Concordia Seminary - Saint Louis
Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary

Bachelor of Divinity | Concordia Seminary Scholarship

6-1-1957

# Vespers, its history and theology

Thomas N. Green
*Concordia Seminary, St. Louis*, ir_greent@csl.edu

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholar.csl.edu/bdiv

 Part of the Practical Theology Commons

## Recommended Citation

Green, Thomas N., "Vespers, its history and theology" (1957). *Bachelor of Divinity*. 891.
https://scholar.csl.edu/bdiv/891

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Concordia Seminary Scholarship at Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary. It has been accepted for inclusion in Bachelor of Divinity by an authorized administrator of Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary. For more information, please contact seitzw@csl.edu.

# VESPERS, ITS HISTORY AND THEOLOGY

---

A thesis Presented to the Faculty
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,
Department of Practical Theology
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Bachelor of Divinity

---

by

Thomas N. Green

June 1955

Approved by: Walter E. Bruhn
Advisor

George W. Hoyer
Reader

TABLE OF CONTENTS

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

When the Church of Christ worships it is inevitable that the worshipers use Forms, or Rites, or Orders, for only in this way does the worship become meaningful to all. One of the Orders which the Church Catholic has used for centuries is Vespers. This Order is being used more and more in the Lutheran Church today, and hence it is necessary to make a careful study of the Form.

It is, first of all, necessary to study the history of the Rite, and to answer the question of when and how this Rite came to be used in the Church. It is important to a member of the Church of the Reformation to know whether or not the Form was complete before the period of decadence in the Church, and to know if this period effected the Form in any way.

Finally, it is necessary to discover the theology of the Order. The Lutheran Church is most interested in theology, Biblical theology, and if an Order of Worship is to prove its worth it must do so on the basis of its theology. Not only must the Order contain correct and pure theology, but the theology must be presented in a manner which will edify and strengthen the worshiper.

The thesis which follows takes up just these problems, namely, the history and theology of the Order of Vespers.

## CHAPTER II

## THE HISTORY OF VESPERS

In tracing the history of the Office of Vespers we shall divide the subject into the following sections: The history of the Office as a whole; the history of the individual parts of the Office, and the date of their entrance into the Office; and the method of rendering the Office.

> The question of the origins of the Choir Offices, or Daily Services, is difficult and obscure. We find them an accomplished fact in the second half of the fourth century, but lack of evidence leaves us without certain knowledge of the steps by which they became so. It is sometimes suggested that the origins of the Offices are to be traced to the observance by the Apostles and first Christians of the Jewish hours of prayer, as recorded in the Book of Acts.[1]

These important passages are as follows: "Now Peter and John went up together into the temple at the hour of prayer, being the ninth hour." (Acts 3:1) "On the morrow, as they went on their journey, and drew nigh unto the city, Peter went up upon the housetop to pray about the sixth hour." (Acts 10:9) "And at midnight Paul and Silas prayed, and sang praises unto God:" (Acts 16:25 However these were not the only passages which affected the early prayer life of

---

[1]E. C. Ratcliff, "The Choir Offices," Liturgy and Worship, edited by Clarke and Harris (London: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1933), p. 257.

the Church. Two other passages were especially important: "Now when Daniel knew that the writing was signed, he went into his house; and his windows being opened in his chamber toward Jerusalem, he kneeled upon his knees three times a day, and prayed, and gave thanks before his God, as he did aforetime." (Daniel 6:10) "Seven times a day do I praise thee because of thy righteous judgments." (Psalm 119:165) We have every reason to believe that the early Christians kept these prayer hours as well as their station in life would permit. The early Church Fathers take up the task of urging their flocks to pray during these hours.

> The Didache, for example, directs the saying of the Lord's Prayer three times daily. Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian and St. Cyprian assume or recommend the observance of the third, sixth, and ninth hours. Origen recommends prayer during the night; Tertullian assumes it on special occasions. Morning and evening prayer are taken for granted.[2]

Hippolytus of Rome, who died in 235, in his Apostolic Tradition, becomes quite explicit in his directions concerning the prayer life of the converts. This writing of Hippolytus,

> Is designed as a manual of direction in Christian practice for the converts who were then entering the Church in considerable numbers; and it was intended also as perhaps a safeguard against the supposed slackness and errors of the Latin group of Roman Christians and their bishop. . . Every Christian is commanded to pray on rising in the morning; at

---

[2]Leighton Pullan, The History of The Book of Common Prayer (London: Longmans, Green & Company, 1901), p. 141.

> the third and sixth hours, because of their association with our Lord's passion; at the ninth hour; on going to bed; and in the middle of the night, because of our Lord's words in Matt. 25:6, 13. Nothing is said about evening prayer. However, directions are given for the conduct of the 'supper of the congregation' in the evening, when the lamps are brought in.[3]

Coming closer to Vespers itself we have a quotation from St. Cyprian, who died in 258, We pray,

> In the evening hour, for since Christ is the true Sun and the true Day, as the worldly sun and the worldly day depart, when we pray and ask that light may return to us again, we pray for the advent of Christ.[4]

The time of evening prayer has always been important, for it appears that the Christians consecrated to prayer, either public or private, "(1) the last moments of the night, the time between cock-crow and sunrise, and (2) the time of gloaming, when the sun disappeared and the lamps of the house were lighted."[5] This lamp-lighting devotion in the evening is very ancient as it anti-dates the Christian era. It is a household devotion of the Jews that was used in the time of our Lord.

What is the problem connected with the origins of these Offices concerning which we spoke at the head of this unit?

---

[3]Ratcliff, op. cit., p. 258.

[4]R. Morris Smith, "The Sources of the Minor Services," Memoirs of the Lutheran Liturgical Association, edited by Luther Reed (Pittsburgh: Lutheran Liturgical Association, 1907), II, 36.

[5]Pullan, op. cit., p. 141.

The problem is simply that it is all but impossible to tell whether the prayers described by the Church Fathers are private prayers or public. The earlier authors writing on this subject, writing at the end of the last century, indicate that they take the mention of these hours of prayer as public hours of prayer. However, more modern research has shown that this was probably not the case. The seven hours were most likely to be said either in private or in the family gathering, as with the lamp-lighting devotion. When speaking of finding traces of the Offices in the prayers of the New Testament, one author says, "This is a mistake, because such observances were in no sense public acts of worship on the part of the Church; they were private prayers of one or more individuals."[6] Another eminent liturgical scholar, Dom Gregory Dix, says,

> I know of no evidence for any organized evening service corresponding to Vespers or Evensong, even on Sundays, from anywhere in Christendom before c. A.D. 360. The little ceremony of the Lucernarium, the blessing of the evening lamp with prayer and praise, was inherited by Christianity directly from the jewish (sic) domestic piety of our Lord's time. It was transferred to the public evening service in church when this came into being in the later fourth century, but previously to that it remained a christian domestic rite, except when used as a preliminary to the paschal vigil.[7]

---

[6]Ratcliff, op. cit., p. 257.

[7]Dom Gregory Dix, The Shape of the Liturgy (Westminister: Dacre Press, 1945), p. 323.

The later scholars seem to be right on this point, for there is the simple physical impossibility of attending church so often in the course of a day, even twice a day. This becomes more evident when one views the social level of the average early Christian. Many of them were slaves, or at best they were people from the lower working class. For these people to leave their work and to come together several times a day for worship would be quite impossible. This is true even on Sunday, for in pagan Rome this day was no public holiday. However, when trying to date the Office of Vespers, the ancient practice of holding Vigils dare not be overlooked. The Vigil which lasted throughout the night was a preparation for Eucharist of the next morning. One of the present purposes of our Vespers is also to prepare for the next morning's Eucharist. Parsch, in what may be a bit of an over-simplification says, "But as a vigil that lasted the whole night would place too heavy a demand on the faithful, the observance of the vigil was usually limited to the beginning (Vespers) and the end of the night (Lauds)."[8] It may be then, that the first germs of a public Vespers and Lauds were known early at least one night a week, Saturday-Sunday, though the service would differ from our own Office.

Undoubtedly the rise of the Offices, as public services,

---

[8]Pius Parsch, The Breviary Explained, translated by W. Nayden and C. Hoegerl (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Company, 1952), p. 18.

and the daily recitation of Vespers and Lauds, came with the Peace of the Church in 313.[9] Naturally the hours that the Christian had used for private prayer influenced the choice of hours for public or corporate prayer. "There is, it will be noticed, a significant correspondence between the times of private prayer observed at least by the more devout in the early Church and the times of public services of later days.[10] Many factors contributed to the popularization of the Offices. There was, first, the example of the Church at Jerusalem, which after the Peace under Constantine was flooded with pilgrims.

> The organization of the divine office at Jerusalem must be one of the personal achievements of S. Cyril. He became bishop there about A.D. 350, just when the first germs of the public office were making their appearance at Antioch. In his Catecheses, delivered as a presbyter in the spring of 347-8, there is a complete absence of reference to any service of the sort, which would be inexplicable if they already existed. But by the time of the pilgrimage of Etheria-Silvia in A.D. 385--the year before S. Cyril's death--there is a whole daily round of offices at Jerusalem, from the night office an hour or two after midnight lasting til Lauds at cock-crow on through Sext and None daily (public Terce is still specially reserved for Lent) and ending with Vespers, which lasted until after sunset. The whole series is under the direction of the bishop and his clergy, some of whom preside over the performance of every office, as the bishop himself does at Lauds and Vespers accompanied by them all.[11]

---

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ratcliff, op. cit., p. 257.

[11] Dix, op. cit., p. 329.

