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Antecedents of the Common Order of Service

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ANTECEDENTS

of

THE COMMON ORDER OF SERVICE

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A Thesis for the Degree of Bachelor of Divinity,

Respectfully submitted

to the Faculty of Concordia Seminary

by

Daniel E. Poellot.

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To

My Parents

Index

Preface

The title of this essay may be misleading. It may convey the impression that in the following pages the entire development of our entire Order of Worship shall be presented. While such a dissertation would, no doubt, be highly valuable and desirable, yet it is not possible to produce it in the comparatively short time and brief scope allotted to this discussion. In explanation, suffice it to say that many years of specialized study in the field of liturgics are but the barest necessity for an exhaustive treatment of it, and that five large volumes suffice to offer the developments in the liturgical forms of the Lutheran Church in only one century (the 16th). That exemplifies the difficulties attendant at the writing of this essay, and justifies some restrictions.

Accordingly, I have restricted the scope of this treatise to the developments of that part of our Common Service which is commonly known as the Service of the Word, in the Ancient, Medieval, and Reformation Periods, beginning with the Scriptural sources of those rubrics, and ending with illustrations of practices as given in the Lutheran Kirchen-ordnungen of the 16th century. Later references are more incidental. Furthermore, the ceremonial of the Common Service also lies beyond the scope of this essay, as also the hymnology of the Lutheran Church is a field for itself.

It is but natural that, in particular, two phases in liturgical developments should interest us, and these have been stressed accordingly. They are, first, the practices in the Ancient Church, in the formative period, and, secondly, the liturgical views of Luther, in the reformative period.

A word yet as to the sources. They are of the secondary type. A complete list will be found appended to the essay. I should here like to make especial mention of the following: Alt, "Der Christliche Cultus"; Lochner, "Hauptgottesdienst"; and Volume I of "Memoirs of the Lutheran Liturgical Association." The references to Luther are from the St. Louis edition. To a great extent, the references to the rubrics of the sixteenth century, as given by Dr. A.C. Piepkorn's article in "Pro Ecclesia Luterana," I, 1, have been verified in Sehling's monumental work, "Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts."

The entire discussion has been prompted by a desire to know more about the historical background of our Common Service. This has been, to some extent, gratified, and the information found has been entered in the following. Should this be of some assistance to others also, this paper will have fully served a good purpose.

The Liturgy of our Church is a valuable heritage, one which deserves a prominent place in every Lutheran pastor's store of knowledge, and we can apply to our Common Service what Luther said of the Liturgy of his day: "Der Gottesdienst, der jetzt allenthalben gehet, hat eine christliche, feine Herkunft, gleichwie auch das Predigtamt." May our gracious Lord preserve unto us the true worship of His holy Name also in matters of Liturgy, and may He keep us from all error also in our forms of worship!

I.   T h e   I n v o c a t i o n

The Scriptural source of the Invocation is easily recognizable
as the Trinitarian Baptismal Formula recorded in Matthew 28,19. This In-
vocation of the Triune God, which is at the same time a confession of faith
in the Holy Trinity, is not to be found in the ancient Liturgies themselves.
However, the Liturgy of the Greek Catholic Church, which has not deviated
radically from the ancient forms, brings at the beginning of the Morning
Service a Formula of Consecration: "Blessed be the kingdom of the Father
and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, now and evermore and in eternity.
Amen."*

Perhaps the Initium Missae Solennis of the Roman Catholic Mass
is the first indication of anything preceding the Confiteor. There the of-
ficiating priest, in the vestments of the Mass, ascends to the altar and
places upon it the covered chalice, descends again, and at the foot of the
altar crosses himself, saying the words:. "In nomine Patris et Filii et
Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Introibo ad altare Dei" (Psalm 43,4). This, how-
ever, is a preparation for him only, and is spoken facing the altar, and
not to the congregation.

Luther does not have the Invocation in either his Formula Missae
of 1523 or in his Deutsche Messe of 1526. A form of invocation appears in
Loehe's Agenda of 1844 at the beginning, before the opening hymn.

I I.   T h e   C o n f i t e o r

This may be divided into its several component parts: 1) The
Invitatory. 2) The Versicles. 3) The Confession. 4) The Declaration of
Grace.

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*Heinrich Alt, "Der Christliche Cultus." Berlin: G.W.F. Mueller, 1843. p. 193.
p. 193.

The Invitatory. The Scriptural source for this is Hebrews 10,22, which furnishes the thought of drawing near with a true heart, to be washed clean from sin.

The Apostolic Constitutions (VIII, 6) included in the Missa Catechumenorum the following rubric: "Rise up, ye catechumens, beg for yourselves the peace of God through His Christ, a peaceable day, and free from sin, and the like for the whole time of your life, and your Christian ends of it; a compassionate and merciful God; and the forgiveness of your transgressions."[*]

This address or exhortation to confession is not included in the Roman Catholic Mass. There the Confiteor proper is spoken without any previous sentence. The Agendas of Mecklenburg (1552)[**], Wittenberg (1559), and Austria (1571) bring the Address in the form in which we now have it.

The Versicles. There is Scriptural source for each. The first one is taken literally from Psalm 124,8; the second literally from Psalm 32,5. The Roman Catholic Mass has but the first of these Versicles, and it is thought that it appeared at about the 8th century. Prior to that there is no record of this Versicle having been used. It is included in the Kirchenordnung of Mecklenburg, 1552.

The second Versicle does not appear in the Ordinarium Missae. Also here there is no record of any earlier usage. The second Versicle does, however, appear in the Nuernberg Spitalmesse of 1552, the Order of the Strassburg Kirchenampt of 1524, Cologne 1543, and Austria 1571.[***]

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[*] Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, "The Ante-Nicene Fathers." American Reprint of the Edinburgh Edition. Buffalo: The Christian Literature Company. 1886. P. 483.

[**]"Mein allerliebsten in gott, eroeffnet eure herzen, last uns gott unsere Suenden bekennen und um vergebung, im namen unseres herrn Jesu Christi bitten. Sprecht mir nach mit herzlichem begehren zu gott, im glauben an den herrn Jesum Christum, durch den heiligen geist." Emil Sehling, "Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts." Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1913. Vol. V, page 197.

[***]"Memoirs of the Lutheran Liturgical Association."Pittsburgh,1907. I,p.45.

The Confession. This part of the Confiteor has no direct Scriptural source for its exact words, but its contents are entirely Scriptural.

Neither does the form occur in any similarity in the Liturgy of St. James. It is true, there are a number of phrases praying for the remission of sins in the prayers preceding the Psalms, but the Confession is not made a separate portion of the worship, as in our Service. Alt describes the ancient Confession as a silent prayer, the quiet in the church being broken only by the sighs and the weeping of the penitents.*

In the Roman Catholic Mass, the Confession appears after what is the first Versicle of our Confiteor. Its form is most interesting: "Confiteor Deo omnipotenti, beatae Mariae semper Virgini, beato Michaeli archangelo, beato Joanni Baptistae, sanctis apostolis Petro et Paulo, et omnibus sanctis: quia peccavi nimis cogitatione, verbo et opere — mea culpa, mea culpa, mea maxima culpa! Ideo precor beatam Mariam semper Virginem, beatum Michaelam archangelum, beatum Joannem Baptistam, Sanctos Apostolos Petrum et Paulum et omnes Sanctos orare pro me ad Dominum Deum vestrum."** At the words "mea culpa" the congregation, at the sign of a bell, falls upon its knees and, like the priest, thrice beats its breast. — Note that the only similarity between the Roman Catholic Confession and that in use in our Common Service is that of "cogitatione, verbo et opere," "by thought, word, and deed."

Luther did not include the Confession in his Formula Missae or Deutsche Messe. However, he has reference to a usage of his time when he writes: "Daher noch geblieben ist, dass man auf der Kanzel allgemeines Gebet thut oder das Vater-Unser vorspricht, aber die Vermahnung zu einer oeffentlichen Beichts geworden ist."***

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* Alt, p. 161.   ** Alt, p.222f.
*** Luthers Werke. St.Louis: Concordia Publishing House.   X, 247.

Of the Lutheran Kirchenordnungen of the 16th century, the majority do not have a place for the Confession at the beginning of the service. Exceptions are Allstedt, 1524, where the Collect for Forgiveness is followed by the congregational singing of an Intercession, after which are prescribed two Versicles. Anhalt, 1548, offers the alternative of either Confession or Miserere (Psalm 51). In the remaining Orders, the Confession is placed after the sermon. The S. Wenceslaus' (Naumberg) Order of 1537 places the Confession before the Sermon, but after the Bidding Prayer and between the Introit and the Kyrie.* Noteworthy is the instruction which the Brandenburg-Nuernberger Kirchenordnung gives for the Confession: "Wenn der Priester zum altar kumbt, mag er das Confiteor, oder was jne seine andacht erinnert, sprechen."**

The Confession as we have it is found in the Kirchenordnung of Mecklenburg, 1552: "O allmechtiger barmherziger gott, der du deinen eingebornen son fuer uns in den tod gegeben hast, wollest dich unser erbarmen, und um desselben deines geliebten sons willen, uns alle unsere suend vergeben. Auch deinen heiligen geist uns geben, der in uns wares erkenntnis deines goettlichen wesens und willens, dazu waren gehorsam gegen dir anzuende und vermehre. Uff das wir das ewige leben, durch deine gnad, um des Herrn Jesu Christi willen erlangen, amen."***

The Declaration of Grace. Here the Scriptural sources are very evident. The first part is based on John 3,16; the second on John 1,12; and the third on Mark 16,16.

Also the Declaration of Grace is to be found in the Roman Catholic

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* Pro Ecclesia Luterana. New York. I,1, p.72f.
** Aemilius Ludwig Richter, "Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts." Weimar: Verlag des Landes-Industriecomptoirs, 1846. Page 204.
*** Sehling, V, p. 198.

Mass: "Misereatur vestri omnipotens Deus, et dimissis peccatis vestris per-
ducat vos ad vitam aeternam!" Here, however, it is the choir, and not the
congregation, that responds with "Amen."*

Since Luther had no Confession in his Orders of Worship, the Ab-
solution or Declaration of Grace also is missing. He considers the Pax
Domini after the Consecration as such a Declaration of Grace, for he says
in the Formula Missae: "Bald aufs Vater-Unser sollen diese Worte, Pax Domini
etc. gelesen werden, welche sind eine oeffentliche Absolution von Suenden
aller, die zum Sacrament gehen, und ist fuerwahr ein recht evangelisch Wort,
das Vergebung der Suenden verkuendigt."**

In the Kirchenordnungen, however, the Absolution does occur.
Thus the Kirchenordnung of Anhalt (1548) has it, as also that of S. Wences-
laus' (Naumburg), 1537. The form in which we use it is found in the Order
of Mecklenburg, 1552: "Der allmechtige barmherzige gott hat sich unser er-
barmt, vergibt uns wahrhaftiglich alle unsere suend, um seines lieben
sons willen, den er um unsert willen hat in den tod gegeben, und hat macht
gegeben, gottes kinder zu werden, allen, die an seinen namen gleuben, gibt
uns dazu seinen heiligen geist, wer glaubt und getauft wird, sol selig
werden. Das verleihe uns gott allen, amen." ***

III. The Introit

All of the Introits for the Church Year are to be found in Scrip-
ture. There is no doubt that some form of Introit was in use in the ear-
liest Christian times. St. Paul twice makes mention of "Psalms and hymns
and spiritual songs", in Ephesians 5,19 and Colossians 3,16.

