

WORKS
OF
MARTIN LUTHER

WITH INTRODUCTIONS AND NOTES

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FORMULA OF MASS AND COMMUNION FOR
THE CHURCH AT WITTENBERG

[FORMULA MISSAE ET COMMUNIONIS PRO
ECCLESIA WITTEMBERGENSIS]

1523

FORMULA MISSAE ET COMMUNIONIS

1523

INTRODUCTION

Nicolaus Hausmann, pastor primarius of the Marienkirche at Zwickau and a most devoted friend of Luther, had written repeatedly to him requesting advice and direction in matters connected with church worship. One of these requests had been for an order for saying mass which would conform with the principles of the movement in which they both were so deeply concerned.

Luthre had replied more or less promptly to all of Hausmann's requests except the last, and only after repeated urging by letter, through Stephen Roth, who was studying theology at Wittenberg, and through other friends did Luther meet Hausmann's hope and plea.

Luther sent Hausmann a copy of a pamphlet on another subject on November 13, 1523, and in the accompanying letter told him that he would send to him a copy of the form of mass which he proposed for the use of the Wittenberg church. This may have been ready for printing at the time of writing this letter, for a few weeks later, on December 4, Luther sent Hausmann a printed copy of the *Formula missae et communionis pro ecclesia Wittembergensi*. It reached him on December 11, and its arrival moved Hausmann to expressions of gratitude, joy, and satisfaction.

Luther inscribed this document to his cherished friend Hausmann. This was something more than a courtesy; it was an acknowledgment. Hausmann, gentle and kindly, not a leader but a faithful follower, loyal to the movement, was chief pastor of a thankless congregation located in the midst of the Münzer movement, and which showed the influence of Münzer teachings in its life.

Münzer had added a reform of the Mass and of the other services to his activities, and this had been pushed as zealously as his other interests. The effect of all this was felt in

full force at Zwickau. Loyal Hausmann not only bore the burden of the heterodox teachings of these *schwärmer* but was forced to meet the demand for a reform in the services of his own church, inspired no doubt by the example of the radicals. This he realized had to come; but he would not, could not, model it after the Münzer example; nor was he so constituted that he could take the initiative successfully; and still more, his loyalty to Luther would not permit him to undertake action without consultation with him in every important detail. Hausmann's own effort in preparing a "reformed" service had been submitted to Luther for criticism, but evidently did not meet with Luther's full approval, and probably was never used. To this he added other requests from time to time, all of which Luther answered gladly and fairly.

Toward the close of 1523, reform of the cultus in general and of the Mass in particular, was not only in the air but taking definite form at many places. Carlstadt's activities at Wittenberg, Münzer's at a number of places, and other scattered efforts representing more or less honest endeavors had served to reveal the necessity of a straightforward consideration of the whole question and also acted as a warning, that if the matter were not met by those who were in a position to advise and control, the result would be a riot of individualism and work great injury to the cause.

This forced Luther to enter this field, and some months prior to this time he had issued his first general writing on this specific subject, the *Von ordenung gottis diensts inn der gemeyne*. The position taken here, at all events, according to Luther's opinion one may imagine, was a beginning, and sufficient for the moment, since it revealed the limit to which he was ready to go at that time,—a very cautious attitude but also one ready to meet any further issue which might arise when it did arise. He said as much in this writing.

The movement for reform in cultus having grown in purpose and strength and also spread over a wider territory, and the question having demanded a detailed answer, which the *Von ordenung* did not give and never was expected to give, Luther again writes to meet the problem.

One may suppose that the very spirit, which seemed to possess his adversaries, the *schwärmer*, had an effect upon Luther in this particular situation as well. Luther's attitude

in general to the cultus of the Church was appreciative; but it also was critical and tinged with the free spirit of liberty, ready to cast away, also to make new if need be. He easily could have been both radical and revolutionary here: all seemed ready to this end. There are many assertions and denunciations in his writings and sermons to prove this. But did this self-same spirit in others, who broke with his teachings, act much as a counter-irritant and serve to hold him, purely by a sort of contrariness, to the conservative? It is not an impossible point of view!—but it is not the whole story.

Viewed by the Romanists Luther was as much a radical and rebel as was Münzer to Luther's point of view. In the latter situation the dislike was intense; and anything that Münzer might do, excellent though it might be, would suffer accordingly; *nothing* good could come from that source! Luther might regard Münzer's reform of the services as an exhibition of his destructive radicalism, but the Romanists put Luther's statements and efforts in the added class of sacrilege.

But Luther's position was the outcome of his liberty found in the Gospel, liberty safely trammelled by the Gospel; and this holy Word was the life, guide, inspiration, and norm,—not the tradition or pronunciamiento of the Church. Against such things as the latter he was an honest rebel; he might be revolutionary, but after all it would be the revolution of the Word rebelling against the bondage of man-made interpretation and the shackles with which man would bind it to his own purposes. Reaction would not carry Luther any farther than the Gospel would go,—even the “new” would be as old or as young as it was!

So he meets this issue in *this* spirit of liberty, and behold, he is not a revolutionary as the world defines, but a conservative, because his spirit is bound by the glorious liberty and harmony of the Word. The worshiping Church is the Church that glorifies this Word in all its grace and truth in Christ, in all its forgiving love and fellowship for man. The worshiping children of the Church are those who find their all in and take their all from the Word. When the Church or men bring and add *their* contributions to this, which do not spring from, center in, or glorify this Divine purpose, then the road away has been entered: man follows man,

seeks man, glorifies man, and not God! But when the Church or men inspired by that Word bring their gifts and add their adoring offerings that God may truly be praised by His creature and man may be led to see Him and approach Him in that praise, then the Way is broad and fair, for it is the Way of Life in God and for God.

Luther valued the traditional worship of the Church from both of these angles. On the one side, the pure and true, the ancient, that of all time, that which glorified God in His Word, that which blessed man in his approach to God, this could not, dared not, be lost; and the vehicles which carried this, whether Liturgy, rite or form, were to be treasured for the high office they performed. On the other side that which bore the mark of man self-willed and self-seeking and self-glorifying was veritable chaff, beautiful though it might be. To hold, preserve, the one was a continued blessing; to cast the other away was true gain! This is essentially the motivation of Luther's "reforming" process in matters liturgical.

Luther's *Formula missae et communionis* is the *Ordo missae*¹ of the Roman Church "reformed" according to this process. Acquaintance with the Order of the Mass is a prerequisite to a consideration of Luther's attitude and of the results of his work as they appear in the *Formula missae*.

There is something more back of a statement such as this which follows, than appears on the surface. Luther writes early in the *Formula*, "We assert, it is not now, nor has it ever been, in our mind to abolish entirely the whole formal cultus of God, but to cleanse that which is in use, which has been vitiated by most abominable additions, and to point out a pious use."

This is an extremely interesting revelation of Luther's point of view and declaration of purpose. It is not new; he had said as much some months before in the *Von ordnung*, only in other words; and what is more,—other evidence to the contrary,—he reiterates this in later years.

Back of this is the Luther of the old Church, against which he moves only in love that she may be cleansed and restored to the Divine plan and purpose. He recognizes the ancient glory of the Church's Liturgy, the heritage handed on from age to age; the helpfulness of the external in expressing the spiritual, in translating this into terms easily comprehended by the common man. And with a spirit which

treasures the real, the good, the helpful,—that which he had grown to love,—he seeks by careful, discriminating, and gentle touch to restore the ancient purity of this age-old worship. Further, he views that which the centuries have added, which conduce to true worship, as relative to this end and likewise to be continued. The standard is Christo-centric. The form, the rite, the ceremony, these are not to be cast aside if they center in Him and from there shed their rays upon the hearts of men.

In the *Formula* Luther confines his effort entirely to the Order of the Mass,—the Service for the Celebration of Holy Communion; generalizations such as those found in the *Von ordenung*, or consideration of other matters of liturgical character unless they are related specifically to the Mass find no place in this writing. This is the worship of the Church, *The Liturgy*; and it is brought into harmony with the teaching he has been inculcating; and it is primarily intended for the uplift, and, finally, for the intelligent participation of the common man. Wittenberg will test the experiment; those interested may follow and try it out likewise, or if they are better able, improve on this: there is no compulsion to follow Luther's lead. This in the face of the fact, that the many diverse attempts at ordering the Evangelical Mass brought Luther into this work, and that he stands out for a unity of practice as preeminently desirable!

The method in which Luther considers this matter is illustrative of his fundamental attitude.

He begins, after the introductory paragraphs, with a statement of our Lord's Institution and the observance of the Holy Supper under the Apostles,—“most simply, piously, and without additions.” Here is the pristine Mass,—the supposition being that it was without formal liturgy or external rite. Then he writes of the early entrance into this “observance” of certain additions,—actions or formal functions, such as prayers, psalms, kyrie, epistles, gospels, etc. Clearly this is a reference to and an acceptance of the evolution of the Liturgy of the Mass and also an acknowledgment of what man contributed to its development. But he grants such things place gladly; they are “commendable,” because they serve to holy purpose and are “pure.” Throughout he asserts the standard whereby he is judging, “ancient

purity." These things are the treasures bequeathed by the Fathers.

But there came a time when men departed from the ancient simplicity and began to change and add and build according to their own selfish purpose. It was then that the abomination entered the Temple of God: this is the highly organized Mass with all of its mechanical and ceremonial furnishings, in particular that abomination of abominations, the Canon. Man had done violence to the ancient Divine purpose and forced the man-made Mass to serve base ends. The light of the Gospel reveals all such abominations . . . "We will test all things; what is good, we will retain."

This standard of judgment is made effective immediately; for Luther proceeds to consider the *Ordo missae* part after part, in the process of formulating the Liturgy which becomes his recommendation, eventually a formal Order of Worship, but not a new liturgy but the traditional Liturgy of the Church simplified, purified, *restored*.

In utter silence Luther passes by the *Preparation of the Priest*,³ which precedes the *Introit* in the *Ordo*. This means rejection; for it could not by any chance pass muster with its evident tinge of sacerdotalism; further it did not measure up to the standard of antiquity.

Then, starting with the *Introit* and going as far as the beginning of the *Canon*, Luther considers every step in the progress of the *Ordo* individually, subjecting these one after the other, to the test of the principles which he had laid down, and commenting upon them accordingly.

The proper *Introits* for Lord's Days and the Greater Festivals are agreeable and therefore continued. These were scriptural. But preference is expressed for the use of the entire Psalm,—(this was the original use of the ancient Church),—from which the *Introits* were developed.

Here some comments relative to the Church Year enter. A strong desire to get away from and to simplify the multiplicity of observances due to the many saints' days and to centralize all worship in the great Center of all, Christ, is evident in the method observed at Wittenberg: "If there is anything worthy in them (the saints' days) we think they should be referred to in the Lord's Day preaching." This is quite a departure from the customary liturgical "commemoration." Further such Festivals of the Virgin as the

Purification and the Annunciation are observed as Festivals of Christ. Another interesting and centralizing use, which also tends to greater simplification, is suggested in repeating the Nativity propers on the Days of St. Stephen and St. John, which follow immediately in the Christmas Octave, instead of the customary propers of those Days. But this is suggestion only, not rule; and one must regard the sensibilities of those to whom great and sudden changes in observances to which they have been long accustomed might be harmful, lest they be offended thereby and their spirit of, and joy in, worship, be disturbed. However, observances which are purely of human invention are abrogated without ceremony.

The *Kyrie*, according to its customary use and melodies and much beloved by the common people, and the *Gloria in excelsis* are continued. The latter is to be used uninterruptedly throughout the Church Year, although the "bishop" is free to interrupt its use at certain times as in the past. The proper *Collect*, "if it is pious," is preserved, but other "commemorations" are discontinued at this place.

The liturgical lessons, the *Epistles* and the *Gospels*, while satisfactory to a certain degree, seem to present some difficulties to Luther, even while he favors their continuance. There should be some revision here sometime, in order to emphasize "faith" and get away from the predominating, present emphasis on "works." The hope is that this will come in the future when the Mass shall be celebrated entirely in the vernacular; meanwhile vernacular preaching safeguards the situation.

Luther favors the retention of the simple *Gradual* and the *Alleluia* in connection with these liturgical lessons. The longer Graduals or Tracts are to be discontinued; nor are there to be ceremonial variations here, such as in themselves distinguish one day from another or one season from another. The idea seems to be to have uniform rites—a uniform service . . . Liturgy . . . except for the varying major propers,—throughout the entire year. Here again is another contribution toward simplification, and once more the emphasis is laid on the reason, pure worship and edification. Ceremonial accompaniment to the reading of the Gospel, lights and incense, is left free.

Following the *Gospel* comes the *Nicene Creed*. This "is

not displeasing." The *Sermon* may then follow here, or it may precede the *Introit*. Over against the former place, which is historic, Luther favors the innovation of *Sermon* before *Mass*, because the "Gospel is the voice calling in the wilderness and bidding unbelievers to faith."

Up to this point in the *Mass*, i.e., the *Sermon* after the *Creed*, complete freedom prevails. This is the "human" contribution!—but one unto edification; it is not binding. The further progress, the celebration itself, centers in the Divine Institution. Here, too, the ancient distinction between the *Missa catechumenorum* and the *Missa fidelium* is unconsciously shown.

The first emphatic outburst against any part of the *Ordo* comes on reaching the *Offertory*. Now follows "that complete abomination";—"everything sounds and reeks of oblation." The *Offertory* and the entire *Canon* are repudiated. According to Luther's principles this could not be otherwise; but observe how Luther proceeds to winnow and preserve what he judges pure and ancient and to be centered in the one and all important tradition, the Divine Institution.

Before he writes of this in detail he notes directions concerning the *Preparation of the Elements*, which is to take place during the *Creed* or after the *Sermon*. Connected with this is a short discussion on whether the wine should be mixed with water or be used pure. Luther's inclination is to use pure wine and he states his reasons. But this, however, seems to be a rather hesitating break with ancient custom and tradition.

