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### The Background and Objectives of Luther's Formula Missae and Deutsche Messe

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THE BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES OF LUTHER'S  
FORMULA MISSAE AND DEUTSCHE MESSE

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A Thesis Presented to the Faculty  
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,  
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in partial fulfillment of the  
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Bachelor of Divinity

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By  
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June 1952

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## CHAPTER I

### DEFINITION AND SCOPE OF THE PROBLEM

There have been many movements and trends within the Lutheran Church since the time of the Reformation, and these have inevitably affected aspects of Church life and practice to some degree, depending on the type of the movement. In the twentieth century, with its great and influential world events, there has arisen a new Lutheran consciousness which reveals itself in many ways in various countries. This consciousness, in some countries, shows itself in a new liturgical interest, an interest which, while attempting to be specifically and definitely Lutheran, is attempting to be creative and to add to the cultus of the Church, as well as to revive many Lutheran traditions and practices. In so doing, the Lutheran Church is in no way attempting to discard its distinctiveness or merely to borrow from or copy others. Rather, the Lutheran Church is only making full use of what she rightly claims to be hers. And in order to know and to show her claims, she points to the Reformation period, to the time when she made known in the clearest manner what was hers. Therefore, to understand the Lutheran Church and to know and to appreciate her claims is to know the Reformation. Since the writer has observed this trend within the Lutheran Church and has been caught up in it, he has been prompted, on the basis of certain of Luther's writings, to discover for himself some distinct Lutheran principles in regard to worship.

Of Luther's liturgical writings, his Formula Missae of 1523 and his Deutsche Messe of 1526 were taken as the basis for research. Thus, by studying the background to Luther's liturgical activity and by observing Luther's objectives in his liturgical undertakings, the writer has attempted to discover for himself that which is distinctly Lutheran and how it is to be applied.

In writing on "The Background and Objectives of Luther's Formula Missae and Deutsche Messe", the writer has first attempted to find the purpose of the liturgy, and then to see in what relation the purpose would stand to the Reformation, that is, to the works of Luther. In so doing, the writer was presupposing the claim of the Lutheran Church that it is not a Church which has broken away from the true Church, that it is not the Church of the sixteenth century, but that it is part of the Church of all time, that it is a continuation of the Apostolic Church, that it has Christ as its origin. The period of the Middle Ages, which forms the general background to the work and activities of Luther, is a period full of historic material. In a writing such as this the writer deemed it neither essential nor possible to cover this period in any great detail. The purpose in surveying the period was to discover the spirit of the age, and to note, in a general way, the various trends and movements so as to form the context for a proper understanding of Luther's writings. With such a general background, the task of understanding and the possibility of evaluating the immediate

background to Luther's liturgical activities was simplified. At first the writer had tried to take a greater part of the immediate background for granted. It was found, however, that while the immediate background was almost purely historical, it nevertheless had an influence and effect on Luther's liturgical activity. Therefore it had to be treated so as to form the immediate context. Only then could a study of the specific writings of Luther be undertaken.

In gathering the material for a general background, the writer had great difficulty in finding material which dealt specifically with the liturgy and liturgical practices of the Middle Ages. What material could be found showed a distinct lack of liturgical interest and activity. Thus the writer was compelled to go beyond the liturgical field in order to find the causes for such a lack. This implied a general study of the secular and religious history of the period, for which much material was available. The historical data of this period was accepted generally by all authorities, and therefore only one source has been used as reference in each field within the writing. The chief source for the actual liturgical practices and conditions of the time was several of Luther's own writings. His Treatise on the New Testament of 1519, and his writing On the Abuses of the Mass of 1522 gave an idea as to the worship and service of the late Middle Ages. The material concerning conditions within the Church and their effect on worship life

was gathered from his writing on The Papacy at Rome. In singling out Luther's Formula Missae and Deutsche Messe for special study, the writer encountered one great difficulty, namely, that there was very little source material apart from Luther's own writings. It was found that very few men have attempted to examine, survey or evaluate any specific liturgical writings of Luther. His works generally have been seen as part of the totality of the Reformation, and as such have not been exhausted singly. Several authors have viewed Luther's liturgical activity in relation to the liturgical activity of others. By comparison then the distinctiveness of Luther's writings was stressed. Others have taken only parts of a writing or writings and studied them in fullest detail. Few men have given short surveys of some of Luther's liturgical writings in various periodicals. Thus, when undertaking this study, the writer had material at his disposal which was of a general type. Although it was related to the subject of study and dealt with the subject matter, in most cases it did not apply to the specific problem of this study. Therefore the conclusions reached and the points emphasised in this study are the findings of the writer, based in greater part on Luther's Formula Missae and Deutsche Messe.

## CHAPTER II

### THE PURPOSE OF THE LITURGY

Many attempts have been made to define the liturgy, its meaning, aims and purpose. In all these definitions the central thought is essentially the same. The liturgy is not merely a something which was adopted by the Christian Church as time went on. Rather, the liturgy was an automatic growth and an essential development within the Christian Church. This can readily be seen if the origin of the Christian Church and its purpose is examined.

In the very person of Christ the origin of the Christian Church can be seen, and in the light of His life and work the purpose of the Christian Church is evident, namely, to bring salvation to all mankind. This purpose, since Christ, has been carried out through the preaching and teaching of the Word and the use of the Sacraments. All those then who have been led to Christ and who have found their salvation in Him are inseparably bound together in Christ. Their very faith unites them. In other words, they have a common faith. From this it follows that their worship of and to Christ would be not only the worship of individuals, but also a corporate worship. For this reason the Christians, shortly after the Ascension of the Lord, assembled together for common prayer, supplication and exhortation. Out of this has grown the liturgy of the Church.



The purpose of the liturgy therefore can be easily determined. It is twofold. In the first place the Church, through its liturgy or public worship, desires to give expression to its common faith and belief, thereby to witness to its members and to the world at large. Secondly, in giving expression to its common faith and belief, it does so in such a way in various forms so as to reveal its essential character. Luther Reed expresses this character in the following two ways:

Common appreciation of God's greatness and goodness, and appropriation of His grace in Christ Jesus, have prompted common expression of thanksgiving and petition.<sup>1</sup>

. . . The main springs of common worship, however, are a compelling sense of adoration, praise and thanksgiving; the desire to hear the truth of God and to be strengthened by the Hgly Sacrament; and the joy of spiritual fellowship.<sup>2</sup>

The Church then, through its liturgy, that is, through the proclaiming of the Word, through prayer and through Sacrament, presents its Christian faith and belief. Luther Reed defines this purpose of the liturgy in this way:

It presents a complete and well organised summary of the Christian faith and life as a basis for common meditation, prayer and thanksgiving. . . It regularly reviews the "things most surely believed among us". . . Because of its confessional character and its careful preparation, it is a living, truthful expression of the Church's fundamental beliefs.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Luther Reed, The Lutheran Liturgy, A Study of the Common Service of the Lutheran Church in America, (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, c.1947), p. vii.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 21.

Paul Weber defines it thus:

Any Liturgy . . . is made up of selections from God's inspired Word, and prayers which set forth the truths of God's Word.<sup>4</sup>

The significant parts of these definitions are the phrases, "expressions of the Church's fundamental beliefs" and "truths of God's Word". It is from God's revealed Word that the Church takes and proclaims its truths and fundamental beliefs. And this the members of the Church have in common with one another. A difficulty arises, however, when the history of the liturgy is examined. The Church, through the ages, has not kept the common fundamental beliefs. As the Church was plagued with heretics and false teachers who, proclaiming other and false doctrines, claimed to have and understand the truth as revealed in God's Word, the Church no longer was a unity. And since the fundamental beliefs were no longer common beliefs, different liturgies arose, liturgies which then expressed the disunified beliefs. And a further conclusion may be drawn from this. Where the fundamental beliefs were false and unscriptural, there also the liturgy, which gave expression and public witness to the same, was false and unscriptural.

When now the Reformation period is examined, it will be seen that of necessity there had to be a liturgical reform. Luther's Reformation, which began with an attack against the

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<sup>4</sup>F. R. Webber, Studies in the Liturgy, (Erie, Pennsylvania: Ashby Company Publishers, 1938), p. 15.

prevalent abuses within the Church at the time, led finally into a reform of the doctrines of the Church. Since it was necessary to bring the Church back to the way of the truth in doctrine, it had to follow that those doctrines and beliefs would also be reformed in the liturgy which expressed such doctrine and belief. This did not imply that Luther himself had to carry out such reform, but simply that there had to be a liturgical reform. But Luther did become active in such reform. In order the better to understand his work at liturgical reform, it will be good to survey the Church of the Middle Ages, her teaching and practice.

The chief characteristic of the Western Church of the Middle Ages is that it was the Church of the Holy Roman Empire. This fact can readily be seen if the rise of Rome in importance and leadership during the previous centuries is noted. By virtue of its geographical position Rome, at an early date, assumed such importance. Then by gradually assuming leadership, and using vigorous policies, she managed to place herself at the head of the Western world.

Connected with the rise of Rome to leadership is the development of the Papacy. Since Rome was the centre, it was natural for the Bishop of Rome to exert his influence and to

## CHAPTER III

### A GENERAL BACKGROUND TO LUTHER'S LITURGICAL REFORM

#### The Church of the Middle Ages and her Dogma

In outlining the Church of the Middle Ages and her Dogma, the Church of that period cannot be seen only in the sphere of that determined period. That time in history can not be elevated above the preceding history and be examined as a separate and complete entity. Only when seen as a development from the past or as a progress in history can a true and definite picture of the Church of the Middle Ages be made. The outline now given will not, however, deal with the Eastern Church, but will speak specifically of the Western Church, since it was there that the Reformation unfolded itself.

The chief characteristic of the Western Church of the Middle Ages is that it was the Church of the Holy Roman Empire. This fact can readily be seen if the rise of Rome in importance and leadership during the previous centuries is noted. By virtue of its geographical position Rome, at an early date, assumed much importance. Then by gradually assuming leadership, and using vigorous policies, she managed to place herself at the head of the Western world.

Coupled with the rise of Rome to leadership is the development of the Papacy. Since Rome was the centre, it was natural for the Bishop of Rome to exert his influence and to

make his power felt. It was in the fourteenth century that Papal power reached its peak. Whereas up to that time the Papacy had dominated both the Church and politics, from then on it began to lose its sway. But despite its downward trend, it was still a power to be reckoned with. Such dominance of the Papacy enabled it, with comparative ease, to enforce its religion on all peoples. Reform movements prior to the Reformation failed because they failed to overcome the power of the Papacy.

Another development, closely linked with the rise of Papal power, is the development of the hierarchy. The Papacy alone could not have maintained its power and authority had it not worked out a system and organisation by which to spread and enforce its power. To achieve this, power was delegated to the servants of Rome, to Bishops and priests, who thus became the agents of the Papacy. Being such and having such delegated authority, Papal power was felt throughout the entire Western world. ) Bad

This, in brief, was the polity followed by the Roman Church of the Middle Ages. Quite naturally, this had its theological and practical implications. Because of the growth of the Papacy and the hierarchy certain dogmas had to be altered to fit such a system. One such dogma was the priesthood of all believers. The development of the hierarchy had made a definite split between clergy and laity. Furthermore, through his delegated authority the priest became a mediator between God and the people. The

I - thou relationship between God and the individual was thus obscured. Also the Pope, by rising in authority and importance, had not hesitated to use such authority. In so doing he went to extremes by claiming to be Christ's Vicar on earth. Another development was the doctrine of tradition which accounts for many dogmas in the Roman Church. Tradition was made equal with Scripture. The fixing of one dogma in particular had much bearing on the Church of the Middle Ages, namely, the doctrine of Transubstantiation. This dogma found its expression in the Canon, which was the chief part of the celebration of the Mass. Through this dogma the Mass changed from a Sacrament to a Sacrifice. Once again the authority of the priest was prominent. Only he had the power and the commission to perform the sacrifice. Further effects of the fixing of this dogma were the withdrawal of the cup from the laity, the adoration given at the elevation of the host, the idea of merit in watching the sacrifice and a strong stress on adoration of the host in the prayers.

#### The Worship and Service of the Middle Ages

Since the dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church had to find their expression in the worship and liturgy of the time, it is comparatively easy to determine the type of service which was conducted. The Canon, forming the chief part of the celebration of the Mass, was deeply impressed with the idea of sacrifice. The climax of the sacrifice was the elevation of the host. When tradition was added to this,

the result was great show and splendour. The service was made more elaborate with many little details such as kissings, bowings, striking of the breast. And added to this were the many ornaments and vestments. All this developed out of tradition.