In the Missa Catechumenorum, the singing of Psalms followed the

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* Alt, p.223
** X,2243f.
*** Sehling, V, p. 198

Confession of Sins. Psalm 63 was invariably used at the beginning. This was intoned by the precentor and sung by the congregation. Then the regular order of Psalms followed, beginning at the place where the Psalm-singing of the previous Sunday had ceased, and including a prescribed number of Psalms. At the time of Cassian this number was fixed at twelve. This done, a short Gloria was appended in the Eastern Church, while the Western Church sang a short Gloria after each Psalm.*

In the time of Gregory the Great, only individual verses from the Psalm were sung. Then also, the Introits varied with the thought of the particular Sunday and season of the Church Year, whence the name "Introit de tempore." Celestine I is credited with this. A further addition, in the 8th century, prefixes a Versicle before the Introit, to announce the thought of the day.** In this final form it is to be found in the Roman Catholic Mass, where it is sung responsively by priest and ministrants.

Luther keeps the Introit in his Formula Missae: "Die Introite der Sonntage, und so man singt auf die Feste Christi, als Ostern, Pfingsten, Weihnachten, loben wir, halten sie auch; obwohl die Psalmen uns dafuer lieber waeren, aus welchen sie genommen sind, wie ehemals gehalten ward; doch wollen wir hierinnen dem gemeinen Brauch weichen."*** In the Deutsche Messe he writes at the beginning of his suggested Order of Worship: "Zum Anfang aber singen wir ein geistlich Lied oder einen Psalm."****

Luther's successors in the liturgical field in the Lutheran Church are not united on the matter of the Introit. Many of the early post-Reformation Liturgies prescribe as contents "a spiritual hymn", although the

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* Alt, p. 161. ** Memoirs, I, p. 45.
*** X, 2238. **** X, 235.

Kirchenordnung of Braunschweig-Lueneburg, 1657, states: "Die Mess oder
Communion auf den Doerfern soll der Pfarrer nebst dem Custode und den
Schuelern anfahen mit einem deutschen Psalm, darnach das deutsche Kyrie:
O Vater, allmaechtiger Gott." Similarly in the Leipzig Agende of 1681:
"Die Schueler singen erstlich den Introitum von der Dominica oder Festen,
darauf das Kyrie eleison" etc. *

IV. The Gloria Patri

Scripture brings us the basis for the Gloria Patri, the "Lesser
Gloria", in Romans 16,27 ("To God only wise be glory in the church by
Christ Jesus throughout all ages, world without end. Amen."), Philippians
4,20 ("Now unto God and our Father be glory for ever and ever. Amen."),
and Revelation 1,6 ("To him be glory and honor for ever and ever. Amen.").

This doxology is found at the end of the last of the Psalms at
the beginning of the service in the Oriental Church. In the Occidental
Church it appeared after each Psalm.** In the Greek Catholic Church, the
strange custom prevails of reading the nine Beatitudes near the beginning
of the Morning Worship. After this, then, follows the Gloria Patri; how-
ever, only the first part of it is used, the Trinitarian formula.***

The wording of the Gloria Patri is significant. At the very be-
ginning, it seems to have made no difference whether one said, "Glory be
to the Father _and_ to the Son _and_ to the Holy Ghost," or, "Glory be to the
Father _in_ the Son and _in_ the Holy Ghost," or, "Glory be to the Father
through the Son _in_ the Holy Ghost." However, when Arius (318) arose and
with him the teaching of the subordination of the Son, the formula was

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* Friedrich Lochner, "Der Hauptgottesdienst der Evangelisch-Lutherischen
  Kirche." St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1895. Page 81.
** Alt, p. 161.
*** Ibid., p. 194.

definitely established. The Church decreed that only this formula was to be used: "Glory be to the Father _and_ to the Son _and_ to the Holy Ghost."

That seems to have been yet insufficient, since it still did not repudiate Arianism in terms that were strong enough and sufficiently definite to convey the orthodox doctrine on the point in controversy. Consequently, another clause was added, "As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end." Thus records the Council of Vaison: "Since not only in the apostolic see, but even in the entire Orient (sic) and all Africa and Italy,- because of the cunning of the heretics, who blasphemously state that the Son of God was not always with the Father, but began in time,- in all conclusions after 'Gloria Patri' etc. there is said 'As it was in the beginning,' so also we decree that this be spoken in all our churches."*

In the Roman Catholic Mass, the Gloria Patri with the "et" and the additional sentence is found after the Introit. Again it is sung responsively, the officiating priest chanting the first part, and the ministrants answering with the second.

Luther's Deutsche Messe does not contain the Gloria Patri, nor does he include it in the Formula Missae. Neither do we find it in the liturgies of the Reformation and Post-Reformation period.

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* Concil. Vasense, c.5, quoted in Alt, p. 319: "Quia non solum in sede apostolica, sed etiam per totum Orientem et totam Africam vel Italiam propter haereticorum astutiam, qui Dei filium non semper cum patre fuisse, sed a tempore coepisse blasphemant, in omnibus clausulis post 'Gloria patri' etc. 'sicut erat in principio' dicitur, etiam in nos in universis ecclesiis vestris hoc ita dicendum esse decernimus."

V. The Kyrie

Its Scriptural sources are Psalm 51,1; 123,3. Matthew 9,27; 15,22; 20,30. Mark 10,47. Luke 18,13.

This is one of the most ancient parts in our Common Order of Service. We find it in the oldest Liturgies extant, those of St. James and St. Mark. The Apostolic Constitutions prescribe its use after every petition of the Litany (VIII,6): "Bow down your heads and receive the blessing. But at the naming of every one by the deacon, as we said before, let the people say, Lord, have mercy upon him; and let the children say it first."*

The Christians of various countries spoke or chanted the Kyrie in their own tongue. In its Greek form it is said to have been introduced into the Western Church by Bishop Sylvester I (314-355). Gregory the Great (Pater Ceremoniarum) retained or renewed its use. At the same time, the petition: "Christe eleison" was added.

Particularly outstanding is the use of the Kyrie in the Greek Orthodox Church. Here it was and is used as is prescribed in the Apostolic Constitutions, after every petition of the Great Prayer, near the beginning of the Service. This frequency of use in the Service finds an echo in the old Catholic Order, where the Kyrie was chanted by the choir until the priest gave the sign to cease. Gregory indicates that the use of the second petition is a difference between the ancient Oriental and Occidental churches, the former not using the "Christe eleison."

In the course of time, the Kyrie was expanded, and it received a special position as an individual part of the Service. Gregory had each petition spoken or chanted three times. Thus it is used in the Roman

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* Ante-Nicene Fathers, p. 483, vol. VII.

Catholic Mass of to-day. Later on, since the 13th century, it was com-
bined with a sentence to form the Festival Kyrie (cf. nos. 98 and 110 in
our German Hymn-book).*

Luther retained the Kyrie in both of his Orders of Worship. Con-
cerning its use he says (Formula Missae): "Darnach gefallen mir wohl, so
das Kyrie eleison hinzugesetzt haben. Denn wir lesen, dass zu Basilius'
Zeiten, den man Magnum nennt, das Kyrie eleison in allgemeinem Gebrauch sei
gewesen by allem Volk."** "Das Kyrie eleison, wie man's bisher gebraucht
hat in mancherlei Melodie oder Weise nach Unterschied der Zeit, nehmen wir
an."*** In the Deutsche Messe, he also specifies its use, after the opening
Hymn or Psalm, but restricts it to a threefold, not a ninefold, Kyrie.****

Luther's arrangement was followed by practically all of the
Reformation and post-Reformation Liturgies. Whenever used, it is found
after the Introit and before the Gloria in Excelsis, in threefold form.

VI. The Gloria In Excelsis

This hymn of praise was first sung by the angels over Bethlehem's
plains on the first Holy Night. It is recorded in Luke 2,14.

Its usage in the Church is at least as old as that of the Kyrie,
and it may be even older still. No doubt the first usages restricted this
"Great Gloria" to the words of Luke. At first this hymn was used only in
the Christmas Vigils. Then in the Greek Church it was taken over into the
Matins. When it was taken over into the Mass of the Western Church cannot
be definitely established. It is ascribed to the Roman bishop Telesphorus
(127-138).***** It is also ascribed to Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers (368).
Athanasius (373) is acquainted with it and prescribes it in an order of

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* Alt, p. 314f.   ** X, 2235.
*** X, 2239.   **** X, 239.
***** Lochner, p. 119.

worship for use in a convent.*

Already the Apostolic Constitutions bring it in an expanded form, as a "Morning Prayer" (VII, 47): "'Glory be to God in the highest, and upon earth peace, good-will among men.' We praise Thee, we sing hymns to Thee, we bless Thee, we glorify Thee, we worship Thee by Thy great High Priest; Thee who art the true God, who art the One Unbegotten, the only inaccessible Being. For Thy great glory, O Lord and heavenly King, O God the Father Almighty, O Lord God, the Father of Christ the immaculate Lamb, who taketh away the sin of the world, receive our prayer, Thou that sittest upon the cherubim. For Thou only art holy, Thou only art the Lord Jesus, the Christ of the God of all created nature, and our King, by whom glory, honour, and worship be to Thee."**

The Gregorian Order permits the Gloria in Excelsis to be sung on Easter Day by a priest. Since that time, however, it became the custom to chant it on all Sundays and Festival Days.

Luther retains the Gloria in Excelsis: "Das Kyrie eleison ... nehmen wir an mit folgendem engelischen Lobgesang, Gloria in Excelsis. Doch soll es stehen in der Macht des Bischofs oder Pfarrherrns, wie oft er den Gesang wolle ausgelassen haben."*** This he says in his Formula Missae. He omits the Gloria in Excelsis in the Deutsche Messe.

The early Lutheran Liturgies preserve the Gloria in Excelsis in its traditional place. There is great variation, however, in the manner of its rendition. Some sing it in Latin, others in German, and some use either language. Thus Meiningen, 1566, permits both, with an interesting specification as to the advisability of its regular use: "Darauf das gloria (welchs man im winter da es zu lang werden will, auslesst)."**** The German version

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* Alt, 316f.   ** Ante-Nicene Fathers, VII, p. 478.
*** X, 2239.   ****Sehling, I, p. 340.

occurs as early as 1526. The metrical arrangements of the Gloria in Excelsis by Decius (1529) and Luther (1542) are to be found in our German Hymnbook, nos. 1 and 142 respectively. Usually the intonation of the Gloria in Excelsis was directed towards the altar, and the response was sung by the choir or by the congregation.

