



National Library of Canada
Collections Development Branch

Canadian Theses on
Microfiche Service

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Direction du développement des collections

Service des thèses canadiennes
sur microfiche

NOTICE

The quality of this microfiche is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us a poor photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this film is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30. Please read the authorization forms which accompany this thesis.

THIS DISSERTATION
HAS BEEN MICROFILMED
EXACTLY AS RECEIVED

AVIS

La qualité de cette microfiche dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de mauvaise qualité.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, examens publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de ce microfilm est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30. Veuillez prendre connaissance des formules d'autorisation qui accompagnent cette thèse.

LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE
NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE

THE REINTRODUCTION OF THE EUCHARISTIC PRAYER
IN THE LUTHERAN CHURCHES
OF NORTH AMERICA

by Leander J. Ecola

Dissertatio oblata in
Facultate Theologica
apud Universitatem
Sancti Pauli
(Ottavae)
ad Ph.D. gradum
Universitatis Ottavae

Youngstown, Ohio, 1980



L.J. Ecola, Ottawa, Canada, 1981.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis was prepared under the direction of Professor Germain Hudon, O.M.I., Th.D., of the Faculty of Theology of Saint Paul University, whose guidance and suggestions were invaluable.

The writer is especially indebted to Mrs. Nellie Miller, without whose encouragement and gracious material support these doctoral studies could never have been undertaken.

The following persons are thanked for their assistance in obtaining needed research materials: Dr. Jean-Léon Allie, O.M.I., librarian of Saint Paul University; Mrs. Jayne Confer, circulation librarian of the Barbour Library of the Pittsburgh (Pa.) Theological Seminary, especially for the protracted loan of volumes of the Weimar Ausgabe; Sr. Dorothy Goff, librarian-archivist of the Deaconess Community of the Lutheran Church in America, Gladwyne, Pa.; Dr. Donald Huber, librarian of Trinity Lutheran Seminary, Columbus, Ohio; Mgr. Anthony Kleinschmidt, librarian of the Wehrle Library of the Pontifical College Josephinum, Worthington, Ohio; Professor Leonel L. Mitchell of the Seabury-Western Theological Seminary, Evanston, Ill.; Pastor Ralph Van Loon, coordinator for worship, Division for Parish Services - Lutheran Church in America, Philadelphia, Pa., and his secretary, Annabelle Oesterling; Mr. Louis Voigt, sometime librarian of the Hamma School of Theology of Wittenberg University, Springfield, Ohio; Pastor David Wartluft, director of the Krauth Library of the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, Pa.

Final thanks to Pastor Frithjof Reinhardt of Monterus Lutheran Church, Youngstown, Ohio, for assistance in the interpretation of German texts, particularly those of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

Leander J. Ecola was born June 8, 1937, at Detroit, Michigan. He received the Bachelor of Arts degree in History from Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan, in 1960. He received the Bachelor of Divinity degree in Theology from Waterloo Lutheran University (now: Wilfrid Laurier University), Waterloo, Ontario, in 1963. The title of the thesis was The Epiklesis. In 1971, the Bachelor of Divinity was replaced by the degree Master of Divinity. The Master of Education degree in Religious Education was received from the University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in 1965. The Master of Arts degree in Liturgical Studies was granted by the University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana, in 1972.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter

I. INTRODUCTION	
The Eucharistic Prayer and Its Origin	1
The Doctrine of the Sacrifice of the Mass and the Background to Luther's Rejection of it	6
Statement of the Problem	23
Notes: Chapter I	32
II. THE EUCHARISTIC THEOLOGY OF MARTIN LUTHER	38
Eucharistic Sacrifice	42
Real Presence	68
The Lutheran Confessions: An Addendum	80
Notes: Chapter II	85
III. THE EUCHARISTIC PRAYER IN EARLY LUTHERANISM	99
Luther's Criticism of the Canon of the Mass	105
Luther's Revisions of the Mass (1523 and 1526)	121
"Eucharistic Prayers" in the Early Kirchen- ordnungen	147
Notes: Chapter III	167
IV. THE RETURN OF THE EUCHARISTIC PRAYER IN TWENTIETH CENTURY NORTH AMERICAN LUTHERANISM	180
The Achieving of the "Common Service"	196
The Lost Rite of the Synod of Ohio	217
The Eucharistic Prayers of Twentieth Century American Lutheranism	242
Excursus: The Missouri Synod	277
Résumé	318
Notes: Chapter IV	323
V. ASSESSMENT	344
Lutheran Eucharistic Theology at Present	355
The Present and Future of the Lutheran Eucharistic Prayer	406
Notes: Chapter V	412
APPENDIX - List of Exhibits	431
BIBLIOGRAPHY	514
ABSTRACT	546

LIST OF TABLES

1. Francis Clark's Summary of the Current Doctrine of Eucharistic Sacrifice at the Time of the Reformation	13
2. Medieval Latin Use of the Verba	47
3. Luther's Quotation of the Verba	50
4. The Roman Canon	111
5. Outline of Elements in Luther's Two Masses: I. The Office of the Word	126
6. Outline of Elements in Luther's Two Masses: II. The Communion	129
7. A Table of Relationships Among Sixteenth Century Kirchenordnungen	150
8. Eucharistic Themes in the Exhortations and Prayers of the Liturgies of the Synod of Ohio, 1830, and of the Synods of Pennsylvania, New York and Ohio, 1842	195
9. Comparative Outline of Elements in the Communion Ser- vices of Löhe 1844 and the Common Service 1888	205
10. Outline of Elements Contained in the Liturgy of the Sacrament in the Rite of the Synod of Ohio (1864- 1923)	223
11. Saxon Visitation Articles (1592)	359

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE EUCHARISTIC PRAYER AND ITS ORIGIN

Current New Testament scholarship agrees that the earliest description of Christ's last supper, in which the Sacrament of Holy Communion finds its institution, was provided by St. Paul (1 Cor. 11:23ff.): "For I received from the Lord what I also delivered to you, that the Lord Jesus on the night when he was betrayed took bread, and when he had given thanks (εὐχαριστήσας), he broke it and said, . . . " Both Paul's εὐχαριστήσας and the Markan alternative, εὐλόγησας (Mk. 14:22), point to the fact that, before distributing the bread and wine to his disciples, Christ first offered prayer, as was customary for Jews. Because the precise wording of these prayers was not recoverable, the Church very early began to attempt to supply the lack, through the adaptation of familiar forms, so that it might, as completely as possible, fulfill the Lord's command (τοῦτο ποιεῖτε) in its repetitions of his sacramental meal.

The Didache (Διδαχὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων) which, dating from as early as the second half of the first century (according to

Audet), is the earliest-surviving church ordo, provides wine and bread blessings which are remarkably similar in structure to the Birkat Ha-Mazon, the traditional Jewish table prayers.¹

However, as the Church addressed itself more and more to the gentile, Hellenized world, such Jewish forms of prayer did not long endure. By the year 150, Justin appears to indicate the emergence of another form of prayer, in which the eucharistic themes are no longer expressed in a series of distinct blessings (berakoth), but rather were organized in a single prayer of longer duration.² A most important, early example of such a synthetic prayer is the one ascribed to Hippolytus of Rome (written c. 215).³

It is important to make reference here to Louis Bouyer's unique theory of the origin of the eucharistic prayer. While it has been a commonplace of liturgical scholarship, that the Church's developed eucharistic prayers arose out of Jewish liturgical soil, Bouyer has been the first to hypothesize how this process might have happened, in some detail. Reduced to its essentials, Bouyer's thesis is this: For those raised in Judaism (as were the earliest Christians), two groups of Jewish prayers would have made an unshakeably lasting impression --

(1) the post-Shema synagogal prayer (Amidah, Tefillah) of the "Eighteen Benedictions" (Shemoneh Esreh) and (2) the three final meal berakoth. These are divided and analysed as follows.

From the Tefillah:

- (A) The First Berakah (Aboth) after the Shemah -- a thanksgiving for the patriarchs, the covenant, and the promise of the Messiah.
- (B) The Berakah (Gaburoth) following this -- a thanksgiving for life and fecundity, and for the hope of resurrection.
- (C) The balance of the Tefillah (which follows after the Qedushah, the "Holy, holy, holy"), beginning with the berakah "Qedushat Ha-Shem" -- An act of praise to the Name of the Lord, followed by a comprehensive series of intercessions for the concerns of the nation (people) of Israel.

From the Final Meal Berakoth:

- (D) Hazzan Eth-Ha'olom -- a blessing for nourishment received.
- (E) Nodeh -- a thanksgiving for the land of Israel, the covenant, and the Torah (= a summary of the history of salvation).
- (F) Raḥem -- a supplication for God's continued creative and redemptive activity, leading to the coming of the Messiah and the final establishing of God's kingdom.

Early Christians would have continued to say these prayers (or at least prayers of similar structure) separately, so long as their liturgy of the Word (corresponding to the ritual of the synagogue) had not been merged with their meal service. However, once the two parts of the Eucharist had been thus unified, there would have been a tendency for these two groups of prayers to be coalesced. Bouyer theorizes that the eucharistic prayer, properly so called, originated when "A" was paired with "D," "B" with "E," and "C" with "F." Redundancies of content were eliminated, and what was left was reformulated as a unified narration. Bouyer's theory still awaits final scholarly judgment; nevertheless, one must be grateful to him

for drawing the attention of scholars to the still unresolved question of the ultimate origins of the liturgy.⁴

If one is to do justice to the immense variety (for example, of structure and contents) found in the historical data, it is virtually impossible to create a simple and unified definition of what a eucharistic prayer is. Since it is easier to see what a eucharistic prayer does, this writer will provide the following functional definition.

A eucharistic prayer has these characteristics:

1. It worships God in a spirit of thanksgiving and recounts his magnalia. (In the Western Church, the portion of the prayer which fulfills this function is the Preface.) The Incarnation and ministry of Christ typically have a final place of Honor in this recounting.

2. It provides the framework in which the Verba institutionis are pronounced and the sanctification of the eucharistic elements is accomplished. (In the developed theology of the Eastern Church, this sanctification/consecration is referred to the Epiclesis, rather than to the Verba.)

3. It provides the liturgical locus, or at least marks the climax, of the eucharistic sacrifice, however this act of sacrifice may be theologically defined by individual churches.

4. It proclaims the Anamnesis (remembrance) of Christ's passion and death, in answer to the command, τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.

5. It invokes God (Epiclesis) to send his blessing on, and/or to accept the Church and its worship, especially in connection with the sacramental elements of bread and wine.

6. It may include other elements, such as intercessions for the living and reminiscences of the faithful departed.

The schema is far from being a rigid one. In the early centuries, regional churches exercised considerable freedom in rearranging and reformulating, and in adding and dropping specific items within their eucharistic prayers.⁵ The scripturally derived Verba are always present in some form.⁶ As to the incorporation, expression and arrangement of the other items mentioned above: these always testify to each church's understanding of itself as a worshipping community, of the nature of the Sacrament, and of what is accomplished in the celebration of the Eucharist.

The use of the eucharistic prayer, in its many permutations, is attested to in all of the historic Oriental and Western churches, from the patristic period onwards. Some individual churches (e.g., Syria and Ethiopia) may have created dozens of alternate forms of this prayer ("Anaphoras"), while others (and here one must note, preeminently, the "Canon" of the Church of Rome) have limited themselves to one basic text during most of their existence. For more than a millenium, leading up to the Reformation, the use of some form of eucharistic prayer was universal and unquestioned, throughout Christendom.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE SACRIFICE OF THE MASS
AND THE BACKGROUND TO LUTHER'S REJECTION OF IT

By comparison to Biblical Judaism and a host of other religions, ancient and current (including even Islam), Christianity may appear to be a "non-sacrificial" religion. This is, of course, true -- insofar as one defines a sacrificial religion as one whose rites include the ritual slaughter of animals.

However, Christianity is a most profoundly sacrificial religion. Within it, all derives from Christ's crucifixion -- the blood sacrifice to end all blood sacrifices, which thereafter were understood only as ineffectual foreshadowings of it -- and his resurrection, which is interpreted as the proof of God's acceptance of that sacrifice.⁷ Forgiveness, salvation, and all that is most dear to the Christian heart is so closely tied to the sacrifice of Christ, that without it Christianity is inconceivable. The New Testament teaches that Christ's sacrifice was once-for-all and complete, and that it cannot be supplemented.⁸ Yet the desire to sacrifice is the natural response of every believing human. This has led to a continual tension in the Church: How to do justice both to the uniqueness of Christ's sacrifice, and to the sacrificial desires of believers.

In a recent study, Robert Daly has traced the development of the Hebrew concept of sacrifice, as background for an elaboration of what sacrifice meant to the early Church. He

notes an increasing and insistent demand that what is important and God-pleasing about a sacrifice is not the material gift, but the inner disposition and intention of the one who brings it. He terms this the "spiritualizing" of sacrifice.⁹ Two phases (the first in which there is concern for the disposition which accompanies a material sacrifice; and the second in which disposition replaces the material sacrifice, as the important factor) lead to a final phase "where, to the vital importance of proper dispositions, is now added the importance of incarnating proper dispositions in human action."

. . . In Jesus, these dispositions do not remain internal; they are fleshed out or incarnated in his ministerial deeds of preaching, healing, teaching, and forgiving which culminate in the total and victorious self-giving of his Passion and resurrection. So too in the true follower of Jesus the internal dispositions for spiritualized sacrifice are not needed just for prayer and worship; they must above all be incarnated in the practical, diaconal, and ministerial deeds of the Christian life. Otherwise the Christian spiritualizing (or "christologizing") of sacrifice is not complete.

In his study of the New Testament, Daly does not find the very concept of sacrifice (apart from that of Christ) to be abolished, but rather broadened and deepened: ". . . sacrifice in New Testament Christianity was . . . not primarily a cultic or liturgical concept. It was primarily ethical, centered in and growing out of the practical, down-to-earth, everyday experience of Christian living and preaching."¹¹

It is worth noting that sixteenth century Lutheranism reached essentially the same conclusion, with respect to the

New Testament data. Compare, for example, the words of David Chytraeus, from his 1569 treatise on sacrifice:

The cultus of the New Testament is a spiritual one, consisting of genuine conversion to God, faith, and an inner obedience of the heart kindled by the Holy Spirit.

This is the first and highest level of sacrifice and, as it were, the soul and life of all other worship and of external sacrificial acts. For without this spiritual obedience of heart, . . . external worship is nothing, nor do any outward works and sacrifices, however precious or great, please God.

Under no condition ought we to offer God sacrifices of praise in order to merit the remission of sins or righteousness and eternal life by so doing; for these benefits have been freely provided and given to us through that sacrifice of our Lord Jesus Christ, the only Son of God, which was accomplished once for all on the cross in our behalf. The proper reasons for presenting Christian thank offerings are to show, by every kind of obedient act and demonstration of praise to God, the gratitude which we owe Him for His benefits; to obey reverently those unqualified commands of God . . . which require us to offer the sacrifices enjoined by Him; and to honor God by testifying that we really believe and profess that the One to whom we present rightful obedience and worship is the only true God, and by introducing other men to true knowledge and worship of Him through our example.

As will be seen in the next chapter, Luther placed the weight of his teaching vehemently in opposition to the doctrine of the "Sacrifice of the Mass," which had been elaborated over the centuries and which was commonly accepted in the Catholic Church of his day. Because his arguments were all based in his exposition of the Scriptures, his followers, Chytraeus among them, when they spoke of sacrifice at all (in a positive sense), were extremely careful to avoid speculation, and to propound only the clear message of the New Testament and the clearest im-

plications to be drawn therefrom. Therefore, "sacrifice" was looked upon as a characteristic of the Christian's total, living response to God, and not primarily as a cultic category. As a result of Luther's development of the "testament" motif, as a governing category for the consideration of the Eucharist (Again, this will be discussed in the next chapter), he was blind to the sacrificial imagery and flavor of the New Testament eucharistic texts, which is so evident to modern scholars such as Daly, whom we have been considering.¹³ Granting such limitations, what the Lutheran party hoped to accomplish was a repristination of the Church's understanding, in this area as in others, according to strictly New Testament standards.

The sacrificial theology of the Roman Church, against which the Lutherans contended, had in fact been developing from roots within the first Christian centuries. In his study, Daly has taken a fresh look at the evidence through the end of the second century. He indicates:

... in Justin, Irenaeus, and especially Hippolytus, one can detect growing evidence of an institutionalizing trend which not only tends to institutionalize Christian eucharistic worship, but also begins to reintroduce what seems to have been superseded in the third phase of the spiritualizing trend: the idea that the performance of the ritual action is a sacrifice. Strongly sacramental traditions such as Roman Catholicism resonate vibrantly with this and tend to find in such texts early evidence for their theology of the sacrifice of the Mass.¹⁵

By "institutionalizing tendencies," Daly means:

- 1) The idea that the Eucharist is a sacrifice which can be "offered" only by a minister or priest specially ordained

for this purpose, and 2) the idea that this sacrifice offered by the priest is a fully real, cultic sacrifice.

Because of the impossibility of adequately portraying the centuries-long development of the Western Church's theologizing on the sacrifice of the Mass in this introduction, the reader is asked to permit a hiatus. Next to be considered will be how the early institutionalizing trends identified by Daly had reached their full flowering, by the end of the medieval period, and how the sacrifice of the Mass was experienced in the century of the Reformation.

Chytraeus bemoaned the institutionalizing which he perceived (" . . . the adherents of the pope arrogate the honor and right of priesthood -- which is common to all Christians -- solely to those priests who have been consecrated and tonsured in papist fashion") and offered the criticism that in the sacrifice of the Mass "the entire New Testament doctrine of priesthood and sacrifice" had been corrupted. He also provided his understanding of the Roman concept of eucharistic sacrifice.

. . . they suppose that an external, visible priesthood and sacrifice must at all times exist in the church of the New Covenant and that in the Christian church this sacrifice is the Mass. They maintain that in the sacrifice of the Mass the priest offers to God the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ and sets God's Son in the presence of his eternal Father. And they declare that this oblation of Christ's body and blood is the chief act of worship and the continual sacrifice of the church of the New Testament, and that by offering it for others, living and dead, one may apply to them the fruits and benefits of Christ's sacrifice on the cross.

Chytraeus' understanding is shown to be accurate (even

if biased), when one compares his words with the teachings and canons of the Council of Trent, which he had doubtless read:

Sacrificium et sacerdotium ita Dei ordinatione coniuncta sunt, ut utrumque in omni lege exstiterit. Cum igitur in Novo Testamento sanctum Eucharistiae sacrificium visibile ex Domini institutione catholica Ecclesia acceperit: fateri etiam oportet, in ea novum esse visibile et externum sacerdotium, in quo vetus translatus est [cf. Heb. 7:12ff.]. Hoc autem ab eodem Domino Salvatore nostro institutum esse, atque Apostolis eorumque successoribus in sacerdotio potestatem traditam consecrandi, offerendi et ministrandi corpus et sanguinem eius, . . . et catholicae Ecclesiae traditio semper docuit.

. . . [Christus] novum instituit Pascha, se ipsum ab Ecclesia per sacerdotes sub signis visibilibus immolandum in memoriam transitus sui ex hoc mundo ad Patrem, quando per sui sanguinis effusionem nos redemit "eripuitque de potestate tenebrarum et in regnum suum transtulit" [Col. 1:13].

Et quoniam in divino hoc sacrificio, quod in Missa peragitur, idem ille Christus continetur et incruente immolatur, qui in ara crucis "semel se ipsum cruento obtulit" [Heb. 9:14,27]: docet sancta Synodus, sacrificium istud vere propitiatorium esse, per ipsumque fieri, ut, si cum vero corde et recta fide, cum metu ac reverentia, contriti ac paenitentes ad Deum "accedamus, misericordiam consequamur et gratiam inveniamus in auxilio opportuno" [Heb. 4:16]. Huius quippe oblatione placatus Dominus, gratiam et donum paenitentiae concedens, crimina et peccata etiam ingentia dimittit. Una enim eademque est hostia, idem nunc offerens sacerdotum ministerio, qui se ipsum tunc in cruce obtulit, sola offerendi ratione diversa. Cuius quidem oblationis (cruentae, inquam) fructus per hanc incruentam uberrime percipiuntur: tantum abest, ut illi per hanc quovis modo derogetur. Quare non solum pro fidelium vivorum peccatis, poenis, satisfactionibus et aliis necessitatibus, sed et pro defunctis in Christo, nondum ad plenum purgatis, rite iuxta Apostolorum traditionem offertur.

(Though Luther had died 21 years before the first of these Tridentine definitions was written, if one gives the council fathers credit for having stated only what they knew to be the traditional understanding of the Church of Rome, there is no anachron-

ism in quoting them as evidence, both for the authoritative position of the Roman Catholic Church, and for the teaching with which Luther must have been familiarized during the period of his formation, and against which he later protested.)

Francis Clark has pointed out an important lack in the Tridentine statements; it is that these fail to provide any general definition of "sacrifice." "In its doctrinal chapters on the Mass the Council used instead the traditional method of 'ostensive definition', that is, of indicating what is meant by sacrifice by pointing to sacrifice in the concrete, as a divine institution revealed in Scripture -- above all, to the one true sacrifice of Calvary."²¹ Clark has provided a useful summary of the points included in the doctrine of eucharistic sacrifice at the time of the Reformation, based on his study of authors from Lombard through Biel and Cajetan. This information, somewhat abbreviated, is presented in Table 1. Clark found that this doctrine had remained remarkably stable, throughout the period from the end of the thirteenth century, to the start of the sixteenth, and he quotes M. Lepin in support of this conclusion:

. . . [This period] does not present any noticeably original outlook on the subject with which we are concerned.
 . . . The legacy of the past is faithfully handed on, without any appreciable completion, and without being made use of for anything in the way of new development.²²

Turning to the events of the Reformation period, Clark's primary concern is with the actions of the Anglican reformers.

TABLE 1

FRANCIS CLARK'S SUMMARY OF THE CURRENT DOCTRINE
OF EUCHARISTIC SACRIFICE AT THE
TIME OF THE REFORMATION.

1. In the Mass there is offered to God a true and proper sacrifice, the highest act of Christian worship.
2. The sacrifice of Christ's redemptive passion is all-sufficient to atone for all sins of all men. The eucharistic oblation in no way implies that anything is wanting in the sacrifice of the cross, nor does it detract from it.
3. Christ established in His church an order of priests, through whom he would continue his sacrifice for all time.
4. The Mass is not an absolute sacrifice, independent of the cross; but was instituted at the Last Supper as a relative sacrifice, by which the sacrifice of the cross was to be represented, so that the memory thereof should remain till the world's end.
5. The sacrifice of the Mass is not mere commemoration, nor only a sacrifice of thanks and praise. On account of the Real Presence, Christ's body and blood are truly offered to the Father, under the appearances of bread and wine.
6. The sacrifice of the altar and that of the cross are truly one. The victim is the same, and he who now offers through the ministry of priests is the same as he who then offered himself on the cross.
7. The Mass-sacrifice differs from the cross only in the manner of offering. The Mass is an unbloody immolation. Christ is immolated under visible signs, and thus does not himself suffer death, pain, or change in the sacrifice of the altar.
8. The Mass is a propitiatory sacrifice through which men can participate in the fruits and blessings of the sacrifice of Calvary.
9. The gifts received through the Mass do not extend to the wicked who do not repent.
10. The effects of the Mass-sacrifice extend not only to the living, but also to the faithful departed who are not yet fully cleansed.

He sums up their motivation as follows:

The tares and cockle in Catholic discipline and pastoral practice in the late middle ages help to explain the setting and the success of the Reformation, but the English Reformers' campaign against the Mass cannot be adequately accounted for as merely a reaction against these abuses. It was to the tree they applied their axe, and not merely to the parasitical growths around it.²³

A similar assessment certainly applies to Luther, and this point will be returned to momentarily.

Whatever the methodology and concerns of the original reformers, Clark's study demonstrates that later protestant criticisms of the sacrifice of the Mass have tended to be of another sort. His assessment is that later Anglicans have tended to exaggerate and give undue importance to certain medieval abuses, which he refers to as "the tares and cockle," and that they have seized upon scattered ambiguous statements of certain isolated writers, putting the worst possible construction on these; and then, blind to the steadfast doctrinal conservatism and Catholic orthodoxy of the vast majority of medieval writers, they have portrayed the spirit and practice of that age as heretical.²⁴ It must be admitted that certain Lutheran authors have tended in the same direction.²⁵ Nevertheless, overall, Luther himself avoided such a "nit picking" approach, in his opposition to the sacrifice of the Mass.

When Luther's criticism of the sacrifice of the Mass is discussed below, it should become evident to the reader that the Reformer does not really enter directly into dialogue with

the Roman position. Often enough, it is true, he will, in an almost-conversational digression, pick out some aspect of Catholic teaching or practice in order to condemn it; But there is none of his writings where he confronts the Roman doctrine, head-on, and discusses its elements and presuppositions in a direct and systematic way. Rather, having worked out his own theory of the Eucharist, which he explains in patient detail, he simply sets his teaching, in its totality, over against the the totality of the Roman position. Here, the term "Roman position" is not limited to the formal theological statements of that Church's authorities; it refers to the entire Mass-centered ecclesial experience of Luther's day, in which he considered that societal and even economic factors were as much a part of the total definition of the Mass-sacrifice as purely theological and liturgical ones, and in which the reasoned statements of the schoolmen (which, in any case, he had come to consider false) were conditioned by the realities surrounding the practice of the Mass, wherein genuine piety frequently was seen to coexist with crass superstition, abuses, greed, and a host of heretical tendencies. Luther's rejection of the sacrifice of the Mass may, thus, justly be called a "global" one.

By lumping together theology -- both that of the schools and that which the laity bandied about in the markets and streets -- and all manner of Mass-related practices, in arriving at his estimation of the Roman position, Luther may attract to himself

the accusation of having been unscholarly, and of having failed to properly distinguish between the essential and the trivial, and between the purely orthodox and what were well-meant (if aberrant) pious exaggerations.

To illustrate the point, one may consider the eucharistic miracle stories, which were so popular and so often repeated, throughout the medieval period.²⁶ These often told of grossly carnal manifestations of apparently natural flesh and/or blood, during the celebration of Mass, or at the time of communion. In a few of them, Christ is portrayed as ritually slain within the Mass. The prevalence of such stories can be interpreted in several different ways: 1) They are themselves proof that the eucharistic doctrine of the medieval Church was heretical (Clark finds them to be so used by certain Anglican critics of the Mass). 2) They are pious exaggerations whose currency only demonstrates the tenacity with which Christians of that time believed in the Real Presence; they are credulous overstatements, based in a firmly confessed (though not completely understood) orthodoxy.²⁷ 3) While not decisive in themselves, such stories, when taken together with all other abuses and evidences of misguided piety and practice, pointed to a sacramental system that was cancerous throughout, in root and branches -- one not to be treated symptomatically, but to be replaced in its entirety. This last would appear to have been the conclusion reached by Luther.

It will not be possible to provide a detailed picture of medieval Mass-piety in these pages, nor is it necessary to do so, since such descriptions are easily found elsewhere.²⁸ However, it will be to the point to provide at least a summary of the Mass-related beliefs and practices which, within Luther's global purview, stood out as causes of offense:

1) The centuries-long refining of eucharistic doctrine, which finally came to see the Mass as a sort of ritual sacrifice, went hand in hand with the development of a corresponding ecclesiology, one which sought to guarantee a priesthood fit to conduct that sacrifice. A character, different from that of the laity, was ascribed to those who were ordained, which conferred special prerogatives and status within the Church. A gulf was opened up between ordained priests and non-ordained laity.

2) Latin was maintained as the language of the ritual, even after it passed out of common use and was no longer understood by the laity. The laity were thus excluded from meaningful participation in what formerly had been the common λειτουργία.

3) The growth of ritual scrupulosity in connection with the sacrifice of the Mass led to a growing sense of a needful division between sacred and profane. This led to the exclusion of the laity from the sanctuary, to the withholding of the cup, and to the administration of the host directly to the tongue.

4) The teaching that the sacrifice had ex opere operato

effectiveness may have further helped to reduce the laity to passivity, since it placed emphasis almost entirely on the priest's correct performance of the rite.²⁹

5) Recognition of the Mass as a propitiatory sacrifice led to attempts to quantify the benefit that accrued from its performance. In turn, this led to a vast multiplication of ordinations, altars, and daily Masses -- which were everywhere celebrated on what amounted to a "mass-production" basis.

6) Celebrating the Mass for its own sake, that is solely for the supposed benefits deriving from the sacrificial action, led to a reduction of preaching and to less frequent lay communions (which normally came to be outside of Mass).

7) Masses were bought and sold, and there were vast numbers of priests with no pastoral assignments, who made their entire living from Mass-fees.

8) The teaching associated with votive Masses -- celebrated for every conceivable purpose, and often in "trentals," a series of thirty or even more Masses for a given intention -- led many laity to rely on the Mass as having a sort of guaranteed effect on God's mercy.

9) Since the laity were excluded from active participation in the Mass (and did not regularly receive the blessings of communion, therein), they came to rely on a long list of supposed "Fruits of the Mass," benefits to be gained simply by devout presence at Mass, or even just during the Elevation.

10) A combination of the above factors (5 through 8) led to the frequent celebration of Masses by solitary priests, Masses in which the people of the Church had no participation whatsoever, except insofar as it was supposed that the priest represented the whole Church in his person and except as it was believed that his sacrifice benefited the people.³⁰

11) Finally, in an age of incipient nationalism, it was realized that the Mass was a drain on the "gross national product," that is that a vast amount of the resources and industry of society were "unproductively" dedicated to supporting Masses and the clergy who celebrated them (Luther frequently attacked the "lazy" Mass-priests and their sumptuous life-style),³¹ and that the Mass (and thus the Church) had a hold on people which lessened the allegiance they gave to their secular lords (whom, Luther in no way doubted, ruled by divine right).³²

The above listing of points is not exhaustive, but perhaps it will serve to illustrate some of the breadth of concern which was Luther's, when he considered the subject of the "Sacrifice of the Mass."

It must be borne in mind that Luther's criticism of the Mass was not directed at its basic liturgical form. Indeed, other protestants of the period were perplexed and scandalized by the fact of Luther's apparent liturgical conservatism, as is shown in the Reformer's recorded "Table Talk":

... Philip [Melancthon] declared that he had heard it said by many that our ceremonies are so arranged that the

people think no change has been made in comparison with former usage. Yet these ceremonies possess great solemnity, he said, unlike the deformed ceremonies of the Swiss, who communicate while seated at table; soon after the consecration the minister departs, leaving the communicants at the table.

Thereupon Martin Luther said, "It would be good to keep the whole liturgy with its music, omitting only the canon."³³

Rather than the external form and ceremonies of the Mass, it was the entire sacrificial complex just discussed which was in Luther's mind, when he called for the abolition of the "Mass," as in his 1522 treatise Against King Henry of England: "Once the Mass has been overthrown, I say we'll have overthrown the whole of Popedom"³⁴; or again, in when he said, in 1532: "No tongue can express and no heart can grasp the abomination of the Mass. 'It's a wonder that God hasn't destroyed the world long ago on account of it, . . .'"³⁵

Two further items of background must be considered, if one is truly to understand Luther's criticism of the Catholic Mass.

First, when one seriously enters the world of Luther's work, it becomes overpoweringly obvious that the Reformer had a radically non-hierarchical and non-sacerdotal perspective on the Church. While he never denies the need for an organized ministry, and while he is concerned for the proper exercise of ἐπισκοπή over the congregations, his deepest concern is always (if one may be permitted the anachronism) for "the man in the pew." Luther is totally pastoral, in the sense that his minis-

try is always devoted to the teaching, strengthening, saving, guiding and edifying of the ordinary people of God.³⁶ Ultimately, what was closest to Luther's heart was securing the hearts of the people, not winning over his entrenched opposition.

This orientation must always be kept in mind, when dealing with Luther's eucharistic writings. He believed that the Mass had been usurped by the clergy, stolen from the people for whom Christ had instituted it. What had been given to be participated in, and benefited from, by all, had been turned into a clerical preserve, and into an intellectual plaything for scholars (for whom his most common epithet was "sophists"). If questionable understandings and practices, and outright abuses had attached themselves to the Mass, Luther's concern was not for the fact that the organized Church was being sullied thereby, but rather for the fact that ordinary Christians, too untrained to know the difference, were being allowed to fall into an unevangelical (and therefore sub-Christian) religiosity,³⁷ that they were being preyed upon,³⁸ and that they were being distracted away from what constituted their sole hope of salvation.³⁹

Second, one must agree with Clark that behind Luther's attack on the sacrifice of the Mass lay other, more basic, theological presuppositions.

The Reformation hostility to the sacrifice of the al-

tar is found to be connected, in a coherent pattern, with the basic Reformation doctrines of grace, of justification, of the Church and the sacraments, and ultimately of Christology.

Luther, making a radical development of some of the hypothetical speculations of Nominalism, arrived at a theology in which there was no place for any created reality to mediate to men God's salutary action, nor for any active sharing by men in the dispensation of grace. His cardinal objection against the traditional doctrine of the sacrifice of the Mass was that it was a 'work,' something which belonged to that whole order of instrumental mediation and of man's active participation in the economy of grace that was anathema to the Reformer. Grace, for him, was not an intrinsic elevation of man's being, but God's favour freely imputed to the elect, who were released from condemnation out of regard for the merits of Christ and who apprehended their pardon by saving faith. The celebration of the Lord's Supper was a promise and a testament of that pardon to the individual communicant; it could not 'do' anything for others, nor could it 'offer' anything to God. 'Out of a gift of God to men they have made a gift of man to God', he frequently lamented.

Clark's assessment should be nuanced, in that it may be interpreted to mean that Lutherans fail to perceive the Eucharist, which in its elements is a "created reality," as an effective means of grace. Lutherans have always followed the Reformer in strongly believing that the Real Presence of Christ in the sacrament is purposive, bringing the faithful communicant a present gift of divine forgiveness and acceptance; not merely significative, offering a promise of grace which is actually received directly from God, apart from the sacrament itself. For Luther, the "gift" was a present, saving reality. It is additionally a pledge, only insofar as the recipient is promised future blessings, such as eternal life, which are not directly mediated through the present sacrament.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Luther's theology allowed of no compromise with the concept of eucharistic sacrifice, which had been developed in the medieval Catholic Church and whose practical results were so offensive to him.

In fairness, it must be noted that many of the practical abuses which disturbed Luther were also of concern to Catholic authorities. The countering of abuses in the practice of the Mass was a call raised by numerous medieval writers, and a challenge accepted by reform Councils, long before Trent. The Council of Trent and the Counter-Reformation it inspired dealt with many of the Reformation's most serious objections to then current Mass practice. Finally, in the wake of Vatican II, the reform of the Mass and the rules governing its celebration has been brought to the point where abuses in Mass practice in the Roman Catholic Church (as viewed from the perspective of the original Reformation complaints) are no more prevalent than are various aberrations of eucharistic practice which are to be found in today's protestant congregations and Churches.

Luther's protest however, was (as has been briefly indicated) not primarily directed against abuses of practice, but against the entire concept of the sacrifice of the Mass, theoretical and practical aspects thereof being taken as a unity.

The Reformer considered that the traditional Canon of the Latin

POOR COPY

COPIE DE QUALITÉ INFÉRIEURE

Mass was the linchpin of the entire structure, and against it he delivered a constant series of harsh attacks.

Prior to the publication of his first eucharistic rite, he had recommended, to those of the Reformation party, that when saying the Mass they ought to have an evangelical intention which would change the sacrificial meaning of the words of the Canon. Two years after making that suggestion, in 1522 he advised that the sacrificial prayers should simply not be read.

In 1523, in his Formula Missae, Luther extracted the Verba from the Canon, and inserted them into the Preface, following the words, "per Christum Dominum nostrum." The balance of the traditional Canon, from the Te igitur to the final Amen, was completely suppressed. Three years later, in the Deutsche Messe, the structure of the Preface was also abolished, and the Verba were left standing in "liturgical isolation."

It cannot be stressed enough that Luther's solution was unique, in the Reformation period. Although all the reformers had strong objections to the traditional Canon, the others (e.g., Zwingli, Bucer, Calvin, Cranmer, Knox) all provided prayers which can be considered to be canon-substitutes.⁴² Only at Wittenberg was a principle established, that the Verba themselves said "all that needed to be said," at the heart of the eucharistic celebration!

In the Reformation period, there are isolated instances

of Lutheran liturgies, by other authors, which attempted to place something in the void Luther left. The prayers thus provided must be considered eccentric. The churches of the Lutheran tradition, from Luther's day down to the present century, in the overwhelming majority of liturgies they have produced, have simply ignored the need, or even the possibility, of creating new eucharistic prayers to replace the Canon, which the Reformer removed.

The traditional understanding of the Western Church has been that it is in the recitation of the Verba that the consecration of the eucharistic elements takes place. In Luther, the logic of this understanding was pushed to its extreme. Following him, the consistent attitude of the Lutheran Church has been not only that the recitation of the divinely-provided Verba is sufficient for the achievement of the sacrament of the altar, but that to supplement them and to surround them with humanly devised prayer forms is suspect. The suspicion can take several forms: 1) That the provision of a eucharistic prayer demonstrates a Romanizing tendency,⁴³ 2) That such a prayer may tend to lessen the Church's awareness of God's dominion over the Eucharist -- overlooking the hallmark of Lutheran theology, that the sacrament is God's gift, not man's work, or 3) That it might be the first step in reintroducing the entire sacerdotal-sacrificial system against which the Reformation contended.

During the centuries which followed the Reformation, the liturgies of German Lutheranism suffered many reverses. In certain provinces, secular rulers of Calvinistic persuasion, exercising the principle of "cuius regio, eius religio," were able to force the abandonment of age-old liturgical customs and ceremonies which had been maintained by Lutherans; and their prejudices were often influential in the re-editing of Lutheran service books. The movement called "Pietism," which arose in the late seventeenth century, placed itself in opposition to the rather rigid and formalized patterns of worship, which had become entrenched during the post-Reformation period of Lutheran "Orthodoxy." The Pietistic Movement was indifferent to the sacraments as means of grace and antagonistic to liturgical worship, and its real life was not in the churches but in the emotion-filled meetings of conventicles ("ecclesiolae in ecclesia"). At the same time as the Pietistic Movement was lessening the attachment of the laity to the traditional Lutheran liturgies, Rationalism came to hold sway in the German universities. Generations of university-trained pastors, who had imbibed deeply of rationalism during their studies, carried its spirit back into the parishes, and in time they succeeded in obtaining modifications to the rituals, purging them of the numinous. The effect on sacramental worship was devastating.

It was not until 1817, the tercentenary of the Refor-

mation, that a successful opposition to Rationalism began in Lutheran circles. During the nineteenth century, two schools of thought became extremely influential, the "Erlangen Theology" and the so-called "Theology of Repristination." The latter, an essentially conservative movement which sought to reestablish the doctrinal purity of sixteenth century Lutheran Orthodoxy, is the more important in terms of the present study, because under its influence began the work of recovering the nearly lost treasures of Lutheran sacramental theology and the traditional liturgical form of Lutheran worship. The name of Pastor Wilhelm Löhe of Neuendettelsau, Bavaria, is important in this regard, because his teachings concerning ministry, sacraments and liturgy had influence, both in Germany and in America.⁴⁴

By the end of the nineteenth century, the work of re-establishing Lutheran liturgy on its classical bases was in full swing, both in Europe and in America. It should be understood that the liturgical situation among American Lutherans was then even worse than it was in Europe, since the remaining traditional content present in the rituals which were carried to the New World was quickly watered-down through the uncritical adoption of worship practices and attitudes, borrowed from other protestant denominations and sects. Among the revised rites which were produced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there were several which incorpo-

rated prayers in conjunction with the recitation of the Verba, but these had little immediate influence and tended to drop out of use and out of memory.

In the twentieth century, however, the possibility of introducing a eucharistic prayer into the Lutheran communion service was seriously raised and vigorously pressed forward as an issue, for the first time in the history of the denomination, both in Europe and in America. A variety of factors was influential in this: acquaintance with the Liturgical Movement in the Roman Catholic Church and with the Oxford Movement (and "High Church" Movement) in Anglicanism, and Lutheran involvement in the Ecumenical Movement, as well as modern biblical, patristic, and liturgical studies, among others.

Various privately-produced eucharistic prayers were in unofficial, experimental use, on both sides of the Atlantic, by the late 1940's. An officially-approved eucharistic prayer was available to Lutherans in Germany, in 1954. In North America, with the publishing of the Service Book and Hymnal of 1958, a eucharistic prayer was authorized for use by jurisdictions representing approximately two-thirds of all Lutheran congregations.⁴⁵

It seems certain that the restored eucharistic prayer has an assured future in North American Lutheranism, but its introduction has not been met by unqualified acceptance, or by anything approaching "universal" use. In 1976, the ILCW (Inter-

Lutheran Commission on Worship) released the results of a survey on worship practices, which it had conducted among pastors of four major jurisdictions: Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod (LC-MS), Lutheran Church in America (LCA), Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada (ELCC), and American Lutheran Church (ALC). One significant question in the survey asked how frequently the responding pastors used the Verba alone, rather than some form of eucharistic prayer (termed "Great Thanksgiving" in the questionnaire). 41.3% of the pastors indicated that the use of Verba alone was their invariable practice.⁴⁶

15. Do you use the words of Institution instead of a Great Thanksgiving?

	LC-MS	LCA	ELCC	ALC	TOTAL
Always	454 48.2	440 34.0	32 44.4	376 43.5	1350 41.3
Sometimes	366 38.9	534 41.2	31 43.1	355 41.1	1322 40.4
Seldom	51 5.4	149 11.5	5 6.9	88 10.2	301 9.2
Never	67 7.1	167 12.9	2 2.8	45 5.2	286 8.7
Multiple Answer	3 0.3	5 0.4	2 2.8	0 0.0	11 0.3

The question of the appropriateness of a eucharistic prayer in the Lutheran liturgy has recently taken a fresh tack. Heavy criticism of the usage by influential voices within the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, a jurisdiction which since the

mid 1960's has been in the control of staunch theological conservatives, was among the factors which led that body to withdraw its sponsorship of the Lutheran Book of Worship, just before that book's introduction in 1978. The Missouri Synod is presently committed to the production of a separate new ritual and hymnal for its congregations. This book will incorporate many of the materials included in the Lutheran Book of Worship, but among the materials excluded from it will be any sort of eucharistic prayer.

With the foregoing summary in mind, the "Problem" of this study shall be to describe The Reintroduction of the Eucharistic Prayer in the Lutheran Churches of North America. In fulfillment of that purpose, the study will:

- 1) Investigate the eucharistic theology of Martin Luther, for the purpose of showing what led him to eject the Roman Canon from his revisions of the Mass. His teaching and action have been the basis of the Lutheran Church's historic antipathy to the inclusion of a eucharistic prayer in its eucharistic liturgies.

- 2) Collect, display and analyze the prayers which have sporadically appeared down to the present century, under Lutheran aegis, as Canon-substitutes (or which were, at least, devised in order to place something in the void left by the Canon's removal).

- 3) Discuss the factors which, in the present century,

allowed for a serious reopening of the question of the use of the eucharistic prayer form, by North American Lutherans.

4) Display and discuss the eucharistic prayer texts which have gone into approved use, in the North American Lutheran Churches.

5) Note the literature which has grown up around this phenomenon.

6) Indicate the current tendencies in North American Lutheran eucharistic theology which have application to the use of the eucharistic prayer.⁴⁷

The contribution of the study will be in its providing a thorough description of the history of the reintroduction of the eucharistic prayer form, as well as insights into the theological implications of this development, in North American Lutheranism. This effort has not been systematically attempted elsewhere.

NOTES: CHAPTER I

¹The oldest surviving text of the Birkat Ha-Mazon is provided in: David Hedegård, Seder R. Amram Gaon, Part 1 [§78] (Lund: Ph. Lindstedts, 1951); an English translation of the Hebrew text is provided on pp. 147-148. The most recent, complete study on the Didaché is that of Jean-Paul Audet, *La Didaché: Instructions des Apôtres* (Paris: Gabalda, 1958). Audet has received criticism for dating the Didache as early as A.D. 50-70.

²Ἐπειτα προσφέρεται τῷ προεστῶτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτος καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κράματος, καὶ οὗτος λαβὼν αἶνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου ἀναπέμπει καὶ εὐχαριστίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατηξισθαι τούτων παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πολὺ ποιεῖται· οὐ συντελέσαντος τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν πᾶς ὁ παρὼν λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων· Ἀμήν. *Apologia* I, 65, quoted in Anton Hänggi and Irmgard Pahl, *Prex Eucharistica: Textus e Variis Liturgiis Antiquioribus Selecti* (Fribourg: Editions universitaires, 1968), pp. 68-71 (with Latin translation).

³Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 80-81.

⁴Louis Bouyer, *Eucharist* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1968), pp. 50-90. Robert D. Richardson, in his "Supplementary Essay" to the English translation of Lietzmann's *Messe und Herrenmahl*, has offered a negative criticism of Bouyer's theory, seeing it in the same "discredited line" as the prior theorizing (concerning Jewish origins) of Lietzmann, Dix, and Ratcliff. Hans Lietzmann, *Mass and Lord's Supper: A Study in the History of Liturgy* (Leiden: Brill, 1979), pp. 653-676. Richardson's entire essay demands the most careful reading. It contains not only his own conclusions, but also the most recent thorough review of the literature on eucharistic origins. The last word on this subject, especially in the area of Jewish roots versus Hellenistic contributions, is far from having been said.

⁵With respect to the foregoing outline, cf. Edward J. Kilmartin, "Sacrificium Laudis: Content and Function of Early Eucharistic Prayers," *Theological Studies* 35 (1974), 268-287; Edward C. Ratcliff, "The Sanctus and the Pattern of the Early Anaphora, I," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 1 (1950), 29-36, 125-134.

The flexibility just mentioned gave rise to the phenomenon which, in liturgical studies, is known as the "differen-

tiation of rites." Cf. B. Botte, "Rites et familles liturgiques," in A. G. Martimort, *L'Eglise en prière: Introduction à la liturgie* (Paris: Desclée, 1961), pp. 15-33.

⁶With the exception of the Liturgy of Addai and Mari (where their non-appearance may be due to a *disciplina arcani*), the Verba are found incorporated within the texts of all ancient eucharistic prayers, from that of Hippolytus onwards.

⁷In Heb. 9:12 and Rev. 5:6-12, Christ's death is interpreted as a true sacrifice. The acceptance of that sacrifice is proved by God's raising Christ from the dead (Rom. 6:4, Heb. 13:20, 1 Cor. 15:4) to a new dignity (Rom. 1:4, Heb. 2:9, Phil. 2:9, Acts 2:32f.), and permitting us to share in the fruits of Christ's victorious sacrifice (Rom. 4:24f., 5:6-11; Eph. 2:4-6).

⁸On the once-for-all nature of Christ's sacrifice, cf. Heb. 9:12, 28 and Heb. 10:9-10.

⁹Robert J. Daly, *The Origins of the Christian Doctrine of Sacrifice* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978), pp. 6-8, 11-47, 136-138. [Hereinafter: Daly.]

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 138.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹²John W. Montgomery, *Chytraeus On Sacrifice: A Reformation Treatise in Biblical Theology* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1962), pp. 105, 107, 118f. The diaconia which Daly considers so central to the N.T. concept of Christian sacrifice is, in Chytraeus, incorporated within the category of "obedience."

¹³Daly, pp. 128-129: "The cumulative effect of this evidence is quite cogent. It necessarily inclines us to conclude that the New Testament church considered the Lord's Supper and its own liturgical representation of it to be, at least in the broad sense of the word, a sacrificial event." Cf. also, Daly, p. 83, n. 29. Bertil E. Gartner's brief paper, "The Eucharist as Sacrifice in the New Testament," in *Lutherans and Catholics in Dialogue, III: The Eucharist as Sacrifice* (Washington: United States Catholic Conference, 1967), pp. 27-35, is germane; so also: Bernard Cooke, *Ministry to Word and Sacraments: History and Theology* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976), especially chs. 27-29, pp. 525-573.

¹⁴"Spiritualizing" has been supplied by this writer. The text reads "institutionalizing," which the context clearly reveals to be an error.

- ¹⁵ Daly, p. 140.
- ¹⁶ Ibid., p. 134.
- ¹⁷ John W. Montgomery, op. cit., p. 120.
- ¹⁸ Session 23 (July 15, 1563), "Doctrina de sacramento ordinis," ch. 1; §1764 in Henricus Denzinger and Adolfus Schönmetzer, eds., *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, 36th ed. (Barcelona: Herder, 1976), p. 412. The relevant canons are §§1771, 1773, p. 414.
- ¹⁹ Ibid., §1741, p. 408. (Session 22 [Sept. 17, 1562], "Doctrina de ss. Missae sacrificio," ch. 1). Cf. §1752, p. 411.
- ²⁰ Ibid., §1743, pp. 408-409. (ch. 2). Cf. §§1751, 1753, 1754, p. 411.
- ²¹ Francis Clark, *Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Reformation*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1967), p. 450. [Hereinafter: Clark.]
- ²² Ibid., pp. 80-81. The contents of Table 1 are summarized from Clark, pp. 93-95.
- ²³ Ibid., p. 72.
- ²⁴ The entire second part of Clark (pp. 209-503) is devoted to this question.
- ²⁵ Clark correctly accuses Melancthon of a virtual creatio ex nihilo, when the latter went so far as to include in art. 24 of the Augsburg Confession the charge that Catholics taught that the cross offered satisfaction only for original sin (necessitating the Mass as a sacrifice for actual sins). Cf. Theodore G. Tappert, *The Book of Concord* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1959), p. 58.
- ²⁶ On eucharistic miracle stories, cf. Clark, 410-426; Caesarius of Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles*, II (London: Routledge, 1929), especially §§3, 6, 19 and 41, on pp. 110, 112f., 123 and 144, respectively. Jungmann notes that among the pericula missae dealt with in the rubrics, some medieval missals discussed the possibility of Christ appearing in specie carnis vel pueri. Joseph A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, revised by Charles K. Riepe (London: Burns & Oates, 1959), p. 97.
- ²⁷ Clark, p. 426.

²⁸ Clark, pp. 56-72 et passim. Jungmann, op. cit., pp. 89-91, 96-99.

²⁹ Naturally, there was still concern that the laity had to have the proper disposition, in order to gain the benefits of the rite. See Clark's discussion of *ex opere operato*, pp. 342-364, especially p. 355, where he notes an apparent discrepancy in Luther and Melanchthon's criticism of the Catholic position.

³⁰ Joseph A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, Vol. 1 (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1955), pp. 195-233, traces the history of the development of the private Mass. He notes (pp. 221, 225) that around the year 700 there were Mass formularies written completely in the singular (*Missa quam sacerdos pro semetipso debet canere*); these of course were later suppressed.

³¹ It should be remembered that Luther's "opening shot" in the Reformation, had been his Ninety-five Theses, the occasion of which was the sale of indulgences to benefit the construction of St. Peter's Basilica. Theses 50, 51, 67 and 86 clearly indicate Luther's feeling that the Church was involved in making exactions which impoverished the people. Helmut T. Lehmann, *Luther's Works*, Vol. 31 (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1957), pp. 30, 31, 33. [Hereinafter: LW.]

³² Luther's attitude on the relations of Church and state is well revealed in *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation Concerning the Reform of the Christian Estate* (1520); LW 44:123-217.

³³ LW 54:361/WA TR 4:432, #4691 (July, 1539).

³⁴ WA 10:2:220.

³⁵ LW 54:161/WA TR 2:175, #1673.

³⁶ Paradoxically, Luther's lavish use of earthy illustrations and vulgarity (so characteristic of his polemical writings) may be a possible evidence of this orientation. Rather than being simply the manifestation of a sixteenth century Zeitgeist, Luther's language may have been "orchestrated" so as to keep the attention of the many barely-literate purchasers of his otherwise heavy treatises. It should be noted that, doubtless with an eye to increased sales and dissemination of his teachings, he timed the appearance of several of his major works to coincide with the great, annual Frankfurt Spring Fair; LW 37:153-155. Cf. Roland Bainton, *Here I Stand* (New York: Abingdon, 1950), pp. 306-310.

To fully understand the real weight of Luther's criticisms of the Mass and his recommendations for liturgical change, such as his growing conviction in favor of vernacular liturgy (LW 42:173/WA 7:694) and hymns (LW 49:68f./WA BR 3:220, #698); his criticism of the division of the Church into two bodies, of clergy and laity (LW 22:443-445/WA 47:158-159; LW 38:119-122/WA 30:2:612-614), of the prevalence of Masses without sermons (LW 38:194/WA 38:235; LW 42:58/WA 2:112), and of the infrequency of lay communions (LW 36:171/WA 8:513f.; LW 38:100/WA 30:2:597; LW 38:181/WA 38:224); his desire for an over-all reduction in the number of Masses (LW 52:271/WA 10:1/1:707f.), and for the administration of communion in both kinds (LW 35:49-59/WA 2:742-748); and his recommendation for versus populum altars (LW 53:69/WA 19:80. Note: In its conservatism, the Lutheran Church did not begin to act on this recommendation until recent years, and then only under ecumenical influences): it is always necessary to hold Luther's orientation toward the laity and their perceptions and needs firmly in mind.

³⁷ LW 35:81/WA 6:354f.; LW 52:271/WA 10:1/1:707; LW 36:313/WA 18:24; LW 38:226f./WA 38:266f.

³⁸ LW 38:230/WA 38:269f.; LW 36:35/WA 6:512; LW 38:159f./WA 38:206f.

³⁹ That is, away from awareness of God's free gift of saving faith.

⁴⁰ Clark, p. 103. Carl F. Wisløff, *The Gift of Communion: Luther's Controversy with Rome on Eucharistic Sacrifice* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1964), pp. 100-124. J. L. Neve, *A History of Christian Thought*, Vol. 1 (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1946), pp. 223-236.

⁴¹ Clark, pp. 106-107.

⁴² Translations of all of the eucharistic rites developed by the named reformers are to be found in: Bard Thompson, *Liturgies of the Western Church* (Cleveland and New York: World, 1962), pp. 141-307.

⁴³ It is a measure of the historic "tunnel vision" of such critics, that they never accuse the introduction of the eucharistic prayer among Lutherans of being evidence of protestantizing or byzantinizing, although the prayer, in some form, is in virtually universal extra-Lutheran use.

⁴⁴ As background for the history mentioned in the last

page and a half, cf.: Conrad Bergendoff, *The Church of the Lutheran Reformation: A Historical Survey of Lutheranism* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1967), pp. 65, 117-118, 148-186, 203-211, 231-234. Arthur C. Piepkorn, *Profiles in Belief: The Religious Bodies of the United States and Canada*, Vol. 2 (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1978), pp. 17-29. J. L. Neve, op. cit., I, pp. 313-326; II, pp. 38-45, 73-80. F. L. Cross, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (London: Oxford, 1958), arts. "Augsburg, Peace of (1555)," "Lutheranism," and "Pietism." Erwin L. Lueker, ed., *Lutheran Cyclopedia* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1954), arts. "Pietism" and "Rationalism." Franz Lau and Ernst Bizer, *A History of the Reformation in Germany to 1555* (London: Black, 1969), pp. 236-239. Luther D. Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy: A Study of the Common Service of the Lutheran Church in America* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1947), pp. 139-154. [Hereinafter: Reed-Liturgy.]

⁴⁵ Paul Z. Strodach, *A Manual on Worship* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1946), pp. 249-256. Reed-Liturgy, pp. 212-216, 331-337. Luther D. Reed, *Worship: A Study of Corporate Devotion* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1959), pp. 66-74. Luther D. Reed, "Liturgical Landmarks: Significant Monuments in the Liturgical Development of the Lutheran Church in America," *Una Sancta* 8:1 (1947), 7-12; 8:2 (1948), 4-8; 8:3 (1948), 21-26. Arthur C. Piepkorn, "Pray, Brethren: Reflections on the Devotional Value of a Prayer of Consecration," *Una Sancta* 8:2 (1948), 8-13. Arthur C. Piepkorn and Howard R. Kunkle, "The Eucharistic Prayer," *Una Sancta* 7:3 (1947), 6-22; 7:4 (1947), 6-17. The text of the (1954) eucharistic prayer of the *Agende für evangelisch-lutherische Kirchen und Gemeinden* is in: Wolfgang Herbst, ed., *Quellen zur Geschichte des evangelischen Gottesdienstes von der Reformation bis zur Gegenwart* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968), pp. 316-318. The *Service Book and Hymnal* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1958), which includes a eucharistic prayer on p. 11, was prepared for use in eight cooperating synods who, by 1962, merged into two major judicatories, the American Lutheran Church and the Lutheran Church in America.

⁴⁶ An occasional paper of the Inter-Lutheran Commission on worship (New York, May, 1976), with covering letter by Eugene L. Brand, project director, p. 9.

⁴⁷ References to the situation in Lutheran Europe will be infrequent, because the churches on either side of the Atlantic have proceeded independently, and because the circumstances of the European churches (affecting liturgical development) are increasingly less and less germane to North American Lutheranism.

CHAPTER II

THE EUCHARISTIC THEOLOGY OF MARTIN LUTHER

In attempting to write anything about Martin Luther, a writer can be overwhelmed by the amount of available data calling for his consideration. The present century has fostered a scholarly "Luther Renaissance." Not only has the known corpus of the Reformer's own writings been expanded in the publication of the monumental critical edition of his works, the Weimar Ausgabe (WA), which began publication in 1883; but secondary studies have become virtually numberless. The area of Luther's eucharistic thought has been particularly "fecund," in this respect. To provide an adequate survey of this literature could itself be the subject of a lengthy dissertation. In preparation for chapters two and three of the present work, the writer has, therefore, been forced to limit his use of secondary authorities primarily to Paul Althaus, Hermann Sasse, Vilmos Vajta, and Carl Wisløff.¹

Though their number is limited, they are authorities whose work has been highly regarded and influential in North American Lutheranism. Beyond that, they represent varying viewpoints on the subject at hand. Althaus was a professor at the University of Erlangen. In 1931, he published *Die lutherische*

Abendmahlslehre in der Gegenwart, in which he downplayed the traditional Lutheran understanding of the Real Presence and saw the sacrament as an "enacted parable" (Iat-Gleichnis). At that time he was accused of crypto-Calvinistic tendencies, although he maintained other aspects of Lutheran eucharistic doctrine (manducatio oralis and manducatio indignorum) which are expressly anti-Calvinistic.² His later work, *The Theology of Martin Luther*, demonstrates no superimposition of such personal views on the thoughts of the Reformer, though Althaus's reservations do find subtle expression.³ Althaus admits, concerning his attempt to systematize Luther, "Even a comprehensive presentation such as this can be only an incomplete selection; in terms of both the total scope of Luther's theology and of the range of individual topics."⁴ For the purposes of the present study, one serious lack in Althaus is any treatment of "sacrifice" in Luther.⁵

The theology of Erlangen (to which Althaus is indebted), in opposition to Rationalism, had as its aim "a healthy synthesis of the Lutheran heritage with the new learning: eine neue Weise, alte Wahrheit zu lehren."⁶ Hermann Sasse is one who began at Erlangen, but who became staunchly orthodox in his theology. For many years, he was a "theological darling" to the ultra-conservatives in North American Lutheranism. His most important work, *This is My Body: Luther's Contention for the Real Presence in the Sacrament of the Altar*, is at one and the

same time, both a study of Luther's opposition to Zwingli, and a statement of the author's opposition to any current watering-down of traditional Lutheran teaching concerning the Sacrament.⁷

Vilmos Vajta, during his years of association with the Lutheran World Federation's department of theology, has proved himself to be a careful and tirelessly productive scholar. Of those considered here, he has been the most active in the ecumenical movement, as well as in the world-wide, intra-Lutheran theological dialogue. Though it has been met with certain criticisms, his book, *Luther on Worship*, is received as the current standard work on the subject.⁸ Unlike the other authors considered, whose work has focused on one aspect ("sacrifice" or "Real Presence") of Luther's eucharistic thought, Vajta has striven to do justice to both.

Carl F. Wisløff represents the "low church" Lutheranism of Norway, a country which has been much influenced by various pietistic movements. His book, *The Gift of Communion: Luther's Controversy with Rome on Eucharistic Sacrifice*, enters into direct dialogue with Vajta's.⁹ Wisløff particularly criticizes Vajta's treatment of Luther, with respect to the Atonement, and with respect to the concepts of "work" and "sacrifice." Wisløff stresses the communal and proclamatory aspects of the Eucharist, quoting Luther, whenever possible, to downplay any tendency to sacerdotalism. By comparison to Vajta, he is far more suspicious of external ceremonies.

Consideration of these secondary authorities will be suspended at this point, in consideration of the writer's methodology.¹⁰ The latter is deeply indebted to each of them, and to others whose studies will be noted below. Through acquaintance with the perspective and insight each of them has brought to fruition in his own research, this writer has been spared the task of "reinventing the wheel," in making his own analysis of the eucharistic work of Martin Luther.

Already in late 1517, or early 1518, Luther made the following statement, during his lectures on Hebrews:

. . . There is . . . a great error on the part of those who approach the Sacrament of the Eucharist in reliance on the well-known plea that they have gone to confession, that they are not conscious of a mortal sin or have said their prayers and made their preparations beforehand. All those people eat and drink judgment unto themselves, for they do not become worthy and pure because of all this. On the contrary, through this confidence in their purity they are polluted all the worse. But if they believe and are confident that they will attain grace, this faith alone makes them pure and worthy -- this faith which does not rely on those words but relies on the completely pure, holy, and firm Word of Christ, who says (Matt. 11:28): "Come to me, all who labor and are heavy-laden, and I will give you rest." Therefore one must approach with confidence in these words, and those who approach in this way will not be confounded.

Regin Prenter, reflecting on this passage, has made this estimation of Luther's motivation:

We notice from which source it springs: from the contrast between the two kinds of righteousness with which man may attempt to appear before God, the righteousness of works, which is under God's condemnation, and the righteousness of faith, which God imputes as valid before Him. To receive the Eucharist trusting in the righteousness of works is to invoke God's wrath. To receive the Eucharist trust-

ing in the righteousness of faith is to receive the saving gift of God.¹²

Another early statement of Luther's demonstrates his insistence on the centrality of faith to the reception of divine grace in the sacraments:

So faith is necessary everywhere. You receive as much as you believe. And this is what I understand it to mean when our teachers say that the sacraments are efficacious signs of grace (efficacia gratiae signa), not because of the mere fact that the sacrament is performed (non quia fit) but because it is believed, as St. Augustine contends and as I have said previously.¹³

Already present in these early statements are seeds which would later grow and flower, in other works, and which would lead Luther, in a logical progression from his sola gratia foundation, to deny that man can present any work whatsoever that can earn God's merit, that synergism in any form is possible, that the Sacrament can be of any benefit ex opere operato, and, ultimately, that the Mass as sacrifice has any validity.¹⁴

EUCCHARISTIC SACRIFICE

Works dealing with the subject of the Eucharist per se, appearing virtually throughout the whole span of his career as a reformer, comprise a substantial proportion of Luther's total theological output, and clearly indicate the importance which this subject had for him.¹⁵ Indeed, eucharistic doctrine and practice were of highest priority to the Reformation movement.

With the notable exception of his 1533 treatise, *The Private Mass and the Consecration of Priests*, one may say that; for all practical purposes, the subject of the Mass as sacrifice ceased to be a major motivation for Luther's literary output, following the appearance of *The Abomination of the Secret Mass* (1525). The publication of the *Deutsche Messe*, in 1526, may therefore be taken as a symbolic dividing point, after which Luther's major eucharistic focus is the question of the Real Presence.¹⁶ By that time, both the Lutheran and Roman Catholic positions on the Mass as sacrifice had been well--if all too polemically--defined; and increasingly the situation between Rome and Wittenberg had become a political matter, a factor which further lessened the possibilities for fruitful, theological discussion.¹⁷ An exquisite evidence of the state of affairs is found in the fact that the Augsburg Confession, which was edited by Phillip Melanchthon and which was later to become the paramount confessional statement of the Lutheran Church, bore the subscriptions of nobles and secular authorities exclusively, when it was presented to Charles V, in 1530.¹⁸

Recognizing the dividing point mentioned above, this study will first examine Luther's opinions on the Mass as sacrifice, before turning to regard his theology of the Real Presence.

Luther's principle criticism of the Roman Mass was that in it a gift from God had been turned into a gift for God, that a divine sacrament had been transformed into a sacrifice offered by men.¹⁹

Vajta has provided a most useful and necessary point of departure, for understanding this assertion, through his investigation of Luther's concept of the relationship between God and man.²⁰ For Luther, the existence of God is a given; he has no interest in attempts to provide philosophical proofs for the existence of God. Rather, for him, God simply "is." This has its direct bearing on worship: "The words 'I am thy God' are the standard and measure of everything that can be said about worship." These words of Luther show that God and worship belong together. A person's picture of God determines his idea of worship."²¹

"God and man cannot be isolated in Luther's thought. God is what he is as, in wrath or love, he acts with and for man. Man is what he is as, by faith or unbelief, he meets his God."²² "Either God is 'our God,' and we live in fellowship with him, or else by distrust despise him. The one implies worship, the other idolatry."²³ There is no middle ground; if one does not possess a right and saving faith, bearing God-pleasing proper fruits (including right worship), the only other possibility is that one is engaged in unbelief and idolatry which lead to condemnation.²⁴

Vajta follows the assessment of Herbert Vossberg that, "The words *fides* (faith), *religio* (religion), and *cultus* (worship) are used synonymously in his [Luther's] writings."²⁵ If this is a correct assertion, then for Luther the *lex orandi* must always be brought into the closest possible relationship with the *lex credendi*; any major discrepancies between the two would be intolerable. Thus, if the worship practices of the Church are not in conformity to what the saving Gospel reveals about the nature of God and his relationship to mankind, then those practices will inevitably lead Christians away from the worship God has commanded and through which he dispenses his grace, into false, idolatrous, profitless worship--with idolatry here being understood as "any attempt to serve God other than as he wants to be served."²⁶

The right and only path of divine service (*Gottesdienst*) is found in and through Christ, that is, through what God revealed in and through him.

. . . By revealing himself in Christ, God himself instituted a definite form of worship. In the incarnation he humbled himself to meet us on the earthly level and clothed his gift to us in earthly forms. Thus there can be no fellowship between God and man except through the means of grace which belong to God's revelation in Christ.

. . . Worship is an expression of the fact that God is not "naked God" (*Deus nudus*, i.e. God in his absolute essence and majesty), but a God who is worshiped and clothed in human form (*Deus cultus*, *involutus* in *humanitate*). This [Christological, incarnational] view rules out any and all spiritualizing ideas about worship. God revealed meets us through externals.

" . . . We have been celebrating no other Lord's Supper

for the last fifteen hundred years than the one the Lord instituted and commanded from the beginning, . . . "28 These words, penned by Luther, near the end of his life, in 1544, indicate the exegetical crux of his approach to all eucharistic theologizing:²⁹ it is in the words of Christ--the Verba institutionis, recorded for us by St. Paul and the Evangelists--which words are important above all else, for the understanding of the Mass.

It is well known that Luther, a doctor of Sacred Scripture, assigned paramount importance to the Word of God, understood as God's self-revelation recorded in the Bible, and alive in a special way in the Church's proclamation of the Gospel (through the sermon).

. . . The word of God is the greatest, most necessary, and most sublime part in Christendom (for the sacraments cannot exist without the word, but indeed the word can exist without the sacraments, , and in an emergency one could be saved without the sacraments . . . but not without the word). . . .³⁰

But the Verba institutionis, as distinguished from the earthly, sacramental elements, are themselves a supremely important part of this Word of God.

Now the mass is part of the gospel; indeed, it is the sum and substance (summa et compendium) of it. For what is the whole gospel but the good tidings of the forgiveness of sins? Whatever can be said about forgiveness of sins and the mercy of God in the broadest and richest sense is all briefly comprehended in the word of this testament.³¹

We must . . . set nothing before us but the very word of Christ, . . . For in that word, and in that word alone, reside the power, the nature, and the whole substance (vis,

TABLE 2

MEDIEVAL LATIN USE OF THE VERBA

Below are the Verba as found in the Roman Canon, and as used in the Gallican and Mozarabic Rites, reproduced from Hänggi-Pahl, pp. 433f., 468, and 498, respectively.

Roman Canon

Qui pridie quam
pateretur
accepit panem in sanctas
ac venerabiles manus
suas,
elevatis oculis in cae-
lum ad te Deum Patrem
suum omnipotentem, tibi
gratias agens benedixit
fregit, dedit
discipulis suis dicens:
Accipite et manducate
ex hoc omnes.
Hoc est enim
corpus meum.

Simili modo,
posteaquam cenatum est,
accipiens et hunc
praeclarum calicem
in sanctas ac venera-
biles manus suas,

item tibi
gratias agens

Gallican Rite

Qui pridie quam pro nos-
tra omnium pateretur ...
Accipiens panem in suis
sanctis manibus

respexit in caelum
ad te Deum Patrem
omnipotentem,
gratias agens benedixit
ac fregit tradiditque
apostolis suis dicens:
Accipite, edite
de hoc omnes.
Hoc est enim
corpus meum,
quod confringetur
pro saeculi vita.

Similiter
postquam cenatum est,
calicem
manibus accipiens,

respexit in caelum ad te
Deum Patrem omnipotentem,

gratias [tibi] agens

Mozarabic Rite

... qui pridie quam
pateretur,
accepit panem,

et gratias agens, bene-
dixit deditque
discipulis suis, dicens:
Accipite et manducate.

Hoc est
corpus meum,
quod pro vobis
tradetur.
Quotiescumque manduca-
veritis hoc facite in
meam commemorationem.

Similiter

et calicem
postquam cenavit,

TABLE 2

(Continued)

Roman Canon

benedixit, dedit
discipulis suis
dicens:
Accipite et bibite
ex eo omnes.
Hic est enim calix
sanguinis mei, novi
et aeterni testamenti,
mysterium fidei,
qui pro vobis
et pro multis
effundetur in remissio-
nem peccatorum.
Haec quotiescumque
feceritis,
in mei memoriam
facietis.

Gallican Rite

benedixit et tradidit
apostolis suis
dicens:
Accipite, bibite
ex hoc omnes.
Hic est enim calix
sancti sanguinis mei, no-
vi et aeterni testamenti
qui pro multis
ac pro vobis
effunditur in remissio-
nem peccatorum.

Addens ad suum dictum
dicens eis:
Quotiescumque de
hoc pane edeatis
et ex hoc calice
bibitis,
ad memoriam meam
faciatis passionem meam,
omnibus indicens,
adventum meum sperabitis,
donec [iterum] adveniam.

Mozarabic Rite

dicens:

Hic est calix
novi testamenti in
meo sanguine

qui pro vobis
et pro multis
effundetur in remissio-
nem peccatorum.
Quotiescumque
biberitis,
hoc facite in
meam commemorationem.

Quotiescumque manduca-
veritis panem hunc
et calicem istum
biberitis,
mortem Domini
annuntiabitis,
donec veniat
in claritate de caelis.

natura et ~~tota~~ substantia) of the mass. All the rest is the work of man, added to the word of Christ, and the mass can be held and remain a mass just as well without them (sine quibus missa optime potest habere et subsistere).³²

The Verba, as the summary of the Gospel should be taught and instilled in the hearts of believers. Luther complains that, in coming to be thought of solely as the formula of consecration, they have, instead, become shrouded in secrecy.³³ He called for them to be "shouted out," and in German at that, so that every Christian could focus his mind exclusively upon them.³⁴ Silently recited Verba were nothing but a block to the people's faith in the sacrament.³⁵

In the preface to the Small Catechism, Luther gave advice that:

. . . the preacher should take the utmost care to avoid changes or variations in the text and wording of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the sacraments, etc. On the contrary, he should adopt one form, [and] adhere to it, . . . year after year.³⁶

However, he himself never abided strictly by such a counsel, with respect to the text of the Verba.

Table 2 displays the texts of the Verba, as they were recited in three of the Western Rites. As may be seen by comparing these with Table 3, the wording Luther established in the Formula Missae maintained many points of contact with the text found in the Roman Canon and, surprisingly, with that in the Mozarabic Rite. At other times, however, Luther used a harmony of the texts provided by the Evangelists, and in 1 Cor. 11:24-26. Luther quotes this version with considerable free-

TABLE 3

LUTHER'S QUOTATION OF THE VERBA

On the left is the version of the Deutsche Messe, with variant readings from the Small Catechism. Differences in spelling are overlooked. (...), not in S.C. [...], added in S.C.

On the right is the version of the Formula Missae.³⁷

Unser herr Jhesu Christ,
ynn der nacht,
da er verraten ward,
Nam er das brod,
danckt und brachs
und gabs
seynden jungern
und sprach:
Nempt hin (und) esset,
das ist meyn leyb,
der fur euch gegeben wird.
Solchs thut,
(so offt yhrs thut,)
zu meynem gedechtnis.

Desselben gleychen
[nahm er]
auch den kilch
nach dem abendmal
[dancket und gab ihn den]
und sprach:
Nempt hin und
trincket alle draus,
(das ist der) [Dieser]
kilch(,) [ist]
(eyn) [das] new testament
ynn meynem blut,
das fur euch
vergossen wird
zur vergebung der sunde;
solchs thut,
so offt yhrs trinckt,
zu meynem gedechtnis.

Qui
pridie
quam pateretur,
accepit panem
gratias agens, fregit
deditque
discipulis suis
dicens:
Accipite, comedite,
Hoc est corpus meum,
quod pro vobis datur.

Similiter

et calicem,
postquam caenavit,

dicens:

Hic calix est

novi testamenti
in meo sanguine,
qui pro vobis et pro multis
effundetur
in remissionem peccatorem.
Haec
quotiescunque feceritis,
in mei memoriam faciatis.

dom.³⁸

While it has already been seen that Luther considered the Verba all-important for the understanding of the Mass, he, opposing the more radical reformers, warned against any slavish literalism, which taken to its extremity would make the celebration of the sacrament impossible.³⁹ Even within the Verba, he saw both essential and circumstantial materials. The former received all of his attention.

The Verba reveal the following essential actions of Christ, which become the foundation of Luther's opposition to the doctrine of the sacrifice of the Mass: He blessed (εὐλόγησας) and gave thanks (εὐχαριστήσας) for the meal-elements,⁴⁰ and he distributed them, so that they could be consumed (as indicated by the commands λάβετε φάγετε and πείτε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες). Luther could find nothing sacrificial in these actions, only thanksgiving and the use of the sacrament.⁴¹ For Luther, incidentally, there was no doubt that the Last Supper was a Mass, wherein a true sacrament was distributed.⁴²

The words εὐλόγησας/εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν (ἄρτον) could not be sacrificial. They immediately reminded Luther of Christ's actions in the feeding of the five thousand: . . . ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εὐλόγησεν καὶ κατέκλασεν τοὺς ἄρτους καὶ ἐδίδου τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ ἵνα παρατιθῶσιν αὐτοῖς . . . (Mark 6:41), and ἔλαβεν οὖν τοὺς ἄρτους ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ εὐχαριστήσας διέδωκεν τοῖς ἀνακειμένοις, . . . (John 6:11). If Christ's actions

were not sacrificial in the one case, then they could not be so, when he repeated these same actions at the Last Supper.⁴³ Again, the command $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ could not be more clearly non-sacrificial, since the direction of the action is from the Lord to the faithful, and not vice versa.⁴⁴

Having thus dealt with the essential actions, Luther notes that even some of the incidentals in the Last Supper also dictate against a sacrificial interpretation, in that the meal took place in an inn, rather than at the temple, and at a table, rather than an altar. The fact that the apostles later felt free to offer the sacrament in homes, rather than consecrated places, was further proof that the Mass (in its early form) was free of sacrificial meaning.⁴⁵

Further, Luther's understanding of Jewish temple sacrifices provided him with two strong reservations concerning the Mass as sacrifice. The first was based on his study of Leviticus 1 and 2, where he found that part or all of the sacrifice was reserved to God. Since God receives nothing in the Mass (that is, nothing material), then the Mass cannot be a sacrifice.⁴⁶ His second concern was based on the importance of the death of the victim, in Hebrew animal sacrifices.

Admittedly, terms like *mactatio* and *immolatio* were used only speculatively and analogously of Christ (as victim) in the Mass, by responsible medieval theologians. But Luther was possessed of the belief that a death was unavoidable in any true sacrifice, and he must have been impressed by the fact that

crass depictions of the Mass-sacrifice were to be encountered, in his day.⁴⁷ Naturally, that the Mass might be an attempt to slay Christ afresh was unspeakably abhorrent to Luther. It was, nevertheless an idea which returned to him, throughout his life.⁴⁸ When one hears him say (in 1528), " . . . my greatest sins were that I was so holy a monk, and so horribly angered, tormented, and plagued my dear Lord with so many masses . . . ", or again (in 1531), " . . . God . . . pardon me for having crucified and martyred him for about twenty years . . . ", it is hard to be sure whether he is exaggeratedly expressing a judgment on the futility of the Mass, or a darker suspicion.⁴⁹

For Luther, the Last Supper and Calvary were two distinct events.

. . . At the Last Supper, Christ did not offer himself to God the Father, nor did he perform a good work on behalf of others, but sitting at the table, he set this same testament before each one and proferred to him the sign (*idem testamentum proposuit et signum exhibuit*). Now, the more clearly our mass resembles that first mass of all, which Christ performed at the Last Supper, the more Christian it will be. . . . if it had been necessary to offer the mass as a sacrifice, then Christ's institution of it was not complete (*non plene eam instituisset*).⁵⁰

Thus to take the sacrament and make it into a sacrifice is to make a change in Christ's institution and command, and the Church has no liberty to do this.⁵¹

As an example of the desire of early Protestantism to

put distance between Christ's sacrificial death and the sacrament of the altar, one may quote Thomas Cranmer's liturgical formulation of the distinction.

O God heavenly father, which of thy tender mercie diddest geue thine only sonne Jesu Christ to suffre death upon the crosse for our redempcion, who made there (by his one oblacion once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblacion, and satysfaccyon, for the sinnes of the whole worlde, and did institute, and in his holy Gospell commaund us, to celebrate a perpetuall memory of⁵² that his precious death, untill his comming again: . . .

These phrases, which open the Anglican eucharistic prayer and introduce its epiclesis and Verba, faultlessly express a conception of anamnesis, as the only possible connection between the eucharist and Christ's "once offered . . . full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice," eternally effected upon the Cross. Luther never composed so neat a formula, but he shares the same understanding of the uniqueness of Calvary. If that sacrifice was accomplished ἐφ' ἁνάξ (Heb. 7:27, 10:10), then it is impossible for the Mass to have sacrificial identity.⁵³

. . . The merit of Christ and the distribution of merit are two different things. . . . Christ has once for all merited and won for us the forgiveness of sins on the cross; but this forgiveness he distributes wherever he is, at all times and in all places, . . . This is why we say there is forgiveness of sins in the supper, not on account of the eating, nor because Christ merits or achieves forgiveness of sins there, but on account of the word through which he distributes among us this acquired forgiveness, saying, "This is my body which is given for you,"

. . . the fact of Christ's suffering and the use of it are not the same thing: factum et applicatio facti, seu factum et usus facti. The passion of Christ occurred

but once upon the cross. But whom would it benefit if it⁵⁴ were not distributed, applied, and put to use?

The distribution of the sacrament is not a desideratum for Luther, but is of the essence of the sacrament for him and for the Lutheran Church. Luther opines that had the emphasis been kept on the distribution of Holy Communion, then the Mass would never have attracted to itself the name "Sacrifice".⁵⁵ If the Church is not present to receive communion, there can no more be a sacrament in this case, than there could be a baptism, if one had water and read the proper ritual, but had no baptismal candidate.⁵⁶ Disallowed also is the theory that acts of spiritual communion can take the place of the laity's actually receiving the sacrament. Here we have a command to commune; spiritual communion will perhaps make sense when we are in heaven, if it is the command that applies there.⁵⁷ For Luther the current situation was a cause of grief, "Religious foundations (Stifft), churches, and every custom testify how magnificently . . . the private mass is respected, and, by contrast, how . . . receiving the sacrament is regarded as nothing at all."⁵⁸ As for the priests, they kept the sacrament for themselves and did not distribute it, "And after they have thus stolen it from Christendom, they give and sell in its place their opus operatum, their own sacrifice and work."⁵⁹ For the Reformer, the Eucharist can never be a human work (opus

operatum), but must ever be simply the divine promise and testament of Christ.⁶⁰

The reason Luther is so adamantly opposed to the divine sacrament being transformed into a human work or sacrifice, is that to do so reveals a false concept of God, who is no longer seen in his essential graciousness.

. . . When they make a sacrifice out of the mass, do not we become uncertain whether our sacrifice is pleasing to God or not? [Note: Luther's point may have been suggested to him by the Orate Fratres.] There is none among all the mass-holders who would dare to say: I am sure that my mass-holding is pleasing and acceptable to God. And they all continue in this uncertain delusion and keep on sacrificing Christ and do not know what they are doing [Here, Luther might have Calvary in mind, Luke 23:24], because they let the promise of the true God slip from them and are led hither and thither by their uncertain sacrifices and works.

Furthermore, he who sacrifices wishes to reconcile God. But he who wishes to reconcile God considers him to be angry and unmerciful. And whoever does this does not expect grace or mercy from him, but fears his judgment and sentence. Whoever is to go to the sacrament with profit (fruchtbar) must believe and firmly insist that he has a kind and gracious God who loves him so very dearly that he has voluntarily given to him His greatest and dearest treasure. . . .

Judge from this into what great danger the mass-priests have led us with their sacrifice, so that we have turned our treasure (gutt) that gives us life and salvation into something that gives us death and damnation, the certain into the uncertain, faith into doubt, in short, divine love and grace into anger and hate. We consider the Father to be an enemy, and have confused heaven with hell, the highest with the lowest.