Then follows the Order of the Communion Office proper. The *Salutation*, *Sursum corda* and *Vere dignum* remain, but the *Proper Preface* is omitted. Immediately after the *Vere dignum* come the *Words of Institution*. These are quoted according to the Gospel (Vulgate) and not according to the *Missale Romanum*. After the *Verba* the *Sanctus* is sung, and at the *Benedictus qui venit* the Bread and Chalice are elevated. This, the *Elevation*, is retained "chiefly on account of the infirm who might be greatly offended by the sudden change." Specifically, the *Verba* are the *Consecration*; although their immediate union with the *Preface* can be interpreted as making the *Eucharistic Thanksgiving* and the *Verba* the form of consecration. The *Lord's Prayer*, introduced by the customary *Introduction*, is then prayed;

but the *Embolism* and the *Fraction* and *Commixture* and the incidental signings with the Cross are to be omitted. The *Pax* is said immediately after the *Lord's Prayer* by the bishop facing the people, as in ancient times; for the *Pax* is "the Gospel voice announcing remission of sins." This interpretation permits the deduction, that the *Pax* acts as the absolution prior to communion.

Agnus dei is then sung; the while the bishop communicates himself first, then the people. Preceding the *Administration*, the celebrant may say one of the ancient prayers of the Mass (first words quoted) but the pronoun referring to the celebrant is to be made plural referring to all communicants. At the Distribution, the ancient *Form of Administration* is preserved; but this likewise is to have the plural pronoun.

In concluding the Office the customary *Communion* (chant) may be sung if the bishop desires, but the varying *Post Communion* (Collect) is displaced by two collects of the Mass, the latter having the complete *Termination*. Mass is then concluded with the *Salutation*, *Benedicamus* with *Alleluia* and the customary *Benediction*. Variant forms of this last, which may be used, are the Aaronitic Benediction and one composed of Psalm verses.

This is Luther's simplified, purified Order of the Mass and Communion.

The departures from the current Roman *Ordo* are comparatively few; probably not as many as one might be led to expect; but those that are made are positive and all-important. The accumulated mists and clouds are driven away to reveal the *Sacrament* for *You* surrounded with thanksgiving, adoration, prayer, and final thanksgiving and benediction.

It is to be noted that Luther's effort is not centered in either destruction or construction. Some may say "Destruction" when his determined action at the *Offertory* and the *Canon* is met; others may say "Construction" when they point to a changing about of certain integral parts of the original structure. But neither of these entered into the situation as primary or as definite purposes later on. Luther did not have any desire to construct a new Liturgy; such a thing was utterly out of harmony with both his spirit and feeling. His *Formula* is the Roman *Ordo* simplified, purified, reformed,—and he felt he had every right to do just

this, for it was the *Church's* expression that he was seeking, not the *Roman Church's*. And his confessed, purposeful trend backward to the purity of ancient uses is the triumphant forward going of the living Gospel into the lives of men, carrying the guarantees of faith's union with the ever-present, living Christ. It is sacramental and sacrificial; but sacrificial in the spirit of pure devotion, not in the Roman sense; what there is of sacrifice is the prayer, praise, and thanksgiving of man to the Dispenser of the Sacramental Gift. Luther held himself strictly to this,—to glorify Christ and make him the triumphant All-in-all and to bring to man the blessed privilege of joyful communion with Him in His instituted action for this end. That the Liturgy which was theirs met this purpose, he demonstrated; for is not the Liturgy one of the most practical expressions of doctrine? That it could be thus demonstrated solved the problem of worship itself and saved the situation among people who were not ready for the introduction of innovations of his proposing,—provided he was disposed so to do!—in order to replace customs he condemned.

Naturally Luther viewed the Liturgy only from his point of view,—not as a liturgical document;—it must be the vital expression of faith and its approach; it dare not be mere form or rite or even a "spiritual" mechanism. Here he faced the building which the worship-spirit of the Church had erected through the ages, mighty in its accumulated deposits, mighty in its well-nigh world-wide use. He faced a structure built age after age into a harmony and unity which it would be folly to disturb save to preserve it and express it in a better, purer way than men were now expressing it. Could this be done? Could this be made to express again what the Church had lovingly, joyfully confessed therein . . . the pure teaching of the Gospel? His *Formula* is his attempt to demonstrate that it can be done; and in doing so, he also sought to preserve the unity and harmony of the structure even though at times he leaves but the barest framework.

This is particularly true at the *Consecration*, where his reaction is most marked and his hand falls the heaviest. Did he follow blindly the formula ascribed to St. Augustine, "The Word is added to the Element and makes the Sacrament," and then accept the dictum of Pope Gregory that the *Consecration* is effected by and in the *Verba*? At all

events, to Luther the *Verba* alone are all that is required to "consecrate" the Elements for *communion* and to "validate" the Sacrament to the response of the believing Church to her Lord's "This do." Further, this much, and perhaps, this much only, is Apostolic!

That uncertainty of just what to do here existed in his mind seems to be borne out by the transference of the *Sanc-tus* to a place *after* the *Verba* and by the paring down of the *Preface* to the barest possible introduction to the *Verba*; for introduction it is more than eucharistic thanksgiving. Yet he seems to feel that this "action" is formal, ceremonial in the highest, purest sense, on the part of the believing Church; not in the sense of a magnificent celebration but in the sense of profound adoration in all humble simplicity of communion with the Lord. The *innigkeit* of the spiritual, the personal,—believing and joyful,—is seeking expression here, and yet he strives to clothe this historically! Something must take the place of the abhorred *Canon*!

The problem was more than difficult; it was one that held grave dangers,—because of Luther's utter abomination of the *Canon*; and again one is astonished to find that the determined swing away from the accustomed, inspired by such deep-set, conscientious and at times violently expressed feelings and opinions, has left as much remaining as this which is still preserved in his *Formula*!

That this is so was not because Luther feared or hesitated to change, but because he recognized dangers into which false moves would lead immediately. The greatest safety-check, next to the all-inspiring, all-controlling Word, remained sure and true: Luther still felt the reality of the historic Church,—the Church of all ages, Christ's Church, his Church, *not* the Roman!

After the outline of the Mass has been completed, Luther considers a number of practical matters related to its celebration. First comes the method of consecrating and receiving the species; whether both elements are to be consecrated at once and administered, or the one element consecrated and administered immediately and then the other element,—“after which manner Christ seems to have acted,”—is left as a matter of individual choice.

Then there is a careful discussion of rites and ceremonies. The one thing indispensable is the “Words of Consecration

uncorrupted;" other matters are wholly free and may be changed at will! But all such things may be observed voluntarily; they dare not be made a law or be required as established indispensable forms. The Ancient Church affords the true example here. Luther even goes so far as to say that "if they have appointed something as a law in this matter, it shall not be observed." Nor are others to be judged when their rites differ from ours; each may abound in his own opinion, but each must strive to understand the other and yield to him in that understanding. The external rite does not commend us to God, but the inner unity of faith and love does!

Use of the customary Mass vestments is left free, with the caution that "pomp and excess of splendor be absent." If used, these vestments are not to be "consecrated" in the former ritualistic fashion, but they may be blessed "by that general benediction, by which it is taught that every good creature of God is sanctified through word and prayer." This last established a new principle of practice in the Church of the Reformation; over against the perfunctory ceremonialism of Rome is placed the Evangelic benediction in its simplicity and spirituality.

With this the major portion of the writing ends; the concluding part carries the title "Concerning the Communion of the People" and discusses a variety of practical matters, most of which are related to the celebration of the Holy Supper.

Private masses are to be discontinued; a celebration is not to be held without communicants: this would be as ridiculous as preaching the Gospel without a congregation present, to the rocks and trees and empty air!

Notification of intention to commune is required. The reason for this is something more than good order; for the bishop or ministrant is to use this opportunity to inquire into the prospective communicants' knowledge and understanding of what he desires to do and as to his fitness to do so. Should he not give satisfactory evidence of this he is to be excluded; and while moral conditions must be considered he is not to be excluded if he shows repentance; for the Holy Supper is for just such as these.

Continuance or discontinuance of Private Confession is left to the decision of the bishop; and the customary rule of preparation by fasting and prayer is to be considered a

matter of liberty. The inner spirit longing for the blessing, the repentant spirit seeking consolation and strength, these are far more vital and necessary. These suggestions relative to a pastoral, personal ministration are a complete turn away from the old, formal, definitely ordered requirements, and they emphasize the intimate, helpful contact which is to obtain between pastor and communicant. It is now to be soul-cure under the ministration of the blessed Gospel of the forgiving, welcoming Christ, not a hair-splitting, soul-burdening, penitential system.

Luther then discusses the question of the administration of both forms, i.e., the elements, in his own typical way and at quite some length. Both forms are to be administered. It is not a matter of argument, but of the Scripture; nor is this to be postponed any longer. One is not to wait for a council to determine this matter; it has been determined by highest Authority. And if men will not accede to that, and must wait for the decree of a council, thus preferring and honoring the opinion of man more than the Divine instruction, then the council is to be ignored. And then under such circumstances should the council say, "Both forms," then we will use one! But the authority of the Word is supreme, and therefore there is no necessity to wait longer or require man's opinion.

The question of celebrating Mass in the vernacular arises only incidentally in this document; there are no definite expressions, save a hope expressed, interjected in passing. At one place vernacular preaching is mentioned, and here vernacular songs. Apparently Latin continues to be the language of the Mass. Of course the hope is to have Mass, all services, in the language of the people in order that all may know and understand in what they are engaging. An important change such as this could not be hurried nor accomplished quickly. Luther realized, probably better than many others, how much was needed to this end. Here he writes of singing vernacular songs after certain Latin parts of the Mass. This is to be done by the congregation; and certain well-known hymns are suggested. Such as these must serve until gifted poets could provide others. This, too, would have to serve as a beginning; it was, at least, a promise of what was to come in fuller measure in time.

Luther recognized outstanding educational values in the
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services, in addition to the spiritual. He recommended the continuance of the Daily Hours, in particular Matins and Vespers, because these afforded excellent opportunity for the active participation of the youth, especially the boys. They were to read the Lessons and the Psalter, and to sing the Orders as well. But here again matters were to be simplified; the bishop is to be responsible for the needed weekly appointments.

The *Formula* is then brought to a close with a personal word to Hausmann.

The *Formula* is the most important of the three documents dealing with Divine Worship which Luther issued. It carried weight, coming from him, which no other document of similar purpose could equal; and its influence was far-reaching, continuing even after the appearance of the very popular *Deutsche Messe*. Its historicity and conservative spirit in themselves served to check the marked tendency to looseness and a complete break with the past. It had its defects, but it had its outstanding accomplishments; and it revealed Luther as a quiet, appreciative workman, holding his strong feelings well in check and not permitting them to wreck the beauties of the heritage which belonged to all by biased or intemperate action. It will ever remain a silent witness to the positive claim of the Church of the Reformation,—that the Movement was not to institute a new Church, but was a consecrated cleansing and reforming of the Church—a continuance of the pure and true! Here, through his pen, the historic past continued to live in the present.

Hausmann soon expressed the wish that this *Formula*, which had been published in Latin only, might be available in German also. Luther commissioned Paul Speratus to translate it. This translation appeared in the course of a few months, and was accepted as the authorized German version of this important document. Almost at the same time a second translation, this one anonymous, was issued by a Nürnberg press. Allowing for the difference in the personalities of the translators, the two German texts are very close to the original. These texts are important to any student of the *Formula* in that the translation will many times be interpretative of the Latin.

It was to be expected that the opposition, Rome, would

not remain silent over this proposal of Luther. Emser was the first to attempt a reply, and issued his pamphlet in 1524. This was typical both of Emser's spirit and methods. The second reply was a well prepared and well written pamphlet by Clichtoveus; this appeared in 1526. Neither of these writers admitted any principle of Luther to be correct or that his motive or purpose was devout and honest. Rome could not admit any of this without betraying her own position and admitting the truth of the assertions of the leaders in the Reformation Movement.

The example and influence of the *Formula* live in the *Common Service Book* of the Lutheran Church in America today.⁴

The translation has been made from an original print, the property of the writer. Constant reference was made to the texts appearing in the original Jena edition and in the Weimar edition, and to originals of the German translations also in the writer's library.

PAUL ZELLER STRODACH

NOTES ON INTRODUCTION TO FORMULA OF MASS AND COMMUNION FOR THE CHURCH AT WITTENBERG

¹ Cf. the General Introduction, this volume, p. 37ff, where a comparative table of the Roman Mass, the *Formula*, the *Deutsche Messe* and The Liturgy of the *Common Service Book* appears.

² See the General Introduction, this volume, p. 37; and below p. 86.

³ See below, pp. 88, 89; cf. this vol. p. 124.

⁴ See General Introduction, this volume, p. 35.

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An anonymous translation originating at Nürnberg: *Die weysze der Messz, vnnnd geniessung des Hochwirdigen Sacraments*.

Englished by

H. E. Jacobs, *The Lutheran Church Review*, Vol. VIII, July 1889, p. 226ff; Vol. IX, January, 1890, p. 72ff.

Richard and Painter, *Christian Worship*, p. 164ff.

In reply to the *Formula missae*

Emser wrote: *Missae christianorum contra Lutheranam Missandi formulam assertio*. 1524.

Clichtoveus wrote: *Propugnaculum ecclesiae adversus Lutheranos*. 1526.

P. Z. S.

FORMULA MISSAE ET COMMUNIONIS
PRO ECCLESIA WITTEMBERGENSIS
VENERABILI
IN CHRISTO D. NICÓLAO HAUSMAN
EPISCOPO CYGNEAE ECCLESIAE
IN CHRISTO SANCTO
MART. LUTHER

FORMULA OF MASS AND COMMUNION
FOR THE CHURCH AT WITTENBERG

By Martin Luther
Wittenberg
MDXXIII*

To the Venerable
in Christ D. Nicholas Hausman
Bishop of the Church at Zwickau
in Christ blessed.
Mart. Luther.

Grace and peace in Christ he wishes (him). Thus far I have tried by means of books and sermons among the people to call their hearts away from godless opinions of ceremonies, thinking I would be doing something Christian and salutary if I would be the cause whereby the abomination, which Satan has set up in the holy place through the man of sin, might be removed without violence. Therefore,

* So title page of original print.

I have undertaken nothing either by force or command; nor have I changed old things for new, always being hesitant and fearful on account of those souls weak in the faith from whom the old and accustomed is not to be taken away suddenly or among whom a new and untried method of worshiping God is to be introduced; and especially on account of those light and fastidious spirits who, without faith, without reason, like unclean swine, rush wildly about and rejoice only in the novel, and as soon as the novelty has worn off forthwith become disgusted with it. A species of men than whom, as in other things, nothing is more troublesome than their sort; so, too, in sacred things they are most troublesome and intolerable. Nevertheless, even though I am moved with wrath, I am compelled to suffer them unless I would desire to have the Gospel itself taken away from the public.