Note the importance of these two latter Offices, this possibly testifies to their antiquity. After witnessing such a round of services in the Holy City the pilgrims made their desires known for such services in their own cities. Dix continues to describe this:

> The example of Jerusalem, everywhere reported by returning pilgrims, was there to stimulate the demand of the laity for the holding of such services in their own churches. The secular clergy, not always enthusiastically, were obliged to undertake the supervision and public recitation of some offices in the church.[12]

The other great force in bringing the Office into the public worship of the Church was the rise of the monasteries at this time, whose monks now served the church especially well. The monks recited the prayer hours as a community as much as possible. The secular use of the Offices,

> is nothing less than the reception for the first time into the public worship of a secular church of the monastic ideal of sanctifying human life as a whole and the passage of time by corporate worship. It marks the end of the pre-Nicene tradition that corporate worship should only express the separateness of the 'holy church' from the world out of which it had been redeemed.[13]

This change in the worship ideal of the Church is very important as we see again from Dix:

> The office as a public function in secular churches was not only a considerable extension of the field of public

---

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid.

> worship. It was, by contrast with the eucharist, from its introduction a really public devotion, open to all comers. There was for a while a practice of expelling the unconfirmed before the concluding prayers at the office as well as at the synaxis; but the element of prayer in the secular office was never a large one, and the bulk of the office and its most important part, the 'worship' of the Psalms, was open to all. There was no strong tradition of exclusiveness attaching to it from the past as in the case of the eucharist. This openess of the office did something to prepare the way for the open celebration of the eucharist; but even the old christian exclusiveness about that was bound to break down as the world became nominally christian.[14]

The effect that these Offices had on the philosophy of worship is quite great.

> The monk and his lay followers placed quite a new emphasis in christian spirituality which had been present from the beginning, but which had hitherto found only restricted expression in christian worship and none at all in the eucharistic rite--the element of personal 'edification'.[15]

When the Peace of the Church was made under Constantine there was a tremendous influx of people into the Church. This was so much the case that it was impossible for the Church to keep up her educational standards in the old way. A major service that the monks performed for the Church at this time was not only inspiring Christians to greater piety, but by their fostering of the use of the Offices in general, and Vespers and Lauds in particular, they helped to

---

[14] Ibid., pp. 331f.

[15] Ibid., p. 323.

some degree in this huge job of education and edification.

The spread of these services, as public services is rather phenomenal. Bearing in mind that there is not a definite trace of a public Office recited before the Peace of the Church, unless the Vigil is included, once the recitation of Offices came into vogue it spread very rapidly. "St. Hilary mentions that, around the year 365, Lauds and Vespers were recited daily in the whole Latin Church."[16]

> Daily services . . . become general in the last quarter of the fourth century. In the West Rome seems to have adopted them at this time, almost certainly about A.D. 382 under Pope S. Damasus, and the tradition is constant that the great organizer of the Roman liturgy deliberately modeled the Roman Office in its main lines on that of Jerusalem.[17]

At Milan the Offices date from about 386.[18]

> Certainly in the fourth century . . . there was public evening services in the Eastern Churches, as we learn from the Apostolical Constitutions (Apost. Const. I. viii. ca. 36. ca. 375-400): and Cassian in the beginning of the fifth century, appears to refer the evening and nocturnal assemblies of the Egyptians to the time of St. Mark the Evangelist.[19]

Here again arises the old problem of whether the prayers of which Cassian speaks are public or private--especially at the

---

[16] Parsch, op. cit., p. 18.

[17] Dix, op. cit., p. 329.

[18] Ibid.

[19] William Palmer, Origines Liturgicae or Antiquities of the English Ritual (London: Francis and John Rivington, 1845), I, 204.

time of St. Mark. Palmer, the author quoted, is an older scholar, writing about 1845, and he did not have at his disposal some of the modern research, when he interpreted Cassian's remarks concerning the possible public assemblies in the time of St. Mark. The Apostolic Constitutions speak very plainly, however, concerning the Offices which were recited at the time of its writing, 375-400.

> Offer up your prayers in the morning, at the third hour, the sixth, the ninth, the evening, and at cock-crowing . . . in the evening giving thanks that He has given you the night to rest from the daily labors.[20]

It would not be correct to suppose that all Christians repaired to Church at each prayer for the public recitation of the Offices. It is true that there were many who did this, especially when the Offices were first introduced as public functions. These were, however, the monks and the enthusiastic laymen. The two Offices which were generally publicly recited, and those which all laymen were expected to attend were Vespers and Lauds, and there is quite a bit of evidence that these two Offices were elevated above the others.

> But for a century or two the full round of offices, and above all the long Night Office, were in greater favor with the monks and the devout laity than with the secular clergy, who only slowly and reluctantly accepted the obligation of reciting them daily as an

---

[20]Smith, op. cit., p. 37.

> inherent part of clerical duties. It was otherwise with Lauds and Vespers, the daily offices of praise at dawn and sunset, which had been established in almost all secular churches before the end of the fourth century.[21]

And again,

> That all these hours were not to be observed in the Church is very evident from the Apostolic Constitutions, where (Bk. II. 36) we read, 'Moreover, do not leave the Church of Christ; but go thither in the morning before all thy work, and again in the evening to return thanks to God that He has preserved thy life'; and again (Bk. VII.59), 'When thou instructest the people, O bishop, command and exhort them to come constantly to Church, morning and evening, everyday, and by no means to forsake it on any account . . . but assemble yourselves together everyday, morning and evening, singing Psalms and praying in the Lord's house; . . .[22]

Another author has this to say about the use of the daily services.

> We must conclude our notice of the services of the fourth century by saying that there was still a sharp distinction between the frequent services of the monastic churches and the few services of the ordinary churches. This distinction existed in the sixth century and until after S. Augustine. In 529 the Emperor Justinian directed that the clergy in each church should sing Vespers, Nocturns, and Lauds. Such was the custom of the East, and in Gaul and Spain it was similar. The Council of Agde in Gaul in 506 ordained that there shall be 'just as everywhere else' an Office chanted every day in the morning and another in the evening. The fourth Council of Toledo in Spain, in 633, ordained that there shall be one order of singing in the morning and evening Office.[23]

---

[21] Dix, op. cit., p. 330.

[22] Smith, op. cit., p. 37.

[23] Pullan, op. cit., p. 146.

Here another problem arises, one which at the present time is impossible to solve. The problem is when did Offices cease to be services at which the laity were to be present, and in which the laity were to participate? For, "the observance of these seasons of prayer by night and day was not recommended merely to the clergy, but to Christians in general: though it did not in all cases involve attendance on public worship at each of these particular hours"[24] At what time did these Offices become only the concern of the clergy and the religious as is generally the case in the Church of Rome today?

The first period of the development of the Offices, according to Dr. Parsch, ends ca. 600, with Gregory I.[25] After this time there are no really constructive elements added to the Offices in general, and to Vespers in particular.[26] Vespers at this time was already clearly defined as an office.

> It was an evening prayer which began when darkness set in and the evening star appeared. It was also called Lucernarium, that is, the hour at which the lamps were lit . . . Lucernarium and Vespers were originally not one and the same hour, but because the one followed so closely on the other, the distinction gradually disappeared.[27]

---

[24]Palmer, op. cit., p. 209.

[25]Parsch, op. cit., p. 10.

[26]Ibid.

[27]Ibid., p. 20.

This is one stage of the process of defining Vespers. At first there was one evening prayer, and this was kept later in the evening, that the worshipper would be better prepared for the night's rest. At this point St. Benedict appeared and altered the situation. He introduced the bedtime Hour, Compline, and then Vespers was moved up and became an early evening Office.[28] Benedict is of the utmost importance with regard to the Offices, and there are two other men who are very important, St. Ambrose (for his hymns), and St. Damasus (perhaps for the arrangement of the Psalter). After these men the Office of Vespers basically has seen no improvement, and all the elements which we have in our present Office were used also by these men.[29]

The next period in the life of the Office of Vespers is from 600 until the time of the Reformation. This is a period which is described by Dr. Parsch as one in which, "no essential addition or development occured. At most only accidental changes and embellishments took place."[30] The period really appears to be one of decadance. This began when the Breviarium secundum Consuetudinem Romae Curia was compiled.

---

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid., p. 30.

[30] Ibid.

This was done for the sake of the members of the Roman Curia who had to travel. Before this time not one but several volumes were needed to recite the Office. Unfortunately in this Breviarium the lessons were shortened and more defined.[31]

> But we should note that the Breviary thus abridged and divided, often without regard for sense or continuity, considerably diminished the spiritual value of the ancient hour prayers. The broad swift stream of community prayer now slackened, became an exactly defined obligation that the individual had to fulfill. Because of this book, what was once only a common and public prayer was recited privately by the individual priests bound to recite it.[32]

The laity were entirely out of the picture as far as the recitation of the Office in this period is concerned. Furthermore this is the long period, during which the majority of the non-Biblical and fanciful sections of the Breviary crept in.