If, however, you recognize that this sacrament is a promise and not a sacrifice, you are not uncertain and are aware of no anger. You are always certain that God is trustworthy . . . And if you notice that he promises you nothing but grace, then you will understand with a light and joyous conscience that he

demands nothing from you in the way of gift or sacrifice, but that he lovingly (lieblich und freundlich) entreats and encourages you to accept his gift.

If you wish to make sacrifices, however, you must necessarily have a burdened conscience which believes that God demands much of you by way of sacrifice; and because of your great concern you will see no good thing for you to receive.

Atonement once having been accomplished, all that is necessary for man is to accept what God's mercy has provided in Christ.

. . . [Christ] himself indicated in his own words how he was to be reconciled, when he said: "Which is given for you. Which is poured out for you." Therefore desist from your accursed and harmful [human attempts at] reconciliation. There are not several ways to reconcile God, but one way alone. His majesty is much too high to be reconciled by the blood of all the men on earth and the merit of all the angels. The body of Christ is given and his blood poured out, and thereby God is reconciled, for it was given and poured out for you -- as he says: "for you" -- so that he may avert from us the wrath of God which we by our sins have deserved. . . .

Here you see clearly that no work of satisfaction or sacrifice of reconciliation is of any use; only faith in the given body and the shed blood reconciles.

God's gift is a free-gift, which is not a reward for our works, since there are no works of ours which could merit it. If we attempt to take that same generous gift and offer it back to God in the hope of increasing our merit, our attempt has no other effect than to disgrace God; it is lèse majesté.⁶³ Man has no independent good works which he can present to God in sacrifice; all of the "goodness" in any human heart is merely a reflection of God's grace.⁶⁴ Therefore, the circle is closed, as far as any possibility of our having the means or ability to

propitiate God. That possibility rested solely with Christ and, once and for all, he fulfilled it.

If one would ask what, in Luther's thought, replaces the concepts of sacrifice and opus operatum which are so central to Roman Catholic understandings of the Eucharist, the answer would have to be: the concepts of testament and faith (opus operantis).⁶⁵

. . . [It is] not the mass [the consecrated sacrament itself] but the prayers [which] are offered to God, . . . Therefore these two things--mass and prayer, sacrament and work, testament and sacrifice--must not be confused; for the one comes from God to us through the ministration of the priest and demands our faith, the other proceeds from our faith to God through the priest and demands his hearing (exigit exauditionem).⁶⁶

In all transactions between God and man, God's word and gracious activity have priority and are the "action," to which human response, in whatever form is only the "reaction."

If man is to deal (zu werck kummen) with God and receive anything from him, it must happen in this manner, not that man begins and lays the first stone, but that God alone--without any entreaty or desire of man--must first come and give him a promise. This word of God is the beginning, the foundation, the rock, upon which afterward all works, words, and thoughts of man must build.⁶⁷

The promise and Word of greatest importance for those who live within the Corpus mysticum is found in the Mass, which Christ established as his parting testament, which is not a "beneficium acceptum, sed datum; it does not take benefit from us, but brings benefit to us."⁶⁸

As an Old Testament exegete, Luther was surely aware that such a concept of divine initiative for the benefit of man

corresponded with the Hebrew concept of "covenant," b^erith. However, it does not seem that he ever worked out the implications of a purely Hebrew notion of covenant, as these might apply to the Eucharist.⁶⁹ Rather, and perhaps because it better suited the needs of his theology-in-controversy, he habitually dealt with the terms διαθήκη and testamentum (translated by das Testament, in German), the normal Greek and Latin translations for b^erith. In the Hellenistic world, both of these terms commonly had the meaning of a "last will and testament," prepared by one in advance of his death. The fact that a διαθήκη-testamentum required the death of its author, prior to becoming effective--a meaning which was of course totally absent in b^erith--provided a nuance of great usefulness for Luther. The Bible scholar who had so little use for the allegories of medieval Scripture interpreters, at this point accepted an allegory, as a fundamental way of dealing with the biblical data concerning the institution of the Eucharist.⁷⁰

This interpretation has six major points. Every testament must have: (1) a testator--here it is Christ; (2) heirs--we Christians. (3) a documented will--the Verba; (4) a seal or token--the bread and wine, bearers of the Real Presence; (5) a bequest--remission of sins and the gift of eternal life. (6) a duty or "requiem" for the heirs to perform--the act of anamnesis at communion.⁷¹ It must be noted that the testament per se is in the Verba; the elements, even as bearers

of the Real Presence, are only indicators or signs of the testament. One may, therefore, receive the salvation offered by the testament by appropriation of the words of promise alone.⁷²

In such an understanding of the Eucharist, the role of faith becomes all-important. Luther once asserted that our faith "consummates" the deity; it creates him, not in his substance, but in us, and thus gives him his due glory and majesty.⁷³ If there is no God for man, ~~apart~~ from his faith, then similarly without faith in the sacrament, Christ's promise avails nothing.⁷⁴ Following the analogy of a human last will, an heir will derive no benefit from a testament, unless he believes it and claims his bequest. "After all, the sacrament . . . can bestow nothing on you against your will. . . [God's gifts] demand a great hunger and desire, but they avoid and flee from a forced and unwilling heart."⁷⁵

Already in his "Lectures on Hebrews" (1517-1518), Luther had taken issue with Peter Lombard:

. . . [The Master of the Sentences] says, ". . . the sacraments of the new law confer grace on all who put no obstacle in the way." . . . this is either not properly understood or is very falsely stated, since the sacraments of grace benefit no one but rather harm all unless "they draw near in full assurance of faith" (Heb. 10:22).⁷⁶

Commenting on Lombard again, he says:

. . . what the Master of Sentences says . . . is true in some measure--although he is censured by all . . . For it is completely true that [under the old law] they did not make [themselves] righteous because of their sacraments and sacrifices, even when these were performed in love, but that love itself and faith accomplished this. Nor is this

strange, since in the New Testament it is not the sacrament but faith in the sacrament that makes righteous. [Emphasis supplied.]⁷⁷

If the sacrament is "merely an *opus operatum*, it works harm everywhere; it must become an *opus operantis*," for:

. . . bread and wine, no matter how much they may please God in and of themselves, work only harm if they are not used, so it is not enough that the sacrament be merely completed (that is, *opus operatum*); it must also be used in faith (that is, *opus operantis*). And we must take care lest with such dangerous interpretations (glossen) the sacrament's power and virtue be lost on us, and faith perish utterly through the false security of the [outwardly] completed sacrament.⁷⁸

Similarly, in *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church* (1520), he asserts:

. . . Let this irrefutable truth stand fast: Where there is a divine promise, there every one must stand on his own feet; his personal faith is demanded, . . . Even so each one can derive personal benefit from the mass only by his personal faith (*Ita et Missam unusquisque tantum sibi potest utilem facere fide propria . . .*).

The central importance of faith is precisely what allows Luther to relativize the ordained priesthood and to begin to develop the concept of a universal priesthood of all believers.

[Those who approach and use the Mass with the proper faith] truly observe the mass aright and also obtain by it what they desire. For faith must do everything. Faith (*Er*) alone is the true priestly office. It permits no one else to take its place. Therefore all Christian men are priests (*pfaffen*), and all women priestesses (*pfeffyn*), be they young or old, . . . Here there is no difference, unless faith be unequal.⁸⁰

Before concluding this section, in which has been summarized Luther's opposition to the Catholic doctrine of the sacrifice of the Mass, as it was taught and lived in his day;

and his substitution therefore of a concept of the eucharist as testament, together with his call for an *opus operantis* use of the sacrament, it will be worthwhile to note that "Sacrifice" was not so entirely a shibboleth for him as has sometimes been supposed.

While any concept of the Mass as a propitiatory sacrifice is entirely excluded from Luther's thinking, it remains true that there are several senses in which he was able to freely describe the Mass as sacrificial, at least in certain of its aspects. Such references are to be found not only in his earliest eucharistic writings, but also as late as 1531, in his Admonition Concerning the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Our Lord.

In 1515, Luther had lectured on Romans and had dealt with chapter 12:2 (Παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς, . . . παραστήσαι τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν θυσίαν ζῶσαν ἁγίαν εὐάρεστον τῷ θεῷ, τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν ὑμῶν), making the following interpretation:

. . . in the Greek he [the Apostle] separates this [final] expression from that which precedes it by using the article, saying: τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν ὑμῶν, as if he wanted to give a reason why he has been saying that they should offer their bodies as a sacrifice, as if to say: "I am saying this to you because I am trying to teach you that you owe God a reasonable sacrifice, and not one of beasts, in keeping with the new law." For the word λογικός means "rational," just as ἄλογος means "irrational." And the word "worship" (obsequium) or "service" (λατρεία) refers to the sacrifice itself or the actual ritual of this kind of living sacrifice. Thus he is trying to say: "Present your service which is reasonable, that is, your bodies as a living sacrifice."⁸¹

At this point, the distinction between "irrational" and

"rational" worship, is simply that between substitutionary sacrifices and the response of faith and obedience, as a self-sacrifice. However, it is likely that this same passage must have been in mind later when, as will be indicated below, Luther so vehemently criticized the Roman Mass, and particularly its Canon, as irrational.

In 1521, Luther again commented on this verse:

. . . at this point, he [the Apostle] is describing the priestly office, which is nothing else than a rational sacrifice; not [the offering of] irrational cows or calves, as in the law, but the sacrificing of one's self to God. This, however, is supposed to be common to all Christians; therefore all Christians must be priests.

In this saying of Paul we have not only [a statement of] what the new priesthood is, but also of what its office and sacrifice should be, namely that they should put themselves to death and offer themselves to God as a holy sacrifice. . . . Christ, the highest priest, first sacrificed himself [Heb. 9:11-12], and through his new priesthood fulfilled the priesthood of the law and all its offices, and has become an example to all his children and priests, so that they might follow in his footsteps [I Pet. 2:21]. With this Peter also agrees, (I Pet. 2 [:5]): "Like living stones be yourselves built into a holy priesthood, to offer spiritual sacrifices (geystliche opffer opffert) acceptable to God through Jesus Christ."⁸²

The dedication of the whole life and work of the Christian to God is what, in the first instance, constitutes rational worship. This worship and sacrifice is incumbent upon all Christians, not simply upon the ordained. It is therefore not wrong to call the Mass a sacrifice, when it is understood as "the actual ritual for this kind of living sacrifice," that is, the action through which the whole Christian community rededi-

cates itself to following the example of self-sacrifice given by Christ.

. . . we are not to present [this sacrifice] before God in our own person. But we are to lay it upon Christ and let him present it for us, as St. Paul teaches in Hebrews 13[:15], "Let us continually offer up a sacrifice of praise to God, that is, the fruit of lips that confess him and praise him"; and all this "through Christ." . . . He receives our prayer and sacrifice, and through himself, as a godly priest (ein frumer pfaff), makes them pleasing to God. . . .

From these words we learn that we do not offer Christ [as a sacrifice] but that Christ offers us. And in this way it is permissible, yes, profitable, to call the mass a sacrifice; not on its own account, but because we offer ourselves as a sacrifice along with Christ. That is, we lay ourselves on Christ by a firm faith in his testament and do not otherwise appear before God . . . except through Christ and his mediation.⁸³

In The Babylonian Captivity of the Church (1521) two forms of sacrifice that take place at Mass are noted. The intercessory prayers "which we impart, apply, and communicate to one another, and which we offer for one another," are one such form of sacrifice. The other is when believers participate in the Church's works of mercy through their donation of offerings. Luther makes it clear that he understands these to be sacrifices or sacrificial actions which take place in the Mass, and that the Mass itself does not take on an additional sacrificial identity because of them.⁸⁴ The three sacrificial themes just mentioned are not developed further, in Luther's later writings.⁸⁵

Several times, however, he spoke of another form of sacrifice, which may be termed "anamnetic-eucharistic." It might be possible to divide the data, so as to define two species of sacrifice, "anamnetic" and "eucharistic." But, in con-

text, it appears that Luther sees these elements in very close connection: The Church's thanksgiving proceeds directly from her remembrance of God's saving activity, and the memorial she continues is nothing other than a sacrificium eucharisticum.

In the Lectures on Hebrews, Luther had already offered this precision: " . . . what is offered by us every day is not so much a sacrifice as the remembrance of that sacrifice [that is, Christ's], as he said 'Do this in remembrance of me' . . . For he does not suffer as often as he is remembered to have suffered."⁸⁶ The remembrance Luther has in mind is not a reenactment or a representation: "If you [would] make a sacrifice out of the remembrance of his sacrifice, . . . why do you not also make another birth out of the memory of his birth, so that he may be born once more [every Christmas]?"⁸⁷ Rather, this remembrance is tied to the proclamation of the Word, and finds form in the Church's response to the Word. The Christian "keeps Christ in remembrance and assists in preserving such remembrance. This is done by preaching, praising, and thanking God for the grace of Christ shown to us poor sinners by his suffering." These actions constitute "the most beautiful sacrifice, the supreme worship of God, and the most glorious work, namely, a thank offering."⁸⁸ The anamnetic-eucharistic sacrifice is not simply verbal (that is, preaching together with the faith it engenders), but has a visible, active form, in the reception of the sacrament:

Now if you had no other reason or benefit in this sacrament than . . . remembrance alone, should you not be satisfied . . . ? Should not your heart say to you: Although I receive no other benefit from it, I still want to be present to the praise and glory of my God; I want to help in upholding his divine glory . . . ? If I cannot or must not preach, I still want to listen; . . . since where there are no listeners, there can be no preacher. If I cannot [attentively?] listen (zu horen), I nevertheless want to be among the listeners; at least I want to be present there, with the [mystical] body and my [fellow] members (mit dem leibe und meinen geliedern) [N.B., the present writer considers this phrase misinterpreted in LW.], where God is praised and glorified. Even if I could do no more, I still desire to receive the sacrament for this reason, that by such reception I might confess and bear witness that I also am one who would praise and thank God, and therefore desire to receive the sacrament to the glory of God. Such reception shall be my remembrance with which I think of and thank him for his grace shown to me in Christ [Emphasis supplied].

Luther makes it clear that the "moment" of sacrifice connects not with the consecration, but with the reception of the sacrament and with what follows in the life of the Christian.

. . . Christ completely separates the two matters, sacrament and remembrance, when he says: "Do this in remembrance of me." The sacrament is one matter, the remembrance is another matter. He says that we should use and practice the sacrament and, in addition, remember him, that is, teach, believe, and give thanks. The remembrance is indeed supposed to be a sacrifice of thanksgiving; but the sacrament itself should not be a sacrifice but a gift of God which he has given to us and which we should take and receive with thanks. For this reason I think that the ancients called this office eucharistia or sacramentum eucharistie, that is, a thanksgiving.

Though such sacrificial interpretations of the Mass are possible for Luther, "sacrifice" remains a "danger-word" for him, doubtless because in his day the Roman Mass and the teachings associated with it were so dominant in people's imaginations, that any doctrine of eucharistic sacrifice was bound to

be associated with it, no matter how carefully nuanced it might be. In 1527, Luther had enunciated the caution that a pious Christian "should call a sacrifice only that which God in the Scriptures calls by that name, and nothing else."⁹¹ He notes that the New Testament speaks both of the unique sacrifice of the Cross, Heb. 10:10, and of the sacrifice of thanksgiving, Heb. 13:15.⁹² But since he understood "sacrifice of thanksgiving" as indicating far more than just the Mass, it seems certain that he must have ultimately decided that it was simpler and safer to explain his understandings of the Mass without the use of sacrificial terminology. This change involved more than a small measure of loss for the Lutheran Church's devotional understanding of the Eucharist. In his earlier years, Luther was capable of using such terminology, and imagery, beautifully and evocatively, while maintaining his evangelical insight:

[In 1517 or 1518.] . . . the sacrifice of the New Testament is perfect and has ceased completely so far as the Head of the church, who is Christ, is concerned; but the spiritual sacrifice of his body, which is the church, is offered from day to day, when the church dies constantly with Christ and celebrates the mystical Passover, namely, when it slays lusts and passes over from this world to future glory.

[In 1520.] For all those who have the faith that Christ is a priest (pfarrer) for them in heaven before God, and who lay on him their prayers and praise, their need and their whole selves, presenting them through him, not doubting that he does this very thing, and offers himself for them--these people take the sacrament and testament, outwardly (leyplich) or spiritually, as a token of all this, and do not doubt that all sin is there forgiven, that God

has become their gracious Father, and that everlasting life is prepared for them.

Later, when his writings were not full of polemic, they were at least more dogmatic. While they may have gained in precision of expression, they certainly lost something of the devotional vitality evidenced in the passages just quoted.

REAL PRESENCE

Luther's teaching concerning the Real Presence will be the next subject to be considered. It will not be necessary to treat this topic in as much length as the one preceding, since it had fewer implications for the way Luther handled and reshaped the texts of the Mass.

The Reformer's most direct statement concerning the Real Presence is perhaps the one to be found in the opening paragraphs of The Large Catechism, part v (1529):

Now, what is the Sacrament of the Altar? Answer: It is the true body and blood of the Lord Christ in and under the bread and wine which we Christians are commanded by Christ's word to eat and drink. . . . [It is] not mere bread or wine such as is served at the table. It is bread and wine comprehended in God's Word and connected with it.

It is the Word, I maintain, which distinguishes it from mere bread and wine and constitutes it a sacrament which is rightly called Christ's body and blood.

. . . Here we shall take our stand and see who dares to instruct Christ and alter what he has spoken. It is true, indeed, that if you take the Word away from the elements or view them apart from the Word, you have nothing but

ordinary bread and wine. But if the words remain, as is right and necessary, then in virtue of them they are truly the body and blood of Christ. For we have it from the lips of Christ, so it is; he cannot lie or deceive. ⁵⁴

That Luther speaks simply of bread and wine rather than of the "forms" or "appearances" of bread and wine, indicates where his teaching departs from Catholic, scholastic theology. Whereas the Church of Rome had arrived at the understanding that the sacrament presented the substance of the body and blood of Christ under the appearances (species) of the earthly elements, through the miracle of transubstantiation, Luther believed that after consecration bread and wine--still retaining their natural qualities and essence--were the bearers of the present, resurrected and ascended, totus Christus.

. . . This verse of Paul [1 Cor. 10:16] stands like a rock and forcefully requires the interpretation that all who break this bread, receive, and eat it, receive the body of Christ and partake of it. . . . this bodily participation [or, physical communion, leibliche gemeynschafft] cannot be visible or perceived [by the senses], else the bread would not remain. Nor can it be merely natural bread, otherwise it would be a bodily partaking not of the body of Christ, but of bread. Consequently, where the broken bread is present, there the body of Christ is truly and bodily present, though not of course visibly. Whoever boasts that he can dent this verse, will, I promise, find hard chewing. ⁹⁵

Flourishing in the period before the councils of Florence and, especially, Trent, when the Church of Rome acted (with curial qualifiers: *convenienter*, *proprie*, *aptissime*) to approve the use of the term Transubstantiation to describe the

eucharistic consecration,⁹⁶ Luther was able to treat it as simply one scholarly opinion (no matter how prevalent) among others.

" . . . It is not an article of faith that bread and wine are not present in the sacrament in their own essence and nature (wessenlich und naturlich), but this is an opinion (wahn) of St. Thomas and the pope."⁹⁷ If St. Paul could speak "frankly and simply" of bread, then Luther considered himself guilty of no heresy, if he spoke the same way.⁹⁸

Luther was thus able to agree with what both the Roman Church and the Swiss reformers affirmed about the sacrament. He stood with Catholic theologians in upholding the presence of Christ, and with the Swiss by insisting on the continued natural presence of the bread.⁹⁹

The model of the Incarnation provides a favorite argument for the Reformer, and he returns to it, again and again, in his writings against the Swiss.¹⁰⁰

I point to the man Christ and say, "This is God's Son," or "This man is God's Son." It is not necessary here that the humanity vanish or be annihilated in order that the word "this" may refer to God and not to the man, as the sophists imagine concerning the bread in the sacrament. Rather, the humanity must remain.¹⁰¹

Luther was personally convinced of a sacramental union of natures (following the model of the Incarnation), but was quick to note that maintaining the Real Presence as an article of faith was the important thing, while any discussion of the mode of that presence was a secondary matter.¹⁰² So, he is able to say that, if there were no other options than the Roman or

the Swiss formulations of eucharistic doctrine, he would then conform to the teaching of transubstantiation without hesitation.¹⁰³

Overlooking the many minor differences of interpretation and teaching among the more radical reformers, one may summarize and say that the following describes the Swiss position, in its main points, as Luther understood it (primarily from the literature):

1. The fact of the Incarnation is eternally binding on the person of Christ. The form in which he existed while on earth, having dimensions and physical attributes, is the form in which he will exist for all eternity.

2. Following the Ascension, Christ is in heaven, "at the right hand of God," situated as in a place (localiter).

3. Because of the Incarnation, Christ's body must be in only one place; it cannot be present in heaven and on earth simultaneously.

4. A substantial presence in the sacrament is ruled out.

5. Therefore, the "this is" of the Verba must be understood to mean "this signifies" or "this represents."

6. There is no physical, bodily partaking of Christ in the sacrament. Rather, when the believer receives the elements in remembrance of Christ, then Christ enters into spiritual communion (according to his divine nature) with that person (on the basis of his faith), though corporeally he is absent, remaining

still in heaven.¹⁰⁴

Against this position, Luther enters into a discussion of the modes of presence that are indicated in Scripture or revealed by reason. Sasse notes that Luther agreed with Occam in his definition of two modes, those which are called "localiter seu circumscriptiva," and "diffinitiva." And to these, Luther added the mention of a third, "praesentia repletiva."¹⁰⁵ Praesentia circumscriptiva, the only mode admitted to by Zwingli, is that which is common to all persons and objects in space and time. Praesentia diffinitiva describes Christ's post-resurrection ability to be present within another body, without becoming part of it or occupying its space, as when he is defined to have passed through a sealed grave and locked doors. Praesentia repletiva is proper only to God himself, and is higher than the second mode; through it God is able to be present to and in everything he has made. Luther speculates that God may have other, more marvellous modes of presence, which are totally unknown to us here on earth; but in his discussion of the sacrament he confines himself to these three.

. . . Our faith maintains that Christ is God and man, and the two natures are one person, so that this person may not be divided in two; therefore, he can surely show himself in a corporeal, circumscribed manner at whatever place he will, as he did after the resurrection and will do on the Last Day. But above and beyond this mode he can also use the second, uncircumscribed mode [that is, the "definitive"], as we have proved from the gospel. . . .

But now, since he is a man who is supernaturally one person with God, and apart from this man there is no God

(ausser diesem menschen kein Gott ist), it must follow that according to the third supernatural mode, he is and can be wherever God is and that everything is full of Christ through and through, even according to his humanity . . . if he is present naturally and personally wherever he is, then he must be man there too, since he is not two separate persons but a single person. . . .

And if you could show me one place where God is and not the man, then the person is already divided and I could at once say truthfully, "Here is God who is not man and has never become man." But no God like that for me! For it would follow from this that space and place has separated the two natures from one another and thus divided the person, even though death and all the devils had been unable to separate and tear them apart. This would leave me a poor sort of Christ (ein schlechter Christus), if he were present only at one single place, as a divine and human person; and if at all other places he had to be nothing more than a mere isolated God and a divine person without the humanity.

One is free to judge the foregoing argument on its merits. For Luther, it is on the level of speculation, and in no sense a demonstratio. Luther never trusts philosophy or human reasoning powers (including his own). One of his certainties is that God and things eternal are beyond our understanding, otherwise the Incarnation itself would not have been necessary. "Reason is blind; man must hold his ears to Christ's mouth and listen to His Word. . . . He will tell us how to believe." 107 When Luther put his own ears "to the mouth of Christ," he simply heard him say *Τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου*, and *Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐστιν ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι*.

[The Sacramentarians] speak according to their own ideas, but we speak what God says. Before the world existed, God said, "Let there be a world," and the world was. So he says here, "Let this be my body," and it is, nor is it prevented by the scoffing of Bullinger [Zwingli's successor],

who says that because the body of Christ isn't seen it isn't present (non cernitur . . . non adesse). For in the former instance God created visible things but in the latter instance he created invisible, in such fashion as he wished.¹⁰⁸

If the Lord had instituted the sacrament with obscure words, Luther says he would believe what God had said nevertheless, since God would accept responsibility for his own obscurity. But that is not the case. "This is my-body" is a using of words that are "perfectly clear, certain [and] sure," so that no simpler formulation could be achieved in any human language.¹⁰⁹ Again, Luther suggests that, if the Swiss were correct in saying that "is" must be understood as some sort of figure of speech, then surely one of the Evangelists (whose accounts of the Last Supper differ in many minor respects) would have "slipped" and revealed this fact, by substituting some other term for ἐστιν, in at least one of the places where it occurs. Their unanimous use of ἐστιν, on the contrary, testifies to the unanimity of their belief in the Real Presence.¹¹⁰

As a translator of Hebrew, Luther was well aware that Christ would not have had a copulative verb to employ, when he pronounced the ipsissima verba at the table. This fact presented no problem, however, since Luther was content in the realization that the Semitic syntax, which governed the original form of the Verba, created an even more immediate and total identification between the elements and Christ's body and blood, than the Greek verb εἶναι is capable of expressing.¹¹¹

Luther's pastoral heart rebelled over the Swiss reformers' rejection of the Real Presence, and he accused them of stripping away the kernel from the sacrament and of giving the people only the husk.¹¹²

He chides the Swiss, saying that, if Christ had simply wanted to establish a meal that would represent or symbolize him, he could easily enough have just served up the Passover meal and given a new interpretation to the paschal lamb--if he wanted to do no more than this, then the Lord through his enigmatic Verba, burdened the Church with a vain and useless text.¹¹³

Again, he argued, if the Swiss have no desire to consecrate the body and blood, they would do well to eliminate the Verba and "say an Ave Maria" instead. Failing that, they might at least abbreviate the Verba, since the only sort of text their sort of meal requires is "Take, eat; take, drink; do this in remembrance of me."¹¹⁴

The integrity and force of the Verba, for Luther, were such that he maintained eucharistic opinions which stood opposed not only to other Protestants, but also to the teachings of some of his own followers. One must mention, in this connection, the related concepts of "Consecration" and of "Perduring Presence."

Just as Luther gradually weaned himself from the use of sacrificial terminology in his eucharistic writing, to avoid confusion with the Roman Catholic sacrificial understanding

of the Mass: so later Lutherans have tended to shy away from using the term "consecration" or similar concepts, for fear of finding themselves accused of teaching transubstantiation, or of encouraging extra usum eucharistic adoration. As a defense, some have gone so far as to teach Receptionism, according to which the Real Presence is accomplished only in *usu*, most strictly defined as the precise moment when the sacrament is received by each individual communicant.¹¹⁵ Luther, however, was touched by no such fear.

For him, the Verba are creative, action-words.¹¹⁶ What the elements are known to be prior to their recitation is one thing; afterwards there is a different reality. The recitation of the Verba is decisive for Luther (as indeed for the entire historic Western Church), and he ridicules the receptionistic notion.¹¹⁷ Virtually the whole vocabulary of "hallowing" is to be found in his writings at one time or another. The elements, for example, are seen as "changed" (*vorwandelt*) in 1519,¹¹⁸ as "sanctified, blessed, consecrated" (*sanctificentur, benedictus, consecratus*) in 1520.¹¹⁹ In 1533, he speaks of a "conversion and constituting" (*Wandeln und machen*--an attempt to translate *conficere*?) of the sacrament.¹²⁰ He is able to call the effecting of the Real Presence a "great miracle" (*gros miracul*).¹²¹ Luther's only proviso to the use of such language is that we should remember that the consecration is effected not by us, but by God himself, through the power of his Word. "Our

office (ampt)[as ministers] is . . . not one of producing or effecting conversion (nicht machen noch Wandlen) but solely one of offering and bestowing (allein reichen oder geben).¹²² That is to say, the task of the ministry is simply that of calling the people to God's sacrament and of administering it.

Once the sacrament has been consecrated, the Real Presence is not confined to the moments of congregational communion. There is a Perduring Presence. In 1522, it was Luther's opinion that reservation should be continued for the sake of the communion of the sick, though it is evident that even then he was concerned about any superstitiously-felt need for the Viaticum.¹²³ It is true that, in 1532, he recommended the abolishing of reservation to the reforming clergy at Nürnberg, but the body of his letter shows that his concern was directed against exposition of the Host; there was no denial of the continuing presence, per se.¹²⁴ In late 1540, he said:

[At the end of the celebration,] We let someone consume it [the remaining sacrament]. One must never be so precise [as to define the duration of sacramental union, in terms of hours or of the distance the sacrament might be carried] . . . for as long as one is engaged in the action (den weil man in actione ist) even if it extends for an hour or two or even if one carries it to another altar or, . . . across the street [for the sick], it is and remains the body of Christ (so bleibt und ist es corpus Christi).¹²⁵

In the days of liturgical freedom and experimentation at the beginning of the Reformation period, it appears that "familiarity bred contempt" for the Real Presence, so that certain pastors lost their scruples, in the administration of the

sacrament. In 1543, Simon Wolfrum, then pastor at Luther's own home parish in Eisleben, was accused of returning what remained of the consecrated species to the unconsecrated sacristory stock. Luther vigorously denounced this as an evidence of "Zwinglian insanity":

Sed quae est ista singularis tua temeritas, ut tam mala specie non abstineas, quam scire te oportuit esse scandalosam, nempe quod reliquum vini vel panis misces priori pani et vino? Quo exemplo id facis? Non vides certe, quam periculosas quaestiones movebis, si tuo sensu abundans contendes, cessante actione cessare Sacramentum? Zuinglianum te forte vis audiri, et ego te Zuinglii insania laborare credam, qui tam superbe et contentim irritas cum tua illa singulari et gloriosa sapientia? Non erat alia via, ut simplicibus et adversariis non daretur suspicio, te esse contemptorem sacramenti, . . . ?¹²⁶

In 1545, when Adam Besserer, who had carelessly miscounted the number of hosts he prepared for consecration or who had somehow lost a host from the paten (possibly by administering two hosts to one of the communicants), tried to cover his mistake by administering an unconsecrated host to the final communicant (perhaps supposing that the final communicant's desire for the sacrament would result in an acceptable "spiritual communion"),¹²⁷ Luther insisted that he be banished from the Lutheran ministry. Luther's respect for the Real Presence was total, and he would not tolerate those whose practice gave the lie to the faith of the Church. His concern was not for the keeping of rubrics or church etiquette, but that true respect and worship must be given to the God who makes himself present in the midst of his people, in the Eucharist.

If a summary statement is needed to close this section on the Real Presence In Luther's eucharistic theology, perhaps it will be found that his main points are best expressed in his own words.

... It is not by our doing, speaking, or work that bread and wine become Christ's body and blood, much less is it by the chrism of consecration [that is, by virtue of Roman Rite ordination]; rather it is caused by Christ's ordinance, command, and institution. For Christ commanded (as St. Paul says in I Corinthians 11[:22ff.]) that when we meet together and speak his words with reference to (uber) bread and wine, then it is to be his body and blood. Here, too, we do nothing more than administer and bestow bread and wine along with his words according to his command and institution. This command and institution of his have the power to accomplish this, that we do not present and receive simply bread and wine (schlecht brod und wein), as his words indicate: "This is my body, this is my blood." [So] it is not our work or speaking but the command and ordinance of Christ which make the bread the body and the wine the blood, beginning with the first Lord's Supper and continuing to the end of the world, and it is administered daily through our ministry or office. We hear these words, "This is my body," not as spoken concerning the person of the pastor or the minister (nicht als ynn der person des pfarrhers odder dieners gesprochen) but as coming from Christ's own mouth who is present and says to us: "Take, eat, this is my body."¹²⁸

When kings hear the Word and see the administration of the sacraments, they should place their crowns and sceptres at His feet and say: "It is God who has his being here, who speaks here, and who is active here." You will perhaps be tempted to interpose (Du möchtest aber sagen): "[Why, it is just] a plain priest standing there and administering the Lord's Supper." If that is your viewpoint, you are no Christian (so bistu kein Christ). If I were to hear none but you preach, I would not care a straw about it; but it is God who is speaking here. It is he who is baptizing; it is he who is active. He Himself is present here. Thus the preacher does not speak for himself (für sein person); ... [but] God, the heavenly Father. Therefore you ought to say: "I saw God himself ... administering the Sacrament of the Altar, and I heard God preaching the word." When will we ever convince the people of this?¹²⁹

THE LUTHERAN CONFESSIONS: AN ADDENDUM

Especially for the benefit of non-Lutheran readers, it is necessary to clarify that, for the Lutheran Church, the theology of the great Wittenberg Reformer is not "taken as gospel." While it goes without saying that Lutherans consider Luther to be the first and greatest of the interpreters of what their Church teaches, and while his teaching always has, and continues to have a strong influence on the Lutheran theological enterprise: it is nevertheless unquestionably true that Lutherans are not "Lutheran" because they give unqualified allegiance to the words and teachings of Luther himself.

The Lutheran Church is a "confessional church," which recognizes as having authority over its teaching: First and foremost, the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments; then, the documents ("confessions") which comprise the Book of Concord of 1580.

The constitutions of our church bodies indicate basic agreement on the question of what we recognize as authoritative in faith and life. The Scriptures are recognized as "the only rule and norm of faith and practice" (LCMS), "the norm for the faith and life of the church" (LCA), and "the only infallible authority in all matters of faith and life" (ALC). Further, each constitution clearly aligns the church body with the confessions contained in the ecumenical creeds and the specifically Lutheran Confessions, although the LCA and ALC distinguish between the Augsburg Confession and the Small Catechism, on the one hand, and the other documents in the Book of Concord, which are seen as "further valid interpretations of the confession of the church" or "further elaboration of, and in accord with . . . (and) normative for its theology."¹³⁰

The following are the documents contained in the Book of Concord:

1. The "Ecumenical" Creeds (Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian).
2. The Augsburg Confession of 1530, written by Melanchthon.
3. The Apology of the Augsburg Confession of 1531; likewise by Melanchthon.
4. The Small Catechism of 1529, by Luther.
5. The Large Catechism of 1529, by Luther.
6. The Smalcald Articles by Luther; taken together with Melanchthon's Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope, both dated 1537.
7. The Formula of Concord of 1577, compiled principally by Andreae, Chemnitz and Chytraeus.¹³¹

The relationship of Luther to the Book of Concord is one of great complexity. All of the sixteenth century documents within it are, or strive to be "Lutheran." Luther, as noted above, was himself the author of three of these documents. Luther clearly stands behind the Augsburg Confession; in writing it, Melanchthon made use of both the Torgau Articles (in whose production Luther was involved), and the Marburg Articles (which Luther had written). A draft of the A.C. was submitted to Luther, and received his approval, prior to its presentation to the emperor. In the Apology, Melanchthon worked alone. Luther

is directly mentioned only once in this document, and then only in connection with a matter of secondary importance (monastic vows). No comment on the Apol., from Luther's pen, is known to exist; but its "Lutheran" character has never been seriously questioned. Luther had died prior to the appearance of the Formula of Concord. The purpose of its writers was to elucidate and defend the teaching of Luther, the A.C. and the Apol., and to end a rift in Lutheran ranks (After Luther's death, many followed the leadership of Melancthon, who in turn began to moderate his earlier strict Lutheranism, in the hope of achieving unity on the pan-Protestant level. To this end, Melancthon had gone so far as to produce revised editions [the "variatae"] of the A.C., one of which was even subscribed to by Calvin.).

At first or second hand, Luther was involved in the writing of most of the confessions, and his spirit loomed over the production of the others. Yet the purpose of these confessions was not to enshrine Luther, nor to canonize the corpus of his writings. Rather they sought to capture his evangelical insight and define the theology which proceeds from it. Scripture thus has primacy, not Luther,

With all of this in mind, it may be asked why the preceding chapter was devoted to Luther's eucharistic theology, rather than to the eucharistic teaching of these confessions.¹³²

First of all, as regards eucharistic teaching, Luther himself

provides far more data than the confessions. Secondly, the confessions are conservative, rather than breaking new ground, they only attempt to systematize the findings of Luther and his closest co-workers. Thirdly, in his revisions of the Mass, which were so influential as models for later Lutheran liturgical work, Luther operated in the "pre-confessional" period, on the basis of his own insights alone.

For the purpose of the present study, part of the importance of the confessions is that they relativize the importance of Luther. Without them, the Lutheran Church would be the "Church of Luther," strictly bound to his theories and conclusions. With them, no matter how much indebted it is to Luther and no matter how much it reveres his teaching, the Lutheran Church has placed another authority, a theological consensus, above him.

Beyond that, since the Lutheran Church ascribes even higher authority to Scripture than to the confessions, the confessions themselves are relativized in their authority. In the very conservative jurisdictions (such as the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod and the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod), there is admittedly less flexibility in this respect; there, the confessions are subscribed to because (quia) they are seen to be a "true and unadulterated statement and exposition of the Word of God." The majority of North American Lutherans, however, subscribe to the confessions insofar as

(quatenus) they are seen to have such a character.¹³³

Theodore Tappert has provided some useful statements on the confessional principle:

1. The Book of Concord was originally intended to serve as a normative canon to define the Christian faith as Lutherans understood it. Although used with varying degrees of seriousness and rigidity, it has been so regarded ever since.
2. Because they originated in another age than ours, the confessions require interpretation if their words are to have the same force for us that they had for their first readers. . . .
3. The confessions must be read not only in terms of their own time but also in terms of the knowledge of our day. . . .
4. The purpose of confessional subscription is not to restrict the ways in which the gospel may be proclaimed but to make sure that what is proclaimed in the church is the gospel.¹³⁴

Positions the Lutheran Church has taken for various reasons in the past are not eternal solutions. They are always subject to review, under the light of our knowledge of the Gospel, and subsidiary to that, with a view to present conditions, needs and awareness.

In his day, Luther suppressed the only form of eucharistic prayer he knew, the Roman Canon, because he considered it to be in blatant opposition to the Gospel. His action must be interpreted, in the first instance, not as "anti-eucharistic prayer" but as "pro-Gospel." In a later age, following the principles enunciated by Tappert, there is no reason for historical precedent to prohibit the possibility that "pro-Gospel" Lutherans should also become "pro-eucharistic prayer." The exercise of just that possibility is, indeed, now under way.

NOTES: CHAPTER II

¹ It may be a mark of the theological immaturity of North American Lutheranism, that none of its theologians has, to date, produced a first-rank, serious study of Luther's eucharistic thought. All of these authorities are European-trained. This should not be taken to suggest, however, that the North American Lutheran Church is in close contact with theological developments in Europe. Since the end of the Second World War, this Church has been overwhelmingly monolingual. None of its seminaries requires (modern) foreign language proficiency as a condition for student admission. Except within the circle of its most highly trained scholars and researchers, there is no direct access to European scholarship. As a rule, European works are not translated, unless they have already won the sort of reputation which insures sales. It is regrettable that the publication of the Lutheran World Federation, *Lutheran World/Lutherische Rundschau*, a theological quarterly published in English and German, which attempted to support an international Lutheran dialogue, was discontinued in 1977. If current trends continue, the further isolation of American from European Lutheran thought is certain.

One American work is worthy of mention: Jaroslav Pelikan, *Luther the Expositor: Introduction to the Reformer's Exegetical Writings* ("Luther's Works: Companion Volume," St. Louis: Concordia, 1959). In part two of this work, Pelikan conducts a "case study" of Luther's exegetical methodology, as it applies to a selection of N.T. eucharistic texts. While valuable in its own right, Pelikan's goal of using Luther's doctrinal writings to clarify his method of exegesis (rather than vice versa), has limited the usefulness of the work, for the present study.

² This assessment of Althaus is based on J. L. Neve, *A History of Christian Thought*, Vol. 2 (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1946), pp. 182-183.

³ Paul Althaus, *The Theology of Martin Luther* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1966; translated from the 1963 edition of *Die Theologie Martin Luthers*) [Hereinafter: Althaus], cf. p. 391: "Even someone [Althaus must here be suggesting himself.] who feels that the exegetical problem is not as simple as it appears to be in Luther's writings, yes, even that his understanding of the words of institution does not express their biblical meaning (for example, "body" and "blood"), must still admit that Luther's attitude is a dynamic expression without

parallel of the greatest thing that God permitted him to express with his words and life, that is, absolute obedience and dependence on God's word alone."

⁴Ibid., p. vi.

⁵The reason for this may simply be that a "theology" is constructed out of positive statements, but Luther has very few positive insights on the subject of sacrifice. *Infra*, pp. 63-67.

⁶Neve, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

⁷Hermann Sasse, *This is My Body: Luther's Contention for the Real Presence in the Sacrament of the Altar* (Minneapolis, Augsburg, 1959). [Hereinafter: Sasse.]

⁸Vilmos Vajta, *Luther on Worship: An Interpretation* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1958). [Hereinafter: Vajta.]

⁹Carl F. Wisløff, *The Gift of Communion: Luther's Controversy with Rome on Eucharistic Sacrifice* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1964). [Hereinafter: Wisløff.]

¹⁰In this section of the paper, the present writer has assigned himself the task of understanding Luther, not that of commenting on his commentators. To further that end, his methodology has been as follows:

1. To make his own thorough reading of Luther's eucharistic works.
2. To read Luther's most respected modern commentators, noting their conclusions and their sources.
3. To re-read Luther, with an eye to questions and concerns raised by these commentators.
4. To describe his own conclusions, based on steps 1 through 3.

¹¹LW 29:172/WA 57:3:170. N.B., In this chapter and the next, there will be frequent quotations from the works of Luther. The reader's attention is called to the fact that quotations will be from the 55 volume "American Edition" (abbreviated: LW), rather than the German "Weimar Ausgabe" (WA). In all cases, the reading of LW has been carefully compared with the original in WA. Words or phrases from the original in parentheses, (...), sometimes derive from the translator, but more often from the present writer, to call attention to some point in the text. When this writer has found it necessary to add explanatory material, this has been placed in square brackets, [...]. The use of LW will call attention to the fact that this translation has become the "standard text" of Luther for North

American Lutheranism (cf. n. 1, supra). Where a text is quoted only in the original, it has not been included in LW. In some cases this simply reflects the fact that space restrictions played a role in what could be included in LW, but in others (e.g., n. 126, infra) one may wonder if an editor's bias against high sacramental views might have been the cause.

¹²Regin Prenter, "Luther on Word and Sacrament," p. 102 (65-122) in Jaroslav J. Pelikan, et. al., *More About Luther* ("Martin Luther Lectures," Vol. 2; Decorah: Luther College, 1958).

¹³LW 31:193/WA 1:595.

¹⁴Cf. the assessment of Luther's biographer, Roland H. Bainton, in *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther* (New York and Nashville: Abingdon, 1950), p. 68: "Luther's new insights [centered on justification] contained already the marrow of his mature theology. The salient ideas were present in the lectures on Psalms and Romans [given at Wittenberg] from 1513 to 1516. What came after was but commentary and sharpening to obviate misconception. The center about which all the petals clustered was the affirmation of the forgiveness of sins through the utterly unmerited grace of God made possible by the cross of Christ. . . . Beyond these cardinal tenets Luther was never to go." See Pelikan, *Luther the Expositor*, pp. 42-45.

¹⁵His properly eucharistic works began with *The Blessed Sacrament of the Holy and True Body of Christ and the Brotherhoods* of 1519, and concluded with *Brief Confession Concerning the Holy Sacrament* of 1544. A chronological listing of these works will be found in the bibliography.

¹⁶Althaus (pp. 375-382) finds a dividing point in 1524. But since that author is not concerned with eucharistic sacrifice in Luther, that date refers to a change of emphasis in Luther's teaching concerning the Real Presence.

¹⁷Beyond politics, one must remember that Luther's excommunication, in 1521, made real dialogue impossible.

¹⁸Theodore G. Tappert, trans. and ed., *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1959), p. 96. [Hereinafter: *Book of Concord*.]

¹⁹LW 36:475f./WA 6:520; LW 36:168-170/WA 8:511-513; LW 37:192f./WA 26:294f.; LW 35:99/WA 6:368f.

²⁰Vajta, pp. 3-25.

²¹Ibid., p. 3.

²²Ibid., p. 6.

²³Ibid., p. 3.

²⁴Ibid., pp. 4-8. Cf. LW 35:81/WA 6:354f.

²⁵Vajta, p. 12

²⁶Ibid, p. 14.

²⁷Ibid, p. 15. On "externals," note Luther's assertion that Christ's presence is available to our five senses, in the word and in the sacrament, just as when he was in the lap of his mother, Mary. LW 22:421/WA 47:139f.

²⁸Luther does not deny the continuity of a true Eucharist in the Roman Church. Indeed, throughout his career, he had no difficulty saying that Rome possesses the Eucharist, Scripture, baptism, the keys, the ministry, the care of souls, and the presence of the Triune God. This remains true, even when the proper use of these appears to have been lost (LW 36:347/WA 19:502 [1526]) and, indeed, even when the Pope has made himself the Antichrist (LW 54:101f./WA TR 1:263f., #574 [1533]); this passage, incidentally, is a great example of Luther's macaronic conversational style!):

Iam quaeritur: Quia sum sacerdos creatus sub dominio papae an sim etiam verus sacerdos Dei? Respondeo: Quod sic. Quia quinquam fui membrum Antichristi, tamen bin ich yhn ecclesia bliben, sicut papa adhuc manet in ecclesia quia sedet in templo Dei, id est, er sol haben sacramenta, biblia, claves, et tamen sol er sizen contra templum Dei, sicut vocat eum Paulus ἀντικείμενον, und sol sein in templo Dei et Christi ecclesiam gubernare. Ideo dicit: ἔσονται χαλεποὶ χρόνοι. Omnibus rebus etiam sacramentis est usus contra ecclesiam. Ergo in summa: Man muss dahin kommen, das man sage: Ich hab sacramentum nit gestifft, sed Got. Sonst ist kein solutio. Es sol heissen: Got, sso stehets recht. Sic wurfft papa die leßt ordinatione illegitima in die kirchen, per ἀντιπεριστάσιν, wolt gern wehren, et tamen fit, bringt die armen pfaffen in das ministerium; predigstul, tauffstein sind da zuvor, so wurfft er sie hinein. Sic vocatio est legitima.

Cf. LW 37:367f./WA TR 1:264, #574 (1528), where he describes his concept of the universality of the Church; and LW 38:224/WA 38:264 (1534), where he speaks of the Real Presence in the eucharists of both the Roman and Greek churches. Also, LW 38:177f./WA 38:221 (1533).

²⁹ LW 38:300/WA 54:152.

³⁰ LW 38:189/WA 38:231 (1533). Cf. Pelikan, *Luther the Expositor*, pp. 48-70. Since the Gospel was so preeminent for Luther: should the form of the Mass obscure the Gospel, then that form would have to be altered or give way (LW 31:210f./WA 1:604f.). An unfortunate result of the fact that Luther appeared to set Gospel and Mass in opposition to each other, is that much Lutheran thinking since his time has been undisturbed by infrequent communion services, so long as there is always provision for a weekly preaching service. This in spite of art. 24 of the Augsburg Confession (Book of Concord, p. 56; cf. p. 248), and the "confessional subscription" of the churches involved (infra, pp. 83-84).

³¹ LW 36:56/WA 6:525 (1520).

³² LW 36:36/WA 6:512. Cf. LW 35:82/WA 6:355f.

³³ LW 36:183/WA 8:524.

³⁴ LW 42:173/WA 7:694.

³⁵ LW 38:164f./WA 38:210f. Recitation of the Verba aloud would also insure against another abuse that scandalized Luther: that some cynical or ignorant priests failed to recite them at all. Cf. LW 37:260/WA 26:388f.; LW 38:166/WA 38:212.

³⁶ Book of Concord, pp. 338-339.

³⁷ The Deutsche Messe is in WA 19:72ff., and the Formula Missae is in WA 12:205ff. The Verba of the Small Catechism were compared in: *Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche*, 2nd ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1952), p. 520.

³⁸ The liberty Luther himself exercised in quoting the Verba is demonstrated in the Large Catechism, where they are twice printed as reference-texts, with numerous minor differences of reading between them. Ibid., pp. 588 and 708.

³⁹ Cf. LW 40:132/WA 18:115, where Luther asserts that to be totally literal would demand that the sacrament could only be celebrated in the Upper Room, in Jerusalem, and then only by the original disciples who had received Christ's command to observe it.

⁴⁰ The terms are synonymous for Luther. LW 37:313/WA 26:459, "Er wolle segnen und dancken für ein ding haben."

⁴¹ LW 35:81/WA 6:354.

⁴² LW 36:52/WA 6:523. Cf. LW 37:185/WA 26:286; "Ists widder die schrifft und glauben, das Christus leib ym abendmal sey, wir kan er denn ym ersten abendmal sein?"

⁴³ LW 36:170/WA 8:513.

⁴⁴ LW 36:172/WA 8:515. Cf. LW 36:527/WA 6:523f., where Luther asserts that the same thing cannot be offered and received at the same time, and that it is thus a contradiction in terms, to call the sacrament a sacrifice.

⁴⁵ LW 36:184/WA 8:525.

⁴⁶ LW 36:173/WA 8:515.

⁴⁷ Supra, p. 34, n. 26.

⁴⁸ LW 36:147/WA 8:493 (1521). Cf. LW 54:182/WA TR 3:103, #2935a, "Ego post orationes et missationem meam praesumptuosissimus eram; aber den schalck sahe ich nicht dahinter, quod non Deo fidebam, sed meae iustitiae, neque agebam gratias Deo pro sacramento, Sondern er must mir dancken und fro sein, das ich im seinen Son hette geopffert."

⁴⁹ LW 54:20/WA TR 1:60, #139 and LW 37:371/WA 26:508.

⁵⁰ LW 36:52/WA 6:523.

⁵¹ LW 36:168/WA 8:511, " . . . unnd halte es gewiss da fur, das keyn Engel, viel weniger menschen bullen und bulgen tzyne oder gebür, auss dem sacrament etwas zu machen, das Christus selbst nit gemacht hatt." LW 36:313/WA 18:24, to place a sacrifice of ours before God is to despise and deny (ia verachtens und verleuckens) Christ's sacrifice. Luther once advised that it would be better for one terminally-ill and unable to ingest wine, to make a spiritual communion, than to make a change in the element (LW 54:438f./WA TR 5:203, #5509). Many American Lutherans have allowed politics to come ahead of such sacramental scrupulosity. At the time of Prohibition, many Eastern parishes substituted unfermented grape juice for wine, and many have not yet converted back. (One might note that in recent years Rome allowed a similar practice, for alcoholic priests; cf. Origins 4[1974/75], 27-28.)

⁵² The First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI, introduction by Douglas Harrison ("Everyman's Library"; London: Dent; [reprint] 1968), p. 222.

⁵³ LW 36:147/WA 8:493, "Hort yhr nicht? Christus hatt eyns sich selbst geopffert, er wil von keym andern hynnfürt werden ge opffert. Er wil, das man seyns opffers gedencken soll. Wie seytt yhr denn sso küne, das yhr auss dem gedechtnis eyn opffer macht?" Cf. Wisløff, pp. 119-124, where he discusses the question of unrepeatability, in the light of Vajta.

⁵⁴ LW 37:192f./WA 26:294-296 (1528).

⁵⁵ LW 36:172/WA 8:514 (1521). The question of communion sub una was not, at first, as pivotal for Luther, as it had been for the Hussites (LW 35:49f./WA 2:742 [1519]). The fact that the priest receives both kinds and the people only one, became an irritation to Luther (LW 22:443-445/WA 47:158f.); he even wondered out loud if there is a Real Presence in the chalice, since it was not intended for the people too (LW 38:205/WA 38:244). "Both kinds" conforms to the original example of Christ (LW 35:59/WA 2:748f.), and is to be worked for in Lutheran territories (LW 40:289-292/WA 26:214-216 [1528]).

⁵⁶ LW 38:153/WA 38:200.

⁵⁷ LW 38:163/WA 38:209f.

⁵⁸ LW 38:181/WA 38:224.

⁵⁹ LW 38:159f./WA 38:207. On Luther's terminology, cf. Wisløff, pp. 41-72, who, unlike Vajta, makes a distinction between "work" and "sacrifice." His point is not without some interest, but the present writer believes Luther's doctrine to be perfectly understandable if the two terms are taken as synonyms, when applied to the Mass.

⁶⁰ LW 36:47/WA 6:520, " . . . missam aliud non esse quam promissionem divinam seu testamentum Christi . . . quod si verum est, intelligis, non possum ipse esse opus ullo modo . . . "

⁶¹ LW 36:175f./WA 8:517f. Cf. Vajta, pp. 33-38.

⁶² LW 36:177/WA 8:519.

⁶³ LW 36:169f./WA 8:512f.; LW 38:117f./WA 30,2:610.

⁶⁴ LW 35:79/WA 6:353.

⁶⁵ Canon 8 of the seventh session of the Council of Trent (1547): Si quis dixerit, per ipsa novae Legis sacramenta ex opere operato non conferri gratiam, sed solam fidem divinae

promissionis ad gratiam consequendam sufficere: an. s. [§1608]
 Canon 11 of the eighth session of Trent (1551): Si
 quis dixerit, solam fidem esse sufficientem praeparationem ad
 sumendum sanctissimae Eucharistiae sacramentum: an. s. [§1661]
 Henricus Denzinger and Adolphus Schönmetzer, eds., Enchiridion
 Symbolorum, 36th ed. (Barcelona: Herder, 1976), pp. 382 and 390.

⁶⁶ LW 36:56/WA 6:526.

⁶⁷ LW 35:82/WA 6:356.

⁶⁸ LW 35:93/WA 6:364.

⁶⁹ Cf. LW 35:84/WA 6:357, where Luther contents himself
 by pointing out that Christ's testament has superseded Moses'
 covenant, without offering any explanation of the difference
 between β^e rith and $\delta\iota\alpha\theta\eta\kappa\eta$.

⁷⁰ On $\delta\iota\alpha\theta\eta\kappa\eta$ (and its relation to β^e rith), see William
 F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich, A Greek-English Lexicon of the
 New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature (Chicago:
 University of Chicago, 1957), p. 182.

⁷¹ LW 35:86f./WA 6:359f. A seventh point must also be
 understood: the death of the testator--here, Christ's sacrifi-
 cial death on the cross. Though Luther does not repeat the
 full allegory in his later writings, this interpretation and
 imagery must be understood as still present in his later eu-
 charistic thinking.

⁷² LW 35:91/WA 6:363. Note the similarity to the scho-
 lastic distinction between sacramentum and res.

⁷³ LW 26:227/WA 40,1:360 (1535).

⁷⁴ LW 36:169/WA 8:511f., "Wo keyn verheyssung ist, da
 ist keyn glawb, und wo keyn glawb ist, da ist die verheyssung
 nichts."

⁷⁵ LW 42:172/WA 7:693. Cf. LW 42:57f./WA 2:112.

⁷⁶ LW 29:192f./WA 57,3:191f.

⁷⁷ LW 29:207/WA 57,3:205.

⁷⁸ LW 35:63/WA 2:751f. E. Theodore Bachmann notes that
 Luther was aware that an original intention behind the ex opere
 operato concept was the safeguarding of the Mass's validity,
 when celebrated by an evil priest. But he concludes that Luth-

er's motivation was not to posit operantis over operato, but to deny any opus, in favor of the recognition of beneficium Dei. (LW 36:64, n. 39). In the Large Catechism, Luther indicates the Verba themselves are the ultimate guarantee of validity; cf. Book of Concord, p. 448f.

⁷⁹ LW 36:49/WA 6:521.

⁸⁰ LW 35:101/WA 6:370. Sola fide became Lutheranism's slogan. Faith and the right doctrine of justification were all that really mattered to Luther; if they were achieved, he felt that all other abuses in the Church of Rome would be overcome. Cf. LW 54:231/WA TR 3:402f., #3551.

⁸¹ LW 25:437/WA 56:445.

⁸² LW 36:145f./WA 8:492. In LW 38:119-122/WA 30,2:612-614, the communal and the communing aspects of the sacrament are so important that Luther denies that the Mass can be a sacrifice just on the basis of what the priest does, if it is not also a sacrifice when the entire assembly deals with the sacrament (through its thankful reception of it).

⁸³ LW 35:99/WA 6:368f.

⁸⁴ LW 36:50,53/WA 6:522,524, "Quare vocabula sacrificii seu oblationis referri debent non ad sacramentum et testamentum, sed ad collectas ipsas."

⁸⁵ LW 38:120/WA 30,2,613: Luther says, ". . . they should not suppose that I want to argue about words. For where everything else is in order, the words are not as important. . . . Very well, we are ready to concede and to permit not the sacrament itself but the reception or use of the sacrament, to be called a sacrifice, . . . " Wisløff (p. 181) jumps on the word "concede," as indicating that Luther's heart really wasn't in it, when it came to any use of the word sacrifice, in conjunction with the Eucharist. With this understanding in mind, cf. pp. 79-86, in his chapter "Priesthood and Sacrifice," where he deals with some of the texts being considered here.

⁸⁶ LW 29:219f./WA 57,3:218.

⁸⁷ LW 36:147/WA 8:493. Cf. LW 37:144/WA 23:273, where Luther asserts, on the contrary, that the sacrifice can only be commemorative, in the sense that the Easter celebration is commemorative and does not involve or require an annual resurrection.

⁸⁸ LW 28:111f./WA 30,2:606, " . . . thut er das schonest opffer, den hohesten Gottes.dienst und herrlichst werck, nemlich ein Danckopffer." It is interesting that in this passage Luther uses both "sacrifice" and "work" in a positive sense, as synonyms for "worship."

⁸⁹ LW 38:108f./WA 30,2:604.

⁹⁰ LW 38:122/WA 30,2:614. Cf. LW 38:117/WA 30,2:610, where Luther speculates that a propitiatory sacrifice in the Mass only came to be taught, after the ancient concept of the sacrifice of thanksgiving had been forgotten.

⁹¹ LW 36:147/WA 8:494.

⁹² LW 36:162/WA 8:506, " . . . ym newen testament gar keyn opffer ist, denn das opffer des creutzes und des lobs, da die schrift von sagt, auff das niemandt ursach mehr hab, zu tzweyffeln an der Mess, das sie keyn opffer sey."

⁹³ LW 29:220/WA 57,3:218 and LE 35:101/WA 6:370.

⁹⁴ Book of Concord, pp. 447-448. Sasse (op. cit.) has doubtless produced the most detailed and useful study of Luther's doctrine of the Real Presence, available in English.

⁹⁵ LW 40:181f./WA 18:172 (1525).

⁹⁶ Cf. Denziger and Schönmetzer, op. cit., §§1321, 1352, 1642, and 1652, on pp. 335, 342, 387, and 289, respectively.

⁹⁷ LW 44:199/WA 6:456 (1520).

⁹⁸ LW 40:178/WA 18:168.

⁹⁹ Even in as careful a scholar as Althaus (p. 376), this fact has led to the charge that Luther, influenced by Nominalism, replaced the "doctrine of transubstantiation with the concept of consubstantiation." Cf. Otto W. Heick, "Consubstantiation in Luther's Theology," Canadian Journal of Theology 12(1966), 3-8, where the proper distinctions are made, and this charge is defused.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. LW 38:306f./WA 54:157f.; LW 40:153/WA 18:143; LW 37:49/WA 23:121; LW 37:218/WA 26:332.

¹⁰¹ LW 37:294-298/WA 26:437-443 (1528); the quotation is on p. 297 (LW), and p. 440 (WA).

¹⁰² Cf. the assessment of Norman Nagel, "The Presence of Christ's Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Altar According to Luther," *Concordia Theological Monthly* 39 (1968), 227-238: "Luther uses the scholastic terms, but they do not hold sway, and their content he finds in Scripture. What he strives to say with the borrowed and burst terms is connected with the heart of his understanding of Christ (p. 235)."
 "His is not a theology of postulate, proof, and conclusion, but of the received data. If God does or says something, it is sheer impertinence to question its possibility or fitness or to prescribe its manner. Nor is there any need of proving it (p. 238)."

¹⁰³ LW 37:317/WA 26:462, "Und ehe ich mit den schwermern wolt eytel wein haben, so wolt ich ehe mit dem Bapst eytel blut halten. Cf. LW 44:199/WA 6:456.

¹⁰⁴ The teachings of the Swiss reformers are reflected in most of Luther's serious writings on the Real Presence. Cf. especially, however, *That These Words of Christ, "This is My Body," etc., Still Stand Firm Against the Fanatics* (1527), and *Confession Concerning Christ's Supper* (1528), both of which are translated in LW 37 (WA 23:64-283^a and WA 26:261-509, respectively).

¹⁰⁵ Sasse, pp. 148-160.

¹⁰⁶ LW 37:218f./WA 26:332f. (1528). Here we have the classic formulation of Luther's controversial Ubiquitätslehre. Cf. LW 37:214-224/WA 26:326-337, for the entire discussion. Note the similarity of structure between Luther's incarnational understanding of the Eucharist and the scholastic teaching of concomitance (which provided a doctrinal basis for communion sub uno).

¹⁰⁷ LW 22:467/WA 47:178.

¹⁰⁸ LW 54:89/WA TR 1:230, #505 (1533). Cf. LW 54:471/WA TR 5:303, #5661.

¹⁰⁹ LW 37:305-308/WA 26:446-451. Note (LW 37:306/WA 26:447), Luther admits that his attempt to explain the meaning of "is" with such simple terms as "in, with and under (the elements)" greatly increases the possibilities for misinterpretation.

¹¹⁰ LW 37:313f./WA 26:459.

¹¹¹ LW 37:321/WA 26:465. Cf. LW 37:331/WA 26:472f.

¹¹² LW 38:110/WA 30,2:605 (1530). Whenever a church or sect denies the Real Presence, Luther is certain that no such presence occurs, even if the Verba are recited and the proper elements are used (LW 37:367/WA 26:506; LW 38:169/WA 38:214). This point is similar to the Catholic Church's concept of "intention."

¹¹³ LW 37:254-264/WA 26:382-396.

¹¹⁴ LW 37:260f./WA 26:389f., " . . . sie haben ubrig texts gnug, wenn sie also lesen, Nemet, Esset, Nemet, Trincket, solchs thut zu meinen gedechtnis. Inn diesen worten haben sie yhr abendmal gantz and völlig." Cf. LW 38:298f./WA 54:151. It is interesting to note that Richardson has proposed such "expurgated Verba" in his suggested Prayer of Thanksgiving; Hans Lietzmann, Mass and Lord's Supper [with introduction and supplementary essay by Robert D. Richardson] (Leiden: Brill, 1979), p. 698.

Some of the Swiss taught that the fraction marked a moment of special liturgical symbolism, which reminded the communicant of Christ's crucifixion (LW 37:265/WA 26:395f.). As a result, the fraction has been a hallmark of Reformed liturgies, whereas (to guard themselves from Calvinist identification) Lutheran liturgies have generally not maintained this ceremony. This created no problem, since Lutherans most often continued to use wafers rather than a loaf, and the use of the large host was dropped by Lutherans when the Elevation also was dis-used. Luther found no symbolic meaning in the fraction; when used, it was simply for the preparation of a loaf for distribution (LW 37:332/WA 26:474).

¹¹⁵ The Formula of Concord: Solid Declaration (7:85) contains the statement: " . . . the following useful rule and norm has been derived from the words of institution: Nothing has the character of a sacrament apart from the use instituted by Christ, or apart from the divinely instituted action (that is, if one does not observe Christ's institution as he ordained it, it is no sacrament)"; Book of Concord, p. 584. John T. Mueller, in Christian Dogmatics (St. Louis: Concordia, 1934), p. 525, demonstrates how this came to be interpreted by Lutheran Orthodoxy: "It is necessary for the sacramental union that the material elements should really be distributed (distributio) and received (sumptio) by the communicants; for the sacramental union occurs only in the sacramental action and not outside it. Ipsa sacramentalis unio non fit nisi in distributione." The attitude of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, however, is not as clear-cut as the foregoing statement of one of its old seminary textbooks might make it seem. Alone among the three major

Lutheran bodies in North America, the Missouri Synod in the general rubrics of its "missal," specifically provides for the reverent reservation of consecrated hosts which remain at the end of the liturgy; Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America, *The Lutheran Liturgy* (St. Louis, Concordia, n.d. [1941?]), p. 421.

¹¹⁶ Cf. LW 54:89/WA TR 1:229f., #505.

¹¹⁷ LW 40:143/WA 18:125, " . . . Man wollet denn eym ighlichen, der da zu [i.e., to the Sacrament] geht, die selben wort [the Verba] ynn sonderheyt ynn die oren schreyen und das sacrament so viel mal segenen, so viel sind, die es nemen."

¹¹⁸ LW 35:59/WA 2:749.

¹¹⁹ LW 36:54/WA 6:524f.

¹²⁰ LW 38:154/WA 38:201. The term *conficere* is also used by Luther; cf. WA BR 3:542.

¹²¹ LW 40:289/WA 26:213 (1528).

¹²² LW 38:198/WA 38:239.

¹²³ LW 36:257/WA 10,2:32. The WA speaks of *Monstrantzen* in connection with the communion of the sick; LW correctly renders this as "pyxes." On the subject of perduring presence, cf. Edward F. Peters, "Luther and the Principle: Outside of the Use There is No Sacrament" *Concordia Theological Monthly* 42(1971), 643-652.

¹²⁴ LW 50:66/WA BR 6:341. Earlier (in 1522), Luther had had no problem with adoration: "Liberum est, Christum adorare et invocare sub sacramento, neque enim peccat, qui non adorat, neque peccat qui adorat"; WA BR 2:560.

¹²⁵ LW 54:408/WA TR 5:55, #5314. Compare this with the definition he had sent to Simon Wolfram: "Sic ergo definiemus tempus vel actionem sacramentalem, ut incipiat ab initione orationis dominicae [In accordance with the structure of Luther's Latin Mass, this would mean "as soon as the recitation of the Verba is ended," the Sanctus being overlooked here], et duret, donec omnes communicaverint, calicem ebiberint, particulas comederint, populus dimissus et ab altari discessum sit. Ita tutti et liberi erimus a scrupulis et scandalis quaestionum interminabilium. D[oct]or Philippus [Melanchthon] actionem sacramentalem definit relative ad extra, id est, contra inclusionem et circumgestionem Sacramenti, non dividit eam intra se ipsam,

nec definit contra se ipsam. Quare curabitis, si quid reliquum fuerit Sacramenti, ut id accipiant vel aliqui communicantes vel ipse sacerdos et minister, non ut solus diaconus vel alius tantummodo bibat reliquum in calice, sed aliis det, qui et de corpore participati fuerint, ne videamini malo exemplo Sacramentum dividere aut actionem irreverenter tractare. Sic sentio, sic sentit et Philippus, hoc scio"; WA BR 10:348f. (July 20, 1543).

¹²⁶WA BR 10:340 (June 4, 1543).

¹²⁷Cf. Sasse, p. 174, n. 102.

¹²⁸LW 38:199/WA 38:240 (1533).

¹²⁹LW 22:505/WA 47:211 (1540).

¹³⁰The Function of Doctrine and Theology in the Light of the Unity of the Church: A Report . . . from an Official Study Conducted by the Division of Theological Studies, Lutheran Council in the USA ([New York:] Lutheran Council in the USA, 1978), p. 12.

¹³¹Introductory chapters to each of the confessions are provided in: Willard D. Allbeck, *Studies in the Lutheran Confessions* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968).

¹³²Chapters on eucharistic theology are included in all the standard commentaries on the confessions. Cf. Holsten Fagerberg, *A New Look at the Lutheran Confessions* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1972); Robert D. Preus and Wilbert H. Rosin, *A Contemporary Look at the Formula of Concord* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1978); Eric W. Gritsch and Robert W. Jenson, *Lutheranism: The Theological Movement and Its Confessional Writings* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976); Edmund Schlink, *Theology of the Lutheran Confessions* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1961); and Allbeck, *op. cit.*

¹³³The Function of Doctrine and Theology (*supra*, n. 130), pp. 12f., 83-86.

¹³⁴The Confession-Making Process ([New York:] Division of Theological Studies, Lutheran Council in the USA, 1975), p. 47. (Item 4, p. 84, *supra*, has been renumbered; it was item 6 on Tappert's list.)

CHAPTER III

THE EUCHARISTIC PRAYER IN EARLY LUTHERANISM

The axiom *lex orandi est lex credendi* teaches that the Church's faith and doctrine, and its worship, are not realities which exist in isolation from each other, but which rather must relate to and inform each other. The previous chapter considered Luther's eucharistic doctrine. Necessarily, this chapter will consider the practical outgrowths of that doctrine: the Lutheran revision(s) of the traditional form of the Mass and, a focus of particular interest, the Lutheran suppression of the Roman Canon.

For several years, while Luther clarified and propounded his doctrinal position in a series of writings, the traditional rites continued in use, virtually undisturbed. It may be said that the Reformer seemed content that his teachings should be disseminated and discussed, and that they should have time to take root in the hearts of the people, before any manifest liturgical reform should be initiated.¹ In his pastoral orientation, he was loath to try and accomplish his ends, by compelling a change in familiar forms of worship, until such time as the people could be brought to understand and accept the reasons for such a change. He was totally opposed to any

preemptory legalism in this matter.

His approach here is very similar to the methodology he encouraged elsewhere, for the sake of increasing the frequency of lay reception of the Sacrament. In his Admonition Concerning the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord (1530), he warns preachers not to "water down" their message, to accomodate it to the lazy habits of the people. "Of what use would the office of preaching and the ministry be if the people could teach and admonish themselves?" Ministers must be guided both by a sincere concern for the welfare of the people, and by the knowledge that God will finally demand a "strict accounting" of their stewardship of their flocks. Nevertheless, pastoral zeal must never lead to coercion.² This attitude had been stated as early as 1521, in the Sermon on the Worthy Reception of the Sacrament:

. . . [This] is what happens when one tries to make people pious and lead them to the right by commandments and laws. It only makes them worse. Thanks to such [legalistic] tactics, they do unwillingly and drearily whatever they do. This becomes a hindrance to God's grace and sacrament. God neither wants to nor will he grant this [grace] to those who were forced, pressed, and driven to the sacrament by commandment and law, but only to hearts that long and pine and thirst for it, to hearts that come voluntarily.

Luther's conviction was that, if the Word is taught freely and purely, then the souls of the people will be converted. Following that, changes in external forms and practices would come about in a quite natural fashion, without upset or resentment--indeed, with the desire of the people themselves.

The desire for thorough teaching before the introduction of change could not be firmly held to, however, because many of Luther's followers, particularly those outside of Wittenberg, were determined to make what they considered to be necessary liturgical changes, at as early a date as possible. He gave ad hoc advice in a number of situations. If one isolates his liturgical recommendations, certain apparent inconsistencies are noted, which might lead to the false conclusion that Luther had no over-all, coherent approach to ceremonial questions. What he says about the continuance of the ceremony of the Elevation (of the consecrated bread and wine, within the Mass) will serve to illustrate the point.

In *The Misuse of the Mass* (1521), Luther interprets the Elevation positively, as an incitement to faith, and in this sense connects it to the Church's task of proclaiming the Word:

It [the Elevation] may well signify, however, that just as this pledge is elevated in order that the people may thereby be inspired to faith, so the Word should be preached publicly to the people in order that everyone may hear the testament [The Verba institutionis are here seen as a summary of the whole Gospel.] and see the pledge, and through both be attracted and aroused to faith and strengthened by it.⁴

The eventual abolition of the Elevation is foreseen already in the *Formula Missae* (1523), though its retention there is still specified: "... let the bread and cup be elevated according to the customary rite (*ritu hactenus servato*)⁵ for the benefit

of the weak in faith! . . . This concession can be made especially where through sermons in the vernacular they have been taught what the elevation means."⁶ The Elevation is urged in the *Deutsche Messe* (1526), "We do not want to abolish the elevation, but retain it because it goes well with the German Sanctus⁷ and signifies that Christ has commanded us to remember him."⁸

At Wittenberg, it was not until 1542 that the Elevation was discontinued,⁹ though Luther had not protested when it had been dropped in many Lutheran cities much earlier. Where the Elevation could be performed in an evangelical manner, Luther was even willing to consider its reintroduction: "Denn wo es dahin wurde komen, das die Eleuation widderumb von noten sein wurde, umb Ketzerey oder ander sache zu meiden, So wolten wir sie wider anrichten."¹⁰ This, however, could never be because he saw the Elevation as important in itself. The Gospel alone was important for him. Ceremonies which supported the proclamation of the Gospel might themselves find support in Luther; those which tended to obscure the Gospel would find no toleration from him. It is entirely characteristic of him, that Luther once wrote to Georg von Anhalt:

So mugen sich E[uer] f[ürstliche] g[naden] des trosten, des ich mich troste, das die Ceremonien nicht artickel des glaubens sind. Und doch mehr und grosser wesen allzeit ynn der kirchen angericht, weder das Wort und die Sacrament, und der pobel leich drauff geret, ein frey ding daraus zu machen. Darumb ich nicht anders hierin thu, denn wo die Ceremonien stehen, so stehe ich mit (wo sie nicht

Gottlos sind), Wo sie fallen, so falle ich mit.¹²

Such data should not be allowed to lead one to the conclusion that Luther considered externals to be matters of total indifference. Not only was he aware of the need to keep faith and its expression closely linked, but, beyond that, he well understood how the ceremonial of the Lutheran Churches could be a help in proclaiming Lutheran doctrine, in opposition to those who taught otherwise. With respect to the Elevation, therefore, it was characteristic of him to commend its retention, as a confession of faith in Christ's Real Presence in the Eucharist, wherever his followers were confronted with more radical Protestant opinions, especially those of Zwingli.¹³

Similarly, the Elevation might become a casualty in Lutheran practice, wherever its retention might lead to the accusation that Lutherans had any continuing sympathy for the sacrificial Mass-doctrine of the Roman Church.¹⁴

It is simply an error to accuse Luther of having lacked liturgical sensitivity, or of being unable to properly construct a bridge between doctrine and practice. He may have suffered from a degree of liturgical naïveté, and he demonstrates having had negligible access to, or awareness of, those documents which could have given him a clearer understanding of the history of the Western Mass. Unlike Cranmer, who, on the basis of his reconstruction of the Roman Canon (Note that he joined concepts and phrases taken from the orations of the Canon and joined them

into a unified prayer, not unlike an Eastern anaphora, and further note his inclusion therein of a form of epiclesis¹⁵, may be supposed to have had some direct knowledge of Greek liturgical texts.¹⁵ Luther appears not to have had such documents before him.¹⁶

However, the cult of the Church was always a matter of personal importance for him. Mass and Daily Office had been extremely influential in his own formation, and he was always concerned that the worship of the Lutheran churches should lead to the clear proclamation of the Gospel, and to the edification and inspiration of each individual worshipper. (For Luther, "inspiration" would not have the modern meaning of an aesthetic or emotional appreciation of an act of worship, but rather would describe the Christian's apprehending of the dynamic reality, "for me," of the divine presence in Word and Sacrament.) Unlike some of his later followers, Luther could never be accused of considering the forms of Christian worship to be simple, unimportant δόξαζομεν.¹⁷ In number 55 of his Explanations of the Ninety-five Theses, Luther used strongly ceremonial terms to illustrate his conviction that nothing should take precedence over the Gospel.¹⁸ If the proclamation of an indulgence was surrounded with a certain level of pomp, then, he suggested, ceremonies should be multiplied (to a level of unattainable splendor) to rightly celebrate the proclamation of the Gospel. When he speaks of "a hundred bells . . . a hundred processions

... a hundred ceremonies," he is surely demonstrating his gift for hyperbole; but his exaggeration is not negatively directed or ironical.¹⁹ Early Lutheranism correctly interpreted the Reformer's attitude, when it retained a degree of liturgical richness in its services that was unthinkable in the rest of Continental Protestantism.²⁰

Unlike the more radical reformers, he established no dichotomy between ceremonial (all of which the Swiss reformers tended to consider Romanist and evil, unless specifically commended by Scripture) and non-ceremonial (intellectualized, "spiritual," and "pure") worship. For him, rather, there was a choice between cult and ceremonial supportive of the Gospel, and that which was a hindrance to it. Ceremonial of some sort was accepted as inevitable.²¹

LUTHER'S CRITICISM OF THE CANON OF THE MASS

Throughout the medieval period, the Catholic Church's understanding of the Mass as sacrifice (described in ch. 1) had been strengthened and advanced by numberless commentaries on the Canon, and had been reinforced, on the practical level, by the daily celebration of the Mass which found its culmination in the events enclosed by that selfsame Canon. It was inevitable that Luther's eucharistic insights should have led him into opposition to the Roman Canon. As early as 1520, in the Baby-

lonian Captivity of the Church, Luther foresaw the sweeping implications of his attack on the sacrifice of the Mass.

I am attacking a difficult matter, an abuse perhaps impossible to uproot, since through century-long custom and the common consent of men it has become so firmly entrenched that it would be necessary to abolish most of the books now in vogue, and to alter almost the entire external form of the churches and introduce, or rather reintroduce, a totally different kind of ceremonies. But my Christ lives, and we must be careful to give more heed to the Word of God than to all the thoughts of men and of angels. I will perform the duties of my office and bring to light the facts in the case.²²

Luther was intimidated neither by the number and rank of his opponents, nor by the Church's tradition; he believed the mightiest authority of all, the Gospel, was solidly in favor of his interpretations.

... they themselves [Luther's opponents] must confess that all creatures in heaven and earth, and everything which is not gospel, must yield to the gospel; and this they cannot concede or claim of their canon laws and the fathers, namely, that to them everything which is not fathers or canon law must yield. Therefore we have already won. We say that the canon, because it is a human word and work, shall²³ yield to the gospel and give place to the Holy Spirit.

The unquestioned antiquity of the Roman Canon was a concern for Luther, but not in the sense that one might expect--that the canon's antiquity could validate its authority. The Reformer was not much troubled by that possibility. For him the problem was rather to explain how a defective and unevangelical Canon could have been accepted and used by so many, who were universally acknowledged to be saints, and how these same saints could have accepted the Mass to be a sacri-

fice. For them to have done so was surely sinful. After wrestling with this problem, Luther reached the following resolution:

There is a twofold reason, however, why sins do not harm the saints, though the ungodly choke on them. The first is that the saints have faith in Christ. They are completely immersed in it. Through it, (although they unknowingly do many things that would damn the ungodly) they always rise again and are preserved. . . . It is incredible to those who have not experienced it how powerful and mighty faith is, especially in sin. Because the ungodly do not have this faith, they sin, even if they were to do all the good works of all saints.

The second reason is that the saints are so wise through faith that they depend solely upon the mercy of God and regard their works as nothing; indeed they confess from the bottom of their hearts that they are simply useless works and sins. This confession and humility prevents them from being destroyed in their sins, ignorance, and error; for God cannot abandon such humble persons, much less fail to be merciful to those who recognize their own error (die sich selbst erkennen).²⁴

He continued:

The same thing . . . is doubtless still happening to many devout Christians, namely, that in the simple faith of their hearts they hold mass and deem it a sacrifice. But because they do not rely on the sacrifice--indeed, they consider all that they do to be sin, and depend solely on the pure mercy of God--they are preserved, so that they are not destroyed in this error.

Now when the mass-priests follow these people without having their (dis) faith, lift high their sacrifice and serenely sell it, they deserve to be damned for following the saints. For God examines, searches, and judges the hearts and minds [Ps. 7:9], that is, the inner desire. Hence it comes that God remits and forgives an error to one man which he condemns in another, because their hearts are unequal in faith and humility.²⁵

In this way, having exonerated the mass-practice of the saints, while having assured himself that the Canon has nothing

to do with the salvation of souls, Luther found himself free to resolutely attack what he saw as its faults. In The Misuse of the Mass of 1521 (from which the most recent quotations have been drawn), he said, " . . . I reject and condemn the Canon as an enemy of the gospel. " And if they should say that the church could not err, we shall not listen; for the mass-priests are not the church."²⁶ In this work, he also stated his plan of attack: "As the jurists say, I will interpret the Canon's (seyne) obscure words against it and will not support it at all."²⁷

This plan found its fullest expression in the 1525 work, The Abomination of the Secret Mass (Stillmesse, "silent" or "secret Mass" was Luther's term of derogation for the silently-spoken Canon). At one place therein, Luther says, " . . . we want to do it the honor of giving it [the language of the Canon] the best interpretation and not make it look too wicked."²⁸ But this assertion is no more than rhetorical posturing. The spirit of the work is, in fact, so totally polemical, that it has become something of an embarrassment in our present ecumenical era. Luther seeks to uncover every possible inconsistency in the Canon for the purpose of ridiculing it; he faults the Canon, because its (often poetic) language of prayer fails to display the precision of theological expression that one might encounter in a creed; and he displays a total lack of charity, by putting in the worst possible

light any passage capable of bearing more than one interpretation. In his preface, Luther said:

The learned people know and understand quite well what the mass is, and why I would like to be rid of it (ich yhr gerne los were). [N.B. Luther here refers to the Mass as sacrifice, not to the Eucharist per se.] But that the simple people and the unlearned also may have a better understanding of it (auch das verstehen kunden), I am obliged to bring it out further ²⁹ into the light of day, so that men can grasp what it is.

The final suppression of the Canon at Wittenberg had just taken place in December, 1524. It is clear that, by translating the Canon, " . . . words which they hold to be so high and holy that they forbid the laity to know them,"³⁰ and by publishing it, accompanied, paragraph by paragraph, with an unrelentingly caustic commentary, Luther intended to unleash a thunderbolt which would thoroughly shake the people's remaining allegiance to the Roman Mass, especially in those areas where the liturgical transformation was not yet complete.

The preface includes a brief statement on the subject of sacrifice, upholding the uniqueness of Christ's sacrifice, and denying the possibility of any other, subsequent sacrifice:

. . . you have . . . learned from [the Gospel] that the problem of our salvation . . . is by no means solved or helped with works or laws, no matter what they may be or may be called. For God will accept no other mediation (mittel) and no other mediator than his only Son, . . . whom he caused to shed his blood for the sole purpose that he might thereby obtain for us the treasure of faith.