But now since there is hope that the hearts of many have been enlightened and strengthened by the grace of God, and since the matter itself demands that the scandals be removed from the Kingdom of Christ, something must be dared in the name of Christ. For it is right that we provide for the few, lest while we fear constantly the levity and abuse of some others we provide for none at all, and while we wish to guard against the future scandals of such as these, we strengthen all of their abominations. Therefore, most excellent Nicolas, since you have requested it so frequently, we will busy ourself concerning some pious form of saying mass¹ (as they say) and of administering communion. And thus will we do: we will no longer rule hearts by word of doctrine only, but we will put our hand to it also, and make that effective in the public administration; nevertheless, prejudicing no one, nor forbidding any one to embrace or follow some other method. Indeed we beg through Christ, from the heart, if something better shall be revealed to those who are in advance of us in these things, that they command us to be silent so that by common work we may aid the common cause.²

In the first place we assert, it is not now, nor has it ever been, in our mind to abolish entirely the whole formal cultus³

of God, but to cleanse that which is in use, which has been vitiated by most abominable additions, and to point out a pious use⁴. For this cannot be denied, that masses and the communion of bread and wine are a rite divinely instituted by Christ, which was observed, first under Christ Himself, then under the apostles, most simply and piously and without any additions.⁵ But so many human inventions have been added to it in course of time, that nothing of the mass and communion has come down to our age except the name.

Now the additions of the early fathers, who are said to have prayed one or two psalms in a subdued voice before blessing the bread and wine, were commendable: such Athanasius⁶ and Cyprian⁷ were thought to have been. Then they who added *Kyrie Eleison*⁸, these also pleased; for we read that under Basil the Great⁹ *Kyrie Eleison* was in public use by the whole people. Now the reading of the *Epistles* and *Gospels*¹⁰ was and is necessary, unless it be a fault to read them in a language which is not understood by the common people. Afterward when chanting began, the psalms were changed into the *Introit*:¹¹ then the Angelic Hymn was added, the *Gloria in excelsis et in terra pax*;¹² also the *Graduals*¹³ and *Alleluia*¹⁴ and *Nicene Creed*¹⁵, the *Sanctus*¹⁶, *Agnus dei*¹⁷ and *Communio*.¹⁸ All these are such as cannot be censured, especially those which are sung as *de tempore* or Lord's Day uses¹⁹. These days only testify to ancient purity,²⁰ the Canon²¹ excepted.

But when there was license to add and to change as it suited anyone, then because of the tyranny of avarice and sacerdotal ambition, those altars and images of Baal and all gods began to be placed in the temple of the Lord by our impious kings, that is, the bishops and pastors (shepherds). Here impious Ahaz took away the brazen altar and erected another brought from Danascus. But I am speaking about the Canon, that mangled and abominable thing gathered from much filth and scum.²² Then the Mass began to be a sacrifice; the Offertories²³ and paid for prayers²⁴ were added; then Sequences and Proses were inserted in the *Sanctus* and the *Gloria in excelsis*.²⁵ Then the Mass began to be a priestly monopoly, exhausting the wealth of the whole

II Kings
16: 10ff

world, deluging the whole earth like a vast desert with rich, lazy, powerful and lascivious celebrates. Then came masses for the dead, for travelers, for riches, and who can name the titles alone for which the Mass was made a sacrifice?

Nor do they cease to add to the Canon today: now it is for these feasts, then for others; now these *actiones*, then other *communicantes* are approved.²⁶ And I will keep quiet about the *memores*,²⁷ the commemoration of the living and of the dead, not yet brought to its end. And what shall I say of the external additions, vestments, vessels, candles, palls; then the organ and everything musical; images? There is scarcely one of the handicrafts in all the world, which does not contribute a great part of its activity to, and derive its gain from, the Mass.²⁸

Therefore, let these be passed by, and also let them pass,—all such abominations being revealed by the Gospel,—until they be entirely abolished. In the meanwhile we will test all things; what is good, we will retain. But in this book we omit saying that the Mass is (not)²⁹ a sacrifice or a good work, because we have taught about it sufficiently at other places.³⁰ We accept it as Sacrament, or Testament, or Blessing as in Latin, or Eucharist as in Greek, or the Table of the Lord, or the Lord's Supper, or the Lord's Memorial, or Communion, or by whatever pious name you please, so long as it be not polluted by the name of sacrifice or work; and we will set forth the rite according to which, as it seems to us, it should be used.

In the first place, we approve and preserve the introits³¹ for the Lord's Day and for the Festivals of Christ, such as Easter, Pentecost, Nativity, although we prefer the Psalms from which they were taken as of old;³² but now we agree to the received usage. But if any desire to approve the introits for Apostles' Days, for Feasts of the Virgin³³ and of other saints, we do not condemn this, if they have been chosen from Psalms and other Scriptures. We, of Wittenberg, seek to celebrate only on Lord's Days and on Festivals of the Lord, abrogating completely the festivals of all of the saints; or if there is anything worthy in them we think they should be referred to in the Lord's Day preaching. We

regard the Festivals of the Purification and of the Annunciation³⁴ as Festivals of Christ, like the Epiphany and the Circumcision. In place of the Festivals of St. Stephen³⁵ and of St. John, the Evangelist,³⁶ it pleases us to use the office of the Nativity.³⁷ Let the Festivals of the Holy Cross³⁷ be anathema.³⁸ Let others act according to their own consciences, or according to the infirmity of others,—whatever the Spirit may suggest.

In the second place, we accept *Kyrie Eleison*³⁹ as it has been used customarily, with the various melodies for the different seasons, together with the Angelic Hymn, *Gloria in excelsis*, which follows; nevertheless its use rests on the judgment of the bishop, or, how often he desires its omission.⁴⁰

In the third place, the *Oratio* (prayer), or Collect⁴¹ which follows, if it is pious, (and those appointed for the Lord's Days usually are), should be preserved in its accustomed use; but there should be but one.⁴² After this the *Epistle* lesson.⁴³ Certainly the time has not yet come to attempt revision here, as nothing ungodly is read. But something seems to be needed, since those parts of the Epistles of Paul in which faith is taught are rarely read, but most frequently those parts dealing with morals and exhortations. While the originator of the Epistles seems to have been a singularly unlearned and superstitious friend of works, the office required the rather that, for the greater part, those sections in which faith in Christ is taught, be appointed. This certainly may be seen more frequently in the Gospels,⁴⁴ whoever has been the originator of those lessons.⁴⁵ But in the meantime vernacular preaching will supply this lack.⁴⁶ If it shall come to pass in the future that Mass shall be celebrated in the vernacular⁴⁷ (which may Christ grant!), attention must be given so that Epistles and Gospels, chosen from the best and more weighty parts of these writings, be read in the Mass.

In the fourth place, the *Gradual*⁴⁸ of two verses, likewise with the *Alleluia*,⁴⁸ or both, should be sung as the bishop decides. But the Quadragesima Graduals⁴⁹ and the like, which are longer than two verses, any one who wishes may sing

these in his own home. In church, we do not wish to extinguish the spirit of the faithful with tedious things. It is not fitting to distinguish the *Quadragesima*,⁶⁰ or the Greater Week,⁶¹ or the *Feria Sexta*,⁶² with rites other than those customary elsewhere,⁶³ lest we seem to banter and ridicule Christ further with half a mass⁶⁴ and the one part of the Sacrament. For *Alleluia* is the perpetual voice of the Church, just as the memorial of His (Christ's) passion and victory is perpetual.⁶⁵

In the fifth place, we allow no *Sequences* or *Proses*,⁶⁶ unless it please the bishop to use the short one for⁶⁷ the Nativity of Christ, *Grates nunc omnes*.⁶⁸ Nor are there hardly any which are redolent of the Spirit save those of⁶⁹ the Holy Spirit: *Sancti Spiritus*⁷⁰ and *Veni Sancte Spiritus*,⁷¹ which one may sing after breakfast or at Vespers or at Mass (if the bishop pleases).

In the sixth place, the *Gospel* lection⁷² follows, where we prohibit neither candles nor censuring.⁷³ But we do not demand this; let this be free.

In the seventh place, the custom of singing the Nicene Creed⁷⁴ is not displeasing. Likewise concerning vernacular preaching,⁷⁵ we are of the opinion that it does not matter whether this is done after the *Symbolum* or before the Introit of the Mass, although there is a reason why it might be more aptly done before Mass,⁷⁶ because the Gospel is the voice calling in the wilderness and bidding unbelievers to faith.

The Mass indeed should be the use of the Gospel and also the Communion of the Table of the Lord, which certainly belongs to the faithful⁷⁷ and is fitting to be celebrated privately;⁷⁸ but nevertheless that reason does not bind us who are free, especially because all things which are done in the Mass up to the *Symbolum* are ours and are free, not exacted by God, on which account they do not necessarily pertain to the Mass.

In the eighth place, there follows that complete abomination, into the service of which all that precedes in the Mass has been forced, whence it is called *Offertorium*,⁷⁹ and on account of which nearly everything sounds and reeks of oblation.⁸⁰ In the midst of these things those words of life

and salvation¹¹ have been placed, just like in times past the ark of the Lord was placed in the temple of idols next to Dagon. And there is no Israelite there who is able either to approach or lead back the ark, until it has made its enemies infamous, smiting them on the back with eternal shame, and has compelled them to send it away, which is a parable for the present time. Therefore repudiating all those things which smack of sacrifice and of the Offertory, together with the entire *Canon*,¹² let us retain those things which are pure and holy, and then we will order our Mass in this fashion.

I Sam.
5: 2ff

I Sam.
5: 12

Cf. Phil
4: 8

I. During the Creed or after the Canon,¹³ let bread and wine be prepared in the customary way for consecration. Except that I am not yet fixed in my mind as to whether or not water should be mixed with the wine,¹⁴ although I rather incline to the preparation of pure wine, because the indication strikes me as wrong which Isaiah advances in chapter I, "Your wine," he says, "is mixed with water." For pure wine symbolizes beautifully the purity of the teaching of the Gospel. Then, too, nothing has been poured out for us save the blood of Christ only, unmixed with ours, of which we make commemoration here. Neither can the dream of those stand who say that our union with Christ is here symbolized, the commemoration of which union we do not make here. Nor are we united before the shedding of His blood, otherwise at the same time we would be celebrating the pouring out of our own blood with the blood of Christ for ourselves. Nevertheless in opposition to liberty, I will not introduce a superstitious law. Christ will not care very much about this, nor are these matters worthy of contention. Enough foolish contention over this has been engaged in by the Roman and Greek Churches¹⁵ as also in many other matters. And because some assert that blood and water flowed from the side of Christ, that does not prove anything. For that water signifies something other than what they wish to be signified by that mixed water. Nor was that mixed with the blood. Moreover the figure proves nothing, and the example does not stand; hence as a human invention it is held to be free."

Is. 1: 22

John
19: 34

II. The bread and the wine having been prepared, then let the order be in this manner:⁷⁷ The Lord be with you. Response: And with thy spirit. Lift up (your) hearts.⁷⁸ Response: Let us lift them⁷⁹ to the Lord. Let us give thanks unto our Lord God. Response: It is meet and right.⁸⁰ It is truly meet and right, just and salutary for us to give thanks to Thee always and everywhere, Holy Lord, Father Almighty, Eternal God, through Christ our Lord.

III. Then.⁸¹ . . . Who the day before⁸² He suffered took bread, giving thanks, broke and gave to His disciples, saying, Take, eat. This is my body, which is given for you.

Similarly also the cup, after He supped, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood which is poured out for you and for many in remission of sins. As often as ye shall do this, do it in memory of me.⁸³

I wish these words of Christ, allowing a moderate pause after the Preface, to be recited in the same tone of voice⁸⁴ in which the Lord's Prayer is sung at another place in the Canon;⁸⁵ so that it will be possible for those standing by to hear, although in all these things liberty is allowed to pious minds to recite these words either silently⁸⁶ or audibly.⁸⁷

IV. The Consecration⁸⁸ ended, let the choir sing the Sanctus,⁸⁹ and when the Benedictus⁹⁰ is sung, let the bread and chalice be elevated⁹¹ according to the rite in use up to this time, chiefly on account of the infirm who might be greatly offended by the sudden change in this more noted rite in the Mass, especially where they have been taught through vernacular sermons what is sought by this elevation.⁹²

V. After this the Lord's Prayer⁹³ is read. Thus: Let us pray: Taught by thy saving precepts, etc.,⁹⁴ omitting the prayer following: Deliver us, we beseech,⁹⁵ with all signs,⁹⁶ which they were wont to make over the host⁹⁷ and with the host over the chalice;⁹⁸ nor shall the host be broken⁹⁹ or mixed in the chalice.¹⁰⁰ But immediately after the Lord's Prayer shall be said, The Peace of the Lord, etc.,¹⁰¹ which is, so to speak, a public absolution of the sins of the communicants, truly the Gospel voice announcing remission of sins, the one and most worthy preparation for the Lord's Table, if it be apprehended by faith and not otherwise than though

it came forth from the mouth of Christ Himself. On account of this I wish it to be announced with face turned to the people,¹⁰² as the bishops were accustomed to do, which is the sole vestige of the ancient bishops left among our bishops.

VI. Then let him communicate himself first,¹⁰³ then the people; in the meanwhile let the *Agnus dei*¹⁰⁴ be sung. But if he should desire to pray the prayer, O Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, who according to the will of the Father, etc.,¹⁰⁵ before communing, he will not pray wrongly, only change the singular number to the plural, *ours* and *us* for *mine* and *me*. Likewise the prayer, The Body of the Lord, etc., guard *my* soul, or *thy* soul unto life eternal. And the Blood, of *our* Lord, guard *thy* soul unto life eternal.¹⁰⁶

VII. If he desires to sing the Communion¹⁰⁷ let it be sung. But in place of the *ad complendam* or final collect¹⁰⁸ which so frequently savors of sacrifice, let this prayer be read in the same tone: What we have taken with the mouth, O Lord.¹⁰⁹ This one also may be read: Thy Body, O Lord, which we have received, etc.,¹¹⁰ changing to the plural number. Who livest and reignest, etc.¹¹¹ The Lord be with you,¹¹² etc. In place of the *Ite missa*,¹¹³ let *Benedicamus domino*¹¹⁴ be said, adding Alleluia¹¹⁵ according to its own melodies where and when it is desired; or *Benedicamus* may be borrowed from Vespers.¹¹⁶

VIII. Let the customary Benediction¹¹⁷ be given. Or take that from Numbers 6,¹¹⁸ which the Lord Himself arranged and ordered:¹¹⁹ *The Lord bless us and guard us: May He show us His face and be merciful to us; The Lord turn His face to us and give us peace.* Or that in Psalm 96, *May God, our God, bless us: May God bless us and all the ends of the earth fear Him. Amen.* I believe Christ used something of this kind when, ascending into heaven, He blessed His disciples.