VII. The Salutation

When Boaz went out to his reapers on the field, he greeted them thus: "The Lord be with you." And they answered him, "The Lord bless you."*
The last verse of St. Paul's Second Letter to Timothy contains the sentence: "The Lord Jesus Christ be with thy spirit."** Jesus, visiting His disciples on Resurrection Day, calms their fright at seeing Him suddenly standing in their midst, with the words, "Peace be unto you."***

From these instances it is clear that the believers in all ages had a pious salutation for their fellow believers when they met. This custom also applied in the early Christian Church. Chrysostom indicates that the deacon addressed to all who came together the Greeting of Peace.****
This, no doubt, was true in the earliest times, when the attendance at divine worship consisted of believers only. Later on, when the distinction was made between the Catechumens and the Faithful, the Greeting of Peace was spoken only to the Faithful. It is because of this custom that the Salutation occurs so late in our Common Service. Thus we find it in the Apostolic Constitutions (VII, 11), after the Bidding Prayer for the Faithful: "And after this let the deacon say, Let us attend. And let the bishop salute the church and say, The peace of God be with you all. And let the people answer, And with thy spirit."*****

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* Ruth 4,2.
*** John 20,19.
***** Ante-Nicene Fathers, VII, p. 486.

** 2 Timothy 4,22.
**** Alt, p. 323.

The Liturgy of St. James uses the Salutation when the priest has approached the altar at the beginning of the Service. It precedes the Bidding Prayer. Then it occurs again at various places in the Liturgy, seemingly to introduce the separate component parts of the Service, the last time after the Collect of Thanksgiving. The Liturgy of St. Mark begins the Service with the Salutation, and then repeats it frequently throughout the Service. The Liturgy of the Blessed Apostles brings the Salutation during the ceremonial preceding the Preface and Consecration. — In these three ancient Liturgies the formula of the Salutation varies, sometimes reading: "Peace be to all," sometimes: "The Lord be with all." The response of the congregation varies accordingly.*

The Western Church was stricter with the usage on this point. Tertullian sharply inveighs against the promiscuous use of the Salutation by the heretics. It was impossible to prevent unbelievers from attending the Christian worship, and hence the words of the Lord, "Peace be unto you," which He addressed to His Disciples, were dropped in favor of the "Dominus vobiscum" of Ruth 4,2. In the time of Cyprian (258) the lector still had permission to speak the Salutation, while the Third Council of Carthage prohibited it, the priest only having that privilege. When priest and lector were one and the same person he, of course, took over the duties of both, and spoke or chanted the Salutation. As for the explanation of the response, Chrysostom writes that it is the prayer of the people for the priest, just as the intonation is the prayer of the priest for the people.**

The Roman Catholic Mass uses the Salutation before the Introit, and again before the Collect. In each case the choir responds, not the congregation.

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* Ante-Nicene Fathers, VII, pp. 538, 551ff., 563ff.
** Alt, p. 323f.

Luther fails to mention the Salutation in both of his greater liturgical writings. It does occur, however, in the form of the "Dominus vobiscum" in some of the early Lutheran Liturgies. Thus we find it in Brandenburg-Nuernberg 1533*; Brandenburg 1540**; Prussia 1544***; and Ritzebuettel 1544****. Lochner calls attention to the fact that some people out of ignorance sang: "Und mit seinem Geist," instead of: "Und mit deinem Geist."[1]

In connection with the Salutation is the Holy Kiss, or Kiss of Peace: "Greet ye one another with an holy kiss."[2] This was the sign of brotherhood and of common faith. Its sacred symbolism gave it the name "holy". This custom was practiced in the Oriental and Greek Churches, but was dropped in the West. Concerning its use in the Service, we find the following instructions in the Apostolic Constitutions (VIII, 11): "And let the deacon say to all, Salute ye one another with the holy kiss. And let the clergy salute the bishop, the men of the laity salute the men, the women the women."[3] There it followed immediately upon the Salutation. Book II of the Apostolic Constitutions gives similar directions, and adds the precept: "But let no one do it with deceit, as Judas betrayed the Lord with a kiss."[4] The Kiss of Peace is found also in the Liturgy of St. James and in the Liturgy of the Blessed Apostles.[5]

VIII. The Collect

This part of our Service can not in every case be traced back to the direct words of Scripture. Yet the Collects are largely Scriptural, and often link themselves closely to the thought of the Scripture reading or of the Sunday.

* Richter, I, p.204.
** Sehling, III, p. 68.
*** Sehling, IV, p. 64.
**** Richter, II, p. 78.

1) Lochner, p. 131.
2) 1 Corinthians 16,20.
3) Ante-Nicene Fathers, p. 486.
4) Ibid., p. 422.
5) Ibid., pp. 541. 563.

The use of the Collect in the Service dates back to ancient times. Already Tertullian and Justin speak of it. The Collects for the Church Year were gathered in three great collections, called sacramentaries. Of these, the oldest is that of Leo of Rome, 440-461; then follows that of Gelasius, also of Rome, 492; and finally, that of Gregory the Great, 590. The Council of Laodicea prescribed the use of the Collect after the General Prayer. Then also, a short prayer was used immediately before the Lection, as in our Common Service.[*]

We find a General Collect in the Order of Worship of the Greek Church, placed between the two Lections, after the Hallelujah. The Roman Church places the Collect after the Salutation and before the Epistle lesson.

Luther prescribes a Collect in the Deutsche Messe, and there it retains the traditional place, after the Epistle lesson.[**] In the Formula Missae he writes: "Das folgende Gebet oder Collecte, so es anders christlich ist, als da sind fast alle, die man an Sonntagen haelt, bleibe in seiner vorigen Weise, wie bisher gehalten ist, doch nur eins allein."[***]

This latter provision, of only one Collect, was continued in the Lutheran Liturgies of the 16th century. The language there may be either Latin or German. Where indicated, the correct position of the minister for the Collect is that facing the altar. The words of termination are prescribed by Stalberg, 1549: "Darnach soll der priester die collecten deutsch lesen und beschliessen durch Jesum Christum."[1] The Kirchenordnung of Prussia, 1544, prescribes the manner of praying the Collect: "Die collecten oder gemeinen gebet sollen gegen den altar klar deudsch mit gewoehnlichem accent und nach ordnung der zeit, wie bisher in uebung, gelesen werden."[2]

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[*] Alt, p. 326.
[**] X, 239.
[***] X, 2239.

[1] Sehling, I, p. 129.
[2] Sehling, IV, p. 64.

As to the name "Collect", there are two theories advanced in its explanation. One would make the Collect a prayer summing up, collecting, in short and concise form the needs of all Christians. The other refers the term to the communion of all Christians expressed in the prayer, the congregation as one unit praying together with the priest or pastor. This would be indicated by the exhortation to prayer, "Let us pray." No doubt the origin of the term as applied to this prayer has something of each of these two elements in it, and this is certainly the significance of the Collect to-day.

IX. The Lections

When the early Christians began to hold their own services, apart from the Jews, it was but natural that some of the forms in the worship should be continued, being taken over from the Old Testament synagogue service. Not the least important of these was the reading of portions of Holy Writ.

As the books of the New Testament came to be written, however, they, also, were read to the congregation. Thus we read 1 Thessalonians 5,27: "I charge you by the Lord that this epistle be read unto all the holy brethren"; and Colossians 4,16: "And when this epistle is read among you, cause that it be read also in the church of the Laodiceans; and that ye likewise read the epistle from Laodicea."

Furthermore, also other Lections had their place. Incidents from the life of our Lord were read. Justin mentions the "memoirs of the apostles."* In some churches, also Apocryphal Books were used, selections from them being read in the service. However, this was not a universal

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* Ante-Nicene Fathers, I, p. 186.

custom, and in Jerusalem, for example, Cyril directly prohibited the Christians from reading them, permitting only such books as were securely read in the Church, among whose number he included our present canon, with the exception of the Revelation. A like determination was made by the Council of Laodicea.* Where the Apocrypha were read, they were read either as books of piety and moral edification and were so stipulated, or, if they were called canonical, the term was used in a wider sense. In neither case were the Apocrypha used to establish articles of faith. The Ancient Church knew very well which books belonged to the inspired canon and which were spurious writings. These Scripture readings were not restricted to the Missa Fidelium, but took place in the Missa Catechumenorum. Nor were the readings repeated in the Service for the Faithful. They were read once, before the Homily, and this was always in the first part of the Service.

It has been said that in the early Services there was a confusion as to the sequence of Psalms, hymns, and readings. That may have been the case in some localities. Others, however, had the order definitely fixed. At least two Lections were read, the number varying from one to four. Already at an early date Rome had only two readings, both of which were taken from New Testament writings. The Apostolic Constitutions have several sets of instructions regarding the Lections, including both Old and New Testament books. Thus, for example, in II,57 are mentioned the historical books of the Old Testament, some poetic writings, and the Prophets. After this followed the singing of David's Psalms by a cantor, the people joining in the conclusions of the verses. Then there were read the Acts, the Epistles of St. Paul, and the Four Gospels.** St. Chrysostom reproved those who were negligent at the Services, and put to them the question:

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* Joseph Bingham, "The Antiquities of the Christian Church (Origines Ecclesiasticae). London: Henry G. Bohn, 1856. II, p. 694.
** Ante-Nicene Fathers, VII, p. 421.

"Tell me, what prophet was read to-day, what apostle?" thus indicating
that both Old Testament and New Testament Lections were in use in his
Services.*

At first, the lectio continua was used exclusively, each book
being read, portion after portion, from beginning to end. This was still
done at the time of Chrysostom and Augustine, as the latter indicates in
his exposition of the Johannine Gospel. However, at the time of these
men, the pericopal system was being inaugurated, as the Christian fest-
ivals were observed more generally and regularly, and the formation of the
Christian Church Year was progressing. Both Augustine and Chrysostom in-
dicate this. At first, of course, there were prescribed Lections only for
the festival seasons. Thus Chrysostom speaks of Genesis for the season of
Lent; Ambrose mentions Job and Jonah for Holy Week, to which Jerome adds
Hosea; Easter, of course, demanded the accounts of the Resurrection; and
the time between Easter and Pentecost was devoted to selections from the
Acts.**

It is but natural that collections of these readings were compiled
for general and established use, and already in the fourth and fifth cen-
turies such compilations arose, as later writers testify. One of these was
presented to the Church by Hippolytus, the so-called Canon Paschalis;
Claudianus Mamercus set up another, for the church at Vienne (401), and
Musaeus one for the church at Marseilles (458). These collections, how-
ever have been lost. If we accept that Jerome is the author of the "Comes
sive Lectionarium per circulum anni" which is ascribed to him,- and this
theory seems to be correct, if we consider as a fact the claim that the Comes
was subjected to later changes and additions,- then this Lectionary has the

* Bingham, II, p. 694.
** Alt, p. 350f.

the earliest origin of those still extant. Also of ancient origin is the
Lectionarium Romanum, which Gregory the Great treated in 40 sermons. This
brings us Epistle and Gospel selections which to a great extent coincide
with our Old Standard Pericopes. Worthy of consideration here is also the
Lectionarium Gallicanum. This, it is claimed, must have been written after
Gregory, since it mentions the festival of St. Genoveva, which was then
not yet in the calendar of the saints' days. Of later origin still is the
collection of Beda Venerabilis of the 8th century. The pericopes of the
Missale Romanum were built up on Gregory's Lectionarium Romanum.