. . . And if anyone seeks another way to be freed

from his sins and stand before God (und fur zu treten), he blasphemes and insults God and accuses him of lying, as if he had let his Son shed his blood in vain and his death (dasselb) had accomplished nothing and was of no importance. . . . And if anyone undertakes some other method, such as his works or order or station in life, he shall belong to the devil much more than anyone else. For it is a very serious matter with God and he will have no jest made of it, . . . For that reason we know and have no other sacrifice than that which he made on the cross, on which he died once for all as the Epistle to the Hebrews [9:12,26] says, and thereby put away the sins of all men and also made us holy for eternity.

Now if this gospel is true, then everything that offers another way or another sacrifice must be false. But in the mass the papists (die Papis-tischen/pfaffen) do nothing but continually ride on the words "we offer up, we offer up," and "these sacrifices, these gifts" ('Wyr opfern, wyr opfern', und 'dise opfer, dise gaben' etc.). They keep completely quiet about the sacrifice Christ has made . . . and try to come before God with their own sacrifice.³²

Having thus set forth his point of departure, Luther begins to treat each of the orations of the Canon, in turn.

His criticism against the Te igitur is that it offers simple--unconsecrated--bread and wine (haec dona), as though they were of such worth (sancta sacrificia illibata), as to be able to stand as a sacrifice on behalf of the universal Church (heylige gemeyne Christliche Kirche). Blasphemy is charged, since it appears that these earthly elements are placed on the same level as Christ's sacrificed body and shed blood.³³

The Memento Domine is attacked for displaying a lack

TABLE 4

THE ROMAN CANON

From Leo Eizenhöfer, *Canon Missae Romanae* (Rome: Orbis Catholicus, 1954), pp. 24-46.

TE IGITUR, clementissime pater, per Iesum Christum filium tuum dominum nostrum supplices rogamus ac petimus, uti accepta habeas et benedicas haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia illibata, in primis quae tibi offerimus pro ecclesia tua sancta catholica, quam pacificare custodire adunare et regere digneris toto orbe terrarum, una cum famulo tuo papa nostro n. et antistite nostro n. et omnibus orthodoxis atque catholicae et apostolicae fidei cultoribus.

MEMENTO, DOMINE, famulorum famularumque tuarum n. et n. et omnium circumstantium, quorum tibi fides cognita est et nota deuotio, pro quibus tibi offerimus uel qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis pro se suisque omnibus, pro redemptione animarum suarum, pro spe salutis et incolumitatis suae tibi reddunt uota sua aeterno deo uiuo et uero.

COMMUNICANTES et memoriam uenerantes in primis gloriosae semper uirginis Mariae genitricis dei et domini nostri Iesu Christi, sed et beatorum apostolorum ac martyrum tuorum Petri et Pauli . . . et omnium sanctorum tuorum, quorum meritis precibusque concedas, ut in omnibus protectionis tuae muniamur auxilio: per eundem Christum dominum nostrum. Amen.

HANC IGITUR oblationem seruitutis nostrae sed et cunctae familiae tuae, quaesumus, domine, ut placatus accipias diesque nostros in tua pace disponas atque ab aeterna damnatione nos eripi et in electorum tuorum iubeas grege numerari: per Christum dominum nostrum. Amen.

QUAM OBLATIONEM tu, deus, in omnibus, quaesumus, benedictam adscriptam ratam rationabilem acceptabilemque facere digneris, ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat dilectissimi filii tui domini nostri Iesu Christi.

QUI PRIDIE . . . [Refer to Table 2.]

UNDE ET MEMORES, domine, nos serui tui sed et plebs tua sancta eiusdem Christi filii tui domini nostri tam beatae passionis nec non et ab inferis resurrectionis sed et in caelos gloriosae ascensionis offerimus praeclarae maiestati tuae de tuis donis ac datis hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam, panem sanctum uitae aeternae et calicem salutis perpetuae.

SUPRA QUAE propitio ac sereno uultu respicere digneris et accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui iusti Abel et sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahae et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech, sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam.

TABLE 4

(Continued)

SUPPLICES TE rogamus, omnipotens deus, iube haec perferri per manus sancti angeli tui in sublime altare tuum in conspectu diuinae maiestatis tuae, ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum filii tui corpus et sanguinem sumpserimus, omni benedictione caelesti et gratia repleamur: per eundem Christum dominum nostrum. Amen.

MEMENTO ETIAM, domine, famulorum famularumque tuarum n. et n. qui nos praecesserunt cum signo fidei et dormiunt in somno pacis. Ipsis, domine, et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus locum refrigerii lucis et pacis ut indulgeas deprecamur: per eundem Christum dominum nostrum. Amen.

NOBIS QUOQUE peccatoribus famulis tuis de multitudine miserationum tuarum sperantibus partem aliquam et societatem donare digneris cum tuis sanctis apostolis et martyribus, cum Ioanne . . . et omnibus sanctis tuis, intra quorum nos consortium non aestimator meriti sed ueniae, quaesumus, largitor admitte: per Christum dominum nostrum

PER QUEM HAEC OMNIA, domine, semper bona creas sanctificas uiuificas benedicis et praestas nobis. Per ipsum et cum ipso et in ipso est tibi deo patri omnipotenti in unitate spiritus sancti omnis honor et gloria per omnia saecula saeculorum.

Amen.



of logic. If the members of the Church already have faith (*quorum tibi fides cognita est*), then they have already been redeemed. If there is still some need of redemption (*offerimus . . . pro redemptione animarum suarum*), this suggests an insufficiency in the redemption which Christ's sacrifice obtained. Even were that true (which of course can never be supposed), Luther considers it blasphemous that the Church could attempt to make up the difference "with a piece of bread and a drink of wine."³⁴

The Communicantes is attacked as a "wicked and inappropriate prayer" (*heylos ungeschickt gebet*), because, while Christ instituted the Sacrament as the way we can make our remembrance of him and maintain our fellowship with him who is our sole mediator, this prayer, precisely at the time of the Consecration, leads us away from the consideration of Christ, to the consideration of the saints (and sets them up as mediators in his place).³⁵

In the *Hanc igitur*, as previously in the *Te igitur* and *Memento Domine*, Luther is offended because mere bread and wine (his interpretation of *oblationem servitutis nostrae*) are seen as means of obtaining salvation (*ab aeterna damnatione nos eripi*).³⁶

Luther's condemnation of the *Quam oblationem* is based on what must be considered a deliberate misinterpretation. One must simply disregard his apologia, "I don't know what to

make of these words." One may logically fault the Quam oblationem for asking God to bless and consider acceptable (benedictam . . . acceptabilemque facere digneris) gifts which were earlier proclaimed to be holy and faultless (sancta, illibata). Luther does this much, but is not satisfied to stop there. Rather than seeing the prayer as a simple petition that God might consider the congregation's gifts worthy of becoming the Sacrament, Luther twists it into a petition that the Sacrament --once it is consecrated, and has become the body and blood of Christ--may then become acceptable to God, as though through such prayer God will "thereby for the first time (dadurch . . . erst) be gracious to his Son and bless him and make him acceptable."³⁷

Coming then to the Verba, in the Qui pridie section Luther makes a passing, negative reference to its non-scriptural textual additions (in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas, elevatis oculis in caelum . . .). His strongest objection, however, is that the Church has considered it a mortal sin to omit the added "enim," even though Christ's own words, "which is given for you," have been deleted. In his day, Luther was of course unaware that Luke 22:19b-20, including the words he considered so precious: τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον, might not have been part of the original text.³⁸ As might be expected, in the Simili modo section, Luther jumps on the inconsistency that, while the words "given for you" are not recited in connection

with the element which all Christians receive, the recitation of πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες continues over the element which is restricted to the priests alone.³⁹

In the *Unde et memores*, Luther complains that no sooner has mention been made of the once-for-all sacrifice of Christ (*memores . . . beatae passionis [Christi]*) than attention is immediately to the daily-repeated ecclesial sacrifice of Christ (*offerimus . . . hostiam*) in his sacramental body and blood (*panem sanctum uitae aeternae et calicem . . .*). Such a renewed sacrifice, the reformer sees as nothing else than a denial that "Christ has washed sin away and has died and risen again."⁴⁰

The *Supra quae* offends Luther in much the same way as *Quam oblationem*. The words "*Supra quae propitio ac sereno uultu respicere digneris et accepta habere*" strike him as a prayer by which the Church seeks to have God give acceptance to Christ himself. ". . . miserable (enende) man becomes a mediator between God and . . . his dear Son." The economy of salvation is seen to be turned up-side down. Further, by seeming to pray on behalf of the Sacrament, this prayer seems, to Luther, to infer that there is something unclean about Christ's body and blood. Finally, he complains that the sacrifices of the patriarchs seem to be placed on the same level as Christ's.⁴¹

The basic objection to the *Supplices* is that it ap-

pears to say that all those present would have access to the Sacrament (ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione . . . sumpserimus), while this was contradicted in actual practice. Beyond that, the imagery of the Sacrament being carried to heaven (perferri . . . in sublime altare), while it manifestly remained where it was, is called "blind, crazy, and senseless" (blind, rasend und unsynnig) and "twisted around" (verkeret).⁴² Elsewhere, Luther has given a perfectly acceptable interpretation of these same words:

. . . the Canon clearly interprets the mass as a true sacrifice, . . . For among other things it is written in the Canon that God, through the hands of his angel, should let this sacrifice be brought up before his divine altar. . . . In short, the Canon beseeches God to accept such a sacrifice, . . .

That, here in The Abomination, he chooses to read this phrase literally and to make a mockery of it, indicates a primary desire not to give a balanced and objective commentary on the Canon, but rather to "play to the crowd" and to engage in polemic.

The Memento etiam called forth Luther's most sardonic reaction. "This part is worth money, so that they do not say mass in vain" (vergebens, "fruitlessly, without return").⁴⁴ As was shown above in the first chapter, it was a source of unending scandal to the reformer that, during the medieval period and extending to his day, the multiplying of votive masses for the dead (whether endowed or stipendiary) and the concurrent multiplication of ordinations of so-called "Mass-

priests" (men who had no other ecclesiastical function than the celebration of such masses, and who often derived their entire living from them) had resulted in a vast and pervasive Mass-centered enterprise, towards which a large portion of the society's energy and resources were devoted. The suppression of such non-congregational (or "private") masses was always an early item on the agenda, whenever an area came under Lutheran influence.⁴⁵ Luther's first criticism of the *Memento etiam* is that it provided a liturgical justification and *raison d'être* for the whole phenomenon. Beyond that, he asked if it were not a contradiction to ask further blessings for those who had died in the faith and who are considered to be at peace in Christ (*qui nos praecesserunt cum signo fidei et dormiunt in somno pacis*).

The *Nobis quoque* was criticized in virtually the same terms as the *Communicantes* had been, earlier. Rather than focusing our attention on Christ, whose eternal, heavenly fellowship is the Christian's true expectation, this oration instead calls for contemplation of our future fellowship with the saints. A higher form of fellowship is overlooked, in the consideration of a lower one.⁴⁶

In the *Per quem haec omnia*, just as was the case with the *Simili modo* and the *Supplices*, Luther finds an unfulfilled promise. Though one hears of the reception of God's good things (*haec omnia . . . bona*) by the whole congregation (no-

bis), in fact the priest alone will receive. In this doxology, Luther also finds an unacceptable implication that it is not through the power of God's Word, but through the prayer of the priest, that the body of Christ is blessed and made alive (sanctificas, uiuificas), for the benefit of Christians.⁴⁷

The Abomination goes on to consider the remaining prayers of the Mass, including finally the Placeat tibi. In this final section, Luther adds nothing new to his attack on the Canon or on the Mass as sacrifice.

One may thus summarize the reformer's attack on the Canon under the following principal rubrics:

1. In the Canon, the Church offers an un-evangelical sacrifice, which opposes and diminishes the sacrifice of Christ.
2. There are many inconsistencies between what the Church believes, and what is asked for in the prayers of the Canon.
3. The Christocentricity, which should characterize the sacramental action is destroyed by superfluous concentration on the saints.
4. The Canon promises a fulness of sacramental sign, at communion, which is not fulfilled in practice.
5. The Canon's prayers often fail to display good logic or clarity.

Luther failed to see any unity in the orations of the Canon. He recognized that it is a compilation, but he did not

consider it a good one. "One can see clearly that it has been collected and compiled by mad, unlearned priests."⁴⁸ It contains much language that is judged to be "needless, superfluous" (unnütze übrig);⁴⁹ so much so that Luther considers that a priest, in using it, makes himself into a "babbler" (wescher) and a "fool" (Narr).⁵⁰

In his preface to The Abomination, Luther made one passing criticism which deserves our closing consideration. The Canon says much about sacrifice, but says virtually nothing about thanksgiving for God's past benefits. It is not truly "eucharistic." Luther puts the following words in God's mouth: "I have presented you with a sacrifice, my own Son, which you ought to receive with thanks and great joy. Yet you dare to come before me and say nothing about it, as if you did not need him, . . . " (gleich als durffistu seyn nicht).⁵¹ The point is a valid one, since the words "tibi . . . omnis honor et gloria" mark the Canon's closest approach to an act of thanksgiving.

However, the criticism demonstrates that Luther was captive to a centuries' old way of thinking about the Canon. Even as the rubric "Incipit canon actionis," as placed in a number of medieval missals, testifies: The Canon was originally conceived of as including the Preface.⁵² The Preface stated the eucharistic basis for the rest of the Canon's prayers, a fact that was lost sight of when, over the course of the cen-

turies a number of developments took place which tended to isolate the Preface, from the *Ite igitur* and what follows it. Commentators on the Mass passed over the Preface or gave it only a perfunctory treatment; this tendency may have had its origin in the period when the Roman Canon was struggling for ascendancy over the various Gallican liturgies. During Mass, from the *Ite igitur* on, the laity were encouraged to kneel and the priest was ordered to read in silence; both of which factors tended to increase the solemnity of this portion of the rite. Also the custom spread of expanding the initial "T" of the *Ite igitur* into an illuminated crucifix, and finally into a full, facing-page crucifixion scene. With this development, the missal itself came to present a structural block to any realization that the Preface was to be understood as being integral with what followed it. This combination of factors transformed the understanding of Preface from "proclamation" to "mere preliminaries."⁵³

The result of this for Luther was that, when he looked at the Roman Canon, positive elements he would have hoped for were lacking, while elements he found unacceptable were constant. In 1534, Luther issued an open-letter in which all of what he says about the Mass can be taken as his judgement on the Canon (since "Mass," in itself, was not a negative word, in his vocabulary):

From this you can readily observe that I am not con-

tending against the sacrament but against the mass, and would like to separate the sacrament from the mass so that the mass might perish (zu grund gienge) and the sacrament alone, without the mass, might be preserved in its honor and according to the ordinance of our dear Lord Jesus Christ. May God grant to all devout Christians such hearts that when they hear the word "mass," they might be frightened and make the sign of the cross (sich segnen) as though it were the devil's abomination; on the other hand, when they hear the word "sacrament" or "Lord's Supper," they might dance for pure joy, . . . 54

LUTHER'S REVISIONS OF THE MASS

(1523 AND 1526)

Already following the release of the Ninety-five Theses, Luther's writings had gained wide circulation and popularity, and his teachings won a large following. Though he himself was willing to exercise patience before undertaking any liturgical reforms, many of his disciples, who could see the practical implications of his sacramental theology and of his criticisms of the Roman Mass, both implored Luther to turn himself to this task, and themselves began to produce prayers and masses by which they hoped to give liturgical expression to the reformer's teachings. A couple early examples of such prayers will be of interest.

Already in The Blessed Sacrament of the Holy and True Body of Christ, and the Brotherhoods (1519) and in A Treatise on the New Testament, that is, the Holy Mass (1520), Luther had

asserted that there was total continuity between the Last Supper and what is essential in the Mass, and thus that the disciples had already received a true sacrament, in which was the Real Presence.⁵⁵ Julius Smend collected an anonymous prayer, printed as early as 1524, in which this teaching is reflected: " . . . speys und trenk uns . . . mit dem waren leyb und blut . . . Jhesu Christi, damit er gespeyst und getrenkt hat seine lieben Junger . . . "⁵⁶

Again, an early emphasis in Luther's thought (later downplayed, doubtless to avoid confusion with the Swiss teaching that a prime function of the sacraments is to serve as marks of profession and Christian identification among men) dealt with the "horizontal" dimension of the eucharist.⁵⁷ In 1519, Luther spoke of the sacrament of the altar as a sign of the Christian's incorporation into Christ, and into the community of the Church.⁵⁸ He opposed any individualistic approach to the sacrament and maintained that the sacramental action must be a locus of fellowship and Christian charity.⁵⁹

Whoever is in despair, distressed by a sin-stricken conscience or terrified by death or carrying some other burden upon his heart, if he would be rid of them all, let him go joyfully to the sacrament of the altar and lay down his woe in the midst of the community (lege seyn leyd yn die gemeyn) and seek help from the entire company of the spiritual body . . . The immeasurable grace and mercy of God are given us in this sacrament to the end that we might put from us all misery and tribulation and lay it upon the community, and especially on Christ.⁶⁰

This statement of the purposive nature of the "horizontal" communion that is established in the sacrament was picked up by

Hans Jakob Veler and incorporated, virtually verbatim, in a prayer, dated 1524, where its appearance is otherwise inexplicable and virtually incomprehensible:

Hilf mir, süßer Jhesu, das ich mit frölichem gewissen zu deinem hayligen Sacrament des altares gee und lege mein leyden und versagt sündlichs gewissen in die gemain und suche also hilf bey dem ganzen haufen des gaystlichen cörpers; . . . Soll ich sterben, so byn ich nit allayn im tod; leid ich, sy [the congregation] leyden mit mir. Es ist aller 61 mein unfall Christo und den hailigen gemayn worden. . . .

Other aspects of Luther's eucharistic theology--Real Presence, the uniqueness of Christ's sacrifice, the eucharist as Means of Grace, the centrality of faith, and the necessity of receiving the sacrament--were, as early as 1522, also reflected in the prayers just mentioned and in others composed by Kaspar Kantz and Matthäus Zell.⁶² The reformer himself, in his Sermon on the Worthy Reception of the Sacrament (1521), surely working with some traditional materials, proposed such a communion prayer:

Lord, it is true that I am not worthy for you to come under my roof, but I need and desire your help and grace to make me godly. Now I come to you, trusting only in the wonderful (susse) words I just heard,⁶³ with which you invite me to your table and promise me, the unworthy one, forgiveness of all my sins through your body and blood if I eat and drink them in this sacrament. Amen. Dear Lord, I do not doubt the truth of your words (Lieber Herr, deyn wort ist war, da zweyffell ich nit). Trusting them, I eat and drink with you. Do unto me according to your words. Amen.⁶⁴

Such attempts to provide lay communicants with a reformed understanding and use of the sacrament through private devotions were similar to the common practice of the medieval

period, of making available various manuals of vernacular prayers, which were said privately during the course of the Mass and which provided an explanation of it.⁶⁵ Within the Reformation, the use of such private prayers in the context of a continued celebration of the traditional Latin Mass, was at best a stop-gap measure. The same assessment must be made of a suggestion Luther himself made, in 1520, that, through a change in the priest's intention, it might be possible to recite the Roman Mass, interpreting its prayers to accord with his eucharistic teachings:

Therefore, let the priests who offer the sacrifice of the mass in these corrupt (perdito) and most perilous times take heed, first, that they do not refer to the sacrament the words of the greater and lesser canon [that is, the Canon per se, or the preceding offertory prayers], together with the collects, because they smack too strongly of sacrifice. They should refer them instead to the bread and wine to be consecrated, or to their own prayers. For the bread and wine are offered beforehand for blessing in order that they may be sanctified by the word and by prayer [I Tim. 4:5], but after they have been blessed and consecrated they are no longer offered, but received as a gift from God. And in this rite let the priest bear in mind that the gospel is to be set above (praeferendum) all canons and collects devised by men, . . .⁶⁶

Within two years, Luther publicly recognized the impracticality of such a suggestion. In 1522, he suggested that priests should "avoid" all sacrificial references, both in the Canon and in the offertory collects.⁶⁷ This suggestion was, of course, just as impractical as the previous one.

The real need of the Lutheran party was for a revised form of the Eucharist, which would accord with their new sensi-

bilities. Already in 1521, in *The Misuse of the Mass*, Luther had begun to place the sacrificial language of the Canon in opposition to the Gospel.⁶⁸ For his followers to continue to use that Canon, with whatever gymnastics of intention or "avoidance," was an intolerable situation. Among others, Nicholas Hausman, the reforming pastor at Zwickau, repeatedly asked Luther for new liturgical forms. In October, 1523, Luther gave him the following reply:

. . . I have considered your wish, and it seems wise to me that I should shortly publish something, setting forth . . . a form for the celebration of the mass.⁶⁹ Meanwhile, abolish all private masses if you can, or as many [as possible]. As a next step [that is, within the promised new formulary] I shall revise the Canon, and some of the ungodly prayers (*Deinde Canonem & aliquot impias orationes mutabo*). But I do not see why we should alter the rest of the ritual (*reliquos ritus*), together with the vestments, altars and holy vessels, since they can be used in a godly way and since one cannot live in the church of God without ceremonies (*cum in his pius esse possit, usus, & absque ceremoniis vivi in ecclesia dei non possit*).

One may speculate, on the basis of this language, that Luther's original intention was a true revision of the Canon and its associated prayers--something akin to what was later done by Cranmer. Ultimately, something closer to radical surgery than to revision was what came from his pen.

The *Formula Missae* appeared in December, 1523, addressed to Hausman. Luther claimed that, till then, he had tried to gain hearts through his teaching alone. But finally, he was prepared to make the practical changes called for by his teaching. His plan, however, remained constant: "It is not now

TABLE 5

OUTLINE OF ELEMENTS IN LUTHER'S TWO MASSES:

I. THE OFFICE OF THE WORD

<u>Formula Missae (1523)</u>	<u>Deutsche Messe (1526)</u>
	[Preparation of the elements?]
Sermon (here, if not below)	
Introit	Hymn or chanted Psalm
Kyrie	Kyrie (3-fold)
Gloria in Excelsis (optional)	
Collect (limited to one)	Collect (chanted recto tono)
Epistle ¹	Epistle (chanted facing people) ¹
Gradual and/or Alleluia ²	"Nu bitten wyr," or another hymn
Gospel ¹ (with incense and candles, if desired)	Gospel ¹ (chanted facing people)
Nicene Creed (optional)	Credal Hymn, "Wyr gleuben all"
Sermon	Sermon (on the day's Gospel)
Preparation of elements ³	

¹An eventual revision of the traditional lectionary is proposed in both Mass-projects (Cf. LW 53:23f. and 68).

²For the most part, the traditional sequences and proses are to be suppressed (Cf. LW 53:24f.).

³"In the customary manner," that is with respect to the actions; the old offertory prayers are suppressed. (LW 53:26).

nor ever has [it] been our intention to abolish the liturgical service of God (Cultus Dei) completely, but rather to purify the one that is now in use from the wretched accretions which corrupt it and to point out an evangelical use (usum pium).⁷¹ Unlike Cranmer, who was to produce an integral Book of Common Prayer, containing everything necessary for parish worship in the Church of England; Luther, in the Formula Missae, simply provided a set of instructions indicating how the existing Latin missals could be put to new use. He produced an outline, not a service book.

For the Office of the Word, that outline is summarized in Table 5. There it will be seen that all of the major parts of the foremass remain--all the parts that were chanted or proclaimed, and were thus available to the congregation--in their normal order and with their traditional texts and melodies. One stated insertion is the sermon, which had not had a regulated position in the Roman Mass.⁷² The two most notable deletions are the Confiteor--originally and textually a private devotion for the celebrant and his assistants, it was not necessary to the shape of the congregation's liturgy (It should be remembered that Luther had no intention of dispensing with the practice of private confession for the laity)⁷³--and the prayers of the Offertory, which was replaced by the simple action of making the necessary preparation of the communion vessels. The mixing of water into the chalice is allowed, though

Luther saw no necessity for it.⁷⁴

In the first part of the liturgy, the appearance of the rite would be virtually unchanged for the congregation, and, as has been mentioned earlier, it was their perspective for which Luther had greatest concern. The customary vestments were retained, though the reformer cautioned that any "ostentation and pomp" should be avoided in this matter; he further denied that vestments needed to be blessed.⁷⁵

As has been shown, nothing had greater importance for Luther than the proclamation of the Word. With this in mind, one should not be at all surprised that he was content to see the use of incense and processional candles maintained, at the reading of the Gospel.

The Communion Office of the Formula Missae is summarized in Table 6; significant change was the order of the day, in this portion of the liturgy, beginning with the Preface. Any thought Luther might have had, of producing a new Canon--whether a reworking of the traditional one, or a totally new one--had been dismissed from his mind.

It may be that since his plan did not envision the immediate publication of new altar books, but rather that the old missals should at least temporarily remain in use (since they did represent both a mine of resources and a large investment to the churches), it must have seemed simpler to indicate what could be "crossed out" in these missals, than to provide de-

TABLE 6

OUTLINE OF ELEMENTS IN LUTHER'S TWO MASSES

II. THE COMMUNION

Formula Missae (1523)Deutsche Messe (1526)

	Lord's Prayer (expanded paraphrase)
	Admonition to Communicants ¹
Traditional Preface Dialogue	
Vere dignum . . . per Christum Dominum nostrum:	
Qui pridie . . . ²	"The Office and Consecration": Verba (chanted in vernacular)
Sanctus-Benedictus (Eleva- tion is called for)	Sanctus (sung in Luther's para- phrased version, Elevation)
Lord's Prayer (no embolism)	
Pax (facing people; no Frac- tion or Commixio)	
Agnus	
Domine Jesu Christe, Fili Dei vivi (optional) ³	
Priest's Communion	

¹Contains a "nut shell" statement of the major themes of Luther's eucharistic theology (LW 53:79f./WA 19:96).

²The Verba are to be sung to the same melody as the Lord's Prayer. There is no indication whether or not Luther intended for the "Et ideo cum angelis" to be sung after the Prayer, to lead into the singing of the Sanctus (Cf. LW 53:28/WA 12:212).

³Pronouns, here and below are plural, to include people.

TABLE 6.

(Continued)

<u>Formula Missae (1523)</u>	<u>Deutsche Messe (1526)</u>
Corpus . . . Sanguis Domini . . . custodiat animas nostras . . . (optional)	
Communion of the People ⁴	Communion of the People ⁴
Hymns (optional): "Gott sey gelobet" "Nu bitten wyr" "Ein Kindelein so löblich"	Hymns: "Gott sey gelobet" "Jhesus Christus unser Heyland" "Christe du lam Gades"
Quod ore sumpsimus, or Corpus tuum, Domine (chanted)	Collect of Thanksgiving (Luther's own composition)
Dominus vobiscum Benedicamus Domino (Alleluia) ⁵	
Blessing (a choice of): Benedicat vos Numbers 6:24-27 Psalm 67:6-7	Benediction: Numbers 6:24-27 ⁶

⁴ In both orders, Luther toys with the idea of administering each species immediately following the chanting of the appropriate section of the Verba (LW 53:30/WA 12:214 and LW 53:81f./WA 19:99). His distraction, in discussing such a possibility, may be the reason why he makes no specific reference to the priest's communion in the Deutsche Messe.

⁵ The Ite chant is dropped, specifically (LW 53:30/WA 12:213.

⁶ Note: Luther intends both orders to be fully chanted.

tailed instructions for their "reediting," by the substitution of new materials for old. His solution to the "problem" of the Canon, was simply to suppress all that followed the Sanctus, with the exception of the Verba.

For centuries already, the entire Western Church had focused the greatest possible attention on the Verba, to an extent unknown, for example, in the byzantine East. Their recitation had come to be understood as the culminating event of the Mass, since they marked the moment of its consecration and sacrifice. Luther's devotion to the Verba was total, as we have already seen; they provided him with his core definitions of the Sacrament, in his battles, both with the Church of Rome and with the Swiss reformers. In 1527, he was to summarize his attitude toward the Verba in these words:

. . . Now, here stands the text (der spruch), stating clearly and lucidly that Christ gives his body to eat when he distributes the bread. On this we take our stand, and we also believe and teach that in the Supper we eat and take to ourselves Christ's body truly and physically. But how this takes place or how he is in the bread, we do not know and are not meant to know. God's Word we should believe without setting bounds or measure to it. The bread we see with our eyes, but we hear with our ears that Christ's body is present.

Luther's faith in the efficacy of God's Word was unshakeable. "What God says, he can do, Romans 4[:21], and with God no word is impossible, Luke 1[:37]. Since he says here, then, 'This is my body,' he certainly can and does make it so."⁷⁷ When we speak of the power or hand of God, or the Word

of God, we are speaking of God himself.⁷⁸ God's Word is active and creative; what was true in the words of creation is also true in the words of the Sacrament--the same Word is operative.

. . . Paul, indeed, teaches us in Romans 4[:17] what God's "naming" or "calling" means when he says, "God names or calls into existence the things that do not exist." . . . Moses also testifies in Genesis 1 that God through his naming or calling, i.e. through his Word, created all things. . . . This is his Word, when he says, "This is my body," just as [when] he says in Genesis, "Let there be light," and there is light. My friend, it is God who names or calls, and what he names immediately comes into existence, as Psalm 33[:9] says, "He spoke and it came to be."⁷⁹

Something must be noted in this argument: The divine fiats of Genesis 1, together with the command "Be fruitful and multiply" spoken to Adam, Moses, and Jacob, which Luther also quoted as evidence of the power of God's Word,⁸⁰ were not pronounced repeatedly. They were ἐφάπαξ-words of enduring effectiveness. The Verba, on the contrary, are renewed at each celebration. If the connection with the Genesis fiats is pursued rigorously, then the Verba should also be ἐφάπαξ-words, which are no longer effective consecratory formulae in the commonly understood sense, but whose power resides precisely in their original utterance. Eucharistic consecration would still be effected solely by virtue of that original utterance, while the present repetition of the Verba in the Mass would be continued only to remind us of the divine pledge (covenant, testament) effectuated at the Last Supper, and to focus our act of remembrance. As we have seen, above, such understandings of the

Verba are at least incipiently present in Luther's teaching.

However, since this point was never brought home to Luther, he maintained the Verba as presently-consecratory, in accordance with Western tradition, and, in his first Mass-project, he set them in higher relief, by sweeping away the surrounding orations of the Canon.

His technique was to use the words "Qui pridie" as a bridge, to connect the Verba directly to the words "per Christum Dominum nostrum" of the Vere dignum. After the chanting of the Verba, the customary rite of Elevation was to take place, during the singing of the Sanctus-Benedictus. Then would follow: the Lord's Prayer (without the embolism), the Pax (without the Fraction or Commixio, the Agnus, and the reception of the Sacrament (by all, and in both kinds).⁸¹

Frank C. Senn has pointed out that Luther's conjoining of the Vere dignum with the Verba can be interpreted as having created a new form of canon or eucharistic prayer, in which the Preface expresses the thanksgiving of the Christian community, while the Verba express the ground of that thanksgiving.⁸² The present writer doubts that any such intention was in the mind of Luther. In the writings which followed the release of the Formula Missae, Luther often spoke of the suppression of the Roman Canon, but never of his having revised it or of his having created a new prayer (along the lines, or with the rationale suggested by Senn) to replace it.

Louis Bouyer's interpretation of the significance of what Luther accomplished in the Formula Missae is preferred, even though this assessment is less flattering to the reformer. Bouyer finds that Luther's product was not formed by his own insights totally, but rather that these were subjected to an "inertia of medieval notions and practices" from which the reformer never freed himself. When Luther sought to rid the Mass of the concept of sacrifice which had become attached to it (by making the Verba stand out in much bolder relief), "he merely stretched the logic of the medieval Latin idea that only the words of institution, isolated from their traditional context, were essential for the eucharistic consecration. And without further resistance, he yielded to the devotion which as a consequence of this centered on the showing forth of the consecrated host and its adoration."⁸³ While Bouyer's final assertion must be modified, in view of Luther's "flexible" attitudes toward the Elevation, it is nevertheless true that the traditional form of the Lutheran eucharist has tended to focus enormous concentration on the Verba, with an attending preoccupation on the moment of consecration.

It is a commonplace that in late-medieval times bystanders would rush through the church doors, upon hearing the sanctus-bells, in order to be able to witness the Elevation. The strictly congregational nature of the Lutheran eucharist probably did not allow for the continuance of that particular

"exercise of devotion." Nevertheless, as Luther D. Reed notes, there was a real problem attached to the proclamation of the Verba outside of some form of eucharistic prayer (N.B. The linkage of Verba to the Preface did not long survive, in the majority of Lutheran areas):

. . . The bare use of the Verba, and particularly when accompanied by the sign of the Cross [over the elements] --as in most Lutheran liturgies since the seventeenth century--encourages in the popular mind a mechanistic and Roman conception of consecration, in spite of the doctrine *extra usum nullum sacramentum*. The simple worshiper, unfamiliar with subtle theological distinctions but devoutly following the Liturgy at this point, is easily led to believe "now it has happened!" quite as the Romanists believe in the "miracle of the Mass."⁸⁴

The isolation in which the Verba have most often stood in Lutheran orders of worship and the focus of attention which they have inevitably drawn to themselves have frequently led to the accusation that Lutherans are "more Roman than the Romans."

When one turns from consideration of the textual changes Luther made in the Roman Mass, to appropriate the perspective of the ordinary worshiper, however, it may be seen that the Formula Missae was almost as conservative a revision of the second part of the Mass, as it was of the former part. From the nave, it would have seemed that the only changes were that: the Verba were now being chanted aloud, and that the bowings and signs of the Cross formerly made by the priest during the Canon were now being omitted. The first of these changes might well have been unnoticed by those ignorant of Latin. Unless the change had been specifically pointed out to them, the Verba

might simply have "blended in" with the chanting of the Preface. Further, wherever Luther's suggestion, that the communicants should already be gathered at the altar at this point in the rite, was actually practiced, the number of those standing in the sanctuary might have blocked the view of the non-communicants in the nave, so that only a relative few would have been in a position to note the omission of the traditional gestures of the priest.⁸⁵

The most evident changes would have taken place only when communion was distributed. First of all, the communion of the laity was to take place directly following the communion of the priest--within the Mass, rather than outside of it as had become the custom. Luther had even made the suggestion that it might be good to have the distribution of each species occur immediately after the chanting of the relevant portion of the Verba.⁸⁶ That such a practice would be totally impractical for large parish communions must have become evident very quickly, since none of the later, principal, Lutheran liturgies make allowance for it. Note that wherever such a custom was practiced, it would have tended to hasten the demise of the Elevation. Luther's masses tied the Elevation to the Sanctus. Following this custom would have forced the Sanctus to be sung no sooner than during the distribution of the cup, an impossible liturgical moment for the placement of the Elevation.

One mandated change, which no one could overlook, was

that both the host and the chalice were to be administered to the laity. Any communicant who expressed scruples against receiving the chalice was to be denied the Sacrament entirely.⁸⁷ Luther's desire that vernacular hymns, as a matter of principle, should be sung during the course of the Mass and especially during the administration of the Sacrament, gave support to long-standing custom. It was scarcely an innovation.⁸⁸

The Formula Missae filled a need within the Lutheran Church, but it was in no way a final solution of its liturgical problems. Luther was totally at home in Latin, to the extent that many of his recorded German conversations are actually macaronic. While he was eager for the Latin Mass to be maintained wherever there was an educated populace or a school,⁸⁹ the majority of the faithful were in need of a vernacular liturgy. As early as 1521, Luther had acknowledged this.⁹⁰

During this period, the first of what was to become a flood of regional German Kirchenordenungen began to appear. Kaspar Kantz had produced a German Mass in 1522. Das Testament Jesu Christi was in circulation in 1523. This curiously conservative order is ascribed to Oecolampadius, although its traditional form and theology makes the claim of his authorship suspect. German Mass-orders which were theologically Lutheran were printed at Strassburg in 1524, and at Nürnberg in 1525. More radical liturgies were also being published by Luther's opponents: by Thomas Müntzer in 1524, and at Zürich (by Zwing-

li) and Basel in 1525.⁹¹ Thus, obviously, there was pressure on Luther to create a German order, for the guidance of his followers.

Roughly at about the time he released the Formula Missae (at the end of 1523), Luther wrote to his old friend George Spalatin, to enlist his help as an author of new German hymn-texts. While his immediate desire might have been to enlarge the body of hymnody which could be employed with the Formula Missae, it cannot be doubted that he was also looking forward to the day when a fully German liturgy would be introduced at Wittenberg. Luther was proud of his own linguistic accomplishments and was enough of a humanist so that he had great concern for the quality of the German to be employed.

[Our] plan is to follow the example of the prophets and the ancient fathers of the church, and to compose psalms for the people [in the] vernacular, that is, spiritual songs, so that the Word of God may be among the people also in the form of music. Therefore we are searching everywhere for poets. Since you are endowed with a wealth [of knowledge] and elegance [in handling] the German language, and since you have polished [your German] through much use (cum vero tibi sit data & copia & elegantia lingue germanice, ac multo vsu exulta), I ask you to work with us on this project; . . . I would like you to avoid any new words or the language used at court (nouas & aulias voculas). In order to be understood by the people, only the simplest and most common (vulgatissima) words should be used for singing; at the same time, however, they should be pure and apt; and further, the sense should be clear . . .

Nicholas Hausmann, who had earlier encouraged Luther in the matter of producing the Formula Missae, began, once it had appeared, to press him for a German Mass, also. In late

1524, Luther gave him the following reply:

I desire a German mass more than I can promise⁴. [to find time to complete one?]. I am not qualified for this task which requires both [a talent for] music and [the gift of] the Spirit. Meanwhile I charge (permitto) each one to use his judgment until Christ⁹³ gives us something different [from the Latin form].

Luther was a man of considerable musical talent, so one may take this self-effacement simply as an alibi, for his not turning his attention to the requested task, immediately. It is important to note, however, that for Luther it is impossible to think of the liturgy as just a matter of texts. A chanted liturgy with many hymns was the norm for him, for the sake of the congregation's edification and participation.⁹⁴

In 1525, referring to the German masses which had already appeared, here and there, Luther wrote:

I am happy the mass now is being held among the Germans in German. But to make a necessity of this, as if it had to be so, is again too much. . . .

I would gladly have a German mass today. I am also occupied with [the task of producing] it. But I would very much like it to have a true German character (art). For to translate the Latin text and retain the Latin tone or notes has my sanction, though it doesn't sound polished or well done. Both the text and notes, accent, melody, and manner of rendering ought to grow out of the true mother tongue and its inflection (stymme), otherwise all of it becomes an imitation, in the manner of the apes.⁹⁵

One must agree with Ulrich Leupold's assessment that "The strongest reason for Luther's dilatoriousness [in producing his German Mass] was his artistic integrity," and that "Luther sought a more creative solution of the musical problem" than was to be

found in the vernacular masses which had appeared up till then.⁹⁶

The first German liturgy under Luther's aegis took place in Wittenberg, in October 29, 1525, and was in regular use from Christmas of that same year, onwards. Then, early in 1526, the Deutsche Messe was released in print. In his preface, Luther indicated a desire that the reformed Latin Mass should be continued in the form which had become customary: "It is not now my intention to abrogate or to change this service." Given his love of languages, this was to be expected. But he went even further, by suggesting that " . . . if I could bring it to pass, and the Greek and Hebrew [the biblical tongues] were as familiar to us as the Latin and had as many fine melodies and songs, we would hold mass, sing, and read on successive Sundays in all four languages, German, Latin, Greek and Hebrew."⁹⁷ Having engaged in that moment of pure romanticism, Luther immediately returned to deal with the reality which challenged him mightily: the unlearned state of the laity.

. . . Among [the people] are many who do not believe and are not yet Christians. Most of them stand around and gape, hoping to see something new, just as if we were holding a service among the Turks or the heathen . . . in a field. [For there is as yet no] well-ordered and organized congregation (denn hie ist noch keyne geordnete und gewisse versamlunge),⁹⁸ in which [one could rule] according to the gospel; . . .

For the laity's sake, Luther's vernacular Mass was specifically devised as an aid to catechesis. Indeed, a large portion of

Luther's preface is devoted to a discussion of how the service could be made into a catechetical forum or school of the faith.⁹⁹

Given this preoccupation, it is only natural that the form of the Deutsche Messe is considerably simplified, by comparison to that of the Formula Missae. Sometimes, it has been assumed, uncritically, that the simplicity of the Deutsche Messe and its didactic spirit indicate that Luther's attitude to worship had changed and become akin to what, in English-speaking Protestantism, is called "low churchmanship." Such an assessment is blind to Luther's clearly stated concerns: to create a service consonant with the genius of the German language and the culture (particularly music) associated with it--both of which were then in the early stages of formalization--and to create a vehicle through which simple people could come to an awareness of the essentials of the faith, and could express their response to God.

Once again, Luther's Mass-project is an outline, rather than a complete service book. Much space is devoted to providing models for the chanting of Psalmody, Lessons, the Verba, and Luther's "German Sanctus." Only one collect is provided, an edited conflation of the Roman collects for Pentecost III and Easter IV.¹⁰⁰ No table of pericopes is provided. While the titles of some German hymns are indicated, no space is provided for their texts or music.¹⁰¹

The Office of the Word (see Table 5) is somewhat sim-

plified--note that the Gloria in Excelsis, which was permissive in the Formula Missae, has been dropped--but still clearly follows the basic structure of the Roman Mass. German hymns replace the gradual and Creed. One should understand that these and all other mentioned hymns (and the lay participation they imply) are, for Luther, an integral part of the rite. They are "liturgical" hymns.

Following the sermon (see Table 6) more drastic change is introduced. Luther offers an expanded paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, whose language is very reminiscent of the explanation of that prayer given in his Small Catechism.¹⁰² This is followed by a short admonition to communicants, which is in fact a brief statement of Luther's eucharistic theology. Neither of these items need necessarily be used in the form provided; but Luther desires at least that something similar be used, since "What chiefly matters is the teaching and guiding of the people [Emphasis supplied]."¹⁰³

Immediately thereafter, the Verba, titled "The Office and Consecration" (ampt und dermunge), are to be chanted. Once again, Luther makes the confusing suggestion that it might be proper to administer each eucharistic species, as soon as the corresponding section of the Verba has been proclaimed (see Table 6, note 4). The Elevation is retained, "because it goes well with the German Sanctus and signifies that Christ has commanded us to remember him." The idea of having communicants

assemble at the altar prior to the Consecration is now a dead letter; Luther speaks instead of "a decent and orderly approach," first of the men, then of the women. During the Communion, other hymns are to be sung, following the German Sanctus.¹⁰⁴

If one were to imagine being present at a celebration of the Deutsche Messe, one would experience a compact Liturgy of the Word which directed itself toward, and found its climax in, the sermon. Immediately following the sermon, either from the pulpit or at the altar, the pastor would read the paraphrased Lord's Prayer, in which the congregation participated only through devout listening and by saying a final "Amen." Without a pause would then follow the second climactic moment in the rite, the chanting of the Verba. Next there would be a complex of actions surrounding the reception of the Sacrament: German Sanctus, Elevation, approach to the altar, and singing of hymns. Thereafter, the service would end rather abruptly, with a post-communion collect and the pronouncing of the Aaronic benediction. All was focused on the sermon, and on the nexus of Consecration with Communion.

Prayer, properly so called, is severely limited in this order; one finds only the collect, the paraphrased Lord's Prayer, and the post-communion. Pastor Hans Grass makes the following commentary on this phenomenon:

Si l'on se pose, à propos de ce projet de messe allemande,

la question des prières d'eucharistie, il est clair que le centre de gravité n'est pas dans les prières du prêtre, mais dans les louanges de la communauté. Exception faite de l'introït, le prêtre ne prononce que deux prières de de collecte. Luther les a composées à partir de prières de la messe. Le Pater noster est devenu une paraphrase de prière, solution qui n'est pas entièrement satisfaisante. La communauté de son côté prie en chantant et chante en priant [the hymns] même pendant et après la communion. Dans ces prières chantées, Luther est également plus original que dans les prières de collecte, aussi certain que soit ici l'appui qu'il prend sur la tradition. Le chant Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet est sa plus belle prière eucharistique.

It may well be said that in this Mass-project, Luther abolished not only the Canon, but also whatever suggested its presence in the Formula Missae, that is, the sung Preface. To be sure, there is a faint echo of the Sursum corda, but it is buried in the invitation to the Lord's Prayer: "Friends in Christ: Since we are here assembled in the name of the Lord to receive his Holy Testament, I admonish you first of all to lift up your hearts to God to pray with me the Lord's Prayer, as Christ our Lord has taught us . . . " ¹⁰⁶ Except for the expanded Sanctus text which follows them, the Verba stand totally isolated from all that served as their traditional setting. Luther's veneration of the Verba, divine words which both constitute the Sacrament and give its clearest explanation, has here found its fullest, logical expression.

In spite of its brevity and didactic nature, the Deutsche Messe, when celebrated, would not have been characterized by the sort of somberness which marked the worship of Swiss Protestan-

tism; the ample use of chanting, the congregation's singing, the continued use of vestments, altar and candles, and the persistence of the Elevation, would have maintained some degree of ceremonial richness, within this liturgy. Edmund Bishop once said that the original genius of the Roman Rite, prior to its Frankish elaboration, was essentially its "sobriety and sense."¹⁰⁷ With some justification, Luther may be said to have striven for, and to have achieved, something of a similar spirit in the Deutsche Messe.

Luther never regarded his Mass-projects as editiones typicae. They indeed reflect the way he desired to carry out a liturgical reformation at Wittenberg; but they carried no insistence from Luther that other cities and regions should adopt them, unaltered.¹⁰⁸ In the Formula Missae, he expressed a desire not to "prejudice others against adopting and following a different order." He wanted liturgical liberty to be preserved, so that consciences would not be bound by a new legalism.¹⁰⁹ The same point is made in the preface to the Deutsche Messe, with the proviso that there should be sufficient liturgical uniformity, among parishes of the same city or region, so that the people would not become "perplexed or offended."¹¹⁰ At the conclusion of the same order, he said:

... this or any other order shall be so used that whenever it becomes an abuse, it shall be straightway abolished and replaced by another, . . . For the [liturgical] orders must serve for the promotion of faith and love and not be to the detriment of faith.¹¹¹

Luther here makes it evident that he believed, that the truth of the Gospel could find expression in a variety of different liturgical formulations and ceremonials. While he chose not to compose a new eucharistic prayer, to give expression to the sacramental insights he had extracted from the Verba, it must, thus, be admitted that he had an attitude that left the "door open" for his followers to attempt such a construction, later.

In 1533, Luther gave a personal assessment of the results of his eucharistic teaching and the liturgical expression it had achieved:

. . . God be praised, in our churches we can show a Christian a true Christian mass according to the ordinance and institution of Christ, as well as according to the true intention of Christ and the church. There our pastor (pfarrher), . . . rightly and honorably and publicly called, . . . goes before the altar. Publicly and plainly he sings what Christ has ordained and instituted in the Lord's Supper. He takes the bread and wine, gives thanks, distributes and gives them, on the strength of the words of Christ: "This is my body, this is my blood. Do this," etc. Particularly we who want to receive the sacrament kneel beside, behind, and around him, man, woman, young, old, . . . parents, and children, . . . all of us true, holy [fellow] priests (heilige mit Priester), sanctified by Christ's blood, anointed by the Holy Spirit, and consecrated in baptism. . . and we let our pastor say what Christ ordained, not for himself as though it were for his person, but he is the mouth for all of us and we all speak the words with him from the heart and in [upright] faith (aufrichtigem glauben), . . . This is our mass, and it is the true mass which is not lacking among us.

Here everything is done, . . . according to the ordinance of Christ, . . . [The pastor] also does not sell it to us as a good work to reconcile God, . . . rather he administers it to us for the comfort and strengthening of our faith. [Here] (Hie) Christ is made known and preached. . . Here we surely have the intention of Christ and of the church.

"EUCHARISTIC PRAYERS" IN THE
EARLY KIRCHENORDNUNGEN

For Luther, the Verba were like a precious jewel, but one whose beauty, brilliance, worth and indispensability were being eclipsed by the distracting setting in which it had been placed. As has been shown, in his revision of the Mass, Luther cut away that setting--the traditional Canon with its preceding offertory prayers (and, in the Deutsche Messe, even the Preface)--so that the Verba could stand forth in solitary splendor. Such was his personal manner of solving the problem of finding a liturgical form in harmony with the insights of his eucharistic theology.

It is well that he did not try to insist that his solution was the only possible one, and that he gave his blessing to the principle of local liturgical adaptation. Four reasons for this decision suggest themselves. 1) The German map of Luther's day was a jumble of mutually independent principalities and free cities. There was no possibility of a "Cranmerian" sort of royally-mandated, national rite. On the one hand, there was not yet a unified "nation"; on the other hand, the emperor remained loyal to the Church of Rome and would have had no desire to assist the unity of the Lutheran party, whose growth was seen as a threat to the stability of his territories. 2) The Lutheran party, out of formal respect for the

hierarchy of the Papal Church, with which there remained a hope of reconciliation, did not seek to establish a parallel hierarchy and organization of its own.¹¹³ It thus lacked the sort of ecclesial structure which could have mandated a unified rite for its adherents. 3) As has been noted above, Luther's own spirit was opposed to the creation of a new liturgical legalism. It was axiomatic that freedom in non-essentials went hand in hand with the Gospel. 4) Reformed rites of a Lutheran character had already become customary in several centers, even prior to the appearance of the Deutsche Messe. So long as these provided adequate settings for the proclamation of the Word and for the administration of the Sacrament, there is no reason to suppose that Luther would have desired their suppression, in favor of what he had composed. Thus, the way was opened for the production of the flood of Lutheran church orders (Kirchenordnungen), which proliferated in the sixteenth century and beyond.¹¹⁴

Luther D. Reed has given the following description of this phenomenon:

Commissions of eminent theologians [Reed noted that virtually all of Luther's circle of fellow-reformers was engaged, at one time or another, in this task.], with the occasional addition of jurists and educators, were . . . appointed by the [civil] rulers. The commissioners prepared Church Orders which usually included lengthy statements of doctrine, regulations concerning church administration, organization of the schools, care of the poor, preservation of church property, and detailed directions for worship. Discussion of the latter subject was usually confined to a section called the "Agenda" which was

often issued separately.

Between 1523 and 1555 no fewer than 135 Church Orders appeared. Though differing greatly in minor details, they were pervaded by an inner unity of purpose and plan. This was due to the far-reaching influence of Luther and also to the fact that the most important of the Orders were prepared by theologians who had a common understanding as to general principles of procedure. Since most of the reformers helped prepare several Orders each (Bugenhagen seven, Brenz five, Jonas four, etc.), it is possible to group the orders in families and trace the influence which the most important exerted upon others.¹¹⁵

Table 7 reproduces Reed's "Table of Relationships" among the primary sixteenth century Kirchenordnungen.¹¹⁶

A relative few of the church orders, agendas, and liturgies thus produced are of interest to this study, because they contain prayer-forms which were inserted into the liturgical space from which the Roman Canon had been removed. Bouyer has noted several orders having this characteristic: Mark Brandenburg (Kur-Brandenburg) 1540, Austria 1571, Riga 1530¹¹⁷, Pfalz-Neuburg 1543, and the 1576 Swedish liturgy of King John III.¹¹⁸ To these, Reed adds mention of Nördlingen (K. Kantz) 1522 and Strassburg 1525.¹¹⁹ These will be briefly treated, chronologically.

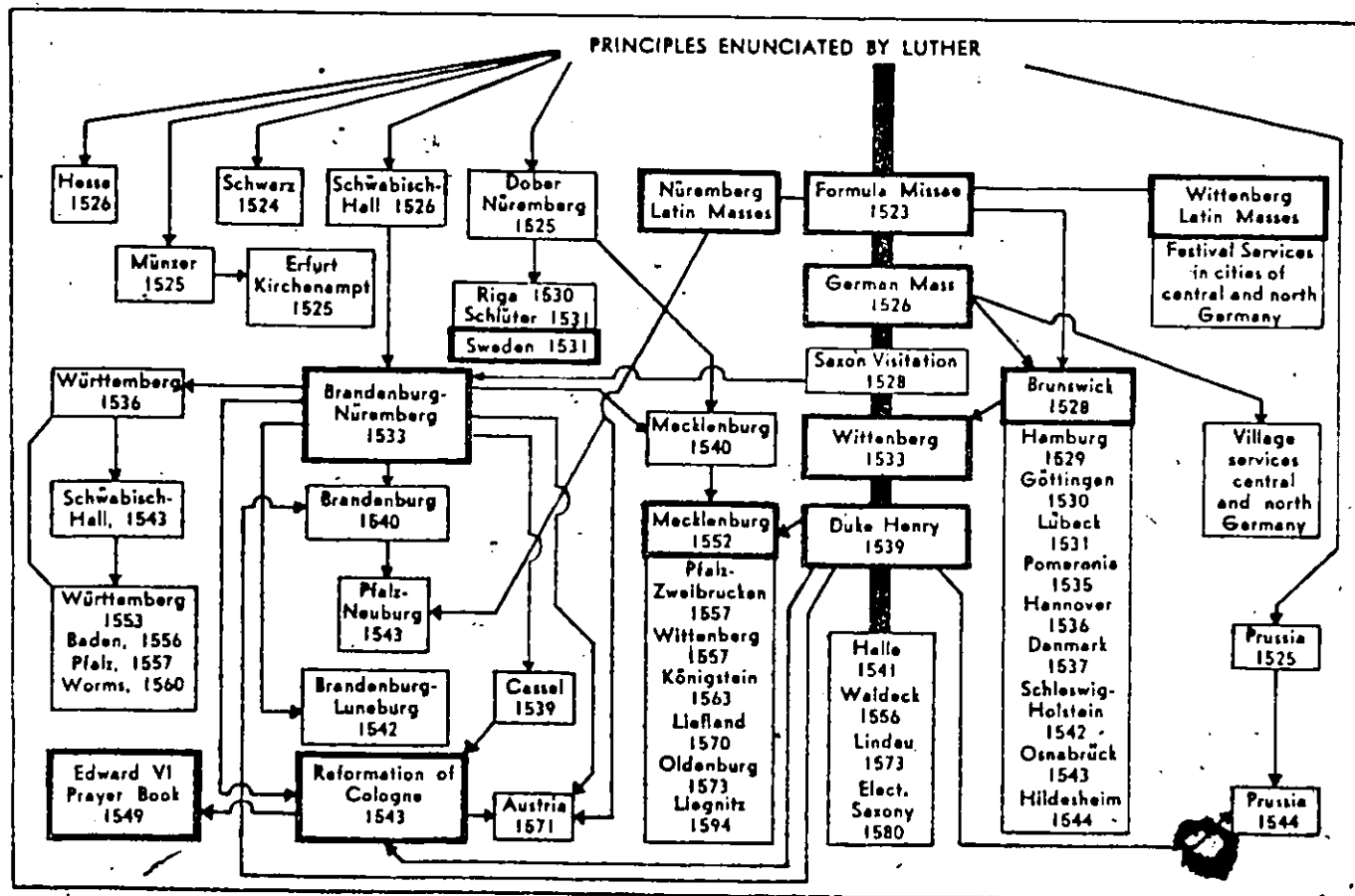
The first of these rites was the "Evangelical Mass" prepared by Kaspar Kantz, for his parish at Nördlingen (1522). (See Appendix, item 5.) Its most important feature is an Invocation, addressed to God the Father, placed between the Preface/Sanctus and the Verba. In asking for eucharistic consecration, the use of the verb helfen (vatter . . . hilf, das . . .).

TABLE 7

A TABLE OF RELATIONSHIPS
AMONG SIXTEENTH CENTURY
KIRCHENORDNUNGEN

Reproduced from Luther D. Reed, The Lutheran Liturgy
(Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1947), p. 90.

A TABLE OF RELATIONSHIPS



demands some consideration. Because of Luther's insistence that the Mass is not a human work, *helfen*, here cannot be taken to mean "help" or "assist," in the sense of assisting what the Church does in the Eucharist. There seem to be only two other viable possibilities: either *helfen* is here used idiomatically --with the sense of "grant," or God is being asked to "help," in the sense of making the immediately-following recitation of the Verba effective, in the present instance. The latter possibility seems the more likely, and seems to be strengthened by the fact that this invocation does not stand with a collect termination, but rather is linked to the Verba by a relative clause. Here there is no thought of epicletic consecration. Note that no agency--such as God's power, or the descent of the Holy Spirit--is mentioned; logically, one is left to conclude that this invocation considers the Verba to be the locus of consecration.

At first glance, the prayer following the Agnus, the O herr Jhesu Christe, du ewigs wort, seems misaddressed, to the extent that one might prefer to see the Father invoked, at such a solemn moment in the rite. But this address is made the more natural, both because of its content, and because it immediately follows a liturgical hymn to Christ (the Agnus). In typically Lutheran fashion, the prayer identifies forgiveness as the prime gift of the Sacrament. The phrase *rosenfarbes blut* (which is used in several of the church orders) has a curious ring, since

it is not a convincing parallel for heyiligen fronleichnam. One suspects that its real weight may be rubrical, calling for the use of red, rather than light colored wine, as a better symbol for the Real Presence.

Nördlingen 1522 does not mention the Elevation. If this ceremony had in fact been dropped, the invitation to communion, Secht, allerliebsten, accompanied by the exposition of the Sacrament, would at one and the same time have been a strong testimony to the Real Presence, and to the Lutheran insistence that the Mass finds its fulfillment in the communions of the congregation.

Wittenberg 1524 (see Appendix, item 6) is a very thought-provoking document. Its author, Bugenhagen, was clearly working with the Nördlingen text. Bugenhagen links Preface to Verba, after the manner of the Formula Missae. The invocation formula, O allergütigster vatter, has been relocated and become an offertory prayer; in this location, it becomes capable of a new interpretation, which may have deprived it of Luther's approval, when he came to work out his own German rite. It should be noted that Bugenhagen's post-1526 church orders were always closely based on the Deutsche Messe; the innovations from Nördlingen never reappear in his work.

Das Testament Jesu Christi 1523 (see Appendix, item 7), is a singular and somewhat curious work. Smend lists eight printed editions of the work, including a version in Dutch;¹²⁰ yet

it is unclear where, and to what extent, it was ever in use. The style of the prayers is prolix and often confused. One example occurs in the "Canon Maior." God is asked to accept the congregation's sacrifice, the bodies and souls of its members. There is a rather clumsy bridge connecting that thought with a remembrance of Christ's bitter self-sacrifice (pitter marter). Then the prayer completely founders, incorporating all of Lk 22:7-13, in its attempt to get to the Verba! Another example: In the prayer of "humble access," there is an interruption in which the congregation is addressed and briefly admonished, before the prayer is readdressed to God and concluded.

Though it is difficult to find any expressions in this rite which are incapable of a Lutheran interpretation, it had no discernible effect on the later development of Lutheran liturgy. Three reasons for this suggest themselves: 1) The prayers are not well expressed. 2) The compiler demonstrates a degree of attachment to the structure and to many details of expression, of the Roman Mass, which would have made most early Lutherans uncomfortable. 3) The work was ascribed to Oecolampadius, one of Luther's theological opponents.¹²¹

During the early years of the Reformation, the site of perhaps the most active liturgical experimentation was Strassburg. Between 1524 and 1526, there were some thirteen different printings of the Strassburg rite, including several distinct

editions. (See Appendix, item 8.) There is no question that the reformers at Strassburg attempted to hold, in a creative balance, both the inherited cultic forms of the Church, and the eucharistic insights which Luther was then enunciating.

By 1530, Strassburg had entered the orbit of the Swiss Reformation, but in these earlier years Luther provided its main inspiration. For the reader's benefit, one may list some of the characteristics of the Strassburg eucharistic prayers:

1) In the offertory prayers, two themes are present, that the Christian's proper sacrifice is the offering of his own life to God, and (based on the Orate fratres) that the congregation should intercede for its minister. 2) The fore-part of the Canon is replaced by a prayer of intercession for rulers and for the congregation, especially in its growth in faith and well-doing. (One may consider this an expansion of themes from the Memento domine). Prayers of this sort will also be found in Mark Brandenburg 1540 and Pfalz-Neuberg 1543. 3) The invocation from Nördlingen is present in one of the Strassburg editions, in slightly modified form. 4) Following the Elevation, there are provided prayers, which focus on the gift of the Real Presence. 5) In the "humble access" prayers, the Lutheran preoccupation with forgiveness of sin finds a more interesting expression than one normally encounters in the Kirchenordnungen.

Mark Brandenburg 1540 (see Appendix, item 9) has been described by Bouyer:

. . . the liturgy composed under the influence of the Elector Joachim II by Stratner, Buchholzer and Matthias von Jagow went much further than the Formula Missae. The Latin prefaces followed by the Sanctus were preserved, and during the singing of the latter, the celebrant said four prayers in a low voice and in German: for the Emperor, the authorities, the clergy, the unity of the Church, for the forgiveness of sins, after which he recited or sang in German the words of consecration, followed by the elevation and a Latin motet or a German song. . . . there was inserted an exhortation inspired by the Deutsche Messe (taken word for word from the Nuremberg ordo) before the communion.¹²²

Bouyer's "much further" applies primarily to the introduction of the four mentioned prayers, following the Sanctus. It must be noted that the paucity of prayer that marked the Deutsche Messe was also found in the early church orders. These four prayers were, thus, Mark Brandenburg's substitution for the Canon, and its closest approach to a "Prayer of the Faithful." It is worth mentioning that none of the four makes any reference to the sacramental action. They had originally been provided for occasional use in the Liturgy of the Word of an earlier church order, Brandenburg 1533, and in 1540 they were re-located in unaltered form.

Pfalz-Neuberg 1543 was an order more influenced by the Deutsche Messe than the Formula Missae. Note, for example, that the Preface has no place in it, its place being taken by a long exhortation on the Sacrament. Within the basic Deutsche Messe framework, however, it has incorporated extra materials with which we have become familiar above. Immediately before the Verba, it places a prayer of invocation, Herr Jesu Christe, du einiger warer son, which includes the traditional Trinitarian

termination; this prayer, though much modified and including language borrowed from the Supplices te, reveals itself to be a descendent of the Nördlingen invocation. The theme of offering, which always presents problems for Lutherans, is handled in a very ingenious fashion. Having situated the Eucharist in continuity with the Last Supper--the present rite answering Christ's command to repeat the Sacrament as a memorial of his sacrificial death--the prayer does not "offer" the bread and wine, but simply "brings" them into Christ's presence (much as Peter and John originally made the Passover meal ready for Christ; Lk 22:13), praying that he may sanctify them through his grace, goodness, and power. The invocation may thus be seen as simply a way of interpreting what is to happen through the immediately-following Verba. After the Verba, Elevation and Sanctus, and prior to the Lord's Prayer, three of the prayers of Mark Brandenburg 1540 are read, the fourth and final one (for forgiveness of sins) being omitted--doubtless because its theme is reiterated in the Lord's Prayer.

Austria 1571 (see Appendix, item 11) was composed by Chytraeus.¹²³ This beautifully-printed church order (an original copy of which the present writer had the pleasure of inspecting) is bilingual, presenting all of the ordinary chants in both Latin and German. Preface and Sanctus are followed by two alternate prayers "for the communicants," which ask that the Christian life may truly be lived by those who receive the Sacrament.

These pre-communion prayers accord well with Chytraeus' concept of Christian sacrifice.¹²⁴ Noteworthy is this order's equivocation on the sequence of Lord's Prayer-Words of Institution, or vice versa. It will be remembered that Luther's two masses each presents a different option. The sequence of the Deutsche Messe--i.e., Lord's Prayer prior to the Verba--was followed by the majority of sixteenth century church orders, and is chosen as the preferred option in this order. The question of the proper sequence of these two elements was to be a vexing one, in nineteenth century North American Lutheranism, as will be seen below.

Sweden 1576, the "Interimsmesse" of King John III, is certainly the most remarkable of these early Lutheran church orders, in its treatment of the Canon.¹²⁵ (Appendix, item 12.) Yelverton evaluates the motivation behind the production of this work, in this way: " . . . King John endeavoured to mediate between Rome and Wittenberg, and his liturgy was intended as a corrective in an age when traditional practice was lightly set aside. If he went further than Laurentius Petri [compiler of the Swedish rite of 1541, its revisions, and the church order of 1571], . . . he was [only] carrying the archbishop's principles to their logical issue."¹²⁶ Bouyer has noted that L. Petri, "For the first time in Protestantism . . . attempted to develop a positive doctrine of the eucharistic sacrifice, which is very close to the teachings of the Fathers." He finds that his concept of the "sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving"

went beyond that of the German reformers, and that he was able to speak of the Eucharist as "representation" of Christ's sacrifice--with the proviso that the Church's action not be confused with Christ's unique, redeeming function.¹²⁷ What helped make such an understanding possible was that the conditions of the reformation in Sweden were quite different from those in Germany; "Sacrifice" never became a shibboleth for Swedes, to the degree that it did for Germans. The language of sacrifice and offering is unashamedly present in King John's "Red Book," based in his understanding of the Fathers, but always conditioned by his own Lutheranism. In this liturgy, it is not a case of finding something to substitute for the Roman Canon. Rather, the Canon has been ingeniously reedited, so as to be able to "substitute for itself."

A revised *Ite igitur* has been moved forward into the offertory; Senn suggests that, in line with King John's understanding of West Syrian liturgies, its intercessory character may have recommended such placement.¹²⁸ This prayer is followed by a new composition, the *Domine Deus*. The first part of this oration appears to reflect themes from the *Memento Domine* and, as Senn points out, the language of the Augsburg Confession, Art. 12.¹²⁹ Beginning at the words *Benedic et sanctifica*, the balance of this prayer appears to be based on a medieval Swedish form of the *Veni, sanctificator*.¹³⁰ Then follows the Preface, remarkable because the Verba it contains (after the example of

the Formula Missae, in typical Swedish fashion) include "non-scriptural" elements, and because (unlike the Formula Missae) it specifically calls for the recitation of Et ideo cum Angelis following the Verba.¹³¹ After the Sanctus, the sequence beginning Memores igitur, is based on materials extracted from the following prayers: Unde et memores, Supra quae, Supplices te, Nobis quoque, and the Per quem.¹³² The only portions of the Roman Canon which are totally missing are: Memento Domine, Communicantes, and Memento etiam. These omissions demonstrate a desire " . . . to eliminate all reference to a Mass-sacrifice and to the commemoration of the faithful departed," according to Senn; another concern doubtless was Protestant sensitivity on the question of the intercessory role of the saints.¹³³

Bouyer has offered the following assessment:

. . . we can see the twofold ambiguity of the whole of this liturgy: all the Lutheran formulas have assuredly become susceptible of a perfectly Catholic sense, but all of the Catholic formulas, for their part, are presented in such a disjointed way that they can appear to have only a Lutheran sense. Actually, the King's sincere intention does seem to have been to return to the ancient tradition, but without thereby losing any of the positive elements of Lutheranism. However, we must admit, the procedure followed seems to pretend to adapt the Catholic formulas to Lutheran doctrine, in order to camouflage a Catholic doctrine beneath Lutheran formulas. The undeniable wish of the King, to return Sweden to Catholic unity at a time when men were in no way prepared for it, and the secret maneuverings of too crafty negotiators flurrying about his court, soon persuaded practically everyone that such was the true nature of this text. . . . the "red book" of John III could not truly satisfy either the Protestants or the Catholics.¹³⁴

Senn's conclusions on this liturgy must also be noted:

"It was Lutheran in both form and substance. Our analysis shows that the Mass of the "Red Book" was very much in continuity with the Swedish Mass as it had developed from 1531 through 1571."¹³⁵

The eucharistic theology expressed in the "Red Book" betrays an anti-Roman polemic in its emphasis on the unique character of the sacrifice of Christ on the cross. To be sure, a number of prayers also in the M[issale] R[omanum] 1570 were used either verbatim or in revised form in the liturgy. But these prayers have their origin in early medieval sources and no prayer is used verbatim if it compromises evangelical doctrine. Nor would Counter-Reformation Catholicism tolerate any emendation of its prescribed rites. . . . the Roman curia [was intransigent] during the period of King Johan's negotiations with the papacy, even though this meant an impassible roadblock in the Curia's hope of reclaiming Sweden into the Catholic fold.

The Liturgia aevanae ecclesiae must be viewed as King Johan III viewed it: as a consensus of the liturgical traditions of the fathers adapted in conformity with evangelical practice.

The "theological-political" problem of this prayer cannot be merely the textual reliance on comparable formularies in the Roman Canon. Since the theology of the Roman Canon has been transposed into an evangelical key in the "Red Book," and since we must credit the opponents of the Liturgy with an ability to read, we must ask if there is simply not an intrinsic problem with the eucharistic prayer so far as Lutheran liturgical theology is concerned, whether Lutheran sacramental theology allows for a eucharistic prayer at all.¹³⁶

One disagrees with Senn that the failure of this rite stemmed from any "intrinsic problem with the eucharistic prayer" so far as Lutheran theology is concerned. A combination of factors attracted opposition to it: fears concerning the possibility of the submission of the kingdom to Rome--either by King John III himself, or following his death, by his Catholic son

and heir, Sigismund (who already wore the crown of Poland); propaganda directed against its restoration of medieval ceremonies and against its suspected crypto-Jesuitical theology; agitation by Calvinists unsympathetic to liturgical worship; and perhaps some measure of opposition, based on the fact that this was the "king's book," prepared by him personally, rather than one which had been revised and approved in accordance with the past procedures of the Swedish Church.¹³⁷ Following the death of John III, the church assembly called in 1593 suppressed this rite and restored the church order of 1571. Thus passed out of use a Lutheran rite, including a full eucharistic prayer, whose full worth has only come to be appreciated in our present century. Schmidt-Lauber has offered this appreciation:

. . . die schwedische Interimsmesse [unternimmt] den Kühnen Versuch, die wichtigsten Teile des römischen Kanons unter weitgehender Verwertung des überlieferten Wortlautes zu erhalten. Sie werden theologisch gereinigt, und mit ihrer neuen Zusammenstellung ist das eucharistische Hochgebet wiedergewonnen.¹³⁸

The following are the theological characteristics of Sweden 1576:

- 1) The prayer Omnipotens aeterne Deus asks for the grace of praying according to God's command, as is pleasing to him.
- 2) Reference to eucharistic sacrifice (haec sancta sacrificia illibata) having been removed from it, the Te igitur now presents God with the prayers of the Church (preces nostras . . . quas tibi offerimus), offered in intercession.

3) The Domine Deus serves to proclaim the eucharistic and anamnetic characteristics of the Mass, and concludes in an epiclesis. Since the Lutheran Church has always taught the manducatio indignorum, the term "rightly used" (in uero usu) does not refer to the worthiness of the communicant as a condition for the Real Presence. In uero usu must be taken together with sacro usui destinata, as indicating that the Sacrament finds its proper purpose in the act of communion and that there is no right use of the Sacrament outside of that action. That position on "right use" being understood, the relation between Christ's sacrifice (sanctae illius . . . hostiae . . . peractae) and the Church's act in the Mass (peragamus), is one of anamnesis rather than renewing or repetition. "Nicht die dargebrachten Gaben werden "hostia" genannt, sondern allein das Opfer Christi, dessen sich die Gemeinde in dieser Handlung erinnert."¹³⁹

4) The Memores igitur continues and develops the same theme. The Anamnesis (properly so called) has been influenced by Chrysostom's anaphora (Memores . . . salutaris huius mandati, referring to the command to continue the Sacrament). The prayer goes on to consider the redemption that was uniquely won by Christ through the cross.

. . . das Kreuzes- und Erlösungsoffer Christi wird im Glauben ergriffen und vor Gott gebracht, nicht die konsekrierten Gaben! Ganz lutherisch sind auch Wendungen wie etwa die Bezeichnung dieses ergriffenen und dargebrachten Christus und seines Opfers als unser "scutum et umbraculum contra iram tuam", welche die Lehre vom Gesetz und Evangelium trefflich zum Ausdruck bringt, oder "una sui oblatione in

cruce" und "impleret sacrificium profuturum electis ad finem usque mundi".¹⁴⁰

It concludes with with a strong expression of thanksgiving.

5) The Et supplices stresses the unique mediatorship of Christ.¹⁴¹ It again makes the point that the Church's prayers are what constitute its offering to God in the Mass. In this prayer and in the Nobis quoque, the Lutheran concern for forgiveness of sin as the result of the believing reception of the Sacrament finds expression in the petition for omni benedictione caelesti et gratia, in the identification of the congregation as sinners (Nobis . . . peccatoribus . . . sperantibus), in the prayer for eventual union with the saints --a possibility only for those God forgives.¹⁴²

The eight church orders (perhaps one should speak of only seven, since Das Testament Jesu Christi 1523 is not unquestionably received as a "Lutheran" production) just surveyed are the pitiful few which, in the sixteenth century, attempted any sort of amplification of Luther's Mass-patterns, in the direction of providing a eucharistic prayer, to replace the now-absent Roman Canon. The degree of amplification ranges from the inclusion of a brief invocation in Nördlingen 1522, to a full-scale eucharistic prayer with preceding offertory rite in Sweden 1576. It is evident that each of the compilers had a two-fold goal: 1) To express evangelical theology, and 2) to place it in a more developed (and in some cases more tra-

ditional) liturgical form than those which had been received from Luther. In the sixteenth century and beyond, these church orders with their liturgical additions were evidence of little more than a "minority opinion" in Lutheranism. The preponderance of Kirchenordnungen simply accepted Luther's judgment on the Canon, and felt no need to replace it with any other prayer form.

Above, brief reference was made to the fact that for Luther all worship was subservient to the necessity of eliciting the saving response of faith, through the revealing and proclaiming of God's Word, and that, so long as that end were served, the specific categories of ritual activity (such as prayer, creed, hymn, or exhortation) became virtually interchangeable.¹⁴³ Senn made a corollary point, in his discussion of anamnesis with relation to Luther's concept of proclamation. Having noted Jeremias' clarification that both Jewish and Pauline memorial "is proclaimed first of all to God, to recall to him his promises with regard to his people,"¹⁴⁴ while in Luther proclamation is directed to the people to awaken their trust in God's promises; he concluded, "Either way, the 'other party' is listening in, and no matter what the 'direction' of the proclamation, the memorial is objectively real because the [covenant or sacramental] signs of it are objectively real."¹⁴⁵

In such reasoning, one may find the basis for classical Lutheranism's lack of concern over the loss of the eucharistic

prayer. If, in the first instance, God's work within the Eucharist was accomplished in conjunction with the Verba, and if God is omniscient and knows the Church's intention when it gathers to celebrate the Eucharist, then, strictly speaking, further prayer to him cannot be said to be necessary. However, if the Mass has as its purpose the reception of divine grace by Christians who approach it with proper faith and desire, and if there is some question about the quality of their faith (which rests on understanding) or of the motivation of their approach (when they come!), then it is more necessary to instruct the people, than to remind God, concerning the true meaning of the Mass.

The principle *lex orandi, lex credendi* suggests that people can be led to formulate their faith in accordance with the prayers they participate in. But Luther and his closest co-workers were professors and/or preachers, who instinctively felt that the same goal could be achieved more directly through proper instruction. For this reason, a formal exhortation on the Sacrament became as prevalent a fixture in Lutheran liturgies (from the sixteenth, to the present century), as any form of eucharistic prayer became rare. It is this writer's suggestion that if early Lutheranism did sense exhortations and eucharistic prayers to be parallel means to the same end, then to the extent (almost universal) that they adopted the former, the latter became redundant.

The Brandenburg-Nürnberg 1533 Kirchenordnung contains what became the basic and most popular Lutheran communion-exhortation text. (Appendix, item 13.) In it many important themes are to be identified. Holy Communion is: 1) A physical partaking of the Real Presence, for the strengthening of faith. 2) A reason for us to make an honest examination of ourselves, to the end of avoiding divine wrath and death. 3) A reminder that it was necessary for Christ to take our sin upon him and to fulfill the Law for us, since we were incapable of doing this. 4) A source of strength which assists us in gladly living according to Christ's will. 5) A remembrance of the Incarnation, through which all of Christ's life came to be "for us." 6) A testimony to and remembrance of his sacrifice, through which forgiveness of sins was achieved. 7) A sacrament through which we are incorporated into Christ and receive the promise of eternal life. 8) An act of thanksgiving. 9) A call to sacrificial living in imitation of Christ. 10) An incitement to love. 11) A sign of the unity of the Church.

It cannot be claimed that this exhortation, or others of the genre, expressed all of the themes which find an important place in Christendom's classic eucharistic prayers, or that it expressed its chosen themes with as much effectiveness and beauty as the latter were capable of. But, for better or worse, during more than four centuries, the exhortation was the form which replaced the ancient eucharistic prayer, in Lutheranism.

NOTES: CHAPTER III

¹Supra, p. 35, n. 36; p. 93, n. 80.

²LW 38:100f./WA 30,2:597f.

³LW 42:176/WA 7:696.

⁴LW 36:183/WA 8:525.

⁵At Wittenberg, the "customary" rite of Elevation included the ringing of bells (LW 42:173f./WA 7:694). However, accompanying genuflections are never mentioned by Luther. This accords with Joseph A. Jungmann's observation that at this period the form of this ceremony was still in the process of development and had not achieved uniformity: *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, Vol. 2 (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1955), pp. 210-213. [Hereinafter: Jungmann.]

⁶LW 53:28/WA 12:212f.

⁷Luther's connection of Elevation and Sanctus testifies to his acceptance of the sung parish Mass as the standard form of celebration. When the Sanctus was sung by a choir, in the Roman Rite, the Elevation habitually coincided with the singing of the Benedictus verse. Cf. Jungmann, 2, pp. 137 and 216.

⁸LW 53:82/WA 19:99.

⁹Hermann Sasse, *This is My Body: Luther's Contention for the Real Presence in the Sacrament of the Altar* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1959), p. 173. [Hereinafter: Sasse.] Cf. LW 38:317/WA 54:165 (1544).

¹⁰WA.BR 10:166, #3849. Where necessary to confound heretics, Luther (with typical exaggeration) confessed a willingness to multiply elevations to 3, 7, or even 10 per Mass! Cf. LW 38:316/WA 54:164 (1544).

¹¹Luther had no sympathy for the "iconoclasts" (*bildestürmen*, LW 37:371/WA 26:509 [1528]). Ecclesiastical ornaments were generally maintained in Lutheran areas, except where dropped because of political duress, or through the infiltration of Calvinistic values. Luther's position is frequently restated: LW 36:168/WA 8:511 (1521); LW 36:290/WA 11:443f. (1523); LW 40:129f./WA 18:112 (1525); LW 38:108/WA 30,1:604 (1530). See the study by Arthur Carl Piepkorn, *The Survival of the His-*

toric Vestments in the Lutheran Church After 1555 ("Graduate Study Number 1," St. Louis: Concordia Seminary, 1956).

¹²WA BR 10:86, #3762.

¹³LW 38:313-316/WA 54:162-165; LW 40:133f./WA 18:116 (1525). The Elevation is a form of enacted preaching, to stimulate faith in Christ's promise and presence: LW 36:53f./WA 6:524 (1520).

¹⁴LW 38:315/WA 54:164; cf. LW 36:53f./WA 6:524f. The fact that Luther's opinion on eucharistic adoration goes from early approval (LW 36:293f./WA 11:447 [1523]), to later disapproval (LW 54:462/WA TR 5:266, #5589 [1543]), may indicate that for him Elevation with adoration came to be linked with the idea of eucharistic sacrifice, rather than that of the Real Presence. There was a final change of attitude. In 1544, he said (when asked if the Elevation should be dropped where it was still current), "Minime! Nam video eam abrogationem minere auctoritatem sacramenti et contemptibilis fieri" (WA TR 5:308, #5665).

¹⁵The texts of Cranmer's two re-workings of the Canon are in: The First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI, Introduction by Douglas Harrison ("Everyman's Library," London: Dent, [reprint] 1968), pp. 221-223 and 388-390.

¹⁶Luther makes numerous passing references to the liturgical customs of Greece and Russia: vernacular, absence of private Mass, both kinds, and publicly-proclaimed Verba. On the last point, it is possible that he had scanned Melancthon's copy of Chrysostom's Anaphora. Therein, at least since the time of the Barberini Codex, the Verba have been set under the rubric, Ἐκφώνως, even though most of the remainder of the Anaphora is to be said μυστικῶς. Cf. Anton Hänggi and Irmgard Pahl, *Prex Eucharistica: Textus e Variis Liturgiis Antiquioribus Selecti* (Fribourg: Editions universitaires, 1968), p. 226. It is quite evident that Luther had no first-hand acquaintance with the customs of the Byzantine Rite.

¹⁷In the late sixteenth century, there was a great debate in Lutheranism, over the propriety of maintaining certain ceremonies inherited from the medieval tradition. The settlement of this "Adiaphoristic Controversy" came only after the publishing of the Formula of Concord of 1580.

¹⁸Cf. also, Explanation 62, LW 31:231/WA 1:616.

¹⁹LW 31:210/WA 1:604f. Cf. Louis Bouyer, *Eucharist*

(Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame, 1968), p. 391, where he quotes Luther's "rather likeable" attitude in a letter to Bucholzer: "If your Lord, the Margrave and Elector [Joachim], allows the Gospel . . . to be preached openly, clearly and purely, and the two sacraments . . . to be administered . . . in accordance with [Christ's] institution . . . then, in the name of God, go in procession, wear a cross of silver or gold, a chasuble and alb [a more correct translation is "cowl or surplice" (chorkappe oder chorrock)--Luther's normal term for chasuble is Kasell] of velvet, silk or linen! And if a chasuble or an alb are not enough for your lord Elector, then put on three one on top of the other like Aaron!" Text in WA BR 8:625f., #3421.

²⁰The reform in England had a strong anti-ceremonial side, also. Nicholas Ridley, briefly (1550-1553) bishop of London, included the following in his visitation articles: "Item, that no minister do counterfeit the popish mass [emphasis supplied] in kissing the Lord's board; washing his hands or fingers after the Gospel or the receipt of the holy communion; shifting the book from one place to another; laying down and licking the chalice after the communion; blessing his eyes with the sudary thereof, or patten, or crossing his head with the same; holding his forefingers and thumbs joined together toward the temples of his head, after the receiving of the sacrament; breathing on the bread or chalice; saying the Agnus before the communion; shewing the sacrament openly before the distribution, or making any elevation thereof; ringing of the sacring bell, or setting any light upon the Lord's board. And finally, that the minister, in time of the holy communion, do use only the ceremonies and gestures appointed by the Book of Common Prayer, and none other, so that there do not appear in them any counterfeiting of the popish mass." Quoted from T. M. Parker, *The English Reformation to 1558*, 2d ed. (London: Oxford, 1966), p. 115f. It is instructive to compare Luther's attitude in these matters; supra, p. 19f.