And this, too, should be free to the bishop, namely, by what order he may desire either to receive or to administer both species. For assuredly he may consecrate both bread and wine consecutively before he receives the bread; or between the consecration of the bread and wine he may communicate with the bread both himself and as many as desire it, and

Nu. 6:
24f

Psalm 67:
7-8 (96l)

Luke
24: 51

thereupon consecrate the wine and at length give to all to drink of it. After which manner Christ seems to have acted, as the words of the Gospel reveal, where He commanded to eat the bread before He blessed the cup. Then is said expressly: Likewise also the cup after He supped. Thus you perceive the cup was blessed only after eating the bread.¹²⁰ But this quite new rite will not permit the doing of those things following the Consecration about which we spoke above, unless they should be changed.¹²¹

Luke
22: 20

I Cor.
11: 25

This is the way we think about the Mass, but at the same time taking care in all such matters lest we make binding things which are free, or compel those to sin who either would do some other thing or omit certain things; only let them keep the Words of Consecration uncorrupted, and let them do this in faith. For these should be the usages of Christians, that is of children of the free woman, who observe these things voluntarily and from the heart, changing them as often as and in whatever manner they might wish. Wherefore it is not right that one should either require or establish some indispensable form as a law in this matter, by which he might ensnare or vex consciences. Whence also we find no complete example of this use in the ancient fathers and in the primitive Church, save only in the Roman Church. But if they have appointed something as a law in this matter, it should not be observed; because these things neither can nor should be bound by laws. Then, even if different people make use of different rites, let no one either judge or despise the other; but let each one abound in his own opinion, and let them understand and know even if they do differently; and let each one's rite be agreeable to the other, lest diverse opinions and sects yield diverse uses, just as happened in the Roman Church. For external rites, even if we are not able to do without them,—just as we cannot do without food and drink,—nevertheless, do not commend us to God, just as food does not commend us to God. But faith and love commend us to God. Wherefore let this word of Paul govern here: The kingdom of God is not food and drink, but righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy

I Cor. 8:8

Rom.

14: 17

Spirit. Thus no rite is the Kingdom of God, but faith within you, etc.¹²¹

We have passed by vestments.¹²² But we think about these as we do about other uses; we permit them to be used without restraint, only let pomp and the excess of splendor be absent.¹²⁴ For neither are you the more acceptable if you should consecrate in vestments; nor are you the less acceptable if you should consecrate without vestments. For vestments do not commend us to God.¹²⁵ But I do not wish them to be consecrated or blessed,¹²⁶—as if they were about to be something sacred as compared with other garments,—except by that general benediction, by which it is taught that every good creature of God is sanctified through word and prayer;¹²⁷ otherwise it would be an utter superstition and impiety, introduced through the abominations of the pontiffs, as also other things.¹²⁸

I Tim. 4:
4-5

CONCERNING THE COMMUNION OF THE PEOPLE

We have said these foregoing things about the Mass and the office of the minister or bishop; now we will speak about the custom of communicating the people, on account of whom chiefly this Supper of the Lord was instituted and is called by that name. For as it is most absurd for a minister of the Word to act so foolishly as to publish the Word in public ministration where there is no hearer, and to cry aloud to himself alone amid rocks and woods and in the open air, so it is most wrong if ministers make ready and adorn the common¹²⁹ Supper of the Lord where there would be no guests who would eat and drink, and they alone, who ought to minister to others, would eat and drink at an empty table and in an empty sanctuary.¹³⁰ Wherefore if we wish truly to prize the institution of Christ, no private Mass should be left remaining in the Church, unless in this connection either infirmity or necessity should be tolerated for a time.

Moreover the custom is to be preserved here which is observed in connection with baptism; namely, that notice must first be given to the bishop, by those who are about to commune, that they request to be communicated with the

Lord's Supper, so that he may be able to know both their names and manner of life. Then let him not admit those seeking, unless they should give a reason for their faith; and being questioned, should answer, whether they understand what the Supper of the Lord is; what it stands for; and of what they wish to become partakers by its use; to wit, if they are able to recite the Words of Consecration from memory and explain that they come because of the consciousness of sin, or the fear of death, or, troubled by some other evil of the temptation of the flesh, of the world, of the devil, they hunger and thirst for that word and sign of grace and salvation from the Lord Himself through the ministry of the bishop by which they may be consoled and comforted, such as Christ out of priceless love gave and instituted in this Supper when He said: Take and eat, etc.^{120b}

But I think it will be sufficient if this questioning and investigation of him who seeks to be communicated is done once a year. Indeed it is possible that the one who seeks may be so understanding that he should be questioned either once only in his entire life, or in fact never. For through this custom we desire to guard against this: that the worthy and unworthy do not rush blindly to the Supper of the Lord, as we have seen done in the Roman Church hitherto, where nothing else is sought but to be communicated. Of faith, of comfort, of the whole use and fruits of the Supper absolutely neither mention nor consideration of these has had a place. Indeed they have concealed the very Words of Consecration, that is, the Bread of Life Itself, forcing this with vast zeal, yea, with highest frenzy, in order that communicants should perform a good work by their own merit, and that they should not nourish and strengthen faith through the goodness of Christ. But those who are not able to answer after the manner mentioned above, we desire such wholly excluded and banished from the communion of this Supper, as being without the wedding garment.

Cf. Matt.
22:11-12

Then when the bishop has perceived that they understand these things, he should also watch this, whether they evidence this faith and knowledge in life and conduct;—for Satan also both perceives all these things and is able to talk

about them;—that is, if he should see some fornicator, adulterer, drunkard, gamester, usurer, slanderer, or one made infamous by some manifest crime, let him be excluded absolutely from this Supper, unless by evident proof he shall have witnessed that his life has been changed. For the Supper should not be denied those who sometimes fall away and return, sorrowing over the lapse; indeed we should realize that the Supper was instituted especially on account of just such as these so that they may be refreshed and strengthened; for we all offend in many things; and we carry each other's burdens while we also mutually burden ourselves. But I am speaking of those contemptuous ones who sin shamelessly and without fear, yet, nevertheless, boast glorious things about the Gospel.^{130c}

Then when Mass is celebrated, it is fitting that those about to be communicated gather together by themselves in one place and in one group. For to this end the altar was invented, also the choir.¹³¹ Not that standing here or there matters anything with God or adds anything to faith, but that it is necessary that they be seen and known openly, both by those who commune and those who do not commune; thus then their lives may be the better observed and proven and made known. For participation in this Supper is part of the confession by which they confess before God and angels and men that they are Christians. Therefore care must be taken lest they carry off the Supper stealthily, and then mingled with others it is not known whether they live well or badly.¹³² However, I do not wish this to be made a law here, but to point out this,—what honorable and fitting (thing) may be performed freely by free Christians.

Now concerning private confession¹³³ before communion. I still think as I have taught heretofore, namely, that it is neither necessary nor to be demanded; nevertheless it is useful and not to be despised, since the Lord neither required this Supper as necessary or established it by law, but left it free to everyone, saying, As often as you do this, etc. So concerning the preparation for the Supper, we think that preparing oneself by fasting and prayers is a matter of liberty. Certainly it behooves us to approach in soberness of

mind and earnestly and diligently, whether you fast nothing at best or pray ever so little. In truth, I say, moderation in drinking, not that superstitious practice of the papists;²⁸ but moderation, lest you belch drunkenly and become sluggish and dull from a distended belly. For the best preparation is, as I have said, a soul moved and vexed by sins, death, temptations, and hungering and thirsting for healing and strength. Whatever of these things is true, these are the concern of the bishop and it rests with him that he may teach the people.

This now remains to be considered, whether both forms,²⁹ as they call them, should be ministered to the people. So here I say, Now that the Gospel has been inculcated among us these two whole years, at the same time sufficient indulgence also has been granted to infirmity. Hereafter one must act according to that saying of Paul: He who is ignorant, let him be ignorant. For it does not matter, if they, who for so long a time have not known the Gospel, do not receive again neither of the two forms, lest perchance bearing with infirmity perpetually may nourish obstinacy and result in proscription contrary to the Gospel. Wherefore simply according to the institution of Christ, let both forms be both sought and ministered. Those who do not desire this, let them have their way; and let nothing be ministered to them. For we point out this form of the Mass to those to whom it is known in some part. But those who have not heard as yet, or who have ability to know, it is not yet possible to offer them any counsel concerning this matter.

I Cor.
14: 38

Nor should this matter be delayed at all in order that they may call together a Council, in which this may again be sanctioned as allowable. We have the law of Christ and we do not want either to be hindered by or to hear a Council in those matters which manifestly are of the Gospel. Yea, we say more. And if by chance a Council would decide and permit this, then least of all do we want to partake of both forms; nay, on the contrary, then first in contempt both of the Council and its statute, we would wish to partake either of one or neither, but never of both; and we would hold those to be wholly anathema who would partake of both on

the authority of such Council and statute. Do you wonder at this and ask the reason? Hear!—if you know the bread and wine were instituted by Christ, and both are to be received by all, as the Gospel and Paul testify most clearly, and as the adversaries themselves are forced to admit; nevertheless you do not dare to believe and trust Him so that you receive,³⁸ but you dare to receive if men decide this in a Council:—then are you not preferring men to Christ? Do you not extol sinful men above Him who is named and worshiped, God? Do you not trust in the words of men more than in the words of God? Nay rather, do you not utterly distrust the words of God and believe only the words of men? Moreover, how great is such hatred and denial of the most high God? What idolatry then can equal your religious obedience of a Council of men? Should you not the rather die a thousand times? Should you not the rather receive one or no form, than receive under such sacrilegious obedience and apostasy from the faith?

Therefore let them stop talking about their councils continually; but let them do this first, let them replace their sacrilege with the divine glory; let them confess that with Satan their master they have held back one form; that they have lifted themselves up above God; that they have condemned the Word, and destroyed so many people through so many ages; and let them do penance for this unspeakable tyranny of inhumanity and impiety. Then let them solemnly declare that we have done right when on our part and even against their dogmas we have taught and received both forms and have not waited for their Council, and let them give thanks because we refused to follow their perdition and abomination. After they have done this, we will be willing and well-disposed to honor and welcome their Council and ordinance. In the meantime should they not do this, but continue to demand that we await their authorization (for our action), we will listen to nothing; but we will continue both to teach and to do things which are opposed to them; in particular, those things which we know are especially displeasing to them. For what do they exact by this diabolical demand save that we exalt them above God, their words

above His words, and erect the abominable monsters of their spectres as idols in the place of God, when we want the whole world to be put under God and made subject to Him.

I also wish as many of the songs as possible to be in the vernacular, which the people should sing during Mass either immediately after the *Gradual*, and immediately after the *Sanctus* and *Agnus dei*.¹³⁷ For who doubts that once upon a time all the people sang these, which now only the choir sings or responds when the bishop is consecrating? But these songs may be ordered by the bishops in this manner, they may be sung either right after the Latin songs, or on alternate days, now Latin, now the vernacular, until the entire Mass shall be made vernacular. But poets are wanting among us,—or they are not known as yet,—who can put together pleasingly pious and spiritual songs, as Paul
Col. 3:16 calls them, which are worthy to be used by all the people in the Church of God.¹³⁸ In the meantime it is proper to sing this after communion: *Gott sey gelobet und gebenedeyet der uns selber hatt gespeysset, etc.*; omitting this small part: *Und das heylige sacramente, an unserm letzten ende, aus des geweyeten priesters hende*,¹³⁹ which was added by someone of the cult of St. Barbara,¹⁴⁰ who, holding the sacrament during his whole life as of little value, in death hopes, without faith, by this good work to enter into life. For both the meter and the manner of the music prove this part of the song is superfluous. In addition to that, this is good: *Nu bitten wyr den heyligen geist*.¹⁴¹ Also: *Eyn kindelin so lobelich*.¹⁴² For you will not find many, which in some respect taste of a dignified spirit. I say this, so that if there are any German poets, they may be moved to and work out, pious poems for us.

Let these things said concerning the mass and communion suffice for the time being; other matters, use and the thing itself will teach; only let the Word of God be announced in the church actively and faithfully. For that which some require so strongly, namely, that all these things be proved by the Scriptures and the example of the fathers, does not disturb us greatly; because we have said above, that in these

matters liberty ought to rule, and it is not allowable to captivate Christian consciences either by laws or orders. For this reason the Scriptures define nothing of these things but permit the liberty of the spirit to abound according to its own perception in the matter, according to the fitness of places, times, and persons. Indeed the examples of the fathers are in part unknown; those which really are known are so varied that nothing definite can be established about them, evidently because they themselves used their own liberty. And even if they would be altogether definite and simple, nevertheless they could not impose upon us either law or necessity of imitating them.