The chief characteristic of the service, however, was the almost complete lack of participation on the part of the laity. The Mass, having become a spectacle, performed only by the priest, the people became mere spectators. Such looking on, however, was considered as merit or a good work on their part which aided in gaining their salvation. The separation of clergy and laity was made more complete in the fact that the priest said all the prayers, and that in a quiet, inaudible voice. Further, only the priest partook of the cup.

Yet another outcome of tradition and Papal authority was the increase in services and types of worship. The Sacraments were increased from two to seven. And out of these Sacraments grew many abuses and misuses such as paying for penance, the merit in relics and, above all, a greater power for the hierarchy. The people were burdened with many daily prayers and services which they had to observe. Canonical hours grew in importance and were to be strictly adhered to.

From this it may be concluded that the worship and service of the Middle Ages was very complicated and elaborate, much time and energy being given to minor details. Besides

many of the fundamental doctrines being clouded over, changes and developments had taken place in regard to dogma and practice. All this, however, does not mean that there were no good parts to the services of the Middle Ages. As will be seen in Luther's activity in liturgical reform, there was still much that was good. Luther's liturgical work was not a throwing over and casting aside of all that had taken place in the previous centuries. Rather it was a casting out of the bad, and a retaining and establishing of the good. His activities were not revolt, but reform.

#### The Worshipping Laity - their Culture and Learning

Before proceeding to the Reformation period and Luther's work in liturgical reform, it will be necessary first to examine the standards of the laity as they found themselves caught up in the large and complicated network of Roman liturgical practice. The question often arises as to why attempts at reform prior to the Reformation did not succeed. The answer given is twofold. First, the power of the Papacy was too strong, and secondly, the people were too ignorant.

The strength of the Papacy lay in its power over and hold on the people. The strength was gained, not through persuasion or by convincing the people, but by force and authority. Exploiting the people and making good use of ignorance, the Roman Church had not hesitated to make laws which embraced the whole life of the individual, especially in liturgical practice. The people, knowing no way out, and



having no leaders, had to submit. Once under submission it was only a matter of time before they grew into such a way of life. Such blinding of the people also fitted well into the hierarchical system of the time.

When it is said that the people were ignorant, it does not imply that they had no education at all. Instead, the education which they did have was not sufficient to give them the opportunity of thinking for themselves. Toward the end of the Middle Ages, however, there was a growth in the standard of culture and learning among the people, which was an outgrowth of the Renaissance.

### The Renaissance

In great part it was the Renaissance which set the stage for the Reformation.<sup>1</sup> Its very spirit and character spoke for and demanded changes and reform. And this spirit found its way into and had its effects upon the worship of the time.

The Crusades of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are generally pointed to as being the starting point of the Renaissance. Through the Crusades the people came into contact with various forms of culture, and much of it they adopted and took back to their own lands. In this way a new era was brought forth, an era which brought many changes.

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<sup>1</sup>Lars P. Qualben, A History of the Christian Church, (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, c.1933), pp. 195-99.

It may be characterized as the age of adventure and of exploration, and this spread into all forms of life. The effect was that the people flocked to the cities; new trade routes were opened; new lands were discovered; economic systems were changed; a new class of people was formed; universities sprang up; social life changed and many standards were raised. Several of these changes had an important bearing on Luther's liturgical reforms.

In the first place, because of the rise of universities, the educating of the people was taken out of the hands of the Church schools and the people thereby further removed from the Church. Also the standard and type of education in the universities was quite different from that of the Church schools. In keeping with the spirit of the age, the learning of the time looked for new outlets, and this it found in historical and philological studies. And with this special interest there arose a critical type of study. Because of this ardent desire to examine all possibilities, Church documents were subjected to severe critical examinations. The result of such examinations were not always favourable towards the Church and its teaching, and this led to a desire on the part of the people for reform.

Secondly, the spirit of the Renaissance evolved a new and extensive interest in the fine arts, such as sculpture, painting and architecture. Since the outside world did not give any opportunity for the development of such art it found its home in the Church, and spread its influence there.

This had a direct bearing on the worship life of the people. Whereas the people had become totally inactive in their worship life, being given no opportunity to participate in any way in worship, they now found in these forms of art a means whereby to express their religious feelings and sentiment. In these arts they found their edification, and to them they gave their adoration. This explains why at the time of Luther there was such an emphasis on externals, and why there was such a violent reaction on the part of some of the Reformers.<sup>2</sup>

From this it would appear as though the Renaissance had only a negative effect on the worship life of the time. But there was also a positive element which was twofold. In the first place the creative genius of this age succeeded in producing better paper which in turn meant better and more abundant printings. More and more books were thus placed into the hands of the people, particularly religious books. This aided the Reformation greatly in that the Reformers were able to equip themselves better, and the people were able to follow the proceedings to a greater extent. Secondly, the spirit for adventure and desire for exploration and newness had found an avenue of expression in music.<sup>3</sup> Although the Middle Ages, from the fourteenth century on, had

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<sup>2</sup>Infra: p. 27.

<sup>3</sup>Edward Dickinson, Music in the History of the Western Church, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, c.1902), pp. 129-81.

been developing the art of polyphonic song and had reached a maturity, the progress made was too slow for the adventurous Renaissance spirit. Thus, using this polyphonic song as a basis, the Renaissance lifted it to a new height and made it an art in itself. Once again the development took place within the Church as it was the only place which gave opportunity for music. Since music, however, was made a distinctive art, it was divorced more and more from the totality of worship. It was no longer used solely to give fuller expression to the many parts of the liturgy, nor was it intended to be solely in the service of the words, but it was music for music's sake. This creative and artistic development of music culminated in the great works of the sixteenth century. When Luther then began to work in the field of music in the interests of worship, he had before him a very rich background and an already enlivened interest in music as far as the people were concerned.

Yet another effect of the Renaissance which is to be noted is the rise of a national self-consciousness. This showed itself in many ways. The rise in living standards and the better education led the people to think for themselves, and this gave them a feeling of independence and a sense of personal pride and authority. The rivalry in trade and the race to be the first to discover developed a highly competitive spirit which was national in character. And this spirit made itself felt also in the field of education, with the result that the literature which was produced was of a

patriotic nature and very national. This national consciousness helped to make the Reformation very popular in Germany, since it made Germany independent of Rome. And in relation to worship this patriotic feeling expressed itself in the desire to do away with all things Roman to replace them with things German.

Thus the Renaissance in many ways prepared the way for the Reformation, and opened many avenues for reform in the liturgy.

of what interest here is the growing desire for the use of the vernacular, particularly in the liturgy. England, through the Bible translations which had appeared, had become conscious of his own identity and wanted more and more to transfer the services from Latin into English. In Germany there was the same trend. With their poor education the people could no longer understand the Latin language and there was a growing demand for German.

This demand was in some way met before the Reformation and before Luther's attempt to satisfy the people. Probably as in England, it was the various German translations of the Bible in circulation which had crystallized the idea for a service in the vernacular. For the Roman Church Latin had been and still was the official language, and hence did not want to part with it. But Constantine's desire, German began to find its way into the liturgy of the Mass. The first attempts at change in the liturgy were the liturgical

## CHAPTER IV

### THE IMMEDIATE BACKGROUND FOR LUTHER'S LITURGICAL WRITINGS

#### Rising National Consciousness - Language

A rising national consciousness, which was exerting itself more and more among the nations of the Western world, expressed itself in many trends and movements. But that which is of chief interest here is the growing desire for the use of the vernacular, particularly in the liturgy. England, through the Bible translations which had appeared, had become conscious of its own identity and wanted more and more to transfer the service from Latin into English. In Germany there was the same trend. With their poor education the people could no longer understand the Latin language and there was a growing demand for German.

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<sup>1</sup>Julius D. Smend, Die Evangelischen Deutschen Messen bis zu Luther's Deutsche Messe, (Göttingen: Vandenhoech und Ruprecht, 1896), pp. 12-13.

which were made up chiefly in three parts, German Gospels and Epistles; Mesz-Erläuterungen and Gebetbüchern. These Plenarien were not incorporated directly into the liturgy, but were meant as aids to the people in understanding the Latin service.

From here it was only a short step to introducing the German into the service itself. As early as 1522 German is to be found in the liturgy.<sup>2</sup> At this stage, however, only parts of the liturgy were in the German language. As time went on, the demand for more German became greater and greater. The demand compelled the expansion of the German in the liturgy. Already in 1523 the Mass appeared for the first time entirely in German<sup>3</sup> and was followed by many more attempts, culminating finally in Luther's Deutsche Messe of 1526.

#### The Attempts of Others at Reform

Besides a strong desire to alter the language of the liturgy, with the Reformation there came an equally if not stronger desire to reform the liturgy itself. Reform of the liturgy was understood as being a re-forming of the Roman Catholic Mass into an evangelical Mass, and not a changing in form or style. Although when the form was of such a nature as not to allow for evangelical teaching, there

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 62-63.

it had to be altered.

The first evangelical Mass was written in 1522 by Kaspar Kantz.<sup>4</sup> Kantz, who was a Reformer in Nordlingen, wrote his evangelical Mass in German, and in his work he took great liberty. His order of service was a free translation of the Eucharistic portion of the Mass, shown in the fact that the celebration began with the sermon, while all the preceding was omitted. Also, the Confession of sins, Absolution and the Collects became portions of the Offetory.<sup>5</sup>

One of the earliest accounts of the celebration of an evangelical Mass, held in 1522 in German, goes back to Basel.<sup>6</sup> Here it was that Wolfgang Wissenberg took the decisive step. He met with much opposition from many of the town people. Two facts, however, aided him in gaining success. First, his father held a high position in the town's government, because of which he had the respect of the city people, and thus they feared to put their words against his son into action. Secondly, Wissenberg gave the sermon a very prominent position, and through his preaching he made gains from day to day. Another person in Basel, active in liturgical reform, was Johann Oekolampadius.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 73f.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 80-81

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 62-63.



Already in 1522 he was using German lections in the service, and by 1523 he held the entire service in German. He was also the first to cease holding Mass on week days and celebrated it only on Sundays. The chief reform in his work was the omitting of the Elevation.

In the period between 1522 and 1523 Jacob Strausz<sup>8</sup> was yet another who was actively engaged in liturgical reform, making the service both evangelical and German. His reform, however, was confined chiefly to the prayers and certain selective parts of the liturgy. A complete reform of the entire liturgy was not undertaken.

A better background to Luther's liturgical reform can be gained if the development of liturgical reform in the various cities is noted.<sup>9</sup> As early as 1523 there was a German order of service in Straszbourg.<sup>10</sup> This order was a pure translation from Catholic sources. Thus it retained many Catholic emphases such as lack of sermon, retaining of bowing, washing hands, crossings and beating of the breast. But by 1524 a German evangelical Mass was introduced there. Noteworthy here is the fact that Distribution was made in both kinds. This order was introduced by Theobald Schwarz. Two or three new forms were to be found in Straszbourg in 1525.

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., pp. 26, 38.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., pp. 7-9.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., pp. 144-47.

In Nürnberg, in 1524, a Latin-German order of service came into use, and at Easter of that year a pure German Communion service was held for the first time. As was generally the case, new orders and forms of worship sprang up as time progressed, and in 1525 there were several German formulas in use in Nürnberg.

In Nordlingen, where Kaspar Kantz had introduced a German order in 1522, there was found in 1524, beside this older order, a curtailed order of Mass which retained some Latin parts. The chief progress made there in 1525 was the appearance of the Renovatio Ecclesiae Nordlingiangensis. The influence of Kantz was not confined to Nordlingen, but spread also to Bremen where his Mass was held in low German.

Königsberg, which used the German Mass in 1524, confined its use to Sundays. Also in Wendelstein bei Schwabach the German Mass was in use by 1524. Johann Brenz, active in Schwäbisch Hall, held a simple communion service on Christmas of 1525. This service was in the German language, and communion was given in both kinds. The Prussian orders of service chiefly followed Luther's Formula Missae. In 1524 at Wertheim, where the German Mass was introduced by Franz Kolb, the service was entirely German and original. Many parts were deleted, such as Collects, hymns, priestly robes, and only essentials were retained.

All these attempts at liturgical reform may be divided into three groups or classes, each of which had its bearing on Luther's arriving at certain of his objectives. These

groups may be listed as first, those reforms which were straightforward translations; secondly, those that followed the overlying scheme, but took distinct liturgical liberties; and thirdly, those that entirely abandoned the old construction.<sup>11</sup> The liturgies of the last group were not original creations, but merely showed a leaning towards a new form, namely, the preaching order of the old Church. Just how much these liturgies played a part in aiding Luther to formulate his objectives as to the historical approach, the method of reform and the language problem, will be seen in the next chapter.<sup>12</sup>

There are yet two men whose work in liturgical reform must be considered, namely, the activities and work of Carlstadt and Müntzer. Because of their influence and activity Luther was forced into the foreground in liturgical reform.