Luther never called for a stripped-down form of liturgy, devoid of altars, candles, and vestments, and appears to have suggested such a possibility only in the *Deutsche Messe*, and then only for small groups of truly-professed Christians. LW 53:63f./WA 19:75.

²¹Cf. LW 25:490/WA 56:197 (1515), where Luther calls for reverence for the ancient traditions. LW 38:194/WA 38:235; LW 36:290/WA 11:444; LW 38:108/WA 30:2:604.

²²LW 36:36/WA 6:512.

²³LW 36:185/WA 8:526 (1521).

²⁴LW 36:187/WA 8:528.

²⁵ LW 36:188f./WA 8:529.

²⁶ LW 36:186/WA 8:527.

²⁷ LW 36:185/WA 8:526.

²⁸ LW 36:320/WA 18:29.

²⁹ LW 36:311f./WA 18:22.

³⁰ LW 36:314/WA 18:24.

³¹ LW 36:312f./WA 18:23.

³² LW 36:313/WA 18:24. Cf. LW 36:184/WA 8:525f.

³³ LW 36:314ff./WA 18:24ff. The translation of *catholica* by *gemeine* and/or *christliche* is not polemical. Luther here follows an already-established German usage.

³⁴ LW 36:316f./WA 18:26.

³⁵ LW 36:317/WA 18:27.

³⁶ LW 36:317f./WA 18:27.

³⁷ LW 36:318/WA 18:28.

³⁸ LW 36:319/WA 18:28. Luke 22:19b-20 appeared in the Vulgate, with which Luther was so familiar, and was also found in the following manuscript families: Codex Bezae, Itala, and Old Syriac. For a brief mention concerning the Roman Canon's *Verba*, see Joseph A. Jungmann, *The Mass: An Historical, Theological, and Pastoral Survey* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1976), pp. 192-193. [Hereinafter: Jungmann-Mass.] Cf. E. C. Ratcliff, "The Institution Narrative of the Roman Canon Missae: Its Beginnings and Early Background," *Studia Patristica*, II, *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* (Berlin, 1957), pp. 64-82. For a brief survey of the liturgical treatments accorded the phrase *το ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδομεν*, cf. W. E. Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, 2d ed. (London: Rivingtons, 1876), pp. 620-622.

³⁹ LW 36:319f./WA 18:29.

⁴⁰ LW 36:320/WA 18:29.

⁴¹ LW 36:320f./WA 18:30.

⁴² LW 36:321/WA 18:30. Luther's polemical literalism,

at this point, should be contrasted with the opinion of Nicholas Cabasilas (14th cent.). He often criticized the customs and understandings of the Church of Rome, in his commentary on the byzantine liturgy. Still, he finally evaluated the Supplices positively, as the Western equivalent of the Epiclesis. Nicholas Cabasilas, *A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy* (London: SPCK, 1960), pp. 76-79.

⁴³ In a letter to John, Elector of Saxony, August 26, 1538. LW 49:410f./WA BR 5:574.

⁴⁴ LW 36:322/WA 18:31.

⁴⁵ Cf. Letter to Lazarus Spengler at Nürnberg, August 15, 1528; LW 49:206/WA BR 4:531, #1307.

⁴⁶ LW 36:332/WA 18:31.

⁴⁷ LW 36:332f./WA 18:31f.

⁴⁸ LW 36:317/WA 18:27.

⁴⁹ LW 36:316/WA 18:26.

⁵⁰ LW 36:322/WA 18:32 and LW 18:324/WA 18:33.

⁵¹ LW 38:314/WA 18:24.

⁵² Cf. the apparatus of Leo Eizenhöfer, *Canon Missae Romanae* (Rome: Orbis Catholicus, 1954), p. 23, n. "I".

⁵³ A. Croegaert, *The Mass: A Liturgical Commentary*, Vol. II, "The Mass of the Faithful" (London: Burns & Oates, 1959), pp. 165f., 184f., 194ff. A. G. Martimort, *L'Eglise en prière: Introduction à la liturgie*, (Paris: Desclée, 1961), pp. 381-382. Jungmann-Mass, p. 198.

⁵⁴ LW 38:226f./WA 38:267. Luther (in 1525) had argued for the acceptability of "Mass" as another name for the eucharist. He denied that "Mass" meant "sacrifice," as was maintained by Karlstadt; LW 40:120ff./WA 18:102ff. In early Lutheranism, "Mass" was normally a neutral term; and it remains an accepted usage in many parts of Lutheran Europe: Messe, Germany; Högmässa, Sweden (In normal, current Swedish usage, "High Mass" equates with the English term "The Service"; thus, a communion service is designated by the phrase, Högmässa med nattvard, or by Nattvardsmässa - literally "Supper-Mass"); Messu, Finland.

⁵⁵ LW 35:54f./WA 2:745 and LW 35:81f./WA 6:355f.

⁵⁶ Julius Smend, *Die evangelischen deutschen Messen bis zu Luthers Deutscher Messe* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1896), p. 23. [Hereinafter: Smend.] The full text of the prayer is given in the appendix.

⁵⁷ Cf. Henricus Denzinger and Adolfus Schönmetzer, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, 36th ed. (Barcelona: Herder, 1976), p. 382, §1606: "Can. 6. Si quis dixerit, sacramenta novae Legis non continere gratiam, quam significant, aut gratiam ipsam non ponentibus obicem non conferre, quasi signa tantum externa sint acceptae per fidem gratiae vel iustitiae, et novae quaedam Christianae professionis, quibus apud homines discernuntur fideles ab infidelibus: an. s."

⁵⁸ LW 35:51-58/WA 2:743-748.

⁵⁹ LW 35:62-70/WA 2:750-756. Cf. also, LW 40:178/WA 18:168 (1525).

⁶⁰ LW 35:53f./WA 2:745.

⁶¹ Smend, p. 23f. Full text in appendix.

⁶² Appendix, items 1-4.

⁶³ The Roman Rite still being in use, the Verba were said silently. Here, the "hearing" refers to the Elevation as a ceremonial proclamation of the content of the Verba.

⁶⁴ LW 42:174/WA 7:695. The thoughts expressed in this prayer are reminiscent of the formula $\Pi\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\omega\ \text{K}\upsilon\rho\iota\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\omega$ in the Byzantine Rite. Cf. F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1896), p. 394. While there is no suggestion of a direct influence from that source, one may wonder if similar (credal) pre-communion devotions might have been current in medieval Germany.

⁶⁵ England provides well-known examples of such manuals, the Lay-Folks Mass Book and Langforde's *Meditations in the Time of Mass*, which are discussed by Gregory Dix, in *The Shape of the Liturgy* (Westminster: Dacre, 1945), pp. 605-607; and by G. J. Cuming, *A History of Anglican Liturgy* (London: Macmillan, 1969), pp. 18-21.

⁶⁶ LW 36:54/WA 6:524f.

⁶⁷ LW 36:254/WA 10,2:29.

⁶⁸ LW 36:185/WA 8:525f.

⁶⁹ "Formam missandi" seems to be an off-hand reference to the title of the Formula Missae, work on which was under way.

⁷⁰ LW 49:55f./WA BR 3:184, #679.

⁷¹ LW 53:20/WA 12:206. The text of the Formula Missae is found on the pages: LW 53:19-40/WA 12:205-220.

⁷² Cf. LW 48:122f./WA 30,2:614f. (1530), where Luther gives his favorable opinion on the hymns of the ordinary, which are full of thanksgiving and praise, and which contains no hint of sacrifice. Luther expresses happiness over the fact that God arranged so that all sacrificial parts of the Mass are said silently, while whatever is sung aloud is "essentially good." As to the sermon, in 1520, Luther suggested that it should be nothing more than an exposition of the Mass, for the benefit of the people (LW 36:56/WA 6:525); and, in 1525, he suggested that the Verba must be a part of the sermon, regularly, so that they may be inculcated and become rooted in the hearts of the people (LW 40:143/WA 18:125). These are evidences of a feeling in Luther that, following the restoration of the sermon within the Mass, Word and sacrament were to be treated as mutually supportive and were not to be allowed to be separated, again.

⁷³ In the Small Catechism he provided a model order for making private confessions. Cf. LW 53:34/WA 12:216f.

⁷⁴ LW 53:26/WA 12:211.

⁷⁵ LW 53:21/WA 12:214f.

⁷⁶ LW 37:28f./WA 23:86. In mentioning the Verba again, there is no desire to reopen the question of the Real Presence in Luther, but simply to clarify and stress their importance in the liturgical context.

⁷⁷ LW 37:47/WA 23:116

⁷⁸ LW 37:61/WA 23:138.

⁷⁹ LW 37:117/WA 23:233. Vide supra, p. 79 (n. 129).

⁸⁰ Cf. LW 54:200/WA TR 3:301; LW 54:471f./WA TR 5:303; LW 38:202/WA 38:242; LW 44:339/WA 8:634; LW 52:199/WA 10,1,1:615f.

⁸¹ LW 53:27-29/WA 12:212f.

⁸² Frank C. Senn, "Martin Luther's Revision of the Eucharistic Canon in the Formula Missae of 1523," *CTM* 44 (1973), 100-118. Senn notes a coincidence between the structure of the Formula Missae and Ratcliff's hypothesis that the Sanctus may originally have been employed as the final doxology of the early, Roman eucharistic prayer. Cf. E. C. Ratcliff, "The Sanctus and the Pattern of the Early Anaphora," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 1 (1950), 29-36, 125-134. An alternate theory is that of A. Croegaert (op. cit., 2, p. 183). Following Cagin, he says, "In former times, the Sanctus used to be linked directly with the Qui pridie by a formula of transition, the Vere sanctus, which led into the narrative of the institution." The examples he gives are Gallican, but the inference is that the same pattern existed in the pre-Gregorian Roman Mass.

⁸³ Bouyer, op. cit., pp. 385-386.

⁸⁴ Luther D. Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy: A Study of the Common Service of the Lutheran Church in America* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1947), pp. 332-333. [Hereinafter: Reed-Liturgy.] Note: Reed's discomfort over how the laity may interpret the liturgical moment of the recitation of the Verba betrays a "receptionistic" understanding of the Sacrament. (Supra, p. 76.)

⁸⁵ Cf. LW 53:32-34/WA 12:215-216. Luther's general tendency, to avoid what would have been perceived (by the congregation) as drastic ritual change, reveals not only his desire for congregational peace and stability, but also his own liturgical preferences, and a feeling that it was easier to tolerate the charge of being "catholic" than to risk the charge of being sympathetic to the Swiss.

⁸⁶ LW 53:30/WA 12:214.

⁸⁷ LW 53:34f./WA 12:217, "Qui hoc noluerint, sinantur sibi et nihil ministretur ipsis."

⁸⁸ LW 53:36/WA 12:218.

⁸⁹ LW 53:62f./WA 19:73f.

⁹⁰ Supra, p. 49.

⁹¹ All the named orders appear, and are commented on, in Smend. For his discussion of the authorship of *Das Testament*, see pp. 57-71.

⁹² LW 49:68f./WA BR 3:2210, #698. Luther's concern for pure German was constant. See his denunciation of Zwingli's German (LW 37:170,180/WA 26:269f.,282), which attack was surely unfair given the unregularized state of written German at that time, and given the fact that Zwingli doubtless spoke his Swiss dialect as perfectly as Luther his Saxon!

⁹³ LW 49:90/WA BR 3:373, #793.

⁹⁴ With the exception of some Anglicans, Lutherans have been alone, in North American Protestantism, in maintaining a sung liturgy.

⁹⁵ LW 40:141/WA 18:123.

⁹⁶ LW 53:54.

⁹⁷ LW 53:62f./WA 19:74.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ LW 53:64-67/WA 19:76-78.

¹⁰⁰ It is not clear whether Luther intended this collect for every-Sunday use, or simply as an example for other translators.

¹⁰¹ The text of the Deutsche Messe is found in LW 53:61-90/WA 19:72-113.

¹⁰² LW 53:79/WA 19:95f. Cf. Theodore G. Tappert, *The Book of Concord* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1959), pp. 346-348. [Hereafter: *Book of Concord*.]

¹⁰³ LW 53:80/WA 19:97.

¹⁰⁴ Luther's co-worker J. Bugenhagen, followed the pattern of divided Verba with interspersed administration in at least three Kirchenordnungen he authored (Brunswick 1528, Hamburg 1529, Lübeck 1531). Cf. Hans-Christoph Schmidt-Lauber, *Die Eucharistie als Entfaltung der Verba Testamenti* (Kassel: Stauda, 1957), pp. 212-215. Examples of the pattern are lacking elsewhere. Since Schmidt-Lauber abbreviates, the example is here quoted from: Hans Lietzmann, *Johannes Bugenhagens Braunschweiger Kirchenordnung 1528* ("Kleine Texte für Vorlesung und Übungen, 88"; Bohn: A. Marcus und E. Weber's, 1912), p. 130f. "Bread Words," then: "Balde gan hento de Communicanten / de mans und knechte vohr / de frawen vnde iunckfrawen na / vnde nemen den lichnam des HEREN / vnde eyn iewelick geyt wedder vp syne stede / De

wile singet dat volk Jesus Christus vnse Heyland etc. edder
 Got sy gelauet vnde gebenedyet etc / wen ouers de Communican-
 ten synt togegangen so shal de sanck vp hören / vnde de pres-
 ter neme den kelk / vnde drege den beuehl Christi vortan vohr
 / also.

"Des geliken nam he ock den kelk / na dem auentmale
 . . . to myner gedechtnisse.

"Bälde enfangen de Communicanten den kelk des HEREN /
 vnde gän wedder vp öre steden / sitten vp den knehn edder stän
 / bet to der letsten segepinge / de wile singet me wat ouerich
 is vam lēde / edder me hēuet mehr an wen vele Communicanten
 synt. Wen se ouers alle communicēret hebben vnde synt vp ören
 steden / so singen se vnde alle volk to Christo iñ hemmele dat
 dūdesche. Agnus Dei / dremäl also."

¹⁰⁵ H. Grass, "Luther et la liturgie eucharistique," in
 Eucharisties d'Orient et d'Occident, I ("Lex Orandi, 46"; Par-
 is: Cerf, 1970), p. 149. For Luther all worship was subser-
 vient to one essential dynamic: that the Word be proclaimed to
 elicit the response of faith. So long as that end be served,
 it would appear that, for him, such specific worship forms as
 prayer, creed, hymn, exhortation, or instruction, became vir-
 tually interchangeable. Grass assesses Luther's hymn "Gott sei
 gelobet" as "sa plus belle prière eucharistique." This judg-
 ment must not be taken literally. The hymn (text: LW 53:252f./
 WA 38:245f.) does indeed contain eucharistic elements reminis-
 cent of the Preface, a confession of faith in the Real Pres-
 ence, and a sort of anamnesis of Christ's death and burial.
 But the term "eucharistic prayer" suggests a liturgical item
 present in every celebration, in a stated form, or in a series
 of alternate forms, each containing its own version of a body
 of essential content. This understanding simply cannot be ap-
 plied to the vast body of hymnody which Lutherans have sung at
 the time of communion.

¹⁰⁶ LW 53:78f./WA 19:95.

¹⁰⁷ Edmund Bishop, *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford: Claren-
 don, 1918), p. 19.

¹⁰⁸ LW 53:62/WA 19:73.

¹⁰⁹ LW 53:20, 37/WA 12:206, 218f. See also, "A Christian
 Exhortation to the Livonians . . . (LW 53:46/WA 18:417f. [1525]),
 and Luther's letter of November 17, 1524, to Nicholas Hausmann
 (LW 49:87-91/WA BR 3:273f., #793).

¹¹⁰ LW 53:61/WA 19:72.

¹¹¹ LW 53:90/WA 19:113.

¹¹² LW 38:208f./WA 38:247f.

¹¹³ Cf. Apology of the Augsburg Confession, art. xiv; Book of Concord, pp. 214-215.

¹¹⁴ The primary sources for these are in the collections of Emil Sehling and Aemilius Ludwig Richter; see Bibliography. Cf. also, Hermann Adalbert Daniel, ed., Codex Liturgicus: Ecclesiae Universae in Epitomen Redactus, II, Ecclesiae Lutheranae in Epitomen Redactus ([reprinted.] Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1966).

¹¹⁵ Reed-Liturgy, pp. 87-88. On pp. 87-109, Reed provides an analysis of some of the most liturgically-significant of these church orders.

¹¹⁶ Note that Reed lists Cranmer's 1549 rite among the Lutheran church orders. Such an identification was popular among high-church, American Lutheran liturgiologists, a couple decades ago. One suspects that the desire to identify the reform in England as "Lutheran" in its origin, was to allow identification of some of the recoveries of the Anglican "Oxford Movement" as allowably "Lutheran," as well.

¹¹⁷ The writer regrets not having been able to consult the Riga 1530 order. However, given the fact that it is not mentioned by Reed or Schmidt-Lauber, he suspects that it would add little by way of new evidence, to the present discussion.

¹¹⁸ Bouyer, pp. 390f., 396-407.

¹¹⁹ Reed-Liturgy, p. 334.

¹²⁰ Smend, p. 49f.

¹²¹ For a discussion of the authorship problem, cf. Smend, pp. 59-67.

¹²² Bouyer, p. 390.

¹²³ As Reed noted (supra, p. 148f.), the theologians of the Lutheran camp were deeply involved in liturgical reform.

¹²⁴ Supra, p. 8.

¹²⁵ This liturgy has attracted a number of modern commentators. Schmidt-Lauber, op. cit., pp. 121-124. Bouyer, pp.

396-407. Eric E. Yelverton, *The Mass in Sweden; Its Development from the Latin Rite from 1531 to 1917* ("Henry Bradshaw Society, 57"; London: Harrison and Sons, 1920 [introduction, bilingual texts and English translation. Hereinafter: Yelverton.]). Frank C. Senn, "Liturgia Svecanae Ecclesiae: An Attempt at Eucharistic Restoration during the Swedish Reformation" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 1979). [Hereinafter: Senn-Liturgia.]

¹²⁶ Yelverton, p. 67.

¹²⁷ Bouyer, p. 399f.

¹²⁸ Senn-Liturgia, p. 220.

¹²⁹ Ibid., p. 228. Augsburg Confession, art. xiii: "De usu sacramentorum [apud nos] docent, quod sacramenta instituta sint, non modo ut sint notae professionis inter homines, sed magis ut sint signa et testimonia voluntatis Dei erga nos, ad excitandam et confirmandam fidem in his, qui utuntur proposita. Itaque utendum est sacramentis ita, ut fides accedat, quae per sacramenta exhibentur et ostenduntur"; *Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1952), p. 68.

¹³⁰ Senn-Liturgia, p. 222.

¹³¹ Ibid., pp. 237-239, for an analysis of these Verba.

¹³² Ibid., pp. 241ff.

¹³³ Ibid., p. 241. Senn here follows Yelverton (p. 72).

¹³⁴ Bouyer, p. 406f. Senn contests this evaluation of King John's motivation; cf. Senn-Liturgia, p. 362.

¹³⁵ Senn-Liturgia, p. 267.

¹³⁶ Ibid., pp. 268, 269, 270.

¹³⁷ For the most part this assessment is based on Senn's own data, especially as presented: Senn-Liturgia, pp. 111-131, 367-374.

¹³⁸ Schmidt-Lauber, p. 122.

¹³⁹ Ibid. Cf. Bouyer's interpretation of the significance of "remembrance" in this rite (Bouyer, pp. 402-404). Senn is correct in pointing out Bouyer's error--ascribing the same

subjective character to "remembrance" among Lutherans, as was typical of Reformed Protestantism (Senn-Liturgia, pp. 348-354).

¹⁴⁰Schmidt-Lauber, p. 123.

¹⁴¹Cf. supra, p. 159, on the omission of the Memento Domine, etc.

¹⁴²This brief analysis has been compared with, and has been assisted by, the conclusions of Bouyer, Senn, and Schmidt-Lauber.

¹⁴³Supra, p. 176, n. 105.

¹⁴⁴Cf. Joachim Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, revised edition (New York: Scribner's, 1966), pp. 237ff.

¹⁴⁵Senn-Liturgia, p. 350.

CHAPTER IV

THE RETURN OF THE EUCHARISTIC PRAYER IN TWENTIETH CENTURY NORTH AMERICAN LUTHERANISM

The previous two chapters attempted to describe Lutheran eucharistic theology and the shape(s) taken by Lutheran liturgy, in the century of the Reformation. Those who would be interested in a further statement of the Lutheran doctrine, are advised to refer to the work of Martin Chemnitz, both his *Examen Concilii Tridentini* (completed in 1573), and his *Fundamenta Sanae Doctrinae de Vera et Substantiali Praesentia Exhibitione & Sumptione Corporis & Sanguinis Domini in Coena* (1570).¹

The century which followed was not marked by any theological development. It was rather a time when Lutheran theology was concerned primarily with the systematic restatement of Reformation doctrine (This period of "Orthodoxy" has also been called the period of "Lutheran Scholasticism."), having as a particular concern the desire to meet the challenge of Calvinism.² This challenge was a two-fold one. On the one hand, Calvinistic theologians maintained a bitter polemic against Lutheran eucharistic positions, characterizing these as Romanist, contrary to reason, etc.; Lutheran theologians were more than capable of meeting such attacks head on. On the other

hand, Calvinism proclaimed an "eirenic," approach to fellow Protestants, encouraging them to conciliate and overcome past differences, which held them apart needlessly. This public posture was very seductive to secular rulers, who saw it to the advantage of the peace of their realms, if confessional squabbles could be dampened to the point of allowing Lutherans and Calvinists to coexist, even within a single church structure; and many of them exerted considerable influence to impose such peace and unity. This second challenge was a far more serious one for Lutheranism in Germany, for whenever "conciliation" occurred, compromise normally came from the Lutheran side, while the Calvinistic position was firmly maintained. Werner Elert has clearly described this result.

The insistence with which Calvinism constantly pressed union later on is properly illuminated when one considers that wherever Calvinism attempted to hammer the "unity of Protestantism" (Einheit des Protestantismus) into Lutheranism, it had made its way into areas of the church that were originally Lutheran. . . . Hans Leube has . . . shown impressively as well as incontrovertibly that the Reformed "irenic theology" (Irenik) in the seventeenth century was often a concealed agitation for its own idea and its own political right, and certainly by no means a waiving of its own confessional position.

Very often, the eirenic approach of Calvinism was subtle to the point of seeming insincerity. Note that in the Kurpfalz church order of 1563, the exhortation speaks of the unworthy partaking of the Sacrament in a way that suggests the Lutheran doctrine of manducatio indignorum (Welcher nun unwirdig von diesem brodt isset oder von dem kelch des herrn trincket, der ist

schuldig an dem leib und blut dess herrn. . . . der isset und trincket im selber das gericht, damit dass er nicht unterscheidet den leib dess herrn), and there is a "consecration prayer" that seems to suggest that Real Presence is understood in very Lutheran terms (at least, at first reading):

Barmhertziger Gott und vater, wir bitten dich, dass du in diesem abendmal, in welchem wir begehen die herrliche gedechtnuss dess bitteren tods deines lieben sohns Jesu Christi, durch deinen heiligen geist in unsern hertzen wöllest wircken, dass wir uns mit warem vertrauen deinem son Jesu Christo je lenger je mehr ergeben, auf dass unsere mühselige und zerschlagene hertzen mit seinem waren leibe und blut, ja mit im, waren Gott und menschen, dem einigen himmelbrod, durch die kraft des heiligen geistes gespeiset und erquicket werden, auf dass wir nicht mehr in unsern sünden, sonder er in uns und wir in im leben und warhaftig des neuen und ewigen testaments und bunds der gnaden also theilhaftig seyen, dass wir nit zweifeln, dass du ewiglich unser gnediger vater sein wöllest, uns unser sünden nimmermehr zurechnen und uns in allem an leib und seel versorgen, wie deine liebe kinder und erben. Verleihe uns auch deine gnad, dass wir getröst unser creutz auf uns nemen, uns selbst verleugnen, unsern heiland bekennen und in aller trübsal mit aufgerichtetem haupt unsers herrn Jesu Christi auss dem himel erwarten, da er unsere sterbliche leichnam seinem verklärten herrlichen leib gleichförmig machen und uns zu ihm nemen wirdt in ewigkeyt, Amen.

But a careful reading reveals that the activity of the Holy Spirit has no connection with the bread and wine, it takes place "in our hearts," and that the "feeding with the true body and blood" is a subjective, spiritual feeding; Christ remains in heaven until the last day. This is, finally, clearly stated only in the invitation just before the distribution:

Auf dass wir nun mit dem waren himmelbrodt Christo gespeiset werden, so lasst uns mit unsern hertzen nicht an dem eusserlichen brodt und wein haften, sonder unsere hertzen und glauben über sich in den himel erheben, da Christus Jesus ist, . . .

To the extent that the revisers of Lutheran liturgies, in the seventeenth and following centuries, considered the option of the eucharistic prayer at all, they must have despaired in facing the challenge of steering a safe course, between the Scylla of Roman sacrificial teaching, which was thought to have ensnared the Swedish rite of 1576, and the Charybdis of Calvinistic subtlety, which had surfaced in some of the German church orders, as well as in the English Book of Common Prayer. Their solution was similar to Luther's, when, frustrated by Zwingli's endless arguments and subtleties at Marburg, he is said to have simply written "Hoc est" on the tabletop, as though those words, when taken seriously and directly, were incapable of misinterpretation.⁵ Following the example of the Deutsche Messe, they provided exhortations to teach basic sacramental understandings, and left the Verba, standing free, to do the rest.

From the start of the seventeenth century to the early nineteenth, no Lutheran liturgies are to be found, which have undertaken to expand that pattern. One may, without exaggeration, speak of a "triumph" of the Verba over the eucharistic prayer, during this long period.

During the period of Orthodoxy, a certain "triumphalism" accompanied that triumph, a feeling that Lutheranism had achieved the most correct doctrinal and liturgical formulations in Christendom, so that all that was necessary for the future was to guard these from change and repeat them. An age of father cold

formalism was ushered in. Andreas Aarflot observed that, with isolated exceptions like Johann Gerhard (+1637), there were:

" . . . few representatives of theologically reflected orthodox piety who stressed the objective basis of salvation through the work of Christ for us, and at the same time turned the interest of the believer to the reality of the means of grace."

The reaction to this situation was the growth of the Pietistic Movement. Aarflot continues:

In the history of the European churches Pietism (1675-1750) appears as a movement, a trend, a way of thinking and living, more than a strictly defined period of historical development. The heritage which pietism took over was the spiritual Janus-face of orthodoxy, with its rigid confessionalism . . .

The historical situation of Pietism, however, was the break-through of individualism, the longing for a new world and the growing trust in the possibilities that were put in the hands of natural man. In a sense Pietism was the ecclesial counterpart of the Enlightenment with its philosophy and its optimistic concept of man and society.

The following are the characteristics of Pietism, listed by this author:

- 1) A shift of theological focus away from "justification by faith."

While orthodoxy took for its starting-point the objective reality of salvation as God's work with men, pietism focused its attention upon the subjective effects of salvation as experienced by men. [Emphasis supplied.] The term faith was no longer self-evident. It was qualified by other words, like "true" faith, "living" faith, etc.

- 2) It was markedly individualistic.

The communal implications of salvation did not prevail. . . . the society of believers in pietism was seen as a group of individuals with similar experiences. The church was

the sum of individually restored people gathering to share their insights and feelings.

3) Natural man and the world are seen as depraved.

Either they are shunned, or the pietist must work to regulate them according to Christian standards.

4) Pietism has a "tendency to inward, often mystical contemplation."

From this point of view the world is seen as a strange land through which we journey towards the heavenly land of joy and peace. . . . as we move forward on our pilgrimage, the soul seeks to anticipate the final union with God through mystical contemplation and meditation. . . .

The meditative mood of pietism tends to accentuate the life and work of Jesus Christ more strongly than had commonly been done in the previous period. . . . the piety of the time may be correspondingly called Jesus-piety (Jesusfrömmigkeit).

5) Fellowship tended to be "all-embracing."

One last aspect of Lutheran piety in a pietistic setting which deserves mentioning is the universal dimension of the Christian fellowship. As the main emphasis is on the individual religious experience, the community of believers is transcending the confessional borders of a given time. There is an ecumenical feeling of common features in the personal lives of Christians from different theological traditions.

Nothing in the above outline necessarily suggests that Pietism had to stand in opposition to ecclesiastical structures and sacramental worship. However, the outline taken as a whole suggests a situation in which such realities would become matters of relative indifference to individual, pietistic believers. In fact, the more Pietism grew in strength, the more devastating was the effect on Lutheran parochial worship.

Aarflot indicates that Pietism had passed the peak of its vitality and influence by the mid-eighteenth century. That may well be true, but it is also true that permutations and off-shoots of the Pietistic Movement have continued to be influential in European countries (especially in Scandinavia), down to the present day.

It has already been mentioned that German Rationalism, the Enlightenment (Aufklärung), wreaked its particular and nearly fatal havoc within Lutheranism. For the purposes of this paper, it will not be necessary to discuss this philosophical movement or its manner of dealing with "things sacred"--these are matters of common knowledge. However, it will be instructive to consider the liturgical mutations it brought to pass. H. A. Daniel presents such a liturgy, originating in ducal Sleswick-Holstein, during the period in question. (Appendix, item 14.)

The preface of this order reveals the loss of the concept that the eucharistic liturgy should involve the whole congregation, whether communing or not. Rather, the Sacrament is viewed as an exercise of personal devotion, for those who are interested in it.

Die Communionshandlung muss nicht eher anheben, als bis die Communicanten sich um den Altar versammelt, und die weggehenden Mitglieder der Gemeinde die Kirche verlassen haben. In der Zwischenzeit wird die Orgel gerührt, oder wo keine Orgel ist, eine Pause gemacht.

The sermon has come to play so dominant a rôle in the liturgy, that the celebration of the Eucharist is openly spoken

of as an "appendage," one whose frequency of performance ought to be diminished that it might gain greater effect!

Eine der ehrwürdigsten christlichen Religionshandlungen, ist unstreitig die Feier des heiligen Abendmahls. Sie verliert aber sehr viel von ihrer wohlthätigen Wirkung, wenn sie der öffentlichen Gottesverehrung gleichsam als ein Anhang angefügt wird. Viel kräftiger würde sie wirken, viel augenscheinlicher sich als die heilsamste Anstalt zur Beförderung des thätigen Christenthums bewahren, wenn sie überhaupt seltner, etwa, nach Maassgabe der Grösse der Gemeinde, jeden sechsten, zwölften Sonntag, oder auf dem Lande im Frühjahre und Herbste ein paar Sonntage nach einander gefeiert würde, aber an dem Tage auch Gebet und Gesang, Unterricht und Ermahnung alles sich vereinigte, den Eindruck der Handlung auf die Communicanten sowohl, als auf die Anwesenden, so tief und fruchtbar, als möglich, zu machen.

Following the Sermon and the dismissal of non-communing worshippers, the order proceeds immediately to an exhortation and prayer, in which there is no mention of the Real Presence, of the Sacrament's gift of forgiveness, or of the Church as a gathered celebrating community. There is a sentimental wallowing in the human aspects of Calvary; there is no mention of the cross, nor of sacrifice--just talk of pain and death, consideration of which is somehow supposed to be good for one's faith, and out of which some blessings are supposed to come. Christ is considered to be a good example and teacher, one who went to death to prove the seriousness of his teaching. The people are not addressed as sinners, but as those who, through knowledge, have come to possess the promise of God's blessings. All is focused on the hope of moral uplift in present living, and on the hope of an eventual happy death.

Next follow the Lord's Prayer and the Verba. One is almost surprised to find that the traditional texts have been left unaltered--especially in view of the fact that the final benediction from Numbers 6 has been freely rewritten. A rubric forbids either elevation (which, according to Daniel, had been in practice in Sleswick-Holstein, to the end of the eighteenth century), or sign of the Cross, in connection with the reading of the Verba.

The formulae of distribution are a study in themselves. First are provided formulae in fairly traditional Lutheran form (Der Leib [Das Blut] deines Heilandes Iesu Christi, für deine Sünden in den Tod gegeben [vergossen]). Then are provided alternate formulae which reflect either a tinge of Calvinism, or the sentimentality of the age (Zum Gedächtniß Iesu Christi, deines Heilandes, der seinen Leib [sein Blut] für dich in den Tod gegeben [vergossen]). Yet another set of formulae, in a particular form Lutherans have always felt to have Calvinistic intention (i.e., "Jesus said" formulae which focus on the past historic event, rather than on what the Church continues to proclaim), are provided for use in churches where the communicants approach the altar in individual fashion, rather than as a group. Finally, permission is given to intersperse any of the above formulae with brief, inspirational verses from Scripture.

In such an order as this, it is possible to see that during the period of Rationalism, the Lutheran Church drifted

so far off course, in its sacramental understanding and practice, that its Abendmahl came close to losing all contact with the historic Eucharist.

Reed reminds us of a privately produced agenda (1808), by Christian F. Sintenis, in which precisely that may be said to have happened. Here, the exhortation before communion contains the following language:

At this table, consecrated to the Lord, let all eat and drink with profoundest emotion! Let this bread and wine typify to you the death of Jesus on the cross; . . . may you be deeply moved by the surpassing greatness and beauty of soul of which this Divine One gave evidence, when for your salvation He permitted His Body to be broken and His Blood to be shed, and died upon the Cross! Come to Him then, as it is natural for good people to do (!) with ardent gratitude. . . .

The Lord's Prayer has been thoroughly rewritten:

Most High Father; Let it be our supreme purpose to glorify Thee; Let truth thrive among us; Let virtue already dwell here as it does in heaven; Reward our industry with bread; And our forgiving disposition with grace; From severe conflicts preserve us; and finally let all evil cease.

Such liturgical creations are completely in harmony with communion formulae which Reed discovered elsewhere: "Eat this bread; may the spirit of devotion rest upon you with all its blessings. Drink a little wine; moral power does not reside in this wine, but in you, in the teachings of God, and in God."¹¹

Within the sphere of worship, Rationalism was wholly destructive. Pietism had rejected or neglected many of the ancient forms but had not denied their content. Rationalism rejected content and form alike. . . . The altered views of the Word and sacraments made the Liturgy and the great hymns of the Church unintelligible. The service was mutilated beyond recognition. The church building became a mere place of assembly, and the pulpit a lecture platform from which the minister gave moral instructions. The Sacrament

was reduced to an empty form and was observed in Reformed fashion four times a year. Influences from Geneva allied themselves with the spirit of the age. . . .

In the New World, clusters of Lutherans had planted themselves, already in the colonial period. Among them, well into the eighteenth century, the worship situation was one of total confusion. Pastors were few and far between, and (there being no strictly North American ecclesial structures) directed their allegiance to the many European territorial jurisdictions from which they had come. Lutherans were divided on linguistic lines, and were frequently sub-divided in terms of "mother country" regional boundaries. Differences of theological interpretation (when they could understand each other) also tended to keep them apart. "Orders of Service" were at the discretion of the minister, sometimes taken from whatever ritual he had happened to bring with him from Europe, and frequently based on his own free adaptations thereof. The traditional responsive portions of the liturgy were dropped, because the laity did not have access to service books; often their participation was limited solely to singing hymns which they knew from memory.¹³

In such a situation, one can only imagine the frustrations of Henry M. Muhlenberg, the "Father" of North American Lutheranism, when he worked on his 1748 liturgy, the first one produced for the American churches:

We consulted together in Providence with regard to a suitable liturgy . . . for use in our congregations. True, we had been using a small formulary heretofore, but had

nothing definite and harmonious in all its parts, since we had thought it best to wait for the arrival of more laborers and also until we had acquired a better knowledge of conditions in this country. To adopt the Swedish liturgy¹⁴ did not appear either suitable or necessary since most of our congregations came from the districts on the Rhine and the Main and considered the singing of collects to be papistical. Nor yet could we select a liturgy with regard to every individual's accustomed use, since almost every country town and village [in Germany] has its own. We therefore took the liturgy of the Savoy Church in London as the basis, cut out parts and added to it according to what seemed to us to be profitable and edifying in these circumstances. . . . notwithstanding this, Pastors Wagner, Stöver, and other contrary-minded men took occasion to instigate some simple-minded people against us under the pretext that we ought to introduce the liturgy of Württemberg or of Zweibrücken, and they also tried to make the people believe that we intended to lead them away from Lutheran doctrine and church order, etc., etc.¹⁵

It was Muhlenberg's express desire, in producing his liturgy, that "the same ceremonies, forms, and words might be used in all our congregations." The form he developed was quite a full and traditional one, especially in terms of the standards of the time:

Hymn invoking the Holy Spirit
 Exhortation, Confession, Kyrie
 Gloria in Excelsis (in metrical form).
 Salutation/Response, Collect (Veit Dietrich series)
 Epistle, Hymn, Gospel
 Nicene Creed (metrical, "Wir glauben all"), Hymn
 Sermon
 General Prayer or Litany, Lord's Prayer
 Announcements, Votum, Hymn
 Salutation/Responses, Collect
 Aaronic Benediction (followed by, "In the Name . . . ")

Holy Communion was appointed for the three great festivals:
 Versicles, Preface, (abbreviated) Sanctus
 Exhortation (Luther's, 1526)
 Lord's Prayer, Words of Institution
 Invitation (from London), Administration
 Versicle, Thanksgiving Collect (Luther's)
 Aaronic Benediction (as above)

Reed concludes that this liturgy is deserving of "high praise."

Under the pioneer conditions which prevailed, it is astonishing that Muhlenberg and his associates should have concerned themselves at all with the effort to establish a formal historical order of service. . . . The Lutheran people were poor and widely scattered, and they met for worship, for the most part, in private homes, shops and barns.

It would have been a blessing if this liturgy could have remained in use. Later departures from it introduced confusion and weakness.

The Muhlenberg liturgy was a precursor of later developments, but its immediate influence was limited and short lived. Since it was never printed and was spread only by the manuscript copies made for interested clergy, there was no way for it to effectively unite the practice of the scattered Lutheran congregations of the period. Abdel R. Wentz gives a good characterization of the time, and its spirit of worship:

There was a constant tendency throughout this period in the direction of less formality, less conformity to the church year, more extempore prayers with intercession for definite individuals, and more adaptation to circumstances. The liturgical part of the service of worship was shortened in order to permit more time for the sermon with its admonitions to a living Christian piety. When a liturgy was first published in 1786, it showed, therefore, a decided decline from the purer Lutheran service that Muhlenberg, and his colleagues had prepared thirty-eight years earlier.

Lutheran liturgy in North America, never too solid to begin with, went into a "tail-spin," following Muhlenberg. Among the contributing influences were: Pietism, Rationalism (though this was never as strong in North America, as in Europe), American "Revivalism," and desires for unity with other Protestant groups, as well as influences received from them.¹⁹

The nadir in this process was reached in the Liturgie oder Kirchen Agende (1818), published at Baltimore. Reed judges it in these words:

In this [order] scarcely a trace of responsive service remained. . . . An alternate form of service [of the Word], though very sketchy, seems to have been built on the Matin order, with use of the opening versicles, part of the Venite, etc. There were three different forms for the administration of the Lord's Supper, including the objectionable one, "Jesus says, take eat, etc."²⁰

The rite enjoyed a certain popularity, however, since in 1830 the Synod of Ohio published a major portion of it in English, the Liturgy, or Formulary, for the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Churches.²¹ Again, as noted by Reed:

In 1839 the Ministerium of Pennsylvania and the Ministerium of New York co-operated in the appointment of a joint committee to revise the Liturgy "in an approved and more complete form." The German Service was adopted in 1842, and the General Synod the following year also recommended it "as suitable for adoption among our German churches." This Liturgy [Liturgie und Kirchenagende, 1842] differed very little from the one²² of 1818, the responsive elements being almost negligible.

Reed's negative opinion of this rite in its 1818 and 1842 permutations (He makes no reference to the 1830 English version.) is certainly justified, insofar as one is comparing it only to the historic structure of the Western Mass. On this basis, this rite can, at best, be called inadequate. The overall impression this rite gives is that of a deluge of overblown, sentimental, ministerial verbiage. At one point the people are allowed to say "And with thy spirit," and at others it is indicated that they are to sing hymns (or hymn verses). But they

have no other role than to listen to the minister's addresses, exhortations, windy, rhetorical prayers, and sermon ("An ordinary Sermon should not exceed an hour." and to silently receive the Sacrament when this was celebrated. In this rite it is not even indicated that the laity might be expected to say "Amen," at the end of prayers, or that they might join in the recitation of the Lord's Prayer.

Nevertheless, Reed (one of the powerful proponents for the eucharistic prayer in North American Lutheranism) erred in assessing the significance of this rite. His negativism over its form blinded him to some of its very interesting content. In fact, this rite is the first example of any American liturgy for Lutherans, which contains any form of eucharistic prayer! In the Appendix, item 15, one will find the following exhibits from this rite: The communion exhortations and prayer from the English version of 1830, supplemented by an additional exhortation and two prayers from the German version of 1842. So far as can be determined, there were no printings of this rite after 1842.

Reed correctly criticized the 1818 liturgy for having a "Jesus said" alternate distribution formula. This had become the only formula provided in 1842--even though the 1830 English version had presented a more traditionally Lutheran wording. This deficient formula is not sufficient reason for accusing the rite of "Reformed leanings," however, since the accompany-

ing exhortations and prayers clearly (and for the most part successfully) strive to express Lutheran sacramental understandings.

If one accepts the argument offered above,²³ that, according to Lutheran perception, the same purpose may be served through what is expressed in an exhortation, as by what is said in a prayer, then it will be seen that this rite expresses a rather full eucharistic theology. Table 8 presents a chart of important themes, which appear in the several exhortations and prayers presented in Appendix, item 15. In one place a given theme will be found to be stated explicitly, at another it is implicit, as the reader will see when referring to the texts. When these exhortations and prayers are taken together, as recurring items in the worship experience of the congregations where this rite was employed, and seen as a liturgical totality, then one can begin to appreciate that within this rite, so woefully "protestantized" at first glance, there were incorporated both a wealth of eucharistic theology, and a liturgical precedent anticipating the later Lutheran recovery of the eucharistic prayer in a more traditional, historic form, such as has occurred in the twentieth century.

A notable feature of the rite is that it understands the Lord's Prayer as a prayer of "eucharistic consecration," when said in conjunction with the Verba. This is shown both in the spoken invitation read before that prayer, and in the text of the

TABLE 8

EUCCHARISTIC THEMES IN THE EXHORTATIONS AND PRAYERS
OF THE LITURGIES OF THE SYNOD OF OHIO, 1830, AND OF
THE SYNODS OF PENNSYLVANIA, NEW YORK AND OHIO, 1842

"1," "2," and "3" refer to material in the left-hand, middle, and right-hand columns, respectively, of Appendix, item 15.

<u>Exhortation Themes</u>	<u>1.</u>	<u>2.</u>	<u>3.</u>
Christ's Institution	X	X	X
The Real Presence	X	X	X
Forgiveness of Sins	X		X
Union with Christ in the Sacrament		X	X
Other Blessings of Communion	X	X	X
Necessity of Faith	X		X
Anamnesis of Christ's Sacrificial Death	X	X	X
Resurrection/Ascension	X	X	
Incarnation	X	X	
Salvation through Christ	X	X	
Thanksgiving	X	X	X
Christian Living-Obedience		X	X
Christian Service to Others		X	X
Agape and Unity of the Church		X	X
<u>Prayer Themes</u>			
Christ's Sacrifice is "for us"	X	X	X
Thanksgiving	X	X	X
The Christian's Sacrifice of Self	X	X	X
For the Real Presence		X	
Dedication to God's Will	X	X	X
For the Benefits of Communion	X	X	X

paraphrased Lord's Prayer of the 1842 third form. Such interpretation of the function of the Lord's Prayer has cropped up time and again, whenever (following the example of the Deutsche Messe) the Lord's Prayer has been placed ahead of the Verba. This peculiarity will receive further discussion below.

From the standpoint of Lutheran doctrine, this rite is wholesome in its understanding of the Eucharist and its purpose. Moreover, it makes the point that Christian sacrifice has primarily to do with the quality of the life a Christian leads before God, in a way that seems totally consonant with what we earlier found in Chytraeus.²⁴ Its only obvious error is that, in the prayer "O most precious Redeemer," rather than praying for the grace to live righteously, the congregation promises, seemingly by its own power and determination, to live at an unattainable level of righteousness. Not only is the wording unrealistic, but it comes close (following the question, "What return of gratitude can we . . . make?") to suggesting a species of works-righteousness that was anathema to Luther. The error is clearly one of pious enthusiasm, rather than of "heresy."

THE ACHIEVING OF THE "COMMON SERVICE"

As important as it might be for the present discussion, it must be remembered that the rite of (1818-)1830-1842 was just

one rite which existed in the midst of a plethora of competing Lutheran rites and liturgies. In North American Lutheranism, synodical jurisdictions have never been able to exercise a *jus liturgicum* over their congregations. While the synods have always made their recommendations, they have always been subject to the local acceptance, amendment, or rejection of congregations and pastors. Thus, for example, while the Liturgy, or Formulary of 1830 contained the printed notice, that the Synod of Ohio had "unanimously resolved that this LITURGY, . . . should be introduced into all the . . . Churches under the auspices of the aforesaid Synod,"²⁵ one may be absolutely certain that no such total compliance was ever achieved. Indeed, the word that best describes the Lutheran liturgical situation, in the mid-nineteenth century is "chaotic."

As has been indicated, much of that liturgical diversity had an honest origin, evolving from the diversity which existed among the European Lutheran churches and was carried to the New World by the various immigrant groups. But, as the Lutheran population in North America grew, there began to grow up a corresponding desire to achieve organizational unity, through mergers among the myriad of (often minuscule) synods, districts and ministeriums which had proliferated. Liturgical disunity was seen to foster organizational disunity. There were frequent voices which recommended that, if a common service book were approved for use inter-jurisdictionally, this could not fail to

assist Lutherans in finding greater unity. As Wentz suggests:

Men began to remind themselves of the wish of the patriarch Muhlenberg that "all the Evangelical Lutheran Congregations in the North American States were united with one another; that all used the same order of service, the same hymnbook, and in good and evil days would show an active sympathy and fraternally correspond with one another."

The resulting liturgical movement, including practically all the English-speaking Lutherans in this country and a very large portion of the German-speaking Lutherans, . . . was a big undertaking, calling for profound research and wisdom, for co-operation and forbearance, but it [ultimately] resulted in a common order of worship . . . that has met the devotional wants of most of the Lutherans in America.²⁶

It is indeed fortunate, that this "liturgical movement" began well into the nineteenth century, when the Lutheran theological revival in Germany was well under way. Had it begun fifty years earlier, it is quite possible that some rationalistic rite enjoying the vogue of the day might have become the paradigm for Lutheran unity. As it was, confessional Lutheranism in North America, at the mid-century, was challenged by Samuel S. Schmucker's "American Lutheranism." Schmucker sought to maintain a more liberal and more "protestant"-form of Lutheranism, in the face of the confessionalism which was coming to predominate. His "Definite Synodical Platform" of 1855 sought to enlist the support of various synods, for an abridged form of the Augsburg Confession, which would have, among other changes, removed that document's positive attitude to the ceremonies of the Mass, as well as its insistence on the eucharistic Real Presence. Today, the document's thrust

would be called "low church," both doctrinally and liturgically. When the Church at large rejected the platform of "American Lutheranism" and came to the support of the unaltered Augsburg Confession, it not only protected its true doctrinal heritage, but also opened the door to the reappropriation of the historic liturgy.²⁷

Works produced by the theologians of both the Erlangen and the "Repristination" schools were quickly disseminated in North America. For example, Heinrich Schmid's Doctrinal Theology circulated widely in German and, in 1875, its fifth edition appeared in English translation.²⁸ A special need of the American Church was met in 1851, when the Book of Concord was published in David Henkel's English translation. A variety of theological reviews and newspapers sprang up in defense of confessional Lutheranism. Finally, American theologians began to make serious contributions to the doctrinal recovery, no longer depending on European authorities. Worthy of special mention in this regard was Charles P. Krauth's Conservative Reformation and Its Theology, which appeared in 1871 and was reprinted for the use of several generations of seminarians.²⁹ The arrival on the scene of the Missouri Synod, whose foundation was by means of a group migration of Saxons who emigrated from Germany to preserve their Lutheranism from Rationalism and "Unionism," was a special positive factor in the doctrinal recovery.³⁰

In Germany, the movement in theology had quickly come

to be paralleled by a movement of liturgical recovery. As early as 1822, King Frederick William III of Prussia published a service book in which there was a conscious return to historic models. From the standpoint of strict Lutheran theology, this book contained several deficiencies. However, considering the situation into which it was sent, Reed is right in calling it "a great step forward and . . . a strong impulse to the entire movement of liturgical study and reform which, now set in."³¹ Indeed, the rest of the century was marked by a flood of liturgical revisions (both private and official), in Germany.³²

There can be no doubt that Pastor Wilhelm Löhe's Agenda of 1844 was the most important German contribution to American liturgical development, during this period.³³ Vajta says:

. . . His Service Book . . . differed from the usual private service books which were mere desk works. Löhe's liturgical ideas came out of his work in the Neuendettelsau institutions. . . .

Löhe understood the limits of the liturgical work of the Reformation as having been more concerned with cleaning up of abuses than with creating anything new. Therefore he tried to create something new with his congregation. He had a feeling for liturgy as representative action, pressing the arts into the service of God and with pioneering ecumenical openness he re-shaped worship and sacramental life. At the centre of this renewal were communion and a rich prayer life. The service is strengthened in its two dimensions, i.e. God's approach to the congregation, and their approach to him, the encounter between God and his people, and the actual presence of the act of salvation. Thus he takes over Luther's liturgical concerns and brings them up to date. Löhe is also one with Luther in seeing the serving function of all liturgical orders. . . .³⁴

Löhe expressed no apology for his appreciation of tra-

ditional liturgical forms:

Ich weiss, dass der Bearbeiter einer Liturgie Freiheit genießt; ich weiss aber auch, dass mein freies Wohlgefallen sich völlig mit derjenigen liturg.~Richtung vereinigt hat, die sich nicht in zweifelhaftem Neuem versucht, sondern den uralten liturg. Typus des Abendlandes gegen Fälschung sicher stellt, von Unreinen befreit, ihn durch die Zeiten fortleitet--und auch dadurch die Spuren Einer heiligen, allgemeinen Kirche, Einer unsterblichen³⁵ Gemeinde der Heiligen auf Erden aufzeigt und nachweist.

His dedication to the Sacrament was extremely solid, and his Agende set a modern precedent, in Lutheran circles, by seeing the Eucharist as normative--making no provision for a liturgy of the Word unaccompanied by the Sacrament.

Ich möchte den Gedankengang der Liturgie des Hauptgottesdienstes mit einem zweigipfeligen Berge vergleichen, dessen einer Gipfel, wir etwa bei Horeb und Sinai, niedriger ist, als der andere. Der erste Gipfel ist die Predigt, der zweite das Sacrament des Altars, ohne welches ich mir einen vollendeten Gottesdienst auf Erden nicht denken kann. Man ist bei dem Hauptgottesdienst immer im Steigen begriffen, bis man bei dem Tisch des Herrn angelangt ist, wo man nichts Höheres mehr über sich hat, als den Himmel, und deshalb nur noch im Nunc dimittis einen³⁶ entsprechenden Ausdruck für das inwendige Sehnen findet.

Löhe was echoed by Matthias Loy (who would become a professor at the Columbus, Ohio, seminary, and later, president of the Synod of Ohio), nine years later: "Without either Word or sacrament there can be no public worship in the Lutheran sense; . . . The spirit of our church requires weekly communion."³⁷ In the situation of the time however, these were no more than two "voices crying in the American wilderness."

Loy also called for a turning away from unstructured, protestantized worship--especially in its revivalistic form--

and a return to the historic liturgy:

Give us a liturgy, . . . with the old responses and with prayers that are prayers, not idle declamation and battology. We want no outbursts of wild passion and excitement, no mad shrieks and shouts, of which, if they come before us in still and sober hours, we would be constrained to repent in sackcloth and ashes. We have no fear that forms will quench the church's heavenly fire. . . . Surely, if the people can be content to pray in the form, often sufficiently wretched, composed for them unpremeditatedly by the pastor, the latter may also learn to pray in a well approved form of the church, . . . Prayers may then be had which are really edifying to the church, . . . Devout men will then be sure, . . . that they will not be constrained to be mere idle spectators and hearers of a worship altogether foreign to their faith and feeling, and this worship in turn will contribute its share toward the preservation of that lowly, childlike spirit which finds its proper utterance in the fixed liturgical forms.³⁸

This was a call that nineteenth century North American Lutheranism was more prepared to accept.

A first step was made in the Ministerium of Pennsylvania liturgy of 1855. Reed says that in this service "the principle parts of the old Lutheran Liturgy were restored, generally in proper order."³⁹ The preparers of this rite felt it necessary to explain the restoration of responsive features to the liturgy:

No one who is at all familiar with the usage of the ancient Church and also the earlier traditions of the Lutheran Church will call it an innovation, that certain ancient parts of the service have been restored, and that it has been made responsive. Such active participation of the congregation in the public services was the established order in Lutheran congregations of this country . . . If we succeed in restoring this right to the congregations so that they become accustomed to exercise it regularly, we will have contributed essentially towards a true revival of well ordered services in the house of God, and in doing so we have acted in the spirit of the Fathers of our Church

who never approved of keeping the congregation in silence.

A. Spaeth gave the following assessment of this liturgy:

. . . the responsive character of the service . . . is its most commendable feature. We find it introduced in the opening versicles, the Kyrie, the Amen after the Absolution, the Gloria in Excelsis, the Amen after the Collect, [etc.] . . . The ancient responses in the Communion Service are restored in the Preface, the Sanctus; Agnus Dei, Nunc Dimittis, Versicle and closing Collect, and Benedicamus.

On the other hand, there are some points which are still unsatisfactory and even highly objectionable in this Agenda of 1855. There is confusion right in the opening section of the Morning Service, resulting from the combination of the Confiteor and the Kyrie, and the use of the Salutation and the Sursum Corda at this point. The Introit . . . is placed after the Gloria in Excelsis, . . . The Lord's Prayer follows the Collect. The reading of the Epistle is left optional, and it is placed after the Gospel. . . . A great deal of the unsound and unliturgical leaven is retained in the parallel forms which stand in the book with equal authority side by side with those purer forms to which attention has been directed. . . .⁴¹

A committee was soon put to work, with the assignment of translating this rite into English. However, they took a somewhat independent course, making some additions to and many deletions from the material in the German service. In the preface to A Liturgy for the use of the Evangelical Lutheran Church (1860), the reason for such alterations was stated as being, " . . . chiefly for the purpose of securing a stricter conformity to the general usage of the ancient and purest Liturgies of the Lutheran Church, . . . "⁴² This statement of rationale is perhaps as important as any of the improvements made by the committee, within the rite itself. It marks the first time in the century that American Lutherans openly and officially assigned normative authority to the classic sixteenth century Kirchenordnungen. In refined form, this principle was to be the basis of procedure for those involved in

producing the "Common Service" of 1888.

In 1876, the General Synod-South passed the following resolution:

Resolved, That, with the view to promote uniformity in worship and strengthening the bonds of unity throughout all our churches, the committee on the Revision of the Book of Worship, be instructed to confer with the . . . General Synod in the United States, and with the . . . General Council in America, in regard to the feasibility of adopting but one Book containing the same hymns and the same order of services and Liturgic forms to be used in the public Worship of God in all the English speaking Evang. Lutheran Churches of the United States.

In its response to this overture, the General Council, in 1879, accepted the principle of such cooperative work, with a most important stipulation: " . . . provided that the rule which shall decide all questions arising in its preparation shall be: The common consent of the pure Lutheran Liturgies of the sixteenth century, and where there is not entire agreement among them, the consent of the largest number of those of the greatest weight. . . . "⁴³ In the committee which was appointed by the three participating jurisdictions, the work went forward without delay. As evidenced by Edward T. Horn, who served the committee as secretary, there was a desire to produce a standard rite, which, like the Anglican Book of Common Prayer or the Roman Missal of that period, denied the possibility of local adaptations, one which " . . . has a unity which will not allow selection or rearrangement."⁴⁴ Reed notes that, when the work was finished, Horn carefully prepared a copy of "the official Standard Manuscript of the Common Service" for each of the partici-

TABLE 9

COMPARATIVE OUTLINE OF ELEMENTS
IN THE COMMUNION SERVICES OF
LÖHE 1844 AND THE COMMON SERVICE 1888

Options in the Common Service, to adapt it for occasions when communion is not celebrated, are ignored.

Löhe 1844

Hymn invoking Holy Spirit
Versicle, Invitation to Confession
Confession, Absolution
Introit, Gloria Patri
Kyrie (3-fold)
Gloria in Excelsis
Salutation, Collect for the Day
Epistle (Gradual, Sequence or
Prose may follow)
Halleluja

Chorale (Offering gathered)
Salutation, Gospel, Gloria tibi
(at conclusion, Halleluja)
Nicene Creed (Apostles' or "Wir
glauben all" permitted instead)

Greeting, Sermon (followed by announcement of the day's intercessions, and a blessing)
Offertory Chant (prep. of altar)

Invitation and General Prayer

Common Service 1888

Trinitarian Invocation
Invitation to Confession, Versicles
Confession, Absolution
Introit, Gloria Patri
Kyrie (6-fold)
Gloria in Excelsis
Salutation, Collect for the Day
Epistle

Halleluja (Seasonal Sentence, Psalm, Canticle or Hymn may follow)

Gospel, Gloria tibi (at conclusion, Laus tibi)
Nicene Creed

Hymn
Sermon (followed by a blessing)

Offertory Chant
Announcement of the day's intercessions
General Prayer, Lord's Prayer
Offering gathered
Hymn (preparation of altar)

¹In 1817, a rubric is added, to delete the Lord's Prayer at this point, so that it is not recited twice in the communion service.

²In 1817, this item is resituated, to follow immediately after the Offertory Chant.

TABLE 9

(Continued)

Löhe 1844

Versicles, Preface (1 common and
7 proper forms provided)
Sanctus

Verba
Agnus Dei
Lord's Prayer
Pax
Distribution (Hymns are sung)
Post-communion Blessing
Nunc Dimittis
Salutation, Collect
Salutation, Benedicamus
Benediction (Numbers 6)

Common Service 1888

Versicles, Preface (1 common and
6 proper forms provided)

Sanctus
Exhortation¹
Lord's Prayer
Verba
Agnus Dei

Pax
Distribution
Post-communion Blessing
Nunc Dimittis
Versicle, Collect
Salutation, Benedicamus
Benediction (Numbers 6)

¹In 1917, the exhortation was removed from this place and incorporated in a separate, preparatory service of public Confession.

pating jurisdictions, and that the pages of the service were interleaved with sheets of notes indicating the committee's decisions on disputed points, the arguments of each side in cases where unanimity had not been achieved, and a documentation of sources. Although the changes were minor by any objective standard, Reed expresses grief over the fact that only the United Synod-South adopted the service of the Standard Manuscript without alteration, while the other bodies introduced numerous variations. For the purpose of this study, the only change of significance was that the General Synod-North, in its separate printing of the rite, placed the Verba before the Lord's Prayer. The Standard Manuscript had employed the opposite order, following the example of the Deutsche Messe.⁴⁵ (Table 9 presents an outline of the elements of the Common Service.)

Reed gives the following description of the committee's own grappling with this controverted point:

The relative position of the Lord's Prayer and Verba led to prolonged discussion and remained a disputed question to the very end. Decision upon the position was postponed for two meetings of the Joint Committee. Dr. Schmucker presented an exhaustive argument in support of the proposition that the Lord's Prayer should precede the Verba, and be a prayer of the minister alone. Dr. Wenner submitted a forceful argument in opposition to this order. The representatives of the United Synod [-North] defined their position as follows: "Not believing that any important principle is at stake here, nor convinced by the argument from doctrinal considerations, the Committee is willing to yield its position, if by so yielding it can procure the harmony of the other two Committees; but if the disagreement continues, it is compelled by the rule

[i.e., by the criterion of authority quoted above] to recognize the position of the Lord's Prayer before the Verba to be Lutheran usage. This conviction is strengthened by the fact that many Lutheran Agenda [sic] of the first order which at first had the Verba before the Lord's Prayer, afterwards conformed to the characteristic arrangement; and no sufficient reason has been adduced for the change of the traditional usage of our American churches, which would also involve a break with the principle models of our Service."

After a full discussion the following was adopted by the Joint Committee: "Resolved, That we acknowledge that the authorities adduced for the placing of the Verba before the Lord's Prayer are of great worth; but the authorities for the opposite arrangement seem to be a greater weight."

Yeas--Seiss, Spaeth, Jacobs, Valentine, Conrad, Buer-meyer, Welden, Horn. Nay--Wenner.

This record of the committee's concern has been quoted at length, because the final decision tended to foster the rise of the interesting opinion, on the part of many American Lutherans, that the Lord's Prayer constituted a prayer for the eucharistic consecration, which is immediately thereafter effected through the Verba.

Reed elsewhere summarized the argumentation of Dr. B. M. Schmucker to the committee, under six headings, of which the final four are of interest to this study:

[The Lord's Prayer should precede the Verba:] . . . 3. Because the authors and revisers of the Agenda evidently regarded the use of the Lord's Prayer here as an act of benediction though not of consecration. . . . 4. The Lord's Prayer in this place represents the eucharistic blessing by Christ of the elements, the words of which are not given in the Scriptures. 5. The use of any prayer after the consecratory Words of Institution separates consecration and distribution, which Christ did not do. 6. If any Prayer of Humble Access be used, it should [thus] precede the Consecration.

Schmucker's distinctions, however, did not represent the views

and interpretation of all on the committee who voted in favor of the "Lord's Prayer first" position. For example, Pastor A. Spaeth, in his little book, *The Order of Lutheran Worship*, began a section, under the title "Lord's Prayer and Words of Institution," with the statement: "As every creature of God is sanctified through the Word of God and Prayer (1 Tim. 4:4-5) so also are the earthly elements ordained for the administration of the Sacrament of the Altar." After summarizing some of the historical data, as well as the discussions of the "Common Service" committee, he concludes that the committee "... could arrive at no other decision but that which places the Lord's Prayer, as consecratory prayer of the officiating minister, before the Words of the Testament."⁴⁸ In 1894, Professor C. H. L. Schuette of the Columbus, Ohio, seminary faculty, in his textbook on liturgics, *Before the Altar*, treated the function of the Lord's Prayer in the Eucharist as an open question in the church.

Certain [it] is that [the Lord's Prayer] was not always used as a prayer of consecration, from the fact that [before the Reformation and often thereafter] it was sung after that act [the Verba]; moreover, that our Church conceives the consecration to take place preeminently through the words of Institution. At the same time, and in view of its all-comprehensive import and applicability, it does not appear why it should not be used--together with the words of Institution--to consecrate the elements;* and, also as a prayer that the Supper may be rightly administered and worthily partaken of.

Schuette's asterisk refers to the following footnote:

*Urban Regius, Dr., in K.O. of Hannover, says:--St. Gre-

gory writes--Regest. VIII, Ep. 63, ad Joh. Episc. Syracu-
sum--that the Apostles' way of celebrating the mass and of
consecrating it, was, that in their consecration they
prayed nothing but the Lord's Prayer. . . . We thus see
that the Mass as celebrated by the Apostles was a very
fine, short and pure ceremony, using with it nothing but
the Words of Christ or of Institution and the Lord's
Prayer."⁴⁹

The idea had a certain general and for the most part
unconscious appeal to North American Lutherans. The connec-
tion between 1 Timothy 4:4-5 and the eucharistic elements,
made by Spaeth, would have struck a responsive chord with many.
And many others would simply (and instinctively) have felt that
there should be some sort of consecration prayer in the commu-
nion service. As late as 1941, the sixth edition of a sort
of popular "catechism" on the Common Service, published under
the auspices of the United Lutheran Church in America, attempt-
ed to lay the question to rest, with the following question
and answer:

Is the Lord's Prayer a part of the Consecration of the
Elements?

No. Because such a use does not agree with the nature
of the Lord's Prayer, nor with the proper nature of a
prayer of consecration, nor with the view of the An-
cient Church.⁵⁰

The answer provided is correct, but in terms of this study is
seen to be highly ambiguous. If there is such a thing as a
prayer of consecration with a "proper nature," the next ques-
tion should have asked why one such was not provided in the
Common Service. But that was an issue North American Luther-
anism was not ready to handle, officially, at that time.

The charge under which the Common Service committee functioned directed them to base their product on the best usages of the purest classic Lutheran rites, but one would be in error to suppose that they allowed that mandate to completely define the boundaries of their sources and inspirations.

In 1907, Reed made the following comment:

The American Lutheran of the twentieth century is not identically the same in his conceptions and in his outlook upon life as a Continental Lutheran of the sixteenth century or even of the present. Hence our Liturgy is not a translation of any other Liturgy. It is not the Apostolic Liturgy; it is not the Medieval Liturgy, nor the Liturgy of our Reformers, nor exactly that of our modern Lutherans in Germany or Scandinavia to-day. . . . Our Service Book must be what our Church Book is, a distinctively modern, American Lutheran product. . . . Taste had its place and it has given us the Offertory after the Sermon, and the Nunc Dimittis in the Communion Office, where [strict application of] the rule would not have provided them.

One may be virtually certain that what Reed calls "taste," is a reflection of the esteem in which Wilhelm Löhe was held by the committee, and the strong influence his 1844 Agenda had in establishing liturgical standards for American Lutheranism. It would be going too far, to suggest that the Common Service was simply an "Englishing" of book from Neuendettelsau. Indeed, in their own work, the members of the committee had to raise their sights above some of the idiosyncrasies of that work, for example, Löhe's curious three-fold Kyrie (in which the pastor simply said "Kyrie!"-"Christe!"-"Kyrie!", which the congregation thrice interspersed with their "Eleison!"), his placing of a hymn between the Epistle and Gospel (to allow

a convenient place for the collecting of the offering), and his farcing of the Benedictus verse to give it seasonal effect (Gebenedeit sei (Mariens Sohn, der da) kommt im Namen des Herrn!). Nevertheless, Löhe's rite contained both the "Schaffe in mir, Gott, ein reines Herz" text which became American Lutheranism's most beloved offertory chant, and the Nunc Dimittis which became Lutheranism's distinctive post-communion chant.

Albeit without a eucharistic prayer, with the publishing and adoption of the Common Service, the worship of American Lutheranism was able to shed itself of most of the eccentric and sectarian growths which had encumbered it, and to regain a rite that was an honest reflection of the traditional form of the Western Mass. The rite, as a spoken text, was released to the three participating churches in 1888. The three separate service books issued then, were obsoleted in 1917, in the publishing of the first edition of the Common Service Book. This book attached a single collection of hymns to the rite of the Common Service, and, in an important additional step, provided suitable music for the rite itself--for the chants of the ordinary and for the people's brief responses (though not for the corresponding chants of the pastor, a fact which led to a peculiar American Lutheran anomaly-- that the pastor spoke [e.g., "The Lord be with you"], but the congregation sang back ["And also with thy spirit"]!). The Common Service Book became the official service book of the United Lutheran Church in America

(a merger of the three groups which had cooperated on the Common Service), but the Common Service went on to experience far wider use, than within that one church body alone. Reed noted:

The highest possible commendation of the Common Service came when other General Bodies which had not shared in its preparation accepted it as typical and representative. Every Lutheran Service Book of consequence in America now [writing in 1948] includes it, either as its only approved Service or for permissive use among other forms drawn from current European national uses.

It is remarkable that the Lutheran churches in America, with their variety of linguistic and cultural backgrounds, should have been able to agree on a liturgy while they still maintained separate ecclesiastical organizations . . . and in some instances could not even work and worship together.⁵²

The English Synod of the Synodical Conference (later the Missouri Synod-English District) adopted the Common Service in 1899, and published its own musical setting for it in 1906.⁵³ This use was maintained by the Missouri and Wisconsin Synods of the Synodical Conference, when they made the transition from German to English; and the Common Service will remain the official liturgy of the Missouri Synod until the projected 1981 appearance of its new rite, Lutheran Worship, which will replace its The Lutheran Hymnal of 1941.

Other jurisdictions which have employed the Common Service in their service books include: The Joint Synod of Ohio, in A Liturgy for the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Congregations, of 1923. Following the merger of the Ohio and Iowa Synods, to form the American Lutheran Church in 1930, it became the rite of the American Lutheran Hymnal, issued the same year. The (Swedish)

Augustana Synod included it, in addition to a version of the rite of the Church of Sweden, in The Hymnal and Order of Service of 1925; through this book, it also made its entry into most Finnish-American congregations, as they made the transition into English. With the Missouri Synod's musical setting, the Danish Synods included it as a second form of liturgy in their Hymnal for Church and Home of 1938. The Norwegian Lutheran Church of America (The ELC) did the same in its The Lutheran Hymnary of 1912. Another Norwegian jurisdiction, the Lutheran Free Church, in The Concordia Hymnal of 1932, printed a communion rite (beginning at the Versicles and Preface) that is obviously a simplified version of the Common Service, incorporating a musical setting of its own.⁵⁴ The books of both Norwegian groups just mentioned are unique in that they alone maintained the eucharistic exhortation in their form of the Common Service communion rite.

The 1888 version of the Common Service had made the exhortation optional, but left it printed in the rite, between the Sanctus and the Lord's Prayer. The 1918 version of the Common Service Book removed the exhortation to the separate "Order for Public Confession." This practice was also followed by The Lutheran Hymnal of 1941, and in the Altar Service Book of 1936, which was published as a companion volume to the American Lutheran Hymnal of 1930.

The 1906 edition of An Explanation of the Common Ser-

vice had the following questions and answers:

145. Why may the Exhortation, which is inserted at this point in the Service, be omitted?

Because it makes a break in the Service, and this is not the place for preaching.

146. What was the original purpose of the Exhortation? It was prepared by Volprecht of Nuremberg (1525) for the purpose of teaching the people, who had been reared under Romish error, the true meaning of the Lord's Supper.

147. Why may it be regarded as belonging to the Preface?

Because it is preparatory in character;

Because in some Lutheran Church Orders it took the place of the Preface; and

Because like some of the ancient Prefaces it serves the purpose of teaching.

In the editions which followed the appearance of the 1918 Common Service Book, questions 146 and 147 were unchanged, except for the verb tense in the question 147 ("Why was it" replaces "Why may it be"), but question 145 has been replaced:

145. Before the revision of the Service, the Exhortation was at this place. Where is it now?

For the revision of the Common Service, published 1918, the Exhortation was removed from the Communion Office and placed in the Order for Public Confession. See C.S.B. p. 405.

At the time of the publishing of the Common Service Book it doubtless seemed desirable to relocate the Exhortation, if only because its long narrative shape had to be reminiscent of the many long exhortations, addresses, and interminable prayers, which had been so prevalent early in the previous century. The Exhortation, which had received Luther's recommendation as a valuable form within the liturgy, and which had the testimony of constant liturgical use from his time onwards, was tarred

with the same brush as the rhetorical excrescences of the period of Rationalism.

So long as it was felt that the Exhortation only had a didactic function in preparation for the reception of communion, to move it into a separate confessional service must have seemed not only possible, but right and beneficial. Because of the sacramental discipline of that day--every intending communicant was under obligation to participate in a confessional service, prior to coming to Holy Communion--the same teaching function was still carried out, and at a time when it didn't "interrupt" the flow of the liturgy.

The present writer believes that the transference of the Exhortation to the Order for Public Confession had only negative result. First of all, in the past decades, Lutheran sacramental discipline has changed radically; in the vast majority of parishes separate confessional services have been dropped, except here and there under special circumstances such as preparation for Holy Week communion. For all practical purposes, this means that the Exhortation has been completely lost, as part of the people's sacramental experience. Secondly, this writer believes that the liturgical reformers at the start of this century seriously misunderstood the full dynamic of the Exhortation. It may be true that the first Exhortations were written out of a primary concern to reeducate those who found themselves within the Church of the Reforma-

tion. But once that immediate purpose had been served, the Exhortation was maintained, generation after generation, long after there was any possibility of its being needed to help convert people from "Romish error." It was maintained precisely because it served a positive function, defining the context and purpose of the sacramental action and (at least in design) inspiring the people to faithful participation in that action, and to reception of the full benefits of that action. It was in all of these senses a eucharistic prayer substitute, insofar as, psychologically, a traditional eucharistic prayer had similar results in the experience of the people. So long as a proper, traditional eucharistic prayer was not incorporated within the Common Service, it is this writer's conclusion that the loss of the Exhortation constituted one of the major deficiencies of that rite, in its final form.

THE LOST RITE OF THE SYNOD OF OHIO

It is axiomatic in our world, that there is never a "winner" unless there is also a "loser." To this point, as we have considered the steps leading up to the production and the preeminence of the Common Service in North American Lutheranism, and have considered some of the extremely deficient rites it

replaced, it may seem as though the success of this admittedly fine liturgy was "pure gain"--even after considering the deficiency mentioned in the last paragraph. One may get the impression that the Common Service was so far superior to every other rite then in use, that is it silly to quibble over any alleged weakness within it.

However, in this section, consideration will be given to the rite of the Joint Synod of Ohio, a liturgy which existed alongside of the Common Service, before becoming obsolete in the ultimate triumph of the 1888-1918 Service. It developed independently of the various "Pennsylvania liturgies," and, as will be seen, was important for the present study in a way in which most of them were not. Its distinctiveness was unrecognized in the past, and has not been truly appreciated till now.

When the wave of revived Lutheranism of the nineteenth century swept over the American churches, the demand for proper, Lutheran orders of worship was as immediate in Ohio, as it was in the neighboring state of Pennsylvania. There was no way that the inadequate rite of 1830-1842, which has already been discussed, could long be endured. The Synod of Ohio was not long in seeking new liturgical revisions. Here, however, the pattern was slightly different than it was in Pennsylvania, since the method of revision was far more willing to accept and adopt the fruits of the liturgical work then being done in Germany, rather than trying to restrict the field of vision to the models of the

reformation period.

There, in the wake of Pietism and Rationalism, the Church was confronted with a most serious "Abendmahlsnot." Brilioth reveals that in Saxony, for example, where the ratio of communions to population was reckoned at 250-275% in 1700, the corresponding figure was down to 150-175% in 1800, and had plummeted to just 43% by the end of the nineteenth century.⁵⁷ A reawakened liturgical sense, again largely thanks to the writings of those like Löhe, was one of the means by which the German churches sought to regain their vitality. Any number of private liturgies were published, intended perhaps not so much for parochial use (since the *jus liturgicum* has always been rather strictly maintained by German church authorities), but rather seeking to influence the direction of official liturgical reform and to open the eyes of those who would reform the official Agenden to new possibilities. In these private liturgies and in several of the late nineteenth century Kirchenordnungen, forms approaching a true eucharistic prayer were attempted--more daringly, as might be expected, in the former than in the latter. The communion exhortations and prayers of Dieffenbach (Appendix, item 16) are a fine example of what was attempted in the private genre.

G. Rietschel, in his *Lehrbuch der Liturgik* (1900), calls attention to two official prayers: that in the then-current Order of Sleswick-Holstein, which combines both anamne-

tic and epicletic themes; and that of Hessen-Cassel (1896), which, in edited form, restored the prayer of Pfalz-Neuberg (1543) to use.⁵⁸ Other official communion prayers of the period were contained in the Bavarian liturgy of 1879, in the Russian liturgy of 1897, (Appendix, items 17 and 18, respectively,) and finally, in the Prussian Agende of 1895.⁵⁹

The last prayer identified was written for use in a "union church," one having both Lutheran and Reformed elements; a "compromise formula," it is purposely vague, theologically. So, for example, its "mit Seinem wahren Leib und Blut . . . durch die Kraft des heiligen Geistes gespeiset und erquicket" may, with equal facility, be referred to either the Calvinist doctrine of spiritual Real Presence, or the classic Lutheran doctrine of corporeal Real Presence. It is not necessary, nor particularly to the point, to analyse the theology of these prayers, for, in truth there is nothing theologically innovative in them. This is even true of the Hessen-Cassel (de Pfalz-Neuberg) prayer, so close in appearance (except for being addressed to God the Father, rather than calling for the Holy Spirit) to an Eastern consecratory epiclesis, is made unremarkable in terms of consecratory theology, by virtue of its location before the Verba.⁶⁰ Lutheran theology has always acknowledged that the mere human recitation of the Verba, as a formula of words, is not what causes the consecration--that would be magic. Rather, the Verba are consecratory by virtue of God's

power and promise, which are anterior to our recitation and which give effect to it. A prayer for consecration placed before the Words of Institution may, in Lutheran circles, establish a valuable liturgical precedent, but theologically it breaks no new ground. Indeed the spirit of the Lutheran Church, in this period, was precisely focused on the reappropriation and guarding of theological insights of the past, rather than on innovation. With this in mind, the prayers mentioned above have been cited simply as examples of a Lutheran liturgical trend present in Germany, which also manifested itself in the rite of the Synod of Ohio, at roughly the same time.

When an examination of the various Liturgies and Agenden issued in Ohio, between the years 1864 and 1923, is made, one notes a basic over-all uniformity in the Liturgy of the Word. For the sake of illustration, the German Agende of 1909 and the English Liturgy of 1912, are here compared:

Agende-1909

Hymn

Introit(=Entrance Verse and Trinitarian Invocation)

Gloria Patri

Exhortation, Confession (1 form)

Kyrie (3-fold)

Absolution

"Ehre sei Gott" (as versicle, followed by Gloria in Excelsis or seasonal hymn)

Antiphon for the Day

Salutation, Collect

Epistle (then response verse)

Gradual & Halleluja

Liturgy-1912

Introit(=Entrance Verse and Trinitarian Invocation)

Gloria Patri

Exhortation, Confession (2 forms)

Trinitarian (farced) Kyrie

Absolution

"Glory be to God" (as versicle, seasonally followed by Gloria in Excelsis, Benedic Anima, or Venite)

"Introit" (Antiphon) for the Day

Salutation, Collect

Epistle

Gradual & Halleluja

Gospel (then, Gloria Tibi:Laus
Tibi, as versicle:response)
Apostles' Creed
Hymn
Greeting, Sermon, Votum
General Prayer
Lord's Prayer

Gospel (Gloria Tibi & Laus Tibi
used traditionally)
Apostles' Creed
Hymn
Greeting, Sermon, Votum
General Prayer
Lord's Prayer

Here one notes the same structure and order of elements, even most of the same liturgical eccentricities (e.g., following the reading of "In the Name of the Father . . ." immediately with the singing of "Glory be to the Father . . ."; the reduction of the Gloria in Excelsis to a single line [also a custom of most Scandinavian rites, until recently]; and the insertion of an antiphon before the Collect), in both versions. Where they differ, as for example in the English liturgy's permission for the use of the Canticles "Benedic Anima Mea" or "Venite Exultemus" as substitutes for the full Gloria chant, this may indicate nothing more serious than the possibility that the reviser had once been impressed by Anglican Morning Prayer. Basically, in this portion of the service, these two liturgies show themselves to be one and the same rite.

This unity is not maintained in the second part of the service. There, and this goes along linguistic lines, one notes a bifurcation (indeed, a liturgical "split-personality," within the rite). Table 10 outlines the elements in the Liturgy of the Sacrament, in eight different printings of the Synod of Ohio rite: The German versions of 1864, 1884, and 1909; and the English versions of 1894, 1904, 1908, 1912, and 1923.

TABLE 10

OUTLINE OF ELEMENTS CONTAINED
IN THE LITURGY OF THE SACRAMENT IN THE
RITE OF THE SYNOD OF OHIO (1864-1923)

	German			English				
	1864	1884	1909	1894	1904 ¹	1908	1912	1923
Versicles	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Common Preface	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Proper Prefaces, if any		3	5		7	6	6	6
Sanctus	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Exhortation	X ²	X	X	X	(X) ³	X	X	X
Lord's Prayer		X ⁴	X					
Prayer: Herr IC XC du einiger	X ⁴							
Prayer: Glory be to Thee				X ⁵	X	X ^{5,4}	X ^{5,4}	X ^{5,4}
Prayer: O heiliger Geist	X							
Lord's Prayer				X ⁴	X ⁴	X	X	X
Verba	X ⁵	X	X ⁵	X	X	X	X	X
Prayer: Lob Ehre und Preis	X			X	X	X	X	X
Lord's Prayer	X							
Agnus Dei	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Pax	X	X	X		X	X	X	X
Distribution ⁶	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Nunc Dimittis	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Versicle and Collect	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Versicle & Benediction (Numbers)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
N.T. Blessing sung as prayer, by congregation							(X)	

¹Reference here is to a draft liturgy, presented to the synodical convention of 1904, for approval. Musical por-

TABLE 10

(Continued)

tions of the liturgy are printed in full (texts and music), but the longer spoken parts of the liturgy are indicated only by incipits. That the prayers "Glory be to Thee" and "Praise and Honor and Glory" are, likewise, indicated only by such incipits, is a sure indication that they were an accepted and familiar usage throughout the synod, on the basis of ten years of prior employment, in English.

²In this liturgy, the standard Brandenburg-Nürnberg text of the Exhortation is expanded through the addition of language ultimately deriving from the Didache.

³Here and below, parentheses indicate that the particular usage was optional. Note that the draft liturgy of 1904 attempted to make the Exhortation optional, doubtless following the example of the, by then well known, Common Service-- but that the synod did not accept this suggestion, as evidenced by the printing of 1908.

⁴A rubric indicates that the minister is to turn and face the altar, at this point.

⁵A rubric identifies what follows as "The Consecration."