In connection with the rest of the days,¹⁴³ which we call *feriae*,¹⁴⁴ I see nothing which cannot be continued, only discontinue the Mass;¹⁴⁵ for Matins of three lessons and the Hours,¹⁴⁶ including Vespers and Compline¹⁴⁷ *de tempore*,¹⁴⁸ excluding the *feriae* of saints,¹⁴⁹ are nothing other than words of divine Scripture. And it is fitting, nay necessary, that the boys be accustomed to reading and hearing the Psalms and lections of Holy Scripture.¹⁵⁰ But if anything here ought to be made new, the prolixity of things can be changed according to and at the will of the bishop; however after this fashion, that three Psalms be appointed for Matins, three for Vespers,¹⁵¹ together with one or two Responsories.¹⁵² These matters cannot be ordered better than at the will of the bishop whose duty it is to choose the best of the Responsories and Antiphons and to appoint their use from Lord's Day to Lord's Day throughout the week, so that neither excessive repetition of the same things cause aversion, nor too much variety and multitudinous singing and reading generate weariness of spirit.¹⁵³ But let the entire Psalter, divided in parts, remain in use and the entire Scriptures, divided into lections, let this be preserved in the ears of the Church.¹⁵⁴

Here, too, must be noted what I have suggested elsewhere,¹⁵⁵ in order that this singing may not be a matter merely of tongue and of speech, or without sense like the sound of a pipe or harp. Therefore, daily lections must be appointed, one for the morning in the New or Old Testa-

I Cor.
14: 26

ment, another for Vespers in one or the other testament¹⁸⁸ with vernacular exposition. This rite is an ancient one, as is proven by both the custom itself and the word *Homilia* in Matins, and *Capitulum* in Vespers and the other Hours, namely, that the Christians, as often as they gathered together, read something and then it was interpreted in the vernacular, after the custom which St. Paul describes in I Corinthians 14.¹⁸⁷ Then when more evil times came, when prophets and interpreters were wanting, only this voice was left remaining after the lections and capitula, *Deo gratias*.¹⁸⁸ Then in place of the interpretation, lections, psalms and hymns were multiplied and other things also in this wearying verbosity and superabundance. Although the hymns and *Te deum laudamus*¹⁸⁹ bear testimony to this as does *Deo gratias* also, namely, that after the expositions and homilies they praised God and gave Him thanks for the true revelation of the Word of God. Such also I wish our vernacular songs to do.

Jere.
7: 31ff
19: 6ff

This much, O best Nicolas, I have for you in writing about the rites and ceremonies of our Wittenberg church, already partly instituted and, Christ willing, to be completed at an early day; which example, if it pleases you and others, you may imitate. If not, we will give place to your wisdom,¹⁹⁰ being prepared to accept what is more fitting from you and any others. Let it not frighten either you or any others because that sacrilegious Tophet still persists in our Wittenberg, which is impious and wretched gain¹⁹¹ to the princes of Saxony; I speak of the Church of All Saints. For by the mercy of God there is antidote aplenty among us through the abundance of the Word of God, so that the pest, weary and faint in its own corner, may not be a pestilence to any save itself. And there are scarcely three or four swine and gourmands in that same house of perdition who worship that wealth;¹⁹² to all others and at the same time to all the people, it is a notable cause of loathing and an abomination.

Nor is it allowed to proceed against them by force or command, as you know it is not fitting for Christians to

fight save with the power of the sword of the Spirit. For in this way I hold the people back daily, otherwise that house, now, for a long time, the House of All Saints,—nay rather the House of All Devils,—would be known by some other name in the earth. But I have not exercised the power of the Spirit, which God has given us, against that, patiently bearing that reproach, if perchance God may give them penitence; meanwhile I am content, because our house, which more truly is the House of All Saints, may reign here and stand as a tower of Lebanon against the House of All Devils. Thus we torment Satan with the Word, although he simulates a laugh; but Christ will grant that his hope will fail him and that he will be overthrown with all beholding.

Eph. 6:17

Song of
Songs
7:4

Pray for me, O holy one of God.

Grace be with you and with all yours. Amen.

NOTES ON THE FORMULA OF MASS AND COMMUNION FOR THE CHURCH AT WITTENBERG

¹ Mass, the term which through the centuries has come to be the technical and common name for the celebration of the Holy Eucharist according to the use of the Roman Church. It is derived from the form of dismissal, *Ite missa est*.

² *rem*: thing, cause, interest.

³ Broadly: External ceremonial worship; more strictly, the Liturgy, then the Mass.

⁴ The word *use*, employed here and elsewhere in this translation, is the technical, liturgical term denoting a method of practice, whether current or to be established.

⁵ The inference here is that there were neither liturgy in the later, fuller sense, nor rites or ceremonies appointed or otherwise.

⁶ Athanasius (293-373), Bp. of Alexandria. Cf. Aug. Conf. x, 33, 50?

⁷ Cyprian (cir. 200-258), Bp. of Carthage. Probably confused with Celestine I, (Pope 422-432), who according to the *Liber Pontificalis*, first instituted the singing of psalms at mass. cf. Duchesne ed. of *Lib. Pont.* I: 230. See Durandus, *Rationale*, IV, 5, 4.

⁸ The Kyrie—Lord, have mercy. The "Little Litany," one of the most ancient prayer forms in existence, and in universal liturgical use.

⁹ Basil the Great (Cir. 330-379), Bp. of Cæsarea, one of the three Great Cappadocians. Reputed to have been the first to have compiled a Liturgy in writing (Eastern Church); this is still extant and in Church use. cf. Durandus, *Rat.* IV, 12, 4; Hammond, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*.

¹⁰ The historic Pericopes: proper Epistles and Gospels for the Day. Ranke:—*Das kirchliche Perikopensystem*. Beissel: *Entstehung d. Perikopen*, d. *röm. Messbuches*, Rietschel: *Lehrbuch*, I. 223ff et. al. Much excellent material will be found in the introductory chapters of Nebe's

Die Evangelischen Perikopen, and *Die Epistol. Perikopen*. Strodach: *The Ch. Yr.* 12f.

¹¹ Strodach—*The Church Year*, p. 15f.

¹² Found in this brief form in the early *Liturgy of St. James* (quite certainly 4th cent.) Expanded to fuller form by 5th cent. According to the *Lib. Pont.*, Pope Telesphorus (d. cir. 128) is said to have ordered the singing of *Gloria in ex.* in the Christmas matins, and Pope Symmachus (500) introduced its use in the Mass. Julian, *Dict. Hymn.* 425. Rietschel, *Lehrb.* I, 361—*et. al.*

¹³ *The Church Year*, 18. Julian, *Dict. Hymn.* 449; Rietschel, I: 366.

¹⁴ *The Ch. Yr.*, 18. On the word, cf. Julian, 47; Rietschel, I: 366f.

¹⁵ On the Creed in the Liturgy, see Rietschel I: 371ff.

¹⁶ Has been in use in the Liturgy since earliest days. Universal in Eastern Church. Said to have been introduced into the Mass by Sixtus I (133-142).

¹⁷ Supposed to have been introduced in the Mass by Pope Sergius (d. 701).

¹⁸ The sentences usually composed of Scripture passages, varying according to the Day, sung by the choir at the Distribution and immediately before the Post Communion Collect.

¹⁹ A *de tempore* use is one appointed for a specific season; a Lord's Day use, *de dominicis diebus*, is one appointed for a specific Lord's day: in other words the variables, certain propers, such as the *Pericopes*, *Graduals*, *Alleluia*, *Communions*.

²⁰ An interesting statement and to be regarded as indicating one of the principles upon which the cleansing of the Liturgy, etc. was carried out: ancient, pure practices were not objectionable and were to be retained if they conduced unto edification.

²¹ The Canon is that part of the Mass which follows immediately after the *Sanctus*. It begins *Te igitur*. It is an accretion of many prayers and forms, and was especially offensive to Luther and the other Reformers because of its unevangelical character.

²² *Ex multorum lacunis* seu *sentina collecto* . . . *lacuna*: cavern, ditch; *sentina*: bilge water in the hold of a vessel:—gathered from dank caverns and fetid bilge water!

²³ On the *Offertorium* see Rietschel, I: 376ff; 341. Anciently and originally the offering of the gifts by the people with accompanying Psalm verses. In the Mass, culminating with the *Ergo memores* . . . *offerimus tibi hanc immaculatam hostiam*, etc. A portion of the Mass especially offensive to Luther.

²⁴ May be interpreted either way: Indulgence connected with saying of certain devotions and earned by the pray-er, or for certain offices or a Mass paid for and said in payee's behalf.

²⁵ Luther is referring to the short verses called *Tropes* which were inserted, as he says, in the *Gloria* and *Sanctus* and also in the *Introit*, and which added greatly to the intricacies of the Mass. A *trope* played on or enlarged a thought or phrase much in the manner of farsing. These all were excised from the Mass in the recension under Pius V.

²⁶ A part of the Canon, *infra actione*.

²⁷ A part of the Canon, the commemoration, the *dyptycha sanctorum*. The Canon itself is invariable but certain elements within it however are variable. cf. Rubrics of *Missale Romanum*, c. XII, § 6.

²⁸ Luther asserts that almost every trade and business in the world contributed some of its products to the enrichment or the needs of worship and therefore derived gain therefrom.

²⁹ non: not; omitted in original print; also in Speratus' translation.

³⁰ cf. W. Ed. 6: 365ff, 512ff; 8: 431ff, 506ff.

³¹ *Introit*: *The Church Year*, p. 15f. Rietschel, *Lehrbuch*, 1: 357f. Durandus, *Rationale divinarum officiorum*, (Venice, 1577), IV, 5, p. 64.

Note the omission of the Priest's Preparation for Mass which preceded the Int. in the *Rom. Mis.*, and which later was adapted to congregational use in some of the *Kirchen Ordnungen* (KOO) and is now in *C.S.B.*

³¹ Reference to the ancient custom of using the entire Psalm as the Introit. As time passed the Introit underwent various changes, particularly abbreviation and adaptation to Church Year influences. In most cases it was constructed out of parts (verses) of the original Psalm Introit, as Antiphon to the Psalm itself which was abbreviated to but a verse or two, and continued to be indicated as *Psalmus*, the Psalm.

For the Introits referred to, cf. *The Common Service Book in loco*, (p. 371ff) where the historic proper Introits are appointed for use in The Liturgy.

³² Cf. the Introits appointed in *Mis. Rom.* with those appointed in the *C.S.B.*, p. 173ff.

³³ The Purification of the B.V.M.—The Presentation of our Lord; celebrated Feb. 2. See *C.S.B.*, p. 176.

The Annunciation, March 25. See *C.S.B.*, p. 177.

³⁴ Dec. 26. See *C.S.B.*, p. 175.

³⁵ Dec. 27. See *C.S.B.*, p. 176.

As both of these Festivals fall within the Octave of the Nativity, the "Commemoration" of that Feast is made by the use of the Christmas Collect. Luther, however, favored the repetition of all Christmas propers on each of these Festivals instead of the propers appointed for the minor days.

^{36a} That is, the propers of the Nativity would be used on St. Stephen's Day and on St. John's Day instead of *their* propers. The term "office" is sometimes used, as here, technically to denominate the proper liturgical appointments for a given Mass.

³⁷ The Invention of the Holy Cross, May 3. The Exaltation of the Cross, Sept. 14. For Luther's marked opposition to these Festivals, cf. *Er. Ed.* 15: 359ff, 506ff; 16: 459ff.

³⁸ That is, banned.

³⁹ The customary use was three *Kyrie eleisons*, three *Christe eleisons* and three *Kyrie eleisons*. Luther later simplified this to a three-fold use in the *Deutsche Messe*, cf. *C.S.B. in loco*. These Kyries in mediæval times were expanded into quite lengthy sentences appropriate to certain days or seasons, and each of them, in time, had its own musical setting. They were one of the few places in the Mass where the people still sang the responds, and for that reason were very popular. Kyrie hymns resulted from this and also from processional uses. Durandus, IV, 12, p. 71. In the Bamberg Missal dated 1499, representative of the use current at Luther's day, there is a section in which the various Kyries, simple and expanded, ferial and festival, appear set to the "proper" melodies.

⁴⁰ The Roman custom was to omit *Gloria in excelsis* in Advent and from Septuagesima to Easter Eve, i.e. during the penitential seasons. Cf. *Mis. Rom.*, Rub. Gen. VIII. See Durandus, IV, 13.

⁴¹ See Durandus, IV, 15; *The Church Year*, p. 16ff.

⁴² It was and still is permissible, according to the Roman use, to read other Collects "according to the Office" after the proper Collect for the Day. Cf. *Mis. Rom.*, Rub. Gen. IX.

⁴³ The proper Epistle for the Day. These historic pericopes are appointed for use in The Liturgy in the *C.S.B.*; Durandus, IV, 16.

⁴⁴ The proper Gospels for the Day. See *C.S.B.*; Durandus, IV, 24.

⁴⁵ See note 10, p. 101 above.

⁴⁶ Luther did not hesitate to speak his mind about what he considered poorly or mischosen lections, as a number of his sermons witness; but nothing like a deliberate and methodical revision of the historic

pericopes was ever attempted by him. The nearest approach to this was his recommendation of a *lectio continua*, which, however, never seemed to have worked out successfully!

⁴⁷ Kasper Kantz's Evangelical Mass had already appeared and been used. Thomas Münzer, who inspired Luther with various emotions, was also active in introducing the Mass in the vernacular and was probably using it in Alstedt at the time Luther wrote the *Formula missae*. His and others' activities in this direction, crystallizing in definite forms and also appearing in print, may have been one of the real causes which forced Luther's activity in liturgical reform. See Smend, *Die Evangelischen deutschen Messen bis zu Luther's deutscher Messe*, especially p. 72ff and 94ff.

⁴⁸ The remnant of the Psalm or other Scripture sung from the *gradus* (step) of the Ambon between the reading of the liturgical Epistle and Gospel and serving to connect these lections. In the Eastertide the Alleluia is connected with these verses. See C.S.B.; Durandus, IV, 19, 20. *The Church Year*, p. 18ff. Rietschel I, 365f.

⁴⁹ In Lent the Gradual was lengthened quite materially and for that reason (and also for its heavier character) is known as the *Tractus*, Tract. See C.S.B.; Durandus, IV, 21. Rietschel I, 365f.

⁵⁰ Lent.

⁵¹ Holy Week.

⁵² The Sixth Feria: Good Friday.

⁵³ Many rubrical directions existed and still exist in the Roman use which marked these days by ceremonial omissions or additions. For example, the simplest, which is still preserved in the use of the C.S.B., is the omission of *Alleluia* during Lent.

