Luther loved. A careless willy-nilly mutilation is not "in the tradition of Luther" but "Carlstadtish" to the core. When in 1522 Carlstadt celebrated the Eucharist in German, and clad in street clothing, Luther demonstrated his personal aversion to such a performance in the following fashion. Returning from Wittenberg, he enters the forsaken Augustinian monastery, clothes himself in the full habit of a monk, and then leaves to deliver the famous Eight Sermons. All of these sermons are restrained, coming as they do from a man of Luther's calibre, but their aim was to curb the impetuous spirit of Carlstadt. The climax of this rebuff is the Holy Communion, celebrated by Luther in the accustomed vestments and in the accustomed manner.^{1,2}

There is still in existence an old copper print which shows Dr. Luther and Melancthon celebrating the Holy Communion. The Reformer, administering the Host, wears the Alb and Surplice, the latter edged with lace in the customary Mediaeval pattern.³ What is more, in the sacristy of the Cathedral at Nuernberg there is a chasuble shown which Kaethie Luther embroidered with his own hands, and it is safe to assume that Martin dutifully wore it. He could hardly have done otherwise.

A study of the Lutheran Church Orders of the sixteenth century, as given by Richter, Sehling and others, likewise sheds some light on the manner in which the Evangelical party

1. Cf. AMERICAN LUTHERAN, Vol. XXIX, No. 11, pg. 11

2. DER HAUPTGOTTESDIENST DER EVANGELISCH-LUTHERISCHE KIRCHE, Lochner pg. 19: "Lothar schreibt in seiner Schrift 'Wider die himmlischen Propheten,' 1525: 'Im Kloster haben wir Mesz gehabt ohne Kasel, ohn Aufheben, schlecht aufs allereinfältigst, wie Carlstadt Christus Exempel rühmen. Wiederum in der Pfarr haben wir noch Kasel, Alben, Altar, haben auf wie lange es uns gelüstet.'" (E.A. 29, 191)

3. A reprint may be found in A MANUAL ON WORSHIP, pg. 152.

in Germany understood, and carried out, the principles stated by Luther and laid down in the early Confessions of the Lutheran Church. Taking those from the time before Luther's death more or less at random, we find such statements as the following: Ordnung der Visitatoren, Allstedt, 1533: "Dazu soll er (der Pfarrer) in der messen alben und casulen und nicht einen schlechten corrock, wie bisher geschehen, gebrauchen, damit allenthalben hierinne gleichformigkeit gehalten werden... So auch etzliche bis anher ohne alben und casulen in einem korrock, auch etzliche in schlechten kleidern mes gehalten, sollen sie furthin alben und casulen... gebrauchen." Sehling, I, 508, 510.

Meissen and Voigtland, 1533: "Item, sie (die Pfarrer) sollen auch die christliche ceremonien eintrechtlich und gleichformig bevor mit der messe, und die messe in mesgewand weil sie noch vorhanden." Sehling, I, 190.

Zwickau, 1529: "Die Korrock sollen auch in massen wie mit dem Pastor geredt und nicht mehr so gemein gebraucht werden." Sehling, I, 721.

Leisnig, 1529: "Nachdem auch bisanher fast in die sechs jare sind die papistischen messen des misgebrauches halber abgethan, in der kirchen zu Leisnik, auch allen umbligenden dorfern und orten die pfarrer...ane korrock und messgewand schlecht im rock consecrirt, ist ernstlich bevolen, das furt hin alle pfarrer...mesgewand und andere unschledliche ceremonien brachen." Sehling, I, 605 - 610).

In trying to determine what Luther really wore, we are concerned chiefly with the Communion Office. No Augustinian

would hesitate to preach wearing either his monkish habit, or his university robe, if he held an academic degree -- and Dr. Luther was an Augustinian. Alt remarks that the people were more or less accustomed to seeing monks in their black garments, also in the pulpit, "and therefore it did not strike anyone as strange or odd that Luther, who was an Augustinian monk, had been garbed in black."¹ Also supporting this opinion is the statement of such an eminent Luther-student as the late Dr. Fuerbringer: "The gown of the monk served the purpose also of a preacher's gown and Luther wore it for years. On Oct. 9th, 1524, he preached in his cowl in the morning, but in the afternoon of the same Sunday he ascended the pulpit in his doctor's gown."² Dr. Strodach, another great student of Luther's life and works, is of the same opinion.³ But neither of them, nor anyone less cautious than they, has dared to picture Luther wearing the "Doktorgewand" at the Communion Office. It is possible that he did so in late years and that out of deference to valued associates who could not share his personal views in this matter; it is probable that he did not. When we remember that Luther was content to retain the Elevation⁴ because he did not wish to cause confusion in the minds of the common people, whose spiritual happiness he coveted, it is difficult to imagine Luther celebrating the Eucharist in any but the historic vestments, vestments to which "his beloved Germans" were accustomed.