⁶The rite departs from common Lutheran practice, in not appointing a blessing, to be pronounced immediately following the reception of the Sacrament, by the last communicant.

The editio princeps of this rite, the German version of 1864, reveals a total rejection of all that was characteristic of the prior German language rite of 1830. It is just as thorough, in this respect, as the Common Service was to be in turning away from the English rite of 1842. It is unfortunate that the revisers of 1864 did not leave complete records of their endeavors, like the men of 1888 did. As a result, we are left largely in the dark, concerning the precise sources they utilized.

The Exhortation in this liturgy is the standard Brandenburg-Nürnberg text to which has been added a paragraph whose imagery (. . . wie aus viel Beerlein zusammen gekeltert Ein Wein . . . und aus viel Körnlein . . . Ein Brod gebacken wird . . .) must be traced back, through the ancient church orders, to the Didache. This same form of the exhortation is also ~~to be~~ found in Dieffenbach (Appendix, item 16). Since, in this period, it would have been unlikely in the extreme that any North American liturgical development could have influenced what was being done in Germany, one must predicate the existence of an unidentified prior source for this reading. The later German editions of the rite substituted an entirely different exhortation-text, while all of the English editions set out the Brandenburg-Nürnberg text, in non-supplemented form.

The prayer, Herr Jesus Christus, du einiger Sohn, is none other than the prayer of Pfalz-Neuberg (1543), presented

with but minor editorial changes--mainly to up-date the form of the German. (This prayer also appears in Dieffenbach, as one of his post-exhortation alternates.)

No specific source has been uncovered for the prayer which follows, O heiliger Geist, heilige uns und reinige mir, but, in a general way, one may see it having been inspired by older prayers, such as the *In spiritu humilitatis* and the *Veni sanctificator* of the Roman offertory rite. This prayer is not reprinted in any of the later editions of this rite, most likely because any silent prayer of the celebrant at this point in the liturgy was bound to draw to itself unfavorable comparison with the silently-recited Roman Canon.

For its time, this version of 1864 is unique in that it not only places the Lord's Prayer after the Words of Institution, but also in that it permits another prayer to intervene, between the Verba and the Lord's Prayer. Structurally, this is very similar to the Roman Mass and other ancient liturgies, wherein the Lord's Prayer is spoken only after the end of the Canon or anaphora. This may be considered a precedent for later, twentieth century, developments. The use made of the Verba in this rite is in complete accord with traditional Lutheran understandings; note that they appear immediately beneath a rubric which identifies them as "The Consecration." The Sign of the Cross is employed in the Verba, in the traditional Lutheran manner--that is, not at "benedixit" or some

synonymous expression (following the Roman Canon's example, but precisely at the words, "mein Leib," "meinem Blut."⁶¹

The prayer after the Words of Institution, Lob Erhe und Preis, is not to be found in any other rite. It may be an original product of the Ohio Synod revisers, or it may be another nineteenth-century German import. Its themes are so unexceptional and its theological language so conventional, that the present writer suspects it might have originally been no more than an adapting to prayer form, of language some writer found somewhere in a eucharistic exhortation, or perhaps even in some traditional Lutheran theological statement.

The bifurcation of the rite of Ohio, mentioned above, is evident in all of the editions which appear after this one of 1864. Both subsequent German versions (1884 and 1909) abolish the three prayers which follow the exhortation and surround the Words of Institution, in 1864. The reason for the change is no longer to be found. Negatively, it might have been that German speaking pastors and congregations might have suspected the 1864 liturgy of "Romanizing"--always a potent charge in Lutheran circles--for just the reasons indicated above. Or, more positively, it might simply have been that they desired to accommodate the Ohio liturgy's communion rite more closely to the pattern established in the liturgies of Muhlenberg, Löhe, and of the General Council Kirchenbuch of 1877 (which, in its English version of 1870, was a predecessor rite

to the Common Service).⁶²

In fact, one can dismiss any thought that a charge of "Romanizing" was raised, since (with the exception of the O heiliger Geist prayer, which all later editions dropped) the English section of the synod continued to use the sorts of prayers, before and after the Verba, which the German section of the synod abolished. It is hard to believe that either group believed that any substantial theological issue was involved, in the retention or non-retention of these prayers.⁶³ Indeed, it must be recognized that, in the period of linguistic transition of the early twentieth century, both versions of the rite must often have been concurrent use, in the same congregations and by the same pastors.

Except for some minor, but interesting rubrical details, the English version of the rite remained textually unaltered in all of its editions (1894-1923). One obvious change in the English version is that the first prayer, Herr Jesus Christus, du einiger Sohn, is replaced with the prayer "Glory be to Thee, O Lord, Jesus Christ," which had appeared in the Bavarian liturgy of 1879. The Pfalz-Neuberg prayer was an enough-respected Lutheran precedent, so that it must be doubted that the English language revisers of 1894 withdrew it, because of any suspicion of false theology. Rather, the change may be attributed to the two following reasons: 1) That Lutherans always tend to be more comfortable praying a prayer which speaks of the eucharistic

consecration as an unquestioned fact, than with one which invokes divine activity to bring that consecration into being; and

2) That the Bavarian prayer is much fuller in its expression of eucharist-related themes--note that beyond the Real Presence, the only gift requested in the Pfalz-Neuberg prayer is the ultimate one of eternal life.

The Lord's Prayer is relocated, following the Deutsche Messe pattern, to just before the Words of Institution. Where the German editions placed the title "The Consecration" just above the Words of Institution, the unvarying practice of the English edition is to place such a title before the prayer "Glory be to Thee, O Lord, Jesus Christ." The draft-liturgy of 1904 attempted to drop the title, but it appeared in every subsequent printed edition. With the possible exception of the 1908 edition (in which bold initials are provided at "Glory be to Thee," at "Our Lord Jesus Christ, in the night," and at "Praise, and honor, and glory"; and in which there is a line of blank space between each of the paragraphs), the format and typography of the English editions convey the impression that everything from "Glory be to Thee, O Lord, Jesus Christ," through the end of "Praise, and honor, and glory," was a united act, indeed, a quasi-anaphora. How then to interpret the focus of the title, "The Consecration"? Either one considered the whole complex to have been consecratory, taken as a unity which included the effective Words of Christ; or one must have sought

to place consecration in the Lord's Prayer-Verba sequence. As has already been shown, that the Lord's Prayer might be considered a prayer for consecration, was a fairly common Lutheran assumption during this period.

There are simply no data to answer which view was being held in the Ohio Synod at this period. One of the curious things about this rite is that it failed to generate an adequate commentary-literature. For example, Schuette's book was designed to be used as a text on liturgics precisely at the Ohio Synod's Columbus, Ohio, seminary, where he taught. It was published in 1894, the year of the first appearance of the Ohio rite in English, and that liturgy (either in published form, or in galleys) was clearly before him, and was the specific liturgy Schuette was attempting to teach. While he speaks, in at least moderate detail about virtually every other aspect of the communion service, he manages not even to mention the existence of the prayers "Glory be to Thee, O Lord, Jesus Christ," or "Praise, and honor, and glory," let alone having anything to say about their function in conjunction with the Lord's Prayer and Words of Institution!⁶⁴ Similarly, in 1899, Pastor E. G. Tres- sel delivered a major lecture before that year's convention of the First English District of the Ohio Synod, a lecture that occupies 17 pages of fine type, in the book of Minutes. The lecture, titled "The Fundamental Principles of Liturgics," includes a long survey of the development of Christian worship,

from its New Testament roots, through the Lutheran Reformation's protest against the sacrifice of the Mass and against the concept of the opus operatum; he also develops, at some length, his concept of the "sacrificial" and "sacramental" elements in worship (more about the Lutheran use of these terms below); and finally then, comes to a discussion of the application of his insights, to the order of worship used in the Ohio Synod. When he reaches the part of the service which is the concern of this paper, however, he appears to run out of wind. Here is all the "light" he sheds on our subject:

The whole service presents as fair a division as Christian consciousness can, and always based sacrificial on sacramental. [In this sentence, one suspects that the typesetter must have missed something in the speaker's manuscript! Nevertheless, the meaning is clear that the liturgy contains a true balance of "sacrificial" and "sacramental" items.]

The Communion Service is sacramental as far as the Exhortation. The sacrificial element is present from the words, "Glory be to Thee, O Christ," up to the words of institution, which are preeminently sacramental because God there continues to effect what he did in the first instance. As God's creative words continue to keep creation in existence, so here likewise His word is powerful to cause the real presence, the same as in the institution. The Agnus Dei is sacrificial. The sacrament is in itself chiefly sacramental, but in its very use sacrificial, as we are to show forth the Lord's death till He come, and do this in remembrance of Him. The Nunc Dimittis and praise are sacrificial, to the Benediction, which is sacramental.

To define the critical words in the briefest manner possible, "sacramental" is used to categorize all parts of the service in which God speaks to (or acts on behalf of) man, while "sacrificial" is used to categorize all parts of the service in which man addresses (himself to) God.

In the meaning ascribed to these terms, the Preface is unabashedly sacrificial, in its ascription of praise to God. One must therefore read the first sentence of Tressel's paragraph as though it concluded with the words "(itself) is concerned," if one is to make sense of it. Now then, when he says, "The sacrificial element is present from the words, 'Glory be to Thee, O [. . .] Christ,' up to the words of institution," he is not constructing some sort of "theology of sacrifice in the eucharistic prayer." All he is saying is that "The first prayer of our Communion Service, and the Lord's Prayer which follows it are prayers." In them, we are speaking to God. Similarly, he says, ". . . the words of institution, . . . are preeminently sacramental because God there continues" to be creatively active, to effect the Real Presence. It is hard to believe that a long lecture could have been structured, so as to reach its climax in points like these!⁶⁵

However, this juxtaposition of consideration of the sacrificial Lord's Prayer with the sacramental Verba, can be allowed to prompt a final consideration of the way in which Lutherans of the period could have considered the Lord's Prayer to act as a prayer for eucharistic consecration. In the first place, there is nothing in the Lutheran background, by way of a different textual tradition in the use of the Lord's Prayer, one which could be stretched to identify "daily bread" with "eucharistically-consecrated bread." Specifically, the Luther-

an tradition totally ignored anything like the Vulgate's tortuously literal rendering of τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπουσίον by Panem nostrum supersubstantialem, in Mt. 6:11. The Lutheran wording, based on the traditional liturgical usage, was always a blunt, down to earth, Unser täglich Brot. Secondly, there is no possibility, in Lutheran usage, that the Lord's Prayer was intended to be consecratory, "by intention."⁶⁶ The literalness of the Lutheran mind always insists that there not be a "hidden agenda," but rather that what the Church desires to accomplish through a given prayer be stated as directly and unambiguously as possible in the language of that prayer. Thirdly, it is not because the teachings of Luther specifically included the Eucharist, as part of his definition of "Daily Bread." That definition, as summarized in the Small Catechism, a definition which Lutherans universally used to commit to memory, is a global one; but the gifts it defines are this-worldly ones and there is no inclusion of spiritual blessings:

What is meant by daily bread?

Answer: Everything required to satisfy our bodily needs, such as food and clothing, house and home, fields and flocks, money and property; a pious spouse and good children, trustworthy servants, godly and faithful rulers, good government; seasonable weather, peace and health, order, and honor; true friends, faithful neighbors, and the like.⁶⁷

There is one possibility left, and this writer believes it provides the reason for the particular interpretation of the Lord's Prayer we have seen. It is that when the Lord's Prayer is prayed just before the recitation of the Words of Institution,

there is a temporally close correspondance of significantly linked themes. In the Lord's Prayer, one asks "Give us this day our daily bread," and the next words are "And forgive us our sins." Seconds later, in the Verba, one can hear the same sequence, "This [bread] is my body, . . . This cup is . . . my blood," followed by "for the remission of sins."

- It is not at all difficult to understand how, in the context of the liturgical action, the phrases of the prayer "Give us this day our daily bread" and "And forgive us our sins," could have come, quite naturally, to have been experienced as though they read: "Give us this day our daily bread [a "daily" bread that, in this period, might have been distributed only four to six times annually], and through it forgive us our sins."

Outside of the action itself, logic would not have easily supported such an interpretation--an interpretation which must have felt so correct when one was actually performing the rite. This writer strongly feels this is the reason why theologians like Spaeth and Schuette could recommend the Lord's Prayer as a prayer of consecration in practice, but were tongue-tied, when it came to providing a theoretical or dogmatic justification for that usage and their positive feelings about it. In this, one is reminded of the (anti-intellectual) bumper sticker of the late 1960's, "If it feels good, do it!"

One significant rubrical matter in the English editions of the Ohio rite remains to be considered. The edition of 1894

and the draft-liturgy of 1904 both waited till just before the recitation of the Lord's Prayer, to direct the minister to turn and face the altar. If the rubric were followed, it meant that, having turned to face the congregation during the reading of the Exhortation, the pastor remained in that position when he also said the prayer, "Glory be to Thee, O Lord, Jesus Christ." From 1908 onwards, the later English editions placed the rubric "to turn," before the "Glory be to Thee, . . . "

This writer puts the following interpretation⁶⁸ upon this change in the location of the rubric:

As Tressel correctly noted in his 1899 lecture, ever since the Lutheran Reformation confronted the medieval doctrine of the sacrifice of the Mass, it had tried to make a proper distinction between "sacrifice" and "sacrament."⁶⁹ Melanchthon, in the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, worked from the following definitions:

There are two, and only two, basic types of sacrifice. One is the propitiatory sacrifice; this is a work of satisfaction for guilt and punishment that reconciles God or placates his wrath or merits the forgiveness of sins for others. [Two paragraphs later, Melanchthon "protects" this statement with the assertion: "There has really been only one propitiatory sacrifice in the world, the death of Christ, . . .] The other type is the eucharistic sacrifice; this does not merit the forgiveness of sins or reconciliation, but by it those who have been reconciled give thanks or show their gratitude for the forgiveness of sins and other blessings received.

. . . [These] are eucharistic sacrifices, called "sacrifices of praise": the proclamation of the Gospel, faith, prayer, thanksgiving, confession, the afflictions of the saints, yes, all the good works of the saints. These sac-

rifices are not satisfactions on behalf of those who bring them, nor can they be transferred . . . 70

The sacraments are not only signs among men, but signs of God's will toward us; so it is correct to define the New Testament sacraments as signs of grace. . . .

To simplify, the essence of a sacrament is that it is a gift from God to man, and the essence of a sacrifice is that it is man's Godward response. Using this understanding, it has been characteristic of Lutheran writers, both Spaeth and Schuette are examples for this period, to try and identify each element of the liturgy as being either "sacramental" or "sacrificial." Following the nineteenth century Anglican liturgical revival (the Oxford Movement), it was also characteristic of Lutheran liturgists to try and give outward, ceremonial expression to this distinction, by having the pastor face the congregation for all portions of the liturgy considered to be "sacramental," and having him turn back to face the altar for all parts that had been labeled "sacrificial."⁷² The pastor, in his turnings, became, if you will, a sort of "liturgical weather vane."

One may strongly suspect that just such notions were behind the original location of the rubric, directing the pastor to face the altar just at the Lord's Prayer, in the English liturgies of 1894 and 1904. It was insurance that the prayer, "Glory be to Thee, O Lord, Jesus Christ," would not be interpreted as "sacrificial," especially that it would not be seen as an attempt to reinstitute the "Sacrifice of the Mass." Af-

ter fourteen years of use, the prayer had lost whatever (and it must have been minor, indeed) controversial nature it had at the time of its English introduction in 1894. By then, it was simply seen as a prayer, like any other prayer, and the pastor was directed to face the altar while saying it.

Today, when virtually all Roman Catholic priests, a majority of Anglican clergy, and a substantial number of North American Lutheran pastors, have come to celebrate their liturgies at free-standing altars, facing their congregations throughout the rite, such concerns as those just discussed must seem "quaint," "childish," and perhaps even vaguely "superstitious." However, this writer wishes that the whole subject had been pursued with much greater rigor, at the time, since to have done so, might have helped to lead Lutheranism out of some of the deadlocked positions respecting the relationship between sacrifice and the Eucharist, in which its understanding had been trapped, ever since the sixteenth century.

To illustrate: Schuette, within the rite of the Synod of Ohio, found a great variety of materials which he categorized as "sacrificial"--indeed, virtually everything which could not be clearly identified as "sacramental" (in which category he placed: Exhortation(s), Absolution, Lections [doubtless, the Sermon should be included here, too], the Verba, the Distribution of the Sacrament, and the final Benediction):⁷³

On account of the great mass of material belonging to this [sacrificial] division, I shall arrange it in two classes, one of prayers and the other of sentences; . . .

Under the head of Prayers we include: The Gloria Patri; the Confession of sin, and the Kyrie; the Gloria in Excelsis, the Te Deum, the Benedic Anima Mea, etc.; Common Prayer, Litany, Sanctus, etc.; Prayers of Consecration; the Agnus Dei; the Nunc Dimittis; the Gratia; and the Amen.

Under the head of Sentences we comprise the Introits, Intonations, Salutations, Responses, and many other elements employed to fill, to round, and thus to complete and beautify the Order.

In this listing are many items which would clearly fall into the category of what has commonly been understood as the Reformation's "sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving," that is such things as the Glorias, the Canticles, the Preface and Sanctus, the Nunc Dimittis, and the post-communion collect of Thanksgiving. But there are other items besides, which, though here called "sacrificial," do not fit comfortably into that commonly held understanding: such items as intercessory prayer (always incorporated in the congregation's "Common," or "General Prayer", as well as in the Litany, when used), and concern for the quality of fellowship and unity within the Body of Christ (which is surely not too artificial a meaning to extract even from the Salutation ["The Lord be with you"] and its response, or from the Pax).

Above, in the quotation from Tressel, it should have been noted that he finds a double motif, precisely in the administration of Holy Communion: it is "sacramental" to us, as we receive it from God; but at the same moment, that act of

reception becomes our act of "sacrifice," because in it we are obedient to the Lord's will, "proclaiming his death, until he comes."⁷⁵ One can go a step further and note that this sacrificial act of proclamation is itself two-fold, in that we both manifest our obedient faith to God himself, and to the world which sees our action. Schuette noticed a similar double motif in certain places:

. . . in not a few instances the same form of words may at one time be "sacramental," at another, "sacrificial." E.g. "The Lord is gracious, and full of compassion; slow to anger, and of great mercy": taking them as words of the Holy Ghost addressed to men, they are sacramental; but taken as the Psalmist's acknowledgment addressed to God, they are sacrificial. We might thus well have, should we desire,⁷⁶ a third class or division, called the doubtful or mixed.

Schuette's inability to admit that a form could be simultaneously sacramental and sacrificial may come out of respect for Luther's opinion that the same thing cannot, at one time, be both offered and received.⁷⁷ But, in fact, Tressel is correct in asserting that an action or form may have a simultaneous double character, and he sees this in connection with the precise moment when it matters most from the Lutheran point of view, the moment of the Sacrament's reception. Indeed, if one takes Tressel's observation and applies it to Schuette's example, a new "reciprocating" dynamic begins to appear: 1) The Psalmist offers his sacrifice of praise; 2) Proclaimed as part of the Word, it becomes sacramental to us; 3) As we receive it and respond to it, we make our sacrifice of it. By logical ex-

tension of this principle, there is no difficulty in calling the Eucharist, in its entirety, a "sacrifice." That is, our faithful, obedient and joyful acceptance and use of, participation in, and response to what God--in the first instance--has given us therein, constitute it as our sacrifice. Fr. Bouyer was incorrect, from the Lutheran point of view, in suggesting that the Protestant's "sacrifice of thanks and praise" is essentially nothing more than a matter of mental disposition.⁷⁸ When Melancthon spoke on this subject he listed among its component elements, cultic acts, and "faith," the "afflictions" under which Christians must live in this world, and their "good works."⁷⁹ For him, and for Lutherans who understand this truth from their confessional theology, our Christian sacrifice cannot be just an "attitudinal one"; rather it must be incarnated and manifested in every area of our life.

It was a loss to North American Lutheranism, in that the Ohio Synod never engaged itself in a serious liturgico-dogmatic study of the implications of the rite it practiced--along the lines indicated--before it allowed that rite to be supplanted. Had it done so, the Lutheran community at large might have been assisted to grow in its understanding of worship in general, of the eucharistic prayer and sacramental worship, and of the doctrine of Christian sacrifice, decades before it finally did come to its modern concern in these matters.

The shelving of the rite, after 1930, marked a real liturgical loss, as well. It cannot be said that the Ohio rite was of the same calibre as the Common Service. It was not as scholarly, and did not show as much careful attention to details of practice (proper rubrics), or to historic antecedents. But it had something the Common Service lacked-- a more fully developed eucharistic rite. Earlier the suggestion was made that the Exhortation could be viewed as a sort of substitute for the eucharistic prayer. In this rite, the Exhortation could have been abolished, without loss, because all of its major themes are clearly brought out in the pre- and post-verba prayers. Though not according to classical arrangement of elements, these two prayers, taken together with the Verba, do comprise an adequate eucharistic prayer.

"Glory be to Thee, O Lord, Jesus Christ" contains an anamnesis of Christ's unique and redeeming sacrifice. Next an expression of the fact that the fruits of participation in the Really Present Christ unites one to him, redemptively and eschatologically, followed by a confession of unworthiness to receive such gifts. This is followed by an epiclesis over the communicants, for cleansing, strengthening of faith and dedication, and the ultimate gift of heaven's fellowship.

"Praise, and honor, and glory" reasserts faith in the Real Presence, and asks for the gifts of the Sacrament: forgiveness of sins, unity with the Church in heaven and on earth,

and present and eternal incorporation into Christ.

There is no consecratory epiclesis, but there is the repeated emphatic assertion that Christ is present in his Sacrament, which may be considered Lutheranism's equivalent.

All in all, the Synod of Ohio is judged to have created and maintained a rite of more than a little worth, one which raises some very interesting questions, and one that is worthy of far more serious study than it has so far received.

THE EUCHARISTIC PRAYERS OF TWENTIETH

CENTURY AMERICAN LUTHERANISM

One of the jibes that Lutheran critics have often directed against their church has been: that the "Church of the Word" (i.e., the one established in the wake of Luther's re-discovery of the Gospel) has become a "Church of words"--one in which the present and active Divine Λόγος is in danger of being ignored, because of a preoccupation with the correctness of a deluge of human words, in preaching, teaching, theologizing, liturgical forms, ecclesiastical position-papers, etc. While the framers of the Common Service were surely guided by a devout desire that what they produced would be a fit vehicle for the activity of God's Word, it is nevertheless true that, in two important respects, what these men did produce was

"words." Firstly, the Common Service, as originally released and published, included no musical setting; it was completely a textual production. Secondly, rubrical instructions were kept to a relative minimum. One cannot avoid the impression that having the right formulary of liturgical words was a far greater concern, than the question of how they would be employed in practice. As an end-product of that nineteenth century movement through which academicians sought to recover the texts of the Reformation period--primarily the dogmatic ones, and only secondarily the liturgical ones-- one should perhaps not be too surprised by this. In any case, the result was that a liturgy that was "high church" in its structure and texts, came into virtually universal use in a denomination, which, for a whole variety of historical reasons, had become "low church" in its practice. When we hear Reed and others boasting that the Common Service is a liturgical monument of equal stature with the Anglican Book of Common Prayer, we must remember that they are simply comparing texts, not what actually happened in the Sunday morning parish settings of the two denominations.⁸⁰ Candor demands the admission that the Common Service, at the start of the twentieth century, was often celebrated in churches which, architecturally, were pulpit-centered and which lacked any proper altar, or in which the placing of lighted candles on the altar or its table-substitute would have been cause for wonderment; it was quite commonly conducted by pastors dressed in

suits--a black gown with white neck bands (Beffchen) was considered by many to be the maximum form of vesture allowed to Lutheran clergy (except with recently arrived Scandinavians and Finns who had experienced albs and chasubles in their home churches). In brief, Schmucker's "American Lutheranism" had gained a partial victory, in having led Lutherans to accommodate the externals of their worship, very largely, to the practices of the other Protestant denominations around them.⁸¹

By the start of the twentieth century, however, another influence was at work: the Oxford Movement in the Church of England had been successful in restoring an appreciation of medieval ceremonial and worship accouterments to a significant portion of Anglicanism, and through its literary output succeeded in raising these subjects in non-Anglican circles as well. A liturgical movement sprung up among Lutherans, which was informed about what was taking place in Anglicanism; it was not inspired to imitate the Anglican pattern, but rather, by way of parallel, to discover the liturgical and ceremonial possibilities which were explicit and implicit in the Lutheran Reformation. When the "Lutheran Liturgical Association," which had organized in 1898, published its seven volumes of memoirs in 1906, it numbered close to 400 members, living in 22 states (and the District of Columbia), four Canadian provinces, and India.⁸² The memoirs comprise 56 articles, on a wide variety of historical, liturgical, architectural, theological-sacramental, and related topics; and among the authors represented were such

names as: Luther Reed, Edward T. Horn, G. S. Seaman, A. Spaeth, and Paul Z. Strodach.

When the Lutheran Liturgical Association became inactive, the Lutheran liturgical movement went on, unabated, but for the most part without organization.⁸³ It was characterized by the publication of a number of journals, books and monographs, as well as by various institutes, retreats and workshops, from the 1930's onwards. It is unfortunate that what Piepkorn noted twenty years ago remains true: "A comprehensive history [of this movement] remains to be compiled."⁸⁴

Given the low state of liturgical practice in those days, it was inevitable that those who identified themselves with the liturgical movement would be labelled as "Romanizers" and as being interested, not in the Gospel and ministry, but in "lace, smells, and bells."⁸⁵ Such criticisms surely were in the background when, in 1938, Reed, himself a most active figure in the liturgical movement, went out of his way to stress traditional Lutheran values:

Worship must establish men and women in communion with God and in the fellowship of the saints. If the strongest impression that remains after a service is one of liturgical technique, that service has been a failure. Exaggerated concern for precise and perfect observance of traditional detail cannot satisfy men and women seeking sincerity and strength. Ritualism which magnifies detail, and individualism which ignores common usage, are both extremes. Good churchmen will demonstrate a healthy interest in a well-rounded program of church life and work. They will seek to consolidate the gains of previous liturgical development, to conduct the Church's service in the Church's way, and to unite and elevate the entire Church in a broad

advance rather than to bring individual congregations to extremely high and spectacular performances.⁸⁶

It is evident that Reed was concerned lest the quiet gains of almost a century of liturgical progress be undermined, in a generalized negative reaction to the liturgical-ceremonial restorations of the few. His hope was that liturgically minded pastors might be a sort of leaven that would gradually raise the sights of the whole Church and bring about uniform progress, rather than being individualists whose wide divergences from the norm could only attract opposition to the whole liturgical movement. Reed was not concerned just to guard the past gains of the Common Service, indeed he desired further liturgical movement.

The genius of Lutheranism reacts against externality and insincerity. The simplicity and forthrightness of our liturgy requires corresponding qualities in its setting and rendition. Over-elaboration, fussy decoration, excessive ceremonial, concertistic music are all out of harmony with the Lutheran understanding. A strong sense of historic values and of what is inherently worshipful, distinctive, and beautiful is, however, entirely in the Lutheran spirit. Creative activity, controlled by established principles, should be encouraged. We must expect the liturgy itself to receive minor revisions and possibly some development. . . . New collects and prayers will meet new needs. In the hymnal there certainly will be subtractions and additions. Perhaps the Church in this country⁸⁷ may even hope, at some time in the future, to satisfy the desire of many in every period by composing a really adequate eucharistic prayer.⁸⁸

Even as he spoke those words, Reed was certainly aware that the composing of Lutheran eucharistic prayers had already begun. Strodach had composed such a prayer for Lutherans in India, and this was officially published there in 1936.

News of this event had surely travelled far and wide, along the liturgical movement's "grapevine," by the time Reed spoke. Indeed, by then, at least one American pastor had published an experimental eucharistic prayer of his own.⁸⁹ Others may be supposed to have been similarly occupied, but in their cases documentation is lacking.⁹⁰ When Reed encourages patience, in view of the coming day of "some development," which might include the production of "a really adequate eucharistic prayer," this may indicate his personal judgement on the calibre of the private prayers which had already come to his attention, and his desire for an official prayer whose excellence and acceptability would match those of the earlier Common Service, as well as being a fitting completion of it.

In the years which followed Reed's 1938 speech, it appears that the damper was put on further experimentation with the eucharistic prayer. As venerable a figure as Reed was, in liturgical circles, it was not that his express opinions had this effect. Rather, the Second World War intervened. This event took many younger pastors from parish ministry into military chaplaincy; it limited the amount of paper available for unnecessary (that is, non-defense related) publishing; and it ushered in a period when the spirit of the Church was much more concerned to provide the people with security and reassurance, than a locus of liturgical experimentation. All of these factors brought about a hiatus in the push of the North American

Lutheran liturgical movement to achieve the acceptance of the eucharistic prayer. No sooner was the war over, however, than the desire for such a prayer began to reassert itself.

Strodach (1936) 1946. In the revised and expanded edition of *A Manual on Worship*, which Paul Zeller Strodach was able to have printed in 1946, he was able to include what he termed "a reconstruction of the Communion Office for Evangelical use, in the historic tradition." Most specifically, his "reconstruction" centers on the eucharistic prayer which he had prepared for the 1936 liturgy of the Federated Lutheran Churches in India. Referring to Luther's suppression of the Canon, he says:

The fact is, that in reforming this Office no attempt appears to have been made to "salvage" elements which could not be condemned for good and sufficient reasons; nor was there any certain effort even attempted to preserve historic use in the new Lutheran Rite--new, because it is new, and a decidedly arbitrary departure, ignoring definitely the vital indications--demands--of the historic Institution, and the great, all but universal stream of the development of the Communion Liturgy.

Strodach here denounces Luther's revision of the Mass with a vehemence that is unprecedented, in a Lutheran writer. But perhaps he felt that such a challenge had to be issued, in the face of general Lutheran contentment with the *Common Service* (and the general assumption that that service preserved all that was best, and most essential in the historic Western liturgy), if he was to attract serious consideration of his proposal, in the American Church. He continues:

In an humble but devout effort to restore some of this lost heritage and glory, and at the same time return The Liturgy to the historic line, where, if any one has the spiritual right to have it there, the Church of the Reformation does possess just that, this study appears.

In structure and content it is wholly in the historic line of the East-West Church. It contains every element which the Universal Church has recognized as vital and effective to a true Remembrance of and Obedience to Our Lord's Command. In the Office itself, every part is historic, and has been made sacred by centuries of use. These come from the ancient East, the ancient West, the Gallican Church, the later Roman, and the Church of the Reformation. Except for translations, the writer has contributed very little beside the formulation of the Office.⁹¹

The pertinent sections of Strodach's Communion Office are in the Appendix, item 21.

The post-Sanctus section of the eucharistic prayer is taken directly from the Anaphora of St. John Chrysostom. Curiously, ~~it~~ begins with the first line of the byzantine "Vere Dignum," which is out of place here, and which creates a liturgical redundancy. Perhaps this was originally done to increase the "orientalism" of a liturgy that was to be used in India. The Anamnesis combines themes from Chrysostom, the Apostolic Constitutions (Book 8), and the Anglican liturgy. The Epiclesis likewise appears to conflate themes from Basil, the Roman Canon and the Book of Common Prayer, amending them, in a bow toward traditional Lutheran teaching, to indicate that in the eucharistic consecration, Christ's Words of Institution govern the activity of the Holy Spirit. This last attempt is not entirely successful, in terms of Lutheran theology, which is suspicious of any post-Verba prayer for consecration.

In the Anamnesis, the words "and we offer to Thee" appear to be designed to be in apposition to the language of the offertory petition "here do we present before Thee." The words do no more than describe a simple action taking place in time and space: bread and wine are presented for blessing in accordance with Christ's Institution and for the accomplishing of his memorial. Liturgically, the action is of course sacrificial, but Strodach's language avoids explicit mention of that fact to the extent this is possible.

Wismar 1946. The same year that Strodach made his recommendation to the American Church, another anaphora appeared, from the pen of Pastor Adolph Wismar. (Appendix, item 22.)

Here there is an invariable Preface, which in Eastern style remembers the Creation, the Fall, and the Covenant of the Old Testament, in order to introduce the New Covenant in Christ. The post-Sanctus anticipates the Anamnesis, much as is done in the Anglican rite, in a thorough consideration of Christ's "perfect" (i.e., unrepeatable) sacrificial death, in which he bore the sins of all. Following the Words of Institution, the Anamnesis adds a commemoration of Pentecost to the standard listing of Passion, Death, Resurrection and Ascension. This mention of the Holy Spirit provides a bridge to the Epiclesis, which itself is worded strangely: ". . . bless and sanctify this bread for the Communion of his Body," etc. The use of the preposition "for" in this connection can

only reveal a desire for calculated ambiguity, as to the meaning of Consecration and the role played therein by the Epiclesis.

Note (also in Appendix, item 22) that in the same author's anamnesis-epiclesis prayer of 1937, he toyed with four variant wordings at this point. Clearly, Wismar was uncertain as to how to compose a Lutheran Epiclesis.

Following the Epiclesis, the Benedictus verse is appointed to be sung by the congregation. Paralleling medieval practice, the Benedictus is thus transformed into an act of faith in the Real Presence. There next follows a prayer of "Humble Access" which leads directly into the recitation of the Lord's Prayer--which is thus made to provide the eucharistic prayer with a measure of intercessory content, as well as its Doxology.

It is evident that Wismar had read many of the classic liturgies and that he was inspired by them. But his eucharistic prayer is a personal composition, and cannot be said to be based directly on any of them.

Any note of eucharistic sacrifice is very much downplayed in this liturgy. The imagery in the words "gifts of bread and wine, which we have set before Thee," places them entirely at God's disposition, without any express thought that they constitute the Church's oblation. Similarly, while in any classic liturgy the words "And although we be unworthy" would refer to the Church's or the celebrant's unworthiness to offer

sacrifice, here they refer to the Church's unworthiness to claim the gifts and blessings of the Holy Communion.

Wismar's liturgy is without direct effect on the later development of the Lutheran eucharistic prayer. It has been studied only as an example of the fact that, where the Church was not acting officially to provide a eucharistic prayer, individual pastors were not only desiring one, but were writing and using their own.

Reed 1947. In 1938, Reed had revealed his desire for a eucharistic prayer, as we have seen. In The Lutheran liturgy, he made this desire thoroughly clear:

[The Reformation's] elimination of everything [from the Canon] except the original Words of Institution simplifies the entire proceeding. There is no room for speculation concerning the fitness of the ministrant, his intention, or the precise accuracy of his conduct. The supreme purpose is to focus thought upon the original Institution and the eternal power of Christ. The Lutheran Liturgy at this point is a monolith, not a mosaic. Here is simplicity, strength, and impressive objectivity--whatever else is lacking.

A EUCHARISTIC PRAYER DESIRABLE

Notwithstanding the force of this position, many Lutherans have long desired something richer, warmer, and more emotionally expressive--something less likely to foster erroneous conceptions and something more in harmony with the New Testament account and with the thought and practice of the universal Church. . . . The admonition "this do" comprehends the entire action, which, so far as we are concerned, may well include a Prayer of Thanksgiving and Blessing, reminiscent of our Lord's Blessing, and such as is to be found in every early Christian Liturgy. . . . Bishop Brieth's comment (Eucharistic Faith and Practice, p. 125) may be noted: "The pruning knife of the Reformation" had to clear away "the disfiguring outgrowths of the Roman Mass," but "the richer treasures of the older liturgies were not recovered. Thus the operation left a gaping void . . . a central problem of the Lutheran Rite still awaits its solution."

In the Appendix, item 23, we have Reed's own proposal for a prayer that would fill the void. He mentions as his sources: Apostolic Constitutions, Chrysostom, Reichenau Missal, St. James (via the Scottish, Presbyterian rite of 1940), Cranmer 1549, Severus of Antioch, Sweden 1942, Roman Missal and St. Basil. In this, he fails to mention his primary source, who was Strodach, as any comparison of the two prayers will quickly reveal. Reed, indeed, did a thorough editing of Strodach. He toned down the Eastern enthusiasm of the latter's opening, for example; and he expanded the list of communion-benefits mentioned at the end of the prayer. It is highly significant that Reed allowed what appears to be a consecratory epiclesis to stand after the Words of Institution, but perhaps more significant that he acknowledges his source for the words "so that in very truth . . ." to have been the Scottish Presbyterian Book of Common Order of 1940.^{92,a} Reed can be unmoved over the fact that "Consecration" does not necessarily seem to be attached to the Verba, because he is a representative of that East Coast school of Lutheran thought (and more will be said of this below) which does not believe "in a miraculous change in the elements on the altar."⁹³ He expresses his understanding of the Epiclesis' function, in these words:

An Invocation of the Holy Spirit . . . should refer specifically to the worshipers. The presence of the Holy Spirit in our hearts will assure a worthy reception of the Sacrament and a renewed consecration of ourselves to God's will and service. References to the elements, if included

at all, must be carefully phrased or they will cloud the issue. But we may certainly invoke the Divine Blessing upon them, quite as in our "grace before meat" we seek such a blessing upon our daily food.

If such was the intention Reed was trying to incarnate in his proposed form, one must conclude that he himself "clouded the issue." It would have been better, if he had deleted all mention of the elements from his eucharistic prayer, and created an offertory prayer in which he could have asked the sort of "Grace" which his theology told him was proper. In such a setting, one would have been spared the confusion of wondering whether his eucharistic prayer does, or does not, intend the Real Presence.

Piepkorn 1947. Yet another private, North American production must be considered, the eucharistic prayer (with accompanying offertory rite) composed by Arthur Carl Piepkorn, with the assistance of Howard R. Kunkle. Unlike the prayers of Strodach and Reed, which as far as can be determined were to remain academic proposals, and which were not used in actual practice, or that of Wismar which had very little use outside of his own parish: the prayers edited by Piepkorn and Kunkle (and popularly ascribed to Piepkorn alone) found rather extensive use, mainly in parishes of the Missouri Synod. It is paradoxical that in this most conservatively Lutheran of the major North American jurisdictions, there were parishes which openly celebrated a rite that was so clearly founded on

the prayers of the Roman Mass and on Cranmerian models.⁹⁵

The Piepkorn prayers are in the Appendix, item 24.

The sources of these prayers are as follows:

The four Offertory prayers, "Receive, O holy Father," "O God, who in creating," "We offer unto Thee," and "Come Thou Sanctifier," are adapted directly from the corresponding prayers of the Roman Missal, "Suscipe, sancte Pater," "Deus, qui humanae substantiae," "Offerimus tibi," and "Veni, Sanctificator." The prayer over the (money) Offering, "Most high and holy God," combines themes from a number of different sources: the first paragraph ("Almighty and everliving God, who by thy holy Apostle") of the Anglican prayer for the "Whole State of Christ's Church," the fourth paragraph of the Anglican eucharistic prayer ("And we earnestly desire"), and the Anglican post-communion ("Almighty and everliving God, we most heartily"). This prayer concludes with language taken over from the Didache, and also appears to have had contact with the Roman prayer "Incensum istud." Several of the themes and phrases of this prayer are duplicated in what follows.

The sources of the ten paragraphs of Piepkorn's eucharistic prayer are as follows: "Almighty and most merciful Father" is based on the first paragraph ("All glory be to thee") of the Anglican eucharistic prayer, and on the Roman "Te igitur." "Especially do we commend" and, when used, "We also remember before Thee" are both derived from the "Memento Domine."

"And here do we give" has its roots in the "Communicantes" and the "Hanc igitur," and in the sixth paragraph ("And we also bless") of the Anglican prayer for the "Whole State of Christ's Church." The (pre-Verba) Epiclesis, "Send down upon us," is based on the third paragraph ("Invocation") of the Anglican eucharistic prayer, incorporating the "ut nobis fiat" of the Roman "Quam oblationem." The Anamnesis, "Wherefore, O Lord," is based on the corresponding Anglican prayer, "Wherefore, O Lord and heavenly Father," on the "Unde et memores," and more vaguely on the "Supra quae"--in this last instance, a reading of Hippolytus may have influenced the use made of the Canon's material. Basil also appears to have provided a theme for this prayer. "And here we offer" is closely based on the final paragraph of the Anglican eucharistic prayer ("And we earnestly desire") and on the "Supplices te." Piepkorn here may have made reference to the 1549 first edition of the Anglican Prayer Book, in which Cranmer spoke of "by the Ministry of thy holy Angels."

The prayer "We also remember" (for the faithful departed) is directly based on the "Memento etiam." "To us sinners also" is likewise a version of the "Nobis quoque." And the Doxology, "By whom" is a simple translation of the Roman "Per ipsum."

Since the Anglican eucharistic prayer is itself nothing other than Cranmer's skillful reworking of the themes and orations of the Roman Canon, one can say that, except for a couple

minor borrowings from other ancient sources, Piepkorn's entire eucharistic prayer is a reworking of that selfsame Canon, either at first hand or second. In this respect, Piepkorn's liturgy goes much further than the rite of King John III did, since there is not a single oration of the Roman Canon which is completely omitted in Piepkorn's rendition of it.

Piepkorn's Lutheranism manifested itself in the following modifications he made in the material before him: 1) In the "Receive, O holy Father," what is offered is simply bread, not a sacrificial host; further, it is the Church as a whole, rather than just the celebrant, who offers ("famulus" becomes plural, "servants"); and the effect of the Eucharist is seen to be "for us," and no longer for the dead, also. 2) In "We offer unto Thee, O Lord," propitiatory language is excised in a way that demonstrates that God alone is active in the dispensing of grace. 3) In "Come Thou Sanctifier," "sacrifice" is removed as the object of the Spirit's activity; instead (and the handling of this is less than felicitous) he is asked to bless the whole service or liturgy. 4) "Most high and holy God" links together the congregation's offerings, their thanksgivings and prayers, and the sacrifice of themselves in a single sacrificial action. God is asked to unite this sacrifice with Christ's one, eternal sacrifice--apart from which it could have no worth, since apart from Christ the Church has no "pure offering" of its own. 5) For the *Ite igitur*'s mention of "dona, munera, sacrifici-

cia" is substituted mention of the Church's "prayers, supplications, and thanksgivings." 6) The thrust of the Memento Domine, which offers sacrifice for the benefit of the Church's members, is changed so that, by God's mercy, those members may be enabled to offer a sacrifice of thanksgiving for God's promised gifts. 7) Whereas the Communicantes speaks of uniting with, and honoring, and seeking the intercession of the saints, in "And here do we give" God is praised and thanked for giving the saints to us as examples whom we may follow, by His help. 8) "Send down upon us" takes a properly Lutheran position, before the Verba. The gift of the Holy Spirit is asked for the people, while the effectiveness of the divine Word is asked for the consecration of the elements. By the substitution of the Canon's "ut nobis Corpus et Sanguis fiat . . ." in place of Cranmerian phrasing, Piepkorn doubtless desired to indicate that Lutheranism stands with Rome, in not equivocating on the Real Presence. 9) In the Anamnesis, Piepkorn deletes Cranmer's "which we now offer unto thee," since in a Lutheran context these words could only suggest a sacrificing of Christ-already-present, in the Eucharist. The sacrificial aspect of an Anamnesis is here accomplished through the thanksgiving the Church makes for being allowed to make its "priestly" remembrance of Christ's death, before God, and through the self-offering of the Church, as a living sacrifice. It is this sacrifice of prayer which the prayer asks to have borne into the divine

presence. 10) The list of names contained in the Nobis quoque is dropped, making of the rest of this prayer a simple petition for the eventual gift of eternal life.

One can say of the Piepkorn rite that it was a very interesting experiment, which like the liturgy of King John III, tried to utilize as much as possible of the structure and language of the Roman rite. It was, at the same time, a success, insofar as it clearly displays a Lutheran understanding of the Real Presence, and insofar as it expresses a number of sacrificial themes within the eucharistic action while remaining solidly within the bounds of traditional Lutheran teaching on this point. However, its very success in following the Roman structure and in maintaining much Roman phraseology, made it a less than suitable project to recommend to the vast majority of Lutheran parishes. Later, official eucharistic prayers did not follow this pattern, but adopted the Eastern anaphoral structure.

Brunner 1954. In 1954, Peter Brunner's monumental essay on worship, "Zur Lehre vom Gottesdienst der im Namen Jesu versammelten Gemeinde," appeared in English translation. This was at a time when eight Lutheran jurisdictions were already cooperating on the production of the Service Book and Hymnal (which was to appear in 1958), a rite which, as was already known at that time, was to include a eucharistic prayer text for optional use, (alongside of Verba alone).

In Part III of Brunner's book, he gave consideration to the "form of worship," both in terms of its dogmatic basis, and in terms of its textual "materialization."⁹⁶ To illustrate his conclusions on those subjects, he offered a eucharistic prayer proposal, which is included in the Appendix, item 25.

The post-Sanctus section of this prayer opens with a joyful expression of praise to the Holy Trinity, almost as enthusiastic as the one noted earlier in Strodach. God is then praised for Creation and for the whole history of Salvation--this last being summarized in the sentence: "We thank Thee that Thou hast borne us sinners, who deserved Thy wrath, with great forbearance and patience and still preservest us." Next are mentioned the Incarnation and ministry of Christ, whose purpose was our reconciliation. Next comes an epiclesis-section which is explicitly consecratory, and which is bridged into the recitation of the Words of Institution. In the bridging phrase, "as we now administer His own Testament according to His command," the verb "administer" (translating "handeln und brauchen")⁹⁷ reveals Brunner's vocabulary to be that of a dogmatician, rather than that of a liturgist. One can hear Brunner, the professor, saying, "Now we will treat and deal with the subject at hand"; and attention is, with good reason, drawn to what follows next after the Verba.

In the Anamnesis, a rather standard recital of events --suffering and death, resurrection and ascension--continues

in a consideration of Christ's role in the heavenly sanctuary: "where He, our High Priest, ever represents us before Thee 'with' the one, all-sufficient sacrifice of His body and blood, given and shed for us on the cross, and present to us in the mystery of this sacred meal" [Emphasis supplied]. Here is an identification between Christ's sacrifice and the Eucharist, previously undiscovered in any other Lutheran writer. It is not just that Christ is present "in his true body and blood" or "as he is now alive following the Resurrection"--rather his presence is specifically the presence of his redemptive sacrifice.

There follows a thanksgiving for the fruits of that sacrifice, which God dispenses through "Jesus Thy Servant." Then follows a second epiclesis, requesting a full list of blessings for the Church, gathered to receive and share the Sacrament. A prayer for the unity of the Church, and eschatological themes, are boldly stressed in this listing. As was seen earlier in Wismar, here too the eucharistic prayer ends in the recitation of the Lord's Prayer.

Brunner's principle contribution in this rite, is in developing a new level of sacrificial awareness among Lutherans. In this, he is pushing a notion already found in Luther ("We do not offer Christ, he offers us") to its logical conclusion.⁹⁸ More will be said about Brunner's sacrificial insight below.

Service Book and Hymnal 1958 and Culto Cristiano 1964.

As beloved and prized as the Common Service had become in Lutheranism, following its 1888 publishing, Reed's words admitting the possibility of future revisions in both the liturgical and hymnological portions of the Common Service Book were to be borne out, more fully than he could have guessed.⁹⁹ Already in 1936, the Augustana Synod had appointed a committee to work on a revision of its own Hymnal. In the same year as Reed had spoken, 1938, the United Lutheran Church in America began similar work. The American Lutheran Church took preliminary steps toward a revision of its own hymnal, in 1942. Not much progress was made during the war years, which is perhaps fortunate.

In 1944, however, the national convention of the Augustana Synod passed a significant resolution:

That in view of the eventual union of the Lutheran Bodies of America, we urge our Commission to work with similar commissions of other Lutheran Church Bodies so that a common service may be evolved containing contributions from the liturgies of the various Bodies.

That same year the American Lutheran Church in convention commended an approach to "other bodies on the matter of hymnal study and revision." In a simultaneous, but independent action, the United Lutheran Church directed its Common Service Book Committee, " . . . , to seek the fullest possible co-operation with other Lutheran bodies in the hope of producing as nearly as possible, a common Lutheran hymnal for America."¹⁰⁰

This action was implemented by the calling of a conference in June, 1945, at Pittsburgh. Persons belonging to four of the National Lutheran Council churches (ALC, Augustana, ELC, and ULCA) organized the Joint Commission on a Common Hymnal. The success of this commission led the Augustana Synod representatives to propose (September, 1945) a Joint Commission on a Common Liturgy, which first met in February, 1946, in Chicago. In this manner, the basic teams were at hand for the production of a common service book and hymnal. . . . [The UELC joined this work also; but, in view of the new hymnal they had published in 1941:] . . . The Synodical Conference churches [notably, the Synods of Missouri and Wisconsin], . . . declined to join the project.

Reed, who was deeply involved in this work, adds the clarification that the presidents of the various church bodies were not particularly sanguine with respect to the Augustana call for work on a common liturgy. The Chicago meeting must therefore be characterized as exploratory. However, the committee that then met adopted a set of very positive resolutions:

1. We agree unanimously that a Common Liturgy for our Church in America is desirable and possible.
2. We agree that the Common Service shall be the basis and that other current uses in our Church shall be considered.
3. We request that each of the Presidents of our General Bodies to appoint not more than three or four representatives to form a Joint Commission which shall seek to achieve this goal.
4. We believe that it is highly desirable that all Lutheran Bodies in this country co-operate in this undertaking and we therefore ask authority to issue the necessary invitations.

It should be noted that, while the original motion of the Augustana Synod had envisioned a liturgy that would be "common," on the basis of being derived from the practices and texts of all the rites then in use (a sort of mosaic, with a piece selected from here, and another piece from there), the Chicago

group essentially limited the liturgical task to that of a revising of the Common Service.

When the Service Book and Hymnal was published, in 1958, it carried the authorizations of eight different church bodies. The other eventuality envisioned in the original Augustana Synod motion, that of Lutheran union, had become the subject of serious negotiations throughout the 1950's. These negotiations bore fruit in the early sixties. In 1960, three of the bodies which had sponsored the Service Book and Hymnal merged to form a new and much expanded American Lutheran Church; and a fourth body which had been delayed by internal dissension joined this Church in 1963. The remaining four bodies merged, in 1962, to form the Lutheran Church in America.¹⁰³ Thus, as had been the case earlier, when the Common Service Book and the American Lutheran Hymnal were respectively published, the publishing of the Service Book and Hymnal also coincided with a great period of Lutheran organizational consolidation.

Those interested in following, in greater detail, the work of the Joint Commissions which prepared the Service Book and Hymnal are referred to Reed.¹⁰⁴ Here, it will suffice to consider what he says regarding the adoption of a eucharistic prayer for this book:

The Prayer of Thanksgiving (Eucharistic Prayer) is the restoration of a feature from the early church and the ecumenical church which, with a few notable exceptions, is not generally found in Lutheran liturgies. Many liturgical scholars in Germany and Scandinavia during the last century have

pleaded for the restoration of this central feature of the "Eucharist" There was no agreement in the matter of a suggested text, and these appeals received limited consideration. Dr. Strodach, a student of the early liturgies, proposed a text in his Manual on Worship which the Lutheran Church in India adopted practically unchanged. The author of the present volume suggested a somewhat similar form in the first edition of The Lutheran Liturgy The commission requested Drs. Strodach and Reed to propose separate texts. As presented the two texts resembled each other quite closely, since both authors, instead of fashioning original forms, had prepared literary mosaics of phrases appearing repeatedly in eucharistic prayers in the ancient liturgies. The commission . . . finally agreed, quite harmoniously, on a text which was reported in full to the churches, of which several debated the subject at length. The insertion of a Prayer of Thanksgiving was finally approved by all the churches, . . .

The text of this prayer will be found in the Appendix, item 26, presented in parallel columns together with a Spanish version which was printed in *Culto Cristiano* (1964).¹⁰⁶

There can be no doubt that the 1958 prayer is the direct offspring of Strodach and Reed's earlier projects. In fact, it would appear that the commission's only contributions, beyond minor editorial changes, were in the elimination of features in the prayers of Reed and Strodach, whose controversiality might have threatened the acceptance of the rite, and indeed that of the entire Book, on the part of the Church at large. This was a valid concern, and the commission is not to be criticized for its exercise of prudence, when recommending such a major change in Lutheran liturgical practice.

The Anamnesis was scrubbed clean of any overtly sacrificial suggestions. The action of offering found in Strodach,

✓ "we offer to Thee . . . these Thy gifts," was expunged, along with the Hippolytus-based suggestion that the Church is engaged in a priestly function, at the Eucharist, "giving thanks . . . that Thou hast deemed us worthy to stand before Thee, celebrating and making the Memorial" Such omissions deny the image of the Church playing a truly active role in the sacramental liturgy. God is the active one, in the first instance. The Service Book and Hymnal holds to a most guarded and traditional Lutheran position, by showing the action of the Church to be a responsive one of acknowledgment and thanksgiving. To avoid any confusion on this point, even Reed's perfectly innocuous mention of a "sacrifice of our thanksgiving and praise," is edited to read "we beseech thee . . . to accept our praise and thanksgiving."

Another place where the commission was unwilling to take many chances, was in regard to the Epiclesis. Both Reed and Strodach provided, in the post-Verba position, invocations of the "Word and Holy Spirit," which one could interpret as consecratory, with little difficulty. The epiclesis-section that received approval is a model of designed ambiguity: "bless us . . . and these thine own gifts of bread and wine, so that we and all who partake thereof may . . . [receive the benefits of the Sacrament]." Here there is avoidance, both of any affirmation that a Consecration has taken place at the Verba, and of any suggestion that it may take place then at the invocation.

The subtlety of this text probably appealed to two different factions: those who, because of a liberal theology, prefer to speak softly where the Real Presence is concerned; and those who wanted the textual freedom to assign all consecratory power to the Verba. The former group were not faced by any mention of the Real Presence in this prayer. The latter group could have the freedom to read the invocation as though it read "bless us . . . and the reception of these thine own gifts of consecrated bread and wine," or something similar.

It is interesting to see what changes were wrought in the Service Book and Hymnal text, when it was translated into Spanish. This time the committee included members of the Missouri Synod; and it is evident that they insisted that certain doctrinal concerns of theirs be accommodated. In the text of Culto Cristiano, there is a further reduction of sacrificial suggestions, and there is the addition of an assertion of the Real Presence. The former is accomplished by dropping out the words "not as we ought, but as we are able," which phrase (from the Apostolic Constitutions) still manages to suggest activity on the Church's part; together with much of the language of the invocation, "[bless] with thy Word and Holy Spirit--these thine own gifts of bread and wine," which might be capable of suggesting that God's gracious activity is somehow initiated by our requests (rather than being divinely self-motivated).

The Spanish text's positive amendment, replacing the vague expression "we and all who partake thereof," with "todos los que participamos del santo cuerpo de Cristo y de su preciosa sangre," provides the clearest sort of affirmation of the Real Presence. It is further an affirmation unclouded by the question as to how that presence was effected, since in the Spanish text the Verba are the only possible locus of the Consecration. (The remaining textual divergences in the Spanish text are stylistic, and theological significance is not to be sought in them.)

It is instructive to read Reed's assessment of the Eucharist in the Service Book and Hymnal:

The location of the Eucharist within the structure of the Prayer of Thanksgiving--whether the invocation of the Holy Spirit should be before or after the Words of Institution--remains a point of discussion, in both the Anglican and Lutheran communions. The Common Liturgy gives the recital of the Verba first, and in the closing sentences of the prayer beseeches God "with the Word and Holy Spirit, to bless us, thy servants, and these thine own gifts of bread and wine." This is in line with the universal non-Roman tradition. A relatively few scholars, unable to free themselves from the domination of scholastic theology and the continuing force of medieval tradition, which asserts that consecration is effected at a precise moment by the recital of the Verba, and by this alone, insist that the Eucharist should precede the Verba. We rejoice that the Common Liturgy has rejected this mechanistic view, has recovered the ancient and universal prayer of thanksgiving with its invocation of the Holy Spirit, and that it has given the invocation its proper location in the prayer. We believe that in the original Words of Institution [N.B., Reed's reference is to the ipsissima Christi verba in ea nocte dicta, and to no later reiteration!] we have an unending consecration. We may also believe that, in the words of Paul, "the Spirit giveth life."¹⁰

Previously, it has been indicated that the present writer is of the belief, that the American Lutheran churches, in their revision of the liturgy, have done their work independently, with little concern for or contact with the work being done simultaneously in Europe. It will, nevertheless, be of some value to give brief consideration to parallel developments in Germany.

It has been seen that, in North America, there was an independent liturgical movement which was active for decades, and which pursued the question of the reintroduction of the eucharistic prayer, long before any action was taken in this regard, on the official level. Ernst Seybold shows a quite similar pattern in the German Church.¹⁰⁸ There, following the end of the First World War, was established the Hochkirchliche Vereinigung, an association which pursued a theological program through its publications, also sponsored a number of liturgical events, "High Church Days," which attracted wide attention, (and criticism). The name of Friedrich Heiler is associated with this group, whose activity virtually came to an end, by the end of the Second World War (except in Eastern Germany). Another group, the Berneuchener Kreis, which like its spin-off, the Evangelische Michaelsbruderschaft, Seybold considers only to have a sort of romantic identification with Lutheranism but no real Lutheran theological commitment, began in the decade of the 1920's. Already prior to the outbreak of the Second World

War, this association began to be productive as a liturgical movement, both through the publications of its members, and through its own series of beautifully printed liturgies.

In the Appendix, items 31 and 33, are to be found the communion office from the 1937 liturgy of the Berneuchener Kreis, and from the 1957 version of this rite, published by the Michaelsbruderschaft. These rites are characterized by a rather free adaptation of liturgical materials, within the traditional "Western Mass" structure. The most notable innovation in these rites, is a thorough investigation of the possibilities for the expression of a concept of eucharistic sacrifice, within an over-all Protestant framework.¹⁰⁹ Beyond that, their very existence must be seen as one of the stimuli which led the "official Church" to provide for a eucharistic prayer in its books.

In 1954 the VELKD (Vereinigte evangelische lutherische Kirche Deutschlands) approved a eucharistic prayer in anaphoral form, and in 1959 the EKV (Evangelische Kirche der Union) published an abridged version thereof for use prior to the recitation of the Words of Institution. These texts are presented in parallel columns, in the Appendix, item 32.

Comparison of the VELKD text with that of the Service Book and Hymnal demonstrates that they were both composed from traditional sources, but that there was no direct influence of the one upon the other. Like the Service Book and Hymnal text, that of the VELKD goes to great lengths to avoid giving form

to any understanding of eucharistic sacrifice, but it used a different technique than the American book did. The Service Book and Hymnal kept the traditional Anamnesis-Epiclesis sequence intact, and skated around the question of eucharistic sacrifice by editorial means (that is, by calculatedly vague language).

In the VELKD prayer, two problems are solved simultaneously, by structural means, through the placing of an unreservedly consecratory Epiclesis in the pre-Verba position. In the first place, the Epiclesis in this position points toward the Words of Institution, and leaves them undisturbed in their understood role as Words of Consecration. At the same time, this breaking of the normal Anamnesis-Epiclesis sequence becomes a handy way of avoiding the question of eucharistic sacrifice; since it is precisely at the juncture of these two elements that the ancient anaphoras had to ask the question, "What is the nature of the Church which remembers Christ's past command, and which prays now?" In a variety of manners of expression, the typical answer of the old anaphoras was, "The Church is a priestly people in whose sacrifice, through the power of the Holy Spirit, the sacrifice of Christ is actualized." This is a truth which more and more Lutherans are willing to admit theologically, but which their churches have indeed been loath to express in liturgical form.

In the VELKD prayer, which is as closely based on the

prior work of Brunner as the Service Book and Hymnal prayer was derived from Strodach and Reed (indeed one finds several Brunnerian locutions, including even "handeln und brauchen," which escaped the hands of editors!), following a post-Sanctus which includes an anticipation of the Anamnesis, the Church which is gathered in the Name and memory of the crucified Christ, prays for the blessing of the Holy Spirit on its present members, and for the granting of the Real Presence under¹¹⁰ the sacramental elements. Note that the act of offering, which was expressed in Brunner's project, "We place this bread and wine, Thy gifts, before Thy countenance," failed to gain the approval of the editors.

Since the Epiclesis and recitation of the Verba constitute a formal remembrance of the Institution of the Sacrament, the Anamnesis which follows begins, "Also gedenken wir." Following its quite traditional listing of the final, saving events of the Gospel, this prayer concludes with a consideration of how the reception of the Sacrament effects the unity of the Church, presently and in the eschatological sense. There is no consideration of the individual's benefit in communion, a theme which was so important to the old prayers and exhortations of Lutheranism.

The term "union" in the name of the Evangelische Kirche der Union, refers to the fact that that Church is composed of both Lutheran and Reformed segments. Ecclesiastical bipolarity

is manifested in the adaptation which this jurisdiction made of the VELKD prayer. On the one hand the VELKD anaphora was condensed and "unified," so that in its entirety, it could be placed before the Words of Institution. This was certainly a bow in the direction of a certain sort of Lutheran sentiment, which prefers that the Distribution occur as soon as possible after the Verba, with absolutely nothing unnecessary intervening. One should remember both that the early Luther--and Bugenhagen-liturgies called for the Verba to be, in effect, both formulae consecrationis and formulae distributionis, and be aware that when the eucharistic prayer question was raised in modern Sweden, the first solution was to devise a prayer that was put precisely in the pre-Verba position.¹¹¹ Reformed Protestantism never having ascribed the same weight to the Verba has never been sensitive to the number of prayers or actions that have been placed between them and the Distribution. On the other hand, it could only have been to ease Reformed consciences, that the epiclesis-section of the EKV prayer has been "softened," through the omission of the words "zu unserm Heil"--which designated the Eucharist as a Means of Grace. With this omission, it became possible for either a Calvinist or a Lutheran to interpret "gib uns . . . Deines Sohnes wahren Leib und Blut," according to their distinct theologies. Note that the typically Lutheran "unter" has also been removed.

If the decade of the 1950's was the decade of the re-

covery of the eucharistic prayer form, then, especially after the example of the Catholic Church in providing itself with alternate Canons in the 1960's, the 1970's were years when Lutherans, both in North America and in Europe, built on their gains and called for the provision of alternate eucharistic prayers in their service books and Agenden.

The alternates that were to be provided in the North American churches will be considered in the concluding sections of this chapter. Before turning to them, however, it will be valuable to give brief consideration to the provisions which the VELKD made, a dozen years after its first eucharistic prayer had been published.

In actions of 1976 and 1977, the VELKD released five new texts for experimental use, as alternates for the eucharistic prayer of 1954. (These texts are in the Appendix, item 34.) Also provided was a new form of eucharistic service ("C") which seems intended for informal or small group use.

The main characteristic of the five new alternate prayers is their brevity, which in the case of alternate 2 is extreme. While they break no new ground with respect to any concept of eucharistic sacrifice, they evidence a desire to question Brunner's firm position, with respect to the placement of the Epiclesis. Alternate 1 maintains the 1954 pattern in this respect, but the remaining alternates place their mentions of the Holy Spirit (in 2, 3, and 4, the language is too vague

to be dignified with the name "Epiclesis") after the Words of Institution. Only the wording of alternate 5, among this latter group, can be said to raise the question of a post-Verba consecratory Epiclesis, "Erfülle uns mit deinem Geist. Segne uns auch diese Gaben. . . ."

Alternate 4, for an entirely unique reason is extremely significant to the present study. It will be remembered that this writer has asserted that, within the context of Lutheran praxis, such distinct forms as prayer and exhortation may be considered to be interchangeable.¹¹² It must be admitted that this was being felt instinctively, by one who has lived all his life as a Lutheran. Nevertheless, the assertion was made with some amount of temerity, because it seemed undocumentable except for hints that were uncovered in the writings of Grass and Senn.¹¹³ Most of the present work was already in draft form, when the writer secured a copy of Das Herrenmahl, among whose exhibits was to be found the text of alternate 4.¹¹⁴ This singular text proved to be a virtual Deus ex machina.

Alternate 4, a formulary, produced by the liturgical experts of, and approved for use in, a Lutheran Church of unquestioned renown, as an acceptable alternate for its basic eucharistic prayer text, is not itself a prayer, except insofar as one may consider that the responses of the congregation which it incorporates have the power to make it one. In structure, it is a triologue, involving celebrant, deacon, and con-

gregation. The celebrant makes a statement to describe the nature of eucharistic worship; this is directed to the congregation, precisely as has always been customary in the case of Lutheran eucharistic exhortations. The deacon follows his words with a brief interpretive statement, again directed to the congregation. The congregation follows with a stated response. This pattern is repeated twice.

In the first sequence, following the celebrant's recitation of the Verba and the deacon's reading of 1. Cor. 11: 26 as an act of interpretation, the congregation responds with the standard formula, "Deinen Tod, o Herr, verkündigen wir und deine Auferstehung preisen wir, bis du kommst in Herrlichkeit." These words, directed to Christ, are the first evidence of prayer. In the second sequence, following the celebrant's summary anamnesis and brief sentence concerning the purpose of Communion, the deacon continues in the same vein, for the space of two brief sentences. The deacon concludes with the expression of a wish for the Lord's blessing. This is not done in prayer form, but simply as a wish expressed in the subjunctive mood. The congregation in turn sings a verse from one of the Hymns to the Holy Spirit. Since there is freedom of choice with respect to the hymn, it might or might not turn out to be one which is expressed in the form of a prayer. (The example given is in that form.)

The present writer grants that this alternate 4 is an

"experimental" formulary which has not thus far been canonized by permanent inclusion among the liturgical resources of the VELKD. Nevertheless, he would maintain that the very fact of its public use, even in a liturgical testing procedure, gives substance to the assertion that has been made concerning the basic equivalence of liturgical categories, in Lutheran usage.

This point having been made, our focus may again be directed to North American developments, subsequent to the publication of the Service Book and Hymnal.

EXCURSUS: THE MISSOURI SYNOD

As background for understanding further liturgical developments in North American Lutheranism, it will be necessary for the non-Lutheran reader to have some knowledge of the history, especially the recent history, of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, a jurisdiction which at present includes some 5,600 congregations (with 2.6 million baptized members) and some 7,100 ordained pastors on its rosters.¹¹⁵

This Synod, which was founded in 1847, has always been characterized by its staunch adherence to the Lutheran Confessions. With memories of forced unions, in Germany, between Lutherans and Reformed Protestants, always strongly present within its historic consciousness, the Missouri Synod has al-

ways been a champion of Lutheran particularity; and has always shied away from cooperation with any other jurisdiction whose doctrinal orthodoxy was felt to be less than complete.

Though "Missouri" originally designated location, it quickly became a synonym for theological stance and organizational character. Leaders of the church body carried on the polemic over the nature of Lutheranism, in which they had participated in their homeland, against their fellow Lutheran immigrants in America and against the Lutheran church bodies already established in the United States. Opposed to the "unionism" by which Lutherans and Reformed were being regarded as one in their homeland, they insisted on complete unity in doctrine and practice as the requirement for organizational unity. . . .

While the rest of Lutheranism gradually drew together through the merger of many separate church bodies, the Missouri Synod remained apart, except for its relations with three small synods in the Synodical Conference.¹¹⁶

The Missouri Synod has never joined the National or World Councils of Churches, or the Lutheran World Federation.

During the decade of the 1960's, however, a certain mitigating of this historic position was to be noted. With the retirement of John W. Behnken in 1962, the Synod elected Oliver Harms, a "moderate," to be its president. During his tenure, several gestures of openness were initiated. In 1964 negotiations were undertaken with the American Lutheran Church, with a view to the establishment of "fellowship" (inter-communion). In 1967, it became a founding member of the Lutheran Council in the USA (LCUSA), even though this caused the break-up of the Synodical Conference, through the withdrawal of the arch-conservative Wisconsin Synod.

But most significant for this study is the fact that

in 1965, by which time it had become evident that the Synod's hymnal (of 1941) should be revised, the national convention expressed a desire for pan-Lutheran cooperation "in developing hymnological and liturgical materials," rather than producing a new, separate hymnal of its own. The convention resolution had in view the production "under a single cover" of: 1) a common liturgical section in rite, rubric, and music; 2) a common core of hymn texts and musical settings; and 3) a variant selection of hymns, if necessary (that is, if such were demanded by one or another of the participating groups).¹¹⁷ The spirit in which the resolution was passed is indicated in the following words: " . . . we pledge our joy, willingness and confidence to the other Lutheran bodies as work in this cooperative project begins."¹¹⁸ President Harms issued invitations to the American Lutheran churches, to attend an "Inter-Lutheran Consultation on Worship," which event took place in February, 1966, with official representatives present from all three major American jurisdictions, as well as from three additional smaller synods. This Consultation passed a resolution calling for the establishment of an "Inter-Lutheran Commission on Worship." Approvals having been given by the three major church bodies, such a Commission was constituted, and began the labors which would result in the publication of the 1978 Lutheran Book of Worship.

Meanwhile, however, a conservative "back-lash" began to

gain strength and organize within the Missouri Synod. This conservative party set itself the goals of returning the Synod to a posture of strict doctrinal orthodoxy (incorporating, as basic, the affirmation of the inerrancy of the Bible), and of withdrawing from the Synod's recent "ecumenical" initiatives.

This party within the Synod acted with political acumen, to deny reelection to Harms, at the national convention of 1969, and to replace him with a known conservative, J. A. O. Preus. With him at the helm, the conservative party was able to assert full control over the Synod's processes and elections, beginning with the convention of 1973. A total change of regime was accomplished, in the wake of which: certain of the Synod's professors against whom charges of false doctrine had been brought lost their teaching posts, Concordia Seminary at St. Louis was very severely hurt when the majority of its faculty and student body left to form the Seminary in Exile (Seminox), and a new church body (the Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches [AELC], presently numbering some 600 clergy and over 260 churches) came into being through the defections of "moderates" from Missouri Synod membership.¹¹⁹

A resolution was passed at the Synod's 1977 convention, calling for the establishment of a "blue ribbon committee," which was to study the pre-publication draft of the Lutheran Book of Worship, and report its findings and recommendations back to the Synod. It was a foregone conclusion that this

committee would report negatively on the book, and recommend that the Synod turn its back on the years of serious cooperative effort that had been carried on in the ILCW, and to which its own representatives had made such a vast contribution, and proceed to issue a new book on its own. The committee produced just the sort of report and recommendations that were desired, as a result of which, in 1981, the Missouri Synod is scheduled to publish Lutheran Worship. This book will combine elements from the Lutheran Book of Worship, the Synod's present Hymnal, and other sources. One of the specific recommendations of the "blue ribbon committee" was that no form of eucharistic prayer should be included in the Synod's new book.¹²⁰

In less than a score of years, the Missouri Synod has come full circle: from a position of "going it alone," to a declaration of "joy, willingness and confidence" in working with other Lutherans in the area of worship, to withdrawal from the fruits of that joint effort, and back to "going it alone." In the rejection of the eucharistic prayer, this writer believes the Missouri Synod has acted retrogressively. In view of what has been said elsewhere in this paper, he wishes that the Synod's decision in this matter had been accompanied by a resolve to return the eucharistic Exhortation to use, as a way of replacing some of the "content" that is to be lost in the eucharistic prayer's exclusion. There is, however, no hint that such a restoration was even considered,

by the "blue ribbon committee" or by the Commission now charged with the implementation of its recommendations.

Missouri Synod 1969 (the Worship Supplement). When the Inter-Lutheran Consultation on Worship took place in 1966, representatives of the Missouri Synod presented a report on the work they had accomplished (as a preliminary to the issuance of a separate Missouri Synod hymnal), prior to that Synod's convention decision to propose the production of a pan-Lutheran liturgy and hymnal.¹²¹ Herbert Lindemann reported that the texts of four eucharistic prayers had already received committee approval, and that others were in preparation.¹²²

As is explained in the Appendix, item 27, the Missouri Synod, in a move that was not considered contrary to the spirit of its inter-Lutheran commitment, published the Worship Supplement, in an effort to provide its congregations with access to the fruits of its own Commission's liturgical and hymnological efforts, and to increase their available worship resources until such time as the inter-Lutheran book would be published. As Leonard Klein noted, the official release of the Worship Supplement established the precedent of approved usage of eucharistic prayers, in English language Missouri Synod parishes, nine years prior to the "blue ribbon committee's" rejecting of such prayers as new and foreign to Missouri's spirit.¹²³

(The relevant prayer texts are presented in the appendix-item cited above.)

Prayer 1-b includes the following items of interest: It has a very brief Epiclesis, prior to the Verba, but contrary to what one might expect from such placement it is a communion-epiclesis, rather than a consecratory one. The anamnesis section, in "Remembering . . . his whole work of redemption," begins with the consideration of Christ's conception and birth. The section concludes with the words, "we here present before you the remembrance which your Son has commanded us to make, beseeching you graciously to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving." In context, the "remembrance" that is presented is not a formula of verbalized memory, but the eucharistic action itself. This being so, the "sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving" is likewise not a matter of words and emotion, but that selfsame action. The sacrificial meaning is obvious. The prayer following the Anamnesis, a catena of phrases from the orations of the Roman Canon, in Lutheran fashion, refers to the accomplishment of the Real Presence as fact, not as something which must be prayed for.

In formulary 2, the structure is that of a dialogue in which both celebrant and congregation take turns addressing God. This relatively brief prayer, having ten such alternations, has a sort of "see-saw" effect. Preceded by the versicles, and followed by a version of the Sanctus, the prayer

(but for its responsive structure) reminds one of the Formula Missae's Preface cum Words of Institution. Prior to the Verba, the Incarnation and ministry of Christ are praised, but thoughts of his sacrificial death, anticipating the Anamnesis, jar by their frequent repetition here. The epiclesis section appears to take the Consecration for granted, and asks that the people may be blessed, so as to be able to enter a condition of union with the present Christ.

Prayer 3 has a fixed Preface text, which reminds one of Eastern prefaces, in its acknowledgment of God as Creator. But unlike a typical Eastern preface which would pass from acknowledgment of Creation to a praising God for his mighty acts in the history of salvation, in this prayer the sequence is from Creation to thanksgiving for life and the gifts of nature. The post-Sanctus section is unexceptional, returning to the theme of our birth, and placing human life under the aegis of Christ's salvation. The Anamnesis is devoid of any motif of sacrifice, beyond that of simple remembrance. The invocation section is neither a consecration, nor a communion prayer, but a petition that the Spirit may enable the people to live according to the Gospel, and in accordance with God's will.

The other prayers of the Worship Supplement will not be discussed here. The Culto Cristiano form has already been considered, and the alternate based on Hippolytus will be

mentioned below, when attention is given to the Lutheran Book of Worship's handling of this traditional formula.

Contemporary Worship 2, 1970. When the Inter-Lutheran Commission on Worship began its work in the second half of the decade of the sixties, the Christian Church as a whole seemed filled with excitement and optimism. In the wake of Vatican II, ecumenism was thriving, and church unity seemed to be "only a matter of time." The reform of the Roman Mass, and its vernacularization, breathed a new vision and vitality into the liturgical endeavors of all the churches. In Lutheran circles, the moment seemed additionally exciting, because it seemed that the old walls that had held some American jurisdictions apart from cooperation with others had toppled, and that they could not be reassembled. With all of this in the air, Eugene Brand, who was named executive director of the project, describes the spirit of the new ILCW as it began its work, "With flags flying and engines roaring, . . . the ILCW set off toward liturgical utopia."

The first glare of reality came with the realization that determining what needs changing is easy; replacing it is not so easy, especially if one is convinced of the need for venturing beyond the consensus of the 16th century Kirchenordnungen.¹²⁴

This realization brought the ILCW into a period of intense liturgical, theological and musical study, and the asking of important questions: What must be done, and what were only goals "greatly to be wished"? How was the Commission to prac-

tice the "art of the possible"? How was it to know the mind and needs of the constituency?

Conscious that it was moving into an area where no clear Lutheran precedents existed, the ILCW established a working pattern calling for publication of materials for provisional use. In this way, congregations [could] become involved in the project.¹²⁵

Clifford Swanson notes three factors which were part of the rationale in the ILCW's work: 1) the primacy of Baptism in the life of the church; 2) an emphasis on the involvement of the laity in leading worship, growing out of a new appreciation of the Biblical concept of the people of God; and 3) the centrality of the Holy Communion in the worship of the church.¹²⁶ On the practical level, another factor affecting the work was the ILCW's wholehearted acceptance of the agreed ecumenical texts for most portions of the ordinary of the liturgy, which were achieved by the International Consultation on English Texts.¹²⁷

In 1970, the ILCW published its provisional communion rite, in a booklet commonly called "CW-2." Herein it tried to give form to all of the concerns mentioned above. The text of the eucharistic prayer of CW-2 is presented in the Appendix, item 28. In this liturgy, the Office of the Word included an interesting cluster of events, following the sermon, hymn of the day, and Creed. These were: act of reconciliation (confession), sharing of the peace, intercessions (Prayer of the Faithful). While there was a certain progression of logic in

this sequence, it did not function very well in practice. In the final book, the confession (optional) was moved to its traditional position, at the start of the service, and the peace was made to follow the intercessions.

Next, in CW-2, under the heading, The Liturgy of the Eucharistic Meal, came the sequence of: reception of the congregation's offering, offertory chant (optional), preparation of the bread and wine at the altar, an offertory prayer (recited by all), then the versicles, Preface, etc. The text of the offertory prayer is as follows:

Gracious Father, we offer with joy and thanksgiving what you have first given us--ourselves, our time, and our possessions--signs of your goodness and symbols of our love. Receive them for the sake of him who offered himself for us, Jesus Christ our Lord.

It should be noted that this is the first offertory prayer ever to be authorized in North American Lutheranism. In it we find several sacrificial themes, and they are all themes which derive from the Reformation's definition of sacrifice. First, that our sacrifice is a sacrifice of thanksgiving. Second, that the Christian's true sacrifice is the sacrifice or offering of himself, in obedience to God. Third, that all sacrifice is "in Christ"--we do not offer him, he offers us (according to Luther's understanding)--any sacrifice or action of ours can only be acceptable to God when Christ incorporates it within his own unique and perfect Sacrifice.

Within the eucharistic prayer of CW-2, the following

points are of interest. The post-Sanctus praises God for the Creation, both the universe's and man's. Man is remembered as the imago Dei. In a few words, the Old Testament history of salvation is sketched, leading into a consideration of Christ's incarnation, ministry and ultimate obedience. This last would be more satisfying and "purposive," if there were even a slight suggestion that after the Creation there had also been a Fall. Indeed the lack of any sense of human sinfulness is one of the characteristics of this prayer (indeed, it may be said to characterize the whole rite). This would be a severe deficiency, if this prayer had been intended to be the only one provided, but fortunately the ILCW intention was always to provide and allow for the use of alternate eucharistic prayers. With that understanding, the prayer can simply be taken as a long overdue reaction and corrective to Lutheranism's traditional liturgical preoccupation with sinfulness (as though that were the sole human characteristic that was worth mentioning before God).

The Anamnesis introduces some quite noteworthy language:

"Gracious Father, we therefore celebrate the sacrifice of our Lord by means of this bread and cup: rejoicing to receive all that he accomplished for us in his life and death, . . ." The traditional Lutheran argument has been that, in the Sacrament, God acts but we don't--we only receive. In this sentence, we have a different reality described, one of simultaneous reci-

procuity. God acts and his people act. He commands, we "celebrate the sacrifice"; in this, also, he is giving and we are receiving. All of this is a single dynamic. Frank Senn sees one aspect of this, but for the most part he seems concerned to see "the traditional" in this Anamnesis, rather than what constitutes its innovation.

To make the offering is to present God the pledge of salvation He has given to His people in the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, which is proclaimed in the eucharistic memorial.

This understanding is developed in later anaphorae. [It is] The point of offering "your own, from what is your own, in all and for the sake of all" (Anaphora of St. John Chrysostom) . . . Thanksgiving is a sacrificial act because through it a person acknowledges his indebtedness to someone else. Expressions of gratitude are expressions of dependence, and they are usually visible. Hence, in the eucharistic sacrifice, the faithful return to the Father "by means of this holy bread and cup" (CW-2) a part of what has been given to them, but which is ultimately not their own. The thank-offering is made by means of appeal to "the sacrifice of our Lord" because Christ himself identified this eucharistic meal with his expiatory sacrifice of the cross. The anamnesis-section in the CW-2 Eucharistic Prayer states this concept very well. If anything, it is an even weaker expression of the eucharistic sacrifice than what is implied (although not specified) in the Service Book and Hymnal Prayer of Thanksgiving. In the SBH thanksgiving is given for the work of redemption in Jesus Christ; in CW-2 its benefits are "received." 128

The Anamnesis in its final phrase indicates that the Eucharist is as importantly a matter of looking forward, as of celebrating the past: " . . . awaiting his coming again to share with us the heavenly feast." Here, the Second Coming is looked upon as not simply a time of judgment, but as a time of promise and reward for God's faithful. Also, the present eucharistic

meal is identified as an anticipation of the eschatological banquet. This incidentally repeats one of the CW-2 sub-themes; note for example what is found in one of the suggested offertory chants:

Let the vineyards be fruitful, Lord,
and fill to the brim our cup of blessing.
Gather a harvest from the seeds that were sown,
that we may be fed with the bread of life.
Gather the hopes and dreams of all;
unite them with the prayers we offer now.
Grace our table with your presence,
and give us a foretaste of the feast to come.

Immediately after the Anamnesis, the congregation responds with a (translated) Maranatha.

The opening of the Epiclesis, "Send the power of your Holy Spirit upon us and upon this bread and wine, that we who receive the body and blood of Christ may be his body in the world, . . . ", has been carefully contrived and balanced. The prayer is, at one and the same time, both a communion-epiclesis and a consecration-epiclesis. The fact that it was consecratory in intention must have been both evident and objectionable to many, since in the revision of the prayer which finally appeared in the Lutheran Book of Worship the crucial words "and upon this bread and wine" were deleted. By this means, the final form of the prayer was made to refer the consecration to the Words of Institution. The final sentiment of this prayer, ". . . unite [our prayers] in the ceaseless petitions of our great High Priest . . . ", again serves to define the eucharis-

tic action of the Church is sacrificial, and precisely in the sense that it is absorbed into, and presented to God along with the eternally valid Sacrifice of Christ.