"The question naturally occurs,--What effect had the Reformation upon these different Hours?"[33] With this question we begin the final section of the history of the Office of Vespers, namely from the Reformation to the present. "Both in the Ordnung des Gottesdienstes in der Gemeinde, and

---

[31] Ibid., p. 24.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Smith, op. cit., p. 37.

in his Formula Missae Luther bore testimony to the significance and appropriateness of the Horae, and declared himself in favor of their retention; but he recognized the fact that great changes had to be made to make them servicable to our Church."[34] It was Luther's design to make these Hours again public Hours, and he realized that eight daily Hours were too many for Public recital, hence he and his followers, including Arch-bishop Cranmer, decided on two Hours. This was nothing radical or new, for these had been the Hours of the Laity, and the other Hours were later as can be seen from the following:

> Though it is the duty of Christians to pray continually, yet the precise times and seasons of prayer, termed canonical hours, do not rest on any divine command; nor have they ever been pronounced binding on all churches by any general council: neither has there been any uniformity in the practices of the Christian Churches in this respect. Besides this, the Churches of the Alexandrian Patriarchate, which were founded by the holy Evangelist Mark, appointed only two assemblies in the day; and no more were customary even in the monasteries of Egypt, the rest of the day being left for voluntary prayer and meditation. In the ancient Gallican Church also, it seems that there was public service only twice in the day, in addition to the celebration of the Holy Eucharist. Epiphanus, bishop of Salamis in Cyprus, speaks only of the Offices for the morning and evening; and it appears from the canons of Martin, bishop of Braga, in the seventh century, that no other public daily services were known in the Spanish Church.[35]

---

[34] Ibid.

[35] Palmer, op. cit., p. 205.

Luther and his followers saw in these Offices primarily a chance to edify and educate the laymen. For this reason the Hours contained a great deal of teaching elements, especially the reading of the Word of God. However Luther and his immediate followers did not take it upon themselves to change the format of the services greatly. These remained basically the same.[36] In the period of Lutheran Orthodoxy there was a tendency to make changes, especially to use hymns and metrical versions of the Canticles rather than the Canticles themselves. Furthermore each principality had its own Churchorder, the so-called Kirchenordnung, and these had their differences, yet concerning the Office of Vespers the major elements remained untouched.

It remained for a later time to loose for the Lutheran Church the historic order of Vespers. This came with the Pietists and the Rationalists, as we see from the following:

> "For all the destructive processes which later on made themselves felt in the Lutheran Churches of Germany the historic beginnings and elucidation must be sought in the period of restoration following the Thirty Years' War and extending into the eighteenth century." With these words Kliefoth begins his dissertation on the Destruction of the Lutheran Orders of Service. The conditions that succeeded the Thirty Years' War gave rise to a problem more difficult of solution than that which confronted the Reformers of the preceeding century . . . . It was not the problem of renovation

---

[36]Martin Luther, Works of Martin Luther, the Philadelphia Edition (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1932), VI, 60 ff.

but of restoration; not the work of purifying the Church's faith and practice, which had already been done, but the much more difficult task of again bringing the purified faith and practice into the consciousness and life of a people demoralized by war, having no real hunger and thirst for the Gospel, and therefore not responsive to it as the masses of the preceeding century had been.

The first step in the process of restoration was the reissue and fresh promulgation of the KOO (Churchorders), many of which had been destroyed by the war, and none of which were operative . . . . But the fatal defect in these revised Orders was their bureaucratic character.

It is not difficult to understand how all this affected the Church's worship. The disciplinary measures in force indeed filled the churches; but those who gathered in them came rather in obedience to custom and external requirement than to satisfy an internal need . . . The form still remained, but it was now a thing without life, because those who used it had no life to breathe into it . . .

The reaction against a one-sided, lifeless orthodoxy and its consequent formalism came in the Pietistic movement . . . . Though at first, by no means disposed to break with the Confessions, institutions and usages of the Church, it nevertheless deemed it necessary to supplement these. To the public meetings for worship, public communion, private confession and absolution, it added private religious meetings in houses (collegia Pietatis), private communion, and private religious conversation in the pastor's study . . . .

But the very methods by which the earlier Pietism hoped to revive spiritual life ultimately proved destructive to the Church's Cultus . . . . Pietism conceived of godliness not in its broader sense as it is also related to and includes man's duties to the world about him, but rather as that isolated being, devoted to pious contemplations and reflections, which finds its supreme delight in the quiet spiritual exercises of the closet

and in communion with God. Thus the objective and sacramental elements came to be underestimated to the same extent that orthoxody had over-estimated them, and public worship became more and more subjective and sacrificial . . . edification was sought not so much in the worship of the whole congregation as in the exercises of the small assemblies. This, however, was virtually putting the awakened personality above the Means of Grace, the ecclesiolae in ecclesia above the ecclesia. Now the destructive process began in ernest. The personal, subjective element and individual experience were struggling for expression. The more the personal character and spiritual ripeness of the officiating minister came to be looked upon as conditioning edification--and indeed the saving efficacy of the Word itself, the greater became the antipathy to anything that limited freedom of expression, and the higher was the estimate placed on those acts of worship that could serve as a channel for the utterance of individual reflections and emotions. Thus the fixed, liturgical element was made to yield to the subjective element; extempore prayer was substituted for the Church prayer; the objective Church hymn gave way to hymns descriptive of the souls changing conditions, experiences and feelings. . . .

But far more destructive was the influence of rationalism. Whilst Pietism regarded the historic service as too objective and sacramental, and therefore broke with its fixed form rather than with its contents, Rationalism rejected both its form and its contents. What sort of appreciation for the Church Year, or any thing liturgical, could a theology have that based its beliefs not on the great historic facts of redemption, but on its own speculations? How could such a religion of reason permit the service on its sacramental side to remain what it originally was in the Lutheran Church . . . .

Like the later Pietisms, so Rationalism could not tolerate the fixed and recurring, but was ever seeking something new, to the confusion of the congregation and the ever increasing destruction of the liturgy . . . The Minor Services with their scheme of lessons fell into decay; all the most ancient and beautiful parts--Introits, Kyries, Creed, Prefaces, Litany, Canticles, etc., were consigned to oblivion; the brief sententious old Collects were exchanged for verbose and sentimental new fabrications. . . Thus what Pietism began, but did not really mean to do, Rationalism finished, and the

destruction of the Church Service was complete."[37]

This passage has been quoted at such length for it summarizes the condition of our Church quite well prior to the publication of the present Lutheran Hymnal. The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod was not troubled particularly by Rationalism, but liturgically speaking Pietism effected it very much, until the time when the Church returned to the ancient forms, and to the Office of Vespers in The Lutheran Hymnal.

The next division will address itself to the history of the individual parts of the Office of Vespers as it is presently found in The Lutheran Hymnal, giving the time of the appearance of each part.

The first part of the Office is the Versicle.

> The first Versicle, 'O Lord open Thou my lips,' with the response, 'And my mouth shall show forth Thy praise,' is, in all probability of Eastern origin, occurring in the Office of Lauds and prefacing the Hexapsalmus (Psalms 3, 28, 63, 88, 103, 143). The Versicle had this form, 'Thou shalt open my lips, O Lord, and my mouth shall show forth Thy praise,' and was said twice. Whether the Western Church derived this from the Eastern Office or adopted it independently is a questionable point. It occurs, however, in the Horae Order of Benedict of Nursia (529).[38]

This is not historically a part of the Office, but the Office

---

[37] J. F. Ohl, "The Liturgical Deterioration of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," Memoirs of the Lutheran Liturgical Association, edited by Luther Reed (Pittsburgh: Lutheran Liturgical Association, 1907), II, 50.

[38] Smith, op. cit., p. 40.

began with the second Versicle.

> The second, 'Make haste, O God, to deliver me,' with the response, 'Make haste to help me, O Lord,' is likewise found in the Rule Of Benedict. Its origin is, however, earlier though not probably as fixed liturgical form. John Cassian (350-433) in his Collationes Patrum (an account of the teachings of some hermits in the desert of Scete), mentions the fact that the monks before his time often used this Versicle. In the Monastic Breviaries, of which the Benedictine is a type, this Versicle preceeds the first. Both passed over into the Breviary of Gregory the Great (D. 604). The Lutheran Orders of the 16th century present quite a diversity with reference to the use of these historic Versicles. Many discarded them. Some of the principle Orders which retained them, either one or both, were, - Prussia 1526; Schwäbisch-Hall 1526; Calenburg-Göttingen 1542; Prussia 1544; Braunschweig-Lüneberg 1544; Prussia 1558.[39]

The Versicles have a Biblical source, "And are drawn from Ps. li. 15 and Ps. lxx. 1. respectively."[40]

The next of the Versicles is that which may follow each lesson.

> How ancient the custom is of closing all the Lections with the words, 'Tu autem, Domine, miserere nobis,' (But Thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us), Response, 'Deo gratias' (Thanks be to God), we cannot definitely determine. Schoeberlein, citing Binterim as authority, says that this form of concluding the Lessons was added since the twelfth century. By whom we cannot tell. Not all of the sixteenth century Orders used it.[41]

---

[39] Ibid.

[40] Ratcliff, op. cit., p. 271.

[41] Ohl, op. cit., p. 48.

The next Versicle is that which preceeds the Vespers Canticle.

> The Versicle preceding the Vespers Canticle was used by the Western Church from very early times. The exact time of its introduction, and by whom it was introduced we have not been able to discover. The pre-Reformation use of this Versicle, as also the present Roman, was--Dirigatur, Domine, oration mea. (Let my prayers be set forth, O Lord). Sicut incensum in conspectu tuo. (As incense in Thy Sight).[42]

Who is responsible for the second part of the Versicle as we have it in the Lutheran Rite, 'And the lifting up of my hands as the evening sacrifice,' is also impossible to tell. This is a Biblical passage found in the Book of Psalms. (Psalm 141:2).

The next Versicle to be considered is the Salutation and the Response. This is very ancient, and undoubtedly ante-dates the Christian era. It was a Jewish greeting as can be seen from Boaz's greeting to the reapers, "And, behold, Boaz came from Bethlehem and said unto the reapers, The Lord be with you. And they answered him, The Lord bless thee." (Ruth 2:4). The response to this greeting is, however, Christian. For the significance of the response, 'And with thy spirit,' see chapter two.