Müntzer took great liberties in his liturgical reforms, which aided in making him both prominent and unique. His texts, which were taken either out of the Missal or the Vulgate, were mere translations as far as language was concerned. But as to the arrangements of the texts he deviated greatly.<sup>13</sup> In his translations of Bible passages and Lections he leaned heavily on Luther where

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 239.

<sup>12</sup> Infra: p. 51f.

<sup>13</sup> Julius Smend, op. cit., pp. 113-14.

the New Testament was concerned. When translating the Old Testament he went his own way, attempting to translate it, not word for word, but according to the sense and meaning of the passage as given in the Vulgate. Another prominent feature of his work was that his service was a musical service, still retaining, however, the pre-reformation musical character. Only the Collects and Lections were read. Also to be observed is the fact that his order had no confession before Distribution, and the Absolution at the beginning was dropped.

At the end of 1521 Müntzer, who was active in Zwickau, took an interest in Carlstadt's activities.<sup>14</sup> Already in 1520 Carlstadt<sup>15</sup> was active in liturgical reform, and by early 1521, while in Copenhagen, he came into the Reformation movement. His order, which is of chief interest here, is the order of German Mass which he used in Wittenberg early in 1522. The order was Sermon, Confession, the following as usual to the Gospel, all crossings and smiting of the breast, offering and Elevation were omitted, and the remainder the same except for the deletion of the Canon and with German forms of Distribution. It appears as though the German was restricted to the Distribution and the Words of Institution. Thus his German Mass, in greater part, followed the course of the Roman Mass as to form. In content,

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

however, the offensive parts were deleted.<sup>16</sup>

### Enthusiasm and its Effects

It is to be noted that not the form of the liturgical reforms of Carlstadt and Müntzer, but the manner and the way they carried out such reform brought forth the protest of Luther, and finally led to his own participation in liturgical reform. In Zwickau, where Müntzer had come under the influence of Storch, and had passed through an experience tantamount to conversion, he had led a reign of terror.<sup>17</sup> Although his reform writings in greater part had received Luther's acknowledgment, his actions brought the sharpest of rebukes from Luther. Storch, with his radicalism, had given a further incentive to the already radical Müntzer. Further, in 1521 Storch, with Marcus Stübner and another Zwickau disciple, had visited in Wittenberg. Their radicalism which revealed itself there was an impetus to the growing radicalism already present.<sup>18</sup>

The Reformation had originated in Wittenberg, and it was there that it first got a footing. By 1522 there were many who had been won to the cause of the Reformation. The attitudes taken by those in the reform movement cannot be

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 239.

<sup>17</sup>R. N. Carew Hunt, "Thomas Müntzer", The Church Quarterly Review, CXXVI (July - September, 1938), 219-20.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 222.

understood unless seen on the background of the time. This is particularly so in the case of liturgical changes.<sup>19</sup> By the Reformation these people had been freed from the rule of Rome. Suddenly they were loosed into a new world. Many things were seen in a different light, and attitudes changed very quickly. Thus it was that in Wittenberg, the home of the Reformation, there was a great enthusiasm. When this is viewed in regard to liturgical reform and practice, it is found that enthusiasm led to certain extremes. All those who embraced the Reformation and its principles saw that of necessity there would have to follow a change in the liturgy. In their enthusiasm the people naturally wanted this change to take place as soon as possible. They wanted to witness through their worship to their new found faith, and desired to establish themselves firmly in their belief as it would express itself in their worship. But in their haste due to enthusiasm they were led to extremes, and became radical.

Up to 1522 there had been no one man in Wittenberg to lead the people and direct their "enthusiasm" into the proper channels. But in that year Carlstadt made his appearance there. He had been active in liturgical reform and had let the Reformation principles find their expression in the liturgy. Like Müntzer, however, he went to extremes. In his enthusiasm to force the Reformation along, and with a very strong desire to impress the principles of the

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<sup>19</sup> Supra: pp. 11-14.

Reformation on the people through the liturgy, he became radical. All this was climaxed on Christmas of 1522 when Carlstadt celebrated the Mass in Wittenberg in both kinds, and <sup>allowed</sup> let the people take the elements into their own hands.<sup>20</sup>

From complete withdrawal of the cup to the people taking all in their own hands was showing the Reformation principle of the Sacrament in the extreme. Carlstadt's zeal for purifying the worship and making it more spiritual led him to destroy all pictures and the like.<sup>21</sup>

During this period Luther had been spending his time in the tower at Wartburg. On observing these conditions, however, he was moved to action. He, himself having made the great discovery of the Reformation, was also filled with zeal, and had an earnest desire for its spread. But, being sober in mind and action, he foresaw all the practical complications. For Luther it was not man who had to push and force the Reformation. Rather, God would do that in His own time and way. When, however, things were going out of hand at Wittenberg, Luther decided to take action. At risk of his own life he left the tower and made his way back to Wittenberg. This was the immediate occasion for his eight sermons<sup>22</sup> in which he set down various principles for

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<sup>20</sup> Hermann Barge, Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt, (Leipzig: Friedrich Brandstetter, 1905), I, 357.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., pp. 398-99.

<sup>22</sup> Works of Martin Luther, (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, c.1943), II, 387f.

liturgical reform. These principles he later used in the formulating of his Formula Missae and Deutsche Messe. At this time, however, he was only setting down principles, and did not write any liturgical order of service. His attention, nevertheless, had been drawn sharply to the fact that there was a need for such reform.

### Special Requests for Liturgical Reform

The final cause which brought Luther to undertake liturgical reform was the repeated requests for such reform from his friends. Their requests, which were coming in already at the end of 1521, were prompted by the prevailing situation. Indeed there were other men, such as Carlstadt and Müntzer, who had started reform and given the people something to work with, but their work did not meet with full co-operation and agreement. Not so much their reform, but their wild activities had brought the opposition of others, as well as that of Luther. In some places where they had been particularly active, the situation had become unbearable for the more conservative people. The conservative groups, not knowing just how to act or what to do, had written to Luther asking him for advice and direction.

The first specific request came to Luther in January of 1523. A congregation in Leisnig, with whom Luther had had previous contact, sent a delegation to him at Wittenberg asking him "to appoint an Order for them according to which



they might sing and pray".<sup>23</sup> Luther promised to grant their request. And the promise was fulfilled in his writing Von Ordnung gottesdienst ynn der Gemeyne.<sup>24</sup> This was Luther's first attempt at liturgical reform. In the order he deals not so much with the Mass, but with the other services, especially the daily services such as Matins and Vespers.

In Zwickau, where Müntzer had been extremely active, Nicolaus Hausmann had tried to steer a more sober course. Not knowing just how to conform the Reformation principles to Church practice, and being greatly disturbed by Müntzer's activities, he had sent repeated requests to Luther asking "for an order for saying Mass which would conform with the principles of the movement".<sup>25</sup> Luther had hesitated in granting this request. Finally, however, he gave way and sent Hausmann a printed copy of the form of Mass which he intended for use in the Wittenberg Church. This writing was the Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittenbergensi.<sup>26</sup>

The Deutsche Messe of 1526 was not written because of any specific request which had been made to Luther. Rather, it was an outcome of a general and popular demand at the time. This demand was for the service in the vernacular.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., VI, 55.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 60f.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 67.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 83f.

More and more, after 1523, the reform liturgies which appeared were in German. Luther had noted this fact, and himself had felt the general demand for a German service.<sup>27</sup> The factors which finally led him to undertake writing a German service were several. Mainly it was the poor attempts which had been made, especially poor as to translation, and the great variety of liturgies which impelled him to take an active role.<sup>28</sup>

#### Luther's Abilities and Limitations

From the late date at which Luther undertook to reform the liturgy, it may be said that he was hesitant to do so. This hesitation on his part has led to much discussion as to whether or not he had the ability to reform the liturgy. Did he have the scholastic ability? Was his knowledge of liturgies and their history sufficient and complete? Did he neglect liturgical principles and simply follow his own desires? Many have said yes and many no to all these questions. Both answers have substantial evidence to prove their point.<sup>29</sup> In all probability a fusion of both answers is the correct solution.

In the first place, Luther's hesitation can be understood when it is realized just what Luther intended and

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 170.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., pp. 11-12.

meant by reform. At no time had Luther wished to break away from the existing Church with its traditional worship.<sup>30</sup> Nor did he desire to abrogate in a moment what the people had been accustomed to in Church life and practice for so long.<sup>31</sup> His desire was for the Reformation to take its own course without his prodding and pushing. The chief purpose of his reform was to retain the good, elevate it, and cast out the bad. He wanted to cleanse, not revolutionize.<sup>32</sup> Only when others went to extremes did Luther step in to halt the rashness. Further, to understand his hesitation, the position which Luther held as Reformer must be considered. Anything which Luther said and did was apt to be taken as a norm and rule by those who embraced the Reformation. In regard to Church worship Luther did not want this to happen. By his reform the people had been freed from one set of Church laws and rules pertaining to worship, and Luther did not want them to place themselves under another self-imposed rule or law. His great stress was on liberty.<sup>33</sup> Luther, however, also saw the great advantage of having uniformity in worship. But seeing the danger of such uniformity becoming a new law, he had hesitated to set down any definite form.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 70.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 84.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., pp. 84-85.

<sup>33</sup> Infra: p. 42f.

<sup>34</sup> Works of Martin Luther, VI, 170-71.

As to Luther's abilities and qualifications, these have to be seen on the background of his own life and studies. As a monk Luther had come into full contact with the services and worship of the times. Being bound by Canonical Law, he had had to do what was commanded in regard to worship, that is, saying the Canonical hours, attending the Mass at given intervals, and the saying of prayers at definite times. On the basis of the struggle which Luther had to go through in his own spiritual life, it can be said with certainty that Luther really took an understanding interest and had a deep devotion in his worship. For the experience which he went through, the services could not have been mere forms or a code or set of rules which had to be fulfilled. Luther, no doubt, was fully conscious of what he was doing, and not so much the way he was doing it.<sup>35</sup> Thus, besides knowing all the forms, he understood them as forms and as to content. Further, his study in preparation for the priesthood cannot be overlooked. Although it is not known just what subjects he did take, it is safe to presume that Luther had done some work in the field of liturgies.<sup>36</sup> His course would not have been complete without it. Luther therefore did have some scientific background for his later reform efforts.

Another aspect of Luther's spiritual experience must be noted here. In his struggle he had had to pass through

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<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., pp. 15-17.

and finally go beyond all the laws and rules of the Roman Church. In other words, he had had to break through the sacerdotal system of the Church. And in his triumphant struggle he found Christ and the Gospel message of sola gratia. In contrast to his former religion this meant that he himself could come to God, that is, that Christianity was something very personal. In the reform which followed, it was from this truth that Luther drew all his strength. In and with God he could stand alone and firm.<sup>37</sup> The effect which this had on his approach to worship was that he wanted to stress this God and man relationship. That implied that he did not stress the form or type of worship, which was a mere help to that relationship. But this does not mean that he overlooked the fact of corporate worship. Even in such worship the stress was on the congregation - laity and minister - and God relationship, and not on laws of form and order as set down by the Church.<sup>38</sup> That Luther had an understanding for and appreciated the scientific liturgy can be seen in his Formula Missae.<sup>39</sup> But that this was not the ultimate and chief purpose of the liturgy can be seen in his Deutsche Messe.<sup>40</sup> Luther's ability then for liturgical reform cannot be denied.

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p. 69.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Infra: p. 57f.

<sup>40</sup> Infra: p. 70f.

In taking on the work of liturgical reform, Luther himself realized some of his own limitations. These limitations came to the fore at the time when he undertook to write the Deutsche Messe. In the first place, Luther called Bugenhagen and Jonas to aid him.<sup>41</sup> And secondly, when the musical part of the service was to be considered, Luther asked the Elector of Saxony for aid. This he received in the persons of John Walther and Conrad Rupff.<sup>42</sup> Whether or not this calling for aid can be called limitations of Luther's ability is doubtful. Luther probably could have and would have undertaken this work himself had he had the time. The demand, however, was strong, and the need was urgent. Therefore, to hasten the matter without losing any full and complete consideration, Luther called for these capable men to aid him.

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<sup>41</sup>Works of Martin Luther, VI, 155.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid...