Though the ILCW literature nowhere makes any disclosure of the source of this prayer, it seems certain that the author must have had before him a thematic outline (if not a full text) of the Anaphora of St. Basil.

Contemporary Worship 01, 1975. When CW-2 was published, a foreword addressed to "leaders of worship" made the promise that "A booklet containing alternate thanksgivings (canons) should appear in the near future." Five years later, Contemporary Worship 01 (CW-01) was released, to fulfil that pledge. At least, that was the "surface" intention.

In 1974, Clifford Swanson had revealed an ILCW timetable, for the publication of the Lutheran Book of Worship. In order to satisfy the demands both of the ecclesiastical ratification process, and the publishers' "lead-time" needs, with a publication date of 1978 in mind: Swanson indicated that the manuscripts of all liturgical texts would have to be in final form by June 1, 1976.¹²⁹ Since the book did achieve publication in 1978, one must assume that the pre-publication deadlines were met. In the covering letter to CW-01, project director Eugene Brand, indicated that reactions from the parochial level, concerning certain other, earlier "CW" materials, would be solicited in early 1976, so that these reactions

could have their influence on the final form of the Lutheran Book of Worship, then already said to be "in the semi-final stages of production." Though "Materials are subject to the review process functioning in the four churches, and responsive to criticism both solicited and unsolicited," Brand did not indicate that the ILCW had any particular eagerness to receive comments on CW-01, before the June, 1976, deadline for liturgical texts.

One wonders if perhaps two agendas might have been in operation. According to such a scenario, the ILCW might already have made a selection of eucharistic prayer texts intended for incorporation in the ultimate "book." CW-01 could then have been released to accomplish several purposes: 1) to fulfill the promise of such texts, which had been made in CW-2; 2) to give opportunity for the establishment of the principle of the using of alternate eucharistic prayer texts, prior to the publishing of the "book"; and 3) since some amount of criticism had already been evident, concerning the decision to include the eucharistic prayer form in the Lutheran Book of Worship, to publish certain texts which were not intended for publication to begin with--by attracting criticism to these, perhaps one might defuse reactions to the texts which would ultimately be presented for approval. One hates to appear to accuse the ILCW of such Machivellianism, but it is hard to see "real" need to fulfill goals 1 and 2, at so late a date as when CW-01 ap-

peared. Therefore, one must wonder if it was issued with option 3 in mind, that is, if it was sent out as a sort of stalking horse. If this were the case, CW-01 had altogether too much success.

A bit of background will be helpful at this point: First of all, in the Service Book and Hymnal, one had the clear option of either using the Prayer of Thanksgiving, "Holy art thou, Almighty and Merciful God," or of going directly from the Sanctus to the Verba and Lord's Prayer. Especially in the printed musical settings of the liturgy contained in this book, the pages with which pastors and congregations were most familiar, these options were presented on facing pages--one simply chose the option that was desired, and ignored the option that was being passed over. CW-2, in its attempt to introduce a new usage, did not present such an option, and it did not indicate that such an option was likely to be present in ILCW's ultimate book. It has already been noted, ¹³⁰ that in response to a 1975 survey conducted by the ILCW, 81.7% of the answering pastors indicated that their own practice was to use the Verba alone, as their preferred use--41.3 indicated that they had never used the eucharistic prayer of the Service Book and Hymnal or of CW-2. These pastors were comfortable in their customary liturgical pattern, and were blind to, and therefore most likely, unthreatened by the challenge implicit in the unused option.

Some degree of unrest manifested itself in at least three different seminary faculties--concern over the possibility that the Service Book and Hymnal's optional use of the Prayer of Thanksgiving might lead to a mandated use, in the book the ILCW was producing. Given the manner in which liturgical revision has been done in modern Lutheranism this was highly unlikely.¹³¹ (If, in the years following the publishing of the ILCW's book, the use of the eucharistic prayer had come to predominate, one might have expected such mandating to occur no sooner than in the next-following book, that is, some time in the twenty-first century.) However, the unrest we have mentioned led the Division of Theological Studies of LCUSA to convene a symposium for twenty seven professors, concerned pastors and staff officials, in 1973, to discuss the principles and methodology of the ILCW. Five papers presented at that symposium, together with an introduction and brief overview, are available in Lutheran Quarterly.¹³² While the other pieces were designed to treat the ILCW eucharistic rite positively, while yet objectively, the largest of the papers, that written by Oliver Olson was an all-out attack on CW-2 and the non-Lutheran influences (Dix, Casel, pagan and medieval understandings, and Zwinglian and Calvinistic doctrine) which he saw behind it.¹³³ Frank Senn quickly produced an article, in which he completely debunked the fears which Olson proclaimed, and established CW-2 as being completely within the bounds of Lu-

theran theology.¹³⁴ But Olson's article was nevertheless successful in establishing a genre of criticism (of the ILCW rite), in which honest differences of theological and liturgical interpretation are lost in a sea of innuendo, rash and unsubstantiated charges and analogies, and unscholarly "playing to the crowd." In 1976, the ILCW itself, in order to give hearing to both sides of the question which had arisen, issued an occasional paper, containing an article by Gerhard Førde, a professor at the ALC's Luther Seminary (St. Paul, Minn.). This extremely negative article, which picks up many of Olson's discredited themes, would not have been given this dissemination, except for the fact that its author was a member of the ALC's ILCW "Review Committee." Following Førde's article, this ILCW release also printed a response-article by Robert Jenson, in which Førde's arguments and insinuations were simply shredded, in such fashion that once again the ILCW communion rite was shown to be a liturgical form totally within Lutheran bounds. Concluding this release was a final reply from Førde which is a virtual declaration of surrender--no new defense is created for his former stated positions--rather weakly, he raises several questions which he feels are still unanswered, and concludes with a wish that the project could be delayed, to allow the churches more time to study and discuss the issues raised by the ILCW's work.¹³⁵ Like Olson's, Førde's criticisms of the ILCW rite can be considered to have been successfully met, even if only because

the 1978 Lutheran Book of Worship (with its final selection of eucharistic prayers) was published as a rite approved for use in both the ALC and LCA. For a variety of reasons, which have already been indicated, such approval was never to be granted in the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod. Momentarily, an additional and significant reason will be considered, but first it will be appropriate to draw the reader's attention to the contents of CW-01. (See the Appendix, item 29.)

CW-01 contained eight experimental eucharistic prayers. Though it contained a revised text of the Service Book and Hymnal's Prayer of Thanksgiving, which heretofore had lacked any authorized basis for use in the Missouri Synod, it did not contain the text found in CW-2, since this was already available for use in all of the participating church bodies, under the ILCW's general mandate. Among these materials, the first "prayer" of CW-01 is of particular significance. It is not a eucharistic prayer in the commonly understood meaning of that term, but rather a collection of alternate post-Sanctus, Anamnesis and Epiclesis forms--a sort of "do-it-yourself canon kit," out of whose pieces it would be possible to assemble eighty different eucharistic prayer permutations. In this assemblage of materials (which are admitted to be of extremely uneven quality), the late 1960's passion for liturgical freedom and variability found extreme expression.

Though he also had unkind things to say about Prayer

VI (an attempt to formulate a eucharistic prayer, proceeding directly from the form of the Birkat ha-Mazon) and in general of the other prayers in this collection, it was this first prayer (or collection of prayer components) of CW-01 which attracted the attention and bitterly negative criticism of Gottfried Krodel (Missouri Synod), a professor of church history at Valparaiso University.^{135,a}

In one sense, Krodel's work is amazing. In the rather limited time he must have had available for its completion, he produced a work that must have run well over 200 pages in typescript, and his notes lead one to conclude that the hours he spent with his library sources were huge in number. It is not a piece of work that was simply "tossed off." But following the lead of Olson and Førde (and influenced by their discredited argumentation), it is purely a work of "character assassination," directed against the communion rite of the ILCW.

The present writer has suggested that the first prayer of CW-01 may have been sent out as a false target, never having been intended for final publication.¹³⁶ Yet it is precisely this target on which Krodel focuses, as though it were the main point of the ILCW's work. Against it, Krodel draws up a battery of historical and theological artillery that would be awe-inspiring, were it not so patently clear that his purpose is entirely negative, and totally lacking in objectivity.

HIS intention was not to say that the ILCW's rite contained faults needing correction (something that was admitted on all sides), but rather that, from the standpoint of his Lutheranism, the entire rite was a work of diabolical subversion which had to be rejected outright. In this respect, his work conforms to that Missouri Synod "party line," which bore its fruit in the convention actions of 1977 and 1979, and which will culminate in the publishing of Lutheran Worship, in 1981.

There is no necessity to dignify this piece of slanted writing with a detailed analysis. One example will suffice to characterize it, quite adequately:

In his introductory statement, Krodel says of CW-01, "the Communion liturgy that is presented in this document is one long prayer of many parts."¹³⁷ This is unusual terminology, but at first glance it seems adequate to describe the rather curious first prayer of CW-01. In the pages which follow, the expression "prayer of many parts" recurs, again and again, and becomes a sort of technical term, but one carrying with it a tone of disapproval. The reader is led to wonder if Krodel's ultimate intention is to compare the ILCW eucharistic prayer(s) to the Roman Canon, whose orations have often been accused of disjointedness.¹³⁸ Such, however, is not the case. Krodel finally reveals the reason for the in-

vention and repeated use of this clumsy phrase, in the following paragraph:

Indeed, then if [the] G[reat] T[hanksgiving--the formal title of CW-01] is accepted by the Lutheran churches, the Reformation will have to be fought all over again, as Theodore Tappert supposedly [Author's emphasis.] stated shortly prior to his death regarding the theological presuppositions that have come to fruition in TGT. To evaluate the austerity of the German Mass negatively, and to charge Luther with having created a "void" around the Words of Institution which, liturgically seen, must be filled, demonstrates that any kind of sensitivity for Luther's theology has been utterly lost; it sets forth that one is incapable of admitting that "in God's presence" we are "ragged beggars," and incapable of abandoning that theological and human hubris which, hiding behind verbiage and action, needs to satisfy one's own "spirit of devotion" so that it becomes necessary to replace the substance of the Lord's Supper with a "manifold" nature of the sacrament--or, liturgically seen, with a prayer of many parts (POMP).¹³⁹

While it is possible for a eucharistic prayer, or any other prayer, to be read "pompously," the definition of no dictionary allows the text of a prayer to be designated as "pomp," in and of itself. The question naturally arises, "Why did Krodel go to so much trouble, only to create an obvious non sequitur?" It is because, in this non sequitur, he simultaneously created a negative impression and a simple, powerful shibboleth, to influence the delegates (especially the theologically unsuspecting and undiscerning ones) who would, the following year, participate in Missouri's 1977 action on the work of the ILCW. Krodel's impressive efforts were thus not an exercise of honest scholarship, but one of partisan propaganda.

Indeed, the opinions of Krodel and others who felt as

he did were capped with success within the Missouri Synod's rejection of the Lutheran Book of Worship. It is for this reason that it was said earlier that, if CW-01 had been produced as a stalking horse it was far too successful. Missouri in its fear of what CW-01 intended, rejected the LBW which followed, without a real look at it.¹⁴⁰

In connection with a point that has been made earlier, it is interesting to note what is asterisked in the first prayer of CW-01 (I,c: 1, 2, & 4). With respect to a sentence which begins "In all this we praise you," a footnote (p. 15, according to CW-01 pagination), suggests changing "you" to "God," if it is desired to make a more distinct contrast between the Verba and its prayer setting. The result is to change a sentence that is a prayer, into a statement which the Church directs to its own awareness. So, here again, we see an evidence of the equivalence or substitutionary possibility among liturgical categories, in Lutheran awareness.

The anamnesis-alternates are mostly interesting in their attempts to find synonyms for "anamnesis"--"we recall," "we make the memorial," and "we celebrate." None of the alternates demonstrates new progress in the understanding or expressing of the eucharistic sacrifice.

The epiclesis-alternates show an over-all weakness, both because they don't project a clear understanding of who the Holy Spirit is--for example, "Spirit" may mean no more than

mood or inspiration, in a phrase like "Let him be the Spirit of our eating and drinking"; again, it seems the Holy Spirit is equated with "salvation," in a phrase like "who is the goal of our lives"--and because of unclarity with respect to the Spirit's function in the Eucharist. With respect to the latter point, the present writer confesses his confusion in trying to understand what a text means when it prays, "Let him bless and vivify this bread and cup" [Emphasis supplied], or by suggesting that, through the Holy Spirit, the eucharistic meal "may be our life and resurrection." These sections are simply inadequate, whether considered liturgically or pneumatologically.

It is possible that, at some point, the ILCW gave serious consideration to this project prayer; but its structural cumbersomeness, as well as its linguistic vagueness and its evidences of problematic theology, could in no way have recommended it for inclusion in the final Lutheran Book of Worship, where its influence is minimal.¹⁴¹ CW-01 prayers II and III will not be considered here. They were incorporated in the Lutheran Book of Worship and so will be treated in the next section.

Prayer IV presents a dual concept in its Anamnesis: that anamnesis is performed in that obedience which brings the congregation together to share the Sacrament; and that it finds expression in the Church's on-going thanksgiving.

As is typical in ILCW prayers, the Epiclesis tries to avoid saying things that are explicitly consecratory, and yet asks the Spirit's coming upon the bread and wine for some purpose, which is not always clearly stated. Here the petition is "Send your Holy Spirit on us and on these gifts, that we may be freed from evil and be obedient to your will." If this sentence is considered to include a parallelismus membrorum, nothing but confusion will result from the attempt to work out its implications--indeed there will be a suggestion of a magical effect, whereby the eucharist causes obedience in those who receive it. To define a cause and effect relationship, in which the latter is defined as "that we may be freed from evil and be obedient to your will," either the first or the second object in the first clause should be dropped. If this is done with the second object, "these gifts," then the prayer becomes non-sacramental, since the gift of forgiveness is linked to the coming of the Spirit, rather than to the reception of the Sacrament. If it is done with the first object, "us," then, in the first instance, what is being prayed for appears to be that the sacrament should be effective for the forgiveness of sins--in this case, the Epiclesis would seem to become consecratory, whether or not that was the writer's explicit intent.

In prayer V, everything prior to the Verba is anamnesis, a recitation, in a spirit of Easter celebration, of God's mighty, saving acts in Christ, acts which are seen with the Exo-

dus in the background. The Epiclesis is taken up, immediately after the Verba and "Let us proclaim the mystery of faith" (In no other Lutheran source has this form of the invitation been found), together with its response, "Christ has died, etc."

In this Epiclesis, the Holy Spirit is seen as the vivifying power behind Christ's resurrection, and is asked to "breathe us into life" (language borrowed from the Genesis Creation account). The sacraments of Baptism and Holy Communion are mentioned next, but with a certain confusion. If the same thoughts were kept, one would have preferred to read: "Gather us by one bread into one body. As we were saved through water, renew us with your wine." But, the expression "your wine," referring to the Holy Spirit, remains a difficult reading. By now the reader will have noticed a tendency of the ILCW epicleses which is disturbing. Since the Holy Spirit is not asked to effect the consecration for us of Christ's Sacrament, there is a tendency to ascribe the possession of the Sacrament to the third person of the Trinity, in such a way that what is conferred through it is not seen to be Christ's promised forgiveness and unity with him, but rather the various gifts of the Spirit. It is almost as though a commitment to invoke the Spirit in the eucharistic prayer was made as a first step, after which the committee said, "Now that we have decided that, what shall we ask him for?"¹⁴² Fuzzy thinking at this point appears to have weakened the new prayers. The writer would suggest that,

had the ILCW writers not been able to come up with a clear understanding of the eucharistic role of the Holy Spirit that was compatible with and supportive of what the Church understands of Christ in this Sacrament, it might better have stayed with Christological themes which are well understood in all of the Western Church, and limited itself to composing Logos-epicleses.

Prayer VI, which is supposed to look to the Birkat ha-Mazon for its inspiration, is truly an unhappy and unsatisfying project. The less said about its understanding of the purposive structure of Jewish prayer, the better. One will just note that, while in Jewish prayer the memorial section carries within itself the reactualisation and participation in the event remembered before God by the present worshippers, after which their invocation takes the nature of intercessions on behalf of the fulfilment of God's will in the world and of the needs of its people; in this prayer there are two memorial-invocation sequences, and the focus of each goes no further than to seek a blessing on one of the eucharistic elements. If this prayer had indeed been done as a Jewish prayer, the Verba themselves should have been introduced with a "Remember, Lord," following which no further Anamnesis would have been necessary. Seen another way, if the two anamnestic paragraphs which here follow the Words of Institution were to have the force they would have in Jewish Prayer, then they would--without further invocation--

accomplish the linkage between the reality of the Last Supper and the present Eucharist, and the Verba would be seen to be a desirable (but ultimately optional) haggadah.¹⁴³

Prayer VII, the so-called "Common Eucharistic Prayer," is nothing other than a reworking of the Roman Eucharistic Prayer IV. That prayer's Epiclesis has been removed from its location before the Words of Institution, and following the mention of the Second Coming in its Anamnesis, everything has been reworked or replaced with material adapted from other sources. The Roman prayer's offering of "his body and blood, the acceptable sacrifice which brings salvation . . . ", is replaced by "offering to you from the gifts you have given us, this bread and this cup . . . " Again, where the Roman prayer next prays God to have regard for the sacrifice and (in the Latin text) to grant to all communicants that, having been united in one body by the Spirit, they may become a living sacrifice in Christ--this prayer then introduces its epiclesis, which prays for consecration, and for the unifying of all communicants, that they may become a living sacrifice. This prayer concludes with an intercession for the unity, faithfulness and concord of the Church, and for the salvation of its members. It is said that prayer VII was not included in the Lutheran Book of Worship, because the copyright owner would not permit changes desired by the ILCW.

Prayer VIII is identified only as having been "origi-

nally composed for the Arauna services in Rotterdam," and that it "was included in a trial ecumenical Ordinary," dated 1968.¹⁴⁴

The post-Sanctus is an interesting catena of mostly Old Testament images, which are assigned to Jesus Messiah. The Anamnesis is singularly unoriginal, and its only hint of a sacrificial theme is in its opening words, "We do remember with thanksgiving" The Epiclesis which follows is neither a consecratory- nor a communion-epiclesis; it is purely and simply a request, on behalf of the Church, "here standing before your face"--these words constitute the only sacrificial imagery in the entire prayer--for the reception of the "life-giving Spirit."

If this prayer was ever said ecumenically in Holland, in a mixed company of Catholics, Reformed, and Lutherans, doubtless this prayer said all that could be agreed upon.

Lutheran Book of Worship 1978. The ILCW's life of roughly a dozen years of work consummated in the appearance of the Lutheran Book of Worship in late 1978. The book was published in several editions: a ministers edition (in large format for altar use, and in a smaller "desk edition"--identical in contents); a congregational edition, which contains the hymnal and a selection of the most important liturgical materials; and an edition in a special binding, destined for the use of organists. The ministers edition is the standard edition, as concerns the rite; the congregational edition is

the standard edition, as concerns the hymnal. The eucharistic prayers of the Lutheran Book of Worship are presented in the Appendix, item 30. It should be noted that, while all prayers to be discussed are printed in the ministers edition, the congregational edition presents only eucharistic prayer I, together with the option of Verba alone and that of the brief pre-Verba prayer V, printed in parallel columns. The congregational edition fails to contain a rubric explaining that the minister may substitute an alternate eucharistic prayer, for prayer I.

Given the penchant of North American Lutheranism of providing a full text of the liturgy for the congregation to follow--indeed the custom is so ingrained that even after many years of the use of a given rite, Lutheran laity tend not to recite and sing their parts from memory, but rather follow the entire liturgy, word-for-word, from their books--it may be predicted that eucharistic prayers II, III, and IV will remain unknown and unused in most parishes. Thus, when the other prayers are discussed, this will be largely academic; prayer I will tend to become the standard eucharistic prayer text, wherever the Lutheran Book of Worship is used.

It should be noted that the Lutheran Book of Worship continues the use of an offertory collect, which custom was re-introduced in CW-2. The prayer provided there has been retained in slightly simplified form; the phrase "signs of your gracious

love" replaces the former language "signs of your goodness and symbols of our love." With reference to the congregation's gifts (of eucharistic elements and money), one may regret the loss of the bi-polarity of the Roman Offertory's expression, "Through your goodness we have this bread to offer, which earth has given and human hands have made."¹⁴⁵ The important expression "we offer" is nevertheless retained in this prayer, which is now directed to be read in unison by the entire congregation.

A second, alternate offertory collect has been provided. Its development differs from the first prayer only in that, whereas the first sees a unified act of offering in which selves, life and material gifts are conjoined in the single action, the newer text focuses upon the congregation's material offerings as distinct from and symbolic of an accompanying offering of self and pledge of obedient service, according to God's will. The difference is one of style, however, and not of changed theological intention.

Turning to eucharistic prayer I, one finds in the post-Sanctus a number of editorial changes from what earlier appeared in CW-2. Two of these should be noted: First, the dropping of the mention of the Incarnation (" . . . born of Mary by the power of the Holy Spirit."). One may only guess as to whether this change reflects a "protestant" desire to avoid the mention of Mary (or any other saint) in the eucharistic prayer, in view

of Luther's desire that the Canon should be entirely Christocentric, or whether it simply shows a desire to avoid redundancy, through the repetition of a theme already rehearsed in the Creed. Second, whereas CW-2 spoke of Christ proclaiming the kingdom, "In words and wonders," the present text changes this to "in words and deeds." It thus focuses attention on all of the positive actions found in Jesus' ministry, rather than just on those which are considered miraculous.

Following the Verba, 1 Cor. 11:26 is addressed to the congregation, to elicit their response "Christ has died. . . . " The use of this response is of course borrowed from the Roman Mass of the Vatican II missal and is an undeniably ecumenical influence on the prayer. It will be noted that, here and in prayer II, this response is the first of four points in which the congregation joins the action of the eucharistic prayer. A Maranatha-type response follows the Anamnesis; the response "Amen.. Come Holy Spirit." follows the Epiclesis; and the entire congregation is directed to join the recitation of the final doxology.

The Anamnesis has also received a number of changes, by comparison to the CW-2 text. Specific reference to Christ's death as "sacrifice" has been deleted. However, the overall understanding of the nature of anamnesis has been strengthened, in replacing "we . . . celebrate the sacrifice of our Lord by means of this holy bread and cup" with the phrase "with this

bread and cup we remember the life our Lord offered for us." Here, of course, "bread and cup" do not refer to the sacramental elements as static symbols; they refer to the entire liturgical action which leads from offering, to consecration, and to the reception of the Sacrament. Anamnesis is thus clearly not a simple mental disposition, but refers to the church involved in the Sacramental process and Reality.

The epiclesis-section has been toned down, by deletion of the words " . . . upon us and upon this bread and wine, . . . " If there was vagueness in the CW-2 Epiclesis, concerning the precise purpose of the Holy Spirit's coming, within the Eucharist, it has only been increased in the present prayer. It might seem here that the Holy Spirit is somehow "added to" the presence of Christ in the elements, as a means to strengthen the communicant in Christian living, and as a pledge of future blessings.

The concluding paragraph and doxology of prayer I are unchanged from CW-2.

Prayer II, according to the rubrics of the ministers edition of the Lutheran Book of Worship, "may be regarded as a more festive elaboration of prayer I."¹⁴⁶ As has been indicated, prayers I and II are structurally identical, and in whole or in part one may be substituted for the other. The post-Sanctus of prayer II recommends it for use at Easter, and perhaps especially at the Easter Vigil. The Anamnesis is much

more fully developed than the corresponding section of prayer I. It develops an eschatological note in the phrase "We cry out for the resurrection of our lives, when Christ will come again" This phrase might have avoided the possibility of ambiguity, if it had been worded "We cry out for our resurrection to new life" The rest of the prayer introduces no change of significance, from what appears in prayer I.

Prayer III is a version of the "Prayer of Thanksgiving" which originally appeared in the Service Book and Hymnal (1958). In line with a general modernizing of the style of English used, "precept" has been changed to "command" in the phrase "Remembering, therefore, his salutary command, his life-giving Passion and death, ..." In either case, the command refers to Christ's words "Do this" Thus, here again, "remembrance" refers to the entire eucharistic action, and not to simple mental recollection. The anamnesis-section concludes with language (" . . . we implore you mercifully to accept our praise and thanksgiving, . . . ") which defines the congregation's prayers as sacrificial, in context.

The following epiclesis-section shows an interesting blending of the themes found at this point in the Service Book and Hymnal and in Culto Cristiano. It will be remembered that the former book avoided speaking of the Real Presence, while this was unambiguously proclaimed in the latter. In prayer III, the relevant language of Culto Cristiano has been inserted in

the epiclesis-format derived from the Service Book and Hymnal. The result, though not explicit, is virtually a "consecratory Epiclesis." Since the Epiclesis does not appear to have a consecratory function in any of the other eucharistic prayers of the Lutheran Book of Worship, one must not assign too much weight to the Epiclesis of prayer III, wherein the consecratory implication must be considered to be more poetic, than dogmatic. Given the general Lutheran regard for the function of the Words of Institution, one would also be amiss to see, in this prayer, the emergence of a concept which holds that the eucharistic prayer, as a whole, serves a consecratory purpose.

A curiosity in this Epiclesis is the expression, "we and all who share [in the Sacrament]. . . ." The problem is to understand just whom is meant by the terms "we" and "all." It is certain that this section of the prayer reflects the language of the Roman Supplices te, "ut quotquot, ex hac altaris participatione . . . sumpserimus," taken together with the expression, "nos servi tui sed et plebs tua sancta," from the Unde et memores. Following a rather interesting development in Anglicanism's Prayer Book revisions, we find the expression "we, and all thy whole Church," earlier in the Anamnesis of the 1945 American rite, paralleled, a bit later in the oblation-section, by the expression "we, and all others who shall be partakers of this Holy Communion, . . ." ¹⁴⁷ At the latter place it should be noted that Cranmer had simply rendered quot-

quot with "whosoever," in 1549, and correspondingly with "al we," in 1552.¹⁴⁸ It is beyond the purpose of this study to ask what Anglicans may mean by "we and all others"; but it is quite to the point to wonder what Lutheran liturgists intended, by placing such language in the 1958 Prayer of Thanksgiving and, by maintaining it in the prayer under consideration.

In the (originally papal) Roman Canon, *nos* referred to the Pope, together with his concelebrants, while *plebs tua sancta* identified the balance of the gathered congregation. A similar distinction is made earlier in the reference to *the oblationem servitutis nostrae sed et cunctae familiae tuae*. When concelebration passed from vogue, unaccompanied by a change of the Canon's pronouns, solitary celebrants inevitably appeared to be employing a "plural of majesty," through their use of *nos*.

Lutheran celebrants, who speak of "we and all who share," give the same impression. What other conclusion can one reach, in a Church that is virtually ignorant of concelebration and the ecclesiology behind it? The "we" focuses on the celebrant, since the sharing that is mentioned is not a reference to the eucharistic action that takes place everywhere and at all times within Christendom, but is qualified by the immediately preceding mention of "these your own gifts of bread and wine"--that is, the frame of reference is to the Eucharist then being celebrated at a specific altar, in the midst of an identifiable congregation. This difficulty, rooted in an uncritical liturgical

borrowing, appears not to have been noted and commented on elsewhere. For the present writer, it is one of the strangest things to have appeared in recent (official) Lutheran liturgies.

Prayer IV is a revision of the prayer ascribed to Hippolytus, and is intended to be used without either Preface or Sanctus preceding. The opening section of this prayer, following the traditional versicles, closely adheres to the received text.¹⁴⁹ Note, however, that *puerum* is translated "Son," the noun *angelum* is replaced by the verb "proclaim," and the virtually untranslatable *terminum figat* is replaced by a reference to Christ's establishing a covenant. Reference to the Virgin Mary, which we saw removed in prayer I, is here maintained, in fidelity to the original text.

The opening line of the Anamnesis is of particular interest. *Memores igitur mortis et resurrectionis eius, offerimus tibi panem et calicem, gratias tibi agentes*, has been rendered by "Remembering, then, his death and resurrection, we lift this bread and cup before you, giving you thanks" The significance of this translation becomes clear when it is compared with the language that appeared at the corresponding point in the version of this prayer, found in the Missouri Synod's Worship Supplement, "Therefore, having in remembrance his death and resurrection, we give thanks to you, . . ."¹⁵⁰ In the latter place, the traditional Lutheran avoidance of "The Sacrifice of the Mass" has been honored through the studious

avoidance of all "offering" or "sacrifice" terminology; remembrance is nothing more than a mental prod which leads to the giving of thanks. The verb "lift" inserted at this point by the ILCW is extremely provocative. While it does not say "we offer" or "sacrifice," any more than the Missouri Synod version does, any celebrant who is the least bit concerned for congruity between his words and actions will find in this verb a "textual rubric" demanding the simultaneous elevation of the sacramental species. Since the lifting up (or presenting) of an offering in the presence of the deity is a universally understood act by which sacrificial intent is demonstrated and a sacrifice is dedicated or consummated,¹⁵¹ the phrase under consideration opens the door, within Lutheranism, to a new understanding of anamnesis as action, and precisely as sacrificial action. The theme is continued in what immediately follows, where *quia nos dignos habuisti adstare coram te et tibi ministrare* (which Worship Supplement translated quite literally) is given an expanded, explanatory rendering, "... that you have made us worthy to stand before you and to serve you as your priestly people." Though sacrificial themes are thus shown to be freely used in the Anamnesis of prayer IV, one should note that that a Lutheran concern for shibboleths has been active in the editing of the following sentence (Epiclesis); there where the original speaks of the Spirit's coming in *oblationem*, prayer IV speaks of "these gifts of your Church." This attempt to avoid an ob-

jectionable term is entirely unsuccessful. From a Lutheran perspective, the bread and wine can truly be spoken of as the gifts of the Church to God, at the Offertory--that is, prior to their consecration. Following the consecration, however, to speak of these elements--now the Sacrament--as a gift to God, is precisely to turn God's beneficium into a human sacrificium--that is, to do exactly what Luther said cannot and must not be done. It is incredible, to this writer, that the experts of the ILCW were not aware of this implication, present in their textual revision, but that they were content to think they had accomplished their task through a simple shuffling of words.¹⁵²

Prayer V is a slight abbreviation of the first form of eucharistic prayer to have been authorized in Scandinavian Lutheranism, a brief prayer to be inserted between the Sanctus and the Words of Institution. It should be compared with the translation of the original (Church of Sweden, 1942) provided by André Renard:

Loué sois-tu, Seigneur du ciel et de la terre, car tu as eu pitié des enfants des hommes et tu as livré ton Fils unique afin qu'aucun de ceux qui croient en lui ne périsse, mais qu'ils aient tous la vie éternelle.

Nous te rendons grâce pour le salut que tu nous as préparé par Jésus-Christ.

Envoie ton Esprit Saint dans nos coeurs, afin qu'il allume en nous une foi vivante et qu'il nous prépare à célébrer comme il convient le mémorial de ton Fils et à accueillir celui-ci quand il vient à nous dans sa sainte Cène.¹⁵³

It must be supposed that this particular prayer was in-

cluded by the ILCW, to encourage the use of some form of eucharistic prayer among North Americans of Scandinavian heritage, who till now have generally used no such prayer whatsoever. As such a first step, which indeed proved to be the purpose it served following its original introduction in Sweden, it may prove helpful; and, indeed, its language is so innocuous that it is difficult to imagine how it could offend and become the cause of a retreat from the use of the eucharistic prayer.

On this last point, one could surely wish that a fuller eucharistic theology had found expression in even so brief a prayer as this. Room for such additional themes could have been found through the removal of the sentence "We give thanks to you . . ." which, it will be noted is a chiasmic parallel to the one which immediately precedes it.

Renard made the following assessment of the original Swedish form of this prayer, edited by Brilioth, in terms of the categories under which that author himself analysed the essential aspects of the Mass, in his *Eucharistic Faith and Practice--Eucharist or Thanksgiving, Communion and Fellowship, Commemoration, Eucharistic Sacrifice, and Mystery and the Presence*:¹⁵⁴

Cette prière développe l'action de grâce déjà exprimée dans la préface. L'épiclese sur l'assemblée y trouve maintenant sa place. Le thème de l'anamnèse y est présent de façon anticipée, mais l'anamnèse elle-même est encore trop exclusivement conçue comme réception du sacrement. Par contre, la prière pour les effets du sacrement occupe

moins de place que dans la rédaction [of an earlier, private project by Brilioth] de 1926. Le thème de la communion s'exprime dans la phrase finale commune à toutes les préfaces: "C'est pourquoi, avec tes fidèles de tous les temps, et avec toute la multitude céleste, . . . " ¹⁵⁵

Renard mentions no presence of the theme of eucharistic sacrifice, in this prayer. If it was to be found or hinted at anywhere therein, it was in the phrase he translated " . . . qu'il nous prépare à célébrer comme il convient le mémorial de ton Fils . . . " Precisely this phrase was dropped out of the version of the prayer finally printed in the Lutheran Book of Worship.

It may be supposed that the final sentence, as it stands in the 1978 book, might have a certain appeal for two groups of North American Lutherans: those having a pietistic Scandinavian background, because of its request for the coming of the Spirit "into our hearts" and its mention of "living faith"; and those of a more traditional, "confessionalistic" persuasion, because of its reference to the coming fact of the Real Presence.

RÉSUMÉ

This chapter has surveyed North American Lutheran liturgical developments, spanning a period from the late eighteenth century to the present. In the earlier period, it was

seen that liturgical revisions were carried out for the purposes of: 1) Achieving church unity through the use of a unified rite (starting with Muhlenberg); 2) Giving liturgical expression to the doctrinal recovery which occurred in the nineteenth century (Löhe's influence was seminal); and 3) Restoring a form of the historic Western liturgy, in conformity with the liturgical accomplishments of the sixteenth century (which culminated in the production of the Common Service).

Though precursor-liturgies were found, which included rudimentary eucharistic prayers or eucharistic prayer substitutes (and the rite of the Synod of Ohio has received full credit for its special achievement, in this regard), such evidences were sporadic and almost accidental, in terms of the overall movement of Lutheran liturgy. It was seen, for example that the eucharistic prayer forms of the Synod of Ohio found no champions. They made no strong impression within that body, and no impression whatsoever on the Church at large. When that body merged itself out of separate existence, its rite and accompanying eucharistic prayer forms were surrendered (in favor of the use of the Common Service), quickly disappearing from use and from memory.

The movement to recover the use of the eucharistic prayer and to establish it as a permanent fixture in Lutheran liturgical use is a phenomenon of the twentieth century. It has been shown how the desire for such a prayer first led to

certain private productions (most of these, unfortunately, now lost), then to "propagandizing" for the official production of such a prayer (Reed, Strodach and Piepkorn are especially recalled in this regard), and finally (beginning with the 1958 Service Book and Hymnal) the provision of a series of such prayer texts having official approval for optional use (the sequence of Preface, Sanctus, Verba and Lord's Prayer still retaining official approval, and still being the majority usage).

The recovery of the eucharistic prayer has not been unquestioned or unopposed in North American Lutheranism. This has been especially true, recently, within the Missouri Synod, where official approval for its use has been withdrawn. It cannot be predicted whether this position will be rigidly enforced within that Synod, or whether certain of its pastors will quietly continue to use the eucharistic prayers to which their congregations have become accustomed, supplementing the Synod's new rite, Lutheran Worship, with them—much as Piepkorn and other "Missouri" pastors formerly supplemented the rite of the 1941 Lutheran Hymnal with unauthorized eucharistic prayers.

The survey conducted in this chapter has tried to be attentive to the theological implications of the various prayer projects which have appeared. For a variety of reasons, a true theological assessment of "the eucharistic prayer in North American Lutheranism" is not yet possible. For one thing (and

this will be discussed further in the concluding chapter) it cannot be said that North American Lutheranism possesses a unified eucharistic theology. The prayers we have seen express a variety of different theologies, and some of them (in their attempt not to offend or cause controversy) are stated so vaguely as to express no theology whatsoever on such important points as the Real Presence, or the meaning of anamnesis and eucharistic sacrifice.

In any case, with the achievement of the 1978 Lutheran Book of Worship the use of the eucharistic prayer has been reaffirmed by churches representing two-thirds of all American and Canadian Lutherans. In addition, this book established the principle of alternate eucharistic prayers for Lutherans, just as the Vatican II Roman Missal reintroduced this (originally Gallican and Mozarabic, not to mention Eastern) custom for the major part of the Western Church.

For centuries, Lutheranism had not possessed and used such prayers, and demonstrated no particular eagerness for their reintroduction. In view of the Church's changing attitude on this question in recent years, the present writer believes he has made a contribution by opening a new avenue for the interpretation of earlier Lutheran liturgies (from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries), demonstrating that there has been an unexplored Lutheran ambivalence towards the various categories of liturgical action. He has suggested

that the didactic function of the liturgy (which was already shown to be such a central concern in Luther's second Mass project) may have been fulfilled so adequately, for earlier generations of Lutherans, by the use of the various communion exhortation texts, that no need for eucharistic prayers was felt. Or to put it another way, since whether a pastor prays to God or addresses the congregation, both parties are presumed to be listening to what is said: to declaim an exhortation or to recite a prayer become virtually equivalent actions. If God is listening, he will understand the desire and intention of the congregation gathered at his table, just as well through one form as through the other. Seen in this way, the Lutheran Church has normally always used an "acceptable" eucharistic prayer substitute, at times when that prayer form itself has not been in use.¹⁵⁶

NOTES: CHAPTER IV

¹ English translations are available: Martin Chemnitz, *Examination of the Council of Trent*, Fred Kramer, tr. (St. Louis: Concordia, 1971); and _____, *The Lord's Supper: De coena Domini*, translation of the 2d ed. of 1590 by J. A. O. Preus (St. Louis: Concordia, 1979).

² An excellent theological survey of the period is in: Friedrich Kalb, *Theology of Worship in 17th Century Lutheranism* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1965).

³ Werner Elert, *The Structure of Lutheranism*, Vol. 1 (St. Louis: Concordia, 1962), p. 282.

⁴ Emil Sehling, ed., *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI Jahrhunderts*, Vol. 14 (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck; reissued:] 1969), pp. 383f., 386.

⁵ Hermann Sasse devotes a chapter to the Marburg Colloquy: *This is My Body: Luther's Contention for the Real Presence in the Sacrament of the Altar* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1959), pp. 187-294.

⁶ Andreas Aarflot, "Patterns of Lutheran Piety," pp. 146-162 in: Vilmos Vajta, ed., *The Lutheran Church Past and Present* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1977); cf. pp. 154-159.

⁷ Hermann Adalbert Daniel, ed., *Codex Liturgicus: Ecclesiae universae in epitomen redactus*, Vol. 2 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, [reprinted:] 1966, pp. 166f.

⁸ Ibid, p. 167.

⁹ Luther D. Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy: A Study of the Common Service of the Lutheran Church in America* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1947), p. 147. The translation and mark of emphasis are Reed's. [Hereinafter: Reed-Liturgy.] Reed's is the standard work on the American Lutheran liturgy. It received a second, revised, edition in 1959, to include a review of the 1958 Service Book and Hymnal. N.B.: Due to a printer's error, the 2d ed. carries the same copyright date (1947) as the 1st ed.; the correct date is indicated at the end of the foreword p. ix. References will be to the 1st ed., till later in this chapter, when the Service Book and Hymnal will be considered.

¹⁰ Ibid, pp. 147f.

¹¹ Ibid. Reed's source for the formulae is unidentified.

¹² Ibid., p. 147; cf. pp. 145-149.

¹³ Willard D. Allbeck, *A Century of Lutherans in Ohio* (Yellow Springs, Ohio: Antioch, 1966), p. 158. Abdel R. Wentz, *A Basic History of Lutheranism in America* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1955), pp. 60f. [Hereinafter: Wentz.] Luther D. Reed, "Liturgical Landmarks," *Una Sancta* 8:2 (1948), p. 5. [An article in three parts; hereinafter: Reed-Landmarks.]

¹⁴ The question of the suitability of the Swedish liturgy was raised as a result of the fact that a number of Swedish congregations had been established along the Delaware Valley. After the American Revolution, these affiliated with the Episcopal Church.

¹⁵ Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein, eds., *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg*, Vol. 1 (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1942), p. 193; quoted from Reed-Liturgy, pp. 163f.

¹⁶ Reed-Landmarks, loc. cit., 8:1 (1947), p. 11. The outline of the liturgy is summarized from pp. 10-11.

¹⁷ Reed-Liturgy, p. 168.

¹⁸ Wentz, p. 60.

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 74-75, 94-95.

²⁰ Reed-Liturgy, p. 169.

²¹ (Synod of Ohio) *Liturgy, or Formulary, for the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Churches: Compiled by a Committee, Appointed by the Synod of Ohio, and Ordered to be Printed* (Lancaster, Ohio: John Herman, 1830).

²² Reed-Liturgy, p. 170. (Synods of Pennsylvania, New York and Ohio) *Liturgie und Kirchenagende für die Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeinden in Pennsylvanien, Neu York, Ohio und den benachbarten Staaten* (Philadelphia: Julius Bötticher, 1842).

²³ *Supra*, pp. 164-166.

²⁴ *Supra*, p. 8.

²⁵ *Liturgy, or Formulary* (1830), p. 3

²⁶Wentz, p. 228.

²⁷Richard C. Wolf, Documents of Lutheran Unity in America (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1966), pp. 100-104; cf. pp. 104-106, for the Pittsburgh Synod's negative response to "American Lutheranism." [Hereinafter: Wolf.]

²⁸Heinrich Schmid, The Doctrinal Theology of the Evangelical Lutheran Church: Verified from the Original Sources (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1875).

²⁹Charles P. Krauth, The Conservative Reformation and Its Theology: As Represented in the Augsburg Confession, and in the History and Literature of the Evangelical Lutheran Church (Philadelphia: United Lutheran Publication House, [reprinted:] 1913).

³⁰Cf. E. Clifford Nelson, ed., The Lutherans in North America (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975), pp. 178-181, 210-251; and, Abdel R. Wentz, The Lutheran Church in American History (Philadelphia: United Lutheran, 1923), pp. 151-178.

³¹Reed-Liturgy, p. 152.

³²For an example of a fully developed private agenda, cf. Georg Christian Dieffenbach, ed., Evangelische Handagende, Part 1 (Gotha: Schloessmann, 1876). Extracts from this service's communion rite are Appendix, item 16. Dieffenbach was the Lutheran "Oberpfarrer" at Schlitz.

³³Wilhelm Löhe, Agende für christliche Gemeinden des lutherischen Bekenntnisses (Nördlingen: C. H. Beck'schen, 1844). The contents of the communion service are outlined in Table 9, supra, p. 205. [Hereinafter: Löhe.]

³⁴Vilmos Vajta, "Worship and Sacramental Life," pp. 121-145, in _____, The Lutheran Church Past and Present (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1977), pp. 132f.

³⁵Löhe, p. vii.

³⁶Ibid., p. xi.

³⁷Matthias Loy, "Restoration of the Cultus in the Lutheran Church," pp. 299-321, in Theodore G. Tappert, ed., Lutheran Confessional Theology in America: 1840-1880 (New York: Oxford, 1972), p. 308. This book also contains the text of the "Order of Morning Service" (Philadelphia, 1868), of the General Council, on pp. 340-351.

³⁸ Ibid, p. 317.

³⁹ Reed-Liturgy, p. 171.

⁴⁰ A. Spaeth, "History of the Liturgical Development of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania," Lutheran Church Review 17 (1898), p. 112.

⁴¹ Ibid, pp. 112-113.

⁴² Ibid, p. 115. The publication data on the 1860 Liturgy are: A Liturgy for the use of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, by Authority of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1860).

⁴³ The documentation for the quotations, here and just above, is in Wolf, pp. 108f.

⁴⁴ Edward T. Horn, "Liturgical and Historical," Lutheran Church Review 15 (1896), p. 116.

⁴⁵ Luther D. Reed, "The Standard Manuscript of the Common Service and the Variata Editions," Lutheran Church Review 20 (1901), p. 465.

⁴⁶ Ibid, pp. 464f.

⁴⁷ Reed-Liturgy, p. 188.

⁴⁸ A. Spaeth, The Order of Lutheran Worship (Burlington, Iowa: German Literary Board, 1906), pp. 35-36. Emphasis supplied.

⁴⁹ C. H. L. Schuette, Before the Altar: or A Series of Annotated Propositions on Liturgics, to which is added a Selection of Standard Forms (Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1894), p. 59. Cf. Hans-Christoph Schmidt-Lauber, Die Eucharistie als Entfaltung der Verba Testamenti (Kassel: Stauda, 1957), p. 177: "Die heutige Stellung des Vaterunsers unmittelbar im Anschluss an die Schlussdoxologie des eucharistischen Hochgebetes hat das Missale Romanum mit der byzantinisch-ägyptischen Anordnung gemeinsam. Sie geht auf Gregor den Grossen zurück, der auf den Vorwurf, er führe in Rom griechische Sitten ein, antwortete: 'Orationem vero dominicam idcirco mox post precem (d. i. das Eucharistiegebet) dicimus, quia mos apostolorum fuit, ut ad ipsam solummodo orationem oblationis (Eucharistiegebet) hostiam consecrarent. Et valde mihi inconveniens visum est, ut precem, quam scholasticus composuerat, super oblationem diceremus et ipsam traditionem, quam Redemptor noster composuit, super eius

corpus et sanguinem non diceremus.' Das Vaterunser wird somit durch Gregor als das Gebet aus Christi Munde unmittelbar hinter das Eucharistiegebet gestellt, eine Umdeutung, etwa im Sinne der Epiklese, will Gregor damit sicherlich nicht vornehmen."

⁵⁰An Explanation of the Common Service: with Appendices . . . , 6th Ed. (Philadelphia: United Lutheran Publication House, 1941), p. 58.

⁵¹Luther D. Reed, "The Character and Claims of the Church Book," address delivered at . . . Philadelphia, Pa., April 14, 1907, pp. 7f.

⁵²Reed-Landmarks, loc. cit., 8:3(1948), p. 24. Cf. Vilmos Vajta, ed., Church in Fellowship: Pulpit and Altar Fellowship Among Lutherans (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1963, and Wolf, passim, for documentation on inter-Lutheran efforts to find greater unity in practice. At present, all major North American synods are not in communion with each other. The Missouri Synod, which has never extended fellowship to the Lutheran Church in America, on the basis of recent convention decisions appears to be on the way to rescinding the fellowship it had established with the American Lutheran Church and its sister body, the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada.

⁵³Reed-Liturgy, p. 175.

⁵⁴The Lutheran Hymnal: Authorized by the Synods Constituting the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America (St. Louis: Concordia, 1941). A Liturgy for the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Congregations: Prepared by a Committee Appointed by the Evan. Luth. Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States (Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1923). American Lutheran Hymnal, Music Edition: Compiled and Edited by an Intersynodical Committee (Columbus: Wartburg, 1930). The Altar Service Book of the American Lutheran Church: Prepared by the Commission on Worship and Church Art (Columbus: Wartburg, 1936). The Hymnal and Order of Service, Lectionary Edition: Authorized by The Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod (Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Book Concern, 1925). Hymnal for Church and Home (Blair, Neb.: Lutheran Publishing House, 1938). The Lutheran Hymnary (The only copy this writer has been able to locate is defective, lacking a proper title page; details of publication unknown, 1912). The Concordia Hymnal: A Hymnal for Church, School and Home (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1932). Common Service Book of the Lutheran Church: Authorized by the United Lutheran Church in America (Philadelphia: Board of Publication, 1917/1918).

⁵⁵An Explanation of the Common Service . . . , 5th Ed.

(Philadelphia: United Lutheran Publication House, 1908), p. 56.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 6th Ed. (1941), p. 56.

⁵⁷ Yngve Brilioth, Eucharistic Faith and Practice: Evangelical and Catholic (London: SPCK, [reprinted:] 1956), p. 147.

⁵⁸ G. Rietschel, Lehrbuch der Liturgik, Vol. 1 (Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1900), pp. 546f. The prayer of Sleswick-Holstein: "Allmächtiger Gott, himmlischer Vater! Eingedenk des Leidens und Sterbens unseres Herrn Jesu Christi, seiner Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt und seiner Wiederkunft zum Gericht rüsten wir zur Feier des heiligen Mahles und bitten dich: lass uns in diesem Brote gesegnet sein die Gemeinschaft des Leibes und in diesem Kelche die Gemeinschaft des Blutes Jesu Christi, auf dass wir alle, die davon geniessen, befestigt werden in der Gottseligkeit, der Vergebung unserer Sünden gewiss und erfüllt vom heiligen Geiste des ewigen Lebens teilhaftig werden, durch deinen lieben Sohn Jesum Christum, unsern Herrn! Amen." The prayer of Hessen-Cassel: "Allmächtiger Gott, himmlischer Vater, der du deinen Sohn, unsern Herrn Jesum Christum für uns in den Tod gegeben und seinen Leib und sein Blut und zur Speise ins ewige Leben verordnet hast, wir bringen vor deine göttliche Majestät diese deine Gaben, das Deine von dem Deinen, und bitten dich, du wollest dieselben durch deine göttliche Gnade und Kraft heiligen und segnen, dass dieses Brot und dieser Kelch sei der Leib und das Blut unseres Herrn Jesu Christi allen denen, die davon essen und trinken und es ihnen zum ewigen Leben gedeihen lassen, der du mit dem Sohne und dem heiligen Geiste lebest und regierest immer und ewiglich. Gemeinde: Amen."

The readings of the latter prayer should be compared to Pfalz-Neuberg (1543) [Appendix, item 10].

⁵⁹ Hans Lietzmann, ed., Liturgische Texte, VII: Die Preussische Agende im Augzug ("Kleine Texte, 70"; Bonn: Marcus und Weber's, 1911), p. 17: "Barmherziger Gott und Vater, wir bitten Dich, Du wollest in diesem Abendmahl, in welchem wir das herrliche Gedächtnis des bitteren Todes Deines lieben Sohnes Jesu Christi begehen, durch Deinen heiligen Geist in unsern Herzen wirken, dass wir uns mit wahren Glauben Deinem Sohne je länger je mehr ergeben, damit unsere mühseligen und zerschlagenen Herzen mit seinem wahren Leib und Blut als dem ewigen Himmelsbrot durch die Kraft des heiligen Geistes gespeiset und erquickt werden. Geib denn, dass wir nicht mehr in unseren Sünden, sondern Er in uns und wir in Ihm leben und, aufgenommen in den neuen und ewigen Bund der Gnade, nicht zweifeln, Du wollest ewiglich unser gnädiger Vater sein, uns unsere Sünden nimmermehr zurechnen und uns in allem an Leib und Seele versorgen als Deine lieben Kinder und Erben. Verleihe uns auch Deine Gnade, dass wir getrost un-

ser Kreuz auf uns nehmen, uns selbst verleugnen, unseren Heiland bekennen und in aller Trübsal mit aufgerichtetem Haupt unseres Herrn Jesu Christi warten, welcher unseren sterblichen Leib Seinem verklärten Leibe ähnlich machen und uns zu Sich nehmen wird in Ewigkeit. Amen."

⁶⁰ Cf. Peter Brunner, *Worship in the Name of Jesus* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1968), pp. 299-302, for a Lutheran perception on the relationship between the Words of Institution and the Epiclesis.

⁶¹ Locating the signations in this way may, originally, have been felt to emphasize the effective power of God's Word, over against the activity of the Church.

⁶² Cf. Reed-Liturgy, p. 178, on the subject of the 1870-1877 rite of the General Council.

⁶³ In general, it appears that there was a gentlemanly "agreement to disagree," on the part of the two groups within the synod, as far as differences of practice between the German and English liturgies were concerned. Occasionally, there were steps towards greater conformity, but these were usually minor, as when in 1906 the synod passed a motion to the effect "that in the next edition of the English liturgy, the formula of confession be made to conform to the formula in the German Agende"; Proceedings of the Thirty-Eighth Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States . . . August 23-29, 1906 (Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1906), p. 1906. Later the same year, a committee of English District of the Synod, at that body's convention, presented a recommendation that the district petition the synod to "request the Publication Board to see that such changes be made in the English Hymnal as will bring its liturgical elements into harmony as far as possible with the German Church Hymnal; Minutes of the Fiftieth Annual Convention of the English District of the . . . Joint Synod of Ohio . . . October 17-23, 1906 (Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1906), p. 43. Until the time the synod ceased its separate existence, through merger, no such change was seriously considered.

Earlier, the question of adopting the Common Service had been raised. At the 1904 synod convention it was reported: "Concerning the introduction of the Common Service, all the Districts that have been heard from, have declared themselves against it. We therefore recommend the adoption of the revised English Morning Service instead"; Proceedings of the Thirty-Seventh Convention . . . August 25-31, 1904 (Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1904), p. 115. The Common Service did not become

a matter of concern again, till after the synod, in 1922, accepted an initiative from the Iowa Synod (where the Common Service was already popular, if not in universal use), which was interested in producing a common hymnal for the major synods (except that of Missouri), which had not been part of the 1917 U.L.C.A. Merger. Cf. Minutes of the Forty-Sixth Convention of the . . . Joint Synod of Ohio . . . August 24-30, 1922), pp. 51, 166. The rite of the Ohio Synod was in disuse, following its merger with the Iowa Synod and the introduction of the American Lutheran Hymnal, 1930.

⁶⁴ Schuette, op. cit., cf. pp. 58-59.

⁶⁵ E. G. Tressel, "The Fundamental Principles of Liturgics," in Minutes of the forty-Third Annual Convention of the First English District of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Ohio and Other States . . . October 18-24, 1899 (Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1900), pp. 15-31. The quotation given below is from the final page of the article.

⁶⁶ To perform an act or say a prayer with "special intention," is possible in the Roman Catholic system, wherein there is a concept of substitutionary or transferable merit. This writer remembers that Pius XII (lacking a votive Mass with propers composed with this purpose in mind) encouraged Catholic priests to say Masses, with a "special intention" for the conversion of Russia.

⁶⁷ Theodore G. Tappert, ed., The Book of Concord (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1959), p. 347. [Hereinafter: Book of Concord.]

⁶⁸ The writer apologizes to the reader, for his many undocumented opinions and theories, in this section of the paper. Allbeck, op. cit., devotes only two pages to the rite of Ohio (pp. 226-228) and this is only by way of summarizing synodical actions and listing the appearances of various hymnals and agendas; no theological or liturgical assessment is attempted. No other secondary sources have been found. So, the present writer has been forced to take the liturgical texts, unstudied elsewhere, and present an evaluation of them based on what he has found in them--sometimes relying on what can only be called "educated guesswork."

⁶⁹ Tressel, op. cit., pp. 21 et passim.

⁷⁰ Book of Concord, pp. 252f.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 262

⁷²Some years ago, while serving in another area, the writer personally knew two pastors who, because they felt so strongly about "proper orientation" and because they knew the Words of Institution to be purely sacramental, would, at this point in the rite, take up the paten, and in turn the chalice, from the altar, and turn and hold them before the congregation, as they recited the two sections of the Verba.

⁷³Schuetz, op. cit., p. 48.

⁷⁴Ibid., pp. 54, 60.

⁷⁵Supra, p. 231.

⁷⁶Schuetz, op. cit., p. 48.

⁷⁷Supra, p. 90, n. 44.

⁷⁸Louis Bouyer, *Eucharist: Theology and Spirituality of the Eucharistic Prayer* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1968), p. 382.

⁷⁹Supra, pp. 235f.

⁸⁰Reed-Liturgy, pp. 197-198.

⁸¹Cf. Allbeck, op. cit., p. 229. Arthur Carl Piepkorn, *Profiles in Belief: The Religious Bodies of the United States and Canada*, Vol. 2 (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1978), p. 95. E. Clifford Nelson, op. cit., pp. 425-426. Edward T. Horn, "The Significance of Liturgical Reform," in *Memoirs of the Lutheran Liturgical Association*, Vol. 1 (Pittsburgh: The Association, 1907), p. 20.

⁸²One suspects that the member who was in India was none other than Paul Z. Strodach, who later was to compose the eucharistic rite for the Lutheran Churches there.

⁸³Among organizations that were active and important in the liturgical movement were: The Society of St. James in the 1940's, The Lutheran Society for Music, Worship and the arts in the 1950's and '60's (This organization published the journal *Response* and sponsored annual conferences). The Valparaiso Liturgical Institute, which has no members in the formal sense, has sponsored annual conferences since the 1950's.

⁸⁴Arthur C. Piepkorn, "The Protestant Worship Revival and the Lutheran Liturgical Movement," in Massey H. Shepherd, Jr., ed., *The Liturgical Renewal of the Church* (New York: Oxford, 1960),

p. 86. The first half of this article surveys the movement towards more "liturgical" worship in American Protestantism generally, in the first half of the present century--a movement in which social and economic factors are seen to play an important role, along side of strictly religious ones. The second half of the article (which was reprinted in *Una Sancta* 17:4 [1960], 5-12), focuses on developments within North American Lutheranism. Cf. also, Berthold von Schenk, "The Liturgical Revival in the Lutheran Church of America," *Una Sancta* 16:1 (1958), 10-18; Hermann Sasse, "The Liturgical Movement: Reformation or Revolution?" *Una Sancta* 17:4 (1960), 18-24; Eugene L. Brand, "From Recovery to Advance in Liturgical Renewal," *Lutheran Quarterly* 19 (1967), 4-8; Edgar S. Brown, *Liturgical Reconnaissance* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968 [Hereinafter: Brown]); Michael J. Taylor, *The Protestant Liturgical Renewal: A Catholic Viewpoint* (Westminster, Md.: Newman, 1963), especially pp. 221-257.

⁸⁵ The reference was to fancy albs, the use of incense, and the restoration of an Elevation ceremony--complete with ringing of the bell. It was thus a slur on pastors who were perceived to want to "play Catholic priest."

⁸⁶ Luther D. Reed, "The Common Service in the Life of the Church," *Una Sancta* 23:4 (1966), p. 38.

⁸⁷ Note that Reed predicted that the North American Lutheran churches would pursue an independent course in this matter. There was no thought that Lutheranism as a world-wide fellowship of churches, could make this progress in unity, and in a joint endeavor. With the qualification that the Lutheran World Federation, between 1952 and 1970, played something of a role as a clearing house for information on the independent efforts of the national or regional churches (Cf. Vilmos Vajta, *The Lutheran Church Past and Present* [Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1977], pp. 134f.), Reed proved to be correct. There has never been a world-wide or major international and official inter-Lutheran conference or institute on liturgical cooperation.

⁸⁸ Reed, "The Common Service in the Life of the Church," p. 37. (Supra, n. 86.)

⁸⁹ That pastor was Adolph Wismar, a portion of whose 1937 liturgical project is presented in the Appendix, item 22. Strodach's rite appears in the Appendix, item 21. The work of both men will be considered below.

⁹⁰ The situation among liturgically-minded Lutheran pastors may have been similar to what was found in the Roman Catholic Church in the 1960's, when a great number of private canons

floated from hand to hand, in mimeographed form. A number of these latter have fortunately been collected and preserved in: Robert F. Hoey, *The Experimental Liturgy Book* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1969).

⁹¹ Paul Z. Strodach, *A Manual on Worship: Venite Adoremus*, Revised Ed. (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1946), p. 249 (here and above). The "Communion Office" is on pp. 249-256.

⁹² Reed-Liturgy, pp. 331f. ^{92,a} Ibid., p. 337.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 335. Cf. supra, p. 135.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 336.

⁹⁵ References to Anglican formulations are to those found in the American Prayer Book of 1945, a version Piepkorn is certain to have worked with: *The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments . . . : According to the Use of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America* (New York: Church Pension Fund, 1945).

⁹⁶ Brunner, op. cit. The section of this work referred to comprises pp. 217-311; Brunner's prayer-project is on pp. 309-311.

⁹⁷ The German is supplied from Wilhelm Averbeck, *Der Opfercharakter des Abendmahls in der neueren evangelischen Theologie* (Paderborn: Bonifacius, 1966), p. 660. [Hereinafter: Averbeck.]

⁹⁸ Supra, p. 64.

⁹⁹ Supra, p. 246.

¹⁰⁰ G. Everett Arden, *Augustana Heritage: A History of the Augustana Lutheran Church* (Rock Island: Augustana, 1963), pp. 320-321.

¹⁰¹ E. Clifford Nelson, *Lutheranism in North America 1914-1970* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1972), p. 223.

¹⁰² Luther D. Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy: A Study of the Common Liturgy of the Lutheran Church in America*, [Revised Ed.] (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, [1959; Hereinafter: Reed-Liturgy 1959]), pp. 207-208.

¹⁰³ Nelson, *The Lutherans in North America* (cf. n. 30, supra), pp. 502-511.

¹⁰⁴Reed-Liturgy 1959, pp. 205-227.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., p. 215.

¹⁰⁶Culto Cristiano (Evangélico Luterano): Es el fruto de una empresa editorial conjunta en que han colaborado oficialmente los siguientes cuerpos eclesiásticos: la Iglesia Luterana Americana, la Iglesia Luterana en América, y la Iglesia Luterana-Sínodo de Misuri, en union con el Comité Latinoamericano de la Federación Luterana Mundial (New York: El Escudo, 1964).

¹⁰⁷Reed-Liturgy 1959, p. 363.

¹⁰⁸Ernst Seybold, "Church Renewal in Germany," *Una Sancta* 7:1 (1960), pp. 13-20.

¹⁰⁹The various permutations of the liturgies of the Berneuchener Kreis, and other private liturgies which have appeared in twentieth century German Protestantism, together with the publications of virtually every German Protestant theologian who has had anything to say that bears on the subject of eucharistic sacrifice, have been surveyed in Averbeck's monumental study; op. cit., beginning with Part 2, chap. 2, pp. 130 et seqq. Averbeck's study, though encyclopedic, demonstrates the separation between the Lutheran liturgical work on the two sides of the Atlantic: his remarks concerning the American situation comprise only four sentences (pp. 774f.).

Text and English translation of the 1964 recension of the Michaelsbruderschaft liturgy will be found in: "Evangelical Mass (Germany: Michaels Brotherhood)," *Studia Liturgica* 4:4 (1965), II-c:1-20. Cf. Daphne Fraser, "The Michaelsbruderschaft Evangelische Messe: An Anglican Lay Comment," *Studia Liturgica* 7 (1970), 50-53. Karl F. Mueller, "The Lutheran Liturgy Today: A German Perspective," *Response* 8 (1966), 20-28 [Also published in *Studia Liturgica* 5 (1966) 45-54].

Appendix, items 35, 36, and 37, present additional European Lutheran eucharistic prayers (included for the sake of completeness, though not truly germane to the present subject): Sweden (*Kyrklig Förnyelse*) 1954, Sweden 1976, and France 1966, respectively. A fine introduction to the Swedish situation has been provided by André Renard, "Redécouverte de la prière eucharistique en Suède," *Irénikon* 48:2 (1975), 178-194.

¹¹⁰The expression "In, with, and under," indicating the relation of Christ's body and blood to the bread and wine, has been a Lutheran catchphrase since the sixteenth century.

¹¹¹Cf. Renard, op. cit., pp. 181-183.

¹¹²Supra, pp. 164-166, 194, 216-217, 241.

¹¹³Supra, pp. 164, 176 n. 105.

¹¹⁴Gemeinsame römisch-katholische evangelisch-lutherische Kommission, Das Herrenmahl (Paderborn: Bonifacius, 1978).

¹¹⁵These estimates are based on "Statistics for 1978: Lutheran Church Bodies in the United States and Canada," Lutheran Forum 13:3 (1979), p. 12 [At the time of writing, more recent, complete statistics are not available].

It should be noted, with respect to what follows in the present excursus, that Lutheran Forum, a journal published independently of the editorial control of any of the North American jurisdictions, has consistently been the best source of information and commentary on events within the Missouri Synod, from 1969 onwards. Data have been available not only in this journal itself, but also (since 1972) on the pages of its monthly adjunct "Forum Letter," and (since 1975) in a series of supplemental newsletters titled "As Missouri Turns," and later "The Continuing Crisis."

Two partisan newspapers have also appeared regularly: representing the conservative party in the Missouri Synod, The Christian News (since 1967); and, representing moderate members and former members of the Synod, Missouri in Perspective (since 1973).

¹¹⁶Piepkorn, Profiles in Belief (supra, n. 81), p. 115.

¹¹⁷Edgar S. Brown, ed. Liturgical Reconnaissance: Papers Presented at the Inter-Lutheran Consultation on Worship (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968), p. 132. [Hereinafter: Brown.]

Under the direction of the Synod's Commission on Worship, Liturgics and Hymnology, committees had been seriously at work since 1962, to study the feasibility (and the dimensions of the task) of producing a new "Missouri book"; *ibid.*, pp. 122-128.

Prior to the convention of 1965, an unsigned editorial was directed to the Missouri Synod, concerning this unilateral possibility: "Threat to Unity and Renewal--Missouri's Proposed Hymnal," *Una Sancta* 22:1 (1965), which stated: "There is no doubt that the Commission . . . would make distinct improvements on the Lutheran Hymnal. The inclusion, for instance, of a full canon and the restoring of a functional and proper offertory have been advocated for more than half a century. . . . But if the Commission is right in saying that a new hymnal and service book will be used for at least a generation (and we agree), more than a few improvements are needed. We owe the

next generation a book of liturgical and ecumenical integrity, not a scissors and paste job that simply corrects some of the present hymnal's most glaring deficiencies" (p. 45). "... the hymnal committee is far from being ready to publish. The greatest sign of this unreadiness is that it seems to be guided primarily, if not exclusively by the goal of 'preserving our heritage'" (p. 46). "We can only estimate the consequences if the convention authorizes a separate book. The most obvious consequence is that American Lutheranism will not have a common book in this century. Other Lutherans will be confirmed in their suspicion that Missouri has not broken from its separatistic history into a genuine concern for unity" (p. 47).

Though the convention was in fact to approve the principle of a common book, the events of subsequent years were, nevertheless, to bring all of the editorialist's worst fears to fulfillment.

¹¹⁸ Brown, p. vii.

¹¹⁹ Once again, these numbers are estimates, based on the statistics presented in Lutheran Forum 13:3(1979), p. 12.

For further background on the unrolling of the crisis within the Missouri Synod: cf. Paul G. Brétscher, "'Missouri's' Purifying--A Special Report," Lutheran World 21(1974), 173-176. Nelson, The Lutherans in North America (cf. n. 30, supra), pp. 524, 527-535.

¹²⁰ The resolution calling for the "blue ribbon committee" is found in: Convention Proceedings: 52nd Regular Convention, The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, Dallas, Texas, July 15-22, 1977 [St. Louis: Concordia, 1977?], pp. 127-128. That committee returned its findings in "Report and Recommendations of the Special Hymnal Review Committee," which appeared in a 43 pp. booklet distributed by the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, and which was reprinted in full in The Christian News 11:20(May 15, 1978), pp. 7-14. What the Report says concerning the subject of the eucharistic prayer, is here given in full:

"We now come to the portion of the liturgy entitled 'The Great Thanksgiving.' A great deal has been written on this subject. It has been debated in many, many places. There is much disagreement among Lutherans in all the major bodies in our country about adding a prayer which includes the Words of Institution in the Holy Communion service. Some take the position that by including these words in a prayer the impression is given that the Lord's Supper is something we do. In other words, a prayer is an offering to God. The Words of Institution are proclamation. They are to be proclaimed to the people and not prayed to God.

"It is further argued that the chief thing in the Sac-

rament, 'besides the bodily eating and drinking,' is 'the words here written, "given and shed for you for the remission of sins."' This is the way we learned it in Luther's Catechism. The emphasis now seems to be on our thanksgiving.

"There are problems in the text of the proposed Thanksgiving prayers. One has to do with calling upon the Holy Spirit in connection with the Lord's Supper. A few of the prayers include the petition: 'Send now, we pray, your Holy Spirit, the Spirit of our Lord and of his resurrection, that we who receive the Lord's body and blood may live to the praise of your glory and receive our inheritance with all your saints in light.'

"But where is the Spirit to be sent?

"Another prayer includes this petition: 'Send now, we pray, your Holy Spirit, that we and all who share in this bread and cup may be united in the fellowship of the Holy Spirit, may enter the fullness of the kingdom of heaven, and may receive our inheritance with all your saints in light.' But aren't all Christians already united in one body (Ephesians 4:4-6)?

"Another prayer is more explicit about the work of the Holy Spirit. It reads: 'Send your spirit upon these gifts of your church, gather into one all who share this bread and wine, fill us with your Holy Spirit to establish our faith in truth, so that we may praise and glorify you through your Son, Jesus Christ.' Why should the Holy Spirit be sent upon the bread and wine? To do what? The Eastern Orthodox Church holds that the invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the elements is necessary for the consecration of the elements, a teaching not upheld by Scripture and the Lutheran Confessions. (These prayers will appear in the Ministers Edition--LBW.)

"Of interest is the rubric that seems to give the reason for the use of these Thanksgiving Prayers. Under 'The Holy Communion in Detail,' Rubric 31.f. reads: 'The first text, "Holy God, Mighty Lord," follows the ecumenical custom of a eucharistic prayer which includes the words of institution.'

"Without going into greater detail, it is recommended that the eucharistic prayers proposed in the order of Holy Communion be deleted. The entire matter requires even more study and at the present time has generated more heat than light."

The current dominant mind-set within the Missouri Synod is revealed by the fact that (note the next to last quoted paragraph) what ultimately condemns the LBW eucharistic prayers, in the judgment of the committee, is their appeal to "ecumenical custom." For anyone informed in theological and liturgical matters, the argumentation of the Report provides its own best criticism. Nevertheless, it will not be unwise to quote from one critique that appeared in print; Leonard R. Klein, "Answer to Missouri's 'blue ribbon' committee: The LBW is Lutheran!", Lutheran Forum 12:3(1978), pp. S10-S19.:

"The Missouri Synod does not a [sic!] want a prayer of

thanksgiving. At this time, that is. In the Worship Supplement and in Culto Cristiano, the LCMS has for years had prayers of thanksgiving. Nobody thought to raise any objections until now when the objections serve as yet another reason to reject an inter-Lutheran hymnal. The committee acts totally ignorant of the vast array of research that has gone into this part of the liturgy. They seem not to realize that the Words of Institution command that the worshipping community give thanks. Luther did not understand that because of the limitations of his age, but 20th century Lutherans have no excuse. It is grammatically clear that the command 'do this' involves the giving of thanks.

"In the effort to opt out of using a eucharistic prayer, the committee adopts a position that is contrary to the Missouri Synod's liturgical tradition. They make the claim that 'the words of institution are proclamation.' That has been the argument against the eucharistic prayer by some Lutherans influenced by pietism, but it runs directly contrary to the realist and consecrationalist tradition of the LCMS. It has always been clear among Missouri Lutherans that the Verba were a prayer of consecration spoken over the elements. To be sure, they were spoken aloud for all to hear, but they were never for the Missouri Synod only proclamation. Witness the manual act of making the sign of the cross over the elements, a custom that is almost universal in the synod's parishes.

"Here again the committee has simply rejected out of hand the consensus and labors of biblical and liturgical scholars; it insists that the eucharistic prayers be deleted, even though its own arguments against them are plainly inconclusive" (p. S17).

The following partial bibliography is offered, as background to the committee's statement that "A great deal has been written on this subject": Eugene L. Brand, "A Eucharist for All Lutherans," *Lutheran Forum* 4:6 (1970), 16-18; Herbert Lindemann, "Contemporary Worship: A Report from the Lutherans," *Worship* 48 (1974), 153-163; _____, "CW-2 Passes in Review," *Lutheran Quarterly* 26 (1974), 221-224; Constance F. Parvey, "CW-2: An Ecumenical and International Response," *Response* 15:2-3 (1975), 22-24; Leigh D. Jordahl, "A New Rite of Holy Communion for American Lutherans," *Worship* 44 (1970), 578-587; _____, "The New Holy Communion Rite--I: Encouraging and Disappointing," *Lutheran Forum* 5:4 (1971), 10-12; Lowell C. Green, "The New Holy Communion Rite--II: Historical and Practical Questions," *ibid.*, 12-14; Phillip H. Pfatteicher, "The New Holy Communion Rite--III: Seven Clear Achievements," *ibid.*, 14-15; Frank C. Senn, "The ILCW Communion Service: A Liturgical Critique," *Lutheran Forum* 7:3 (1973), 9-13; _____, "Contemporary Liturgical Theology," *Response* 14:1 (1974), 10-17; Larry Bailey, "In Defense of CW-2's Eucharistic 'Shape'! On the 'Greening' of the Litur-

gy," Lutheran Forum 10:1 (1976), 11-12; Gottfried G. Krodel, The Great Thanksgiving of the Inter-Lutheran Commission on Worship: It is the Christian's Supper and Not the Lord's Supper ("The Cresset, Occasional Paper: 1"; Valparaiso, Ind.: Valparaiso University, 1976; Harvey W. Wangerin, "Thoughts on the New 'Worship Book'," Concordia Journal 2 (1976), 113-116; James T. Nickel, "Whither the New Hymnal?", *ibid.*, 110-113; Paul F. Foelber, "Lutheran Book of Worship," *ibid.*, 107-109; Leonard R. Klein, "Shaping up the Liturgy: or, Getting Ready for the Lutheran Book of Worship," *Currents in Theology and Mission* 4 (1977) 276-282; Wayne E. Schmidt, "Lutheran Book of Worship--A Perspective," *Concordia Journal* 3 (1977), 99-106; Arnold F. Krugler, "The Words of Institution: Proclamation or Prayer?", *Concordia Journal* 2 (1976), 53-60; Gerhard Førde, "A 'Great Thanksgiving' for Lutheran?", *Response* 15:2-3 (1975), 49-51; Robert W. Jenson, "A 'Great Thanksgiving' for Lutherans?", *ibid.*, 52-60.

The recommendations of the "blue ribbon committee" were adopted; cf. Convention Proceedings: 53rd Regular Convention, The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, St. Louis, Missouri, July 6-12, 1979 [St. Louis: Concordia, 1979?], pp. 113-117.

The 1981 publication date of Lutheran Worship and some details of its projected contents are reported in: "New LCMS Hymnal Slated for 1981," *Missouri in Perspective* 7:10 (March 10, 1980), 7-8.

¹²¹ Brown 117-128.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 125.

¹²³ Cf. quotation of Klein, *supra*, n. 120.

¹²⁴ Eugene L. Brand, "The ILCW: Dimensions of Its Task," *Dialog* 14 (1975), 90-96.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

¹²⁶ Clifford J. Swanson, "The Inter-Lutheran Commission on Worship: A Progress Report," *Response* 14:2 (1974), 23-31.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

¹²⁸ Frank C. Senn, "Contemporary Liturgical Theology," *Response* 14:1 (1974), 10-17.

¹²⁹ Swanson, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

¹³⁰ *Supra*, p. 29.

¹³¹ A parallel example is found in the restoration of the word "catholic" to the third article of the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds. (North American Lutheran books have traditionally followed the practice of Lutheran Germany in this instance, by providing the reading, "Christian.")

The restoration of "catholic" has long been a desideratum for liturgically and ecumenically minded Lutherans. A first step took place in the 1958 book, when a footnote allowed the substitution of "catholic," for the "Christian" printed above in the text. The new 1978 book simply reverses what is in the text and what is in the footnote. If in coming years, North American Lutherans come, without difficulty, to a virtually universal acceptance of "catholic," then, in the next book, one can expect to see "catholic" remain as the textual reading, as the permissive footnote quietly disappears.

¹³² The May, 1974, issue was given over to these materials; Lutheran Quarterly 24:2 (1974), 108-224.

¹³³ Oliver K. Olson, "Contemporary Trends in Liturgy Viewed from the Perspective of Classical Lutheran Theology," Lutheran Quarterly 24 (1974), 110-157.

¹³⁴ Senn, op. cit., 10-17.

¹³⁵ Inter-Lutheran Commission on Worship, "A 'Great Thanksgiving' for Lutherans?: Theological Conversation in Progress," an occasional paper of the ILCW, New York, 1976. Both authors' contributions are titled, "A 'Great Thanksgiving' for Lutherans?"; Gerhard Førde's article is on pp. 2-3, Robert W. Jenson's is on pp. 3-7, and Førde's answer, "From One Academic Theologian to Another: Reply to Robert Jenson," is on pp. 7-8. These contents were reprinted in Response 15:2-3 (1975 [The issue was late in appearing.]), 49-62.

Førde's plea for time for further study reflects a great difference between the way Lutherans and Episcopalians, for example, do their liturgical revisions. Looking forward to the eventual revision of the American Book of Common Prayer (which received final convention approval in 1979), the Standing Liturgical Commission of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America began the publishing of a series of Prayer Book Studies (New York: Church Pension Fund, 1950ff.). Ultimately, 29 separate numbered studies appeared, treating every important aspect of the revision of the Book; and these extended to a total of some 2960 pages. Additionally, this Commission released approximately 600 pages of revisions and supplementary materials which were not assigned a number in the series of studies, as well as three separate printings of draft or proposed versions of the coming Prayer Book intended for

parochial use and experimentation. In the series of Prayer Book Studies, three separate volumes (4[1953], 17[1966], and 21[1970]), totalling 610 pages, were devoted exclusively to the subject of the Eucharist. For Episcopalians, these volumes can constitute a basic library on their Church's approach to the Eucharist--included are: a concise history of the development and meaning of the eucharistic liturgy; the understanding, revision and use of that liturgy in Anglicanism, worldwide; the rationale and methodology of the Standing Commission; and a clear explanation of gradual changes in its goals and understandings, based on modern developments inside and outside of the Episcopal Church.

From an Anglican perspective, wherein the Prayer Book serves much of the same function that the confessions do for Lutherans, the need for such studies is certainly understandable. Given Lutheranism's general feeling that most of what goes into a service book falls under the rubric of *ordina-
tion*, the approach has always been less studied, on the part of the church-at-large. Committees of experts have been appointed to do the work. After a reading of their proposals (with greater or lesser thoroughness, based on the amount of time delegates have actually been able to spend with the texts) convention approval has been given. Later, once a given revision has been in use and its deficiencies have been noted, plans for a new edition, incorporating necessary or desired changes, is again begun.

Førde's plea had merit, since, given the way Lutherans have traditionally approached these matters, their adherence to any given book (seen as just one, in a passing series) is never total; there is never a general sense that "This is the Book of my Church." However, in the present instance, Førde's request was clearly impossible. North American Lutheranism has never had anything analogous to the Episcopal Church's "Standing Commission"; Lutheran commissions have always been ad hoc committees. In the case of the ILCW, it already faced all the problems it needed, in maintaining a productive list of participants drawn from several church bodies, in maintaining liaison with (and financing from) each supporting jurisdiction (each of which had a different polity and different "channels"), and in negotiating with the cooperating publishing houses. To have added to that load, by insisting that the ILCW delay and dialogue with the participating churches, until a theological and liturgical consensus was reached, would surely have meant the death of the project.

¹³⁵,a Krodel, op. cit. (n. 120, supra), pp. 24-29.

¹³⁶ Its only apparent influence on the Lutheran Book of Worship (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1978) is in one of the rubrics

of the ministers' edition (n. 31, 13, p. 29), where leave is granted ministers, to interchange corresponding paragraphs, between prayers I and II.

¹³⁷ Krodel, op. cit., p. 3.

¹³⁸ That suspicion, since "prayers of many parts" have been and are in constant and unquestioned use in Lutheranism; viz., the expanded Kyrie of the Service Book and Hymnal (based on the Great Litany of the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom), the Litany, and responsive General Prayers (Prayers of the Faithful).

¹³⁹ Krodel, op. cit., p. 24.

¹⁴⁰ E.g.: "While well over a million copies of the LBW have been sold, I read somewhere that only 1,200 of the 6,000-plus LC-MS pastors have actually ordered a sample copy. . . . those pastors who have not ordered a copy will have no first-hand information about the book. They will be depriving themselves of a valuable resource without even looking at it"; Gene Evans, "The Lutheran Book of Worship--A Resource," *The Bride of Christ* 3:3 (1979), p. 21.

¹⁴¹ Supra, n. 136.

¹⁴² Krodel's best contribution to the dialogue on the eucharistic prayer was his call for greater precision in expressing trinitarian interrelationships.

¹⁴³ Bouyer, op. cit., pp. 156-157.

¹⁴⁴ ILCW, *The Great Thanksgiving: Contemporary Worship* 01 (New York: Inter-Lutheran Commission on Worship, 1975), p. 9.

¹⁴⁵ *The Sacramentary: The Roman Missal, Revised by Decree of the Second Vatican Council and Published by Authority of Pope Paul VI, Approved for Use in the Dioceses of the United States of America* . . . (New York: Catholic Book Publishing Co., 1974), p. 371.

¹⁴⁶ Supra, n. 136 (ibid.).

¹⁴⁷ *Book of Common Prayer*, p. 81. (Full reference, supra, n. 95.)

¹⁴⁸ *The First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI*, introduction by Douglas Harrison ("Everyman's Library"; London: Dent, [reprinted:] 1968), pp. 223, 390.

¹⁴⁹ Anton Hänggi and Irmgard Pahl, *Prex Eucharistica*:

Textus e Variis Liturgiis Antiquioribus Selecti (Fribourg: Editions universitaires, 1968), p. 81.

¹⁵⁰Worship Supplement, Authorized by the Commission on Worship, the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod . . . (St. Louis: Concordia, 1969), p. 47.

¹⁵¹Supra, p. 168, n. 14, where Luther acknowledges that he can see a natural link between sacrifice and the Elevation. For a general discussion of ritual, sacrifice, text, and their interrelationships, one should see: Louis Bouyer, Rite and Man: Natural Sacredness and Christian Liturgy (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1967), pp. 53-94.

¹⁵²Cf. p. 307, supra.. For the same reason stated there, that the prayer is unlikely to find frequent use, the theological peculiarity of this prayer (as seen from a Lutheran perspective) will make little impact on the Lutheran Churches.

¹⁵³Renard, op. cit., p. 183.

¹⁵⁴According to Renard, Brilioth was the editor of the 1942 prayer of the Church of Sweden. Cf. Brilioth, op. cit., pp. 18-69, for the definition and discussion of the categories he posits.