In the Services of the Ancient Church there was at first no order
of readers for the Lections. Later, however, the lectors became an es-
tablished order, and from Cyprian it would appear that they read all of the
Lections, Epistle as well as Gospel. The Apostolic Constitutions, on the
other hand, make a distinction, the reading of the Gospel being reserved
for the deacon or presbyter. This, in general, became customary in most
churches, with the exception of the Spanish churches, where the reader
read all of the Lections.*

Luther's attitude on the question of the pericopes was one of
acceptance of custom. He retains them in his Liturgies, and says in the
Deutsche Messe: "Dass wir aber die Episteln und Evangelien nach der Zeit
des Jahres getheilet, wie bisher gewohnt, halten, ist die Ursache, wir
wissen nichts Sonderliches in solcher Weise zu tadeln. So ist's mit
Wittenberg so gethan zu dieser Zeit, dass viele da sind, die predigen
lernen sollen an den Oertern, da solche Theilung der Episteln und Evangelien
noch gehet und vielleicht bleibt. Weil man denn mag denselben damit nuetze
sein und dienen ohne unserm Nachtheil, lassen wir's so geschehen, womit wir

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* Bingham, II, p. 697.

aber nicht die tadeln wollen, so die ganzen Buecher der Evangelisten vor sich nehmen."* Of the pericopal system in use then, he has this to criticize, that they stress a righteous life too much, and concern themselves about faith too little: "Alsdann soll folgen die Epistel. Es ist aber noch nicht Zeit, dass man da eine Neuerung anfahe, weil man keine unchristliche lieset. Doch weil die Stuecke aus den Episteln St. Pauli selten gelesen werden, darin der Glaube gelehret wird, sondern am meisten die, so aeusserlichen Wandel und Ermahnung vorhalten, dass man wohl merken kann, dass der, so sie dermassen geordnet hat, sehr ungelehrt gewesen sei und allzuviel von den Werken gehalten hat; haette sich's wohl gebuehrt, dass man die Stuecke vornehmlich zu lesen verordnete, darin der Glaube an Christum gelehrt wird."**

As to the method of reading (resp. chanting) the Lections, he prescribes that the ministrant face the congregation, which would indicate that such was previously not the custom. Also, he prescribes freedom in the use of lights and incense.

When the various congregations of the early Lutheran age set up their Kirchenordnungen, they, too, retained Epistle and Gospel Lections, as a general rule. In some cases, changes and substitutions were made. The language was, in some cases, Latin; in others, both Latin and German; in others, German only. Some of the Orders took other Lections than those in common use, re-introducing also Old Testament passages and the lectio continua for the Epistle, and some omitted the Gospel entirely as a liturgical reading.***

Much remains yet to be said about the Lections, especially, as to the development of the pericopal systems. This, however, would lead us too far afield at the present time.

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* X, 233f.   ** X, 2239.   *** Pro Ecclesia Luterana, I,1, pp. 75-78.

X . The Hallelujah and Sentence

The very name, "Hallelujah" ("Praise Jehovah") indicates the Scriptural meaning of this part of our Service. The use of the Hallelujah is as old as the Church of God. It formed an integral part of the believers' worship in the Old Testament. It occurs with great frequency in the Psalter, beginning at Psalm 104, and Psalms 113-118 have come to be known as the "Great Hallel." These Psalms formed part of the Jewish Liturgy of the Passover festival. The concluding part of the Hallel was the "hymn" sung by Jesus and His disciples after the institution of the Lord's Supper, before crossing the Cedron to the Garden of Gethsemane (Matthew 26,30. Mark 14,26). In the New Testament, the Hallelujah occurs in its original form only in the Book of the Revelation. The Sentences for the seasons of the Church Year are found in Scripture as follows: Advent, Psalm 25,6; Epiphany, Psalm 117; Lent, Philippians 2,8; Easter, 1 Corinthians 5,7; Pentecost, Psalm 104,30; Trinity, Psalm 119,124-125 or Ezra 7,27.

The Hallelujah was retained in the Hebrew form by the early Christians, and enjoyed wide-spread usage. No other word of praise was so well suited to use as the short and expressive "Hallelujah". Jerome writes that all classes of people sang "Hallelujah" at their occupations, the plowman in the furrow, the reapers at the harvest, the rowers at their oars.*

The Apostolic Constitutions included it in the Missa Catechumen-orum. There it was placed between the Lections and the Gospel, and took the form of a Psalm, either the 150. Psalm (the "Hallelujah" Psalm), or another Psalm beginning with Hallelujah.**

As the Church developed in the East and West, the usages differed. In the Orient, the Hallelujah was used only from Easter to Pentecost, and

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* Alt, p. 361.   ** Ibid., p. 162.

some objected even to that, claiming that its use should be restricted to the Passover Festival. Jerome, however, objected to such restrictions, and gradually the Hallelujah came to be used throughout the Church Year, including Lent and Advent and even the Mass for the Dead, the underlying idea being that even in the time of sorrow the Christian will remember his obligation to praise God for His mercies.*

The West was at first more rigorous, in that it permitted the Hallelujah only on Easter Day.** However, at the time of Augustine it was also used more frequently, some using it until Pentecost, others, still more liberal, using it throughout the Church Year. Since the time of Gregory the Great it was dropped at the Mass for the Dead, and then omitted also in all times of sorrowful meditation. In France, the Hallelujah was formally buried on Septuagesima Sunday, and then joyfully resurrected in the Easter Vigils (13th century). The same custom was then also observed in the tempus clausum of Advent. The Fourth Council of Toledo prescribed its omission also for New Year's Day, partly because of Christ's suffering at His circumcision, and partly because that day was one of rejoicing in heathen circles, in which the Christians had no part.***

Since the time of Gregory the Great, a prose addition followed the Hallelujah. Similar in contents and form was the Tract. This addition to the Hallelujah was made for the purpose of filling out the space of time during which the lector proceeded from the Epistle ambo to the place of the reading of the Gospel. The Tract consisted of several Psalm verses, interspersed with the Hallelujah. Later on, when the procession from the Epistle to the Gospel ambo was omitted, the Tract was shortened to one verse or sentence. The Hallelujah and Sentence, or Tract, when viewed as a unit, may also be called "Gradual."****

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* Alt, p. 361.
** E. de Pressense, "The Early Years of Christianity." New York: Nelson and Phillips, 1878 p.297.
*** Ibid, p. 361f.
**** Lochner, pp. 157f.

Strodach distinguishes between the terms in another manner. The Gradual, according to him, takes its name from the gradus or step of the ambo, and consists of a Psalm passage reminiscent of the original use of an entire Psalm. The Tract, however, is associated only with the penitential seasons, taking its name from the continued singing in one voice. The name "Hallelujah" is given to it in the post-Easter season, because it is thus introduced, and because it bears the tone of rejoicing.*

While The Roman Catholic Mass reserved the singing of the Hallelujah for the choir, Luther remained consistent with his entire principle of congregational participation when he prescribed a hymn to be sung after the Epistle: "Auf die Epistel singt man ein deutsches Lied: Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist, oder sonst noch eins, und das mit dem ganzen Chor."** His attitude on the Gradual is worth adducing here: "Zum vierten, lass man singen das Graduale, etwa mit zwei Versen, sammt dem Hallelujah, oder nur eins nach Gefallen des Pfarrers oder Bischofs. Aber die langen Gradualien, so man in der Fasten singt, und dergleichen, so mehr denn zwei Verse haben, mag, wer da will, daheim in seinem Hause singen; in der Kirche wollen wir nicht, dass der Glaeubigen Geist mit Ueberdruss gedaempft werde. ... Das Hallelujah ist ein Gesang der Kirche, taeglich zu brauchen und nimmermehr niederzulegen, gleichwie wir ohne Unterlass sollen das Gedaechtniss halten des Leidens Christi und seiner Ueberwindung. Zum fuenften: lassen wir keine Sequenzen und Prosen singen, es waere denn, dass diese kurze Sequenz dem Pfarrherrn gefiele, die man auf Weihnachten singt: Grates nunc omnes. Ihrer sind auch nicht viele mehr, die nach dem Geist schmecken ... ."***

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* Paul Zeller Strodach, "A Manual on Worship." Philadelphia: The United Lutheran Publication House, 1930. P. 148.
** X, 242.
*** X, 2239-2240.

The Early Lutheran Liturgies permitted great freedom in the use of the Gradual. Thus we find the following — Wurzen 1542: "Darnach ein rein sequenz oder geistlich lied."*Schwarzburg-Stalberg 1544: "Nach der epistel das gradual, agnus, die der schrift nicht zuwider; oder wen nit schuler sein, mach man singen ein deutschen leisen."** Schwarzburg 1574: "Auf die epistel wird der sequenz lateinisch oder dafur ein deutscher psalm aus dr. M. Lutheri gesangbuch, welcher sich auf dieselbige zeit schickt, gesungen."*** Schoenburg, 1542: "Darnach singet man abermals einen teutschen psalmen oder gut christlich lied."[1] Similar instructions are to be found also in Hadmersleben 1563 (Sequence de tempore)[2] and Erfurt 1525 (Hallelujah, Sequence, and Sentence)[3].

XI. The Gloria Tibi

There is not much information to be found about the origin of this sentence in our Service. It seems as though the Ancient Church did not know this particular rubric. There the announcement of the Gospel was followed immediately by the reading.

Later, however, a special ceremonial act was formed around the announcement of the location of the Gospel. After the deacon had with great ceremony ascended the ambo, he said, "The Lord be with you," at which the congregation arose. Then the deacon announced the location of the Gospel, first making the sign of the cross over the Bible, his own forehead, mouth, and breast. Following this, the choir chanted "Gloria tibi, Domine," and then followed the reading.[4] This custom of particular reverence for the Gospel had its origin quite early, however, the Apostolic Constitutions prescribing the rising of the congregation (II, 57): "And

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* Sehling, I,1, P. 298. ** Ibid., p.130. *** Ibid., p. 132.
1) Ibid., p. 172. 2) Ibid., p. 428. 3) Ibid., p. 375f.
4) Alt, p. 359f.

while the Gospel is read, let all the presbyters and deacons, and all the
people, stand up in great silence; for it is written: 'Be silent, and hear,
O Israel.'"*

The Gloria Tibi occurs in its place in the Roman Catholic Mass,
also. We find it, furthermore, in the Liturgy of the Greek Orthodox Church,
in the Order of Worship for the Morning Service, where the announcement of
the location by the deacon is preceded by the Salutation by the presbyter,
and followed by the Gloria Tibi which is sung by the choir.**

Luther does not mention this part of our Service in his liturgic-
al writings. Some of the early Lutheran Liturgies, however, continue the
old usage, singing the Gloria Tibi at this point in the Service, as, for
example, Harzgerode 1514.***

X I I .   T h e   L a u s   T i b i

With the sentence: "Praise be to Thee, O Christ," our congrega-
tions give thanks to God for the Word which they have received in the
reading of the Gospel.

Thus also the early Christian Church received the reading of the
Gospel. One of two formulas was used, according to Chrysostom, either:
"Deo gratias", or: "Laus tibi, Christe." This was then followed by the
sermon, preached by the bishop.[1] Likewise the Greek Orthodox Church
surrounds the reading of the Gospel with a great ceremonial, and the
Gloria Tibi is used at the close of the reading as well as at the beginning.[2]

When Luther entered his work in the interest of the Service,
he also found the Laus Tibi in use in the Mass. He himself neither forbids
nor commands it; no doubt he includes it in his statement ~~concerning the~~

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* Ante-Nicene Fathers, VII, p. 421.   ** Alt, p. 198.
*** Sehling, II, 586.   1) Alt, p. 162.
2) Alt, p. 198.

concerning the entire ceremonial attending the reading of the Gospel, when
he says: "Zum sechsten: soll folgen des Evangeliums Lection, dabei wir
weder gebieten noch verbieten Licht zu brennen oder raeuchern, sondern es
soll jedermann frei sein."*

The attitude of the early Lutheran Liturgies was quite in ac-
cordance with his views. During the course of the 17th century, a motet
was introduced after the Gospel and before the Credo, as we read in the
Schwarzburger Agende of 1675: "ein Figuralstueck, wo man es haben kann."
This was offered by the choir.**

X I I I .   T h e   A p o s t l e s '   C r e e d [1]

Little definitely reliable information is obtainable when one
seeks to establish the origin of the Apostles' Creed. Its origin is
shrouded in obscurity. This fact already indicates to us that this sym-
bol of our faith is the mose ancient of the three Ecumenical Symbols.