1. OPUS CIT. pg. 129

2. GOLDEN MEAN, pg. 17

3. WORKS OF MARTIN LUTHER, Vol. VI, pg. 113, footnote 124.

4. Cf. Text of the Formula MISSAE.

We cannot "vest" Luther after our personal inclinations nor allow prejudice to prescribe the vestments he wore. That has been the course of those querulous spirits who pontificate in this particular and insist: "Luther wore only the black robe -- period!" Rather should we adopt the humble spirit and cautious speech of the late and learned Pastor D.H. Steffens. "It is my guess," he writes, "that Luther wore the accustomed (i.e. the historic) vestments at the Communion Office. True, this is only a guess. I have nothing much to go on save his broad tolerance, his extreme reluctance to give needless offense to the inexperienced, and his innate sense of propriety."¹ So far we may go, --- and no farther. But, then, that is quite far enough. There is nothing in Luther's precedent to cramp any ministerial soul in our communion who seeks to bring about in his own parish a restoration of the ancient vestments, save only this warning: Give no offense to your people. There is nothing in Luther's practice that would allow a pastor who clings to the black gown to anathematize the good Lutheran brother who recognizes the historic vestments as part of his heritage and wears them with the full approval of his parishioners. Part of his lawful heritage they are, as much a part as paraments, religious paintings, the crucifix, even the altar itself. One marvels when the historic vestments are singled out for the label "Catholic," "Pa-

1. THE AMERICAN LUTHERAN, Vol. XXIX, No. 11, pg. 7.

pistic," "Romish." To say they are Papistic because "they were associated with the abomination of the Mass" is not entirely in harmony with the true facts. Most of the vestments were in use long before the abomination arose. Was not the crucifix as closely associated with it? ¹ To answer the question is to underscore the inconsistency. Moreover, we are unwilling to concede that the Church of Rome has exclusive rights to such a fine custom as signing one's self with the cross², or to the ornamentation of her sanctuaries with appropriate symbols, or to the wearing of those vestments which were worn by ministrants in the days of the Church's purity. To wear them is not "to steal something from Rome." To steal, a man must take something which is not his.

III

If, as has been demonstrated, this is the "mind of Luther" in the matter of historic vestments, and the practice of the Evangelical party, how is it that the Lutheran Church in America lost this part of her heritage? How is it that our fathers wore the black gown almost exclusively?

The questions are entirely apropos. To answer them is to review one of the dark chapters in the history of the Church after the Reformation. We refer to the period when Pietism and Rationalism swept over Germany and adjacent areas like a mighty juggernaut. Many are apt to think it

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1. No priest will celebrate Mass without a crucifix before him.
 2. LUTHER'S SMALL CATECHISM, pg.27

particularly "Lutheran" when the ministry is vested in black. Yet all this blackness does not go back much farther than two hundred years, and it is "particularly Lutheran" in only a part of the Church of the Reformation -- that part which was subjected again and again to non-Lutheran influence and powerful anti-Lutheran forces. A rather full treatment of this period and its lamentable influence on matters liturgic may be found in the brochure by Severinsen.¹ Briefly, the story is this:

It was a Reformed king who declared war against the historic Communion vestments of his Lutheran subjects. Frederick Wilhelm I, of the house of Brandenburg-Prussia, through royal edict in 1733, prohibited the use of "copes, communion vestments, candles, Latin song, chants, and the sign of the cross." (!) In spite of complaints on the part of the people, in spite of the fact that many conservative clergy of the realm decried the edict as essentially a betrayal "of genuine and pure Lutheranism," the decision of 1733 was repeated four years later, and with the added threat: "Should there be those who hesitate or who desire to make it a matter of conscience, we wish to make it known that we are ready to give them their demission." In the face of such a threat, the majority of the clergy yielded. In 1740 Frederick Wilhelm II, or the Great, ascended to the throne. Almost immediately he made efforts to have this decree repealed, and he allowed the clergy full liberty in

1. THE PROPER COMMUNION VESTMENTS, pg. 3-6; 26-28.

the matter of vestments. As a result, in a number of places the historic vestments were restored. However, Rationalism flourished at the time, with its hatred of everything Mediaeval.¹ Coupled with that was the influence of Pietism. The two completed what the King of Prussia had begun. Taken generally, the German Lutheran pastor appears at the present time in the black cloak handed him by the Reformed king of Prussia.² Elsewhere, the onslaughts of both dictatorial monarchs and anti-Lutheran movements were successfully resisted. People and clergy refused to yield; they clung to the historic vestments.³