¹⁵⁵Renard, loc. cit.

¹⁵⁶This thesis must remain tentative until such time as the various Lutheran communion exhortations are themselves made the object of serious study. To date, Lutheran liturgical scholars have tended to be prejudiced against them, considering them to be an unwarranted intrusion in the natural flow of the liturgy, and in their studies have dismissed the importance of the exhortations out-of-hand.

CHAPTER V

ASSESSMENT

In 1948, Arthur Piepkorn remarked on the fact that, while Luther had maintained a liturgical-ceremonial fulness in his revision of the rite of baptism--a fulness which had in general been maintained in following centuries by the Lutheran churches, a sort of liturgical-ceremonial minimalism had been typical of Lutheranism's handling of the other great sacrament, the Eucharist. The notion had been accepted that:

. . . the Holy Communion is completely valid if nothing more is done than that bread made of flour and wine the fruit of the vine are consecrated by saying over them the Words of Institution and are received by the communicants.

The dogmatic "sine qua non" had been transformed into a "satis est," in the Lutheran Church's understanding of its practice. With that situation in mind, Piepkorn took pains to base his recommendation for the reappropriation of a full eucharistic prayer form, on the fact that:

. . . the Church of the Augsburg Confession has not completely abandoned the Eucharistic prayer. The "normal" rite that is embodied in the Common Service retains, although unhappily in disordered sequence, at least four elements of the ancient prayer of consecration: (1) The variable preface, with which the Eucharistic prayer began; (2) certain commemorations and intercessions (for the Church, for communicants, etc.) which have become part of the general prayer after the offertory; (3) the Words of Institution, the central core of the Eucharistic prayer of the West; and (4) the Our Father, with which the Eucharistic prayer ended. Other elements survived here and

there in the Evangelical Church Orders of the sixteenth century, or have been restored in national or provincial rites in the last hundred years.

The need for a prayer of consecration has . . . been felt, sometimes consciously, sometimes unconsciously, by unnumbered Lutheran clergymen and laymen who in their private praying of the rite before the altar and in some published explanations of the Service either have given the Words of Institution a petitionary significance or have attributed to the Our Father, particularly when it was said before the Words of Institution (as it is in most American Lutheran rites), a consecratory character.

As has been the case for every other Lutheran proponent of the eucharistic prayer, Piepkorn was unable to assert its doctrinal or sacramental necessity. He argued for it on the grounds of its devotional worth. Further, he supported it on the basis of tradition (which is scarcely ever a compelling argument for Lutherans):

The significant thing is that we find a prayer of consecration so universally that it is difficult to reject the conclusion that it is of Apostolic and Dominical origin. In any case, the practice is of such venerable antiquity and has proved its value to so many souls and to so many centuries that it deserves to be restored among us.

And additionally, he mentioned the example of its ecumenical use (which he had encountered as a military chaplain), among Catholics, Orthodox, and the majority of Protestant churches and sects.

It is significant that Piepkorn makes no attempt whatsoever to marshal a line of argumentation based on what Luther or the Lutheran Confessions might add to the discussion. Indeed, the thunder of Luther's words in condemning the Roman

Canon has still reverberated sufficiently within modern Lutheranism, so that both opponents and proponents of the eucharistic prayer have taken it for granted that there was no potential support for that form to be found in Luther or the Confessions. Champions of the eucharistic prayer thus have felt the need of discovering compelling external grounds for their proposals, recognizing nonetheless that their conclusions were sure to be denied recognition as "echt lutherisch."

In the recent debate over the eucharistic prayers of CW-2 and of the Lutheran Book of Worship, that situation has begun to change somewhat. For example, in his reply to Førde, Jenson was able to locate a "door-opening" quote from the 1622 *Loci Theologici* (21:156) of Johann Gerhard (+1637), who is called "the 'arch-theologian,' the standard dogmatician of the period of orthodoxy,"⁴ in which that author asks:

Whether adding commemorations, prayers, thanksgivings, and especially biblical readings to the words of institution and celebration of the Eucharist is to be disapproved?

Jenson continues, "The ILCW has no such elaborate program. It should be all the happier for Gerhard's answer: 'minime vero,' 'by no means'."⁵ In spite of all the respect with which his opinions have been heard within Lutheranism, they are still Gerhard's opinions, and secondary to the Confessions.

Paul Fielber attempted to take both a Biblical and Confessional offensive, in his defense of the eucharistic prayer:

Some have been disturbed by framing the Verba within

the great proclamation of God's saving work through Jesus Christ. They have not been able to understand that proclamation can indeed take the form of prayer.¹⁶ Solomon anamnesticly proclaims God's great works in 1 Kings 8: 15-23 as does Asaph in Psalm 80. Yet both are offering prayer to God. It is interesting to note that the Confessions do not prescribe the manner in which the proclamation of the Verba is to be made. The Formula of Concord says:

Now, as to the consecration, we believe, teach, and confess that no work of man or recitation of the minister (of the church) produces this presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Holy Supper, but that this is to be ascribed only and alone to the almighty power of the Lord Jesus Christ.

But at the same time we also believe, teach, and confess unanimously that in the use of the Holy Supper the words of institution of Christ should in no way be omitted, but should be publicly recited, as it is written in 1 Cor. 10:16: The cup of blessing which we bless, etc. This blessing occurs through the recitation of the words of Christ (FC. Ep., VII, 7, 8).

The paragraphs in both the Epitome and the Solida Declaratio in no wise militate against the position of the ILCW regarding the use of the Verba. To call the use of the Verba nuda orthodoxy and the incorporation of the Verba within the framework of a prayer heterodoxy⁸ is sustained by neither the Scriptures nor the Confessions.

Foelber's attempt is of interest, but it is nonetheless an argument from silence (The Formula of Concord, after all, at this point, is not addressing itself to the question of the eucharistic prayer) and cannot be considered conclusive.

Far stronger evidence is available for this argument, and the present writer finds it strange that he has not found it used elsewhere.

Among the points which are argued time and time again, by Lutheran opponents of the eucharistic prayer, are: 1) When the Words of Institution are recited alone, they are a procla-

mation of God's sacramental, consecratory activity--but when they are enclosed in a prayer God's work is transformed into a human work; 2) That transformation makes God's beneficium over into man's sacrificium; 3) Luther's suppression of the Roman Canon is determinative for the form of the Lutheran liturgy, at this juncture; 4) Luther and the Confessions rejected the eucharistic prayer form, and it is therefore out-of-bounds for those who would call themselves Lutherans today.

Concerning the third and fourth of these points: It goes without saying that Luther did indeed suppress the Roman Canon and put nothing new in its place. And it is further true that Luther and the Confessions held that Canon in total disdain. Luther was, however, aware of other efforts to create protestant eucharistic prayers. The texts from Strassburg and Nördlingen, for example, could scarcely have failed to come to his attention. While he chose not to emulate their attempts in his own Mass projects, one can find no place where he spoke out or wrote against the fact that these other reforming liturgies provided prayer forms alongside the Verba

Admittedly, that is again an argument from silence. But one need not be satisfied with that. The Apology of the Augsburg Confession (24:88,93) provides evidence that is explicit and to the point. In comparison to the Roman Canon's wrongful doctrine of eucharistic sacrifice, this document considers what happens in the Anaphora of St. John Chrysostom:

The Greek canon also says much about an offering; but it clearly shows that it is not talking about the body and blood of the Lord in particular, but about the whole service, about the prayers and thanksgivings. This is what it says: "And make us worthy to come to offer Thee entreaties and supplications and bloodless sacrifices for all the people." [N.B. This petition is said prior to the Anaphora itself, but does indeed set the stage for it and explain its purpose.] Properly understood, this is not offensive. It prays that we might be made worthy to offer prayers and supplications and bloodless sacrifices for the people. It calls even prayers "bloodless sacrifices." So it says a little later: "We offer Thee this reasonable and bloodless service." It is a misinterpretation to translate this as "reasonable victim" and apply it to the body of Christ itself. For the canon is talking about the whole service; and by "reasonable service" (Rom. 12:1) Paul meant the service of the mind, fear, faith, prayer, thanksgiving, and the like, in opposition to a theory of ex opere operato.

.....

The Greek canon does not apply the offering as a satisfaction for the dead because it applies it equally to all the blessed patriarchs, prophets, and apostles. Therefore it seems that the Greeks offer it only as a thanksgiving and do not apply it as a satisfaction for penalties. But they speak not only of offering the body and blood of the Lord, but about the other parts of the Mass, namely prayers and thanksgivings. For after the consecration they pray that it may benefit the communicants; they do not talk about others. Then they add "Yet we offer Thee this reasonable service for those who have departed in faith, forefathers, fathers, patriarchs, prophets," etc. And "reasonable service" does not mean the host itself but the prayers and everything that goes on there.

The purpose of providing a quotation of this length is not to invite the reader to study the correctness of the Apology's interpretation of the byzantine Anaphora. Rather it is to indicate, in the first place, that the Apology's reference to the Anaphora is a considered one--it is not brief and "off the cuff"--and, in the second place, that it is a completely favorable one. That positive review is not even conditioned

by a proviso, concerning the byzantine, post-Verba, consecratory Epiclesis. One might point to the ecumenically significant fact that this Anaphora, which the Apology considers to be quite satisfactorily "evangelical," is one which the Church of Rome considers to be totally "Catholic" and employs in the churches of its Byzantine Rite!

It must be remembered that the Apology was written for a different audience than was the Augsburg Confession. The Augsburg Confession was written for presentation to the Emperor, to be read not only in his hearing but in the presence also of theologians of strict Roman obedience, in an attempt to explain the catholicity of the Lutheran position. The Apology appeared later, in the wake of the Roman Confutatio, to reclarify the Lutheran position to the Lutherans. Thus, in the present instance, it cannot be inferred that Melanchthon was trying to tell the Catholic party that the Greeks had a better canon than they did. Rather, it was precisely the Lutheran party who were being instructed, not in the possibility, but in the fact, of a canon that did not run afoul of Lutheran biblical scruples. One must, in the light of this, wonder how Lutherans, especially "strict constructionists" who subscribe to the Confessions quia (because) they are a "true and unadulterated statement and exposition of the Word of God," can maintain that eucharistic prayers are unevangelical and unacceptable in Lutheran practice.

This writer considers that the fourth point, here, has

been sufficiently dealt with. The third objection is impossible to sustain, on the basis of Luther's own words. In both of his Mass projects, as has been seen,¹⁰ he established a principle of liturgical freedom which will not allow the Lutheran Church to consider itself to be bound to the specifics of his reform, except for those which became its hallmarks: No Mass without a sermon, No Mass without lay communicants; Verba to be pronounced audibly for all to hear; Communion in both kinds; No prayers or ceremonies opposed to Scripture to be tolerated. Beyond those points, virtually all the rest--including, one must say, the use or non-use of a eucharistic prayer--falls in the area of "evangelical freedom."

With respect to the two remaining points: There is always a possibility that the second danger could come to pass--that is, that the Church might act wrongfully to transform a divine beneficium into a human sacrificium. It will be remembered that the present writer called attention to that danger in CW-01, prayer IV, a prayer which fortunately was not finally included in the Lutheran Book of Worship. One purpose of the modern liturgical testing process is precisely to expose and dispose of inadequate and heretical texts. But, it must be seen that understanding, attitude and intention--matters which cannot be judged simply by an examination of texts--play a terribly significant role at this point. For, in fact, where understanding and disposition are wrong, even the most totally

orthodox text--for that matter, even the Verba themselves¹¹--
can be abused sinfully.

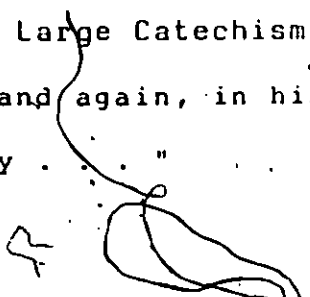
This leaves only the first point to be considered. This objection will be rephrased as follows: "When a prayer for consecration is placed in conjunction with the Words of Institution, or when those Words are situated within such a prayer, the result is to restrict the sovereign activity of God as Consecrator, and to make the Consecration somehow dependent on human activity or will." The problem with this objection is that, if its logic is followed to conclusion, it makes any prayer of intercession or request impossible, since such prayers can similarly be defined as ones which the suppliant uses to influence or redirect God's action, and thus to limit God's sovereign freedom while extending the influence of the human will. In being entirely scrupulous to meet this objection, it appears that only two types of prayer could still have validity--the prayer of thanksgiving for all that has occurred in the past and the prayer "Not my will, but your will be done" for all eventualities of the present and future.

What the objection overlooks, quite fundamentally, is that Christians do not have the sort of god whose favor must be curried, or one whose grace must be coerced by magic. Our God, on the contrary, is one who has encouraged the prayers of his people, and whose Son has said, "Whatsoever you ask in my name, he will give it to you" (John 15:16; 16:23), and, "What-

ever you ask in prayer, you will receive, if you have faith" (Matt. 21:22). Further, our God is one who inspired his Apostle to encourage our prayers in all situations: "Have no anxiety about anything, but in everything by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving let your requests be made known to God. And the peace of God, which passes all understanding, will keep your hearts and your minds in Christ Jesus" (Phil. 4:6-7). We are warned not to pray vainly, and we are informed that our God knows our needs before we ever express them; but we are still encouraged to pray (Matt. 6:8-9). It must be asked, "Why?" The answer is that, precisely to the contrary of what is supposed in the first point, when we pray in request, we admit our own incapability, and confess God's unlimited capability and sovereign freedom of action, thankfully admitting, at the same time, that his sovereignty is conditioned by his own love and gracious desire to hear and to grant.

The Formula of Concord clearly enough provides this interpretation, that in our petitions we ask God for what we cannot obtain by our own powers (S.D., 2:15). Though in a different context, it also encourages us to pray to God for grace, which he has already promised (S.D., 11:72).¹²

But perhaps the best Confessional evidence for this principle is found in Luther's Large Catechism, in his introduction to the Lord's Prayer, and again, in his commentary on the words, "Give us this day . . ."



Let no one think that it makes no difference whether I pray or not, as vulgar people do who say in their delusion: "Why should I pray? Who knows whether God heeds my prayer or cares to hear it? If I do not pray, someone else will." Thus they fall into the habit of never praying, alleging that since we reject false and hypocritical prayers we teach that there is no duty or need to pray.

It is quite true that the kind of babbling and bellowing [Luther's concern here must be focused, at least partially, on the simple fact of the Latinity of medieval worship.] that used to pass for prayers in the church was not really prayer. Such external repetition, when properly used, may serve as an exercise for young children, pupils, and simple folk; while it may be called singing or reading exercise, it is not real prayer [One should remember that Luther had the needs of students in mind, at least partially, when he composed the Formula Missae.]. To pray, as the Second Commandment teaches, is to call upon God in every need. This God requires of us; he has not left it to our choice. It is our duty and obligation to pray if we want to be Christians, . . . By invocation and prayer the name of God is glorified and used to good purpose. This you should note above all, so that you may silence and repel any thoughts that would prevent or deter us from praying.

It must surely be seen that this biblically-based attitude of the Reformer's, at least in a general way, provides a basis for discussing the desirability of the eucharistic prayer's use in Lutheranism. There will, however, be those who would claim that the Lord's Supper is an exception to this general principle, as though here we do not need to pray for God's gifts and blessings, because the Verba are a prior, clear guarantee that God already desires to provide them. However, the Sacrament is not all that different from other manifestations of God's gracious love, concerning which Luther advises that we should nevertheless pray. Having developed "daily bread," as a truly global list of life sustaining gifts we receive from

God, Luther continues:

Thus, you see, God wishes to show us how he cares for us in all our needs and faithfully provides for our daily existence. Although he gives and provides these blessings bountifully, even for wicked men and rogues [Here one should remember also, that Lutheran eucharistic teaching maintains the manducatio indignorum.], yet he wishes us to pray for them so we may realize that we have received them from his hand and may recognize in them his fatherly goodness toward us. When he withdraws his hand, nothing can prosper or last for any length of time, as indeed we see and experience every day.

If the present writer has correctly understood the Lutheran understanding of prayer presented in these passages, there is nothing in it to forbid, and much that would recommend the use of evangelically-constructed eucharistic prayers. Indeed, Lutherans who use or desire to use such prayers should be content in realizing they may do so, precisely as Lutherans. It is unnecessary for them to seek any authority for such practice, from outside their own tradition.

LUTHERAN EUCHARISTIC THEOLOGY

AT PRESENT

In 1970, a survey of religious and other attitudes was made of some 4,700 Lutheran adults (aged 15 to 65), representing a cross-section of the membership of the three major jurisdictions in America; the results were published in *A Study of Generations*. Among various other doctrinal matters, those par-

ticipating were asked about their belief in the Real Presence.

The results of this questioning were as follows:

85. In Holy Communion we are given the true Body and Blood of Jesus for the forgiveness of our sins.

No response--3%.

I strongly agree. Persons who disbelieve this are not true to the Christian faith--28%.

I agree, but I know that people can understand this statement in different ways. People may not be completely clear in their understanding of the relationship between bread and wine and body and blood but know that Jesus is really present--51%

I agree in part. The meaning of Holy Communion is that we are forgiven by God. However, we cannot make any definite assertions regarding the presence or absence of something like Christ's Body and Blood or the person of Christ--12%.

I disagree. The real meaning of Communion is that we, as human beings, led by love and brotherhood, mystically, join together in unity, remembering the need for men to be one and to sacrifice self-interest for others as Jesus did--6%.

I strongly disagree. There can be no such thing as the body and blood of a person (who may or may not have even lived) being given for men today to eat. The very idea of a cannibalistic feast on supposed human flesh and blood is repugnant to me--1%.

From the style and content of the suggested answers, it is evident that they were not prepared by one desiring to make the distinctions a sacramental theologian might have considered important. For example, one sees no need for the exclusivistic aside in the first possible answer, or for the language of uncertainty in the second. Granting those weaknesses (among others) in the instrument, one tends to be amazed that 91% of the respondents (with whatever reservations, real or suggested) indicated that they believe the Real Presence in Holy Communion, as a means of grace (for forgiveness). That

Lutheran laity demonstrate a broad acceptance of the eucharistic teaching they have received, catechetically and homiletically, seems beyond serious question.

However, one should not suppose, on the basis of this fact, that serious questioning of eucharistic understandings is not very much a part of the current North American, Lutheran theological scene. Indeed, such activity has been and remains intense. In the previous chapter, the charge was made, with some frequency, that the various new (experimental and approved) eucharistic prayers suffered from vagueness. (It must be admitted that this judgment may reflect this writer's own, typically Lutheran, preference for prayers which express their theological presumptions clearly and unambiguously.)¹⁵ That perceived vagueness could have had several sources: 1) Lack of sufficient theological perceptiveness on the part of a given author; 2) Lutheran inexperience with the eucharistic prayer form--having no natural feeling for what it should include, or how this should be expressed for best effect; 3) A desire to keep present Lutheran prayer forms "open," so as not to create problems for future ecumenical initiatives; or 4) A realization that clear dogmatic statement is impossible, on the basis that there is no current Lutheran consensus on the nature of this Sacrament. While not dismissing the likelihood or importance of the first three possibilities, it seems that the last one was the one having most significance.

If this study were devoted to the examination of the varieties of eucharistic theology to be found in modern North American Lutheranism, it would be possible to distinguish a fairly large number of theories and separate tendencies. However, for present purposes, it will be sufficient to subsume those of significance under two "umbrella" categories, those of "Traditional-Confessional Lutheranism" and those of "Ecumenical Lutheranism."

By "Traditional-Confessional Lutheranism," will be meant the efforts of theologians who attempt to say no more than was already stated in Luther and in the sixteenth century Lutheran Confessional writings. For such writers, any updating is only an updating of language--to translate, as it were, the thought forms of the Reformation period into those of our day--with no conscious expansion or alteration of the content. In maintaining the definitions of the sixteenth century, theologians of this bias also tend to maintain the polemical attitudes of that period as well. There is always the feeling that eucharistic theology is a theology of confrontation. It is not accidental that the edition of the Book of Concord last officially published under the auspices of the Missouri Synod includes the Saxon Visitation Articles of 1592 (see Table 11). The fourth paragraph of the article on the "Holy Supper" contains the most blatantly naturalistic statement of the Real Presence to be found in Lutheranism; and at the same time, the main points

TABLE 11

SAXON VISITATION ARTICLES (1592)

From *Concordia Triglotta*, pp. 1151 and 1155.

ARTICLE I.: OF THE HOLY SUPPER

The pure and true doctrine of our churches concerning the Holy Supper:

I. That the words of Christ: Take, eat, this is My body, this is My blood, are to be understood simply and according to the letter, as they read.

II. That in the Sacrament there are two things which are given [tendered] and received with one another: one earthly, which is bread and wine; and one heavenly, which is the body and blood of Christ.

III. That this [union, tendering and taking] occurs here on earth, and not above in heaven.

IV. That it [what is tendered and received] is the true natural body of Christ which hung on the cross, and the true natural blood which flowed from the side of Christ.

V. That the body and blood of Christ are received not only by faith spiritually, which can also occur outside of the supper, but here with the bread and wine orally, yet in an inscrutable and supernatural manner [and that] for a pledge and assurance of the resurrection of our bodies from the dead.

VI. That the oral partaking of the body and blood of Christ is done not only by the worthy, but also by the unworthy, who approach without repentance and true faith; nevertheless, with a different result: by the worthy for salvation, by the unworthy for judgment.

False and Erroneous Doctrine of the Calvinists . . . :

I. That the words of Christ cited above are to be understood in a figurative way, and not as they read.

II. That in the Supper there are only bare signs, the body of Christ, however, being as far away from the bread as the highest heaven is from the earth.

III. That Christ is present there only by His power and working and not with his body, just as the sun is present and efficacious here below on earth by its brilliancy and working, while the sun itself is above in the sky.

IV. That it is a typicum corpus, a figurative body, which is only signified and prefigured [by the bread and wine].

V. That it is received by faith alone, which soars [elevates itself] into heaven, and not orally.

VI. That only the worthy receive it; the unworthy, however, who have not such faith as can ascend into heaven receive nothing but bread and wine.

of Lutheran eucharistic doctrine are developed in direct opposition to the doctrine of Calvinism, as then understood.

Some representatives of this school of thought are to be found in the American Lutheran Church--Oliver Olson is one such¹⁶--and its sister body, the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada; but for the most part they are to found in the membership of the Missouri Synod.

Hermann Sasse's opinions have had strong influence in these circles. It will, therefore, be helpful to see how he expresses the eucharistic mystery:

In the Sacrament He [Christ] gives the same as He gave to the Twelve at the Last Supper. He gives us His true body, which was sacrificed on Calvary and raised from the dead at Easter. This makes us not only contemporaneous with Him, but unites us with Him in a way that transcends everything that we otherwise call "remembrance." The centuries that separate us from His earthly days, and from the time of His death and resurrection disappear.¹⁷

Here Sasse almost appears to have been informed by the notion of anamnesis elucidated by Thurian,¹⁸ among others. However, Sasse and those like him tend to focus on the presence of the Body and Blood in a way that "thingafies" them. Calvary is so much the frame of reference that mention of the fact of the Resurrection can become little more than lip service--the Real Presence tends to become a static (if not a lifeless) presence. Real Presence and liturgical anamnesis are not interrelated in the sense of being simultaneous, rather they are sequential, with anamnesis tending towards memory, pure and simple.

The "presence" in this sacrament, however, is not the presence of an event or an action which occurred in the past (passio Christi--the suffering of Christ), but it is rather the presence of Christ's body and blood, of his true humanity and true divinity (Christus passus--Christ who has suffered for us). It is this Real Presence of the crucified and risen Lord, who gives us His true body and blood to eat and to drink, that lends to the Remembrance of His death a reality and actuality such as we do not find otherwise in the recollection of a historic event. Thus "Remembrance" and "Real Presence" belong inseparably together. The Word of the Gospel is realized. The Lamb of God, once slain on Calvary "under Pontius Pilate" is here. We eat the flesh of the true Lamb of God, of whom the Passover Lamb of Israel was a type.¹⁹

When Sasse speaks of the recitation of the Verba, one has little feeling that this is for the purpose of introducing and manifesting the dynamic presence of the ever-living Christ:

... the sacramental words in the Lord's Supper are the words which Christ spoke at the institution and which He speaks at all times through His ministers, words of Him who is God Himself and who is, therefore, able to effect what they say. They are words of consecration which effect the Real Presence of the body and blood of Christ.²⁰

Rather, the impression is that the Body and Blood are spoken of simply as statically present quantities.

As is seen again in John Damm, Anamnesis is Calvary-oriented, in a way that virtually precludes serious eschatological awareness:

We want to stress that word "remember," the word anamnēsis, or zikaron. It is so difficult to translate its full meaning exactly: memory, memorial, celebration, re-enactment, re-presentation, cultic commemoration. Research conducted in recent decades has led to a certain consensus of opinion that will probably become a blessing to every denomination of Christendom that has wrestled with that word. Anamnēsis is understood to be a liturgical or ritual recalling of a past event to restore or to make contemporary its original value, and even more, it is a setting

(placing) of those who engage in the anamnēsis into the very event which the celebration commemorates.

The anamnēsis is, therefore, much more than a mnemonic ceremony; it places the celebrator into the very event of Calvary and permits him to appropriate the blessing of the event to himself.²¹

Werner Elert has supplied a corrective, which has not sufficiently been heard, to date, in "Traditional-Confessional" circles:

According to apostolic testimony the Christ whom Christians encounter in Holy Communion is not a dead Christ²² but the risen, living, glorified, exalted Lord. Whoever infers from the word "remembrance" that the Lord's Supper was celebrated in commemoration of the dead reads his own "double-ness" into the apostles' words, regarding it possible that they believed in two different Christs: a dead one and an exalted one. The remembrance of his death is not a sentimental reminder of the late Jesus but a reference to the sacrifice He offered by His death; and this sacrifice has the force of Christ's real presence for the forgiveness of sin.²³

One sad characteristic of the "Traditional-Confessional" focus on Calvary is that it so highly esteems the "once for all" character of Christ's sacrifice, that any talk about sacrificial content in the Church's liturgy is shunned as blasphemous. Indeed, even speaking of the Eucharist as something which the Church "does," is something which can offend spokesmen of this mentality, who find in Christ's "Do this" only a command to faith-filled passive receptivity.²⁴ Talk of the Eucharist as "action" is viewed as Melancthonianism (and suspect, therefore), by comparison with Luther's simple concentration on the "fact" of the Real Presence.²⁵

The one great and positive contribution of the "Tradi-

tional-Confessional" theologians is found in their unflagging zeal to proclaim the Real Presence. At times, the formulating of their doctrine of the Real Presence tends toward the naive,²⁶ and even the materialistic. But it is nevertheless a corrective to the theological liberalism of other sections of North American Lutheranism, which at times have appeared to be embarrassed by their Lutheran particularity vis-à-vis other Protestant groups and their opinions, and have ended up with a much "toe-loose grip" on this particular doctrine.²⁷ With respect to such liberal thinking, and even unconcern, it is refreshing to read a testimony like Piepkorn's:

What is the Sacrament of the Altar? The Church of the Augsburg Confession answers: "It is the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, for us Christians to eat and to drink." If we take seriously the concern of the Church of the Augsburg Confession to derive its eucharistic doctrine wholly from the institution narratives, this is the only definition that has Biblical warrant. At the moment this formulation is not everywhere in good repute. It stresses too much, we are told, the ontological at the expense of the dynamic. It stresses the material at the expense of the personal. It seems to deny the spiritual and verges on magic. Other formulations stress the presence of Christ (rather than of His body and blood) in the sacrament and define the sacramental experience as a personal encounter with our Lord. I shall not impugn this formulation, the validity of which I must concede, as long as it does not intend to evade or to deny that our Lord's body and blood are communicated to those who eat and drink in the sacramental meal and as long as it does not intend to evade or deny the fact of the presence of the incarnate Christ. . . . the Sacrament of the Altar, celebrated as a mystery of sacramental anamnesis, is the arena of personal encounter with the incarnate Word of God, with the second hypostasis of the Godhead concealed in the body-and-blood humanity that he assumed.

The stress falls on the fact that He is incarnate. In assuming our common humanity He united Himself with all of

humankind, so that there are no human limits to the identification of the Christ of the Eucharist with the one world of human beings.

... [In] the Eucharist ... this stress on His human, bodily presence ... is vital. I know that it is customary to smile indulgently at the statement of the Catechism and other Symbolical Books [i.e. the Lutheran Confessions] that the Sacrament of the Altar is the true body and blood of Christ and to omit the adjective from modern translations. But the adjective is still useful, even if the particular connotation that it has in this context has a history that needs first to be understood. It is the church's laudable way of reminding us that the body and blood of our Lord in the Eucharist are not some kind of metaphor, specifically that the body of Christ in this context is not simply the church, but that in the sacramental mystery it is the body and the blood that, as the Creed puts it, was born out of the Holy Spirit and Mary the virgin, the most praiseworthy bearer of the eternal Word. It is the body and blood that appeared to men in Palestine when Augustus and Tiberius ruled in Rome; the blood that first began to flow at His namegiving on the eighth day of His life; the body that was nailed to the cross and the blood that was the very life of the obedient Servant of Yahweh; the body which God raised from the dead and over which death no longer has dominion and the blood that pleads for the pardon and reconciliation of a world of sinners. 28

In consideration of the eucharistic theology of "Ecumenical Lutheranism," no attention will be paid to those who have wandered so far from traditional Lutheran roots that their doctrine is no more and no less than that of Liberal Protestantism. Rather, the term "Ecumenical Lutheranism" will be used to refer to that theological approach which attempts to understand what the Lutheran Confessions say about this sacrament, in the light of ecumenical advances in the understanding of the content of the Biblical message, and of its language. Since Scripture must always be prior to Confessions, for Lutherans,

who have wandered so far from their traditional Lutheran roots, that their doctrine is simply an expression of Liberal Protestantism. Rather, the term "Ecumenical Lutheranism" will be used to refer to those theologians which attempt to understand what the Lutheran Confessions say about this Sacrament, in the light of ecumenical advances in the understanding of the meaning of the language and content of the Bible. Since Scripture must always have priority to the Confessions, for Lutherans, those who give "quatenus subscription" to those Confessions will consider themselves guilty of no disloyalty should it become necessary to qualify some of the definitions contained in those documents, on the basis of Biblical insights which were unavailable to the reformers.

It should be noted that such a process is far more problematic for those who give "quia subscription" to the Lutheran Confessions. Aune has stated their problem succinctly: "The question which emerges, however, is whether 'Lutheran' understandings can be recognized as historically-conditioned and thus open to re-formulation in the light of Scripture and the authentic whole liturgical tradition of East and West."³⁰ For them, too, the Bible is the ultimate norm of theology [It is the norma normans.]; but the Confessions are considered to have derivative normative authority [norma normata] because of their total conformity to Scripture. Within these circles there tends to be an immediate suspicion of the results of modern Biblical studies,

when these point in directions that are unknown to the Confessions--ultimately, there is a danger here that the message of Scripture must be seen in conformity to the Confessions, rather than vice versa.

Modern Lutheranism's positive interest in ecumenism can be said to have been born in Sweden, in the initiatives of Archbishop Nathan Söderblom (+1931) which ultimately led to the formation of the World Council of Churches. Modern Lutheranism's interest in ecumenical scholarship on the liturgy and eucharistic theology can likewise be traced to Sweden, to the publishing (in 1930) of Yngve Brilioth's Eucharistic Faith and Practice.³¹ This book made the following important contributions to Lutheran liturgical and theological awareness, directly and non-technically, so that all could understand: 1) It pointed to the Jewish roots of Christian liturgy--until this happened, there had been no context which allowed the Lutheran imagination to seriously discuss the possible recovery of the eucharistic prayer, since the only paradigm of such a prayer, of which it had real awareness, was the totally rejected Roman Canon; 2) It reopened the subject of "commemoration"--here this is still treated as a function of memory (rather than as some form of reactualization) but it is placed in conjunction with awareness of the Real Presence--heretofore, as a result of reformation confrontations with the Swiss, Lutherans had considered Real Presence and remembrance to be virtually op-

posed categories in eucharistic discussion and had paid scant attention to the latter principle; 3) Together with Lietzmann's work, it demonstrated how Lutherans could profit from the serious study of the historic liturgies--previously such study had appeared purposeless to most Lutherans, whose prejudicial view was that the only important fact to be recognized in the centuries of liturgical development which followed the Last Supper was that the Gospel had been obscured and replaced by a humanly-contrived sacrifice, and whose predilection was to ignore all that stood between the texts of the New Testament and Luther, considering them to be matters which were unprofitable at best, and dangerous at their worst; and finally, 4) It reopened the subject of the sacrificial nature of the Eucharist--Lutherans had always been aware that their liturgy was, or contained, a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, but no definition of the implications of this was ever pursued; Lutheran consciousness was always on guard against the "real" sacrifice of the Roman Mass, by comparison to which rejected concept of sacrifice their own sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving was looked upon as a trivial thing, or a playing with words, not worthy of much serious contemplation, let alone development.³²

Following the impetus given by Brilioth, Lutheran scholars in succeeding decades began to give serious attention to the fruits of Biblical and historical research being done

outside of their own tradition. Aulén, notes this changed situation, in which Lutheran theologians approach others, not with traditional polemic, but in a spirit of serious, cooperative endeavor:³³

Many-factors have contributed to this situation, lately also the ecumenical movement. The traditional battle lines have become meaningless. It is meaningless to keep on attacking positions which the opponent refuses to acknowledge as his own. . . .

What does it mean then for theology to become ecumenically oriented? It means willingness to associate, to learn to know one another, to learn from one another, to make critical self-examinations, to maintain integrity in all relationships, and above all to obey in common the Spirit who "leads us into all the truth." Two attitudes become impossible. On the one hand, self-satisfied confessionalism, which is sufficient unto itself, refuses to listen to others, is unprepared for critical self-examination, and arrogantly pronounces its judgments as if the last word had been spoken, must be abandoned. On the other hand, we cannot maintain an attitude which finds a solution by smoothing over differences, uncritically combines diverse elements; proceeds with the idea of accommodation, and is indifferent to its own confessional standpoint because in reality it is indifferent to the demand of truth. The first is the standpoint of isolationism, the second does not inspire respect and leads only to confusion.³⁴

Ecumenical theologians of whatever affiliation treasure the truth they have received within their Church, but refuse the sort of hubris, which would consider that truth to be complete and final. Indeed the presumption of all ecumenical theological endeavor is that the Spirit is continuing to lead us into the truth. What is true in ecumenism, generally, is also true in "Ecumenical Lutheranism," specifically. We find here a theology which has in no sense received its final shaping.³⁵ Traditional Lutheran viewpoints have been reinterpreted from a

wide variety of new perspectives. Even within the somewhat delimited area of eucharistic theology, such a multitude of theories and interpretations have been offered, that it is safe to say that, while one may speak of certain tendencies in "Ecumenical Lutheran" theology, one would be in error to suppose that there is any point of significance on which there is anything like a scholarly consensus. The task before Lutheran theologians today is similar to that which faced the framers of the Formula of Concord exactly 400 years ago. With scrupulous regard for "the truth," they strove to forge a new unity in the face of opposing interpretations of the Augsburg Confession which had come to light during its first fifty years, and which threatened a permanent schism within Lutheranism. Today the task is similar, but with added complexity, since the desire of modern Lutheran theology is not just to overcome inter-Lutheran differences so that a united front can be presented to non-Lutherans, but rather it is to unite Lutherans in an awareness of the truth found both in their own heritage, and elsewhere (and precisely among those fellow Christians who are the spiritual descendants of Lutheranism's opponents, during the Reformation period). In the remaining pages of this section, consideration will be given to a selection of the efforts which have been made to date. These will be considered thematically, under the rubrics of Anamnesis, Real Presence, Sacrifice, and Eucharist.

Anamnesis. In traditional Lutheran theology the phrase τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν has been referred to the obedient, and essentially passive, act of receiving the elements of Holy Communion. The Reformation's rejection of all liturgical "Works Righteousness" left Lutheranism incapable of understanding "anamnesis" as an activity which the Church was commanded to do. Therefore, even as the act of communion came to be understood as an act of individual devotion and obedience, so "remembrance" became largely a matter of individual meditation on Christ's Passion during the time of communion--his death being understood as the price he paid, in order to obtain forgiveness of sins for his believers.

A much enriched notion of anamnesis had been developing for several decades, among Old Testament exegetes and philologists. But the liturgical implications of this development did not come to the awareness of American Protestantism, until the publishing of Dix's Shape of the Liturgy in 1945, and of the translation of Thurian's Eucharistic Memorial in 1960 and 1961.³⁶ Dix sees that the meaning of anamnesis is "a 're-calling' or 're-presenting' of a thing in such a way that it is not so much regarded as being 'absent', as itself presently operative by its effects." Having not attempted to trace the Biblical roots of anamnesis, Dix makes this judgment on the basis of liturgical and patristic evidence; not understanding the full background, his definition has a mechanistic feeling

untypical of the pre-Nicene Church on which he focused his attention.³⁷ The necessary background was provided by Thurian, when he went behind ἀνάμνησις, to its Hebrew liturgical antecedents:

The verb zakar, . . . occupies an important place in the cultic language of Judaism. Its different meanings may be summarized thus: to think of something known and past, a material something, a sin or the blessings of God; to recall a duty: in reference to God, to recall man's sin, the covenant, love and fidelity; in reference to man, to recall God or to invoke him; to recall something in favour of someone or against him; to recall something to someone . . . ; utter a name (that of God); and finally, to recall before or remind God by means of a sacrifice and especially the memorial of incense.

From this root and from this verb we have three derived words to study in order to understand the liturgical memorial which gives a clue to the profound meaning of the celebration of the Eucharist. These words are the zikkaron and the azkarah, the liturgical and sacrificial memorial, and also the zeker, which is translated in the Septuagint by the word μνημόσυνη, synonym of ἀνάμνησις, the word used at the Last Supper.

Thurian explained the essential significance of the liturgy and meal of the Jewish Passover:

"Blessed art Thou, O Lord, Our God, King of the earth, who hast given to Thy people Israel this season of festivity for joy and for a memorial" (le-zikkaron). Each item of food had its own significance. As they ate them the Jews could re-live mystically, sacramentally, the events of the deliverance and Exodus from Egypt. They became contemporaries of their forefathers and were saved with them. There was in the mystery of the paschal meal a kind of telescoping of two periods of history, the present and the Exodus. The past event became present or rather each person became a contemporary of the past event. . . .

. . . The Eucharist, instituted in this tradition and context, presents the same conception of the mystery of history, the mystery of salvation-history, present in the liturgical and sacramental action.

This vital concept of anamnesis was seized by "Ecumenical Lutheran" theologians, as though it had always been part of their definition of the Eucharist. It is already incorporated in the 1960 statement of the United Lutheran Church in America, on the Sacrament of the Altar:

14. The sacrament is memorial. It is the reminder of a datable event that happened at a definite time and place in history, a once and for all (ephapax) unrepeatable event that marks the crisis, the turning point in the history of the world. . . . The memorial aspect of the sacrament is, however, to be understood not in sheer chronological concepts as mere recollection of a past event which becomes dimmer as time goes on. . . . Just as faith beholds in the son of Mary the Immanuel of God, so faith alone can perceive this memorial as more than a memory of a past event devoutly recalled and symbolically reenacted. What was, is; he who was, is present; what was, given in self-sacrifice is at every moment of need newly available. This kind of memorial is not caught in past time; it is not caught in the sequential unfolding of future time. For just as what once was is present in the fulness of time, so the consummation with its sign of the heavenly banquet is present in the Holy supper (1 Cor. 11:26): "As oft as ye eat this bread and drink this cup (the present action) ye do show the Lord's death (the backward reference to Calvary) till he come" (the forward reference to the pargysia and the final consummation of the whole creation).

In a similar "Statement on Communion Practices," approved by the American Lutheran Church in 1968, we find the same theme reflected:

1. [The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper] is anamnesis, a word rendered somewhat inadequately as "memorial." This means not only a reminder of Jesus' life and death, but the present reactualization (becoming a present reality) of God's deed in Christ. It is the projection of God's saving act into the present life of the congregation. As such the Supper celebrates the Covenant between Christ and his Church, so that participation is a reaffirmation of this covenant.

Before granting approval to the 1968 Statement, the members

of the ALC national convention were addressed by Eugene Brand, who provided a personal clarification of this language:

. . . [for "anamnesis"] Section I [of the Statement] uses reactualization as English equivalent. This word comes closer to catching the flavor intended. Let us take the Passover ritual as an example of Hebrew cult. Youngsters are instructed from the Haggadah to celebrate the Passover, as if they themselves were being delivered from Egyptian bondage: "In each and every generation a man must regard himself as though it were he who came forth from Egypt." In the cultic act, the event of history is experienced as present reality. The cultus bridges the gap of time. The Exodus is now.

The Dutch Catholic theologian Schillebeeckx writes: "Sacramentality . . . bridges the gap . . . and makes possible a reciprocal human encounter of Christ and men even after the ascension, though in a special manner."⁴²

The acceptance of "anamnesis language" in some form is virtually a total one, among "Ecumenical Lutheran" theologians.⁴³ It has been latched on to, because it provides an apparently Biblical and Dominical reason for expanding on the Verba-alone shape of the older Lutheran liturgies. Much as the present writer approves of the addition of the eucharistic prayer to the Lutheran rite, he feels that a few problems concerning the Anamnesis (which becomes the basis of the entire liturgical action) have not been seriously approached:

1. In the swift appropriation of the interpretation of anamnesis represented by Thurian, it appears that no one has bothered to rule out the contrary interpretation of Jeremias.⁴⁴

2. The Eucharist, as a locus of divine presence and action (in its sacramental content), differs from the Passover meal. Does the validity of a psychologically-perceived ("a

man must regard himself as though . . . ") telescoping of history in the Haggadah--wherein participants can be interpreted as finding assurance that they are part of a covenant-people, simply through ritual group identification--actually provide a sufficient basis for believing that God objectively, personally, and presently fulfills the promises celebrated in the Eucharist?

3. It is certainly evident that the use of the Anamnesis has gone hand-in-hand with a strong belief in the Real Presence, in the historic liturgies. But, as a specifically Lutheran problem, does the enthusiastic promotion of the Anamnesis, at the present time, serve as a smokescreen behind which a traditional strong doctrine of objective Real Presence is to be replaced by one in which the presence of Christ has only symbolic and psychological referents.

As will be seen below, such is certainly the intention of at least a strong segment of "Ecumenical Lutheran" theologians. Whether it was the posture of the ILCW, as a whole, cannot be determined at this time.

It was said that there is no present "Ecumenical Lutheran" scholarly consensus, on any significant point of eucharistic theology. While the Anamnesis, in some form, appears to be recommended by all such theologians, consensus breaks down immediately in terms of what implications are to be drawn from Anamnesis, for other aspects of the doctrine, Real Presence, etc.

Real Presence. At the time of the Reformation, Lutherans and Reformed Protestants parted ways over the question of how Christ was present in Holy Communion. Lutherans insisted that he is really present, and used such qualifiers as "substantially" and "corporeally." Calvinists similarly affirmed that he is really present, but they most often used "spiritually" as a qualifier. The two views were based on two different Christologies. The Reformed believed that the Incarnation had resulted in a permanent union of Christ's human and divine natures, with the result that, following the Ascension, Christ has been in heaven, bodily, with his divine nature still and eternally subject to the limitations it accepted in the Incarnation. A natural body cannot be in two places at once, and Christ's body is subject to this restriction. Therefore, one cannot speak of a physical presence in the sacrament; Christ's body there is a spiritual one, accessible to those who receive it in faith.

The Lutherans also accepted that the hypostatic union must be an eternal one, but their belief was that Christ's post-Resurrection and post-Ascension body had been glorified and changed, so that it was no longer bound by the laws of earthly physics. (The post-Resurrection appearances recorded in the Gospels were cited as proof of the fact that Christ's body is now remarkably different from what it was prior to Easter.) It is as though the "glorification" of Christ's bo-

dy resulted in its human component being given the unlimited-
 bility which was characteristic of the Second Person of the
 Trinity prior to the Incarnation. On this basis, Lutherans
 had no difficulty believing that Christ could be present in
 the Eucharist, in the fulness of his present mode of existence.

This difference of opinion has been a most important
 constitutive factor in Lutheran self-identification and has,
 of course, been a factor in all Lutheran-Reformed conversation,
 down to the present day.

Now, however, many theologians have begun to ask seri-
 ous questions about the Eucharist, in all of its aspects. No
 traditional doctrinal standpoints or formulations have such
 sanctity, as to be immune from this approach. Thus, in the
 case of the Real Presence, Stendahl asks:

I should like to make a remark about the weighty theo-
 logical concern for the problem of the real presence of
 Christ. I think we are all aware of all the complicated
 and dated language, "transubstantiation" and otherwise,
 about the "how," and I do not think we should get involved
 with that.⁴⁵ That can be cleared up, I think. I am asking
 a much more crucial question: Why did one become so inter-
 ested in the question of the presence of Christ? Why would
 that be so important? When and where does the question a-
 bout the presence occur? If I read the New Testament right,
 Jesus Christ is as solidly on the right hand of God as any-
 thing can be; that is where he sits and waits, and what is
 present [here] is the Spirit. And I am very interested in
 asking scholars of a somewhat later period than mine wheth-
 er they can tell me when this tremendous concern for the
 presence of Christ became an issue. I am also inquiring
 to what extent it is a real issue in the living piety of
 our time. Or is it a problematic one which we have carried
 with our freight? And if we were to discuss the presence
 further, I would suggest that . . . we should ask: presence
 for what? For what is this presence thought to be signifi-
 cant?⁴⁶

One should understand that the questions are not being posed by a rationalistic "demythologizer," but by a serious and respected exegete.

The 1960 ULCA statement already referred to spoke of the presence, and its "why," in these terms, which lean heavily on Luther's doctrine of ubiquity:

17. In the sacrament, the total risen Christ who shared with us our humanity and raised it into glory is present. This Christ is not confined to any place in heaven. He is present everywhere as God is present everywhere. It is not only the Creator God who is present, but the Creator-Redeemer-Sanctifier God, the God who became flesh in Jesus Christ. In the sacrament, however, this everywhere-present but unknown God is revealed and proclaimed as the God-for-man and actually is present to impart himself to man as such, giving the body that was broken and the blood that was shed on Calvary into the most intimate, restoring union with the believer and as a judgment upon the unbeliever. As in the proclamation of the Gospel, he is present whether acknowledged or not. His presence is not produced by faith but acknowledged by faith.

18. The term real presence was historically intended to protect the sacrament against spiritualizing interpretations and to insist that the entire deed of God in Christ for man's redemption is present there. The real adds nothing to the presence of the total Christ.

21. The "grace" in the sacrament is that of God himself in his gracious resolution to restore man to life with himself (the God-for-man), and its gift is not an impersonal infusion of grace but the sustaining and empowering presence of Christ himself. It is from the Spirit-engendered faith-relation to him that the powers of the new life emerge. This distinction between "grace" as God himself in his gracious action and "grace" as a power infused is essential to the view of the God-relation here delineated.

25. Concentration upon the elements and upon the precise nature of the relationship between them and the presence and self-impartation of the total Christ, marks one of the disastrous historical by-paths which the church should seek to avoid without losing what is vital to the sacrament. Transubstantiation, consubstantiation and impanation are terms

used in the history of doctrine and reflect efforts of the church to say how the elements were related to the proffered body and blood of Christ. The philosophical solution and the understanding of the physical world which required this terminology are to be respected, and the efforts of faith which in such terms defined the presence of Christ are to be acknowledged. But New Testament studies and the history of Christian thought suggest that the relationship cannot be indicated by language and categories which are foreign both to the Biblical orientation indicated above [i.e., in §§1-16 of the statement] and to the present situation.

27. The essential nature of the sacrament is gift (beneficium). The direction of God's action in it is altogether from God to man; it imparts forgiveness of sin, life and salvation. This gift can in no sense be designated as an offering from man to God, nor should it be designated as a eucharist or thanksgiving. . . . [Emphasis supplied.]⁴⁸

The 1968 ALC statement simply expresses traditional Lutheran understandings, in traditional language:

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is one of God's gifts to his people, the Christian congregation. In the Lord's Supper Christ gives to his participants His body to eat and His blood to drink, in, with and under bread and wine. It is the effective proclamation of God's love in Christ for the upbuilding of the Body, through the gifts of forgiveness, life and salvation. The dimensions of this upbuilding can be perceived in the many-sidedness of the Sacrament.

2. It is communion, the participation of the believer in the priestly and regal work of Christ, communion with the risen and glorified Savior in his self-giving to the congregation,⁴⁹ as well as fellowship with all the members of his Body.

The 1978 statement approved jointly by the LCA and ALC demonstrates a passage from traditional imagery and terminology, to the adoption of "Ecumenical Lutheran" conceptualizations:

1. The treasure of the Church is the good news that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself. Through

his life, death, resurrection Christ freely offers himself to us through the Word and the Sacraments in the fellowship of faith.

2. Various images and concepts have been used to describe the Sacrament in which Christ gives himself anew to the believing community. Among Christians it has been referred to as the Lord's Supper, the Holy Communion, the Sacrament of the Altar, and the Eucharist. Among Lutherans motifs of remembrance, fellowship, thanksgiving, confession and forgiveness, and celebration have been incorporated. Whatever images and concepts are used the intention and emphasis of the biblical witness and of our tradition has been to assert and affirm God's gift of grace through the body and blood of Christ, "given and shed" for us.

3. The Sacrament of Holy Communion is a Means of Grace from God to his people through which the crucified and risen Christ is present and active to forgive, to save, to unite, to give life, to comfort, and to strengthen for the work to which he calls his people in the world. The Lutheran Confessions uphold the reality of Christ's presence in the Sacrament, his body and blood being given "in, with, and under" the bread and wine, in order to affirm by these means his saving work for us.⁵⁰ Luther sums up his understanding of this last will and testament of Christ by saying: "In this Sacrament he offers all the treasure he brought from heaven for us. . . ." (LC V, 66). In response to our Lord's command, "This do in remembrance of me," the promise is spoken and the bread and the wine are given and received in liturgical actions, whereby we "proclaim his death until he comes (1 Corinthians 11:26)."

None of these official statements turns away from (in the sense of denying) the traditional doctrine of Real Presence, but there is a common thread linking all of them: a tendency to direct attention away from concentration upon the consecrated elements per se, to a new awareness of the way God is active in the entire liturgical action in which the congregation is involved. That such thinking even stands behind the traditionally worded assertions of the 1968 ALC statement, is demonstrated in the explanatory lecture Eugene Brand gave to the convention:

A sacrament is something done, an action. We have forgotten this in connection with the Lord's Supper. Commonly we refer to it as a thing, and speak of offering the Lord's Supper next Sunday, or of distributing and receiving the Sacrament. These words are appropriate to objects. What we really distribute and receive are the sacramental species or elements. Interestingly, we have never fallen into a similar trap in our concept of Baptism.

The Lord's Supper is a meal in which bread and wine are the food and drink. A meal is a social action; people engage in it together. One presides as host; there may be servants who serve the guests; but all are actively involved in eating together.

The whole Western theological tradition (Rome, Wittenberg, Geneva) has for centuries been hung up on the elements, debating questions about the presence. These debates were important and historically necessary, but they resulted in a thingy view of the Sacrament. In the Middle Ages the sense of corporate action was all but lost. The Reformation emphasized it in teaching, but then itself got hung up theologically on a presence debate, again drawing attention away from the total action.

As products of such conditioning, it is instructive for us to observe that the New Testament shows little interest in questions of presence. It is much more concerned about the action of the meal and its meaning. If you look at the institution narratives in the synoptic gospels and at the Pauline materials in 1 Corinthians, and if you then note the descriptive material in Acts, you will have to conclude that the primary emphasis is upon the koinonia of the shared bread and cup and upon the eschatological significance of the meal. It is important that all share because all are part of Christ's body. That is why the elements are taken to those prevented by illness from attending . . . and that is why church membership and participation in the meal are correlative ⁵²

Brand, and others like him, can be thanked for restoring the concept of activity, as opposed to simple receptivity, to Lutheran liturgical awareness. However, in striving to make a necessary point and introduce a necessary emphasis, there is the danger of going too far, and of creating an "either-or" where a "both-and" would seem to be indicated. It seems this is what

Brand has done here, by confusing two realities, "sacrament" and "Liturgy of the sacrament," which ought to be kept separate. The "liturgy" of the church is an action, both etymologically and according to common sense. A "sacrament" (in this case is must be remembered that we are talking about bread and wine) is an object. Looking back to the medieval distinction between sacramentum and res, we may, in the light of modern insight, wish to use language about the res that stresses its reference to the living, effective and active content for which, according to God's will, the sacrament is the vehicle. But that vehicle, the sacrament of bread and wine, remains an object, and our thinking about it is not helped by those who would twist words and categories in order to define it as an action. Brand says that we have not spoken about Baptism as we have come to speak of the eucharistic sacrament, but he is not correct in this. Lutherans often speak of the pastor administering Baptism, and of the candidate receiving it. Where does this happen? In the celebration (action) of the baptismal rite or liturgy.

While one may readily grant that the Church may have wasted much effort in the past, trying to define precisely the sort of content with which God invests the eucharistic elements, and that this precise question was not much of a concern in the New Testament; it does not necessarily follow that this is a subject which is unworthy of the modern Church's energy and serious consideration, any more than one would conclude that

the Church today should stop devoting time to the consideration of its acceptance of and belief in the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, on the basis that the New Testament is far more concerned to speak of God's loving activity than to fret over the inner relationships of the Godhead, and that this topic was over-discussed in the past, during the Trinitarian and Christological controversies--when the Church tried to know what must remain a mystery.

Martin J. Heineken has also sifted the earliest evidence ("... studies show that such questions [about Real Presence] were not raised during the New Testament period. For during this time there simply was not this preoccupation with the elements."), but he has not come up empty-handed.

... in the celebration of the Lord's Supper the risen, living Christ was believed to be present. There is no intimation that this meal was to be only a reminder of either a past event or an absent loved one. Neither is there any intimation that this presence of Christ was limited to that of the soul or the divine nature to the exclusion of the body or the human nature. This distinction between the natures had not yet arisen, and it was foreign to the thought of the biblical writers to make any separation between the soul and body or between the two natures of Christ.

In fact, much of the polemic of the New Testament (see especially the Fourth Gospel) is directed against the Greek and Gnostic body-soul dualism. If Christ was present at all, then he was present as the only Christ they knew; he who had shared their humanity, died on the cross for them, and had then been raised from the dead. The Resurrection body he then possessed is described by St. Paul as a "spiritual" body (1 Cor. 15). So any notions of the eating of particles of flesh and drinking of drops of blood are ruled out, even if they might be suggested by the current pagan mystery cults.

We can only conclude that the eating and drinking was an essential part of the Supper from the beginning and this

involved, for early Christians, the "flesh and blood" of Christ (especially if John 6 is to be regarded as a reference to the sacrament); but any suggestions of a refined sort of cannibalism must be ruled out. . . . It is the total Christ who imparts himself to the total man, . . . and thus the Christ who imparts himself is the one whose body was broken and whose blood was shed on Calvary.

Now we can address ourselves to the question concerning the part which the elements play in the sacrament. The elements are an essential part of the sacrament, which otherwise would be indistinguishable from the other forms which the Word takes (preaching, consoling, etc.). The first thing to note, however, is that the use of a "medium" in God's self-impartment is not peculiar to the sacrament. God's self-revelation is always in and through an earthly medium. [N.B., in the case of what is normally designated as the "Word," the media are either a printed page, or physical sound waves generated by the preacher and physically-received by the hearer's ear drums.] The "naked," transcendent God never directly appears. . . . God makes his presence felt through the "masks" of creation. . . . In the Lord's Supper it is the bread and wine which mediate the presence, although these latter masks are not to be put on a par with the historical Jesus.

. . . The bread and wine are representative of the staples of life without which it is impossible to live, and so they share in the nurture of the body of Christ in the impartation of the gifts of the Spirit; i.e., of the new life in Christ when connected with the Word of God. "They share in that which they symbolize by virtue of the natural order; but they are what they symbolize by virtue of the Word of God" (Joseph Sittler in an unpublished manuscript).

If this is the case, then there is no possible reason why these earthly elements should need somehow to be changed or transmuted to make way for, or give place to, the presence of Christ. This necessity is not suggested even remotely by the biblical witness. The earthly element was part of the good creation of God for which the Israelite gave thanks.

. . . it was, therefore, a grievous deviation from that original witness when it came to be held that, in virtue of his ordination, the priest (and he alone) had the power to do something to these elements. This is one of the points at which a parting of the ways is indicated. Bread and wine remain what they are, and no change in these elements themselves takes place at any point; neither through an epiklesis (a calling upon the Holy Spirit to effect a change) or through the repetition of the words of institution (a formula of consecration). The words of institution are words

of recollection, proclamation, and promise. As such they are God's creative Word, by means of which the promise once made brings about Christ's promise for us in and through the elements.

If these elements remain what they are it is impossible that they should become objects of veneration or adoration, and if the gracious presence is effected by the Word of God then it is likewise impossible that this presence should be captured and held fast in the elements. The elements are the vehicles of the presence in the act⁵⁴ of the divine self-impartation, in the prayer of the Word.

Heinecken, a respected representative of what is called "Philadelphia Theology" (so named because it has been developed at, and for some time has been characteristic of the Lutheran seminary of that city), has been allowed to speak at length without interruption, so that the reader can see how his thought is developed, and the consequences which follow from his premises. While Heinecken affirms the eucharistic Real Presence, this involves no "change" in the elements. Receptionism is implicit, since any perduring presence is ruled out. When he considers it impossible that the "presence should be captured and held fast in the elements," he reveals that the model of the Incarnation has no validity for the unio sacramentalis, if indeed one may still speak of such a union.⁵⁵ It should also be noted that for Heinecken, valid ordination is not requisite for the celebration of a valid Eucharist. As a matter of good order, an ordained minister will normally preside, but nothing in his theory demands this in all cases.⁵⁶ In view of the last two points, it becomes evident that, for those who believe as Heinecken does, the term "Consecration" has little discernible

meaning.

In this particular, "Philadelphia Theology" has been very influential in the formation of the practical recommendations made part of recent official statements (excepting the 1968 ALC statement). Since Lutherans have always desired to place on the altar only as much bread and wine as would actually be needed for distribution at a particular liturgy, there has always been a question as to the best way of providing additional species, when it turns out that the number of communicants has been underestimated.⁵⁷ Traditional practice was for the pastor to place any supplemental elements on the altar and to designate or consecrate them for sacramental use, by the recitation of all or part of the Verba, as required. A break in this practice was already implicit in the 1960 ULCA statement, which said:

40. The words of institution are not a formula which effects a change in the elements so that they are thereby removed from the realm of the profane to the sacred. "That bread and wine should be, the body and blood of Jesus is not due to our doing, speaking or acting, let alone to our consecration (as priests), but to Christ's order, command and institution . . . We do no more than administer the bread and wine with his words [Emphasis supplied.] according to his command and institution" (Luther: WA 38, 240, 248). The words of institution are words of recollection, proclamation and promise. As such they are God's creative words by means of which the promise of the Upper Room brings about Christ's presence for us in and through the elements. These elements are, therefore, to be treated with reverence but are not to become objects of veneration or adoration. Reservation of the host is foreign to the understanding of the sacrament here elaborated.⁵⁸

The view of the Verba here developed denies that they

are words of consecration (addressed, in some sense, to the elements), or that they are words of invocation or reminder (addressed to God, that he may become active in the eucharistic context); on the contrary (and Luther is quoted so as to give support to a concept that was not clearly his), they are considered to be no more than a formula of distribution, that is words of explanation for the benefit of the congregation.

This notion reaches its term, in the 1964 LCA statement, when it is said:

Should the supply of bread and wine on the altar need to be supplemented, it is not necessary to recite the "words of institution" over the additional supplies. This practice stems from a different theory of "consecration" than that held by our church. If additional bread and wine are needed they should be brought reverently to the altar for distribution.

The 1978 ALC-LCA statement says virtually the same: "Only enough bread and wine should be brought to the altar to serve the congregation. Should the supply need to be replenished, it is not necessary to repeat the Words of Institution."⁶⁰

Since neither of these last two statements contain a theological introduction which mentions what sort of a notion of consecration might stand behind their recommendation, one may only speculate. One possibility is that there might in reality be no consecration of the elements whatsoever; here the elements might be bearers of the Real Presence by somehow being "permeated" by God's active presence during the rite. Another possibility would rely on a form of "intention," according to

which God would "consecrate" (in whatever meaning this term would have) all that is requisite for the distribution, whether or not it was already present in the congregation's midst. Yet another possibility, might hold that Christ's action at the Last Supper "consecrated" all future Eucharists.

Those who have been influenced by a less than critical reading of Peter Brunner might feel that he stands in favor of the last interpretation, since he illustrates his concept of anamnesis, by comparing the eucharistic acts of Jesus to the oth performed by the Old Testament prophets:

This act of Jesus has very appropriately been compared with the symbolic acts which occasionally accompany the proclamations of the prophets. . . . A prophetic oth is a "drastic prediction," and effectual sign, which "announces" what is signified, brings it to pass, and lets it, hidden in a sign, already become effectual presence. An oth effectively releases the happening indicated in it. . . .

To call attention to the oth of the Old Testament is all the more relevant in connection with Holy Communion, since an oth not only effectively represents future events in a present sign, but since it is also a "commemorative" sign, which, in the sign, keeps the past vividly present.⁶¹

Brunner says flatly, "The Meal instituted by Jesus is the eschatologically fulfilled, Messianic form of the Old Testament prophetic and the Old Testament ritual oth."⁶² But he also goes on to say:

. . . whoever stops at this point [i.e., the consideration of the Eucharist as anamnesis] has not yet recognized the characteristic feature of Holy Communion. In Holy Communion the words that Jesus utters over bread and wine stand out in meaningful relief. These words effect and reveal the core of what takes place in Holy Communion. There should be unanimity in assuming that these words of Jesus do not interpret the symbolical act. Here an important

difference from the prophetic oth becomes apparent. . . . It is most significant that Jesus does not say as He breaks and distributes the bread: So I give My life for you. But he says--infinitely transcending the prophetic oth: "This is My body." . . . "Jesus does not interpret the act of breaking the bread and the pouring of the wine; no, He interprets the bread and the wine themselves." . . . The relationship which Jesus' words establish between bread and body, between wine and blood is not "an association by analogy, . . . but an association by identity." . . . To be sure, the bread which the disciples now eat is bread and the wine which they now drink is wine. But by the power of Jesus' words this bread is His body and this wine is His blood.

When Jesus says: "This is My body, this is My blood of the covenant," the event which effects the real presence has come to pass with these words. By virtue of the Meal-creating presence of the Lord, He Himself pronounces these miraculous words even today with Messianic executive power through the mouth of his minister [Emphasis supplied]. After these words have been pronounced over the consecrated and broken bread and over the consecrated and proffered cup, I may be assured that I am receiving the Lord's body and blood as I receive this bread and wine.

That clearly affirms that it is not the act of accepting the bread and the cup, not the eating and the drinking, nor the distribution of bread and wine as such that effect the real presence, as surely as distributing, accepting, eating, and drinking are part of that which, as component of the anamnesis, accords us the Meal of the Lord. . . . After these words [of institution] have been spoken, bread and wine are as surely Christ's body and blood before I receive and eat and drink them as they are when I receive and eat and drink them.

. . . A [supplemental] reconsecration is demanded when the bread or the wine over which Christ's IS-words have been spoken has been consumed and therefore has to be replenished for those who are yet to commune. In such an event it will surely not be necessary to repeat the entire rite. But a special act should indicate clearly that the newly added bread or wine is now accepted into the service of the anamnesis enjoined by Christ and is placed under His words of institution.

It is almost an insult to the reader to mention that, while Brunner on the one hand, and Heineken and the 1960 ULCA

statement (and its LCA and ALC-LCA successors) on the other hand, begin from a common appreciation of "anamnesis," their conclusions are at odds at virtually every point. There could be no better demonstration of the lack of consensus to be found in "Ecumenical Lutheran" eucharistic theology.

If, as one hopes, the Lutheran participants in the several Lutheran-Roman Catholic dialogues have been honest about the differences of opinion which are current in their church, and if those dialogues have still been able to state that these two churches now find themselves in basic agreement concerning the Real Presence, then such agreement cannot have been based on the assumption that there is a single Lutheran doctrine and a single Catholic doctrine, which have been compared and which have been found to be (at least fundamentally) in harmony.⁶⁵

Rather, such agreement must indicate that, even as both churches are involved in the task of trying to understand and reexpress their traditional faith--a task made necessary by several factors: 1) New knowledge concerning the Biblical roots of their doctrine; 2) A need to reinterpret traditional language which is no longer fully communicative even within the given church, and 3) A serious commitment to inter-church dialogue--neither sees the other's work as polemical, each sees developments within the other as sincere efforts to discover Christian truth, and both are convinced that these processes tend towards eventual intra-church and ecumenical consensus.⁶⁶

Sacrifice. Anamnesis was seen to be, in the most limited sense, remembrance of Christ's sacrificial death. Contemplation of his sacrifice naturally leads the Church to ask how it may also sacrifice unto the Lord. Following Calvary, there is of course no possibility of a sacrifice that is independent of Calvary. Lest any impression be given that they were engaged in a renewal (in the sense of a repetition) of Calvary's sacrifice, Lutherans, as they have begun to reappropriate sacrificial language in connection with the Eucharist, have been leery of associating the concepts of anamnesis and sacrifice directly. Sacrificial language is easily allowed, however, in conjunction with the congregation's act of offering, and with its over-all response to the reception of God's gifts (in the liturgy, this response may be anticipatory).

The 1968 statement of the ALC is a transitional document, in terms of its eucharistic theology; and its sacrificial language is sparse and guarded:

3. [The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper] is thanksgiving, the congregation's response to God's love in Jesus Christ, which has traditionally been termed sacrificial, the grateful dedication of God's gifts to his redeeming purpose.

It is possible to find three levels of sacrificial activity in this brief sentence: 1) The bringing of gifts of bread and wine, and money, at the offertory; 2) The offering of thanks within the liturgy, which contains in it the element of personal, sacrificial rededication to God's will; and 3) The post-liturgical

fulfillment of that self-sacrificial intention by the congregation. Brand, in his explanatory lecture, focused on such "sacrifice of the total Christian life," while avoiding the use of the word "sacrifice" itself (certainly, he was trying to present his truth, while not antagonizing the sensibilities of his audience):

. . . . the liturgy is the formal expression of the Christian life. What is characteristic of that life comes to formal or cultic expression in the corporate assembly. And in both instances, God acts through what is done to accomplish his purposes. Thus it is fruitless to debate which is more important, what we do or what God does. What God does in the world he does through our obedient action.

The individual's life, then, focuses in the corporate act of the liturgy. As serving, confessing, praying, Bible reading, thankful persons, we come together corporately to confess, to pray, to read the Bible, to give thanks, to offer gifts symbolic of our service. And through it all, God acts in and among us. We are confirmed and solidified as a Christian people both by what we today call group dynamics but, more importantly, also by the presence and activity of God. The corporate act keeps the individual life focused, keeps it from becoming ambiguous. And the corporate act is a vehicle for the expression of our personal joys and sorrows and hopes.

Liturgically, the offertory is the prime example of this relationship. We offer gifts of money and of bread and wine. We say we offer them to God. But God obviously neither needs nor wants them. It is we, the church, who need them. It is their symbolic significance which is important to God. For the only real offering we can bring to God is ourselves. If the gifts are not brought in that spirit, then they are worthless in God's sight. We bring them as symbols of our surrender of what we are and possess. They are tangible means of expressing our inward sacrifice. But these gifts then become instruments of God's action among us. The money is used in the church to carry on the work of the Lord in the world. The bread and wine become channels through which Christ gives himself to us.. What is offered sacrificially is returned sacramentally. The dynamic covenant between God and his people is once more made tangible. The celebration of the Lord's Supper (Introit to Benediction) thus is the corporate expression

of the Christian life, and is, at the same time, God's strengthening of that life.

The 1960 statement of the ULCA spoke of "sacrifice" at some length, admitting that through anamnesis the original sacrifice of Christ is present in the Eucharist, but striving to keep separate the categories of "Christ's sacrifice," "God's gift (beneficium) in the Eucharist," and "our thankful, sacrificial response":

31. There is no question that the event of Calvary is designated in the Bible as a sacrifice which abrogates and fulfills all the Old Testament sacrifices. Of this sacrifice is a memorial in the sense in which this has already been spoken of . . . [Cf. ¶14, quoted supra, p. 372.] Whatever significance may be ascribed to the self-giving of God in Christ, the innocent sufferings and death that atoned for and covered the sins of the world, all this is present reality in the supper. The sacrament is not only the celebration of the presence of the risen Christ but also the proclamation of his atoning death. Without the presence of the risen Christ this death would not be atonement and victory but meaningless tragedy; a risen Christ without his atoning death would mean only the demonstration of man's immortality and would be a denial of man's tragic predicament in sin. Without trying to spell out all the various aspects of the mystery of the atonement, it is its full mystery that is present in the sacrament and a central aspect of this is sacrifice. This sacrifice is, however, the sacrifice which God himself provides in his Son to put an end forever to all man's "sacrifices." This is the high-priestly activity of Christ in which he is "himself the victim and himself the priest." The direction of this sacrifice, since it has its origin in God's love and since it covers the sins of the world, . . . is not from man to God but is from God to man. . . .

32. The term sacrifice, while thus central to the biblical account of redemption and therefore also to the proclamation and celebration of this redemption in the Lord's Supper . . . should not be used to designate the gift of the sacrament. The gift is all God's; it is not man's. Man accepts what God gives. Man does not offer a sacrifice to God.

33. The term eucharist is here used to designate the en-

tire gift-engendered and responsive involvement of the whole life of the people to whom the gift is given.

34. Biblical theology does indeed need to acknowledge that "sacrifices" of prayer, praise, thanksgiving, and service to the neighbor are commanded and are the necessary response to God's gift (e.g., Rom. 12:1). Therefore, the use of this term to designate such response is both biblical and proper. But the investiture of the term sacrifice with some deed man does for God is so set in common speech that the New Testament transposition of the term has not been followed by a like transposition in common understanding. This imposes the task of clarifying the common understanding. The term eucharist designates the response with clarity. The Christian life is a life of sacrifice and self-giving, not in order to win merit, but in obedience to God's command in the exercise of faith, and in expression of thanksgiving.

35. An additional reason for caution with respect to the use of the term sacrifice in this context is that it provides an opening for the re-invasion of the church by notions that are alien to the gospel. Men desire a God who is malleable to their sacrifices. The Christian gospel proclaims a sacrificing God who ends all propitiatory sacrifices. But when response is designated sacrifice, the covert pelagianism which solaces the offense of the gospel is invited back into the very heart of the gospel. This invitation has the power and the peril it does have because it may be liturgically invested with the most seductive piety.

37. The eucharistic response includes the offerings of praise and thanksgiving as well as the offering to God of the whole life which is put at God's disposal that it may become a channel through which God's gifts flow down and out into the world. Nothing of what is here put at God's disposal is in propitiation for sin. From all such offering the self-giving of God has relieved man in order that all his efforts may go into joyful expressions of thanksgiving and service to his neighbor. . . .

38. The offering of gifts of bread and wine which are then used as the elements in the sacrament is not to be regarded as meritorious. This offering, too, is grateful response to God's prior gift and is only putting these elements at God's disposal. Our prayer does not change these gifts into the body and blood of Christ. . . .

39. Therefore, we do not offer Christ's body and blood in thanksgiving but we offer thanksgiving for the body and blood that are given and shed for us, . . . Before the judgment seat of God we have nothing to plead on behalf of our sins except the one all-sufficient sacrifice, and in our

prayers we plead this sacrifice and appeal to the one high priest who ever lives and makes intercession for us. There is then no break in the one, undivided act of God in Christ reconciling the world unto himself (2 Cor. 5:19). Above all, our pleading the sacrifice of Christ for our sins in prayer should be distinguished from the actual gift of the sacrament.

By comparison to the foregoing, the section dealing with sacrifice in the most recent statement (ALC-LCA, 1978) seems almost inconsequential. Nevertheless, no aspect of the last statement fails to find continued support in it:

6. The Lord's Supper is a sacrament, that is, God's gift of Christ's presence and love to us. It is not essentially an act or rite in which we give something to God. However, believers, confronted by the magnitude of God's grace in Jesus Christ, and the promise of forgiveness, life, and salvation, here presented in visible proclamation, respond in faith, obedience, and love. The Holy Spirit arouses faith whereby we turn to and trust in Christ alone. The Holy Spirit also moves those who believe to love other people as Christ himself does. This response is a "living sacrifice" of everything we are and have to God (Romans 12:1), which according to the Lutheran Confessions includes "sacrifices of praise": the proclamation of the Gospel, faith, prayer, thanksgiving, confession, the afflictions of the saints, yes, all the good works of the saints" (AP XXIV, 25). The response must never be confused with the gift. The Holy Communion is a service celebrating reconciliation. It is a Means of Grace by which the common life of God's new community is fostered and sustained and this new people is propelled into the world to engage in the mission which they have been given.

These official statements have a certain tendency in common, that is, perhaps in a desire to limit speculation about the sacrificial meaning of the Sacrament now received, they tend to speak of the sacrifice of Christ as a past event--as an event whose fruits have present effect when conveyed to us through the sacramental presence of the risen and living Christ,

but which is itself left in the past and is not incorporated within the focus of the Church's re-actualizing Anamnesis.

Brunner provides a corrective to this tendency:

The duality of bread and wine, of body and blood, points to the fact that the sacrificed body and the atoning and covenant-effecting sacrificial blood and, with this, Jesus' sacrifice on the cross, are present to us under the Eucharistic food and presented to us with the bread and wine.

Here we must be reminded that Jesus' sacrifice on the cross is not inanimate, as all sacrifices on the great day of atonement and all slaughtered Passover lambs are. He who makes the sacrifice, He in whom it consists, is God's eternal Son. Jesus' true humanity is effectually united with the true substantial deity of the eternal Son. His body and blood are begotten by the Spirit and pervaded by the power of divine life . . . even in the hour of his sacrifice. . . . The flesh of the incarnate WORD is not divorced from God, the Spirit who quickens. Mere flesh would, indeed, not avail. But this sacrificial flesh and this sacrificial blood are, as flesh, also Pneuma; . . .

Thus Jesus' death on the cross, together with his resurrection and ascent into heaven, has penetrated all heavens and all eons and made its way to the throne of God, and now stands eternally alive, eternally effectual, eternally atoning in the High Priest before the face of God. As Jesus "through the eternal Spirit offered himself to God" (Heb. 9:14), so this sacrifice stands, also in the power of the quickening Spirit, as a living sacrifice before the throne of God in a nonearthly, nonsensuous, pneumatic reality, but in a reality physically identical with His bloody sacrifice on Golgotha. In its eschatological pneumatic freedom, this sacrificial body, this physical sacrificial blood, this one and only sacrifice on the cross at that time becomes contemporary in the Eucharistic bread and in the Eucharistic drink.

In his analysis of the Anamnesis, Jenson laid down three conditions for its proper use and understanding. These conditions directly apply to the way Lutherans understand sacrifice within the Eucharist:

"First, the Anamnesis must never let its original character

fade: it is solely an appeal to God's faithfulness, and never to itself as a 'representation' of Christ's sacrifice." From Brunner we learn that as Christ himself becomes present in the Eucharist, so, inseparably, does his sacrifice, as a present reality. The presence of that sacrifice, however, is Christ's accomplishment, not ours. We are to receive its benefit, but not to try to "manipulate" it.

"Second, to be a piece of evangelical liturgy, the Anamnesis must be firmly anchored to the eating and drinking to follow." Jenson here repeats the Reformation's insistence that there cannot be a Mass without communicants. We should remember Luther's speculation that only when congregational communions came to be divorced from the Mass did the more problematic aspects of the doctrine of the Sacrifice of the Mass come to the fore. If the link between Anamnesis (seen as the reactualizing of Christ's own and his sacrifice's presence) and communion is not integral, there will always be a tendency to maintain the Mass as a sacrifice, for its own sake.⁷²

"Third, no previous part of the Great Thanksgiving [the eucharistic prayer] may have been ceremonialized as a moment of before-and-after metaphysical consecration: with hand-gestures, lowered or raised tones, or whatever."⁷³ Jenson here echoes Luther's injunction that we dare not try to turn God's gift to us into our sacrifice to him. To avoid this danger, it should be noted, the Lutheran Book of Worship calls for no ceremony.

of elevation at the time of the Verba (a form of elevation is permissive at the final doxology). Further, it continues to refer to the eucharistic species as the "bread" and "cup" following the Verba. These may be interpreted as safeguards against an un-Lutheran doctrine of sacrifice, which is the concern Jenson expresses here; however, it must be noted at the same time, that these features of the Lutheran Book of Worship can give aid and comfort to those who deny either or both, eucharistic consecration and Real Presence. One wonders, in fact, whether the Lutheran Church is today in greater danger from those who would desire to infiltrate a foreign notion of propitiatory sacrifice into its liturgy,⁷⁴ or from those who would be happy to see its traditional clear proclamation of the Real Presence evaporated. On these points, Elert speaks vigorously (In the first instance, he addresses those Reformed Protestants who have accused Lutherans of attempting magic, through their belief in Real Presence--the point is immediately applicable to the question of eucharistic sacrifice):

[Our] opponents . . . need not worry that . . . we lapse into a "magic" conception of Holy Communion. Magic is sorcery. Sorcery purposes to exercise supermundane powers through using human action and human means to achieve self-chosen aims. Such a feature could be found in Holy Communion only if the human action, . . . were motivated by human aims. But that is not the case. This human action does not spring from our own will; it is our obedience, our compliance with the commission given us. We do not pursue any aim of our own in this; we merely receive what is promised us.⁷⁵

Among today's Calvinists, especially among those who emphatically call themselves "Lutheran"--and people for whom the designation "Crypto-Calvinists" would be ridiculous euphemism--this doubleness [By "doubleness," Elert refers to any who do not accept the Verba literally, and who feel it necessary to find other than natural meanings for "is," "body," and "blood."] is reflected in the assertion that Calvin expressed what Luther meant. Naturally none but the authors of such a preposterous idea can have any interest in it. This sham has the same meaning for him as Zwingli's theory had for him. In their own heart they feel the objective difference between Luther and Zwingli, but they suppose that they can dissolve it by dialectics, that is, by saying both yes and no. The Luther of Marburg is just as irreconcilably opposed to these "Lutheran" Calvinists, to their Calvin, and to the "Luther" fashioned by them, as he was to Zwingli. For singleness and doubleness can never, never be reconciled. Here it is of no great consequence--at least not for us--whether Wittenberg or Geneva is right in the end, as little as it matters whether Rome is right in the end. For us Luther is not a formal doctrinal authority; he is our exemplar, particularly in this matter of retaining singleness of heart over against Christ's words in Holy Communion. Singleness is not simplicity. Consequently it is not the opposite of smartness or mature judgment, but of ⁷⁶doubleness. It is the opposite of saying both yes and no.

Elert seems far more concerned with the threat to the Lutheran doctrine of Real Presence, than with the possible arrival of an unacceptable notion of sacrifice; and this writer agrees with him.

A doctrine of eucharistic sacrifice that stays within the bounds defined above poses no threat to Lutheran doctrine; in fact it only gives current expression to truths which were already enunciated by the Reformer:

Thus Blessed Martin Luther expresses both ideas [that "sacrifice" pertains to our hearing of the sermon, as well as to the Eucharist] in one of his Maundy Thursday sermons: "When I declare the Word of God I offer sacrifice; when you hear the Word of God with all your heart, you offer sacri-

fice; when we pray and when we give in charity to our neighbor, we offer sacrifice. So too when I receive this Sacrament, I offer sacrifice--that is to say, I accomplish the will and service of God, I confess him, and I give him thanks. This is not a sacrifice for sin, but a sacrifice of thanksgiving and praise."

Piepkorn has given the reminder that we have nothing material to offer God that is not already his (as part of his creation), and which we have not received from him. He has suggested the spirit in which Christians should, therefore, celebrate the Eucharist, in terms which, with only slight modification, would have provided an excellent evangelical Anamnesis:

"No offering that we could bring could possibly reconcile us to Thee, our God. All that we can plead is the work of Thy Son, His perfect obedience in all that he did and all that He suffered, His Body nailed to the Cross for us, His Blood poured out for the forgiveness of our sins. As by the mystery of the sacramental union Thou hast made His true Body and Blood present for us in this Bread and in this Cup, for us Christians to eat and to drink, so, we beseech Thee, let it be present in Thy sight also as the price of our redemption. Let it remind Thee that Thou hast forgiven mankind in the reconciliation which Thou hast wrought in Thy Son. Before Thee we appeal to no virtue, no righteousness of our own, but only to the alien righteousness of Thy Suffering Servant and Son, our true Paschal Lamb, which was offered for us and has taken away the sins of the world, Who by his death has destroyed death, and by his rising to life again has restored to us everlasting life."

Such sacrificial pleading of the merits of Christ is surely something that many Lutherans would say "goes too far." Part of the problem is that for so long a time sacrificial imagery has been so totally avoided, that Lutherans have no practice in interpreting, or "feel" for understanding, such a text.

For example, discussing the Lutheran caution in approaching sacrificial language, Heineken has written:

All covert Pelagianism involved in the usage of the words "offering" or "sacrifice" as applied to our action must be avoided. We are not "offering" or "sacrificing" Christ to God. No one today, we trust, is seriously saying this. It is Christ "offering" and "sacrificing" himself. It is God in Christ making the sacrifice. We can appeal only to what Christ has already done once and for all and what he, in another way of speaking, continues to do when he makes intercession for us. If this is what is meant then, in my opinion at least, it is not only confusing but perverse to say that "we offer Christ in the sacrament." In fact, this statement turns the gospel upside down.