⁵⁴ *Semimissa*—i.e. The Mass of the Presanctified. See *Missale Romanum*, 199f, rubric beginning *Hodie Sacerdos*, and 216ff, beginning with rubric *Circa finem*. This is a celebration without the consecration of the Host or Wine. Two Hosts are consecrated by the celebrant at the Maundy Thursday Mass, one of which is reserved at a specially prepared place for this Good Friday use. This pre consecrated Host and Wine, which is not consecrated by the customary prayers, etc., but into which a third part of the pre consecrated Host is placed, are the "elements" of this celebration, hence the *semimissa*. In Luther's day others beside the celebrating priest were permitted to commune but *sub silentio*. Bamberg Missal, folio XCIII, rubric: *Et sic communicat ipse et ceteri*. This is now forbidden in the present use, the priest alone communing. The prayers in connection with the wine (the cup) are omitted in this Good Friday use, but the unconsecrated wine, together with the portion of the Host placed in it, is consumed by the priest. This is the reason why Luther writes of "the one part of the Sacrament," *altera sacramenti pars*—Speratus' translation: *der eynigen gestalt des Sacraments*. Rubrics relative to the Mass of the Presanctified in the use current in Luther's day will be of interest. See Bamberg Missal (1499), folios XCIII verso, XCIII recto; also LXXXVIII. Nürnberg Missal (1484), folios (numbers supplied), 94 verso ff and 87f.

⁵⁵ Speratus renders this sentence thus: The Alleluia is a song of the Church which should be used daily, and never omitted, just as without cessation we should celebrate the commemoration of the passion of Christ and of His victory.

⁵⁶ Really synonymous and used rather indifferently for much the same thing. The Sequence originated from the prolongation of the last A in the Alleluia of the Festival Graduals. These prolonged musical notes were called *neumes* which were named the *sequentia* as following the Alleluia. In course of time words were set to each of these notes, and these words in turn came to be known as Sequences, thus bringing another technical term into being. As long as these were rhythmical

they were known as Proses, but in time they also became metrical, conforming to the metrical hymn form: thereafter such compositions were distinctively Sequences. Durandus, IV, 22. Rietschel I, 467f.

⁶¹ That is the one proper for use on the Festival.

⁶² Appointed in some pre-Reformation missals for use in *nocte nativitatibus*. See, for example, Bamberg Missal, folio CXX verso. Authorship of this Sequence is uncertain; it has been ascribed to Gregory the Great and to Notker. For text see Daniel, *Thesaurus hymnologicus*, II, 5. Luther wrote a Christmas hymn based on this Latin Sequence, *Gelobet seist du Jesus Christ*. This was written in all probability about Christmas of 1523, and was issued in broadsheet form in 1524 and in the *Enchiridion*, Erfurt, 1524.

⁶³ Liturgical terminology. When a use is proper for a certain Day or Feast, it is said to be *of the Day or of the Feast*. This expression would mean that the Sequences mentioned are proper for use on the Festival of the Holy Spirit and the days within the Octave.

⁶⁴ *Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis gratia*. Text, Daniel, II, 16. Ascribed to Notker. Appointed in pre-Reformation missals for the Fest. of Pentecost. Bamberg Missal, folio CXX verso.

⁶⁵ See Daniel, II, 315. Authorship uncertain. Pre-Reformation appointment for Vespers of the Vigils of Pentecost. In the present Roman use it is appointed for the Festival and the Ferias following. Luther versified this Sequence in his hymn, *Komm, heiliger Geist, Herre Gott*, which first appeared in 1524.

⁶⁶ See note 10, p. 101. Durandus, IV, 24.

⁶⁷ On Altar and Gospel Lights and the Use of Incense, see Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, Sections V and VI, p. 133ff. Durandus, IV, 24, 13 and 34.

⁶⁸ Durandus IV, 25. Rietschel I, 371ff. Scudamore, ch. VII, 263ff.

⁶⁹ It cannot be asserted that the Church was ever without preaching or vernacular preaching at that; and until after the time of Gregory the Great it was imbedded in the Mass and connected with the Lectiōes. But later, while it was virtually forbidden to the priests and consequently dropped from the Mass, preaching still remained a popular practice in certain sections of the Church and at times was still connected with the Mass. However "preaching" as such did not always measure up to the meaning which Luther placed upon it.

Cf. Rietschel I, 281 (Gr. Ch.); 290, (African Ch.); 305 (Milan); 313, (Gall.); 341, 368 (Rome). Scudamore, ch. X 309.

⁷⁰ There is precedent in the Church's history and practice for preaching at times other than the Mass. For example it must have been Augustine's and Chrysostom's practice to preach in the afternoon; and there appear to have been "preaching services." But when it comes to the Mass, the Sermon or preaching either followed the Gospel or the Creed. There are variations from this, but no lasting ones. Luther's suggestion seems to betray a feeling of uncertainty, something quite evident throughout this period in his thought and writing. The customary liturgical place, after the Creed, would be the logical one,—apart from historic precedent,—as it then would be, and is, not only the Exposition of the Word but, as he speaks of the Gospel, "the voice calling in the wilderness and calling unbelievers to faith." (It will be interesting to compare Durandus IV, 26, folio 90, especially ¶ 1, right here.) Nor would this place in the Liturgy serve to over-emphasize the Sermon if the Holy Communion would be celebrated always. The position before the Introit was revolutionary and would have over-emphasized the sermon at the expense of the Communion: this notwithstanding the interesting comment of Daniel, *Cod. Lit.* II, 85, footnote 4, where he writes, that "it would be rightly said that the whole

cultus of our Church would have followed another way if this opinion of Luther had been accepted among us always and everywhere. For we would not have been implicated in that pernicious error in which the preaching becomes not only the principal part of the divine office but as I may say, the *only*."

⁶⁷ A truly evangelic definition of the Mass and Communion, the complete opposite to the current conception in Luther's day: A priestly action to the exclusion of lay participation save as to presence, and that not necessary in all cases.

⁶⁸ This and the following observation relative to things done in the Mass up to the *Symbolum*, indicate that Luther knew of the ancient division of the Mass into the *Missa catechumenorum* and the *Missa fidelium*. All but the faithful were dismissed at the end of the *Missa catechumenorum*.

Furthermore, Luther makes the point that all that is requisite to a *valid* celebration of "the Communion of the Table of the Lord" is strictly limited to Our Lord's Institution and the evident commission to preach the Gospel, the line between things which "do not bind" and things which do, being drawn after the *Symbolum*. This is decidedly interesting when applied, for demonstration, to the structure of the historic Liturgy of the Mass!

⁶⁹ Offertory. Durandus, IV, 26-32. *Catholic Encyclopedia* XI, 217f.

⁷⁰ i.e. Sacrifice.

⁷¹ The Words of Institution.

⁷² *Cath. Enc.* III, 255ff. Durandus IV, 35ff. Rietschel I, 380ff.

⁷³ Latin: *post Canonem*. Probably a printer's mistake; but if this is really what Luther meant and not a misprint, it would be difficult to place the preparation and consecration of the Elements, as that "form" which Luther retains for purpose of "consecration" (see text below) was a part of the Canon. The offering of the gifts of bread and wine (*offertory*) was connected with a previous action which sometimes was spoken of as the "little canon"; but Luther omits all of this. Perhaps this might mean that the elements were to be prepared at this place of the displaced "little canon."

The simplest explanation is the misprint theory; although Speratus in his translation covers it cleverly by saying: "after the *omitted* canon." Already in the Jena Ed. (1556), Vol. II, the word *Concionem* has been substituted. This of course solves the difficulty, "after the sermon."

⁷⁴ The practice of mixing a little pure water with the wine was prevalent in the Primitive Church as early as the time of Justin Martyr. It also passed into almost every section of the Church. Although at first without any symbolic significance, it later became the cause of much doctrinal and symbolic discussion, some of which Luther evidently answers in this paragraph. It is claimed that the practice originated quite naturally as a result of the ancient Jewish custom of mixing water with wine always before use, because the wine was too strong to use undiluted.

See Durandus, IV, 30, 18ff. *Mis. Rom.*, p. 270, first rubric.

Scudamore, ch. XII, sec. X, p. 388ff.

⁷⁵ e.g. on this; on the Epiclesis; on the "Moment of Consecration;" etc.

⁷⁶ As a man-made doctrine it is not to be considered as binding.

⁷⁷ The Preface. Durandus IV, 33; Rietschel I, 379, a. Speratus retains this portion of the Mass in the Latin, as that was the language still in use at the Celebration.

⁷⁸ *Sursum corda*. Scudamore, II, ch. IV, sec. I, p. 523.

⁷⁹ *Habeamus*,—*habemus* customary. Possibly another misprint. Speratus,—*habeamus*.

⁸⁰ *Vere dignum*. Scudamore, II, ch. IV, sec. I, 527.

⁸¹ The Verba. Rietschel I, 380f.

⁸² Qui pridie. Durandus IV, 41; Scudamore II, ch. VI, sec. IX, 599ff.

⁸³ Note Luther's variation in the Words of Institution from the form in the Mass.

In order to follow Luther's suggested revision intelligently the outline of the Canon of the Mass current in his day is necessary. It is therefore appended here, as found in the *Nürnberg Missal* (printed at Nürnberg, 1484, by George Stuchs de sultzbach) with other notations from the *Bamberg Missal* of 1499. While the latter is a later publication, it nevertheless contains the older text of the Order, and therefore is more valuable, but it does not contain the Canon or complete rubrics, as was frequently the case with these old missals, such appointments appearing in other volumes. Bamberg represents a diocesan use which had not adopted, as yet, the latest "revisions." For further comparison reference is also made to the *Milan Missal* of 1474, the first printed Roman Missal.—Vol. XVII of the Henry Bradshaw Society publications, Vol. I, (1899).

The outline is *Nürnberg Missal*—N, beginning with p. 110, folio numbers supplied; other references *Bamberg*—B,—beginning folio CXXXI; *Milan*—M, beginning p. 205. If no variation is marked, it may be taken for granted that the outline as given is current in the other Missals. Cf. also p. 124, this volume.

Prefatio quotidiana solenniter (B. only)

Per omnia secula seculorum.

℞ Amen.

Dominus vobiscum.

℞ Et cum spiritu tuo.

Sursum corda.

℞ Habemus ad dominum.

Gratias agamus domino deo nostro.

℞ Dignum et iustum est.

Vere dignum et iustum est, equum et salutare. Nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere domine sancte pater omnipotens eterne deus. Per christum dominum nostrum. Per quem majestatem tuam laudant angeli adorant dominationes tremunt potestates. Celi celorumque virtutes ac beata seraphin socia exultatione concelebrant. Cum quibus et nostras voces ut admitti jubeas deprecamur supplici confessione dicentes.

Sanctus. Benedicite. (B. ends here.)

Te igitur . . . N. III; M. 206.

Memento domine . . . (Oratio pro vivis) N. 111; M. 206.

Communicantes et memoriam venerantes. (Infra canonem) N. 111; M. 206.

Hanc igitur oblationem. . . (Infra actionem) N. 111; M. 207.

Quam oblationem. . . N. 111; M. 207.

(Hic accipiat hostiam in manibus dicendo) N. 111, verso; M. 207.

Qui pridie quam pateretur accepit panem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas, et elevatis oculis in celum ad te deum patrem suum omnipotentem, tibi gratias agens benedixit, fregit, deditque discipulis suis dicens, Accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes.

HOC EST ENIM CORPUS MEUM.

(Hic deponat hostiam, et levet calicem dicens) N. 111, verso; M. 207.

Simili modo postquam cenatum est accipiens et hunc preclarum calicem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas. Item tibi gratias agens, benedixit deditque discipulis suis dicens, Accipite et bibite ex eo omnes.

HIC EST ENIM CALIX SANGUINIS MEI NOVI ET ETERNI
TESTAMENTI MISTERIUM FIDEI QUI PRO VOBIS ET PRO
MULTIS EFFUNDETUR IN REMISSIONEM PECCATORUM.
HEC QUOTIENS CUNQUE FECERITIS IN MEI MEMORIAM
FACIETIS.

(Hic deponit calicem)

Unde et memores	N. 111, verso; M. 207
Supra que propitio	N. 111, verso; M. 208
Supplices te rogamus	N. 111, verso; M. 208
Memento etiam (Oratio pro defunctis)	N. 112; M. 208
Nobis quoque	N. 112; M. 208
Per quem	N. 112; M. 208
Oremus. Preceptio salutaribus moniti, et divina institutione formati audemus dicere.	
Pater noster	N. 112; M. 209
Libera nos quesumus....(Including the rubrics of the Fraction of the Bread) N. 112, 112 verso; M. 209, 210.	
Fiat commixtio	N. 112, verso M. 210.
Agnus dei	N. 112, verso; M. 210.
Domine jesu christe qui	N. 112, verso; M. 210.
Domine jesu christe fili dei	N. 112, verso; M. 210.
Perceptio corporis tui	N. 112, verso; M. 210.
Panem celestem	N. 113; M. 211.
Domine non sum dignus	N. 113; M. 211.
Corpus domini	N. 113; M. 211.
Quid retribuam	N. 113; M. 211.
Sanguis domini	N. 113; M. 211.
Quod ore sumpsimus	N. 113; M. 211.
Corpus tuum	N. 113; M. 211.
Placeat tibi	N. 113; M. 211.

See Durandus, IV, c. 35ff, on the Canon.

⁸⁴ Intonation, i.e., sung by the celebrant.

⁸⁵ —Custom is still uppermost with Luther here.

⁸⁶ Customarily in secreto. Cf. Rub. Gen. Missalis, p. liii, XVI, 1.

⁸⁷ This is an example of Luther's indecision typical of his attitude in and toward such matters.

⁸⁸ Note the inference here, that words of Institution are the consecration. True to Roman precedent,—The Words of Institution—the Consecration.

⁸⁹ Holy, Holy, Holy. Displaced by Luther. Durandus IV, 34; Rietschel I, 379, b; Scudamore II, ch. IV, sec. II, 531. This displacement has not been followed in C.S.B.

⁹⁰ Benedictus qui venit. Matt. 21:9. Durandus IV, 34, 11.

⁹¹ The Elevation. Durandus IV, 41, 51—3; Scudamore, III, ch. VI, sec. 10, 616ff; Mis. Rom. p. 325, 326.

⁹² Daniel, *Cod. Lit.*, II, 87. Note 3. Luther not only seemed at first to tolerate the Elevation but also to approve it, as these words witness: "This means,—when the priest elevates the Sacrament and the Chalice with the accompanying ringing of the bells, it is nothing other than that we are thereby reminded of Christ's words; just as if the priest and he who strikes the bells were saying to us: 'Hear ye Christians; behold, take and eat; take and drink; this is the Body and Blood of Christ.' So that the Elevation by the priest and the bell mean for the lay folk the same as if they heard, loud and clear, the words of Christ which are read by the priest in secret." Later he included the Elevation among the adiaphora, and finally abrogated it completely as far as the practice of the church at Wittenberg was concerned.