IV

The black robe, which fell, like Elijah's mantle, on the Lutheran clergy of Germany, came to America with the Lutheran colonists and found a home. It is frankly admitted that the predominating use in the American Lutheran church bodies is this black robe. But no matter how widely it is used, there can be little question about the unchurchliness of this garment. We may hesitate to acknowledge this fact for the reason that long usage has "hallowed" it for a large segment of the clergy of the Missouri Synod, we may hesitate for this and any other reason, but the fact re-

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1. DER HAUPTGOTTESDIENST IN DER EVANGELISCH-LUTHERISCHEN KIRCHE, Lochner, pg.20: "Es war der Rationalismus, der zur 'Religionsverbesserung' auch in Betreff des Amtskleides seine Vandalenarbeit gethan, wenigstens in der deutsch-lutherische Kirche."
 2. Note: The "black gown" is not the cassock of the Reformation era. The cassock was the undergarment in the private dress of the clergy. Over it was worn a loose, flowing gown, open and without buttons, the edge of which was turned back to form a collar. The Germans called it the "Schaube." It is thus we see Luther attired in the portraits of the day. Cf. C.T.M., Vol. I, pg.838.
 3. The Scandinavian Countries.

mains that liturgical students of non-liturgical communions do not!¹ The black robe is a gloomy thing -- black is the symbol of mourning, of death -- used where joy, life, light and purity should be typified.² The black pulpit robe is clumsy and without symbolism. It is a liturgical stranger. It is too often the advertisement of an academic degree or "honor" where such things have no place. The best we can do is to apologize for it, and "put the best construction" possible on its use. The worst we can do is to call it the "distinctive vestment" of the Church of the Reformation.

In making a final reference to good Lutheran usage it is necessary to consider the tests to which such matters as vestments must be subjected. The test may take the form of the following questions:

1. Is it a preservation of ancient pure practice?
2. Does it stand for historic continuity?
3. Is it fitting in a liturgical Church?
4. Does it make for harmony in divine worship?

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1. THE WAY OF WORSHIP, Scott Francis Brenner, pg.112: "The black gown is as much out of place in the celebration of the Lord's Supper as any garment man could devise. It is all but devoid of ecclesiastical association and significance, and it flaunts its opposition to the one firmly established tradition of the whole Church -- 'White vestments in the celebration of the Sacraments.'" CHRISTIAN SYMBOLISM, Thomas Albert Stafford, pg.135: "Perhaps an academic robe is better than a morning suit for pulpit use, but one has to confess, regarding the former, that there is something funereal about its unrelieved blackness."
 2. SYMBOLISM IN CHRISTIAN ART, Hulme, pg.27: "Black, suggestive of the material darkness and gloom that follows the withdrawal of the cheering light of day, is meet symbol of the spiritual darkness of the soul unilluminated by the sun of righteousness." "Black was in the Middle Ages associated with witchcraft. It is naturally a type of darkness, and therefore the transition to moral darkness and dealing with familiar spirits is readily made."

The black gown, when subjected to this test, is surely found wanting; no, it fails altogether. And yet, this test is not the only consideration. We repeat that the black robe is still the predominating use in the American Lutheran churches, and lay people have come to regard it as "Confessional" in many areas. Moreover, it does seem to have an "official stamp" about it, a kind of Lutheran imprimatur. At the same time there exists in some parts of the land an unyielding prejudice against things miscalled "Catholic." And there are those who simply draw mental shades against historic enlightenment. In view of these considerations -- and in the main they are weighty! -- the black pulpit gown may be classed as Good Lutheran Usage, or at least as the accustomed Lutheran Usage. But one must wonder at time if, through such usage, Word and Sacrament are not robbed in a measure of their inherent and almost inexpressable glory. It is worth remembering, too, that instead of making for a confessional churchliness, this "vestment" may help to break it down; there is a time when the essentially adiaphoral becomes confessional.

Besides the black gown, congregations and pastors have before them two choices: 1) The cassock, surplice, and stole (of liturgical color) for all official acts and services; 2) The cassock, surplice, and stole, plus the historic Communion vestments (alb, chasuble, and maniple).

These vestments are recommended in preference to the black gown (which may be regarded as the simplest use) because of their distinctively ecclesiastical character; their continuous use in the Lutheran Church and universally; and

the harmony they effect with the vestments of the altar and choir. For all of these there is clear precedent in the Lutheran Church. It may be emphasized that the use of the alb and chasuble at the service of the Holy Communion is not out of harmony with the church's liturgical life, and can be justified, as has been noted, by an appeal to Lutheran history and current practice in portions of the church today. Decisions in every case ought to be made with due regard to local circumstances, without haste, and above all with complete agreement on the part of pastor and people. If the Historic Vestments of the Church, (the "golden vestments" of the earliest Christian liturgies and of the post-apostolic writers, as they are called), be adopted, let those vestments be patterned after the simple, chaste, and pure originals.