The final Versicle to appear in the rite is the Benedicamus, "Bless we the Lord, Thanks be to God."

> This liturgical conclusion and dismissal is a feature found in the Roman and the Lutheran liturgies but not

---

[42] Ibid.

> in the Anglican. In the pre-Reformation Office every Hour was concluded in this manner. The Lutheran Orders retain the Benedicamus and, when no minister was present, this concluded the Service.[43]

The next division is the Gloria Patri.

> The Gloria Patri as a concluding doxology to each Psalm was in use in Gaul according to Cassian, at the end of the fourth century. It was similarly used in Rome by the fifth century, and this use of it is presupposed by St. Benedict in his Rule.[44]

Benedict, in his Rule, speaks of the Gloria Patri, as used at the beginning of the Offices. Amalarius and Walafridus, who lived in the ninth century, also refer to it, and we find it prescribed in the Anglo-Saxon Offices.[45]

> Originally the form was either 'Glory to the Father, through the Son, in the Holy Ghost,' or Glory to the Father, in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost.' But in the time of Arius (318) and his followers, who denied the co-equality of the Son with the Father, the more difinitive form, 'Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost,' was given it; and because in the Arian controversy, the co-eternity of the Son with the Father was denied, the conclusion, 'As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen,' was added, first in the Eastern, then in the Western Church.[46]

At least sections of this doxology are Biblical and are found in the Book of Romans (Rom. 16:27), Ephesians (Eph. 3:21), Philipians (Phil. 4:20), and Revelations (Rev. 1:6).

---

[43]Luther D. Reed, The Lutheran Liturgy (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1947), p. 454.

[44]Ratcliff, op. cit., p. 271.

[45]Palmer, op. cit., p. 247.

[46]Ibid., p. 245.

The next major division is the Office Hymn. For a discussion of the requirements of an Office Hymn see chapter two. For the most part St. Ambrose was the man who introduced hymns for the first time into the Office of Vespers. Hymnody really flourished in the Middle Ages, though Rome was very slow in admitting hymns to the Office.[47]

The next major division is the Canticle. The first Canticle of Vespers is the Magnificat. "The Magnificat has been sung at Vespers as long as the Service can be traced in the Western Church."[48]

> Already in the first centuries this Praise-Hymn of Mary's was used in Divine Service. The Greek Church assigned it a place in the Office of Sunday Lauds in connection with the Benedictus. The Latin Church, on the other hand, placed it in Sunday Vespers. Caesarius of Arles is supposed to have introduced it into the Western Church (c. 507). In the time of Gregory the Great it became part of the daily Vespers,--a position it still occupies . . . The sixteenth century Orders retained the Canticle.[49]

The other Canticle which we have appointed for Vespers came into this office when the Offices of Vespers and Compline were conflated at the time of the Reformation. The Apostolic Constitutions already mention the Nunc Dimittis, or the Song

---

[47]Parsch, op. cit., p. 20.

[48]Procter, The Book of Common Prayer (London: The Macmillan Company, 1885), p. 263.

[49]Ohl, op. cit., p. 50.

of Simeon, as an evening prayer. The Eastern Church gave it a place in Vespers and the Western in Compline. The rule of Benedict does not mention it as used at Compline, but Amalarius (820) speaks of it."[50] Both Canticles are, of course, Biblical passages and are found in the Gospel According to St. Luke.

The next major division is that of the Prayers, introduced by the Kyrie.

> All this part of the service is very ancient in the Offices of the Western Churches. Amalarius (A.D. 820) and Benedict (A.D. 530), both speak of the Lesser Litany, 'Lord, have mercy upon us,' etc., and the Lord's prayer, as accuring in this place; the councils of Girone (A.D. 517), and Toledo (A.D. 633), prescribed the latter; both also are found in monuments of the Anglo-Saxon Church.[51]

One of the important ordinary prayers of this section is the Collect for Peace. "This Collect is found in all the ancient monuments of the English Church, where it has been used for above twelve hundred years. It is, without any reasonable doubt, as old as the fifth century, since it occurs in the sacramentary of Gelasius A.D. 494."[52] Then there were other Collects usually set aside for use in Vespers. "We find in the sacramentaries of Gregory A.D. 590, and Gelasius A.D. 494, collects appointed peculiarly to be said at evening

---

[50] Ibid.

[51] Palmer, op. cit., p. 205.

[52] Ibid., p. 290.

prayer."[53]

The next major division is the Responsory.

> When and by whom the Responsory was first introduced is difficult to determine. Gregory of Tours (d 595), and Isidore of Seville (d 636) mention it. Isidore relates that the Spanish Church long before his time adopted the Responsory from Italy. His exact words are, 'Responsoria ab Italia longo ante rempore sunt reperta.' Originally it was a lengthy portion of scripture, consisting of a whole Psalm or Canticle, but later was reduced to a few verses.[54]

The final element to be discussed is the benediction. "The evening office terminated with a benediction in the Eastern Church about the fourth century; and also in the patriarchate of Constantinople, then, or not long after. The council of Agde (A.D. 517), Benedict, and amalarius speak of the same in the West."[55] The benediction which was universally used is that which is in the Lutheran Hymnal, "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all."

In this section we have hesitated to speak of the elements of Psalms and the Lessons. These were always the most important part of the Office. It is from these elements that the ideal of edifying services and educating services stems. There was never an absolute arrangement of the order

---

[53] Ibid.

[54] Smith, op. cit., p. 49.

[55] Palmer, op. cit., p. 292.

and the number of Psalms that were to be read at the Office, and almost every Church and fraternity of monks had its own method.[56] The same is true of the Lessons. How long these were to be was usually up to the one presiding at the Office. These Lessons included not only readings from the canonical books of Sacred Scripture, but also homilies of the fathers, lives of the saints, and readings from apocryphal books.[56] As is pointed out in chapter two the whole matter of Lessons and Psalms is a difficult one in the Lutheran Hymnal, and it is for this reason that no more can be said. Perhaps the Lutheran attitude to the reading of the Lessons and Psalms is summed up in the words of Luther, "Universa Scriptura in Lectiones partita perseveret in auribus ecclesiae."[57]

Finally how were these services rendered? The thing that is important here is the great use of music in these Offices.

> Music could be considered by the Church only if it served the purposes of the Church, and therefore the subject and aim of Christian cult music was and remained the gloria Dei and the aedificatio hominum, the glorification of God and the edification of man. From the very beginning the liturgy created an ars sacra which became an organic part of its solemn ritual.[58]

---

[56]Procter, op. cit., p. 231.

[57]Smith, op. cit., p. 48.

[58]Paul Henry Lang, Music in Western Civilization (New York: W. W. Norton Company, Incorporated, 1941), p. 41.

"The oldest part of Christian musical liturgy is the so-called officium, the service of the hours."[59] The first important Christian music came after the cessation of the persecution of the Christians, and the out-put lasted until about the time of Gregory the Great. Before this time there was a large body of music to which the Psalms were sung, and this the Christians received from the Jews before them.[60] Since the Psalms were such an important part of the Office of Vespers, the music bearing these Psalms was very important too, and very soon even in Rome antiphonal singing was introduced to enhance the Psalms. The other great body of early Church music is the music surrounding the hymn. "These hymns were songs of praise, devotion, and thanksgiving. . . .From the exhortations of various church writers it appears that before the regulation of the order of vigils, hymn singing was accompanied by hand clapping and dance movements."[61] This is quoted to show merely that the history of the Office is not complete without an acknowledgment of the manner in which the services were rendered. It seems that it took music to give ample expression to the

---

[59]Hugo Leichtentritt, Music History and Ideas (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938), p. 31.

[60]Lang, op. cit., p. 42.

[61]Ibid., p. 47.

early Christian's religious emotions, and it took music to complete the Vespers Office of praise to God, from the beginning of the existance of the Office.

## CHAPTER III

## THE THEOLOGY OF VESPERS

The commentary on the theological content of the order of the vespers is restricted to a discussion of the following elements.

1. The Versicles.
2. The Gloria Patri.
3. The Office Hymn
4. The Canticles
5. The Kyrie.
6. The ordinary prayers.
7. The Benediction.
8. The Antiphons and Responsories.

Two of the vital elements of the Office are missing from this list, the Psalmody and the Lection. Theologically these elements are important because from them come the patient instruction of Sacred Scripture in all matters of doctrine. The reason for the omission is that in the general rubrics no directions are given as to which Psalms are to be read at Vespers. Three lists of Psalms are given: Psalms (Sundays and Feasts); Psalms for the Sundays, Feasts, and Festivals of the Church Year; and The Psalter Distributed Over Thirty-one Days.[1] It appears that the thought of the compilers was to bring out the De Tempore element of the service in the first two lists. However the third list does not take this element into consideration, and with these two almost mutually exclusive lists it is impossible

---

[1]The Intersynodical Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics for the Ev. Luth. Synodical Conference of North America, The Lutheran Liturgy (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1941), pp. 441 ff.

to trace any theological patterns in the Vesper Psalmody. The rubrics governing the Lection are quite vague. One direction is clear, "The Epistle and the Gospel for the Day shall not be read."[2] Beyond this the rubric states that, "One or more Lessons from the Old or the New Testament shall be read."[3] There is a list of two series of Lessons to be read on the Sundays of the Church Year taken from the Old Testament.[4] The lists of Gospels and Epistles are not rubrically lawful because they are Gospels and Epistles, and not New Testament Lessons.[5] The Old Testament Lessons listed in the general rubrics are augmented for daily use by the tables contained in The Lutheran Hymnal.[6] In the case of the Lectionary there are no theological patterns traceable, aside from perhaps the De Tempore element used at the discretion of the pastor.