Of great interest is a legend concerning the origin of the
Apostles' Creed, which was quite prevalent in the Christian Church from
the 5th to the 15th centuries. This legend ascribes the Creed to the
Apostles themselves, when they met in Jerusalem for the last time before
they set out for their various fields. This composition of the Creed
they are said to have done in order to establish firmly the true Christian
doctrine and prevent error and heresy from corrupting their teaching.

The first appearance of this legend we find in Rufinus (390).
Later affirmation is found in Cassian (424), Venantius Fortunatus (560),
Isidorus Hispalensis (595), and Gratian. Especially Pirminius (750) was

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* X, 2240.
** Ludwig Schoeberlein - Schatz des liturgischen Chor- und Gemeindege-
 sangs. Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1865. P. 237.
1) Chief sources: Alt, pp. 362-390, and Eduard Koellner, "Symbolik aller
 Christlichen Confessionen. Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1837. PP. 6-27.

an ardent protagonist of this legend. What detailed claims were made for this legend can be seen from the writers of the "Sermones de Tempore," who claim to have even the precise words of the Apostles themselves, as follows:

Peter: "I believe in God, the omnipotent Father;

John: Creator of heaven and earth;

James: And in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord;

Andrew: Who was conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary;

Philip: Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried;

Thomas: He descended into hell; the third day He arose again from the
dead;

Bartholomew: He ascended into heaven; and sitteth at the right hand
of God the Father;

Matthew: From thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead;

James, the son of Alpheus: I believe in the Holy Ghost, in one holy
catholic church;

Simon Zelotes: The communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins;

Jude, the son of James: The resurrection of the dead;

Matthias: And the life everlasting. Amen." *

This legend was later accepted in the Church as being ecclesiastically orthodox.

For several cogent reasons, however, this account must be stamped as purely legendary. First, there is the total silence on the part of the New Testament canon regarding anything that would warrant this legend. Secondly, none of the Fathers mentions it until the end of the fourth century. Thirdly, there is the condemning silence of early synods and councils, and of the Greek Fathers as distinguished from the Latin protagonists of the account.

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* Alt, p. 363.

And the fourth objection is the fact that other symbols were formulated by the Church in later years, an action which would not have been necessary, had the Apostles' Creed really possessed the authenticity of Apostolic authorship.

The legend may have arisen for one or more of three reasons: 1) A confusion of "symbolon," a sign, with "symbolee," a collaboration; 2) An erroneous conception of the term "Apostolic" as referring to origin and not to contents; 3) A desire to lend Apostolic authority to the Confession.

Opposition to the legend arose with Laurentius Valla (d. 1457). He was followed by Virgilius Urbinus (d. 1555), and then, more boldly, by Erasmus. The Roman Catholics defended the legend, as did also the Lutherans ("Magdeburg Centuries"). Later, however, Protestant and Roman Catholic opposition to the legend became so powerful that in the 17th century it had practically vanished in the churches. To-day no Protestant historian would defend this theory, although the Catechismus Romanus still upholds the validity of this tradition.

Other theories have been advanced to account for the origin of the Apostles' Creed. They place the date of origin at about the time of the First Council of Nicea (325), or even later still, ascribing it variously to the Arians and to the Roman Christians to the time of the First Council of Constantinople (381). Against this speak the objections that the Creed was extant earlier, both in contents and form, and that it is not sufficiently dogmatical to be the product of those days of controversy and sharp doctrinal distinctions.

Present day opinions generally agree in holding that the Apostles' Creed developed from the Baptismal Formula of Matthew 28,19,

and from St. Peter's confession, Matthew 16,16. Christ's institution of the Trinitarian Baptismal Formula was accepted by the Apostles and their successors, who then expanded it as the need arose for a more complete symbol. As to its form, the Creed could not develop into anything radically otherwise than it now is, since its main points had been so clearly delineated by Christ Himself.

The primary purpose of the formula was that of use in the rite of Baptism. However, as the Church grew and experienced opposition, a need for the expression of the distinction between Christians and non-Christians was felt, and an expansion of the Formula followed. Thus Irenaeus, Tertullian,[*] Origen, Novatian, and others completed the thought of the Creed in their various regulæ fidei.

As yet the Confession did not have the real connotation of being a Christian symbol. Then doctrinal dissension and dogmatical controversies within the Church made such a real symbol a necessity. This was given to the Church in the Nicene Creed (q. v.). At the same time the Apostolic Confession was retained, and in addition to its original meaning as part of the ritual of Holy Baptism, received the significance of a true symbol. The complete name, "Symbolum Apostolicum," was not given to it in order to bring out this fact, as well as in order to convey the thought of its ancient origin.

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[*] For example, Tertullian's rule of faith: "The rule of faith, fixed and unchangeable, is belief in one God Almighty, the Creator of the world, and in His Son Jesus Christ, who was born of the Virgin Mary, crucified under Pontius Pilate, raised on the third day from the dead, received into heaven, is now sitting at the right hand of the Father, and shall come to judge the quick and the dead." At another place, Tertullian adds the article concerning the Holy Ghost, whom He places on the same plane with the Father and the Son. — Cf. Concordia Cyclopedia. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1927. P. 32.

The development into its present state of completeness pursued different courses in different parts of Christendom. The formula of Rome seems to be fundamental. Then, in its contact with the entire Occident, including Spain, Africa, and Gaul, it received several changes, to return once more to Rome and be accepted there in the form in which we now have it. This completion of our present form seems to fall in about the sixth or seventh century. *(Some place it as early as the fifth century.)*

Its original language seems to have been Greek, since that was the prevalent tongue in the Roman churches until the third century.

As for the use of the Apostles' Creed, it has already been indicated that the primary purpose lay in its function as part of the rite of Baptism. Already in catechumen instruction it served to guide the instructor in his work, and later served to remind the baptized of the instruction they had received. Shortly before Baptism, the candidate learned the formula by memory, as also the Lord's Prayer (q. v.), and then at the Baptism, he recited both before the congregation. Augustine has reference to this when he says in one of his sermons: "Hold fast this prayer, which you are about to repeat in eight days. Those of you who do not yet know the symbol well, have time to learn it, for on the Sabbath, in the hearing of all who are present, you are to repeat it, on the next Sabbath, when you are to be baptized."*

Not much can be said as to the use of the Apostles' Creed as an integral part of the Service. The Nicene Creed gained the ascendancy over the Apostles' Creed in both Eastern and Western Churches. Also Luther prescribes the use of the latter.** In the early Lutheran Liturgies

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* Alt. p. 389.
** X, 245. 2240.

the same holds true; with the exception of Doeber's "Messordnung fuer die Spitalkirche in Nuernberg" 1525, the general rule is that the Nicene Creed be used.*

The Concordia Cyclopedia offers this evaluation of the Apostles' Creed: "It remains the most admirable summary of Christian doctrine ever made in so brief a compass. ... It is not the reasoned product of a theological school, but the spontaneous expression of a living faith. It is edifying to the child and to the professional theologian. Postapostolic in origin, it is thoroughly apostolic in matter and substance. All modern attacks upon this venerable Creed resolve themselves into attacks upon the New Testament itself."**

X I V .   T h e   N i c e n e   C r e e d

Since our Common Order of Service not only prescribes this Creed for use in the Service in which Holy Communion is celebrated, but permits its use also in the Service without Communion, we shall do well to include it in our study.

The origin of this symbol is closely bound up with the history of doctrine in the early part of the fourth century. Reason has never been able to reconcile the doctrine of the Sonship of Christ with the doctrine of His co-equality with the Father. Arius, a presbyter of Alexandria, was among the first to come out with a denial of one or the other of the two doctrines. He made out of Jesus Christ an intermediate Being which, altho perfect, is not co-equal with God. Details as to the history of the controversy that ensued must be sought in larger works. Suffice

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* Memoirs, p. 52.
** P. 32.

it to state here that in order to settle the dispute and to establish the correct doctrine Constantine called an Ecumenical Council to Nicea, 325. It was in order to condemn the heresy of Arius, to establish the true doctrine, and thus to combat and overcome the controversy in the Church, that the Nicene Creed was formulated. This symbol was accepted as orthodox by the majority of the bishops present at the Council. Athanasius, youthful companion of the Bishop of Alexandria, has justly been given the credit for the greater part of the success of the adherents to orthodoxy at this Council.

Naturally, the basis of the Nicene Creed was formed by the Apostles' Creed, since this the regula fidei and already in itself a serviceable symbol, but there is some dispute as to who actually wrote the Nicene Creed. Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem; Hosius, bishop of Cordova; and Hermogenes are mentioned as the authors. The weight of historical evidence, however, seems to favor Eusebius of Caesarea.*

This original formula of the Nicene Creed was later expanded. In 325, the Third Article ended with the words: "and in the Holy Ghost." In the Council of Constantinople, 381, this third part was enlarged, to state more forcefully the deity of the Holy Ghost, a development which was not original with the Council, but which had its beginnings some years earlier, in the Ancoratus of Epiphanius, 374. In the Western Church, a still further addition was made, at the Third Council of Toledo, 589. In this Latin form, the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son is taught, the word "filioque" being added, in contradistinction from the doctrine of the Eastern Church, which taught the procession from the Father alone.

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* Koellner, pp. 34-35.

The Nicene Creed was in use in the Oriental Church in the fifth century, of course, without the "filioque." That it was not revealed to non-Christians at that time is testified to by Sozomenus, who was advised not to include it in his church history (439). Neither was it in use in the worship of the Church until Peter Fullo, bishop of Antioch, is said to have introduced it in 471. His example was then followed by others in the Oriental Church.*

In the Occidental Church, the Third Council of Toledo specified that the revised form was to be used in the regular services in Spain and Gaul. From there it spread to German, under Charles the Great. Rome itself refused to introduce it into the Mass. In fact, Pope Leo III advised Charles to have the practice elsewhere discontinued, which, however, he did not do. It was not until the importunity of the Emperor Henry induced Benedict VIII to incorporate the Nicene Creed in the Ordinarium Missae (1014), that it was used at all in the Roman Service. It has been claimed that the reason why this had not been done sooner was this, that Rome regarded itself as impervious to error and heresy, and thought that rather they should practice frequent repetition of a formula of faith who stood in danger of doctrinal corruption.**

Luther says in the Deutsche Messe: "Nach dem Evangelium singt die ganze Kirche den Glauben zu Deutsch: Wir glaeuben all an einen Gott."*** Similarly, he says in the Formula Missae: "Zum siebenten gefaellt es uns nicht uebel, dass man das Symbolum Nicaenum singe, wie je und je gewoehnlich gewesen." ****

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* Alt, p. 389f. ** Alt, p. 390.
** X, 245. **** X, 2240.