Too often the Lutheran Church has overlooked the fact that present in every man is a built-in desire for and appreciation of the beautiful and reverent, the pure and noble and harmonious. This is no less true when applied to the matter of the externals of worship. As illustrative of this fact the writer is emboldened to cite a personal experience. While serving as a Chaplain with the Armed Forces in the jungles of New Guinea, regular opportunity was provided our Lutheran men to attend the Communion. These services with the Celebration were held in a primitive chapel, made of bamboo and thatched palm fronds, and were "exposed" to the view of all troops in the area. When sometime later the writer gathered together the first of three catechetical classes, six of the ten members stated that they were first

attracted to the Lutheran Church by the solemnity which surrounded our celebration of the Eucharist and by the quiet "dignity" in the vestments and conduct of the officiating chaplain.

In this connection one thinks also of the multitudes in the vast reaches of the Orient who still await "their Epiphany," who challenge as never before the utmost in the missionary efforts of the Christian people of the West. No Church is in a more favored position to meet that challenge than the Lutheran Church with her message of redeeming love, her beautiful liturgy, her appealing custom and -- if the historic vestments be used -- we may add, her appealing dress. To the sensitive Orientals the externals, too, are important. He craves beauty to compensate for the drabness and poverty of his daily life. As the Missouri Synod enters the second century of her history, the Lord of the Church is opening many doors in the Orient which have been barred in time past. One wonders if we are not to be faulted if we fail to employ every legitimate means at our disposal to make our Church and her message appealing to the Oriental. In a spiritual sense and in a material sense we can offer them "beauty for ashes."^{1,2}

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1. THE AMERICAN LUTHERAN, XXIX, No.9, "Now, The Philippines."
 2. For an excellent study of the appeal which the externals of worship have for the Oriental mind cf. CHRISTIAN SYMBOLS IN A WORLD COMMUNITY, by Daniel J. Fleming, 1940.

SECTION II

I

We may now give our attention to a survey of those vestments which are deemed proper for the sanctuary. For general purposes these may be grouped under two general headings: The Altar Cloths, and The Communion Linens. The Altar Cloths include: the Cerecloth; the Frontal; the Frontlet; the Fair Linen; the Pulpit and Lectern Antependia; the Funeral Pall; and the Bookmarks. Under Communion Linens we list the following: the Corporal; the Pall; the Post-Communion Veil; the Purificator; the Chalice Veil; and the Burse.

Before we undertake a study of these vestments, two points may be noted. Little information is set forth in extant writings which is relative either to the origin of these vestments or to the usage of the early Christian centuries. Nor does Archaeology provide us with examples of ancient altars vested in cloths.¹ However, we do have mosaics from the fifth and sixth centuries. One of them shows an ancient altar, covered with a linen cloth which is ornamented with gammas and a star. It falls to the altar feet on all four sides.² The other is completely surrounded by a dark colored material and on top has a white linen cloth of the same design. Another point,

1. VESTMENTS AND VESTURE, Roulin, pg.35.

2. In the Church of S. Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna.

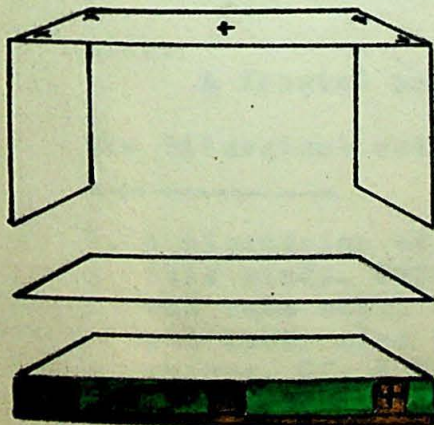
worthy of note, is this that the Lutheran Church has followed the custom of the Church of the pre-Reformation era and covered (vested) her altars,¹ Moreover, the Lutheran Church in America has generally approved the use of the vestments named above, and many fine examples are to be found in her sanctuaries the country over. That such historic vestments have been retained, while those for the clergy have been given up in favor of the black gown, is in the nature of an inconsistency.

The canons of both the Anglican (dated 1603) and the Roman Churches demand that the altar be vested, and we must assume that these reflect the use of earlier centuries. Thus, through the continued use of the traditional vestments for the sanctuary, Lutheran Christians have another link that binds them to those who have held the Faith in the ages long past.