The first Versicles considered are those with which the Office of Vespers opens, as follows:

℣. O Lord, open Thou my lips.
℟. And my mouth shall show forth thy praise.

---

[2]Ibid., p. 424.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid., p. 438.

[5]Ibid., pp. 424, 430 ff.

[6]The Intersynodical Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics of Ev. Luth. Synodical Conference of North America, The Lutheran Hymnal (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1941), pp. 161 ff.

℣. Make haste, O God, to deliver me. ℟. Make haste to help me, O Lord.

These are Biblical texts taken from Psalm LI:xv. and Psalm LXX:i. respectively.

From the Biblical context of the first of these Versicles it is evident that the opening of the lips of the worshipper by the Lord is the occasion for praise. Furthermore the actual power to praise God aright is the gift of God. Even in the context there may be an illusion to the public worship of God, and the speaker might well be comparing himself tacitly to the leper of the preceding verses, pronounced clean, and restored to that fellowship with the congregation from which he had been excluded.[7] The first Versicle is not really a part of the Office of Vespers. It had a very practical purpose in Matins because,

> The insertion (of this Versicle) at Matins takes its origin from the rules prevailing in the cloisters. The great silence began for the monks with Compline, and lasted until Prime of the next day. Matins were sung during the night. The monks, accordingly, asked permission to open their mouths that they might chant God's praises.[8]

This practical reason never existed at Vespers, since Vespers comes before the bed-time Hour Compline. Theologically it is

---

[7]A. F. Kirkpatrick, The Book of Psalms (Cambridge: University Press, 1902), p. 294.

[8]Pius Parsch, The Breviary Explained, translated by William Nayden and Carl Hoegerl (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Company, 1952), p. 115.

sound that the Lord be called upon to open the mouths of the faithful to sing aright his praises at the opening of a service of praise. However, this petition, to be apt, must be spoken at the opening of the service, and not, as is permitted by the rubrics, after an opening hymn of invocation has been sung.[9]

The second of these opening Versicles,

> Even by the early ascetics was used as an effective prayer against temptation, especially against distraction in praying. St. Benedict, too, prescribed its use at the beginning of an hour, as a prayer or petition for grace. So it is that this piercing cry is meant to be our plea to pray properly.[10]

Part of the difficulty in understanding the meaning of this Versicle is in the translation. It is rendered, aside from the version quoted above, as follows:

In Latin:

℣. Deus in adjutorium meum intende. ℟. Domine ad adjuvandum me festina.

In German:

℣. Gott, gedenke mein nach Deiner Gnade. ℟. Herr, erhöre mich mit Deiner treuen Hilfe.

In Hebrew:

אֱלֹהִים לְהַצִּילֵנִי יְהוָה לְעֶזְרָתִי חוּשָׁה

---

[9]The Intersynodical Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics for the Ev. Luth. Synodical Conference of North America, The Lutheran Hymnal, op. cit., p. 46.

[10]Parsch, op. cit., p. 114.

In Greek:

Ὁ ΘΕΟΣ εἰς τὴν βοηθείαν μου πρόσχες

The translations do not agree, but the English version quoted above is the closest to the original Hebrew. Nevertheless the Versicle, also in its Biblical context, is a prayer for God's aid, just as The Kyrie and this force is best shown in the translation:

℣. O God, come to my assistance.
℟. Lord hasten to help me.[11]

Together these Versicles begin the Office of Vespers with God. The praises, the worship, are God-centered and it is pointed out that the very strength needed to worship comes from God. Theologically this fact is important and restates the thought of Luther set forth in his explanation of the third article, "I cannot by my own reason or strength believe in Jesus Christ my Lord or come to Him."[12]

The next Versicle to be considered is that which may follow each Lesson in the Office:

℣. But Thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us.
℟. Thanks be to Thee, O Lord.

At times, when the word "mercy" is used in the course of a

---

[11]Ibid.

[12]Martin Luther, The Small Catechism, in the translation authorized by the Ev. Luth. Synodical Conference of North America (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1909), p. 15.

service, the service takes on a penitential character. This is true in that section of the general confession, where the words, "we flee for refuge to Thine infinite mercy," occur.[13] The word does not have this connotation here. As the Versicle appears here, it is to be regarded, "As a brief but expressive responsory (?), an appropriation of the Divine Word, the burden of which is God's mercy to man, and the believing acceptance of which always awakens thanksgiving."[14]

The next Versicle is that which precedes the Canticle. Though actually variable, since on Feast Days a special Versicle may be used, the one printed together with a musical setting is most often used.[15]

℣. Let my prayers be set forth before Thee as incense.
℟. And the lifting up of my hands as the evening sacrifice.

In this Versicle the great note of praise is sounded. In this Versicle it is again demonstrated that in Vespers, worship is definitely doxological in character. As stated

---

[13]The Intersynodical Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics for the Ev. Luth. Synodical Conference of North America, The Lutheran Hymnal, op. cit., p. 6.

[14]Paul Z. Strodach, An Explanation of the Common Service (Philadelphia: The United Lutheran Publishing House, 1908), p. 79.

[15]The Intersynodical Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics for the Ev. Luth. Synodical Conference of North America, The Lutheran Hymnal, op. cit., p. 42.

before this is the general Versicle, but the proper Versicles carry on the same note of joy and thanksgiving. The Hallelujahs sound throughout the Church Year, with the exception of those set aside for the seasons of Lent and Trinity.[16] The latter is the only non-Biblical Versicle listed in The Lutheran Hymnal. Actually it is but the last verse of the Canticle, Benedicite omnia opera Domine. Even those Versicles listed under the Commemoration of the Dead sound forth the same joy, for the Hallelujah is retained.

Precisely what is the theological purpose of these Versicles? Liturgically the Versicle is used to elevate more fully that part of the service that follows it. These variable Versicles point up the significance of the Canticle which follows in the light of the Church Year. That the Christian magnifies the Lord or prays that he might depart in peace is theologically important in the setting of the sorrows of Lent or the joys of Christmas, for there is no time when the Christian is not to praise God. Furthermore, even alone, these Versicles present a very much condensed Heilsgeschichte, through which the Church impresses salvific truths. The pattern is very easy to trace by choosing at random from these Versicles as they are grouped under the headings of the Church Year.

---

[16] Ibid., p. 99.

The Advent Season:

℣. Drop down ye heavens from above, and let the skies pour down righteousness.
℟. Let the earth open and bring forth salvation.[17]

Christmastide:

℣. The Word was made flesh. Hallelujah!
℟. And dwelt among us, Hallelujah.

The Epiphany Season:

℣. The kings of Tarshish and of the isles shall bring presents. Hallelujah.
℟. The kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts. Hallelujah.

The Passion Season:

℣. Christ became obedient unto death.
℟. Even the death of the cross.

Eastertide:

℣. The Lord is risen from the grave. Hallelujah.
℟. Who hung for us upon the tree. Hallelujah.

Ascension Day:

℣. I will not leave you comfortless. Hallelujah.
℟. I go away and come again unto you. Hallelujah.

Whitsuntide:

℣. The Comforter which is the Holy Ghost. Hallelujah.
℟. He shall teach you all things. Hallelujah.

The Trinity Season:

℣. We bless the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost.
℟. Praise Him and magnify Him forever.

The Commemoration of the Dead:

℣. Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord. Hallelujah.

---

[17] Ibid., p. 95.ff.

℟. They rest from their labors, and their works do follow them. Hallelujah.

The salvific truths which are impressed through the Versicles preceding the Canticle always are impressed with the motive of thanksgiving for what God has done, because of the close connection with the Canticle. Theologically Vespers is robbed of much of its edifying force when these Versicles are omitted.[18]

The next Versicle to be considered is the Salutation:

℣. The Lord be with you.
℟. And with Thy spirit.

This Versicle is by no means peculiar to this Office. It is the greeting of the pastor to the people and the response on the part of the people. The greeting, "The Lord be with you," should perhaps be spoken only by one who has been ordained, since the response, "And with thy spirit," refers to "that special grace of the Holy Ghost received at his ordination for his ministry."[19] This particular form is Hebraic in origin,[20] and is used at very solemn points in the rite. (So also in the Order for Holy Communion, where

---

[18]E. C. Ratcliff, "The Choir Offices," Liturgy and Worship, edited by W. K. Lowther Clarke and Charles Harris (London: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1932), p. 268.

[19]Dom Gregory Dix, The Shape of the Liturgy (Westminister: Dacre Press, 1945), p. 38.

[20]Ibid.

it precedes the Collect, introduces the Consecration Dialogue, and the Benediction). This Versicle was used wherever the Church believed that the faithful must be especially reminded of the necessity of the presence of the Lord and His Spirit, that the worship might be pure and holy.

The final Versicle is the Benedicamus:

℣. Bless we the Lord.
℟. Thanks be to God.

"The Versicle is a summons to the congregation to thanksgiving. Its inspiration is found in the Doxologies which conclude the first four books of the Psalter (Psalms 41:13; 72:18; 89:52; 106:48). The Response (Deo gratias) is a prompt and terse reply in which thanks are given to God for grace received. (I Cor. 15:57)."[21] In this way the motive of praise and thanksgiving continues to the end of the service, for when no pastor is present the Benedicamus concludes Vespers.[22]

The second of the major divisions is concerned with the theological significance of the Gloria Patri.

> Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost: As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be: world without end.

---

[21]Luther D. Reed, The Lutheran Liturgy (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1947), pp. 424 f.