## CHAPTER V

### LUTHER'S OBJECTIVES IN HIS LITURGICAL REFORMS

#### Conforming the Liturgy to Reformation Principles

Several years before Luther undertook activity in liturgical reform, he had set down definite objectives for such reform. These objectives had evolved of necessity from the very theme and principles of the Reformation. At some time the teachings of the Reformation had to be conformed to the practice of the Church.<sup>1</sup> Just as Luther after his discovery had set down truths, in the same way those truths would have to be incorporated into Church practice and life. In each of these two, conforming to doctrine and to practice, Luther's objectives remained the same. He had no desire to abrogate, destroy or rashly cast off, but what he presented and taught was for a reformation, a cleansing and purifying of the existing teachings and forms of worship.<sup>2</sup> In so purifying the liturgy on the basis of the Reformation principles, Luther's objective was to show in the clearest way just how the Reformation principles were to be conformed and incorporated into the worship. This objective arose out of the fact that many attempts had been made to do just that,

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<sup>1</sup>Works of Martin Luther, (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, c.1943), VI, 22.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 84-85.

but they had not been completely successful. The objective was not to set down a strict law or a definite pattern which had to be slavishly followed in all parts by everyone.<sup>3</sup>

Rather, Luther desired to set forth a guide and directive.

Had Luther's objective been to stereotype the forms of worship, he would have been opposing, not conforming to the Reformation principle that in matters pertaining to the God and man relationship the Church of itself cannot make and demand obedience to strict laws. This objective, to give a directive, does not conflict with Luther's objective of uniformity in worship. The extreme and varied forms which had preceded Luther's liturgical activity had been partly responsible for his desiring uniformity. Not only that, however, but also the Reformation principles had led him to this. The Church, as the communion of all believers, should find a unity, a unity of truth both in worship and practice. This uniformity should come, not as a demand of an individual or the Church as an institution, but by common understanding and common consent.

That Reformation principle which was the summit and source of all the other principles and truths was the principle of sola scriptura. This principle stood in direct contrast to the Roman teaching of Scripture and tradition. Thus, to conform the liturgy to Reformation principles meant, in the first instance, to bring Scripture alone into

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 170-71.



prominence,<sup>4</sup> and to delete that which claimed its authority from tradition, and which was opposed to Scripture.<sup>5</sup> When dealing with tradition, Luther distinguished between tradition which was a growth as to the form and shape of the liturgy, and tradition which implied a growth and increase in truth and principles, planned and designed by men, and which became authoritative in the Church at the Church's command. Such laws and truths made by men were not divine and in no way binding for Luther.<sup>6</sup> It was this latter form of tradition which had to be gleaned from the liturgy. A further objective for Luther on the basis of sola scriptura and the prominence of the Word was the elevation of preaching and teaching in the service to a very prominent position.<sup>7</sup> The Gospel was to be and give the inspiration and guide for the entire service. It was in and through the Gospel that Luther made his stand, and desired all his objectives.<sup>8</sup>

Yet another Reformation principle which helped to shape Luther's objective in his conforming of the liturgy was the

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<sup>4</sup>Paul Graff, Geschichte der Auflösung der Alten Gottesdienstlichen Formen in der Evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands bis zum Eintritt der Aufklärung und des Nationalismus, (Göttingen: Vandenhoech & Ruprecht, 1921), p. 3.

<sup>5</sup>Works of Martin Luther, VI, 69.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 70.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 176.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 69.

teaching on the Church. The Church for Luther was the communion of saints and believers, and not merely an institution, divided into many parts, each having its delegated authority, as was the case in the Roman Church. Since the Church was to be a communion and fellowship, all those participating, clergy and laity, were on an equal level. What each had, he had in common with the other. From this arose Luther's objective of striving to bring the people into active participation in the service.<sup>9</sup> Consideration of how this could best be achieved brought forth further objectives for Luther.

#### The Value of the Historical

When considering all the angles of liturgical reform, it required not only careful thought on the part of Luther, but with each consideration there had to be a definite aim and goal. Thus Luther set himself a definite objective to be achieved for each consideration which confronted him.

In commencing his liturgical activity, Luther did not have before him a vacuum which merely had to be filled. Rather, before him lay the Church of the past with all her forms, practices, rites and ceremonial. These could not simply be overlooked and passed by. The experiences and struggles of the Church through the ages had given birth to and attested to the strength and value of these forms, and

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 71.

many of them had stood the test of time. Also, it was through the historical forms that the Church of the present had a living link with the past. It was this history of worship and evolution of the liturgy which Luther had first to examine and determine his stand. His objective had to be twofold. His consideration of the traditional worship or evolution of the liturgy demanded a consideration both as to form and to content. During its history, as the liturgy had been enlarged, changed or abbreviated, the contents had had to be regulated accordingly.

As to the form and the ceremonial, Luther desired to retain as much as possible. His appreciation of the cultus of the Church warranted such an attitude. Also, his consideration of the people and the reform movement moved him in his desire to retain as much as possible of the traditional worship of the Church. He did not, however, bind himself to such an attitude. The Reformation was not motivated, nor was it regulated by such desires and considerations. Rather, the Reformation had its definite principles, and it was on these that Luther arrived at his objective in regard to form and ceremonial in worship. Where the form was of such a nature as to hinder and obscure the Word of God, there it had to be changed or deleted.<sup>10</sup> From this evolved his objective in regard to the traditional worship of discovering that which was pure and which glorified God, and that which

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<sup>10</sup>Paul Graff, op. cit., p. 3.

bore the mark of man, the additions of men which were self-willed and self-seeking and self-glorifying.<sup>11</sup> In having such an objective, Luther was making his stand on the Gospel. Through the Gospel he found this freedom and liberty. His ultimate objective may thus be termed the Gospel approach. This approach led Luther so far as to say that he would rather be without any form or ceremonial whatsoever. For him, true Christians could gather at any place at any time and glorify God in prayer and song which was ex corde and not governed by a set form.<sup>12</sup> But the many other considerations would not allow him to advocate such worship for all people at all times. This also accounts for the reason why Luther did not lay great stress on uniformity as to form and ceremonial.

Luther's objective as to form included his objective as to content. Again it was the Gospel approach and sola scriptura. All the principles of the Reformation, governed by the great principle of justification by faith alone were to form the basis for the content of worship. The content had to be of such a nature as to reveal the God and man, and man and man relationship. Where then the historical development had been of such a nature as to obscure this, there there had to be a change. The message of the Gospel was to be clear in all its fulness. In this respect there could be

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<sup>11</sup>Works of Martin Luther, VI, 85.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 153.

no variance or difference, but there had to be an absolute uniformity. This then determined Luther's objective in the relation of form to content. The content was the chief goal, and the form was to serve it in all ways. Thus, in examining the historical development of the liturgy both in form and content, Luther sought for the prominence and distinctiveness of the Word.

### Freedom in the Liturgy

A great objective in Luther's reform was the objective of liberty and freedom. Because of its very nature, and its import, this objective appears to stand out above all else. Liberty and freedom were, on the one hand, something entirely new and foreign in relation to the worship of the time, and, on the other hand, they were in direct opposition and contrast to the thinking and teaching of the Church at that time. The Roman Catholic Church, in its growth in dogma and as an institution, had become a dictator in all things pertaining to the religious life of the people, including worship. This dictatorship and law attitude in regard to worship had penetrated into all aspects of worship, including content, form and ceremonial. The people were thus bound in worship in every respect as also were the clergy. With the coming of the Reformation, and with the urgency and importance of the principles it proclaimed, there had to be a change. It was the Gospel, rediscovered by the Reformation and brought into prominence, which had to determine the Church's standing

in all things. And it was this Gospel which moulded Luther's objective in regard to all phases of Church worship. From it Luther discovered first that the Church as an institution was not an authority above the Gospel, but rather that it was a means whereby the Gospel should be proclaimed. Secondly, as such a means it could not of itself set down laws and rules in place of the Gospel. Rather, it was the Gospel which should determine the attitude and stand of the Church.<sup>13</sup> Thus it was that Luther found and took his stand in the Gospel.

From the truths which he had found in the Gospel Luther saw the great purpose of the Gospel, namely, salvation for all men, elevation through Christ - the Christocentric approach.<sup>14</sup> From this all else received its import, impetus and meaning. When applying the core of the Gospel to Church worship and practice, and thereby bringing into prominence the God and man, and man and man relationship, that is, the faith relationship; and when viewing this from the objective of liberty, Luther found that the Gospel of itself had established the prime objective, namely, that when dealing with the faith relationship there could be no liberty, no licence, no selection, except within the confines of the Gospel.<sup>15</sup> The

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 69.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 71.

<sup>15</sup> Martin Luther, Ausgewählte Werke, Herausgegeben von H. H. Borchardt and Georg Herz (München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1937), IV, 58.

Gospel was, as it were, a law regarding this relationship, from which there could be no deviation.

This Gospel stand Luther then applied to the forms and ceremonial of Church worship when considering liberty. In this respect the Gospel gave no specific guides and directives, but again the forms and ceremonial were to serve and aid the faith relationship, and in no way to obscure the truth of the Gospel. Because of this, Luther found in the Gospel the liberty to examine critically the various forms, rites and ceremonial as they had been handed on from century to century. In taking this liberty, however, Luther saw further, on the basis of the Gospel, that this liberty did not give licence to promote and praise one's own opinions or inclinations.<sup>16</sup> There was no room for pride or selfishness within this liberty. From the Gospel Luther had seen that the faith relationship was a relationship of love, of service and consideration to fellow man. And therefore, when considering liberty in worship, this principle of love had to be observed.<sup>17</sup> It was Luther's liberty, including this love, which caused him to hesitate before undertaking any actual liturgical reform. Out of love he did not want suddenly to change the old ways of worship to which the people had for so long been accustomed. This would not

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<sup>16</sup> Works of Martin Luther, VI, 147.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 170.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 84.

have been consideration and would have caused much offence. Thus he desired to educate the people first by giving them the Gospel that they too might find such liberty.<sup>19</sup>

Luther put much stress on liberty and never tired of bringing this liberty to others. In so doing, however, he saw that there were other dangers involved. The chief of these was that this liberty in the hands of some would become a law for others. What Luther here feared was that the people, in the first place, would take too much liberty and be carried away in their enthusiasm. That they went ahead was allowable, but that they go so far in using their liberty as to make it an offence and a law for others was beyond the limits. There had to be a sober approach to and use of such liberty.<sup>20</sup> In the second place, Luther feared that the liberty he himself took would become a law for others. He feared that what he wrote and said would be taken by others as an official seal, and in this way it would become for them a superstitious law, and as such it would be slavishly followed.<sup>21</sup> In order to avoid this Luther made it perfectly clear that he wanted to avoid any type of law, and that his attempts were only guides and directives. He practically pleaded with the people that if others should come forward with something better it should be taken into

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 182.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 92.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 89.



consideration "so that by common work we may aid the common cause".<sup>22</sup>

This then was Luther's objective of liberty on which he laid such great stress and which he was careful to make known to the people with all its implications.

#### The Purpose of Instruction

From the start of the Reformation Luther realized that if there was to be any success, and if the Reformation was to have a lasting effect, the people would have to be educated. Previous to the Reformation the people had been kept in ignorance in regard to Church matters, and this had enabled the Roman Church to keep the people under subjection and under their authority. But when the Reformation began, the people saw a way to escape the dictates of Rome by joining the Reform group. Such a following, however, was a negative one and was undertaken more as a way of escape from the old, as something novel and new. In other words, the following of the Reformation was for many not a matter of conviction. Luther realized that a following of such a kind was an unreliable and unknown quantity. As quickly as they had joined they might fall out. Therefore they had to be helped to an understanding of their action so that it became a firm conviction on their part. Thus Luther's objective was to instruct the people.

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 84.

This instruction, however, was not confined or limited to a systematical, dogmatical type of instruction. True, the people were to understand the principles of the Reformation. But they also had to know how those principles applied to life, and particularly to worship. The best way that Luther saw to give the people the right understanding and knowledge of worship was through the worship itself. In the very worship then Luther made it his objective to instruct the people.

As has been shown before, the Reformation had its roots in the Gospel. This was the core and source of all teaching and practice. In order then for the people to understand their worship life as derived from the Gospel, they would have to become acquainted with and learn to know the Gospel. Thus Luther made it his objective to place the Gospel in the hands of the people through their worship. And he desired to do it in such a way that the Gospel, or the Word, was very prominent and that it formed the very basis for and heart of worship.<sup>23</sup>

But, though it was of great importance, Luther's objective of instruction was not confined to the Word only. He also desired that through the worship the standards of culture among the people might be raised. This secondary objective of instruction grew out of the attitude of the people of that time to the various forms of culture. The

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<sup>23</sup> Martin Luther, op. cit., IV, 56.

Renaissance, it will be remembered, while adding to the culture of the time, brought with it also a critical attitude which in turn accounted for the rise of a national self-consciousness. This patriotic approach to things had tended to blind the people to the good in all that they despised. Among that which suffered most was the language. Since they were now nationally minded, the German people wanted to cast out the old languages of Latin, Greek and Hebrew. They saw no use for them, and there arose a strong demand for German only. Luther saw the validity of their demand, and recognized in the German language a good means whereby to educate the people. At the same time, however, he knew and appreciated the value of the classical languages, and saw also in their use a means by which the people could be instructed. Luther's objective then in regard to language was to retain the old languages of Latin, Greek and Hebrew as a means of instruction, especially for the youth,<sup>24</sup> as well as to make use of the language of the people for educational purposes.