Quite naturally, the Lutheran Liturgies retained the use of the Nicene Creed. This was sung in either German or Latin, Luther's metrical arrangement always being sung, either in addition to the Nicene Creed, or at alternate services. Frequently, however, only one Credo was used, and the arrangement by Luther, the so-called "grosse Glaube," prevailed until it finally superseded the Nicene Creed. The "kleine Glaube" of Tobias Clausnitzer occupied a lesser place, and was used occasionally, when there was some reason for abbreviating that part of the Service.*

As for the significance of the position of the Credo in our Common Service, Lochner writes: "Dem Evangelio folgend ist es als Bekenntnis des Mundes dessen aufzufassen, was die Kirche nach dem Evangelio und durch dasselbe von Gottes Wesen und Willen im Herzen glaubt; der Predigt aber vorausgehend steht es zugleich als regula fidei da, nach welcher der Prediger nun das gelesene Wort auslegen soll, gemaess der Weisung des Apostels: 'Hat jemand Weissagung, so sei sie dem Glauben aehnlich!' (Rom. 12,7)."**

XV. The Sermon

This again is a subject a detailed and exhaustive discussion of which is a topic for volumes. The following section aims to present merely a brief delineation of the history of preaching and the sermon as an organic part of the Christian Service.

Just as preaching formed an important part in the synagogue worship (Luke 4,20-22; Acts 13,15), so also the first Christians included preaching in their services (Ephesians 4,11; 1 Corinthians 14,31). At first,

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* Lochner, p. 169.
** Ibid., p. 169.

all Christians were permitted to preach who had such ability. Women only were forbidden this office (1 Corinthians 14,34; 1 Timothy 2,12). Then a particular office of preacher was established, and this has continued in the Church until this day, except where confusion has corrupted the practice, as in the case of the Montanists, Mennonites, Quakers, and their ilk.

When the Service was divided into the Missa Catechumenorum and the Missa Fiedlium, the Sermon was placed into the former portion, for the edification of those not yet received into the Church as baptized members. This discourse was called homily, tractatus, disputation, etc. Ordinarily, the preaching was restricted to the leaders of the congregation, as Justin testifies: "When the reader has ceased, the president verbally instructs, and exhorts to the imitation of these good things" (First Apology, ch. 67).[**] And the Apostolic Constitutions prescribe: "And after these words (the Salutation) let him (that is ordained) speak to the people the words of exhortation" (VIII, 5).[**]

The general rule, which continued for centuries, was, that only the ordained minister should preach, and strict regulations governed the qualifications to this privileged position in the Church.[***] With the general corruption of Christianity in the Roman Catholic Church of the "Dark Ages" came also the corruption of popular preaching. Already Gregory the Great complains of perversions in the ministerial office, and while it is an undeniable fact that there were great preachers during these centuries, yet, generally speaking, such men were the outstanding exceptions to an almost infallible rule. This, of course, was quite in keeping with the general downfall of ministerial education and the corruption of the morals of the clergy.

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[*] Ante-Nicene Fathers, I, p. 186.
[**] Ibid., VII, p. 483
[***] Alt, pp. 453-458.

Hugo of St. Victor (1141) complains of this deplorable state of affairs when he says: "Our clergymen no longer know anything of the divine Law, nor do they study it, but are idle, feast and drink; they are always on the streets, and not in church; they are slow to seek sinners, but quick to chase the hares; they would rather call to their hounds than to the poor people, and the hounds are quicker to pursue the wolves than they the missal."*

Luther, writing his treatise: "Von der Ordnung des Gottesdienstes in der Gemeinde" 1523, makes the corruption of preaching and administering the Word the outstanding defects in the worship as he found it upon entering his ministry: "Drei grosse Missbraeuche sind in den Gottesdienst gefallen. Der erste, dass man Gottes Wort geschwiegen hat und allein gelesen und ge- sungen in den Kirchen; das ist der aergste Missbrauch. Der andere, da Gottes Wort geschwiegen gewesen ist, sind neben eingekommen so viele un- christliche Fabeln und Luegen, beide, in Legenden, Gesaengen und Predigten, dass es greulich ist zu sehen."**

He fully realized the value of the Sermon, and gives an estimate of it at the close of the Deutsche Messe: "Es ist alles besser nachgelassen, denn das Wort, und ist nichts besser getrieben, denn das Wort; denn dass dasselbe sollte im Schwange unter den Christen gehen, zeigt die ganze Schrift an, und Christus auch selbst sagt, Luc. 10,39: 'Eines ist vonnoethen,' naemlich, dass Maria zu Christi Fuessen sitze und hoere sein Wort taeglich, das ist das beste Teil, das zu erwaehlen ist und nimmer weggenommen wird. Es ist ein ewig Wort, das andere muss alles vergehen, wie viel es auch der Martha zu schaffen gibt."***

Accordingly, he prescribed the Sermon as a part of the Service:

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* Alt, p. 460.
** X, 220.221.
*** X, 225.

"Die christliche Gemeinde soll nimmer zusammenkommen, es werde denn da-
selbst Gottes Wort gepredigt und gebetet, es sei auch aufs kuerzeste. ...
Darum, wo nicht Gottes Wort gepredigt werde, ist's besser, dass man weder
singe, noch lese, noch zusammenkomme" (Deutsche Messe).*

Luther seems undecided as to the correct position of the Sermon
in the Service (Formula Missae)**; but he regards this as unessential, and
the Deutsche Messe has it where it has since been retained by the Lutheran
Church, after the Credo.

All of the early Lutheran Liturgies follow Luther in including
the Sermon as an integral part of the Service. There is difference of
opinions as to the correct succession of the prayers surrounding the Sermon,
but essentially there is universal unity on the use and position of the
Sermon.

XVI. The Votum Apostolicum

This was written by St. Paul, Philippians 4,7. Just when it
began to be used in the Christian Service cannot definitely be determined.
Perhaps we can regard it as a variant of the "Pax Domini sit semper vobis-
cum" of the ancient Roman Mass. There, however, it was followed by the
response of the congregation: "Et cum spiritu tuo." In contents and
structure, the Votum Apostolicum is similar to the Salutation (q. v.)

The Apostolic Constitutions bring the Votum in the form in
which it came to be used in the Roman Mass, in the ritual for Holy Communion,
before the Bidding Prayer for the Faithful, and after the divine Oblation.***

Luther does not mention the Votum. It is to be found, however,

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* X,222.
** X,2240f.
*** Ante-Nicene Fathers, VII, p. 490.

in the early Lutheran Liturgies. Wherever it is given, it is prescribed
for use after the Sermon, and after the Bidding Prayer. Thus Goldlauter,
1566: "Nach gethanem gebet zu gott befehle ich das volk in den schutz und
schirm des allmaechtigen gottes."*

X V I I .   T h e   O f f e r t o r y **

Our Common Order of Service suggests either one of two Offertories,
both of which find their Scriptural source in Psalm 51, verses 17-19 and
verses 10-12. The stipulation is also made that "any other suitable Offer-
tory may be used."

In the Apostolic age, the celebration of the Eucharist was pre-
ceded by the agape or love feast, to which Christians brought gifts of
bread and wine which were to be used in the Sacrament, sharing their abun-
dance with those less fortunate. Paul censures the abuse of this custom,
1 Corinthians 11, 21.33. When the agape was dropped, in the second century,
and the Eucharist was united with the Morning Service, the custom of bring-
ing gifts was retained, and they were brought to the altar by the Christ-
ians themselves, the entire ceremony being called the Oblation. While
they were bringing these gifts, the choir chanted the Offertory.

As time went on, a great perversion of the Oblation set in.
Along with the exaltation of the priesthood came the exaltation of the
sacrifice as the essence of the Service. This, then, went over into the
abomination of the papistical Mass. That which at first was only a bringing
of gifts of bread and wine, as an unbloody sacrifice, was perverted into a
sacrifice of the body and blood of the Lord in the Mass. This, too, was

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* Sehling, I,2, 333.
** Cf. Lochner, pp. 195-200.

called "unbloody," to distinguish it from the Crucifixion, but it nevertheless became a sacrifice of atonement for the sins of the living and of the dead.

This, then, resulted in the transformation of the congregational Oblation to the preparations for the sacrificial Eucharist. The Secreta consist of the prayers spoken in a low voice, the priest's appeal to God that He might accept the host as a sacrifice for living and dead and let it serve for their benefit. These Secreta and the loudly spoken or chanted Preface form the Roman Catholic Oblation.

Luther realized the abomination of all this, and declared against it: "Zum achten, folgt der ganze Greuel, dem alles hat dienen muessen, was in der Messe vorhergegangen ist, darum es auch Offertorium (Opferung) genannt (das ist, ein Opfergesang). Hernach, was dem folgt, klingt und stinkt allzumal eitel Opfer, und sind die heiligen Worte des Lebens und der Seligkeit mitten unter das greuliche Opferwesen dermassen hineingesetzt, wie vor Zeiten die Arche des Herrn im abgoettischen Tempel neben dem Goetzen Dagon. ... Darum wollen wir alles unterlassen, so nach Opfer klingt, sammt dem ganzen Canon, und allein behalten, das rein und heilig ist."* With things that are "rein und heilig" he includes the Versus Offertorii, the Versicles from the Psalter. This Psalmody was in some places a hymn, in others a Psalm, e.g. Psalm 111, 34. 133. The "Create in me" of our Order of Worship became prevalent in the middle of the 17th century, and has since then become almost universally accepted.

While Luther abolished everything papistical, he was inclined to retain the custom of bringing gifts, which had its roots in the Ancient Church. Thus he writes in the Deutsche Messe: "Hier koennte man auch ein

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* X, 2241.

allgemeines Almosen den Christen auflegen, das man williglich gaebe und aus-
theilete unter die Armen nach dem Exempel St. Pauli, 2 Cor. 9,1.2.12."*
In this he was followed by the early Lutheran Liturgies, and the usage has
become firmly established, to take the offering of the people at this point
in the Service.

"Das Offertorium des lutherischen Hauptgottesdienstes oder wie
man es sonst nennen mag, ist hiernach etwas ganz anderes als das der papist-
ischen Messe. Es ist der kirchliche Ausdruck fuer die gemeinsame Darbringung
von Opfern des geistlichen Priestertums — des bussfertigen Herzens durch
die Psalmodie: 'Schaffe in mir, Gott' usw., und der dankbaren Liebe durch
die damit verbunde. oder unter Umstaenden ihr vorhergehende oder nachfolgende
Einsammlung der Liebesgaben."**

XVIII. The General Prayer

The words of the General Prayer are not to be found in the
Scriptures. Nevertheless, we find an injunction for such a prayer in
1 Timothy 2, 1-2: "I exhort, therefore, that, first of all, supplication,
prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men; For kings,
and for all that are in authority; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable
life in all godliness and honesty."