[22]The Intersynodical Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics for the Ev. Luth. Synodical Conference of North America, The Lutheran Hymnal, op. cit., p. 4.

It is the Gloria Patri which makes Vespers so Trinitarian in character. It appears very often in the rite. It appears in connection with the opening Versicles, it is sung after each Psalm or at the end of the Psalmody, it is sung in a metrical version as the last stanza of the Office Hymn, it concludes the Canticle, and it is sung in a shortened form in the Responsory (Here only "Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost" is sung). Concerning the use of the Gloria Patri together with the opening Versicles, Dr. Parsch says, "The 'Glory be to the Father' is added to this verse so we can express the intention of our prayer immediately: to honor God. . . . It is an effort to duplicate the eternal praise of God in heaven. That is why the Office is perpetually returning to this theme."[23] The repetition of the Gloria Patri keeps the worship God centered, and centered on God as the Holy Trinity. The Office of Vespers never allows the emphasis on the Trinity to become merely implicit. This is true even when passages, such as the Psalms or Old Testament Canticles are used, for the Gloria Patri is always added.

> The purpose of the doxology is to turn the Psalms and the Canticles of the Old Testament into Christian hymns, by affirming belief in the God, who, though only fully revealed in Trinity to the Church of the New Testament, is nevertheless truely known by the

---

[23]Parsch, op. cit., p. 114.

Church of the Old.[24]

Finally the use of the Gloria Patri, especially the end thereof, "as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be: world without end," has something theological to say about man. It points out to man, even in the midst of his glorifying God, that there was a time when this glorifying was done to perfection by man as he was in the beginning. It points, too, to the fact that there will come a time again, a time which will not end, when man's worship will return to the former state of perfection. The Hallelujah is sung once in connection with the Gloria Patri, after the opening Versicles. The reason for this is to sound the note of joy, except during the penitential seasons, but there is also a very practical use, and that is to separate it from the use of the Gloria Patri as an integral part of the Psalms and Canticles.[25]

The next major division is the Office Hymn. There is only one rubrically necessary hymn in Vespers and that is the Office Hymn. It is difficult to define exactly what type of hymn the Office Hymn is. Dr. Reed suggests that the Office Hymn is to be more or less meditative in

---

[24]Ratcliff, op. cit., p. 271.

[25]The Intersynodical Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics for the Ev. Luth. Synodical Conference of North America, The Lutheran Hymnal, op. cit., p. 4.

character.[26] Dr. Parsch gives no particular requirements, not even metre is necessary.[27] A cursory examination of older Office Hymns reveals two theologically important points. First, they cover many subjects--as creation, redemption, sactification. Second, these subjects are always related to the hour of the day in which they are sung, thus giving hourly insights. Finally, the last stanza of the Office Hymn is always a doxology to the Holy Trinity. Here again there is shown the solid Trinitarian emphasis, yet this emphasis is not presented in a dogmatic sort of way, but in a manner which transcends all doubts and leads man to praise God for having revealed Himself in the Trinity. The Lutheran Hymnal does not have an abundance of the ancient Office Hymns in it; however, there are a number which meet the requirements, at least as far as having the concluding doxological stanza, and covering the great theological concepts mentioned above.

These hymns are as follows:[28]

| | |
|---|---|
| 3 | Opening of Service |
| 5 | " " |
| 12 | The Lord's Day |
| 14 | Worship and Praise |

---

[26]Reed, op. cit., p. 372.

[27]Parsch, op. cit., p. 136.

[28]The Intersynodical Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics for the Ev. Luth. Synodical Conference of North America, The Lutheran Hymnal, op. cit., . . .

16 Worship and Praise
23 " "
26 " "
36 " "
37 " "
38 " "
60 Advent
63 "
68 "
95 Christmas
98 "
104 "
115 New Year
117 "
131 Epiphany
168 Good Friday
199 Easter
211 "
212 "
218 Ascension
225 Pentecost
233 "
236 "
238 Trinity
239 "
240 "
245 "
246 "
250 "
257 St. Michael and all Angels
271 St. John the Apostle
273 Holy Innocents
274 Annunciation
315 Holy Communion
320 Confession and Absolution
331 " "
332 Holy Confirmation
377 Faith and Justification
448 Christian Warfare
466 Communion of Saints
471 " "
475 " "
493 Holy Ministry
524 Cross and Comfort
525 " "
536 Morning
550 "
558 Evening
559 "
564 "

570 Harvest and Thanksgiving
571 " "
605 Judgment
613 Life Everlasting
614 " "
622 Marriage
632 Corner-stone Laying
640 Church-Anniversary
641 Theological Institutions
642 Foreign Missions
644 Long-Meter Doxology
654 Carols and Spiritual Songs

From the theological point of view it is important to retain, if not the ancient Office Hymns, then hymns which breathe the same theological spirit as the ancient Office Hymns. At the very least, hymns ending with a doxological stanza present some sort of a safeguard in the explicit presentation of the Holy Trinity as found in Vespers. (There is also a list of General Doxologies given on page 838 of The Lutheran Hymnal.)

The next division to be considered is the Canticle. There are two Canticles regularly appointed to be sung at Vespers. The first of these is the Magnificat of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and second the Nunc Dimittis of Simeon. There is some theological difference between these Canticles. "The Magnificat sums up the promise of the Old Testament as it looks forward to the Incarnation. The Nunc Dimittis views the Incarnation as accomplished and draws out the full implications of it for Israel and for the Gentiles."[29]

---

[29]Massey Hamilton Shepherd, The Worship of the Church (Greenwich, Conn.: The Seabury Press, 1952), p. 131.

In the Magnificat there is virtually nothing that is new, nothing that could not be put together from other passages of the Old Testament as seen below.

"My soul doth magnify the Lord," (Ps. 34:3. O magnify the Lord with me, and let us exalt His name together).

"And my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour." (Ps. 35:9. And my soul shall be joyful in the Lord: it shall rejoice in His salvation.

"For He hath regarded the low estate of His handmaiden: for, behold, from hence forth all generations shall call me blessed." (I. Sam. 1:11. Look on the affliction of thine handmaid, and remember me. Mal. 3:12. And all nations shall call you blessed. Spoken by God to Israel).

"For He that is mighty hath done to me great things; and holy is His Name." (Ps. 126:2. The Lord hath done great things for them. Ps. 111:9. Holy and reverend is His Name).

"And His mercy is on them that fear Him from generation to generation." (Ps. 103:17. But the mercy of the Lord is from everlasting to everlasting upon them that fear Him).

"He hath shewed strength with His arm; He hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts." (Is. 52: 10. The Lord hath laid bare His holy arm. . .all the ends of the earth shall see His salvation. Ps. 33:10. He maketh the devices of the people of none effect).

"He that put down the mighty from their seats, and exalted them of low degree." (I. Sam. 2:4, 7. The bows of the mighty men are broken, and they that stumbled are girded with strength. . . The Lord maketh poor and maketh rich: He bringeth low, and lifteth up).

"He hath filled the hungry with good things; and the rich He hath sent empty away." (I. Sam. 2:5. They that were full have hired themselves out for bread; and they that were hungry ceased).

"He hath holpen His servant Isreal, in remembrance of His mercy;" (Ps. 98:3. He hath remembered His mercy

and His truth toward the house of Isreal).

"As He spake to our fathers, to Abraham, and to his seed forever." (Gen. 18:19. And the children of Abraham shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment; that the Lord may bring upon Abraham that which He hath spoken of him).

The Magnificat, as a Canticle, is not completely understood until it is known that the Church has always seen in Mary as she sang this song, a type of herself.[30] "The church's reasons for being grateful are much like Mary's. She bore the Savior beneath her heart; the church bears the mystical Savior with all the graces of salvation within her bosom."[31]

Further, what does the Canticle have to say about God, and what about man? Concerning God it says that He is the Saviour. The term Saviour cannot be pressed too far, for as it was used by the Jews at the time of the composition of this song, Saviour usually had a temporal flavor, for the Jews sought a Saviour to remove the yoke of the Romans. Nevertheless, the temporal salvation which Mary expected was in her eye only the type and symbol of that higher salvation which she desired above all things.[32] Second, The Canticle

---

[30]Reed, op. cit., p. 415.

[31]Parsch, op. cit., p. 170.

[32]John Peter Lange, Lange's Commentary on the Holy Scriptures, Mark and Luke (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House), p. 47.

says that God is no respecter of persons. Mary, who was honored by God more than any other woman, was of low estate, a humble person. Third, it is God Who fills the hungry with good things and exalts those of low degree. Here is shown the revolutionary character of Christianity. God exalts the humble, and the poor, and the hungry, in this that they are the objects of His compassion, and His love, and His mercy.[33] The proud, the rich, the princes are, according to the Jewish conception those who oppose themselves to God, all such are put down in this Christian revolution.[34] Fourth, it is God who is mighty, far more mighty than the most powerful man. Finally, God is shown as faithful, and as one who keeps His word. The Canticle says of man, first, that man is powerless before God. The strongest, and the proudest, and the most mighty are not able to stand before God. Second, all of man's riches and imagination are in the hands of God. Third, it is the humble man, the one who looks to God, the one who can be described as "Thy servant Isreal," who alone is exalted. Finally, it is man's greatest function to magnify and to rejoice in God. This Canticle also points

---

[33]William Manson, "The Gospel of St. Luke," The Moffat New New Testament Commentary, edited by Moffat (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1930), p. 12.