#### Worship for Edification

Hand in hand with Luther's objective of instruction in worship was his objective of edification. Instruction for Luther did not merely imply an intellectual grasping of the subject matter. Nor was it meant solely to lead the

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<sup>24</sup>Works of Martin Luther, VI, 172.

individual to an appreciation of worship as an art or as a portion of a total culture. If instruction would have implied this only and excluded all else, then the worship would have eluded its chief purpose. As before, Luther regarded worship as being centred in the Gospel. Because this was so, worship had as its prime purpose not only the establishing of the faith relationship, but also its promulgation, its strengthening and its consolidation. In order to achieve this the worship had to edify the people.<sup>25</sup> That meant that what the worship had to offer had to be presented in such a way that each individual, while claiming all for himself and using and applying it to his own life, needs and salvation, could at the same time share it with everyone for the salvation of all mankind. Worship was also the act of a group, a communion of believers, and this communion was to receive its spiritual food and nourishment. Although Luther did not repeatedly stress edification as an objective, he took it for granted that there was such an objective. True worship was edification.

In practice though Luther had to determine the best means of realizing this objective. The first means he found was the service itself. By their coming together, by their equal participation, by their common agreement, by their common prayer the people gave witness of their unity of faith to each other, and in this way they strengthened and

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 71.

encouraged each other. This implied that all, clergy and laity, took part in the worship. This certainly was a form of edification. Luther then found a second means of edification in each constituent part of the service. Whether it was the celebrant alone who was speaking, whether it was only the congregation responding, or whether all, celebrant and congregation, were actively engaged, in every case and in every part of the worship there was spiritual food for everyone. Edification implied not only a receiving, but also a giving on the part of those who received.<sup>26</sup> Thus, as the congregation received from the celebrant they could give thanks in their hearts, and when the congregation responded the celebrant could join in the response to God. The service then, as an entity and in its many parts, was ample means for edification. Ultimately edification did not depend on what man did, since edification was the work of the Holy Spirit. But man had to open the door and give the means whereby the Holy Spirit could enter the hearts of men and perform His work. And the means was the Gospel. Thus Luther made it his objective to present the Gospel in every aspect of worship for the purpose of edification unto salvation.

#### The True German Service

As will be seen in the next chapter, Luther retained

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<sup>26</sup> Paul Graff, op. cit., p. 5.

much Latin in his Formula Missae. This retaining of the Latin had not met with a favourable reception on the part of the people, and more and more they were clamouring for the entire service in the vernacular. Before Luther met this popular demand with his Deutsche Messe there were others who had attempted to give a German order of service. Because of the strong demand and because of the poor attempts of the others, Luther felt compelled to consider a German service.

His consideration in the first place was negative. Those who were particularly strong in their demands for the vernacular implied that the service had to be in the vernacular. This Luther denied, first on the basis of his liberty, and secondly, on the basis of the value of languages. There was no must in relation to language used for worship.<sup>27</sup> Anyone could worship in whatever language he desired.

But mostly his considerations were positive. Since the demand was so strong and so universal Luther gave way. This does not imply that he did so half-heartedly or with a feeling of defeat. Rather, it can be said that Luther saw the great value in the vernacular service and that he had a deep appreciation for it. Just as his liberty on the one hand had denied the must of the vernacular, so on the other hand his liberty led him to value the vernacular. His liberty, which worked in love, compelled him to consider

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<sup>27</sup> Works of Martin Luther, VI, 170.

his fellow men, to meet their demands, to give them a service on their own level and to present a service in the language they understood best.<sup>28</sup> So Luther was led to consider a service in the vernacular. As a basis and a background he had the work of others, and this aided him in arriving at his definite objectives. In these other attempts Luther perceived their poor standard, and this led him to desire a true German service.<sup>29</sup> By that he meant a form of worship which was not a mere translation, but which, when using the German language, would make it truly German, using German forms of construction, German idioms and German forms of speech. In this way the German service would become a class of its own with very distinctive features. This is what Luther strove for in his Deutsche Messe.

A true German service, however, did not only imply the language, but also the music. Thus Luther set his objective to introduce German hymns, the music of which was written to suit the German language. Also, the musical parts of the liturgy would have to be revised in order to meet the needs of the German language. This would imply a variation of stress in the music, a change in setting, and in many cases a change in the style of music. In this objective of having a true German service Luther set himself some

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 167.

very high standards which he set out to achieve with great zeal and determination.

### The Practical Approach

One objective which is still to be noted has in part been dealt with in the previous sub-divisions, and that is Luther's objective to be practical. This objective could also be termed as being Luther's desire to meet the needs of the people on their own level. Its origin may be traced to the Reformation principle of the priesthood of all believers. Contrary to Roman Catholic teaching and practice, the Reformation recognized the position and part which the laity had in the Church, and wanted to restore them to their rightful place. Such an undertaking demanded much thought, careful planning and a practical approach. If the Reformation was to succeed, it had to keep the people well informed and actively engaged, and this could not be achieved in sensational or glorious theories or delightful ideas, but it had to be practical.

In regard to worship it is very evident that Luther kept this objective always in view. His practical approach can be seen first in the way in which he desired to introduce liturgical reform, namely, his desire to educate and inform the people first. Unless this was done, Luther knew that the people would blindly adopt his forms and thereby cast away their liberty to which they were entitled. Furthermore, Luther appreciated the fact that for many it



would be difficult suddenly to break away from the old and the accustomed. Therefore they had to be handled gently and led over gradually. There was to be no haste. Here Luther showed his deep understanding of human nature.

The practical Luther further shows in his consideration of the type of liturgical reform. As was noted previously, Luther's ideal service was for Christians to gather together for worship without having to use certain set rites and forms. But Luther realized that in practice this would not work out very well. Men being what they were, such service would often end in chaos and disorder; would become an offence to many, and would not particularly aid the weak in faith. Thus Luther recognized the necessity of rites and ceremonies in worship as a practical necessity.<sup>30</sup>

Luther's practical objectives took him beyond the consideration of the type of liturgical reform to a consideration of how such forms of worship should be set up and of what they should or should not include. Here the language question and the musical problem played in. The objectives arrived at in these cases, as determined by practical considerations, were that the language should be that of the people and the music of such a type with which the people were or could easily be acquainted with. All these objectives, when achieved, would be helps for the people in making the service a service of and by the people.

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 148.

This would then be practicing the priesthood of all believers. In having such a practical approach to liturgical reform, Luther distinctly showed himself to be a man with and for the people.

#### The Language

At the time when Luther wrote his *Formula Missae*, he was not concerned so much with making it a German service as with making the service evangelical and highlighting the meaning of Reformation principles. Although the intent for a service in the vernacular was already there, Luther felt that the other considerations were of greater importance. Nevertheless he realized that eventually the vernacular service would come into existence, and already in his *Formula Missae* he found a place for the vernacular. For the service of the Mass Luther had provided for a service in the language of the people. Also, in his order of Mass he desired to have as many songs in the vernacular as possible. He thought it fitting that the songs should be sung after the Preface and immediately after the *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei*. At the time there were very few songs in the vernacular which were evangelized in character, and there were few poets gifted for writing such hymns.<sup>2</sup> But despite the lack, there were some songs which Luther could and did recommend for use. They were, *Gott der Herrscher und Geschöpfer der Welt* which had been written by Martin Luther in 1524, *Gott der Herrscher* by Martin Luther in 1524, and *Die*

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of Luther's Works*, Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1955, 73, 74.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE OBJECTIVES REALIZED IN THE FORMULA MISSAE

#### The Language

At the time when Luther wrote his Formula Missae, he was not concerned so much with making it a German service as with making the service evangelical and conforming the worship to Reformation principles. Although the demand for a service in the vernacular was already there, Luther felt that the other considerations were of greater importance. Nevertheless he realized that eventually the vernacular service would come into existence, and already in his Formula Missae he found a place for the vernacular. For the service of the Mass Luther had provided for a sermon in the language of the people. Also, in his order of Mass he desired to have as many songs in the vernacular as possible. He thought it fitting that the songs should be sung after the Gradual and immediately after the Sanctus and Agnus Dei. At the time there were very few songs in the vernacular which were evangelical in character, and there were few poets gifted for writing such hymns.<sup>1</sup> But despite the lack, there were some songs which Luther could and did recommend for use. They were, Gott sey gelobet und gebenedeyet der uns selber hatt gespeysset, Nu bitten wyr der heiligen geist, and Eyn

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<sup>1</sup>Works of Martin Luther, (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, c.1943), VI, 98.

Kindlein so läbelich. Towards the end of his writing, when speaking about the <sup>occasional</sup> minor services of Matins, Vespers and Compline, Luther says that they too should have a vernacular exposition.<sup>2</sup> Luther knew that there were many among the young people who could not understand Latin. Therefore, so that they might understand the Scriptures, and not merely recite mechanically or hear unintelligently a jumble of words, there should be such an exposition. Here Luther achieved his objective of being practical and of meeting the needs of the people. Also, by the introduction of the vernacular in this manner Luther realized his objective of edification and of instruction. Since the people could understand the sermon, they were able to acquaint themselves with the Gospel. And, having learned the Gospel, it was able to work in them and edify them.

### The Content

As was stated previously, Luther's chief and all-embracing objective in this writing was to make the service evangelical, to conform the liturgy to Gospel teachings and truths. It was the principle of sole scriptura. The Roman Mass in use at the time was taken by Luther as a basis for his liturgical reform. Then, in conforming the liturgy to Reformation principles Luther went through the Mass step by step.

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 100.

Concerning the Introits, in the early Church an entire psalm or psalms was read. Through the historical development, however, the psalms were gradually abbreviated so that at Luther's time only parts of psalms were used to form the Introits. But since this was Scripture itself Luther could not object, and he agreed to the usage of the time. His preference, however, was that the whole psalm, from which the verse was taken, should be read. In regard to Introits for Apostle's Days and Feasts of the Virgin, Luther allowed them only if they were chosen from Psalms or other parts of Scripture.<sup>3</sup> The Kyrie Eleison and Gloria in Excelsis were not changed in any way. The Collect also was retained according to the use of the time, except that Luther asked that only one should be used for each Lord's Day. Also with the Epistle Luther attempted no revision. But he found one thing lacking in the lessons which were used, namely, that those lessons taken from St. Paul's Epistles generally dealt with morals and exhortations. Thus the lessons where faith was taught were neglected. Luther did not attempt a change at this time, because he felt that it was not the right time for such a change. Also, such a change was not imperative because, even with the system in use, it was still Scripture which was being read.<sup>4</sup> The Gradual and the Alleluia were likewise retained. The first deletion was made with the

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 86.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 87.

Sequences or Proses. For Luther, these were not "redolent of the Spirit"<sup>5</sup> and were therefore not allowable. Only three exceptions were made, and they could be used if needed or desired. They were, a short one for the Nativity of Christ, Grates nunc omnes, Sancti Spiritus and Veni Sancti Spiritus. The Gospel and the Creed remained the same. When Luther arrived at the Offertorium he met with a lot of trouble. For him, this part of the service was a "complete abomination . . . on account of which nearly everything sounds and reeks of oblation".<sup>6</sup> Therefore Luther deleted it entirely. As to the Canon, it found no place in Luther's liturgy. He could find no basis for it in Scripture and realized that its authority and use depended entirely on tradition. But this tradition was the tradition of men, men who formed, made and added to it as it pleased them, and for their own selfish delights and gains. Through the Canon the Mass became a sacrifice, and was made a powerful instrument in the hands of the Papacy. Therefore it was to be entirely excluded as an "abominable thing gathered from much filth and scum".<sup>7</sup> The Mass was for Luther a Sacrament, a Testament, a Communion, and there was therefore no room for the idea of sacrifice or work. Once again sola scriptura was upheld.

When revising the communion portion of the Mass, Luther

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 88.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid..

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 85.

retained the Preface. Following the Preface he had the Words of Institution.<sup>8</sup> Whereas the custom had been to say these words in an inaudible voice, Luther now wanted them said aloud so that all could hear. There was nothing to hinder the communicants from reciting the words, either silently or audibly, with the celebrant. After the Consecration came the Sanctus and the Benedictus, sung by the choir. The Elevation, which took place during the Benedictus, was retained. In retaining it Luther again realized two of his objectives, to be practical and to instruct. The people were accustomed to the Elevation and he did not want to offend them with a sudden change. But so that the Elevation might not be misunderstood, in the sense that this was the time to worship the host, the vernacular sermon was to instruct the people and give them the right understanding of the Elevation.<sup>9</sup>

Following the Elevation came the Lord's Prayer. The prayer immediately following the Lord's Prayer in the Roman order was omitted by Luther, and the service continued with the versicle, "The Peace of the Lord be with you alway." Luther considered this versicle to be "a public absolution of sins".<sup>10</sup> After this the celebrant was to commune himself, during which time the people were to sing the Agnus Dei.