Already in the earliest times the Christian Church used a General
Prayer. There it followed immediately upon the Sermon, and formed the trans-
ition to the Holy Eucharist. Later, however, the Service was divided into
the Missa Catechumenorum and the Missa Fidelium, and there we find that
after the dismissal of the catechumens came first a silent prayer on the
part of the congregation, and then the lengthy General Prayer, which

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* X, 229.
** Lochner, p. 200.

divided itself into 1) a prayer for peace in the world and for the welfare of the Church; 2) a prayer for the congregation and its officials; 3) a prayer for the various stations in life, for the suffering, the traveling, the imprisoned, the enemies and heretics, and the children; 4) a prayer for grace and strength for a Christian life and a blessed end. To this was then added a prayer by the "high priest," which was similar in contents to the one just mentioned. It was followed by the Salutation and the Kiss of Peace, after which the Consecration took place. Under the second petition of the General Prayer were included prayers for the sister congregations, which are mentioned by name according to the presiding bishop.[*]

Later in the Service, after the Consecration, and before the Distribution, we find still another prayer which very closely resembles the first in contents and structure. In this prayer we find an early appearance of a prayer for the dead: "Let us be mindful of the holy martyrs, that we may be thought worthy to be partakers of their faith. Let us pray for those that are departed in the faith."[**] The Liturgy of St. James adds the words addressed by the angel to the Virgin Mary, with an exaltation of her virtues and her merit. This section concerning Mary is, however, called a later interpolation by the editors of our edition of the Apostolic Constitutions. The section in the Liturgy of St. James concerning Mary is followed by a petition for the departed: "Remember, O Lord, the spirits and all flesh, of whom we have made mention, and of whom we have not made mention, who are of the true faith, from righteous Abel until this day: unto them do Thou give rest there in the land of the loving, in Thy kingdom" etc.[***]

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[*] Apostolic Constitutions, VIII, 10.11. Ante-Nicene Fathers, VII, pp. 485f. Alt, pp. 506-507.

[**] Ante-Nicene Fathers, p. 490.

[***] Ibid., p. 546.

No doubt these prayers for the dead were occasioned by the concept that the Church Militant and the Church Triumphant form one indissoluble body, death being only a transient sleep. Moreover, these prayers were at the same time a recognition of God's grace in having granted to the saints a blessed and victorious end. However, the use of the petition to the departed was grossly abused in the subsequent development in the Roman Catholic Mass. In connection with the doctrine of purgatory and the adoration of the saints, these prayers were distorted into prayers or masses that God would still extend mercy and favor to the departed souls. To what extent this lead, is well known from the history of the late Medieval period of the Church's development, as also from Luther's Reformation.

Thus the Reformation found the Church without a true General Prayer. Luther rejected the Roman Offertory which was bound up with the entire system of the sacrificial character of the Mass. He instituted a paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer after the Sermon, in his Deutsche Messe, and this is to some extent expressive of the contents of the General Prayer.*

This practice was carried out in some of the early Lutheran Liturgies. In a few instances, the prayer was used before the Sermon. Mostly it is to be found after the Sermon, as we have it. Our formula of the General Prayer closely resembles that found in the Apostolic Constitutions, not only in the form (that of petitions), but also in the contents. The Order of Strassburg, 1598, brings the General Prayer, and the Austrian Order of 1571 has its main features.**

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* X, 246-247.
** Jacobs, "The Lutheran Movement in England," quoted in Memoirs, I, p. 55.

X I X .   T h e   L o r d ' s   P r a y e r

This, the outstanding and most characteristic prayer of Christendom, is given us by the Lord Himself, and is recorded in Matthew 6, 9-13 and Luke 11, 2-4. The form in which we use it in the Common Order of Service is that found in the Gospel according to St. Matthew.

All of the ancient Liturgies, Eastern and Western, include the Lord's Prayer in the Missa Fidelium. Thus already the Didache, Chapter VIII, says: "Neither pray ye as the hypocrites; but as the Lord commanded in His Gospel, thus pray: Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth. Give us to-day our daily (needful) bread, and forgive us our debt as we also forgive our debtors. And bring us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil one (or, evil); for Thine is the power and the glory forever. Thrice in the day thus pray."*

In the Oriental Liturgies, the group of Palestine, Syria (Asia Minor), and Greece brings us the Lord's Prayer after the Great Intercession and before the Prayer of Humble Access in the Communion Service. The Egyptian Group has the same arrangement, with the exception of the Ethiopic Liturgy, which places it after the Distribution, immediately preceding the closing Collect. The Persian Group of the Oriental Liturgies places this prayer after the Prayer of Humble Access. Western Liturgies all precede the Lord's Prayer with a Preface. This is done in the Hispano-Gallican Group, as well as also in the Roman Group.**

In the early Church, not all had the privilege of praying the Lord's Prayer. The non-Christians were not even given the formula, and even the catechumens learned it for the first time just before their Baptism

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* Ante-Nicene Fathers, VII, p. 379.
** The Lutheran Quarterly. Gettysburg: J.E. Wible. Vol. XV, pp. 613ff.

and prayed it for the first time when, in the presence of the congrega-
tion, they emerged from the baptistery. Concerning this, Chrysostom says:
"We cannot call God Father, before we have in the bath of the holy waters
washed off our sins. But when we have come up out of it and there have
laid off the heavy burden, then we say, 'Our Father, who art in heaven.'"*
As for the general use of the Lord's Prayer in the early Christian Church,
Augustine writes that almost the entire Church closes its prayer with the
Lord's Prayer.

  Several points of note in the manner of usage of the Lord's
Prayer in the Ancient Church. — Tertullian calls it the "breviarium
totius Evangelii," and states that even if the Christian, according to
Christ's words: "Ask, and it shall be given you," is justified in praying
for other things, this prayer nevertheless precedes the others, and forms
their foundation.** Cyprian calls attention to the frequency of use of this
prayer when he calls it the "oratio quotidiana."*** The Apostolic Constitu-
tions likewise bring out the frequency of use: "So pray ye, 'Our Father
which art in heaven. ... .' Pray thus thrice in a day."[1] This seems to
be an adaptation of the Jewish prayers three times a day, and some claim
this to be a reference to the Holy Trinity. Later on, when devotions were
practiced less frequently, one Euthymius Zigabenus demands at least two
repetitions of the Lord's Prayer each day.[2]

  The Old Church held the Lord's Prayer in high esteem. Augustine
("Enchiridion") declares that this prayer offers satisfaction for the daily
sins of the believers. It was so generally conceded to be a daily require-
ment, that the Fourth Council of Toledo (633) placed a penalty on its

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* Alt, p. 60.
*** Alt, p. 58.
2) Alt, p. 58.

** De orat. C. 9; cf. Alt, p. 58.
1) Apostolic Constitutions, VII,24.
 Ante-Nicene Fathers, VII, p. 470.

omission, because "it wipes out the small and daily sins; it wipes out also
those, from which the life of a Christian, even if it is criminal, changed
by penitence, goes over to a better one."*

It is interesting to note that in the Liturgy of St. James the
Sixth and Seventh Petitions read as follows. The priest, bowing, says: "And
lead us not into temptation, Lord, Lord of Hosts, who knowest our frailty,
but deliver us from the evil one and his works ('apo tou poneerou kai toon
ergoon autou'), and from all his malice and craftiness, for the sake of Thy
holy name, which has been placed upon our humility: For Thine is the king-
dom, the power, and the glory, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, now and for-
ever. Amen." The following footnote is to be found at this point in "Ante-
Nicene Fathers," in speaking of this "embolism" of the Sixth and Seventh
Petitions: "In all the early liturgies always following the Lord's Prayer,
to accentuate the petition against the evil one. It hurls back his 'fiery
darts', as it were; whence this name."**

As many other sacred things, so also the Lord's Prayer suffered
much in the deformation of the Liturgy during the maladministration of
Roman Catholicism in pre-Reformation times. It was, consequently, lowered
in the estimation of the people, so much so, that Luther writes: "Der
Weise St. Brigitten fuenfzehn Gebet, Rosenkraenze, Coronen, Psalter und
dergleichen haben ueberhand genommen und mehr denn das Vater-Unser fuer sich
selbst geachtet wird."*** His own estimation of the Lord's Prayer is record-
ed briefly as follows: "Dem Vater-Unser ist keins gleich unter allen Ge-
beten: ich bete es lieber, denn keinen Psalm."****

Of course, he included the Lord's Prayer in both, the Deutsche
Messe and the Formula Missae. In the former, it takes its place in a

547.

* Concil. Toled. IV, c.9. Cf. Alt, p. 58.   ** Ante-Nicene Fathers, VII, p. 547.
*** VII, 756.   **** XXII, 527.

paraphrased form immediately after the Sermon;[*] in the latter, it is included in the ritual of the Blessed Sacrament proper, after the consecration, immediately after the Benedictus and Sanctus, and before the Votum which is followed by the Administration.[**]

Luther's views on the Lord's Prayer were, quite naturally, transplanted into the churches of the Reformation and post-Reformation age. So, for example, the "Verordnung uber die gemeinen Artikel der stadt Aldenburg dem rat doselbst zugestelt. 1553," states: "Zum XXII, so soll man hinfurder allweg gleich wie auch zu Wittemberg das vater unser im amt der mess singen."[***] This attitude is characteristic of the Church of the Reformation. In the Common Service without the Communion the Lord's Prayer follows the General (or Bidding) Prayer in many cases. The most common place for it is in the celebration of Holy Communion, where it is made to follow upon the consecration.[1)]

In a discussion of the Lord's Prayer, the question naturally will arise: What is to be said about the genuineness of the Doxology, which is to be found in some manuscripts at Matthew, but not at Luke? The following is an excerpt from an article on this question, written by Dr. Theodore Graebner: "The rejection of these words dates from 1514, when the editors of the Complutensian Polyglot, while admitting that the words were found in their Greek copies, banished them from the text solely in deference to the Latin version. In a marginal annotation they started the hypothesis that the doxology is a liturgical interpolation. But how is this possible, seeing that the doxology is commented upon by Chrysostom? 'We presume,' they say, 'that this corruption of the original text must have dated from an antecedent period.' By liturgical interpolation the Complutensian

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* X, 246.   ** X, 2243.
*** Sehling, I,1, p. 517.   1) Pro Ecclesia Luterana,
                  I,1, pp. 80. 82f.

editors meant to say that this sentence, 'For Thine is the kingdom ... .
Amen,' was used in the ancient liturgies, following the Lord's Prayer,
and that an ancient copyist, whose ears had grown familiar with the
formula, added it in his MS., supposing that in the copy before him it was
omitted by inadvertency. When such codices as Bezae, Vaticanus, and Sina-
iticus were discovered, which do not contain the words, the critics grew
more and more confident. Until recently they were practically agreed in
their verdict that the words are spurious. And still, the more recently
discovered sources of textual knowledge have strengthened the position of
those who hold that the doxology is genuine. Since 1514 scholars have be-
come acquainted with the Peschitta version (the Syriac translation dating
from ca. A.D. 400, and representing a much older text), which in all ex-
tant copies contains the words. Then came the ancient Coptic version
(third century), and now the Didache (of the first or second), both con-
taining the doxology. Note also that in the fourth century the Gothic
translation has it, later the Ethiopic. Every uncial MS. except the three
mentioned, and nearly all cursives, many of them representing a very ancient
text, have the verse as it stands in our Textus Receptus! Add to this that
not one of the fifty ancient Oriental liturgies examined by John William
Burgon exhibits the formula as it stands in Matthew, while the doxology
whenever found in the MSS. at Matthew 6,13 never varies.