[34]Ibid.

up the tremendous part that faith plays in man's relationship to God. Mary did not sing this song after all that had been promised had been fulfilled, nor does the Church sing her songs of praise only for those things which have been fulfilled. But like Mary she sings songs of faith and of conviction that the things promised by God shall come true. The Magnificat is the type of song which those of faith might sing, while doubters such as Zechariah, must remain silent.[35]

However, perhaps the chief theological emphasis in the singing of the Magnificat comes by inference. Though the birth of Jesus Christ is not mentioned, this song is tied up intimately with the account of the Incarnation of the Son of God. The Magnificat is so important from a theological point of view because it gives witness to the importance of the Incarnation. In the use of this song every night may become for the Christian a Christmas-eve. Just how important the Incarnation was to the early centuries of the Church can be seen from a quotation by St. Athanasius:

> For this purpose, then, the incorporeal and incorruptible and immaterial Word of God entered our world. In one sense, indeed, He was not far from it before, for no part of creation had ever been without Him Who, while ever abiding in union with the Father, yet

---

[35]Lange, op. cit., p. 47.

> fills all things that are. But now He entered the world in a new way, stooping to our level in His love and Self-revealing to us. He saw the reasonable race, the race of men that, like Himself, expressed the Father's mind, wasting out of existence, and death reigning over all in corruption . . . . All this He saw and, pitying our race, moved to compassion for our limitation, unable to endure that death should have the mastery, rather than that His creatures should perish and the work of His Father for us men come to nought, He took to Himself a body, a human body even as our own. . . . He, the Mighty One, the Artificer of all, Himself prepared this body in the Virgin as a temple for Himself, and took it for His very own, as the instrument through which He was known and in which He dwelt. Thus, taking a body like our own, because all our bodies were liable to the corruption of death, He surrendered His body to death instead of all, and offered it to the Father. This He did out of sheer love for us, so that in His death all might die, and the law of death thereby be abolished because, having fulfilled in His body that for which it was appointed, it was thereafter voided of its power for men. This He did that He might turn again to incorruption men who had turned back to corruption, and make them alive through death by the appropriation of His body and by the grace of His resurrection. Thus He would make death to disappear from them as utterly as straw from fire.[36]

It is fitting then that this song of Mary be sung that it might preach the Incarnation.

The other Canticle is the Nunc Dimittis:

> Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace according to Thy word, For mine eyes have seen Thy Salvation: which Thou hast prepared before the face of all people, A light to lighten the Gentiles and the Glory of Thy People Israel. (Luke 2:29-32)

This is a Canticle of fulfillment for,

---

[36]St. Athanasius, The Incarnation of the Word of God, translated by a Religious of C.S.M.V. S.TH. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951), p. 119.

> Simeon had been instructed to await the rising of the 'Sun of righteousness' (Mal. 4:5), the Star of the house of Jacob. At last, now that the Child was in his arms, he has beheld the redemption of God incarnate in Christ Jesus. So he knows that God now lets him depart in peace and discharges him from the task of further waiting.[37]

What does the Canticle say of God? First, God is the God of all men, of Isreal and of the Gentiles. Second, it is God who provides salvation for all men. Finally, God is known through His word. What does the Canticle say of man? First, man is the servant of God, yet when God deals with man He is bound to His word. Finally, man is able to see and to comprehend the salvation that God has prepared for him. Again in this Canticle the Church sees in Simeon a type of herself, for when the worshipping Church sings this Canticle, it is no longer Simeon who sings, but Simeon is merely a type of all Christians who have been in darkness but now are in the light and glory of God's salvation. Because this is a Canticle of fulfillment, during the singing of which the Church as it were holds her salvation in her arms and views it as an established fact, this Canticle has always been sung at a late Office, at the close of the day, when the worshipper would view salvation as an accomplished fact.

---

[37]Norval Geldenhuys, "Commentary on the Gospel of Luke," The New International Commentary on the New Testament, edited by N. B. Stonehouse (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1951), p. 119.

One final note on both Canticles. Both of them begin in a narrow and subjective way, and while they always remain subjective, they nevertheless widen in their scope to include all men. This is of necessity the case, for the Canticles are sung by individuals, by congregations, and by the Church Catholic for and with all men. The importance of this corporate character of worship will be more fully seen in the division on the prayers of the Rite. The fact that these Canticles have always been sung, even from the very earliest times, is theologically important, for, as with the development of the Jubilus, there are emotions, and thoughts, and praises, which words alone cannot express.

The next division is the Kyrie. The Kyrie is perhaps the most misunderstood of all liturgical phrases, also theologically.

> It is an acclamation by the assembled people of the soverign who was the center of attention in whatever ritual and ceremony that was going on. The Hebrew word Hosannah offers an interesting parallel in meaning and usage. It was at once a huzza and an entreaty--an acknowledgement of Lordship and a hope of its favor and help. . . . It served as the solemn but jubilant greeting and acclamation by clergy and people of the Lord who would propitiously meet with them in His temple.[38]

As it is used also in the Sacred Scriptures, it is a cry for help, but a cry made with the assurance that it will be heard.

---

[38]Massey Hamilton Shepherd, The Living Liturgy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), p. 72.

As the Kyrie stands in the Order of Vespers, the Kyrie or "the Lesser Litany is the prelude to the Prayer, as the Doxology is to the Praise of the Service. Being addressed to each Person of the Holy Trinity, by its three clauses, it fixes the object of Christian worship."[39]

The next division is that of the ordinary Prayers used in the Office of Vespers. These are the Lord's Prayer and the Collect for Peace. The theological content of the "Our Father" hardly needs repeating here, except to stress the corporate nature of the prayer. The strong stress on the plural and collective forms as "our" and "us" in this prayer emphasizes the fact that prayer is to be for all sorts and conditions of men, and is not only to be done in the room at home, but also corporately as a member of the Body of Christ. The Church takes her role as the Body of Christ very seriously, that prayer and praise are to be rendered by the body for its members and by the members for the body. This insight which is found throughout the Office is found to a marked degree in the "Our Father." Since the doxological character of the Order of Vespers has been so apparent, the first two petitions of the "Our Father" might be noted for this content.

---

[39] Francis Procter, History of the Book of Common Prayer (London: The Macmillan Company, 1855), p. 255.

The final ordinary prayer in the Office is the Collect for Peace.

> O God, from whom all holy desires, all good counsels, and all just works do proceed, give unto Thy servants that peace which the world cannot give, that our hearts may be set to obey Thy commandments, and also that by Thee, we, being defended from the fear of our enemies, may pass our time in rest and quietness; through the merits of Jesus Christ, our Saviour, who liveth and reigneth with Thee and the Holy Ghost, ever one God, world without end.

In this Collect for Peace God is pictured as a "giver-God." In this prayer the church confesses that without God there would be no holy desires, good counsels, or just works, for all these proceed from God. The prayer has something very definite to say concerning sanctification, for in the prayer it is not God doing a part and man doing a part; on the contrary, God is the source of all sanctification. This God is again explicitly confessed to be Triune, God, Jesus Christ our Saviour, and the Holy Ghost, who are ever one God. In the petition of the Collect God is asked to give peace, the kind that the world cannot give. The term is very broad, and it recalls the sermon votum at the Eucharist.[40] This peace is something quite tangible for it does guard duty, it protects us, that our hearts might be set to obey God's commandments, and we return again to the theme of sanctifi-

---

[40]The Intersynodical Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics for the Ev. Luth. Synodical Conference of North America, The Lutheran Hymnal, op. cit., p. 22.

cation. The prayer finally speaks of the basis for this and all prayers, the merits of Jesus Christ. Here stands the confession of the Church: even she prays with the expectation of being heard only through the merits of Christ.

The next division is the Benediction. At the end of the Office the Church pauses for the blessing of God.

> It should be remembered that the Benediction is not a prayer or pious wish, in which the minister can include himself; but it is the Lord's Word of blessing.[41]

The Benediction appointed to be used at this office is as follows:

> The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all.

These words

> sum up the fulness of the redemption which flows from the Triune God Whom we worship: The grace of Christ, which is the ground of our salvation. The love of God, which is the source of our salvation, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, by whom this salvation is applied.[42]

It is to be remembered that only the pastor imparts this Benediction. This has always been the custom of the Church, that the man, who is the shepherd or father, and who is entrusted with the mysteries of God, and finally who is God's spokesman, imparts the blessing.[43] Accordingly then the

---

[41]R. Morris Smith, "The Sources of the Minor Services," Memoirs of the Lutheran Liturgical Association, edited by Luther Reed (Pittsburgh: Published by the Association, 1907), I - II, 63.

[42]Strodach, op. cit., p. 86.

[43]Shepherd, The Worship of the Church, op. cit., p. 200.

rubrics state, "Matins and Vespers end with the Benedicamus if the Minister is not conducting the Service."[44]

The final division is that of the Antiphons and the Responsories. It is in this section that some of the most difficult theological problems arise. The difficulty arises in the treatment of Scripture. The liturgy, at times, gives a meaning to certain passages of Scripture that is not the literal meaning or perhaps the first meaning. The prophetic passages are not meant, for these the Church has always taken to refer to Christ. For example, we take the equation of David and his kingship with Christ and His Kingship in the Responsory for Advent taken from Jeremiah 23:5,6., nor the Epiphany Responsory taken from Isaiah 60:1,3. What is meant is the use of such a passage as Psalm 132:11,

Of the fruit of thy body: will I set upon thy throne,

is an Antiphon for Christmastide. It certainly is not immediately evident how this passage is connected with the season of Christmas. It is only when the Psalm is entirely read that one realizes that the "fruit of thy body" refers to David, and that Christ is the ultimate fruit of his body to sit upon David's throne. Another example of a passage not immediately understood, and whose liturgical meaning is

---

[44]The Intersynodical Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics for the Ev. Luth. Synodical Conference of North America, The Lutheran Hymnal, op. cit., p. 4.

somewhat different from its literal meaning is found in an Antiphon for Eastertide,

> I laid me down and slept; I awaked: for the Lord sustained me. Hallelujah![45]

The liturgical meaning is easily read in, namely that Christ slept in the tomb and was raised again by the Lord. Nevertheless, a theological problem is involved, for it is theologically essential that the proper meaning be given or the passage quoted will be meaningless. The proper meaning is usually quite obvious when the entire passage from which the Antiphon or Responsory has been taken is known and when the spirit of the Church Year is deeply ingrained. In general, however, the Antiphons and the Responsories are taken from Sacred Scripture and are directly applicable to the season of the Church Year. The one exception to the "Biblical source" rule is found in the Trinity Season for which the Antiphons are not taken from Scripture, and the Responsory is taken from two Canticles, Benedictus es, Domine and Benedicite omnia opera Domine.