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 90.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid..

<sup>10</sup> Ibid..

In the communion and post-communion prayers the singular, me and me, was to be changed to the plural, ours and we. This was giving full expression to the doctrine of the + communion of saints priesthood of all believers. The final Collect was replaced by Luther with another prayer, since the Collect of the Roman order "savors of sacrifice".<sup>11</sup> The remainder of the post-communion service was retained, except that the Benedicamus domino with an Alleluia added replaced the Ite Missa of the Roman order.

From this it can be seen that, apart from the Canon, Luther did not change or revise to any great extent. Without becoming radical and thereby causing offence, Luther achieved his goal and realized his objectives. In deleting all that dealt with sacrifice, and that which relied only on tradition for its authority, he definitely showed and applied the Gospel rule of sola scriptura. In so doing he further revealed the Gospel which gave him the liberty to cast away or retain. Also, he gave evidence of his value of the historical in his revision of the contents. A great portion of the contents of the liturgy, such as the Creed, the versicles and the prayers, had its origin beyond the time of the Scriptures. But that did not mean that it had to be changed. As long as it was in accord with Gospel teaching, as long as it was God's Word, and in so far as it was pure and holy it could be and was retained. Above all, Luther demonstrated how

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 91.



the Reformation principles and teachings were to be applied to the liturgy. Justification by faith alone was clearly shown. The faith relationship was brought to the fore. And the priesthood of all believers was once more established. The Word and Sacrament, as presented in and through the liturgy, were for all men and for their salvation.

Besides his revision of the Mass in the Formula Missae, Luther also wrote concerning Saint's Days, Private Mass, Matins, Vespers and Compline. Again with these, his great stress was the Gospel approach, and in them his objectives were again realized. In Wittenberg Luther had abrogated completely the festivals of all the saints. He did not say, however, that everyone had to follow this example. For Luther, there were only four festivals, of Purification, of Annunciation, of Epiphany and of Circumcision, which were allowable, since they only were festivals of Christ. There was no need to burden the people, and it was not necessary for salvation to have festivals for all the saints' days. The Lord's Day was the all important one for Luther. If need be, reference to saints could be made on that day.<sup>12</sup> Only in one instance did Luther place an anathema on such festivals, and that was against the Festivals of the Holy Cross. Otherwise, in all other cases, the people were to make their own decision as based on the Gospel and on Christian liberty which worked in love. The only addition

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid., pp. 86-87.

made by Luther to Matins, Vespers and Compline was that they were to include a vernacular exposition.<sup>13</sup> Since these services were and gave the words of divine Scripture, there was no need to revise or reform. The chief reason for Luther wanting to retain these services was that they were excellent for instruction. Through their use the youth were able to hear and read the Psalms and lessons and thus become acquainted with Scripture.<sup>14</sup> As to Private Masses, Luther denounced them and claimed that there should be no such thing. It was his opinion that private masses were not masses at all, since at a Mass there had to be guests who would eat and drink.<sup>15</sup> Thus, in his entire approach to these matters, Luther sought after and found the purity of the Gospel.

#### The Form

When considering the form of the liturgy, Luther had made it his objective not to change radically, but to be practical by meeting the needs of the people as they arose, and by taking things gradually. This he certainly achieved with his Formula Missae. The form of the Mass, as set forth in the Formula Missae, did not differ very greatly from that of the Roman order of Mass. The only difference was the

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 100.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 99.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 93.

deletions which had been made. The historical form was followed throughout, so that, for the people, the service was easily recognizable. There were, however, a few minor changes in regard to the ceremonial. In the Consecration the Bread and Wine were to be prepared in the usual way. The custom of the Roman Church, that of adding water to the wine, was undesirable for Luther. For him, the pure wine symbolized the purity of the Gospel.<sup>16</sup> Further, Luther spoke against the actual breaking of the bread and the mixing of the bread and wine in the chalice, that is, Intinction. As to the form of Distribution Luther gave two possibilities. Either the bread could be consecrated and distributed and then the wine, or both could be consecrated first and then distributed.<sup>17</sup> Both forms, however, should be distributed. Also, when the distribution was to take place, the communicants were to gather in one group in one place at the altar. The purpose for this was "that they be seen and known openly"<sup>18</sup> by all. In all this, however, Luther was not setting down rules. Time and again he said that those things were a matter of Christian liberty, and that there were other and equally as good ways of procedure.

In his writing Luther also speaks about Private Confession and preparation for Communion. As regards

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 89.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., pp. 91-92.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 95.

Private Confession, he considered it desirable, but in no way essential or compulsory. Again his Christian liberty becomes evident. When speaking of prayers and fastings as a means of preparation he gave no definite answer, but again showed that it was a matter of liberty.<sup>19</sup> Luther also regarded it as desirable that the people should announce their desire to commune.<sup>20</sup> In so desiring he was attempting to realize his objectives of instruction and edification. By announcing, the Bishop would have the opportunity of helping them to understand aright and to appreciate the full meaning of the Mass. It was to help them to eat and drink worthily. Such announcing could be done once a year or as oft as it was thought necessary. Again, it was a matter of liberty. The externals of the Mass, such as vestments, vessels, candles, Luther also regarded as a matter of liberty.<sup>21</sup> But he also sounded a warning. In the Roman Church these externals had become a matter of abuse, since they were used for outward glory and splendour. Further, much gain was made from their use in the Mass. These externals, if used, were to be used solely in the service of the Word.

Thus, by making the form of such a nature as to serve the content, by retaining much of the historical form, and by

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 95.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., pp. 93-94.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 93.

stressing liberty in regard to form, Luther, in his revision of the form, realized his objectives in his Formula Missae.

#### The Evangelical Stress - the Sermon

That part of the service which embodied all of Luther's objectives was the sermon in the vernacular. First of all by having the sermon in the vernacular, Luther once again showed himself as a practical man who was working in Christian liberty, a liberty which expressed itself in love and consideration for the next man. Furthermore, by having the sermon delivered in the vernacular Luther realized his objective of instruction. The people were to be instructed in the Gospel, and if they were to learn, they had to be able to understand. The sermon was to teach them concerning faith. That is why, when considering the Epistles, Luther did not change the system to include lessons from the Epistles of St. Paul which dealt with faith. It was left to vernacular preaching to supply the need for the time.<sup>22</sup> Also, when speaking about the retaining of the Elevation, Luther wanted the vernacular sermon to teach the people "what is sought by this elevation".<sup>23</sup> The vernacular sermon was therefore to teach the truth of the Gospel, and show how it was to be applied; to direct the people in their faith relationship, and to lead them to Christ and salvation. This was indeed an

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 87.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 90.

evangelical stress. Furthermore, by so teaching the people in their own language, they were able to comprehend and take to heart what was offered them. In this way the sermon was meant for their edification.

As to the position which the sermon should take in the service, Luther desired that it should come before the Mass. The sermon was for Luther "the voice calling in the wilderness and bidding unbelievers to faith".<sup>24</sup> Once they were called then they could come to the table of the Lord. Luther did not assign any definite place to the sermon. It was immaterial to him whether the sermon preceded the Introit or followed the Creed. Here again Luther demonstrated his liberty in regard to form. But as to content, the sermon in the vernacular was to be the pure and holy Gospel, and as such it had to find its place in the service.

In realizing his objectives in his Formula Missae, Luther clearly showed how the Reformation principles were to be conformed to the liturgy. And he further showed that such conforming presented the pure and holy Gospel, that it presented the teaching of Christ, and that such was the way of salvation.

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 88.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE OBJECTIVES REALIZED IN THE DEUTSCHE MESSE

#### The Language

When Luther undertook to write his Deutsche Messe, he did so with the express purpose of giving the people a German order of service. As well as bowing to the popular demand for such a service, Luther himself saw the need and the value of a service in the vernacular. The German language was the medium whereby the people could be taught, whereby they could understand and appreciate and value. And for the Christian this was essential. What good was there in the Gospel, Word and Sacraments if they were simply a mass of tangled foreign words, falling on deaf ears! If the sinner was to be saved and brought to Christ through Baptism, Word and Communion, and if Christians were to be strengthened in their faith, they had to learn, know and understand the Gospel given to them. For many at Luther's time, this could be achieved only through the use of the German language. Thus Luther wanted to fulfil this need in the worship through his Deutsche Messe.

In translating the Sunday service into the German, Luther left only one portion of the service in Latin, and that was the threefold Kyrie.<sup>1</sup> From this it might appear as

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<sup>1</sup>Works of Martin Luther, (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, c.1943), VI, 179.

though Luther was pushing aside the Latin and regarding its use as no longer efficient or useful. But this was not the case. His Formula Missae was a presentation of the service in Latin, and in writing his Deutsche Messe Luther in no way attempted "to abrogate or change"<sup>2</sup> it. The Latin was not to be banished as it had its service in the training of the youth. The ideal for Luther was that the youth should be educated in many languages so that the Mass could be held in different languages on successive Sundays.<sup>3</sup> For this reason, when speaking of Matins and Vespers in his Deutsche Messe, Luther advised that a few Psalms be chanted in Latin every day. As well as this, in Matins a chapter from the New Testament was to be read in Latin by the boys, followed by a reading in German, and in Vespers, a chapter from the Old Testament. The purpose of this was "to keep the youth in the knowledge and use of the Latin Bible".<sup>4</sup> Through his use and application of the German and Latin languages, Luther thus realized his objectives of instruction and of edification.

But there is another aspect to be noted in regard to Luther's use of the German language. Luther was not the first to write a German service. There were numerous others who had attempted such work. In their attempts, however, they had failed to produce a true German service. That is,

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 172.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid..

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 178.



their work, in greater part, was a literal translation of the Latin and therefore did not include the spirit and flow of the German. This resulted in a formalistic type of German, instead of a living, applicable and creative German. Luther had perceived this fault of others, and in his Deutsche Messe he wanted to avoid such translation and to present a living German. This he did, as a comparison between his work and the work of others would show. In achieving this, Luther showed two things. First, he revealed himself as a very practical man, who, while meeting the needs of the people, gave them an order of service which they could readily and enthusiastically follow. Such a work made the service a part of their normal and every-day life. Thus Luther practiced his principle of becoming a child to a child.<sup>5</sup> Secondly, by changing the language and by giving the German a distinct liturgical use, Luther practiced his Christian liberty. There was no must in regard to language. The people could not enforce German only, and Luther could not demand Latin only. In Christian love one group had to consider and help the other and both languages were valid and useful.

#### Instruction

Throughout his Deutsche Messe Luther places a definite and distinct stress on instruction. Knowing that the

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 176.

establishing and success of the Reformation depended largely on the people understanding its principles and their application, Luther wanted to instruct them in order to show how the principles were to be achieved through the various forms of worship.

In his Deutsche Messe Luther showed the need of a Catechism for the German service, a Catechism which, in a plain and simple way, would teach and direct the Christians "in what they should believe, do, omit to do, and know in the Christian religion".<sup>6</sup> For the material for instruction Luther used the Ten Commandments, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. These had been taught from the beginning of the Christian Church, and Luther could not find or create a clearer or better form. The place of instruction was to be the pulpit and the lessons were to be repeated in the homes. The purpose for this was that all might have the privilege of learning, including children and servants. For the time of instruction, this depended on the need. It could be daily from the pulpit and morning and evenings in the home. This instruction was not to be a mere intellectual study, or to give knowledge simply for the sake of knowing. Rather, the instruction was given so that those learning, when understanding, could take to heart, apply it to their lives and treasure it in their hearts. The instruction was meant to give meaning and content to their lives, particularly to

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 174.

their worship life. To achieve this result, Luther advocated the system of questions and answers. Once again Luther had found a way to make the Reformation principles a living reality. The Gospel, sola scriptura, was the content of instruction, and the purpose was to strengthen faith and increase love.<sup>7</sup>

Luther, in his Deutsche Messe, had also another form of instruction. The service for him had as its chief aim the preaching and teaching of God's Word.<sup>8</sup> Provisions were made for this in the Deutsche Messe in the sermons and lessons. Using the customary Epistles and Gospels, Luther speaks of having three sermons on the Sunday. For Matins, there was a sermon on the Epistle of the day. The Gospel was preached on at the Mass. And at Vespers the Old Testament was heard.<sup>9</sup> By including a sermon at Matins, Luther once more revealed his deep consideration and love for all men. The servants, who had their duties to perform during the day, could often attend only Matins. They too were to be instructed, and chiefly for their sake the sermon was included. The need of the time had been met.