"What is the explanation? This: It was the invariable practise
from the earliest times for the choir to break off at the words, 'But de-
liver us from evil.' They never pronounced the doxology, which was sung as
a response by the priest. These thirteen words, accordingly, have been
removed by the owner of an ancient copy of St. Matthew from which the Old
Latin MSS. have been derived. Undoubtedly he imagined that the copyist had

inserted them in error, supposing, from the use of similar doxologies in the liturgy, that they formed part of the text. That the Latin Church Fathers do not recognize more of the Lord's Prayer than they found in their (Latin) codices — they do not treat the doxology as part of the prayer — cannot create surprise.

"It seems that Paul recognizes these words 1 Tim. 6,16.[*] The traditional doubt concerning their genuineness is explained 1) by the failure of the Complutensian editors to observe that no ancient liturgy contains the words as they stand in Matt. 6 (hence their appearance there is certainly not due to the influence of the liturgy), and 2) by an overestimation of three uncials which omit the words, but which are contradicted by ninety-nine out of a hundred of the other Greek copies." [**]

XX. The Doxology

In the ancient Church, the Service was closed with a prayer by the bishop. The Apostolic Constitutions (VIII, 15) prescribe that this prayer shall close with the words: "For to Thee belongs the glory, praise, majesty, worship, and adoration, and to Thy Son Jesus, Thy Christ, our Lord and God and King, and to the Holy Ghost, now and always, for ever and ever, Amen."[***] And the Liturgy of St. James reads at this point: "And glory is done unto Thee, with the eternal Father, and the quickening Spirit, now and ever, and to all eternity. Amen." [****]

On this conclusion of the prayer, no doubt, was based the custom of closing with a Doxology containing the above principles of praise to the Trinity to all eternity. The absence of the Doxology sung by the

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[*] "Who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto; whom no man hath seen, nor can see: to whom be honor and power everlasting. Amen."
[**] Magazin fuer Ev. Luth. Homiletik und Pastoraltheologie. St.Louis: Concordia Publishing House. Vol. 43, pp. 567f.
[***] Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. VII, p. 491.   [****] Ibid., p. 550.

early Christian congregation can be explained by the fact that while the congregation did take a great part in the Service, the Doxology, as the conclusion of a prayer by the bishop, was not yet included in its activity. The humiliating subjection which the congregation suffered under the jurisdiction of Rome naturally precluded great participation, if any, on the part of the Christian worshipers, and no Doxology was used there.

Luther does not mention the Doxology in his liturgical writings. Yet we would conclude from later usage that he certainly did not forbid it. There, namely, the Doxology began to take its place at the close of the Service. For example, Bischofswerda, Schoenburg 1542, and Hadmersleben 1563 have that provision.*

Most frequently used in our Service is the "Common" Doxology, written by Bishop Ken (1637-1711) of the Anglican Church. It is the most widely used in Christendom to-day.

X X I .   T h e   B e n e d i c t i o n

"And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto Aaron and unto his sons, saying, On this wise ye shall bless the children of Israel, saying unto them, The Lord bless thee and keep thee: The Lord make his face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee: The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace." Numbers 6,22-26. Thus the Church of the Old Testament received the Benediction of the Lord from the mouth of His representative to them. And thus the Church in all ages has continued to dismiss the congregation with the blessing of God.

The formula of the Benediction is not always that recorded in

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* Pro Ecclesia Luterana, I,1, p. 85.

the Book of Numbers. In the Apostolic Constitutions (II, 57), the above Aaronic Benediction is prescribed: "After this let the high priest pray for peace upon the people, and bless them, as Moses commanded the priests to bless the people, in these words, 'The Lord bless thee and keep thee; the Lord make his face to shine upon thee, and give thee peace.'" * The prerogative of pronouncing the Benediction was reserved for the priesthood (III, 10), and at the same time a reference is made to the usage of two Benedictions, the Greater and the Lesser: "Neither do we permit the laity to perform any of the offices belonging to the priesthood; as, for instance, neither the sacrifice, nor baptism, nor the laying on of hands, nor the blessing, whether the smaller or the greater."* The Liturgy of St. Mark has another formula: "May God bless, who blesseth and sanctifieth, who defendeth and preserveth us all through the partaking of His holy mysteries; and who is blessed forever. Amen."*** And the Liturgy of the Blessed Apostles gives us still another variant: "May He Himself who blessed us with all spiritual blessings in the heavens, ... may He Himself now bless this congregation" etc.[1] And yet another version is given in the Greek Order of Worship: "The blessing of the Lord be over you, by His grace and love at all times, now and evermore and to eternity. Amen."[2]

The prevalent form of the Benediction in the Roman Catholic Mass was "Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus, Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus. Amen." This is one of the many formulas which came into use in the Middle Ages. It was followed by the last part of the Postcommunion, the reading of John 1, 1-14, which, however, took place after the congregation was dismissed.

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* Ante-Nicene Fathers, VII, p. 422.   ** Ibid., p. 429.
*** Ibid., p. 460.   1) Ibid., p. 568.
2) Alt, p. 219.

Luther says (Formula Missae): "(Zum achten) (Zuletzt) spreche der Priester den gewoehnlichen Segen ueber's Volk und nehme ihn aus dem 6. Capitel des 4. Buches Mosis, V. 24.25.26., so der Herr selbst geordnet hat: 'Der Herr segne dich und behuete dich, der · Herr erleuchte sein Angesicht ueber dir und sei dir gnaedig; der Herr erhebe sein Angesicht auf dich und gebe dir Friede'; oder nehme den aus dem 67. Psalm, V. 8,: 'Es segne uns Gott, unser Gott, es segne uns Gott, und alle Welt fuerchte ihn', Amen. Ich glaube auch, dass Christus dergleichen Segen gesprochen have ueber seine Juenger, da er gen Himmel aufgefahren."* In the Deutsche Messe, on the other hand, he uses only the Aaronic Benediction.

The early Lutheran Liturgies are well agreed on the Benediction and its place in the Service. Three alternatives are given: Either the Aaronic Benediction; or the one from Psalm 67,8; or the "Benedictio soli-ta": "The blessing of Almighty God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be with you and abide with you forever." One, the Merseburg Ordinal of 1545, permits both, the Aaronic Benediction and the Benedictio Solita.**

X X I I .   T h e   A m e n

With this, perhaps the most ancient liturgical response of the Church of God, we close our Service. We find the Amen first recorded in Numbers 5,22, in the ceremonial of the trial of jealousy: "And the woman shall say, Amen, .amen." The Prophet Jeremiah gives the explanation of the word (28, 6): "The Lord do so." When used at the end of a prayer, it is expressive of an earnest wish and desire, and of the assurance that the prayer is heard by God.

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* X, 2244f.
** Pro Ecclesia Luterana, I,1, pp. 84f.

Of especial importance was the Amen in the Jewish service, and the composers of the Talmudic precepts are most explicit in their directions concerning its usage and proper enunciation, attaching the most severe threats and curses to poor enunciation or frivolous use of the word, and exhorting to speak it with devout heart and soul, and with due reverence.*

It was perhaps because of this importance attached to the word Amen, that the writers of the New Testament did not translate it or substitute for it an equivalent Greek word. Then also, the word had become definitely fixed in the language of the people in the Hebrew form, and thus would be more readily retained. The Savior often used it as the formula for an oath, translated in our Bibles as "verily." Thus also the early Christians used the Amen as a response in the worship. St. Paul refers to this when he writes (1 Corinthians 14,16): "Else when thou shalt bless with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest?"

The Didache brings evidence that this use of the Amen after prayer was continued (X): "Hosanna to the God (Son) of David! If any one is holy, let him come; if any one is not so, let him repent. Maran atha. Amen." ** This quotation is taken from the Prayer after Communion. The Apostolic Constitutions (VIII, 13) prescribe the following practice in the Distribution: "And let the bishop give the oblation, saying, The body of Christ; and let him that receiveth say, Amen. And let the deacon take the cup; and when he gives it, say, The blood of Christ, the cup of life; and let him that drinketh say, Amen."*** The customary use of the Amen is again testified to by Dionysius of Alexandria, who, in speaking of one who had never

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* Alt. pp. 327f.
** Ante-Nicene Fathers, p. 380.
*** Ibid., 490f.

been truly baptized, but who had partaken of Holy Communion, states his reason for not rebaptizing him thus: "They would not rebaptize him, because he had for a long time heard the thanksgiving, and joined with the people in the common Amen."*

In the Formula of Holy Baptism of the Greek Catholic Church we find the Amen after every phrase: "I baptize thee in the name of the Father, Amen, and of the Son, Amen, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen."** It has been claimed that our custom of concluding the Sermon with Amen dates back to the time of the Arian controversy, when, for the sake of confessionalism, every orthodox Sermon concluded with a Doxology to the Holy Trinity, and this Doxology, of course, dared not be spoken without the Amen.

Already in the Old Testament, a repetition of the Amen was customary. Thus we read in Psalm 41,14: "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel from everlasting, and to everlasting. Amen, and Amen." Similar examples are Psalm 72,19 and Psalm 89,52. Already in the Old Testament, the Amen was chanted in fugue form.***

In our Common Service, the congregation closes every prayer, whether chanted by the pastor or spoken in unison, with the simple Amen. In its trine form, the Amen occurs only after the Benediction. There it is at once a response to the threefold Benediction and a testimonial of faith in the Holy Trinity, and expressive of the Christian assurance of being heard by our heavenly Father. In his explanation of the Lord's Prayer, as contained in the Small Catechism, Luther adds an explanation of the Amen: "Amen, Amen, das heisst: Ja, ja, es soll also geschehen."

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* Bingham, II, p. 786.
** Alt, p. 329.
*** Ibid., p. 329.

Composite Order, Early Church,	Ordinarium Missae	Formula Missae, 1523	Deutsche Messe, 1526	Mecklenburg, 1552	Common Service
----------	Initium Missae	----------	----------	--------	Invocation
Confession	Confiteor	----------	----------	Confiteor	Confiteor
Psalms (12)	Introit	Introit	Hymn or Psalm	Psalm or Hymn	Introit
Gloria Patri	------	----------	----------	--------	Gloria Patri
----------	Kyrie	Kyrie	Kyrie	--------	Kyrie
----------	Gloria in Excelsis	Gloria	----------	--------	Gloria in Excelsis
Salutation	------	----------	----------	--------	Salutation
----------	Collect(s)	Collect	Collect	Collect	Collect
Lections	Epistle	Epistle	Epistle	Epistle	Epistle
Hallelujah-Psalm	Gradual	Gradual	Hymn	Psalm	Hallelujah
Gospel	Gospel	Gospel	Gospel	Gospel	Gospel
Laus Tibi, or Deo Gratias	------	----------	----------	--------	Laus Tibi
----------	Creed	Creed	Creed	Patrèm and "Wir glauben"	Creed
Sermon	------	Sermon	Sermon	Sermon	Sermon
Private Devotion, General Prayer, Kyrie, Collect, Offertorium	Offertorium	Hymn	----------	Litany, psalms or hymn	Offertory
(Communion)	------	----------	General Prayer	Prayer	General Prayer
	(Communion)	(Communion)	(Communion)	--------	Lord's Prayer
Prayer of Thanksgiving	Postcommunion	Benedicamus	Collect of Thanksgiving	Colleot ...	Doxology
Benediction	Benediction	Benediction	Benediction	Benediction Hymn verses	Benediction

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