II

THE ALTAR CLOTHS

The first vestment on the altar is the Cerecloth, a



-- The Fair (Fine) Linen

-- The Cerecloth

-- The Fronlet

Fig. 12

1. A MANUAL FOR ALTAR GUILDS, Weidmann,
pg. 12

piece of unbleached hemmed linen, the heaviest obtainable, corresponding in size to the exact measurements of the mensa (ordinarily 6 feet by 22 inches). The cerecloth serves a two-fold purpose; in the case of a stone altar, it protects the other material from dampness; and on either wood or stone altars it will furnish a soft foundation for the missal stand and the communion vessels. If it is to be used on a stone altar, this cloth is dipped in melted wax. Incidentally, this practice accounts for its name -- Cerecloth.¹

The cloth which covers the entire front of the altar is called the Frontal.² It reaches from the mensa to the foot of the altar, and covers only the front. The frontal must never reach around the horns (sides) of the altar. It is attached to a coarse piece of linen which lies upon the mensa and, like the cerecloth, it is the exact dimension of the top of the altar. Into the back edge of this piece of linen, a hem about one inch wide (1") may be sewed so that a heavy metal rod can be slipped through. The frontal is thus kept in position.

A frontal may be changed according to the scheme of the liturgical colors.³ Although the use should be en-

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1. A discussion of the altar itself is beyond the scope of this study. Suffice it to say that our Church as a general rule still constructs her altars as an ancient tomb, and their size is determined by the size of the sarcophagus. Cf. A MANUAL FOR ALTAR GUILDS, Chapt. I.
 2. The use of the frontal is advisable in case the altar is constructed of wood which is unadorned. If the altar is of stone, bearing appropriate symbols, it is beautiful in itself, and the frontal is unnecessary.
 3. VESTMENTS AND VESTURE, Roulin, pg.156. The rubric: "Let the altar...be ornamented with a pall of the color proper to the day or to the office."

couraged, in most cases this proved too expensive for a congregation. For this reason, a frontal of a neutral liturgical color may be chosen. A red cloth, or one of yellow or gold, will serve the purpose, (See Fig. 13). Frontals are made of damasks, rich brocade, or silk brocates. At times it is possible to purchase a splendid tapestry of an ecclesiastical design which serves eminently well as a frontal. Ordinarily, mission congregations will not find it possible to purchase altars of stone, or of wood which is beautifully carved. In such a case the use of a frontal is recommended, for thus even



Fig. 13
The Frontal

a small congregation may have an altar that is liturgical, truly beautiful, and at a cost that is not prohibitive.

Sometimes the frontal bears an orphrey at either edge, placed twelve or eighteen inches (12" or 18") from the edge. Such a band of colored damask, chosen in contrast to the color of the frontal itself, runs the entire width of the frontal from mensa to base.

In case a frontal is not used, then a frontlet (superfrontal, parament, "altar cloth") is employed. It



Fig. 14

The Pulpit Fall

covers the entire length of the altar but falls in front only to a depth of ten inches (10"). Sometimes eight (8") will make for a better appearance. The frontlet is enhanced with a fringe, which ought not to be more than two inches (2") in depth, either in a solid color or in a combination of the liturgical colors. Fringes, made of metal, are to be discouraged, because they soon become tarnished and unsightly.

The color of the frontlet is to be determined by the scheme for liturgical colors. The Lutheran Church follows the so-called Roman usage and employs these five colors: white, red, green, violet, and black. The use of Liturgical Colors, and of hangings and vestments in such colors, are not an arbitrary or recent invention. They are the development of church use and expression through many centuries. They are part of "the sign language of the Church."



Fig. 15

The Frontlet

and their purpose is to teach through the eye. They are symbolic, and this means the worshiper receives constantly and silently an external comment which calls to mind the period of the Church Year through which he is passing, and the great facts of redemption which are being commemorated.

For centuries there was much variation in the liturgical colors and in the number of them throughout various sections of the Church. Some used more than others; some used different colors in part.¹ A glance at the Comparative Table of Liturgical Colors which have been in use in the Church for a period of some 3,300 years is illustrative of this fact. (See page 47). In the Anglican Church much effort is being put forth to bring about a restoration of the so-called "Five Mystic Colors of the Law": red, white, blue, purple, and gold. These are considered by Anglicans to be superior to any other usage, for they are mentioned in Exodus 28:5, "the one Revelation from God to man of the colors of the sacrificial vestments to be worn in His Church on earth."² The Table which follows is included because it is illustrative both of the use of these "Mystic Colors of the Law" and of the vestments of the Old Testament priesthood.