Luther's stress on instruction did not apply only to the Sunday. For every day of the week, in the daily services, he found a way in which instruction in the Gospel could be

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 175-76.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 176.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 177.

given.<sup>10</sup> Monday and Tuesday were to be set aside for instruction in the Catechism. The Gospel of St. Matthew was set aside for particular use on Wednesdays. Luther considered St. Matthew's Gospel very fitting for instruction since it reported Christ's sermon on the mount and "urges the exercise of love and good works".<sup>11</sup> On Thursdays and Fridays lessons from the remainder of the New Testament were to be used. And for Saturday, the writings of St. John were to be considered. Luther regarded St. John as a man "mighty in teaching faith".<sup>12</sup>

That Luther was particularly emphatic and all-embracing in his objective of instruction is further shown in that he wanted the boys and pupils to receive instruction in a very definite way. So that the youth could be kept and grow in the knowledge of the Scriptures, they were to chant Psalms and read lessons, morning and evening, on every day of the week. This was to be done in connection with the daily week-day services in the cities where there were schools.<sup>13</sup> It can certainly be said that Luther reached his goal in his objective of instruction. And through such instruction he achieved all of his objectives. By instruction in the Gospel, the people were to be edified. By instruction the

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., pp. 177-78.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 177.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 178.

people were to receive the Gospel, and in so receiving they had their Christian liberty. But, above all, through instruction in the Gospel the sinners were to be led to faith, the believers were to be strengthened in faith, Christian love was to be increased and salvation was brought to all who had heard and learned.

### The Historical

The most outstanding change which Luther made in regard to the historical in his Deutsche Messe was the change of language. For many centuries the Roman order of Mass had been said in the Latin language, which was regarded as the official Church language. But, even before Luther had changed the language, the Roman Church had had to make use of other languages, particularly the German, in order to meet the needs and demands of the time. The Roman Church, however, had no thought of dropping the Latin. For them it was the language of the Christian Church and had to remain so, even if the laity could not understand or follow the service. Since the people were practically inactive in their worship life, having the priest as a mediator, there was little point in their understanding what took place in the service. With the coming of the Reformation and its teaching of the priesthood of all believers, this could not remain so. The direct God and man relationship was restored, and the people, congregation and minister, were all to have an active worship life. Thus the laity had to

understand and know what they were doing. For this reason Luther set aside the historical Latin for the practical German which could carry the Gospel to the people in a direct manner. The historical was good and could be retained only in so far as it served the Gospel and aided the God and man relationship. And, at that time, German was the living language of the people. But, as has been noted previously, Luther also saw the value of the Latin, namely, as a means of instruction. For the order of Mass, however, in which the laity was to have full participation, the German language had its rightful place and use.

As to the historical content, Luther did not alter the Sunday service to any large degree.<sup>14</sup> Instead of commencing the service with a Preface, in the Deutsche Messe the beginning was made with the singing of a German hymn or a Psalm. Although this was a replacement of the Latin Introits, the content was not changed. It was still the Scriptures. The Kyrie, instead of being ninefold as in the Roman order, was abbreviated to a threefold use so as to avoid any vain repetition. Following the Kyrie, Luther did not specifically include the Gloria in Excelsis. It has been a point of conjecture as to whether Luther dropped it entirely or merely withheld the mentioning of it, taking its use for granted. If it was so desired, Luther had allowed for the omission of the Gloria in Excelsis in the Formula

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid., pp. 178-84.

Missae. In all probability his views had not changed at the time of this writing. The Lord's Prayer took the form of a public paraphrase. This greatly enlarged the Prayer, each article having an explanation, but it in no way altered the contents of the Prayer. The remainder of the service was the same as that given in the Formula Missae, except for the change of language. It can be said then that Luther did not want to destroy or put forth his own ideas. Rather, he recognized the good in what there was, retained its use, and cast out only the bad. His work was truly reform.

The arrangement of the Sunday service, as set out in Luther's Deutsche Messe, also retained its historical character. It was, German hymn or Psalm, threefold Kyrie, Collect, Epistle, German hymn, Gospel, Creed in German, Sermon on the Gospel, Lord's Prayer, Words of Institution, Distribution with singing of hymns or with German Agnus Dei, Elevation, German Sanctus, Collect of Thanksgiving, Benediction. The order of service did not differ to any great extent from the order of the Formula Missae, which had in greater part followed the Roman order of Mass. Thus the historical sequence was retained.

As to the rite and the ceremonial, Luther offered several suggestions and gave further advice in his Deutsche Messe. Vestments, altar and candles could be retained in use as they were, or they could be changed if so desired. Eventually, however, Luther wanted a change in the position of the altar. Also, he desired that the priest should face

the people.<sup>15</sup> This was not an imperative, but a matter of Christian liberty. In the service, the Collect was to be read facing the altar and the Epistle and Gospel read facing the people. As to the paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer and the admonition, this could be read either at the altar or in the pulpit immediately after the sermon. Again, Christian liberty was to decide.<sup>16</sup> The paraphrase and the admonition, however, were to be formulated in a definite manner in each congregation. It would have been unpractical and confusing to the people to allow everybody to formulate as he desired or thought fitting. Also, with many forms the people would not have been able to learn efficiently, and this would have defeated the purpose of instruction. It was desired that each congregation reach agreement on a formula for the paraphrase. In this instance Christian liberty was to impose a limitation on itself in order to retain such liberty and work in love. When dealing with the administration of the Sacrament, Luther regarded it as biblical and more fitting to distribute each element separately directly after each was consecrated. Luther suggested that "during the distribution of the Bread the German Sanctus could be sung, or the hymn, Gott sei gelobet, or the hymn of John Huss: Jesus Christus unser Heiland".<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 178.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 182.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 183.



During the administration of the Cup, the remainder of the hymns mentioned could be sung, or the German Agnus Dei. Furthermore, Luther regarded it as fitting and proper that the people should stand separately at allotted places. Also, when approaching the Table, the men and women were to come separately, the men first. For the sermon, Luther regarded it as profitable to have the sermon read out of a German Postil if such could be made available. This would guard against any overthrow or neglect of the Gospel and would "prevent the rise of enthusiasts and sects".<sup>18</sup>

When speaking of festival days and seasons, such as Lent, Palm Sunday and Holy Week, Luther took for granted that they would be retained. However, the purpose of the days mentioned was not to force the practice of fasting, but that the Passion History and Gospel might be retained. The Gospel teaching and not outward acts or works was of chief importance. The heavy and manifold ceremonial which accompanied such seasons was not necessary or required. The content, that is, the Word and Sacrament, was necessary for salvation, and not the rite and ceremonial which was to serve the content.<sup>19</sup> The festivals of Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, St. Michael's Day and Purification were also retained. They, however, were continued in Latin, since the German had not yet been provided.

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 180.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 185.

In all this then, Luther regarded the value of the historical form, ceremonial, and content. His considerations were motivated by Christian love which worked in Christian liberty. The norm for his entire work was the Scriptures. The Reformation principles had once again found their expression in the liturgy.

### The Music

Since the service had been transferred almost entirely into the German, the music for the Latin service was no longer adequate. Luther, with his helpers, therefore had to provide the music to suit the German words. Their objective was to make the music serve the word by using correct emphasis and stress, suitable metre and fitting melodies. With this in view, Luther gave the following guides and directives in his Deutsche Messe.

The hymn or German Psalm which began the service was to be sung to the first Tone. In speaking of Tones, Luther was referring to the eight Gregorian Tones which were universally known in the Churches. Following this came the threefold Kyrie which was sung in the same Tone. The Collect was to be monotoned in the key of F faut. The Epistle was to be chanted to the eighth Tone, and the Gospel to the fifth. Luther gave examples of all these, and for the Epistle and Gospel he set down the rules for the chant. For the Epistle, the Tone was divided as follows, Beginning. Comma. Second

Comma. Colon. Period. Question. Finale.. The Period corresponded to the end of a sentence; the Colon to a part of a sentence, and the Comma to a sub-division within the Colon. The Tone for the Gospel was divided the same way as that of the Epistle, except for the Question. But for the Gospel a distinction was made between the voice of persons and the voice of Christ. The former was, Comma. Second Comma. Colon. Period. Question. Finale., and the latter, Comma. Colon. Period. Question. Finale.. Following the Gospel, the Creed was sung in German. The Words of Institution was sung in the form of a chant. Luther had written a musical setting also for the German Sanctus. In all this, Luther was employing Church music with which the people were familiar. All he did was to adapt its use to the German language. But this in itself was quite an achievement.

With the introduction of congregational singing Luther really made his greatest contribution. Up to that time, even in Luther's Formula Missae, congregational participation through song did not play a great role in the service, especially songs in the vernacular. The Roman Church did allow vernacular songs in some minor services, but this was more the exception than the rule. Luther, in his Deutsche Messe, made provision for congregational singing at the beginning of the service, with the Creed, and during Distribution. It is a matter of conjecture as to what Luther would have done had he had more material in the musical field available at the time, and also more time in

which to produce music.<sup>20</sup> The Reformation was still in its early stages and there were few men enthusiastic enough and sufficiently gifted to produce evangelical verse. Thus Luther, if he wanted to introduce singing, often had to supply the verse himself. And in regard to musical settings, it was the custom of the time to borrow themes from folk-songs. Since this was the method often employed, the music was well known and therefore enthusiastically received. But the greatest result of this work was that Luther realized his objective of conforming the Reformation principles to liturgical practice. With the full participation of the entire congregation in singing, the priesthood of all believers was restored. And that the Gospel message was the content of each hymn, and the establishing and strengthening of the faith relationship was the goal, can be seen in the hymns which Luther gave as examples for use in his Deutsche Messe. Those mentioned are, Ich wil den herrn loben alle zeyt, Num bitten wir den heyiligen Geist, Gott sei gelobet, and Jesus Christus unser Heiland. In view of this, it can certainly be said that Luther, while honoring the good in the historical, at the same time found place for creativity based on the Gospel, and in this sense made his contribution to the worship life of the Church.

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<sup>20</sup> Edward Dickinson, Music in the History of the Western Church, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, c.1902), pp. 223-67.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE COMPLETED REFORM

With these two liturgical writings Luther did not cease to be active in the field of liturgies. Throughout his life he was producing, guiding, directing and instructing through liturgical writings. In certain fields, such as hymns, he gave the Church a real treasure. However, in a certain degree, his liturgical work was completed with his Formula Missae and Deutsche Messe. In the Formula Missae he presented an order of service which might be termed the scholarly work. And in the Deutsche Messe he gave a service which was practical and popular. But, whatever might be said, in each of them he set himself some very high and worthy objectives, and in every case he achieved his objectives. Through these two writings the liturgy of the Church had been purified and reformed. The Gospel was once more brought to the fore, and the people were restored to their rightful place in worship. Through the Word and Sacraments offered in worship, men were to be led to and strengthened in faith. The command of Christ to preach and to teach the Gospel, that all men might be brought to salvation, found its fulfilment in and through Luther's Formula Missae and Deutsche Messe.

APPENDIX A

The following are examples of the music which Luther gave for the order of German service in his Deutsche Messe.



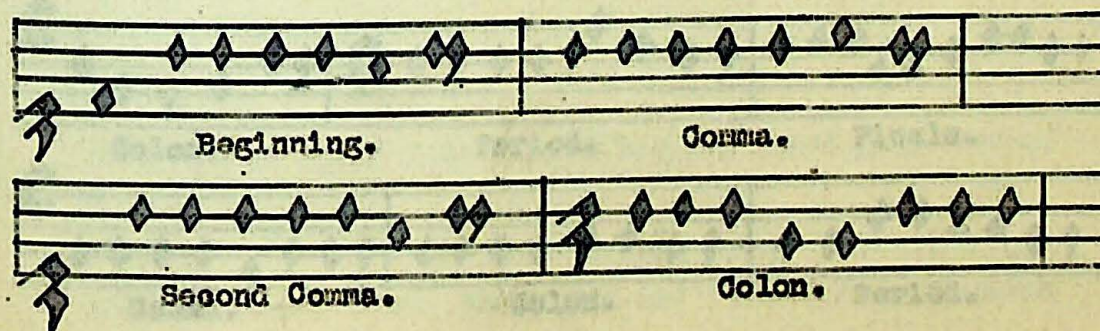
Ich wil den herrn loben alle zeyt/ Seyn lob sol ymerdar  
inn maynem munde seyn. Meyne seele sol sich rühmen des  
herrn/ Das die elenden hören und sich freuen.

The German Psalm at the Beginning.



Kyrie Eleyson. Christe Eleyson. Kyrie Eleyson.

The Threefold Kyrie.