⁹³ Durandus, IV, 47, 48. Rietschel, I, 385, Scudamore, II, c. VII,

sec. I, 654ff. Mis. Rom. p. 328, where the intonation is also printed.

⁹⁴ Præceptis salutaribus moniti, et divina institutione formati, audeamus dicere:—Taught by thy saving precepts and following thy divine institution, we make bold to say:—Mis. Rom. p. 328.

⁹⁵ The Lord's Prayer was intoned up to and including the Petition, Et ne nos inducas in tentationem. Upon which immediately was responded, Sed libera nos a malo. Upon which the priest said secretly Amen. Then follows this rubric: He takes the paten between his first and middle finger, and says:

Libera nos, quaesumus domine, ab omnibus malis, praeteritis, praesentibus, et futuris: et intercedente beata, et gloriosa semper virgine dei genitrice maria, cum beatis Apostolis tuis petro et paulo, atque andrea, et omnibus sanctis, da propitius pacem in diebus nostris: ut ope misericordiae tuae adjuti, et a peccato simus semper liberi, et ab omni perturbatione securi.

Hic frangit hostiam primo in duas partes dicens

Per eumden dominum nostrum iesum christum filium tuum.

Deinde frangit unam partem in duas partes dicens

Qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate spiritus sancti deus.

Hic elevet modicum tertiam partum cum calice dicens

Per omnia secula seculorum. R. Amen.

Hic facit signum crucis super sanguinem dicens

Pax † domini sit † semper vobis † cum.

R. Et cum spiritu tuo. Milan Missal, p. 209f.

The only variations between above and the modern Missale Romanum are in the rubrics, which in the present use are fuller. Cf. Mis. Rom. p. 331f.

This is the Embolism, that is, an enlargement and amplification of the last petition, Sed libera, etc., into a prayer. Durandus, IV, 49, 2, 3; Scudamore, II, VII, II, 656f.

⁹⁶ Speratus: Schirmschlegen!—signs of the Cross.

⁹⁷ ¹⁰⁰ During the saying of the prayer *Libera nos*, the *Fractio panis*, breaking of the bread, takes place (97). After the words *et omnibus sanctis*, the priest makes the sign of the cross (95), with the paten from his forehead to his breast, and kisses it. He continues with the prayer and after the words; *et ab omni perturbatione securi*, he puts the paten under the host, uncovers the chalice, kneels, rises, takes the host and breaks it (97) in half over the chalice, saying: *Per eumden dominum nostrum Iesum Christum Filium tuum*. He then puts the portion that is in his right hand on the paten; he then breaks off a small piece from the portion which is in his left hand, saying: *Qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus sancti Deus*. He puts the other half with his left hand on the paten, and holding the particle in his right hand over the chalice, and the chalice with his left, he says: *Per omnia saecula saeculorum R. Amen*. Then he makes the sign of the cross three times over the chalice with the piece of the host (96) saying: *Pax † Domini sit † semper vobis † cum* (99). R. *Et cum spiritu tuo*. He then puts the particle into the chalice (90), saying silently: *Haec commixtio, et consecratio Corporis et Sanguinis Domini nostri Iesu Christi, fiat accipientibus nobis in vitam aeternam. Amen*. This last action is called the *commixtio* or *innisio*: the commixture of the Body and Blood of our Lord.

Durandus, IV, 49, 50, 51. Fraction:—Scudamore, II, VIII, 657ff and VI, 606ff. Commixture:—II, VIII, 671; Mis. Rom. p. 331ff, Riet-schel, I, 386.

¹⁰¹ The Gospel Absolution: Luther's gloss is distinctly unique when compared with the Roman Rite, and as he here appoints the Pax it becomes an Evangelic bond between the Words of Institution with

their Invitation, This do,—As oft as ye do,—and the faithful communicant who approaches in obedience to his Lord's invitation. See preceding note. Durandus, IV, 51, 15; cf. Scudamore, II, VIII, 662.

¹⁰² In the Rite to which Luther was accustomed the Pax was said, of course, while the priest faced the Altar. Opposed to this is ancient custom and also the ritualistic interpretation of sacramental action by posture and sign. The bishops, it is said, in earliest days, celebrated facing the people; i.e., as there was space back of the altar, between altar and wall of apse, and as the altar stood on the chord of the apse and did not have a reredos, the bishop stood back of the altar facing outward toward the people. His throne likewise was immediately back of the altar in the center of the apse wall.

¹⁰³ It was quite natural for Luther to make this appointment. The celebrant in the Roman Mass communicated himself with the consecrated Host and Wine whether others were making their communion or not. He, of course, was supposed to have made his preparation according to quite definite rubrical directions and therefore was "prepared." The Roman use did not know any other method; and this had been the practice of the Church since post-apostolic times. The first indication of this practice as an established appointment is in one of the canons of the *Apostolic Constitutions*; and thereafter the use continued unbroken having been intrenched and fortified by the developing theories and doctrines of the priesthood and the Mass.

Here again, apparently, Luther had not thought things through either from the standpoint of doctrine or from practical angles. He simply followed the practice to which he and all were accustomed.

But as time wore on the question of self-administration presented difficulties and queries which had to be faced; probably the gravest was the "scandalizing" of the common people who continued, after evangelic enlightenment, to look upon self-administration as a "priestly" act and wrongly interpreting the Holy Supper, and therefore still smacking of the Roman Mass.

The situation was met shortly by specific appointment in one *Kirchenordnung* after another forbidding self-administration, exceptions being allowed only by direct permission of proper authority,—bishop or consistory. Luther, himself, seems to have discontinued the practice in a comparatively short time, because he realized that it offended the people and was a "perversion of the Office (Ministry) and true usage," and communed *with* the congregation.

It is interesting to observe that the English prayer books of this and later periods continued the self-communication of the "priest"—"Minister"; and that this is their rubrical direction today; while in the Church of the Reformation the well-nigh universal practice is non-self-administration when the officiant celebrates alone. Daniel, II, 88, note 3; Scudamore, II, c. IX, sec. 1, p. 691ff. Gerber, *Kirchenceremonien in Sachsen*, 479ff. Rietschel, I, 439.

¹⁰⁴ Preserved in C.S.B. Durandus, IV, 52; Rietschel, I, 386; Scudamore, II, c. VIII, sec. 6, p. 678.

¹⁰⁵ Domine jesu christe fili dei vivi qui ex voluntate patris cooperante spiritu sancto per mortam tuam mundum vivificasti, libera me per hoc sacrificium (*) corpus et sanguinem tuum, ab omnibus iniquitatibus meis et universis malis, et fac me tuis semper inherere mandatis, et a te nunquam separari permittas. Qui cum eodem deo patre et spiritu sancto vivis et regnas in secula seculorum amen. Milan, 210.

O Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, Who according to the will

* Note the reading *sacrificium*, sacrifice. Nürnberg Missal (1484), p. 112 verso and modern Roman Missal, p. 333, have *sacrosanctam*, most holy.

of the Father, through the cooperation of the Holy Spirit, hast quickened the world by Thy death: Deliver me through this Thy Most Holy Body and Blood from all my iniquities and from all evil, and make me always cleave to Thy commandments and permit me never to be separated from Thee, Who livest and reignest with the same God, Father and Holy Spirit world without end. Amen.

¹⁰⁶ Corpus domini nostri jesu christi custodiat animam meam in vitam eternam amen.

Sanguis domini nostri jesu christi custodiat animam meam in vitam eternam amen. Milan, 211; Nürnberg, 112 verso; Rom. Mis., 333f.

The two brief prayer forms said by the priest before he communicates himself with the Host and Wine respectively. These became, by changing the pronoun as Luther appoints, the Forms of Administration at the Distribution. They are preserved in C.S.B. Rietschel, I, 390.

¹⁰⁷ A short chant usually consisting of verses of Scripture sung at first during the communion, hence its name; then immediately at the conclusion. Originally it was much longer in form ending with the Gloria Patri and like the Introit passed through a shortening process for practical reasons, until now it is virtually nothing more than the antiphon of the original Communio. Durandus, IX, 58; Fortescue, The Mass, p. 387f.

¹⁰⁸ The last prayer or prayers of the Mass, constructed in collect form, and varying with the other Propers, sometimes a thanksgiving, usually intercessions. It is variously named in the old sacramentaries. In the Gelasianum it is called both *Postcommunio* and *Oratio ad populum*; in the Gregorianum, *Ad complendam* and at certain times in the year when there are two prayers at this place, the second is called *Oratio super populum*. The names *Postcommunio*, after communion, and *Ad complendam*, at the completion, are self-evident. Luther's reason for substituting another prayer for these variable post communions was based on his opposition to their content; they were not "evangelic" according to his conception nor expressive of the proper and harmonious expression of thanksgiving. His feel for this finally eventuated in the invariable Postcommunio now appointed in the C.S.B. coming into the Church's use through Luther's *Deutsche Messe*, 1526. Durandus IV, 56, 57.

¹⁰⁹ Quod ore sumpsimus, domine, pura mente capiamus, et de munere temporali fiat nobis remedium sempiternum amen. Milan, 211; Nürnberg, 113; Rom. Mis. 334.

What we have taken with the mouth, O Lord, may we receive with pure mind, and out of this temporal gift may there be made for us an everlasting remedy. Amen.

¹¹⁰ Corpus tuum domine quod sumpsi et sanguis quem potavi adhereat visceribus meis et presta, ut in me non remaneat scelerum macula quem pura et sancta refecerunt sacramenta. Qui vivis, Milan, 211; Nürnberg, 113; Rom. Mis. 334. May Thy Body, O Lord, which I have received, and Thy Blood, which I have drunk, cleave to my inmost parts, and grant that stain of sin may not remain in me whom the pure and holy sacraments have refreshed; Who livest.

¹¹¹ The Termination of the Collect, here indicated to be used in complete form. See C.S.B., General Rubrics I, p. 484. However here there is a variation from the rule as the original of this collect gives an abbreviated form: Qui vivis et regnas in secula seculorum amen.

¹¹² The Salutation, introducing the act of Dismissal.

¹¹³ i.e., Go, Mass is ended. On the meaning of this phrase, its relation to the term "Mass," see Rietschel I, 347; Durandus, IV, 57, 7.

¹¹⁴ During certain seasons of the Church Year Benedicamus Domino is said instead of Ite missa est; e.g., Advent, Lent. See Durandus *loc. cit.* The rubric of the Missal reads: "Then is said, Ite missa est or

Benedicamus Domino according to what mass is being said. Neither is said at a Requiem Mass. Benedicamus is said instead of Ite in Advent and Lent. Alleluia is added to Ite in Eastertide." This is now to be the normal conclusion, according to Luther's appointment: Salutation, Benedicamus; thus the C.S.B.

¹¹⁵ Alleluia was added to Ite missa est during Eastertide. It and Benedicamus had their own proper melodies; cf. the Bamberg Missal in the section following the Proper Prefaces; also Rom. Mis., p. 335.

Luther now proposes to add it to Benedicamus; but makes its use permissive.

¹¹⁶ There were other musical settings to Benedicamus used only at Vespers.

¹¹⁷ The "customary Benediction" was, Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus, Pater, et Filius †, et Spiritus Sanctus. May God Almighty bless you, the Father, the Son †, and the Holy Ghost. Durandus, IV, 59; Rietschel, I, 393.

¹¹⁸ The proposed use of the Aaronitic Benediction is peculiar to Luther. There is no historical precedent for its suggestion in that part of the Church with which Luther was familiar. In the second book of the *Apostolic Constitutions* it is held up as an example as to the manner in which the people are to be blessed after Communion, but not appointed as a form of benediction. It is used as a benediction in the *Mozarabic Missal*, and referred to by Isadore of Seville in his commentary on the Divine Office. One wonders whether Luther might have been familiar with these very widely separated and singular uses, but the weight of probability is that he was not.

It is far more likely that Luther's love for Holy Scripture and his passion to employ it in every conceivable way led him here. Rietschel I, 402.

¹¹⁹ That is: Jehovah Himself prepared and appointed this benediction.

¹²⁰ There is liberty of action here, apparently without any restriction whatever. Is it the same old uncertainty notwithstanding an apparent leaning toward the Scriptural precedent? But one thing is to be remembered that the Church is returning to communion of the people in both kinds after hundreds of years of communion of the laity in but one kind. How shall this be done? Where is the precedent? Experimentation now brings a settled practice in a short period.

¹²¹ That is, the appointments of the Mass in the foregoing paragraphs would have to be adapted to whatever method of administration would be pursued.

¹²² The principles here enunciated by Luther are ideal and theoretically conform to Evangelic teaching but the practical issues were an entirely different matter! The points of view that centered themselves in ceremonies, etc., and that persisted, the divergences which arose, the offences created thereby, resulted, notwithstanding such writings as this, in a motley of interpretation and practice. Luther apparently felt these issues rather keenly and knew they had to be met as witness his *Exhortation to the Christians in Livonia concerning Public Worship and Unity*, 1525. On the one side was the common man accustomed to a life and practice born in him, inherited from generations before him, wedded to them, superstitiously, jealously clinging to many; on the other is the Teaching of the Word and its direct applications. Nevertheless while practical issues might force certain qualifications, the Gospel still required the emphasis of the ideal; such things remained adiaphora. It was a difficult situation.

Cf. Aug. Conf. Art. XV, XXI, XXII, XXIV, etc.

Jacoby, *Die Liturgik der Reformatoren*.

Ehrenfeuchter, *Theorie des christlichen kultus*.

Kliefoth, *D. christlichen Kultus*.

Shöberlein, *Liturg. Ausbau d. Gemeindegottesdiensts*.

Rietschel, *Lehrbuch d. Liturgik*.

To gain the Roman point of view see Thalhoffer-Eisenhofer, *Katholische Liturgik*.