1. For an excellent treatment of this subject cf. **THE ANCIENT USE OF LITURGICAL COLOURS**, C.C. Rolfe.

2. Opus. cit., pg. 9-11.

Levitical Use at Time of Moses						
Gold	Blue	Purple	Red	White		
Ancient British Use						
Gold	Blue	Purple	Red	White		
Early Anglo-Saxon Use						
Gold	Blue	Purple	Red	White		
Late Anglo-Saxon Use, cir. 1100						
Gold	Blue	Purple	Red	White		
Early Mediaeval English Use						
Gold	Blue	Purple	Red	White		
Green	Black					
Late Mediaeval English Use						
Gold	Blue	Purple	Red	White		
Green	Black	Brown	Tawney			
Murrey	Pink	Cheney				
English Use in Edward VI's Time 1547						
Gold	Blue	Purple	Red	White		
Green	Black	Brown	Tawney			
Murrey	Pink	Cheney				
English Use from 1603--1668						
Gold	Blue	Purple	Red	White		
Modern Roman Sequence						
Red	White	Green	Black	Violet		

ANCIENT

MEDIAEVAL

MODERN

EXTENDING OVER 3,300 YEARS

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE LITURGICAL COLORS WHICH HAVE BEEN IN USE IN VARIOUS PERIODS OF THE CHURCH

VESTMENT	WORN BY	COLOUR
The ephod	Highpriest	Gold, blue, scarlet, purple, white.
The girdle	Highpriest	Gold, blue, scarlet, purple, white.
The breastplate	Highpriest	Gold, blue, scarlet, purple, white.
The robe	Highpriest	Blue
The broidered coat	Highpriest	White
The mitre	Highpriest	White
The holy crown	Highpriest	Gold and blue
The coats	Priests	White
The girdles	Priests	Blue, purple, scarlet, white.
The bonnets	Priests	White

Care must be exercised in choosing fabrics of proper color. It is especially difficult, for example, to find a suitable and pleasing green. Far too often, one sees the "pale parrot green" that fairly screams for removal. When violets are chosen, care should be taken not to choose a color which approaches deep crimson and purples. It is to be noted, too, that "not all shades of any given color are suitable for all interiors."¹ If the stained-glass windows are very clear and the church full of light, soft subdued shades will be those best adapted to the circumstances. On the other hand, if the church is dark, the greens, reds, and purples should be brighter.

1. VESTMENTS AND VESTURE, Roulin, pg. 52.

The third cloth which lies upon the altar is the principal one and is called "the fair linen," or "the fine linen," (mappa superior¹). It is the linen cloth which custom dictates must always lie upon the altar during the Celebration. It is symbolical of that linen with which the women wrapped the body of our Lord when He was laid into the tomb. This linen is called "fine" because it is always (or should be!) made of the very best material, and should be the object of scrupulous care.² The fair linen must never hang over the front of the altar, and upon it must never be sewed any kind of lace.³ The fair linen hangs over the horns of the altar at least eighteen inches (18") or within a half foot of the floor.

The fair linen is beautified by embroidering five crosses upon that portion of the linen which lies upon the mensa. One cross is in the exact midst of the linen and the other four upon the edges, about six or nine inches (6" or 9") from the horns of the altar, and about two or four inches (2" or 4") from the front and rear edges of the linen. The five crosses are symbolic of the Five Wounds of Our Lord.

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1. VESTMENTS AND VESTURE, Roulin, pg. 36
 2. Opus cit., pg.38: "They (fair linens) are exquisite in taste and they breathe an odour of humility. They are, if we may so express it, like the perfectly simple yet simply perfect costume of a noble lady."
 3. Opus cit., pg.37: "Bad taste seems here in this matter to achieve its masterpieces!"

Hems are sewed into the fair linen, upon both the rear and front edges and upon the ends that hang over the horns of the altar. The hem ought never to be over one inch wide (1").

Should the pulpit be decorated with elaborate sculpture or carving, no Pulpit-Fall (antependium) is necessary. The same is true of the lectern. The pulpit antependium is an oblong piece of cloth, often decorated, as the frontlet, with appropriate symbols and hangs from the reading desk of the pulpit. (See Fig. 14). There seems to be no rubric or custom which demands that it follow the liturgical scheme of colors, although this is most often the case in the Lutheran Church. Care should be exercised lest the pulpit-falls become too conspicuous.

The antependium for the lectern falls over the reading desk of the lectern. The same rules apply to this covering as to the pulpit-fall. If the liturgical scheme of colors be followed, then the symbol embroidered on the antependia should "teach" the same general truth as the color. For example, the crown of thorns should not be embroidered on the green antependium, but rather a symbol of the Holy Trinity.