Beginning. Comma.  
Second Comma. Colon.

Period. Question. Finale.

Rules for the melody of the Epistle.

So schreybt der heylig Apostel Paulus zu den Corinthern.

Lieben brüder/ da für halte uns yderman/ nemlich für

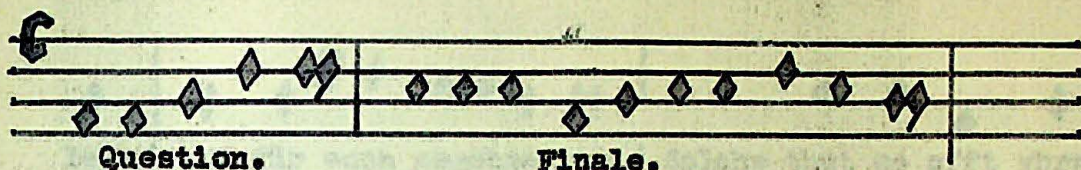
Christus diener/ und hausz halter über Gottes geheymnis.

The Epistle.

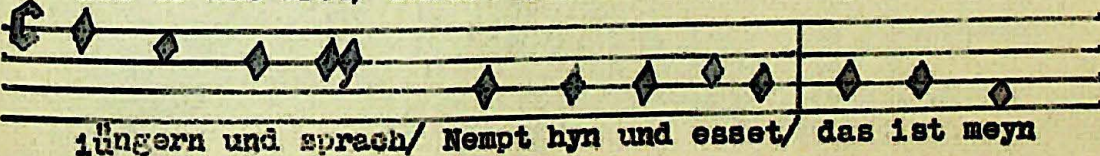
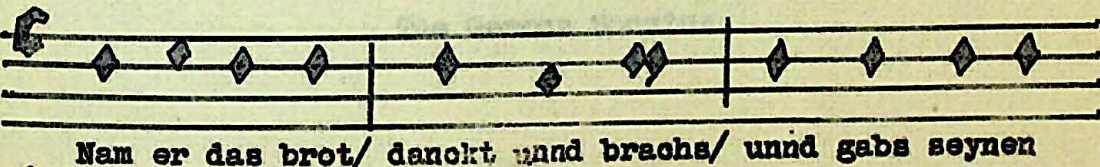
Beginning. Comma. Second Comma.

Colon. Period. Finale.

Comma. Colon. Period.



The Gospel melody rules for voices of Persons and of Christ.





leyb/ der für euch gegeben wird/ Solchs thut so oft yhrs  
thut/ zu meynem gedechnis.

The Words of Institution.

Jesais dem propheten das geschach/ das er im geyst den  
herrn sitzenn sach/ auff eynem hohen thron inn hellem  
glantz/ seynes kleydes saum den kor füllet gantz/ Es  
stunden zween seraph bey jm daran/ Sechs flügel sach er ..

The German Sanctus.

## APPENDIX B

The following is the Canon of the Mass which was in use at Luther's time, and which Luther rejected.

Thus beginneth the holy Canon or the Secret Mass.

We humbly beseech Thee, most gracious Father, through Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord, that Thou wilt deign to be pleased with and bless these gifts, this offering, this holy, unspotted sacrifice, which we offer Thee especially for Thy holy, universal, Christian Church, for which do Thou provide peace, protect her, help her, and rule her throughout all the world, together with Thy servant our Pope, N., and our Bishop, N., and all true believers, and those who are of the Christian and Apostolic faith.

Prayer for the living.

Remember, O Lord, Thy servants and handmaidens, N., and all who are here present, whose faith is known to Thee and of whose devotion Thou art sensible, for whom we offer to Thee, or who themselves offer to Thee this sacrifice of praise for themselves and for all their own, for the redemption of their souls, in the hope of their salvation and health, and pay their vow to Thee, the eternal, living, true God.

A prayer.

Those with whom we have communion, whose memory we honor, especially the greatly to be praised and ever-virgin Mary, the Mother of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, and also Thy holy Apostles and Martyrs Peter, Paul, Andrew, Jacob, John, Thomas, Jacob, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon and Thaddeus, Linus, Cletus, Clement, Xystus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Laurentius, Chrysogonus, John and Paul, Cosmus and Damian, and all Thy saints, through whose merit and intercession do Thou grant that we may be guarded at all times through the help of Thy protection, through the same Jesus our Lord. Amen.

During the Consecration.

Therefore we pray, Lord, that Thou wilt graciously receive this sacrifice of our service, and in addition also all of Thy servants, and complete our days in Thy peace and rescue us from eternal

damnation and command us to be numbered in the company of Thy elect, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

**A Prayer.**

Which sacrifice, we pray, O God, do Thou in all things make blessed, write it down to our account, make it effective, reasonable and pleasing, that it may become for us the body and blood of Thy most dear Son, our Lord Jesus Christ.

He takes the host in his hands and says

Who the next day before His passion took the bread in His holy and worthy hands, and with eyes lifted up to heaven to Thee O God, His almighty Father, gave Thee thanks, blessed, brake, and gave to His disciples and said, Take and eat of this all ye, for this is My Body.

He lays down the host and lifts up the cup and says

In the same manner, after they had eaten that evening. He also took this glorious cup in His holy and worthy hands, and He gave thanks to Thee again, blessed, and gave it to His disciples and said, Take and drink out of it all ye, for this is the cup of My Blood of the new testament, a mystery of the faith, which is shed for you and for many for the forgiveness of sins, as oft as ye do this, ye shall do it to my memory.

He puts down the cup.

Therefore, Lord, we Thy servants also Thy holy People, remember both the holy passion, and also the resurrection from hell, and also the glorious ascension into heaven of Christ, Thy Son, our Lord, and offer to Thy glorious Majesty of Thy presents and gifts a pure offering, a holy offering, a spotless offering, the holy bread of eternal life and the cup of eternal salvation.

**A Prayer.**

Upon which mayest Thou look with gracious and benign countenance, and let them be pleasing unto Thee, as Thou didst permit the gift of Thy righteous servant Abel to be pleasing unto Thee, and the sacrifice of our forefather Abraham, and that which was offered unto Thee by Thy high priest Melchizedek, a holy sacrifice and spotless victim.

He bows and says

We humbly beseech Thee, Almighty God, command that this be carried by the hands of Thy holy Angel to Thy lofty altar before the face of Thy Divine Majesty, so that all of us who partake of this altar's communion of the most holy Body and Blood of Thy Son, may be filled with all heavenly blessing and grace, through the same Christ, our Lord. Amen.

#### Remembrance of the departed.

Remember also, Lord, Thy servants and handmaidens, N., who have departed from us with the mark of the faith and sleep in the sleep of peace, for these and all who rest in Christ, we pray, Lord, grant them a place of refreshment, of light and peace, through the same Christ, our Lord.

#### He smites on his breast and says somewhat loudly

And also to us sinners, Thy servants, who hope in the multitude of Thy mercy, do Thou grant a share and fellowship with Thy holy Apostles and Martyrs, with John, Stephen, Matthias, Barnabas, Ignatius, Alexander, Marcellinus, Peter, Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucy, Agnes, Cecilia, Anastasia, and with all Thy saints, to which communion, we pray, do Thou permit us entrance, not as one regarding merit, but as one who forgives, through Christ, our Lord.

Through whom Thou, Lord, always createst all these good gifts, sanctifiest, quickenest, blessest, and givest them to us; through Him, and with Him, and in Him, Thou, God, Almighty Father, hast all glory and praise in the unity of the Holy Spirit, through all ages of ages.

Response: Amen.

Let us pray. That which through the salutary commandment and under divine instruction was have been taught, we do say:

Our Father in heaven . . .

Response: And deliver us from evil.

We beseech Thee, Lord, deliver us from all evil, past, present, and future, and through the intercession of the blessed and highly praised ever-virgin, the Mother of God, Mary, and Thy blessed Apostles, Peter, Paul and Andrew, together with all saints, graciously grant us also peace in our days, so that we may be aided by the help of Thy mercy and may at all times be free from sin and secure from all manner of affliction.

He breaks the host first in two parts and says

Through the same our Lord Jesus Christ, Thy Son

Then he breaks one part into two parts and says

Who with Thee, God, liveth and reigneth in the unity  
of the Holy Spirit.

Then he lifts the third part with the cup a little and says

Through all the ages of ages.

Response: Amen.

Then he makes the sign of the cross over the blood and says

The peace of the Lord be with you at all times.

Response: And with thy spirit.

He lays a piece of the host in the blood and says

This mixture and consecrating of the body and blood  
of our Lord Jesus Christ must nourish us who receive it  
to eternal life. Amen.

Then follows the Agnus Dei.

He prays again for peace, bows himself before the body of  
the Lord, and says

Lord Jesus Christ, Who didst say to Thy Apostles, My  
peace give I to you, peace I leave with you, Do not Thou  
regard my sin but the faith of Thy Church, and grant her  
peace according to Thy will, and hold her together, Thou  
Who livest and reignest, God, always and eternally.  
Amen.

He kisses the altar.

A prayer.

Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the Living God, Who accord-  
ing to the Father's will through the co-operation of  
the Holy Spirit hast quickened the world through Thy  
death, redeem me through this Thy holy Body and Blood  
from all my sin and all evil, and grant that I may  
cling to Thy commandments at all times, and let me  
never be separated therefrom, Thou Who with the same  
God the Father and Holy Ghost livest and reignest ever  
and eternally. Amen.

## A Prayer.

May the reception of Thy body, Lord Jesus Christ, which I unworthy one am about to receive, result not in my judgment and condemnation, but aid me according to Thy goodness to the protection of my spirit and body, and be received as a medicine, Thou Who livest and reignest with God the Father, etc.

He takes the paten with the body of Christ and says

I will take the heavenly bread and call on the name of the Lord.

He beats three times on his breast and says

Lord, I am not worthy that Thou shouldst come under my roof, but say it only with one word, then my soul will be well.

He takes the body with great reverence and signs himself therewith.

The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve my soul to eternal life, Amen.

He takes the cup and says

What shall I recompense the Lord for all His benefits with which He has blessed me?

I will take the cup of salvation and call on the name of the Lord with praise, thus will I be saved from my enemies.

He takes the blood to himself and says

The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve my soul to eternal life.

When he has received the blood he says

That which we have received with the mouth, that let us also receive in the heart, and may the temporal gifts become an eternal medicine for us. Amen.

Lord, may Thy Body, which I have received, and that Blood, which I have drunk, cling to my inward being, and grant that no spot of evil remain in me whom the pure and holy sacrament has refreshed.

When the Mass is completed, and the Blessing is given, he

bows himself before the middle of the altar, and says this prayer, afterward he kisses the altar.

Let our service be pleasing unto Thee, O Holy Trinity, and grant that the sacrifice which I unworthy one have offered before the Presence of Thy Majesty may be pleasing unto Thee and through Thy mercy make satisfaction for me and for those for whom I have offered it, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

## APPENDIX C

This is the paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer and the admonition which Luther gave in his Deutsche Messe.<sup>1</sup>

Dear friends of Christ. Since we are here assembled in the Name of the Lord to receive His holy Testament, I admonish you first of all to lift up your hearts to God to pray with me the Lord's Prayer, as Christ our Lord has taught us and has given comfortable promise that it shall be heard.

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

That His Kingdom may come and be enlarged; that all transgressors, the sin-darkened, and those in the bonds of Satan's kingdom be brought to a knowledge of the true faith in Jesus Christ, His Son, and the number of Christians be increased.

That we may be strengthened by His spirit to do His Will and suffer it to be done, both in life and in death, in good things and in evil, ever breaking, offering, slaying our own wills.

That He would also give us our daily bread, preserve us from avarice and gluttony, relying upon Him to grant us a sufficiency of all good things.

That He would forgive our debts as we forgive our debtors so that our heart may have a calm and joyful conscience before Him and no sin may frighten us nor make us afraid.

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

And finally, that He would deliver us from all evil, bodily, and spiritually, in time and in eternity.

All those who earnestly desire these things, will say, from their very hearts, Amen, believing without doubt that it is yea, and answered in heaven as Christ hath promised: Whatsoever things ye desire when ye pray,

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<sup>1</sup>Works of Martin Luther, (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, c.1943), VI, 180-82.



believe that ye shall receive them, and ye shall have them. Amen.

Secondly, I admonish you in Christ, that ye look upon the Testament of Christ in true faith, above all having confident assurance in your hearts in the words by which Christ grants us His body and blood for the forgiveness of sins. That ye remember and give thanks to His boundless love, of which He gave proof when He redeemed us by His blood from God's wrath, sin, death, and hell, and thereupon take to yourselves externally the bread and wine, that is, His body and blood, as your guarantee and pledge. In His Name therefore, and according to His command, let us proceed by the use of His own words to the observance and administration of the Testament.

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