¹²² The historic liturgical vestments used by the officiant and assistants when celebrating the Mass. First was the garment which is now known as the cassock. In the case of monks, for example, Luther, who was an Augustinian, the monk's habit served instead. Over this the celebrant, robing for Mass, put on the amice, alb, girdle, maniple, stole, and chasuble in turn. The deacon of the Mass wore all of these except the chasuble; instead of this he put on a dalmatic, but the stole was worn differently than the priest. The sub-deacon wore amice, alb, girdle, maniple, and tunicle. These vestments and their use run back into the far past and are the object of much symbolic interpretation by commentators on the Mass. For example, see Durandus, III, cc. 1-19.

¹²⁴ The wealth of vestments, both quantity and quality, owned by countless churches in Luther's day is a matter of history. Some of them were glorious almost beyond description, the splendor of their adornment, magnificence of the needle-worker's art made of them something more than treasures. "Excess" had entered here; and the motives were not single and pure.

However, here again, the common people were accustomed, wedded to this use. More churches and sections retained them at first than abrogated them, but usually the use was limited to the cassock, alb and chasuble, possibly the stole also. Many of the KOO definitely retain or permit their use; others are silent; comparatively few order them abrogated.

Luther, at first, continued to use the historic vestments; then, one may imagine, to show that he considered such things "free," did pretty much as he pleased. He preached in alb, in his monk's garb, and finally in his doctor's robe.

See Daniel, II, p. 90f, Note 1; Rietschel, I, 151.

¹²⁵ The evangelic principle.

¹²⁶ That is, according to the ritualistic benediction of the *Rituale*.

¹²⁷ Evidently meaning that such articles might be "set apart" by Word and Prayer; in other words an evangelic blessing.

¹²⁸ Speratus: Eyngefurt durch die Bischoff, des gerewels gleich wye all ander der gleichen lepperey—nonsense, frivolous stuff.

¹²⁹ That is, belonging to all.

¹³⁰ Aula, inner court; therefore Sanctuary or Holy of Holies.

^{130b} The Confessional as such would necessarily be summarily dismissed, but the necessity not only for declaration of intention, but for examination and the evangelic ministry of true confession and comforting absolution remained. Here is the natural sequence—"private confession" as a requisite to participation and as a safeguard to the sacrament. The latter appears not for the sacrament's sake but for the health of the soul of the prospective communicant: and therein is the true evangelic cure of souls and not a development of a Protestant penitential system or discipline. See p. 95.

^{130c} The foregoing paragraphs are extremely interesting when one compares the simplicity of pastoral personal ministration indicated here, with the great penitential system in force in the Roman Church. There every specific sin or wrong or need has its "remedy," but usually a remedy which the one confessing must work out according to the canonically scheduled process or suffer the penalty there specified. Here is the simplicity of the Gospel where discipline is administered for spiritual health and where the ministry is sympathetically, lovingly personal in relationship and administration.

¹³¹ Luther evidently is thinking of the architectural arrangement of

the usual Gothic church where the Chancel consists of Choir and Sanctuary. The prospective communicants are to gather in a group in the Choir.

¹³² The sense of this is, that people are not to approach without notice, —having gone to confession,—or to walk up, mingling with others who have, and hide themselves away in a group. The open segregation of the communicants is for salutary purposes as well as practical.

¹³³ Absolutely required of those who propose to make their communion. Luther of course is thinking of the abuses connected therewith and the consequent offences.

¹³⁴ That is, rigorous fasting.

¹³⁵ Utrunque speciem, both Elements, the bread and the wine.

¹³⁶ That is, take Him at His word and receive the sacrament according to His institution.

¹³⁷ Active participation by the common people in the Mass as far as response or hymn was concerned amounted to little or nothing at this period, although during the late Middle Ages the people in Germany had been permitted to sing vernacular "hymns" immediately after certain parts of the Mass. In some sections this custom was permitted to continue, some dioceses being less rigorous in enforcing discontinuance. Luther's effort to restore congregational participation in distinctive liturgical responds and songs took form in his suggested Orders and what was more to the point, in versifications of certain parts of the services and in a variety of hymns. Cf. for example the *Deutsche Messe*.

¹³⁸ Cf. the prefaces to the various hymn books by Luther; translated in this edition.

¹³⁹ This is a pre-Reformation hymn which was used variously: as a post communion hymn, or at processions, sometimes after the Gradual on Corpus Christi. Text, Wackernagel, II, 748.

Luther revised it shortly after this writing by adapting the first stanza and adding two more. His revised text appeared for the first time in *Eyn Enchiridion*, Erfurt, 1524. This text follows:

Got sey gelobet un gebenedeyet der uns selber hat gespeiset. Mit seynes fleische und mit seinem blut, das gyb uns herr gott zu gutte. Kirieleyson. Herr durch deynen heiligen leichnam, der von deynen mutter Maria kam, und das heyliche blut hylff uns herr aus aller nott. Kirieleyson.

Der heylig leichnam yst fur uns gegeben, zum todt das wir dardurch leben. Nicht grosser gutte kund er uns geschencken, dabey wir sein soln gedennen. Kirieleyson. Herr deyn lieb so gross dich zungen hat, das dein blut an uns gross wunder that. Und bezalt unser schult, das uns Got ist worden holt. Kirieleyson.

Got geb uns allen seyner gnaden segnen, das wir gehen auff seynen wegen. In rechter lieb und brudlicher trewe, das uns die speys nicht gerewe. Kirieleyson. Herr dein heylig geyst uns nymmer las, d uns geb zuhalten rechte Mass. Das dein arm Christenheyt, leb ynn fryd und eynigkeit. Kirieleyson. See Kirchenbuch, No. 243; also Annotations to Luther's Hymns in this volume.

¹⁴⁰ Saint Barbara, Virgin and Martyr, commemorated December 4. For the purely legendary account of her life and martyrdom see *Catholic Encyclopedia*, II, 285.

Because of the legend that her father was struck by lightning on account of his part in her martyrdom, St. Barbara came to be regarded by the common people as the patron saint in time of danger from thunder storms and fire and later on, by analogy, as the protector of artillery men and miners. The fact that she was also called upon as intercessor to assure the receiving of the sacraments of Penance and the

Holy Eucharist at the hour of death probably led to this allusion by Luther.

¹⁴¹ A popular pre-Reformation hymn; see Wackernagel, II, 44; Koch I, 208.

Nu bitten wir den heiligen Geist, umb den rechten glauben aller meist, das er uns behüte an unserm ende, wenn wir heim faren aus diesem elende. Kyrieleys.

To this stanza Luther added the following some time after the writing of the *Formula missae* and published the revised hymn in 1524:

Du werdest liecht gib uns deinen schein, lern uns Ihesum Christ kennen allein, Das wir an jn bleiben, dem trewen heiland der uns bracht hat, zum rechten vaterland. Kyrieleys.

Du süsse lieb schenck uns deine gunst, las uns empfinden der liebe brunst, Das wir uns von hertzen einander lieben, und ym friede auff einem sinn bleiben. Kyrieleys.

Du höchster tröster jnn aller not, hilff das wir nicht fürchten schand noch tod, Das jnn uns die sinnen nich verzagen, wenn der feind wird das leben verklagen. Kyrieleys.

See Kirchenbuch No. 139; also Annotations on Luther's Hymns in this volume.

¹⁴² A Christmas hymn of the Reformation period; authorship unknown; first appeared in *Enchiridion*, Zwickau, 1528; from there taken over into other early Reformation hymnals, for example the first Leipzig hymn book, *Enchiridion Geistlicher Gesenge*, etc., printed by Michael Blum, 1530. Text quoted from this latter book. See also Wackernagel, III, 520.

Ein kindelein so löblich, ist uns geporen heute, Von einer Jungfraw sewberlich, zu trost uns armen leuten. Wer uns das kindlein nicht geporn, so weren wir allzumal verloren, das heil ist unser alle, Ey du susser Jhesu Christ, das du mensch geporen bist, behüt uns fur der helle.

Die zeit ist nu gar freudenreich, zu lobe gottes namen, Das Christus von dem himelreich, auff erden ist gekomen. Es ist ein gros demutigkeit, die Gott von himel bey uns thet, ein knecht ist er gewarden, on alle sunde uns gleich, dadurch wir werden ewig reich, tregt unser sunde bürden.

Wol dem der dis gleuben ist, mit gantzem hertzen trawen, dem wird die seligkeit gewis, wol den die darauff bawen. Das Christus hat genug gethan fur uns darumb er ausgegangen, von Gott dem ewigen vater. O wunder uber wunderthat, Christus tregt unser missethat, und stilltet unsern haddern.

Des danck jm alle Christenheit, fur solche grosse güte, und bite sein barmhertzigkeit, das er uns fort behüte, für falscher ler und bösem wahn, daryn wir han lange zeit gestan, er wil uns das vergeben, Gott vater son und heilig geist wir bitten von dir allermeist, las uns im friede leben.

¹⁴³ That is, of the Church Year. Luther spoke of some of the Festivals earlier in this writing; see pp. 86, 87; cf. p. 63.

¹⁴⁴ A Latin term taken over from common use into ecclesiastical and in the latter connection used as a technical term meaning any day of the week which is not a festival and, strictly speaking, not a fast day; although this distinction was not always made, for example, the old sacramentaries speak of Good Friday as *Feria sexta in pasceve*.

A ferial use is a week-day use, or one in contrast to a festival use.

¹⁴⁵ That is the daily Mass, customarily celebrated by the incumbent without communicants.

¹⁴⁶ The eight canonical hours of daily prayer and the eight offices to

be recited at these hours. They were Matins, Lauds, Prime, Tierce, Sext, Nones, Vespers, and Compline.

These Offices and the various appointments or "propers" comprised the *Roman Breviary*. See Durandus, V, cc. 1-10.

Luther's reference here to "Matins of three lessons" is to the ferial office when but one Nocturn was said; at the Sunday or Festival Office of Matins, three Nocturns were said. The Breviary speaks of a Nocturn as "Watch of the Night"; Matins would normally be said after Midnight and before Dawn. A Nocturn consisted of a group of Psalms with proper Antiphons, three Lessons and three Responsories; the Sunday or Festival Matins had three Nocturns, therefore nine Lessons and nine Responsories. Cf. *Breviarium Romanum*, either Sunday at Matins, or the Propers *de tempore*, etc. For convenience see *The Roman Breviary*, translated by the Marquess of Dute, Vol. I, 4ff, Sunday at Matins, and 180, Propers for Advent Sunday.

¹⁴⁷ In Cathedral and some parish churches Matins and Vespers, the latter with Compline following immediately, were said "in choir," that is in the church publicly; and these hours were attended more or less by devoted lay-folk.

Reformation usage crystallized in the public use of Matins and Vespers. Lauds and Prime were combined with Matins to form the Matin Office; and Compline was combined with Vespers to form the Vesper Office. As Luther writes, these Hours were almost entirely composed of Scriptural elements; although some of the variable propers, such as, Responsories, Antiphons, and Lectons composed of legendary histories, were quite the opposite and inspired the strong opposition of Luther and others against their continuance.

¹⁴⁸ A *de tempore* use is one proper to a Season.

¹⁴⁹ That is the propers for the Hours of Saints' Days, which in most cases were especially obnoxious to Luther.

¹⁵⁰ Quite frankly Luther expresses his favor for retention of daily Matins and Vespers in a number of his writings because of their educational value to the youth. His idea was to have them participate actively in these services both in singing and reading, thereby making them acquainted with, and fluent in, Latin and also the Scriptures.

¹⁵¹ The whole Psalter was so parceled out among the daily Hours that in the course of a week all of the Psalms were said.

¹⁵² There are three anthem-form responses in the course of the Services which are similar in structure but quite different in purpose. They are the Introit and Gradual of the Mass and the Responsory of the Hours. Reference has been made to the Introit and Gradual above. The Gradual and Responsory are both connected with liturgical lessons, thus being similar in use, but they differ in content. The Gradual usually is composed of Psalm verses, though this is not invariable, but always of Scripture; and the *Verse* is taken from the context. On the other hand the Responsory is seldom composed of Psalm verses and frequently is made up of passages which are not Scripture at all and its *Verse* is not usually taken from the context. The unique feature of the Responsory is its "Answer" or "Resumption" which appears here and there throughout the text. This is taken up in the course of the Responsory and fitted in very cleverly, proving this feature to have been designed. Another feature is the brief form of the *Gloria Patri*; the "As it was, etc." is omitted. Some commentators claim this to be proof of the antiquity of the Responsory as the *Sicut erat*, etc. came into rather general use only about the sixth century. The number and variety of the Responsories is remarkable; their unscripturalness inspired Luther's advice.

See C.S.B., p 191ff.

¹⁵³ It does not take any great amount of imagination to realize that

this sentence was born of the experience of the past. The compulsory use of the Hours of the Breviary, notwithstanding the wealth and variety of material, all too soon became mere mechanical and monotonous repetition without spiritual value to say nothing of the proper spirit of approach to, and worship of, God.

¹⁵⁴ Over against the Breviary appointment of the Psalter,—as in Luther's day: to be said through once every week,—a Reformation use gradually took form. This eventuated in a rather arbitrary division of the Psalter, Psalms 1-100 being appointed for Matins, Psalms 101-150 for Vespers. However certain High Days retained their customary "proper" Psalms.

Furthermore Luther favored a continuous reading of the Scriptures chapter by chapter of book after book. Cf. his other major liturgical writings. While this suggestion was experimented with in some places and carried out thoroughly in others, it fortunately did not displace the proper liturgical Epistles and Gospels.

¹⁵⁵ See *Von ordnung gottis diensts*; translation this volume, p. 60ff.

¹⁵⁶ See *Von ordnung gottis diensts* and Note 154 above.

¹⁵⁷ Homilia,—brief expositions of the Scriptures read. Capitulum,—technical name for the short Scripture passage read,—"The Chapter."

Luther carries both the reading and exposition back to Apostolic precedent, which is, of course, well authenticated.

¹⁵⁸ But Thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us. Response: Thanks be to God. The Respond after the Lesson. Cf. C.S.B. *in loco*.

¹⁵⁹ See Julian, *Dict. of Hymnology*, p. 1119.

¹⁶⁰ Latin, unctioni,—unction—"the unction from above." Speratus' translation is interpretive: Wo nicht, wist yhrs besser zu machen, so wollen wir ewrem geyst, der euch salbet vnd leret, gern stat geben.

¹⁶¹ That is, a source of wealth.

¹⁶² Luther is referring to Matthew Beszkav, Johann Dolsch, George Elner and Johann Volmar.