When the theological implications of the Responsories and the Antiphons are considered, it must be remembered that these two portions of the liturgy never stand alone. The purpose of the Antiphon, which accompanies the Psalms and the

---

[45] Ibid., p. 97.

Canticles, is to relate these to the season of the Church Year. For example, on the first four days of Lent, the Antiphon for the Magnificat is

> Man shall not live by bread alone: but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.

The Magnificat is sung as a thanksgiving that God, our Saviour, was also Man and was tempted as man is tempted but resisted the temptation through the Word of God. The original purpose of the Responsory was to be an echo of the Lesson. However, this is not the case in the Lutheran rite, because there are not enough Responsories given in the rite. There are none given for the Minor Feast Days. The only Festival with Vesper propers is the Festival of the Reformation, and these are not complete.[46] There is one each, given to the following: The Passion Season, Eastertide, Ascension, Whitsuntide, and The Trinity Season. Under the circumstances, the theological purpose of these Responsories is not to echo any particular Lesson that is read, but to impress the message, and to echo the greater message of the season of the Church Year. In Advent the Responsory teaches that "In His days shall Judah be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely. And this is His Name whereby He shall be called the Lord our Righteousness." In Christmas-tide to proclaim that, "The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us." In Epiphany to tell

---

[46] Ibid., p. 99.

that, "The Gentiles shall come to Thy light and kings to the brightness of Thy rising." In the Passion Season to impress upon the Church that, "He was delivered up to death that He might quicken His people." At Easter the Responsory announces that, "Christ being raised from the dead, dieth no more; death hath no more dominion over Him." At Whitsuntide that, "They began to speak with other tongues the wonderful works of God." Finally during the Trinity Season the worshipper is reminded that, "We bless the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost."[47] No matter what the Lesson is, nor from which part of the Scripture it is taken, the Responsory gives the seasonal flavor to it and is a brief commentary on it.

Finally, what are the over-all theological emphases in the Office of Vespers? What does the Office attempt to present?

First, the Office of Vespers teaches that true Theology is Doxology. The note of praise and thanksgiving is sounded immediately in the Gloria Patri and is not silenced until the closing Benedicamus, reaching its climax in the singing of the Canticle. The need for a doxological theology can be seen in the following quotation, "Our over-developed pragmatic sense responds more readily to edification and supplication in worship services than to adoration. . . .

---

[47] Ibid.

The daily Office is the 'ordained form within which the whole Church performs from hour to hour, by night and by day, that unceasing praise of God which is the chief purpose of her existence'."[48]

The Office presents, secondly, a strong Trinitarian emphasis. This is taken up most strongly in the constant repetition of the Gloria Patri, at the beginning of the Office, with the Psalms, with the Canticles, with the Responsories, with the Office Hymn. The Trinity is at least implicitly presented in the Kyrie. The Collects affirm the Trinity, especially in the "ending," for the Church prays to God the Father, through God the Son, in the power of God the Holy Spirit.[49] The Trinity is finally set forth in the concluding benediction.

The great Christian doctrines of Justification and Sanctification are treated primarily in the Lessons and the Psalms which are outside the scope of this paper. The beginning of the work of redemption, in the Incarnation, is brought out in the Magnificat, or the Nunc Dimittis.

The Office may be said to be slightly defective theologically, not in presenting a false theology, but in presenting an incomplete theology. However this is not the case

---

[48]Shepherd, The Living Liturgy, op. cit., p. 32.

[49]Reed, op. cit., pp. 263 ff.

when the purpose of the Office is known. "The Mass may be compared to the sun in the Christian day, a sun around which the hours of the Church's common prayer rotate like seven planets."[50] It makes little difference whether there are seven planets or two, they must rotate around the sun. Theologically, Vespers is not a Service to replace the Chief Service, The Order for Holy Communion, but it is a service to augment it, to give the Church more opportunity to praise God and to hear God's Word.

The theological reason for praying this Office is found in the following:

> The entire Office, its daily recitation, rests upon the principal of the duty of the creature to its Creator. It is this principal that gives us the correct basis for the very existence of the Divine Office. All of us owe homage and glory to God . . . no action of the creature can put him more in harmony with the Creator than a full and wholehearted acknowledgment of His divine goodness and a joyous confession of it, made with all the faculties with which that creature has been endowed by its Maker . . . . The prayer of praise is therefore in a special sense a sacrifice which the members of Christ, as possessing a general priestly character, must offer up to God . . . . Christ in His redemption, restored man to the position which man could not of himself regain. Once restored, man is again capable of playing his part most abundantly in the concert of creation in a manner acceptable to God.[51]

---

[50]Parsch, op. cit., p. 9.

[51]Dom Virgil Michel, The Liturgy of the Church (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939), p. 276.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY


Athanasius, St. The Incarnation of The Word of God. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951.

Buszin, W. E. The Doctrine of the Universal Priesthood and its Influence Upon the Liturgics and Music of the Lutheran Church. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, n.d.

The Catholic Encyclopedia. 15 vols. New York: Robert Appleton Company, c. 1907-12.

Clarke, W. K. Lowther. Liturgy and Worship. London: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1933.

Cooper, F. E. An Explanation of the Common Service. 6th revised edition. Philadelphia: The United Lutheran Publication House, c. 1941.

Dearmer, Percy. The Parson's Handbook. 12th edition. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1947.

Dix, Dom Gregory. The Shape of the Liturgy. Westminister: Dacre Press, 1945.

Essays Presented at the First Liturgical Institute. Valparaiso, Indiana: Valparaiso University Press, c. 1950.

Geldenhuys, Norval. "Commentary on the Gospel of Luke," The New International Commentary on the New Testament. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1951.

Gwynne, Walker. Primitive Worship and the Prayer Book. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1917.

Jungmann, Joseph. Liturgical Worship. New York: Frederick Pustet Company, 1941.

Keatinge, William, editor. Liturgical Services. Cambridge: The University Press, 1847.

Kirkpatrick, A. F. The Book of Psalms. Cambridge: University Press, 1902.

Lang, Paul Henry. Music in Western Civilization. New York: W. W. Norton Company, Incorporated, 1941.

Lange, John Peter. Lange's Commentary on the Holy Scriptures, Mark and Luke. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, n.d.

Lee, F. G., compiler. A Glossary of Liturgical and Ecclesiastical Terms. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1877.

Leichtentritt, Hugo. Music History and Ideas. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938.

Lindemann, Herbert. The Psalter. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, c. 1940.

Lornell, Ruby. Lift Up Your Hearts. Rock Island, Illinois: Augustana Book Concern, c. 1949.

Luther, Martin. Works of Martin Luther. Philadelphia edition. VI. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1932.

The Lutheran Hymnal. Authorized by the Synodical Conference. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1941.

The Lutheran Lectionary. Authorized by the Synodical Conference. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1948.

The Lutheran Liturgy. Authorized by the Synodical Conference. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1941.

Magee, Irving. The Liturgy of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, c. 1881.

Manson, William. "The Gospel of St. Luke," The Moffat New Testament Commentary. New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1930.

Michel, Dom Virgil. The Liturgy of the Church. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939.

Ohl, J. F. "The Liturgical Deterioration of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," Memoirs of the Lutheran Liturgical Association. II. Pittsburgh: Lutheran Liturgical Association, c. 1906.

Palmer, Milliam. Origines Liturgicae or Antiquities of the English Ritual. London: Francis and John Rivington, 1845.

Parsch, Pius. The Breviary Explained. St. Louis: B. Herder Book Company, 1952.

Piepkorn, Arthur Carl. "The Rubrics Governing the Use of the Minor Propers of Matins and Vespers," American Lutheran, XIX. (September, 1936), pp. 16 f.

Proctor, Francis. A History of the Book of Common Prayer. London: Macmillan and Company, 1892.

Pullan, Leighton. The History of the Book of Common Prayer. London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1901.

Reed, Luther. The Lutheran Liturgy. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1947.

Shepherd, Massey Hamilton. The Living Liturgy. New York: Oxford University Press, 1946.

-----. The Worship of the Church. Greenwich, Conn.: The Seabury Press, 1952.

Smith, R. "The Sources of the Minor Services," Memoirs of the Lutheran Liturgical Association. II. Pittsburgh: Lutheran Liturgical Association, 1906.

Strodach, Paul Z. A Manual on Worship. Revised edition. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1946.

Webber, F. R. "The Early Service," American Lutheran. XVI. (September, 1933), pp. 15 f.

-----. "Matins and Vespers," Pro Ecclesia Lutherana. II. (1934), pp. 43-57.