The use of Book-markers (or Book-marks) is quite ancient, at least in certain sections of the Church. They are purely decorative and may be omitted if the pulpit is beautiful enough without them, or if the antependium is used. The marker should be made of soft ribbon and have a

fringe not deeper than two inches (2"). The marker should be approximately a yard long and three inches (3") wide. It is well to place such a marker between the last page and the cover of the Bible, so that the pages will not be torn or frayed.

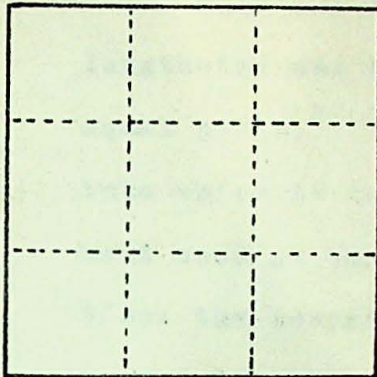
One vestment, not generally used in the Lutheran Church, but most strongly recommended, is the Funeral Pall. It is not desirable to have the casket remain naked during the funeral service, and funeral directors, sensing this, often place several sprays of flowers upon the casket. But the funeral pall solves this problem in a better way, and there is precedent for it, especially in the English Church. The funeral pall is a covering of silk brocade, generally purple in color, about nine by six feet (9' x 6'), large enough to cover the carriage upon which the casket rests, beside the casket itself. Very often the pall is bordered with a contrasting color and tassels are added to each corner. A new-found dignity will be given the funeral service if the casket is covered with such a pall. An acceptable funeral pall does not exceed in cost "the blanket of roses" which is so often spread over the coffin, and will give service for many years.

II

THE COMMUNION LINENS

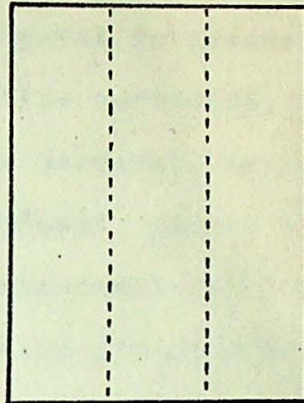
The Communion linens are those linen napkins and cloths which are used by the minister at the celebration of the Eucharist. As with all the vestments described

Fig.16.



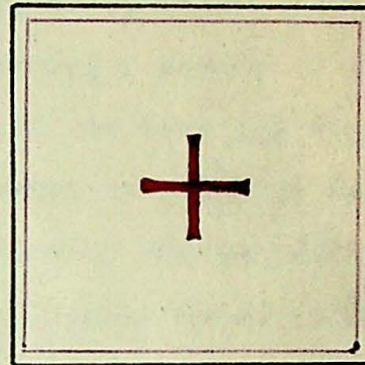
Corporal

Fig.17



Purificator

Fig.18



Pall

in this thesis, each of the communion linens has its own specific function.

The Corporal is a napkin of the finest linen, eighteen to twenty-one inches (18" to 21") square, on which all the communion vessels rest.¹ It was originally a real altar cloth and used to be spread out on the altar by the deacons. A Roman ordo which was used in Carolingian territory tells us that it "ought to be of pure linen because our Savior's body was wrapped in a white winding-sheet," and that "it ought to be big enough to cover the whole surface of the altar."² Such large dimensions were not the general rule, yet the cloth was quite large until the time of the Renaissance. The corporal has a narrow hem of an inch or less, but is never hemstitched. A perfectly flat cross (crux immissa) is embroidered on one side (not shown in Fig. 16) about two inches from the hem; otherwise there is no embroi-

1. Originally called "corporis palla," the cloth on which the body of our Lord would lie." 2. VESTMENTS AND VESTURE, pg.17.

dery. Crosses on all pieces of linen indicate the sacred use to which the article is dedicated.

When the corporal is laundered it is folded thrice lengthwise and thrice crosswise, forming a square of nine equal parts.¹ The corporal then will fit into the burse into which it is placed, and no portion or crumb of the host used at the Sacrament will fall from the corporal. Since the corporal is placed into the burse where it lies by itself, we are reminded how the disciples found the linen cloth which had been wound around our Lord's countenance lying by itself in His tomb.

Formerly, as has been noted, the corporal and the pall were one, or rather the pall did not exist. Today it is not our custom to use a corporal large enough to cover all the sacred vessels, but to make another stiffened linen cloth to place upon the chalice. This is called "the Pall," (*Parva palla linea*). See Fig. 18. The pall is a square of glass, aluminum or celluloid covered tightly with linen. Seven or nine inches (7" or 9") is about the proper size, but that is governed in a measure by the diameter of the chalice, and also by the circumference of the paten. Usually the linen is made in the form of a pocket to accommodate the square of glass or aluminum. The upper side may have embroidered upon it a cross, an I H S, or a cross surrounded by a crown of

1. "Corporale plicatum, quod ex lino tantum esse debet."

thorns. The pall is placed over the chalice during the celebration of the Eucharist. Before the celebration it lies upon the paten, which itself fits into the mouth of the chalice.

The purificator (also called purificatory¹) is a napkin of fine linen, soft and absorbent, thirteen inches (13") square.² Its purpose is to cleanse the chalice during the celebration. It is folded twice on itself (see Fig.17), giving a triple thickness. It is hemmed with the smallest possible hem. Into the purificator a small simple cross may be embroidered. This symbol may be sewn either on the edge or in the middle of the linen. A sufficient number of purificators should be provided the celebrant, at least enough that there shall be one for every large group of communicants.

In most Lutheran churches it is customary to cover all of the communion vessels or credence table with a piece of linen known as the Communion Veil. It is really a secondary corporal.³ The veil is made of the very finest linen obtainable, yet not so sheer as to be able to see the vessels through it, at least from the nave. Generally, a post-communion veil twenty-four inches (24") square will be ample. Upon this veil is embroidered a cross in the exact center, either in elaborate or simple design. The cross in the center will distinguish it at once from the corporal. It may be folded into nine equal

1. VESTMENTS AND VESTURE, Roulin, pg.21.

2. Opus cit., pg.21: "Its length should be twice the height of the chalice plus the diameter of the cup."

3. A MANUAL FOR ALTAR GUILDS, Weidmann, pg. 20.

squares, in threes from front to back and in threes from side to side. If folded in this fashion it will fit into the burse with the corporal and pall.



Fig. 19

Burse

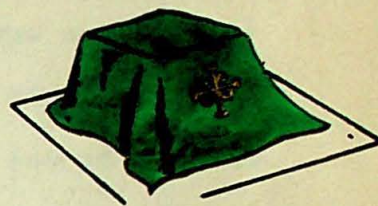


Fig. 20

Chalice Veil

The Chalice Veil is the one article numbered among the Communion Linens proper which is made of the same material used for the frontlets and the antependia. It is generally twenty-two inches square¹, and covers the chalice before the celebration. It follows the color sequence of the altar frontlets. The chalice veil is beautified by an emblem, and this is sewed on the center of the cloth and upon the lower hem. See Fig. 20. Each veil may have its own distinctive emblem, and these may be simple or elaborate. The chalice veil is folded in the same manner as the post-communion

1. VESTMENTS AND VESTURE, Roulin, pg. 125; 154.

veil, into nine equal squares so that when it is draped over the chalice, it will fall in even folds, each edge touching the corporal. Needless to say, the back of the chalice veil should be lined with a silk cloth exactly the size of the veil itself.

The linens, when not in use should be properly folded and kept in the burse, a square envelope made of two stout cardboards covered with colored cloth identical to that used in making the frontlets. The two pieces are bound together along one of their sides, thus forming the bottom of the V-shaped burse. See Fig. 19. A suitable emblem may be sewn on one of the sides of the burse and at the exact center. The burse is used chiefly to carry the linens to and from the altar. It makes for tidiness and order during the celebration. Between communions the linens are better stored in dust-proof drawers in a chest or in suitable boxes.

Caring for all the communion linens should be looked upon as a labor of love. They ought never be sent to a public laundry, nor included in "the family wash." It will be well for the pastor to appoint a person or several persons for this particular duty, and to instruct them in the proper care of the linens. Such persons only should be chosen for this labor of love who will bring a spirit of reverence to their work. In general it may be said that all who are engaged in caring for any part of God's House should both cultivate and practice that respect which marks the church as "a place set apart."

In concluding this thesis on the Historic Vestments for Clergy and Sanctuary, we quote a paragraph from a personal letter addressed to the writer by one of our pastors:

"The Church travels a long road. She has already come a long way when we give thought to the crowded baffling centuries. We must call to remembrance again and again that even during the turbulent years of scaffolding the founding fathers did not lose sight of their great heritage, for they retained the confessions which urged the preservation of those traditions and their proper use. Force of circumstances compelled the church to lay aside much of her outward beauty along the battle-scarred path of the years. But the heat of the battle is over; the crudities and poverties of the early years are past. It is time, then, is it not, for the Church to don again the radiant garb which made her look the part of the Church -- the dignity, the grandeur, the solemnity of vestment and service and song! This she can do only if her ambassadors discover that she has dropped some of her dress in her flight and fight."

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