Granted this manner of expressing the dynamic of the Eucharist is somewhat confusing to modern Lutherans--it isn't "second nature" to us to speak this way--yet a Lutheran theologian goes out of bounds in saying that it turns the Gospel upside down, unless, indeed, he feels comfortable laying such an accusation at Luther's door. In fact, we have seen that the Reformer was able to use virtually identical words in showing how Christians sacrifice (themselves, in Christ) in the Eucharist.⁸⁰

Aulén has clarified that the eucharistic sacrifice is not a repetition of Calvary--but a reactualizing of it--and not a propitiatory offering of Christ as our sacrifice. The Eucharist and Christ's sacrifice are "inseparably connected." "However, this does not depend on our action but on his. Here he actualizes the sacrifice on the cross in its eternal validity and effectiveness. The perfect, that which once took place, here becomes the present."⁸¹

At present, Lutheran talk about sacrifice in the Eucharist rightly has an academic feel about it. Lutheran theologians are discussing propositions which do not derive from experience or the living tradition of their Church. All current talk about eucharistic sacrifice is ecumenical and extrinsic in origin. One may say that past Lutheran theology was incomplete and defective, because it neither defined the sacrificial ramifications of the Eucharist, nor evidenced them in its rites. It may have been thus "defective," but it was nevertheless "effective," in that Lutheran piety survived the lack for centuries, and Lutheran theologians so successfully systematized the data of the Reformation that the lack we are noting was not recognized, internally. Had not the Ecumenical Movement burgeoned and involved a good part of Lutheranism early in this century, it is well possible that Brilioth's book might, like so many thousands of others, have been consigned to an archivist's oblivion, with his cue on eucharistic sacrifice going unnoticed.

"Sacrifice" is a new category for Lutherans, an expansion of their doctrinal outline. Lutheran theologians have done little more than "test the waters." Lutheran laity are still mostly unaware, since it is a rare pastor who has done much to bring this theme into his preaching or catechetics. If Lutheranism comes to a real and appreciative understanding of this dynamic, it will not have come through instruction, but through doing its new liturgy. *Legem credendi lex statuat supplicandi.*

Epiclesis. It has already been seen that many of those who stand under the banner of "Ecumenical Lutheran" theology, resist speaking of the Verba as having a consecratory function, as this has been traditionally understood.⁸² In this, as in many other particulars, they follow the lead established by Leenhardt.⁸³ When many of these same voices call for the inclusion of an Epiclesis of the Holy Spirit in Lutheran eucharistic prayers, one is at first tempted to wonder if this indicates a call to Lutherans to abandon the West's notion of Verba-Consecration, in favor of the East's Epiclesis-Consecration. However, the answer comes back denying that possibility, since with authorities like Jenson any consecration that involves an effect upon the elements themselves--any definable "change"--is denied. Why then have an Epiclesis?

The Lutheran Church has been typical of traditional Western Christendom, in not having a very highly-developed pneumatology. The Holy Spirit has been assigned impressive titles such as "Comforter," "Sanctifier," and "Life-giver" and has been given a place in the Creeds and Doxologies ("Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit . . ."), but this has all been rather "hollow," since neither theology nor piety have revealed the Third Person of the Trinity as much of a living reality within the Church, let alone as its very life-force. This was wrong, but that is how things were.

Recovery (or discovery) of awareness of the reality

and activity of the Holy Spirit is a recent phenomenon for Western Christians. Nowhere is this more true than in conjunction with the Eucharist. It should be noted that the long theological introduction of the 1960 ULCA statement on the Eucharist contains no statement concerning the working of the Spirit in this Sacrament. Even the latest American Lutheran statement fails to assign the Spirit a pivotal role.⁸⁴ However, such a recovery has taken place, and one of the places where it has manifested itself is in the international Lutheran-Roman Catholic dialogue, among whose findings we find the following agreed to, by both sides:

21. . . . It is also through the Holy Spirit that Christ is at work in the eucharist. All that the Lord gives us and all that enables us to make it our own is given to us through the Holy Spirit. In the liturgy this becomes particularly clear in the invocation of the Holy Spirit (epiklesis).

22. In remembrance of the intercession of Christ, its high priest, the church asks with confidence for his Spirit, in order to be renewed and sanctified through the eucharistic gifts and so strengthened to accomplish its mission in the world. In the power of the Holy Spirit the bread and wine become the body and blood of Christ through the creative word. The Spirit of love causes the sacrament of love to become real in that the divine love seeks us in our earthly reality in order to bring us home again.

23. Only in the Holy Spirit does the congregation come to the faith without which it cannot celebrate the eucharist. Thus the epiklesis is also the prayer for a living faith which prepares us to celebrate the remembrance of the suffering and resurrection of Christ. The eucharist is not an automatic means for the salvation of the world; it presupposes the presence of the Holy Spirit within the believers. . . .

24. In the fruits of the Holy Spirit--the love, joy and peace which believers receive in the eucharist in a special way--the ultimate fulfillment of all things is anticipated. The eucharist is the meal celebrated in expectation of his

coming in glory for the strengthening of the faithful. The invocation of the Holy Spirit is (accordingly) a plea for the future world to break into our present one. . . . ⁸⁵

This definition of the work of the Holy Spirit comes in conjunction with a definition of the Real Presence (using the categories of transubstantiation on the Catholic side, and those of confessional theology on the Lutheran side) to which a concept of "consecration" of the elements (involving ontological change) is joined. The placement of an invocation for such consecration is a sensitive matter for the Western Church, because of the traditional centrality of the Verba in this regard. In its new eucharistic prayers, the Roman Church has introduced the consecratory Epiclesis just prior to the Verba. ⁸⁶ Brunner has strongly insisted that this is the only possible location for a consecratory Epiclesis in the Lutheran rite, as well. ⁸⁷ It is Jungmann's thesis, incidentally, that the post-Verba Epiclesis of consecration found in the West Syrian liturgies, from the Apostolic Constitutions onwards, resulted from the addition of new thematic material to an invocation already found at this place in Hippolytus. ⁸⁸ Jungmann concedes that the Hippolytan invocation hints at "an effect on the gifts themselves"; but its main intention appears to be that the communicant should receive the Holy Spirit along with the Sacrament.

As was noted in the previous chapter, the epicleses provided by the ILCW are in the post-Anamnesis position. They

are nonconsecratory, and have been composed by those whose interpretation specifically excludes the concept of Consecration.⁸⁹ With that thought swept away, the purpose of the Epiclesis can only be a request for the benefits of communion and for the fulfillment of the Eucharist's eschatological content. This, in any case, is what is held by Jenson, who has become the ILCW's prime advocate:

If we once sort out the senses of "consecration," the Epiclesis poses no serious puzzles. The Invocation of the Spirit, . . . is an entirely natural thing for Christians to do at this place, and unless inhibited by extraneous fears, they have always done it. Of the various ways in which the tradition has made connection between the Spirit's coming and the body-presence of Christ as bread and cup, all are acceptable, once we no longer conceive or ceremonialize a before-and-after consecration.

The Spirit is Jesus' spirit, and the spirit of our gathering, and just so God's Spirit. It is merely the other side of this relation that the body of Christ is Jesus' body, and the body of our community, and just so God's body. In the Supper, it is the bread and cup that make the identity of Jesus' body and the church's body. To invoke God's Spirit on the bread and cup is, therefore, merely to call body and spirit of our relation to the Lord together.

The last word on this subject is far from having been spoken, within Lutheran circles.⁹¹ Indeed, this is true of all the aspects of eucharistic theology which have been under consideration here. In recent decades, Lutheranism has been delivered from the sort of confessionalism which could tolerate only the parroting of traditional theological formulas, and in whose eyes any alteration or growth of traditional language brought an immediate charge of heresy (with the understanding "guilty, till proven innocent").

Indeed, the next decades ought to be interesting, as "Ecumenical Lutheran" theology continues its dialogues with, and deepens the insights it has been receiving through, its non-Lutheran partners. At the same time, if it is responsible, this "Ecumenical Lutheran" theology must enter serious dialogue with Lutherans who represent the "Traditional-Conservative" side. Only through both processes can "Ecumenical Lutheran" theology attain both breadth of vision and the sort of maturity which its current statements and liturgical products often seem to lack.

THE PRESENT AND FUTURE OF THE LUTHERAN EUCHARISTIC PRAYER

With the publishing of the Lutheran Book of Worship, a real crisis point was reached and passed, with respect to the use of the eucharistic prayer in North American Lutheranism. Such a prayer had been requested, and experimented with, and propagandized for, for decades, prior to the official printing of one, in the Service Book and Hymnal of 1958--but this had always been the concern of a relative minority. At the time when the draft of the Service Book and Hymnal was brought for the approval of the sponsoring church bodies, its inclusion of a "Prayer of Thanksgiving" was opposed vigorously

by a vocal minority.

When the ILCW began its work, and when it was revealed that the use of the eucharistic prayer would be the first option that it would present in its reshaping of the eucharistic rite, a more concerted and organized opposition developed. Opposition to the eucharistic prayer was adopted as one of the planks in the platform of the leadership which has exercised control in the Missouri Synod, during the last decade, and it became one of the reasons that group used to justify withdrawal of its participation in and approval of the Lutheran Book of Worship, just prior to its publication. Conservative backlash thus carried the day in the Missouri Synod, which body is soon to publish a separate book of its own, one which will not contain any sort of eucharistic prayer.

However, opponents of the eucharistic prayer were unsuccessful in having it dropped from the Lutheran Book of Worship. Had they done so, Lutheran use of the eucharistic prayer might have become a historical footnote--an experiment which was tried for twenty years, during the life of one edition of the Lutheran rite, and which failed.

The Lutheran Book of Worship having been published with such prayers has virtually guaranteed that hereafter the eucharistic prayer will be a permanent fixture in the Lutheran rite. According to reports gathered by the church bodies, this book was to have been placed in use in 70% of the congre-

gations of the Lutheran Church in America in the first full year following publication. For the American Lutheran Church the corresponding figure was 80%--what is astounding about this level and speed of acceptance is that the Service Book and Hymnal was not accepted by this percentage of ALC congregations until seven years following its publication.⁹² It can additionally be supposed to be in use even in a scattering of Missouri Synod congregations which had placed standing orders for it, prior to that Synod's negative action. For the two-thirds of North American Lutheranism represented by the ALC, LCA and ELCC, the presence of the eucharistic prayer in their official service book is no longer an issue, it is simply a fixture.

That is not to say that the eucharistic prayer is in use in anywhere near that percentage of congregations. Acceptance of the use of the eucharistic prayer was only partial, even twenty years following the appearance of the Service Book and Hymnal--most pastors and congregations simply overlooked and forgot about the new option. This time, however, the eucharistic prayer will not be so easy to overlook.

In the Lutheran Book of Worship devices of layout and typography have been cannily utilized both so that this book is more difficult to use if one wishes to truncate the service and end it without celebrating the Sacrament (to encourage weekly communion), and if one wishes to avoid the eucharistic prayer and follow the older Verba-alone liturgical option.

It may not happen immediately, but sooner or later this physical arrangement of the material is certain to raise the question of the use of the eucharistic prayer, in every Verba-alone parish. Not that Lutheran laity have sufficient liturgical grounding to criticize their pastors' choice of options or demand that he change his choice of options, but sheer practicality will lead them to the question "Why?" "Why do we use the option that's harder to follow in the book?" "Why do you skip over that important-looking prayer that's printed on a red background?" The prayer is printed in an approved Lutheran book after all, so it will be a rare pastor who can successfully use the old dodge, "I think that such a prayer is Romanizing." After a time the answer, "This is the way we've always done it," will also seem less than adequate ("After all, why did we buy the new books in the first place, if we didn't want to do anything new?"). At this point, many pastors may be led to do a reassessment of their sacramentology and liturgical practice that has been overdue for years. One can expect that, in a high proportion of cases, this will result in victory for the use of the eucharistic prayer.

But, this writer would like to add his personal assessment, that what has happened in the Missouri Synod has the potential for being the prelude to an even greater victory for the eucharistic prayer, in North American Lutheranism. It may seem paradoxical to look at what appears to be a total rejec-

tion and to call this a possible "prelude to victory," but it is not impossible.

Above, in several places, this writer has indicated his displeasure with the prayers formulated by the ILCW, and with the theological presuppositions of certain "Ecumenical Lutheran" theologians, which lie behind them. One must be grateful to East-Coast Lutheranism, for it met the challenge of insuring that eucharistic prayers would not disappear from the Lutheran Book of Worship. At the same time, one judges what has been produced and finds that these prayers suffer from imprecision and shallowness. The theology behind them may be "ecumenical" and "up-to-the-minute," but at critical points it appears to drift away from identifiably Lutheran moorings.

By comparison with East-Coast Lutheranism, whose theology can often appear to be in flux, the Missouri Synod has always been a sort of theological and confessional bastion--not one where ideas never change, but one wherein change is effected deliberately, and in accordance with fundamental principles.

It is typical of the way Missouri does things, that even in its political maneuvers--and its rejection of the Lutheran Book of Worship was patently one such--it attempts to provide itself with theological justifications. When the Synod's "blue ribbon" committee reported back its expected recommendations against the Lutheran Book of Worship, its reasons were mainly theological ones (whether or not they were sound ones is beside

the point). Likewise, in its evaluation of the ILCW eucharistic prayers, the charge that is developed is essentially one of "poor theology" in their contents. It should be noted that this committee did not state that the eucharistic prayer form per se is theologically un-Lutheran, only that the present ILCW examples are.

It can be predicted that Missouri's action will in time stimulate, both the production of more literature on this subject, and the composition of new eucharistic prayer texts which are more solidly Lutheran in their doctrinal content. It must be remembered that just such a theological-liturgical ferment was at work within Missouri in previous decades. There is absolutely no reason to suppose that it will not come to life again, once a greater degree of organizational equilibrium is restored within that body. (A certain amount of peace and stability is helpful, after all, to the doing of serious theology.) When such theological discussion has taken place, and such prayers have been written and disseminated, the Lutheran eucharistic prayer's "greater victory" will at last have come to pass.

NOTES: CHAPTER V

¹ Arthur C. Piepkorn, "Pray Brethren--Reflections on the Devotional Value of a Prayer of Consecration," *Una Sancta* 8:2 (1948), pp. 8f. [Hereinafter: Piepkorn-Pray.]

² Ibid., pp. 9-10. On the Lord's Prayer as a prayer of consecration, *supra*, pp. 232-234. Cf. also, Krister Stendahl, "The New Testament Background for the Doctrine of the Sacraments," in Günther Gassmann and Vilmos Vajta, eds., *Oecumenica: An Annual Symposium of Ecumenical Research*, 1970, Gospel and Sacrament (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1970), p. 54 [Hereinafter: Stendahl]. Stendahl is convinced (basing his opinion on Origen) that ἐπιούσιον should be translated "proleptic," so that the meaning of the phrase would be "Give us the anticipatory meal of the Kingdom here and now"--in other words, the Lord's Prayer, in his view could admirably serve as the consecratory prayer of the Eucharist.

³ Piepkorn-Pray, p. 9.

⁴ Cf. Erwin L. Lueker, ed., *Lutheran Cyclopedia* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1954), p. 409, "Gerhard, Johann."

⁵ Robert W. Jenson, "A 'Great Thanksgiving' for Lutherans?", in *ILCW, A "Great Thanksgiving" for Lutherans?: Theological Conversation in Progress* (New York: ILCW, 1976[?]), p. [6].

⁶ Note Arnold F. Krugler's appreciation of CW-01, prayer V, on the basis (he is unfortunately incorrect about this) that it is all proclamation. "The Words of Institution: Proclamation or Prayer?", *Concordia Journal* 2(1976), p. 60.

⁷ On this point, cf. F. J. Leenhardt, "This is My Body," in Oscar Cullman and F. J. Leenhardt, *Essays on the Lord's Supper* ("Ecumenical Studies in Worship, 1"; Richmond, Va.: John Knox, 1958), p. 71. [Hereinafter: Leenhardt.]

⁸ Paul F. Foelber, "Lutheran Book of Worship," *Concordia Journal* 3(1977), p. 109.

⁹ Theodore G. Tappert, ed., *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1959), pp. 265, 267. [Hereinafter: *Book of Concord*.]

¹⁰ *Supra*, p. 145.

¹¹ Note Piepkorn's observations, *supra*, p. 345. In terms of Lutheran understandings, this writer suggests the result will be sinful, whenever the Words of Institution come to be used, in a virtually magical sense, as if they compelled the presence of Christ--overlooking the fact that they announce his own desire to be present, in the first instance.

¹² Book of Concord, p. 523.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 421, 431.

¹⁴ Merton P. Strommen et al., *A Study in Generations* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1972), pp. 380f.

One should compare Strommen's results with those obtained by Michael J. Taylor, approximately one decade earlier, on the basis of a questionnaire sent to 665 Lutheran pastors; *Protestant Liturgical Renewal: A Catholic Viewpoint* (Westminster, Md.: Newman, 1963), pp. 255f., 281f. His instrument included the following questions:

4. Do you believe and teach the real, physical presence of the Lord in the Sacrament of Holy Communion?

a) If so, when is his presence realized: at the moment of consecration?

b) At the moment of reception?

5. If not, how would you describe our Lord's presence in this Sacrament?

18. Regarding the fruits or effects our Lord wished to produce in our souls through this Sacrament, do you believe in any or all of the following (presupposing of course we believe in Christ and are repentant of our sins)?

a) A nourishment for the soul, i.e., an increase of his life and grace in the individual soul?

b) A deepening of our mutual union or fellowship with one another as members of Christ?

c) Atonement for our sins?

d) Forgiveness of our sins?

e) The preparation of our bodies as well as our souls for resurrection in Christ?

f) Divine help to strengthen our souls against temptation?

g) Other possible effects?

20. Would you hold that the Sacrament is God's way of making His sacrificial death somehow present to us so that we might identify ourselves with it and offer it in union with Christ to the Father of our salvation?

21. Is the Lord's Supper a sacrifice in any sense?

Where it seemed significant for him to do so, Taylor separately indicated the percentage of respondents who were members of the Missouri Synod, as opposed to members of the United Lutheran Church in America (a predecessor-body of the present

Lutheran Church in America):

Manner of Christ's presence in Holy Communion:

Real-physical presence....	Missouri Lutherans.....	70%
	United Lutherans.....	45%
Real-spiritual presence....	Missouri Lutherans.....	30%
	United Lutherans.....	45%
Symbolic presence.....	United Lutherans.....	10%
The Lord's Supper: A Memorial only.....		None
The Lord's Supper: Moment of presence:		
Moment of consecration....	Missouri.....	20%
	United.....	15%
Moment of reception.....	Missouri.....	50%
	United.....	50%
Moment "personal"; realized sometime during the "Eucharis- tic Action".....	Missouri.....	30%
	United.....	35%
The Lord's Supper: A sacrifice in some sense.....		30%
The Lord's Supper: A sacrifice in no sense.....		70%
The Lord's Supper: A means of rendering Christ's sacrificial death somehow present so that we might identify ourselves with it and offer it in union with Christ to the Father: No.....		
		50%
Yes, up to "offer Christ to the Father"....	Missouri.....	25%
	United.....	15%
Yes unequivocally....	Missouri.....	20%
	United.....	15%

Noncommittal (All the remaining pastors)

Fruits of the Lord's Supper:

All as listed [in questionnaire].....	25%
All but (c)--atonement--and (e)--bodily benefits, etc....	50%
Fruits (a), (b), and (d) only.....	25%

It must be noted that this survey was conducted before the modern Ecumenical Movement had the effect of reopening the discussion of eucharistic theology and practice, for most Lutheran pastors. To some extent, the questionnaire must have caught many pastors "unawares." The answers reveal much ambiguity concerning the Real Presence and much lack of understanding and basic inconsistency regarding the meaning of eucharistic sacrifice.

¹⁵ This writer's accusation of "vagueness" is a mild one. Cf. Harvey W. Wangerin, "Thoughts on the New 'Worship Book'," *Concordia Journal* 2 (1976), p. 116: "Awkwardness of language, ambiguity, theological confusion and jargon, and an unbelievable penchant for replacing clear and familiar terminology with 'uncommunicative nebulosity'--all these weaknesses are painfully inherent in these prayers."

Michael B. Aune, in "An Approach to an American Lutheran Liturgical Theology," *Luther Theological Seminary Review* 16: 2 (1977), p. 43, has well stated the problem of the relationship

of dogmatic theology to liturgical texts, For Lutherans, " . . . [who] have had a difficult time dealing theologically with the liturgy (except, of course, in purging the liturgical rite of obvious heresy). Such a difficulty stems from our understanding of the kind of relationship which exists between liturgy and theology. For us, theology is essentially 'scientific theology' in that we try to present a rationally-ordered way of inquiring, reflecting, and interpreting the Christian message so that it can impinge upon us in a significant way. At the same time, we see a fundamental purpose of liturgy in teaching this theological stance in an overt, didactic, and rational manner. While recognizing that the tradition of worship communicates the tradition of the faith, our customary procedure is to deal theologically with the liturgy independent of the liturgical tradition and liturgical life. As such, liturgy, instead of being a source of theology, is an object of theology which is evaluated from the vantage point of preconceived dogmatic propositions. In reflecting theologically upon liturgy, then, we begin with accepted categories of 'sacrament,' 'sacrifice,' or 'proclamation.' We lay the theological foundation first and then deal with the task of ordering the liturgy and determining what can and cannot be included. This manner of subordinating the liturgy to theology, while reflecting the age-old concern that liturgy expresses and molds the faith of the people, does not take into account the difference between theological and symbolic language. . . . [Lutherans] need to remember that the function of worship is not to explain Christian faith but to express what it is all about so that we can live it more and more intensely. The foci of a liturgical theology are the theological content and assumptions of worship AND the event of worship itself as a moment of the faith-experience of the people who celebrate it."

Stendahl (p. 42), considering the centrality currently assigned to hermeneutics, in the doing of theology, observes: "What we--especially those of us of a Lutheran brand--should notice is that much of this hermeneutics discussion is a very continental Protestant or even Lutheran phenomenon that somehow builds upon the presupposition 'im Anfang war der Text,' . . . The theological task is consequently thought of as the production of the right kind of translation. . . . This whole approach is highly verbal in its understanding of Christianity, and that is worth noting since we are here to deal with that very area of theology where the verbalization, where the verbal is to some extent called into question: Sacraments, i.e. things so nonverbal that modern man might even have to use the word magic to get across to over-verbalized western man what it is about."

¹⁶Olson's recent major article is referred to supra, p. 340, n. 133.

¹⁷ Hermann Sasse, *This is My Body: Luther's Contention for the Real Presence in the Sacrament of the Altar* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1959), p. 380.

¹⁸ English-speaking Protestantism had its real introduction to the dynamic of the Anamnesis in Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (Westminster: Dacre, 1945), pp. 243-247, et passim; and in Joachim Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, translated from the third German edition of 1960 (London: SCM, 1966), pp. 237-255. However, the most influential author has doubtless been Max Thurian, in his two volume work, *The Eucharistic Memorial* ("Ecumenical Studies in Worship, 7-8"; Richmond, Va.: John Knox, 1960/1961); note vol. 2, ch. 1 (pp. 5-33), where Thurian introduces the specifically sacrificial implications of the eucharistic Anamnesis--implications which, in general, are anathema to Lutheran "Traditional-Confessional" theologians. A critique of Thurian will be found in Robert H. Bryant, "Some Trends in Recent Protestant Interpretation of the Eucharist," pp. 250-273 (especially pp. 259-267) in Friedrich W. Kantzenbach and Volmos Vajta, eds., *Oecumenica: An Annual Symposium of Ecumenical Research*, 1968 (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1968). Cf. Leenhardt, op. cit., pp. 56-63.

¹⁹ Sasse, op. cit., p. 381.

²⁰ Ibid, p. 371.

²¹ John S. Damm, "The Eucharist in the Life of the Church," *Concordia Theological Monthly* 43(1972), p. 158. Note, however, the definition of Anamnesis found in Michael Aune, op. cit., pp. 44-45: "Through . . . faith in the dimension of memory, Christ's saving act became explicit in the word and deed of the believing community. As such, it did not involve the projection of the past saving act of God in Christ into the present life of the congregation. Rather, it was the raising to explicit consciousness of a presence already among them: Christ's saving and sharing presence [N.B., here one must remember this implication of the Lutheran doctrine of ubiquity]. . . . There is no point in speaking of the event of worship as a 'representation' or 'reactualization' of a past saving deed. Rather, as an exercise of the gift of faith in which Christ is already present as both its source and content, we recognize and celebrate his particular presence in our lives in authentic proclamation and sacramental event."

²² It is said (and this writer apologizes for having mislaid his reference to such a statement in print) that the concept of Holy Communion being the memorial of Christ's death

was once so strong in the Reformed Church in Holland, that communicants would come to their communion services dressed in mourning. While such an extreme was never reached in Lutheranism, it is nevertheless true that there are many (Missouri Synod, especially) Lutheran parishes in which the communion service is celebrated on Good Friday (not a distribution of a pre-sanctified Sacrament), but not on Easter Sunday.

²³Werner Elert, *The Lord's Supper Today* ("Contemporary Theology Series"; St. Louis: Concordia, 1973), p. 34.

²⁴Cf. Oliver K. Olson, "Liturgy as 'Action'," *Dialog* 14(1975), pp. 108-113; Arnold F. Krugler, "The Words of Institution: Proclamation or Prayer?", *Concordia Journal* 2(1976), especially pp. 56-58; and Carl F. Wisløff, *The Gift of Communion: Luther's Controversy with Rome on Eucharistic Sacrifice* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1964), pp. 140-155.

Note, however, that Arthur Piepkorn has no difficulty in associating the concepts of Real Presence and sacrifice: "The sacrifice that is here made present before God and before the eucharistic assembly is a sacrifice for the whole world. Let it be clearly emphasized that a sacrifice is here present. Indeed a twofold sacrifice is present. . . . it is a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, spiritual (as a translation of *logikē*) and therefore unbloody. . . . But there is more to it than that. We have already stressed that the Sacrament of the Altar is a making present again of God's act in Christ, His nativity, His baptism, fasting, and temptations, His perfect life of obedience, His rejection, His last supper, His agony and bloody sweat, His betrayal, His arrest, His cross and execution, His precious death and burial, His glorious resurrection and ascension, and in anticipation and in vivid hope His self-disclosure to vindicate and liberate His church and His creation at the great palingenesis. All this is made present before God and before us. This sacrifice, this oblation, this offering is for the whole world. It is retroactive to the first human being, and it thrusts forward in its saving effect to the end of the age. Although the essential historical moment of His once-and-for-all sacrifice is chronologically in the past, the one priest is Christ and the one victim is Christ. We have a part in it only because we are members of His body the church." "The One Eucharist for the One World," *Concordia Theological Monthly* 43(1972), p. 27.

Piepkorn illustrated his concept by quoting the text of a communion hymn found in the Service Book and Hymnal (#278) --a hymn which, significantly, was dropped from the list of those approved for inclusion in the Lutheran Book of Worship:

And now, O Father, mindful of the love
 That bought us, once for all, on Calvary's Tree,
 And having with us him that pleads above,
 We here present, we here spread forth to thee
 That only offering perfect in thine eyes,
 The one true, pure, immortal sacrifice.

Look, Father, look on his anointed face,
 And only look on us as found in him;
 Look not on our misusings of thy grace,
 Our prayer so languid, and our faith so dim:
 For lo, between our sins and their reward
 We set the passion of thy Son our Lord. Amen.

²⁵ Cf. B. W. Teigen, "The Real Presence in the Book of Concord," *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 41:2 (1977), pp. 41-57; and Ralph W. Quere, "Christ's Efficacious Presence in the Lord's Supper: Directions in the Development of Melancthon's Theology After Augsburg," *Lutheran Quarterly* 29 (1977), pp. 21-41.

²⁶ But note Stendahl's opinion on theological naïveté *op. cit.*, p. 50: "What is the central function and the coordinating substance of this act? . . . in the Eucharist, I say, it is the meal. And it is there, I think, that we should begin. That sounds naive but all good theology is naive, because if it is not naive we do not really understand what we are saying. That is a deep theological statement based on the basic understanding of Christian existence as being a 'child of God's.'"

²⁷ Cf., again, Taylor's results concerning the doctrine of the Real Presence, as held by "United" Lutheran pastors; *supra*, n. 14.

²⁸ Piepkorn, "The One Eucharist," pp. 95-96.

²⁹ Edmund Schlink, *Theology of the Lutheran Confessions* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1961), pp. 155-193; Willard D. Allbeck, *Studies in the Lutheran Confessions* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968), cf. especially, pp. 281-287; Holsten Fagerberg, *A New Look at the Lutheran Confessions (1529-1537)* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1972), pp. 184-205. Fagerberg, p. 187, questions Vajta's understanding of the Verba, and thus of the Real Presence as understood in Lutheranism. For his part, and considering himself totally within the tradition established by Luther and the Confessions, Vilmos Vajta, criticises those who would attempt to locate the presence of Christ in the context of the whole liturgical celebration, rather than in the ele-

ments themselves. In this connection he says, "Gollwitzer's criticism is well taken when he says" (*Coena Domini*, p. 34): "Whoever proceeds from the action stands thereby outside of the proper Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper. That is true from Melancthon to Althaus." In *Luther on Worship: An Interpretation* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1958), pp. 102f., n. 69.

Until his death, which was a loss to all North American Lutheranism, Arthur Carl Piepkorn held a special place in the ranks of its "Traditional-Confessional" theologians. One whose understanding of and allegiance to the Lutheran Confessions was awesome and unquestioned, his dedication to the Church Catholic, of which he never doubted Lutheranism was a part, was consuming. His special apostolate was to expand the vision of Lutherans, both inside and out of the Missouri Synod, to see the full implications and possibilities of their theological heritage, from the sixteenth century and before it.

³⁰ Aune, op. cit., p. 47.

³¹ Yngve Brilioth, *Eucharistic Faith and Practice: Evangelical and Catholic* (London: SPCK, [reprinted:] 1956), cf. ch. 2. Lietzmann's *Messe und Herrenmahl* had appeared in 1926.

³² Lutheranism has not been unaware of (and indeed has made its contributions to) the eucharistic theologizing that has been taking place under the aegis of the World Council of Churches. The reader is referred to the following documents: "A Faith and Order Study on the Holy Eucharist," *Studia Liturgica* 5 (1966), pp. 121-128. *New Direction in Faith and Order*, Bristol 1967: Reports-Minutes-Documents ("Faith and Order Paper No. 50"; Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1968). The Uppsala Report 1968: Official Report of the Fourth Assembly of the World Council of Churches, Uppsala, July 4-20, 1968 (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1968), especially pp. 78-85. David L. Edwards, "The Uppsala Report on Worship: Introduction," *Studia Liturgica* 6 (1969), pp. 66-68. Theophilus M. Taylor, "The Eucharist in Ecumenical Thought," *Studia Liturgica* 6 (1969), pp. 171-182. "Worship Today: Report on a Faith and Order Consultation," *Studia Liturgica* 7 (1970), pp. 23-39. "The Eucharist in Ecumenical Thought: Statement of the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches, Louvain 1971," pp. 79-89 in: *Modern Eucharistic Agreement* (London: SPCK, 1973). John Sullivan, "Le Conseil oecuménique des Eglises et le renouveau du culte," *Istina* 19 (1974), 350-367; 20 (1975), 307-314; 21 (1976), 238-256. "Le baptême et l'eucharistie dans une perspective oecuménique," [Faith and Order Conference, Accra, 1974] *Istina* 20 (1975), pp. 214-228. Emmanuel Lanne, "L'Eucharistie dans la recherche oecuménique actuelle: Observations sur le

nouveau document de Foi et Constitution," *Irenikon* 48 (1975), pp. 201-214. Towards an Ecumenical Consensus on Baptism, the Eucharist and the Ministry: A Response to the Churches ("Faith and Order Paper No. 84"; Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1977)--reprinted in *One in Christ* 14 (1978), pp. 141-161. Though not a WCC product, one should note in this regard a statement of the members of the (USA) National Council of Churches Faith and Order Study Commission, "Document--The Eucharist in the Life of the Church: An Ecumenical Consensus"; text in: Harry J. McSorley, "Unprecedented Agreement on the Eucharist," *The Ecumenist* 8 (1970), pp. 89-93. Cf. Eugene M. Skibbe, "Conscience, Ecumenism and the Eucharist," *American Ecclesiastical Review* 164 (1971), pp. 404-417.

Lutheran participation has also been manifest in a number of bilateral dialogues involving theologians from the Reformed churches: "Die Arnoldshainer Thesen 1957," [text] in Wolfgang Herbst, ed., *Quellen zur Geschichte des evangelischen Gottesdienstes von der Reformation bis zur Gegenwart* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968), pp. 294-296. Eugene M. Skibbe, "The Discussion of Intercommunion in German Protestantism," *Lutheran Quarterly* 11 (1959), pp. 91-111. Eugene M. Skibbe, "Reaction to the Arnoldshain Theses on the Lord's Supper," *Lutheran Quarterly* 12 (1960), pp. 249-255. E. Grisliis, "The Arnoldshain Theses on the Lord's Supper in Recent Discussion," *Lutheran Quarterly* 13 (1961), pp. 333-355. Joseph McLelland, et al., *A Reexamination of Lutheran and Reformed Traditions: II: Christology, The Lord's Supper and Its Observance in the Church*, Published Jointly by Representatives of the North American Area of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches Holding the Presbyterian Order and the U.S.A. National Committee of the Lutheran World Federation (New York: National Lutheran Council, 1964)--republished in *Marburg Revisted* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1966). Roger D. Pittelko, "Tappert, Heineken and the Reformed--Toward a Strange Consensus," *Una Sancta* 21:3/4 (1964), pp. 61-66 [cf. *ibid.*, 22:4 (1965), pp. 50-52]. Eugene M. Skibbe, *Protestant Agreement on the Lord's Supper* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1968). Marc Lienhard, "Leuenberg, 1971: On the Road to Fellowship," *Lutheran Forum* 5:10 (1971), pp. 18-20. "Leuenberg Agreement," [text] *Lutheran World* 20 (1973), pp. 347-353. Marc Lienhard, "Church Fellowship Through the Leuenberg Agreement: A New Way for the Reformation Churches in Europe?", *Lutheran World* 21 (1974), pp. 332-338.

Finally, and of greatest significance, a number of national and international bilateral dialogues have taken place, between Lutherans and Roman Catholics. Especially noteworthy are the study documents and conclusions included in two companion volumes: *Lutherans and Catholics in Dialogue, III: The Eucharist as Sacrifice*, Published Jointly by Representatives of U.S.A. National Committee of the Lutheran World Federation and

the Bishops' Committee for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs (Washington: United States Catholic Conference, 1967); and Lutherans and Catholics in Dialogue, IV: Eucharist and Ministry (1970; other publication data are the same). Cf.: John Coventry, "Lutherans and Catholics in Dialogue," *One in Christ* 7(1971), pp. 371-378. P. DeLetter and J. Putz, "Eucharistic Convergence," *The Clergy Monthly* 36(1972), pp. 461-470. Joseph Sittler, "Theological Developments of the Lutheran-Catholic Dialogue," *Chicago Studies* 17(1972), pp. 45-58. Arthur Carl Piepkorn, "Exercise in Comparative Ecumenism: Two Statements on the Eucharist," *Lutheran Forum* 8:1(1974), pp. 11-14. Paul C. Empie, "Lutheran/Roman Catholic Theological Dialogues in the U.S.A.," *Currents in Theology and Mission* 3(1976), pp. 275-278. John Cardinal Willebrands, "The International Roman Catholic/Lutheran Dialogue: An Appraisal," *One in Christ* 13(1977), pp. 98-107. Gemeinsame römisch-katholische evangelisch-lutherische Kommission, *Das Herrenmahl* (Paderborn: Bonifacius, 1978)--the text of the statement has been reprinted in *Origins* 8(1979), 465-478, and in *One in Christ* 15(1979), 249-273; in neither of these reprintings, however, have there been included the German edition's noteworthy liturgical and dogmatic appendices. Joseph L. Bernadin, "The Yet Undisclosed Paths," *One in Christ* 15(1979), pp. 98-113.

A non-technical summary of the progress of the various dialogues in which Lutherans had participated (to that date) is to be found in: Warren A. Quanbeck, *Search for Understanding: Lutheran Conversations with Reformed, Anglican, and Roman Catholic Churches* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1972).

³³ Note *supra*, n. 14: So unimpressive a sacrifice has this "Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving" been considered to be by Lutherans, that in Taylor's survey 70% of Lutheran pastors answered that they considered the Eucharist to be a sacrifice "in no sense" whatsoever.

³⁴ Gustaf Aulén, *Eucharist and Sacrifice* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1958), p. 175. [Hereinafter: Aulén-Eucharist.]

³⁵ To have spoken of "a theology" was an unfortunate use of words. Indeed, there are a multitude of varying approaches and a myriad of specifics. To adequately study them and attempt any worthwhile sort of categorizing of them would call for a separate dissertation of at least the length of the present work. Here it is hoped the reader will be content with a selection of illustrative quotations which may serve, at least roughly, to establish the current boundaries of "Ecumenical Lutheran" eucharistic thinking.

³⁶ For full references, cf. *supra*, n. 18.

³⁷ Dix, p. 245.

³⁸ Thurian, I, p. 25.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 19.

⁴⁰ The text of the entire Statement is presented in Edgar S. Brown, Jr., ed., *Liturgical Reconnaissance: Papers Presented at the Inter-Lutheran Consultation on Worship*, February 10-11, 1966, Chicago, Illinois (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968), p. 36. [Hereinafter: Brown.] The text of the Lutheran Church in America's 1964 statement "Communion Practices" is included in this same source, pp. 58-64.

Cf. Gustaf Aulén, *The Faith of the Christian Church* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1960), p. 344 [Hereinafter: Aulén-Faith]: " . . . if the conception of the Lord's Supper as an act of Christ becomes obscured or eliminated, the sacramental action of the church would lose its essential content. It would then be reduced to a memorial of what once happened, a memorial service commemorating the martyrdom of the cross. This would become a "memorial" of character entirely different from that found in the New Testament. The anamnesis in the New Testament is a remembrance which moves what happened in the past into the present and makes it a 'present reality.' It is none other than the living Christ himself who makes the sacrifice of the cross a living reality in the present." See also: Ronald M. Hals, "The Concept of Sacrifice as a Background for the Eucharist," *Lutheran Quarterly* 26 (1974), pp. 174-176; and Robert W. Jenson, *Visible Words: The Interpretation and Practice of Christian Sacraments* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978), pp. 99-102.

⁴¹ Reports and Actions of the Fourth General Convention of the American Lutheran Church, 1968 (Minneapolis: American Lutheran Church, 1968[?]), p. 658. [Hereinafter: Reports.]

⁴² Ibid., p. 512. Brand's reference to E. Schillebeeckx is to the latter's *Christ the Sacrament of the Encounter with God* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1963), p. 44. Interestingly, is "misquoted," in that Schillebeeckx's point of reference is not the Anamnesis. Rather, he is dealing with the relationship of sacramentality to the Incarnation, and he handles this in a way that would appear to give greater support to Verbal-alone Lutheran liturgy, than to supporters of the eucharistic prayer.

⁴³ N.B., Peter Brunner, *Worship in the Name of Jesus* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1968), pp. 145-150; especially p. 150: "The presence of the one and only historical redemptive event, which Christ presents to His congregation through Word and

Spirit, is His own pneumatic, Word-bound manifestation in the present time: The living and exalted Lord is actually present in His Word which relates His words and His works, really present as Jesus, really present in His historical and now glorified humanity. Therefore, in this His Word-bound Pneuma-presence all is likewise present that took place in Him and through Him for our salvation. The Word of Jesus, the Spirit poured out by Him, and His earthly and now glorified physical humanity--these three are one in the anamnesis of worship by virtue of the divine institution of Jesus Christ. Because the present-time manifestation of the humanity of Jesus, united in the union hypostatica with the eternal Son, eventuates for our salvation in the proclamation of the Gospel, God's end-time redemptive act, performed in Jesus' humanity here on earth, also becomes concretely present." [Hereinafter: Br  nner.]

⁴⁴ Joachim Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus* (London: SCM, 1966), pp. 237-255. For Jeremias, εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν means "that God may remember me." The context from which he draws his interpretation is that of ancient funerary inscriptions, rather than that of the Passover.

⁴⁵ Note that even an experienced Lutheran theologian can mistakenly assume that the "transubstantiation" definition is design to answer the question "how" concerning the Eucharist, rather than the question "what."

⁴⁶ Stendahl, op. cit., p. 57.

⁴⁷ The precise relation between the Sacrament and proclamation has long been a problem for Lutherans (supra, ch. 2, n. 30, p. 89). In this connection, the ALC statement of 1968 made a useful clarification: "The Sacrament and the preaching of the Word belong together. The two are neither in tension nor competitive, but complementary, each contributing to the fullness of the other. The preaching of the Word interprets the dramatic action of the Lord's Supper and helps prevent it from lapsing into spectacle or magic. The Sacrament underlines and reinforces the Word in preaching, emphasizing the present act of God in Christ, the reverberation of Calvary and Easter in the present experience of the congregation. Both preaching and the Sacrament are declarations of the one Word of God, the Word by which the universe was made and is sustained, the Word made flesh in Jesus Christ. The Lord's Supper does not bestow a special kind of grace, but both preaching and Sacrament are acts of the living God who uses them for his self-disclosure to the congregation. . . ."; Reports, p. 658. Cf. Eugene Brand's explanation, *ibid.*, pp. 511f.: "In our jargon we usually refer to the Means of Grace as "Word and Sacraments," meaning preach-

ing, Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Such a language would be harmless enough were it not for the theological mischief it has done, and among Lutherans of all people! The phrase splits the Means of Grace into two groups as if the Word were one thing and the sacraments another. From this separation arise such questions as: Which is more important, preaching or the Lord's Supper? If we have the sermon, why is the sacrament necessary? What do the sacraments add to the Word? Or people say that the Lord's Supper is where Christ is really present, implying that he is not present, or not so really present, in preaching. Another of Luther's great theological contributions was to point to what we might call the sacramental nature of preaching: i.e. Christ present and active in the proclaimed Word. Thus it is especially poor for a Lutheran to make a division within the Means of Grace. The Word (which is primarily Christ himself) is communicated both in preaching and the sacraments. Theologically, therefore, it would be less misleading to speak of the Word in sermon and sacrament [Emphasis supplied.]. The only differences which can be drawn among the Means of Grace relate to their form: . . . though theologically they all share in communicating the Gospel, psychologically they are experienced differently."

Cf.: Eugene L. Brand, "Forms and Norms: The Sovereignty of the Word and Lutheran Liturgics," *Una Sancta* 19:4 (1962), pp. 5-13; _____, "Preaching and the Lord's Supper in the Liturgy of the Church," *Lutheran Quarterly* 20 (1968), pp. 342-351; Richard Hoefler, "The 'Real Presence' of Christ in the Preaching Situation," *Lutheran Quarterly* 21 (1969), pp. 173-178; R. Bornert, "Parole et sacrement en perspective luthérienne et catholique," *Irénikon* 45 (1972), pp. 22-50; Joseph Hoffmann, "L'approche catholique et l'approche luthérienne du thème 'Evangile et Sacrement'--Essai de confrontation," in *Oecumenica* (1970), pp. 177-209; Per Erik Persson, "Preaching and the Real Presence of Christ," *Lutheran World* 6 (1959/60), pp. 359-368.

⁴⁸ Brown, pp. 36-38.

⁴⁹ Reports, p. 658.

⁵⁰ At this point in the text, one is directed to the following footnote: "It is the responsibility of our churches to teach clearly this Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper and to witness to it in dealing with other churches. Fulfilling the obligation to the truth in this way makes it possible to express the unity of the Church at the Lord's table with those who affirm the Real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament but who use formulations to describe it other than those used in the Lutheran Confessions. Accordingly the Recommendations for Practice provide guidelines for admission of others than Lutherans to the

Sacrament and considerations for Lutheran participation in intercommunion. Within these provisions the responsibility for decision about communing is placed upon the communicants. Such practice is consistent with the Large Catechism, V, 2.

⁵¹ "A Statement on Communion Practices: The American Lutheran Church--Lutheran Church in America" (Philadelphia: Division for Parish Service of the Lutheran Church in America, 1978), p. 4. [Hereinafter: 1978 Statement.]

⁵² Reports, pp. 510-511.

⁵³ Martin J. Heineken, "An Orientation Toward the Lord's Supper Today," pp. 169-203 in: Helmut T. Lehmann, ed., *Meaning and Practice of the Lord's Supper* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1961), pp. 180-181. [Hereinafter: Lehmann.]

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 186-187.

⁵⁵ It would appear that Lutheranism's Catholic dialogue-partners have decided that receptionism, as opposed to sacramental union and perduring presence, is not an agenda item concerning which they wish to raise an issue. Cf. *Das Herrenmahl*, p. 34/Origins 8(1979), p. 473: "54. . . . Catholic sensibilities are offended by the casual way in which the elements remaining after communion are treated sometimes on the Lutheran side, and this indicates a discrepancy which is not yet overcome. "55. In order to remedy this situation, it would be good . . . for Lutherans [if] 'the best means should be adopted of showing respect due to the elements that have served for the celebration of the eucharist, which is to consume them subsequently, without precluding their use for communion of the sick'." It is almost as if they are saying, "If you'll just see that all the elements are consumed following the liturgy, we won't get upset by what you believe or don't believe concerning perduring presence."

⁵⁶ Perceived Lutheran indifference as to whether or not the Eucharist is led by an ordained minister remains a serious question for those on the Catholic side. Cf. *Das Herrenmahl*, p. 42/Origins 8(1979), p. 476: "68. . . . it may be asked, among other things, how the Lutheran churches regard a eucharist celebrated without an ordained minister. It must also be asked, in view of the Lutheran interpretation and practice of ordination, how the Catholic Church evaluates the eucharist celebrated in the Lutheran Church. What needs to be clarified, then, is the importance and ecclesiological ordering of the ministry, and what consequences it has for the structure of the church."

In the absence of a called, ordained pastor, enactments of both the LCA and ALC (and presumably the ELCC) permit synod

or district bishops to "license" (unordained) laity to conduct services (including the Eucharist) in designated parishes. No such possibility exists in the Missouri Synod.

Cf. 1960 statement of the ULCA, "42. The validity and efficacy of the sacrament (or of the preaching of the word) do not depend either upon ordination or upon the moral character of the administrant. The power lies in the Word of God . . . and not in the person of the preacher or administrant. . . . For the sake of good order, only those who are designated by the church may publicly preach the word and administer the sacraments . . . "; Brown, p. 41.

⁵⁷ Anglicanism has been faced by the same problem, and this lies in the background of the publishing of: Richard F. Buxton, Eucharist and Institution Narrative ("Alcuin Club Collections No. 58"; Great Wakering: Mayhew-McCrimmon, 1976).

⁵⁸ Brown, p. 40.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 63.

⁶⁰ 1978 Statement, p. 8.

⁶¹ Brunner, p. 169.

⁶² Ibid., p. 170.

⁶³ Ibid., pp. 172-173.

⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 180-181.

⁶⁵ Cf. Lutherans and Catholic in Dialogue, III: The Eucharist as Sacrifice, pp. 191-194. Also, Das Herrenmahl, pp. 31-33/Origins 8(1979), pp. 472-473: "48. Roman Catholic and Lutheran Christians together confess the real and true presence of the Lord in the eucharist. There are differences, however, in theological statements on the mode and, therefore, duration of the real presence. [¶¶49 and 50 discuss the Roman Catholic and Lutheran doctrines, respectively.]

"51. The ecumenical discussion has shown that these two positions must no longer be regarded as opposed in a way that leads to separation. The Lutheran tradition affirms the Catholic tradition that the consecrated elements do not simply remain bread and wine but rather, by the power of the creative word, are given as the body and blood of Christ. In this sense Lutherans also could occasionally speak, as does the Greek tradition, of a 'change.' The concept of transubstantiation for its part is intended as a confession and preservation of the mystery character of the eucharistic presence; it is not intended as an ex-

planation of how this change occurs."

⁶⁶ It is from such a frame of reference that Brand has recommended the fruits of recent Roman Catholic studies to Lutherans: "Roman Catholic theologians have recently put forward new expressions of the real presence doctrine. They stress a change in the meaning and reality of the bread and wine rather than a change in substance" (substance, for us, suggests a chemical change--not at all what the classic doctrine intended). Dutch theologians Edward Schillebeeckx and Piet Schoonenberg have been the influential voices. Transignification affirms a change in the sign character of bread and wine in the Eucharist. They become effective signs of Christ's presence. Transfinalization is a similar concept though its emphasis is upon the new purpose or value which bread and wine acquire in the Eucharist. Transignification and Transfinalization affirm that the bread is Christ's body not because of any chemical change which has occurred, but because of its symbolic value and its ultimate purpose; the bread has, in other words, changed its relationship to the worshipers. I mention these theological concepts here because they indicate a new flexibility in interpreting transubstantiation that Lutherans especially should find appealing"; Eugene Brand, "New Accents in Baptism and the Eucharist," pp. 70-93 in: Mandus A. Egge, ed., *Worship: Good News in Action* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1973), pp. 84-85. [Hereinafter: Egge.]

The following brief bibliography concerning recent discussion of the Real Presence in the Roman Catholic Church is offered: Piet Schoonenberg, "Transubstantiation: How Far is this Doctrine Historically Determined?", *Concilium* 4:3 (1967), pp. 41-47. E. Schillebeeckx, *Christ the Sacrament of the Encounter with God* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1963). _____, *The Eucharist* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1968). _____, "Transubstantiation, Transfinalization, Transfiguration," *Worship* 40 (1966), pp. 324-338. Vilmos Vajta, "Eucharistic Faith and Practice in the Encyclical 'Mysterium Fidei'," *Oecumenica: An Annual Symposium of Ecumenical Research*, 1966 (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1966), pp. 179-224. J. K. Byrom, "Eucharistic Theology Today," *Theology* 77:645 (1974), pp. 124-137. Francis Clark, "The Real Presence: An Appraisal of the Recent Controversy," *Unitas* 18 (1966), pp. 86-99. John Coventry, "The Presence of Christ in the Eucharist," *Furrow* 20 (1969), pp. 69-78. Lucien Deiss, *It's the Lord's Supper: Eucharist of Christians* (New York: Paulist, 1976). François-Xavier Durrwell, "Eucharist and Parousia: The Fundamental Basis of the Interpretation of the Real Presence," *Lumen Vitae* 26 (1971), 273-315. _____, *The Eucharistic Presence of Christ* (Denville, N.J.: Dimension, 1974). G. Egner, "Some Thoughts on the Eucharistic Presence," *New Blackfriars* 54 (1973), pp. 354-359, 399-408. _____, "More Thoughts on

the Eucharistic Presence," *New Blackfriars* 54 (1973), pp. 171-180. Donald P. Gray, "The Real Absence: A Note on the Eucharist," *Worship* 44 (1970), pp. 20-26. Tad W. Guzie, *Jesus and the Eucharist* (New York: Paulist, 1974). Monika Hellwig, "How Should We Explain the Eucharist," pp. 32-52 in: *What are the Theologians Saying?* (Dayton: Pflaum-Standard, 1970). Charles Journet, "Transsubstantiation," *Nova et Vetera* 46 (1971), pp. 161-172. B. Kelly, "Sacramental Presence: Real Presence," *Irish Theological Quarterly* 37 (1970), pp. 71-79. Edward J. Kilmartin, "Sacramental Theology: The Eucharist in Recent Literature," *Theological Studies* 32 (1971), pp. 233-277. Nicholas Lash, *His Presence in the World: A Study in Eucharistic Worship and Theology* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1968). E. L. Mascall, "Egner on the Eucharistic Presence," *New Blackfriars* 53 (1972), pp. 539-546. Herbert McCabe, "Transubstantiation: A Reply to G. Egner," *New Blackfriars* 53 (1972), pp. 546-554. Jean-Hervé Nicholas, "Présence réelle eucharistique et transsignification," *Revue Thomiste* 71 (1971), pp. 439-448. Edouard Pousset, "The Eucharist: Real Presence and Transubstantiation," *Chicago Studies* 9 (1970), pp. 307-320; 10 (1971), pp. 91-110. Joseph M. Powers, *Eucharistic Theology* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1972). Jared Wicks, "The Movement of Eucharistic Theology," *Chicago Studies* 10 (1971), pp. 267-284.

⁶⁷ Reports, p. 658.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 510.

⁶⁹ Brown, pp. 39-40. Cf. Aulén's *Eucharist*, p. 203, on "Sacrifice and Real Presence." Heineken expressed the fear that eucharistic prayers which enclose the Verba would inevitably lead to wrong sacrificial notions: Lehmann, p. 193. When one compares Heineken's article in detail, with the 1960 statement of the ULCA, it becomes evident that he must have contributed the basic draft of the latter document.

⁷⁰ 1978 Statement, p. 5.

⁷¹ It will be remembered that the Medieval Church based much of its Mass practice on the notion that, without preaching, congregation, or communicants, the celebration of the Mass was effective to produce grace, *ex opere operato*. Though the emphasis of this term was normally applied to the effectiveness of the doing of the Sacrifice, many now understand that the original purpose was to give assurance that God would be graciously active, even in the Mass of an evil priest. The term thus refers to the activity of God, in the first instance, rather than to the activity of the minister. If this

is indeed the Catholic Church's real meaning, the present writer suggests that the lingering ecumenical offense which the term still generates could be dissipated rather simply, by expanding the phrase, so that it speaks of an opus dei a deo operato. On the same subject, cf. Vincenz Pfnur, "Beyond an Old Polemic: Sola fide/Opus operatum," *Origins* 8(1979), pp. 478-480.

⁷² Robert W. Jenson, *Visible Words: The Interpretation and Practice of Christian Sacraments* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978), p. 101. [Hereinafter: Jenson.]

⁷³ Jenson, p. 102.

⁷⁴ "Propitiation" through the eucharistic sacrifice remains a difficult and unresolved point in the Lutheran-Roman Catholic dialogues. Cf. *Das Herrenmahl*, p. 37/*Origins* 8(1979), p. 474: "59. The Lutherans have feared that the understanding of the eucharist as propitiatory sacrifice is contrary to the uniqueness and complete sufficiency of the sacrifice of the cross and calls in question Christ's exclusive mediation of salvation."

Lutherans and Catholics in Dialogue, III: The Eucharist as Sacrifice, pp. 190f.: "c) Another historically important point of controversy has been the Roman Catholic position that the eucharistic sacrifice is "propitiatory." . . . Catholics today interpret this position as emphatically affirming that the presence of the unique propitiatory sacrifice of the cross in the eucharistic celebration of the church is efficacious for the forgiveness of sins and the life of the world. Lutherans can join them up to this point. They reject, however, what they have understood Trent to say about the mass as a propitiatory sacrifice "offered for the living and the dead," even though the Apology of the Augsburg Confession concedes with respect to prayer for the dead that "we do not forbid it." We have not discussed this aspect of the problem; further exploration of it is required." The reader should be informed that the volume here quoted from, in its articles and position papers, is a small gold mine of materials and interpretations dealing with the doctrines of Real Presence and eucharistic sacrifice, in the two traditions.

⁷⁵ Elert, op. cit., p. 42.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 22.

⁷⁷ Quoted in Arthur Carl Piepkorn, "The Norm of Lutheran Piety," *Una Sancta* 6:3(1946), p. 9.

⁷⁸ Arthur Carl Piepkorn, "Sacrament, Sacrifice and Stewardship," *Una Sancta* 18:4(1961), p. 23.

⁷⁹Lehmann, p. 198.

⁸⁰Supra, p. 64.

⁸¹Aulén-Faith, pp. 344-345 (quotation, p. 345).

⁸²Cf. Jenson, pp. 98-99.

⁸³Leenhardt, p. 55.

⁸⁴Supra, p. 394.

⁸⁵Origins 8 (1979), p. 469; cf. Das Herrenmahl, pp. 20f.

⁸⁶For his discussion on the consecratory Epiclesis; cf. Josef A. Jungmann, *The Mass: An Historical, Theological, and Pastoral Survey* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1976), pp. 135-138.

⁸⁷Brunner, pp. 298-307.

⁸⁸Jungmann, op. cit., pp. 134f.

⁸⁹For example, the curious wording "bless and vivify this bread and cup" of CW-01, prayer I,f,3, might have held interest as an eccentric consecratory Epiclesis reflecting John 6:51. But Jenson, p. 103, rules out this possibility: "It [the purpose of the Epiclesis] is to pray that the body of Christ, as it here and now includes us, be a living rather than a dead body."

⁹⁰Ibid.

⁹¹I.e., one should note Bailey and Klein's strong criticism of ILCW theology, their call for an acceptance of Brunner's interpretation and placement of the Epiclesis, and their call for a positive indication of eucharistic consecration; Larry Bailey and Leonard Klein, "Renewing Lutheran Worship: Installment #5," *Forum Letter* 5:5 (1976), p. 7.

⁹²Cf. Ralph-R. VanLoon, "LBW One Year Later in the LCA: Satisfaction and Suffering," *Lutheran Forum* 13:3 (1979), pp. S16-S18. Mons A. Teig, "LBW One Year Later in ALC: Problems and Possibilities," *ibid.*, S14-S16.

APPENDIX

LIST OF EXHIBITS

Item

1. An Anonymous Prayer, 1524	432
2. Prayers by Hans Jakob Veler, 1524	432
3. A Prayer by Matthäus Zell, 1523	433
4. A Prayer by Kaspar Kantz, 1522	433
5. Nördlingen, 1522	434
6. Wittenberg, 1524	435
7. Das Testament Jesu Christi, 1523	436
8. Strassburg, 1524-1525	438
9. Mark Brandenburg (a.k.a. Kur-Brand.), 1540	444
10. Pfalz-Neuberg, 1543	446
11. Austria, 1571	448
12. Sweden, 1576	449
13. Brandenburg-Nürnberg, 1533	452
14. Sleswick-Holstein, 1797	454
15. Synod of Ohio, 1830	457
16. G. C. Dieffenbach, 1876	463
17. Bavaria, 1879	465
18. Russia, 1897	467
19. Ohio, 1864 [German]	468
20. Ohio, 1894 (to 1923) [English]	469
21. P. Z. Strodach, 1946	471
22. Adolph Wismar, 1946	473
23. L. D. Reed, 1947	475
24. "The Piepkorn Rite," 1947	476
25. P. Brunner, 1954	479
26. Service Book and Hymnal, 1958	
Culto Cristiano, 1964	480
27. Missouri Synod, 1969	481
28. Contemporary Worship 2, 1970 [CW-2]	484
29. Contemporary Worship 01, 1975 [CW-01]	485
30. Lutheran Book of Worship, 1978	495
31. Berneuchener Kreis, 1937	499
32. Germany: VELKD, 1954; EKV, 1959	501
33. Michaelsbruderschaft, 1957	503
34. Germany, 1976/1977	505
35. Sweden (Kyrklig Förnyelse), 1954	508
36. Sweden, 1976	511
37. France, 1966	513

1.

AN ANONYMOUS PRAYER, 1524

(In Smend, p. 23)

O herr, hymlicher vatter, allmächtiger Gott, speys und trenk uns alle innerlich mit dem waren leyb und blut deines aingebornen suns, unsers lieben herren Jhesu Christi, damit er gespeyst und getrenkt hat seine lieben Junger an dem hindersten nachtmal seines verhayssnen und ewigen Testaments.

2.

PRAYERS BY HANS JAKOB VELER, 1524

(In Smend, p. 23f.)

Hilf mir süsser Jhesu, das ich mit frölichem gewissen zu deinem hayligen Sacrament des altares gee und lege mein leyden und versagt sündlichs gewissen in die gemain und suche also hilf beym ganzen haufen des gaystlichen körpers; dann uns ist in disem sacrament gegeben die unmessig gottes genad und barmherzigkait, das wyr da allen yamer und anfechten von uns legen auf die gemain und sonders auf dich, Christe; das ich mich auch frölich sterke, tröst und sag: Bin ich ain sündler, hab ich gefallen, tryfft mich dis oder das unglück, wolan so gee ich daher zu deynem zarten fronleychnam, Jhesu Christe, und nimm ein zeychen von dir, das dein gerechtigkeit, dein leben und leyden für mich steet mit allen hayligen engeln und seligen im hymel und frommen menschen auf erden. Soll ich sterben, so byn ich nit allayn im tod; leid ich, sy leyden mit mir. Es ist aller mein unfall Christo und den hailigen gemayn worden. Darumb das ich jr liebe gegen mir ain gewiss zeychen hab, das ist alsdann die frucht und brauch des sacraments.

Gib mir, herr, deinen gunst, das ich zu dir und deinem waren fronleichnam gee zu seiner zeyt, auch am letzten desselben taylhaftig werde, und darzu allezeyt on aufhören oder feyren in begerenden und senlichen gedanken sey, wie dir solchs angenehm, lieb und gefellig ist; dann so ich ain mal also recht züge, wirdets mich fürtan helfen. Verleyhe mir auch disen glauben und gyr in rechter lieb täglichs in der Mess zu üben und sterken. Ist mir auch gnug, das ich wisse, das das sacrament ain göttlichs zaichen, da dein, Christus, flaisch und blut innen ist; aber wie und wo, lass ich dir befolhen sein.

Ach Allmechtiger Gott, so ich betrübt bin oder mich meyne sünd treyben, so übe den glauben in mir, so ich zum Sacrament gee oder mess höre, das ich herzlich begere des Sacraments und seyner bedeutung und nit daran zweyfel, wie das Sacrament deutet, so geschehe mir, das ist: das ich gewiss sey, du, Christus, und alle deyne hayligen treten zu mir mit allen tugenden, leyden und gnaden, mit mir zu leben, thun, ian, leyden und sterben, wöllen ganz meyn sein und alle ding mit mir gemain haben. Das kann wol ain genugsame, trostliche liebe seyn.

3.

A PRAYER BY MATTHÄUS ZELL, 1523

(In Smend, pp. 25f.)

Ach himmelischer vatter. Das ist der leib und das blut Christi, deines eingeburnen suns, der sich einmal hat für unser und aller menschen sünd dir zu einer bezalung ufgeopfert, ein wolgefelligs opfer, und du es auch also angenommen für aller welt sünd, so wir vestigklich unsern glauben und vertrauwen in jn setzen und uns deiner genaden, durch jn uns erworben, genzlich versehen. Hye stand ich und vermane dich, durch den selbigen leib und blut hie zugegen in einem sychtbarlichen zeychen, zu sollichem glauben und vertrauwen deiner gnaden. Bitt dich in rechtem, warem glauben, mir und meinem vatter, bruder (oder uf wen du dann dein gebet in sunderheit richtest; wiewol sunst gemeynklich niemants usgeschlossen sein soll), also noch deiner zusagung ghedig und barmherzig sein wöllest und ansehen meinen glauben und der abgestorbenen, die auch durch den glauben in Christum seine glyder gewesen und noch seind, und sy jrer begirden zu dir ersettigen, uf das sie zu rugen kumen, welche rug nit sein mag on dich, von jnen volkummenlich erkant, wie sy dann dich hye uf ertrich durch mangel des glaubens nit genzlich und volkummenlich erkant haben. Darumb wöllest solliche unvolkummene erkenntnüs jnen meren, in welcher (und nit anders) sye rugen und leben mügen. Wir dann Johannes spricht: Das ist das ewig leben, das sy dich, das du allein warer gott bist, und den du gesandt hast, Jesum Christum erkennen.

4.

A PRAYER BY KASPAR KANTZ, 1522

(In Smend, p. 44)

Allmechtiger Gott, mein herr Jesu Christe. Ich glaub, das in dem brot gegenwertig sey dein heiliger fronleichnam, und in dem wein dein kostbarlichs blut. Ich glaub auch, das du den leib und das blut an dich genommen habest, Adam und alle seine nachkommen zu erlosen von dem ewigen tod. Und hasts uns verlassen in dem hochwirdigen Sacrament, zu bestätigen deine warhaftige zusagung, die sünden zu vergeben. Das bezeugen deine wort, die yetzt in der mess gesprochen werden: Nempt hyn und essent, das ist mein leib, der für euch geben wirt; Nement hyn und trinkent, das ist mein blut, das für euch vergossen wirt zu vergebung der sünden. Uf solichs trostlichs zusagen beger ich von ganzem meinem herzen, in rechter zuversicht und gutem vertrauwen, das du mich nit lassest heym geen lär und hungerig, sonder mich geistlich speisest und trenkest mit deinem heiligen fronleichnam und rosenfarben blut zu vergebung aller meiner sünden, uf das ich in warer lieb gegen dir und brüdlicher treuw gegen meinem nechsten bestätigt werde. Amen.

NÖRDLINGEN, 1522

KASPAR KANTZ'S DIE EVANGELISCHE MESSE

(In Smend, pp. 73-76)

Liturgy of the WordExhortationConfession & AbsolutionPrayer:

Kumm, heiliger geist, erfülle die herzen deiner gläubigen,...

PrefaceSanctus"Nun hebt sich erst die Evangelisch Mess an":

O aller gütigster vatter, barmherziger, ewiger Gott; hilf, das dises
 brot und der wein uns werde und sey der warhaftig leib und das unschul-
 dig blut deines allerliebsten suns, unsers herren Jhesu Christi, welcher
 Verba

Lord's Prayer:

...von übel. Durch unsern herren Jhesum, deinen sun, welcher mit dir...

Agnus Dei"Ein andechtigs gebett vor der entpfahung des Sakraments":

O herr Jhesu Christe, du ewigs wort des vatters, du heyland der welt, du
 warer, lebendiger Gott und mensch, erlös uns durch disen deinen heyligen
 fronleichnam und rosenvarbes blut von allen sünden. Hilf, das wir erfül-
 len deine gebott zu aller zeit, und von dir nit gescheyden in ewigkeit.
 Amen.

Invitation (the priest holding the host in view of the people):

Secht, allerliebsten, das ist warlich der haylig leychnam unsers herren
 Jhesu Christi, der für euch gelitten hat den bitteren tod. Nement hyn und
 essent in, das er euch speys, neer und beware in das ewig leben. Amen.

Pax Administration Nunc dimittis Te Deum Thanksgiving Prayers

6.

WITTENBERG, 1524

BUGENHAGEN'S ORDER OF SERVICE

(Lutheran Church Review 10 (1891), pp. 288-293)

Liturgy of the Word & Penitential OfficePrayer:

Come, Holy Spirit, fill the hearts of Thy believers;...

Preparation of Vessels & Prayer:

[O] allergütigster vatter, barm-
herziger Gott, hilf, das dises
brot und der wein uns werde und sey
der warhaftig leib und das unschul-
dig blut deines allerliebsten suns,
unsers herren Jhesu Christi. Amen.

All-gracious Father, merciful God,
help [grant] that this bread
and wine may be to [for] us
the true Body and the innocent
Blood of Thine all-beloved Son,
our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

Preface & Verba (textually united), with ElevationSanctusLord's PrayerPaxAgnus DeiAdmonition (optional recommendation)Prayer:

O Lord Jesus Christ, Thou eternal word of the Father, Thou Saviour of the world, Thou only living God and man, deliver us by Thy holy Body and scarlet Blood from all our sins; help us at all times to fulfil Thy commandments, and not to be separated from Thee in eternity. Amen.

Administration (with the Invitation, "See beloved," and a parallel form for the cup. The priest's reception of the chalice follows the congregation's reception of the first Element.)

Nunc dimittis

¹The German is recovered on the basis of Kantz (Nördlingen, 1522), which this order self-evidently imitates. It has not been possible to consult the original, which is not included in the standard collections.

DAS TESTAMENT JESU CHRISTI, 1523

(In Smend, pp. 54-57)

Liturgy of the WordSecret:

Die opferung, dye du uns ermanest durch deyn barmherzigkeyt der gotlychen gnaden, unsere leybe dyr zu geben zum opfer: Lebendig, heylich wöllest du sy machen durch das mittel deynes eingebornen Suns Jesu Christi, auf das du daryn mögest haben ein wohlgefallens und ein göttliche einwohnung mit deynem Sun und Heyligen geyst, die mit dyr eyn starker, heyliger und unverrucklicher Got seyn yn ewigkeyt.

Preface & SanctusLord's PrayerCanon Maior:

O Almechtiger, barmherziger vatter, demütig bitten wir dich durch den namen deyns eyngelbornen suns Jesu Christi, das du wollest nemen von vns deyn gab, das ist unser leib und seel, dye wir von dir empfangen haben, und dye zu heyiligen durch deyn gottlich gnad, welch dan heyliget unser geschenk und unser opfer, sonder welche wir nichts weren, dan ein vermaledeyts opfer und eyn blutigs tuch; und sich an den trübsal, den fur uns getragen hat deyn eyngelborner Sun, da er ist gangen yn dye pitter marter. Und nemlich, als er sich anfieng, do er sein jungern schickt zu bereyten das abentmal, nach dem als der tag des süessen prots kam, auf welchen man must opfern das Osterlamb, und er sant Petrum und Johannem und sprach: Geet hyn, bereyt uns das Osterlamb, auf das wirs essen. Sye aber sprachen zu im: Wo wiltu, das wirs bereyten? Er sprach zu yn: Sehet, man yr hyneyn kumpt yn die stat, wirt euch begegnen eyn mensch, der tregt eyn wasserkrug; volgt ym nach yn das haus, do er hyneyn geet, und sagt zu dem hausherren: Der meyster lest dir sagen: Wo ist der Sal, daryn ich das Osterlamb ess mit meynen Jungern? Und er wirt euch eyn grossen gepflasterten Sal zeygen; daselbst bereytet es. Sye gingen hyn und funden, wye er yn gesagt het, und bereyten das Osterlamb. Und do dye stund kam, setzt er sich nyder, und dye zwelf Apostel mit yhm, und sprach zu yn: Mich hat herzlich verlangt, die Osterlamb myt euch zu essen, ehe dann ych leyd; dann ych sag euch, das ich hynfurd nit meer darvon essen werd, bys das erfullet wirt im reich gotes. Da hat der herr Jesus Christus aufgehoben seine augen in hymel, zu got seinem vatter, und hat yme dank gesagt, und hat das prot genommen in seyn hand und gelobt got, und hats zubrochen und gegeben den Jungern; und hat gesagt: Nement hyn und essent. Das ist mein leyp, der fur euch gegeben wirt in den tod; thuts in meyner gedechtnus. Und als er genommen hat den kelch, und darzu seynem hymelischen vatter dank gesagt,

hat er yn geben und gesagt: Trinkt aus yhm alle; das yst der kelch des Newen und ewigen Testaments in meynem blut, das fur euch und fur vil vergossen wirt zu vergebung der sund. Ich sach aber euch, ich werd nicht von dyser zeyt aus dysem gewechs des weynstocks trinken, bis zu dem tage, wan ich den newen trinken werde mit euch in dem Reych meines vaters. Darumb, so oft thuts in meinem gedechtnus.

Oratio:

O Herr Jesu Christe, du hast gesagt deynen apostlen: den fryd lass ich euch, mein fryd geb ich euch, nicht geb ich euch, wie die welt gibt. Hierumb, mein herr, syhe nit an mein sund, sonder den glauben deiner heiligen Christenlichen kirchen, die ich dan glaub und nit syhe, welcher du dan nach deinem gotlichen willen fryd geben, bewaren, voreinigen, regieren wollest mit deinem hymlichen Vatter und heyligen geist, da du dann mit lebest in ewigkeyt. -- Die entpfahung deines fleisch und bluts Jesu Christi, das ich armer sunder nyesse in vergebung meiner sund, gestat mir nit zu eynem urteyl oder verdamnus, sonder sey meyn beschirmung hye und dort und in ewigkeyt.

Humble Access:

O almechtiger, barmherziger gott, hye byn ich bey deynem Tisch, der mich durch menschen irrung gesperrt ist. Doch glaub ich, das in dem brot und in dem weyn dein heyliger leyb und deyn heyligs blut gegenwertig ist. Auch glaub ich genzlich und grundlich, das du darumb den leyb und das plut an dich genommen hast, Adam und alle seine nachkommende zu erlösen vom ewygen tod. Auch glaub ich und hab keyn zweyfel daran, das dein heiliger leyb fur mich in tod geben ist und dein plut fur mich vergossen ist worden. Auch, mein herr und Got, ich glaub ongezwefelt dein gegenwertigkeit, darumb das du dein gotlichs wort bekreftigen wilt. Auch teylestu alleyn hie auf deynem Tisch dein leyb und deyn seel uns sy zuniessen in vergebung unser sund; wan du hast gesagt: Nemet hyn ewer Testament! -- O mein brüder und schwester, das Testament begert von grund ewers herzen zu hören. Wer ist nun der macher des Testaments, dan Jesus Christus, unser bruder, ders uns verlassen hat, do er ging yn die bitter marter; darumb wir dan seiner gedechtig sein sollen. Auch die wort des Testaments beger ich zu lesen, wie sy Got mein herr geredt hat, dadurch ich kommen möcht zu einer warlichen erforschung meiner erbschaft. Darumb mein erbschaft ist vergebung meiner sund, als dan klerlich stet yn den worten des Kelchs: der vergossen ist worden fur mich und vil sunder in vergebung unser sund. Hierumb verhoff ich allein der Erb zu seyn mit allen glaubigen. Darumb byn ich hye, mein Erbteyl gnediglich von dir zu empfahen, so du geben wilt und ich empfahen wil; so mags nyemand wenden. Die frucht der Mess sol in mir volbracht sein. Darumb sey die lob und dank in ewigkeit.

Administration

Prayer

Pax

Prayer

Dismissal

STRASSBURG, 1524 - 1525

(In Smend, pp. 125-137)

Smend discovered thirteen different printed editions of the Strassburg rite, dated from 1524 to 1526. Elsewhere (in Monatschrift für Gottesdienst und kirchliche Kunst 1[1896], 4-8), he has published the Urtyp, "Die älteste Strassburger Deutsche Messe," as celebrated on February 16, 1524, by Theobald Schwarz (Nigri).

Of the printed editions, he accepted as the basic text one he identifies as "A²": Ordnung vnd inhalt/Teutscher Mess /so yetzund im gebrauch haben Ewangelisten vnd Christlichen Pfarrherren z^u Strassburg. M.D.xxiii.

Two other redactions, reclaimed from Smend's notes, will be set out in parallel columns, together with "A²", on the following pages. They are the texts Smend identifies as "B": Ordnung vnd ynhalt Teütscher Mess vñ Vesper/So yetzund im gebrauch haben Euangelisten vnd Christlichen Pfarrherren z^u Strassburg. Mit etlichen Neüwen geschrifflichen Introit, Gebet/Vorred oder Prefation vnd Canon/vor vnd nach vffhebu^g des Sacramets/auch andren ordenungē/in vorigem büchlin nit begriffen. (n.d.); and "D": Ordnūg des herren/Nachtmal: so man die Messz/nennet, sampt der Tauff vnd Insegnung/der Ee, Wie yetzt die diener des wort/gottes z^u Strasszburg, Erneü/wert, vnnd nach göttlicher/geschriff gebessert haben/vsz vrsach jn nachgender Epistel/gemeldet/M.D.xxv.

It will be noted that "B" provides two alternate forms of the "Canon". Since the second form, "B-Alt.", is quite similar to the text of "A", these two will be printed in adjacent columns, followed by "B" and "D".

It is to be understood that, in every case, a Liturgy of the Word, in traditional form and ending with a Creed, has preceded what is set forth below.

Preparation of Vessels Preparation of Vessels Preparation of Vessels

Act of Consecration:
Lieben Brüder und schwes-
tern, bitten gott den vat-
ter, durch unsern herren,
Jhesum Christum, das er uns
den hailigen gayst, den
tröster zuschicke, das er
mache unser leyb zu ainem
lebendigen, wolgefelligen
opfer, das da ist der ver-
nünfftig Gottsdienst, der
Gott gefellt. Das beschehe
uns allen. Amen.

Act of Consecration:
(Same as A)
(There follows, in both versions:)
Auch, jr allerliebsten, dieweyl ich aber auch
beschwert bin mit mancherley unvolkommenheyt
und gebrechen, so bitten Gott auch trewlich
für mich, das ich disen seynen dienst jm zu
lobe, eüch und mir zu trost und heyle möge
fleyszig ausrichten und volenden. Amen.

Lavabo

Lavabo

heylich und ym wolgefellig ist, welches unser vernunfftiger gotts-
dienst ist, damit wir Gott auch dank sagen und preis ufopfern,
und er uns zeyg sein Heyl. Der Herr wöll euch alle erhören.

Versicles: Der herr sey mit eüch. Erhebt ewere herzen. Sagen
dank dem herren unserm Got.

So laszt uns nun ufhe-
ben unsere herzen zu dem
Herren und dank sagen
ym, unserm Herren und
gott.

Preface

Preface

Preface

Sanctus

Sanctus

Sanctus

Intercession:
Almechtiger, barmherziger vater. Die weyl dein Sun,
unser herr Jesus, zugesagt hat, was wir bitten in
seynem manen, das werdestu uns gewern, und zudem,
dieweyl dein gaist auch befohlen hat, das wir für
unser überkait (bitten sollen), bitten wir von herz-
en, du wöllest die gemüter des Kayzers, der Fürsten
und herrn, vorab unser herrn und übern ains Ersamen
Rats, zu erkanthus deiner güte und des Evangelions
bewegen. Auch das du deinem Sun durch den hayligen

Intercession:
Allmechtiger, ewiger, barmherziger Gott und vat-
ter, der du uns verheyszen hast durch deyn ey-
gebornen sun, unseren herren Jhesum Christum, was
wir dich in seynem namen bitten, wöllest du uns
geweren, und aber durch deynen heylichen geyst
befohlen, zu bitten für die Oberkeit und alle
menschen: so bitten wir dich von herzen durch
den selbigen deynen sun, unseren heyland, Jhesum
Christum, du wöllest das herz unsers Keyzers,

gaist underthenig machest alle völker, auf das sy selbs willig sein verhaissung erkennen, annemen und behüeten. Und vorab diser gemayn verleyhe, das sy zunemen in erkanthus des Evangelions und seynes süssen jochs und gemachsamen Bürden. Diweyl nu, almechtiger, ewiger got, geliebter und barmherziger vatter, dein ainiger Sun, unser herr Jesus, in die welt kommen ist zu ainem arzet der kranken und nit der gesunden, (und aber unser blyndheyt die gegenwurtige schand der sunden) durch sich selbs nit sehen noch für krankhait erkennen mag, (dann wir layder vergyst seynd und in unser irrung und übertrettung uns selbs gefallen, die gebott hassen, die laster lieben), so bitten wir, du wöllest durch got den hayligen gayst dein gesatz in unser herzen schreyben und die verborgen sünd in uns lebendig machen, und also uns verleyhen, das wir brüfen und empfinden mögen, wie unmöglichen es uns ist, guts zu thun, damit wir ain durst und hunger gewinnen zu der gnaden und gerechtigkeit, so vor dir allain gilt, wölche du der welt geben hast durch Christum Jhesum, uns^{er} herren.

Fürsten und herren, und vorab unserer Oberen eins Ersamen Rats, erleuchten mit erkanthūs deynes heyligen Evangeliums, uf das sie dich für jren rechten oberherren erkennen und nach deynem gefallen regieren. Und auch allen menschen wöllestu verleyhen, zu erkanthūs der warheit zu kumen. Und diser deynr gemēyn hye zugegen, in deynem namen versamlet, sende deynen heyligen geyst, den tröster, der in unsere herzen schreybe dein gesatz, neme hyn unsere angeborne blyndheit und dumkeit, durch die wir auch unser übel und sünd nit erkennen mögen; sunder synd wir so gar vergift, das wir uns auch in unseren yrrtumen und sünden wolgefallen. Darumb, o du barmherziger, geliebter vatter, so mach in uns durch deynen heyligen geyst unser sünd lebendig, das wir jr doch empfinden und das wir jr schnödikeit erkennen und dadurch (syntemal wir in uns nichts dann sünd, tod und hell beyfinden) deynr gnaden und barmherzigkeit hunger und durst überkumen, und mögen also doch zum teyl bedenken und mit warem glauben annemen und mit ewiger dankberkeyt breysen und loben deyn überschwenkliche und unermeszliche gnad und güte, die du uns bewysen hast in dem, das du deyn eyngebornen, allerliebsten sun hast wöllen mensch, das ist uns armen sünderen gleych, werden und durch seyn tod uns erlösen [lassen].

Invocation (In both versions of B):

Wir bitten auch dich, o du aller gütigster vatter und barmherziger, ewiger Gott, das du uns helfest, das dises brot und der weyn uns werde und sei der warhaftig leyb und das unschuldig blut deyns aller liebsten suns, unsers herren Jesu Christi.	So gib uns nun, himmlischer vatter, das wir dises tods, durch welchen wir von allem übel zum ewigen leben erlöst sind, heilsame gedechtnis nimmer us herzen

(D continues:)

lassen; damit auch wir mit ym, unserm heyland, den sünden absterben, zu leben der gerechtigkeit in aller gedult und lieb gegen den nachsten, mit frolicher wartung harrende uf die selige hoffnung und zukunfft desselbigen unsers herren und erlosers. Und verlyhe, das wir uf dismal auch zu solcher heylsamer, notiger gedechtnus sein heyliges nachtmal halten mogen mit solchen herzen, das wir mit das. zeytlich noch unsers suchen, dann den ufgang deins reichs begeren, der sünde los und zu aller frumkeit gefürdert werden, damit unser keiner schuldig werd an dem leib noch blut unsers heylands Jesu Christi, noch ym selv das gericht noch verdammus niesze: wo er sich hye bekant ein glid Christi zu sein und glauben (das er allein durch das opfer, so er einmal für uns am Creuz dir, o vatter, ufgeopfert hat sein leib und blut), nun aber solchen Glaub, der durch die lieb gegen meniglich tätig ist, nit hett, und tryb also, so vil an ym, das gespot. mit dem nachtmal unsers herren. Sundern das wir alle hyemit ym woren glauben sein tod, für uns gelitten, bedenken und ufnemen. Das wir gewislich gläuben, du wollest unser gnediger, barmherziger vatter sein, der du uns zu kindern und erben hast ufgenommen, gleichförmig zu werden deinem allerliebsten und erstgebornen sün, Jesu Christo, wiewo wir noch hie wie in sünden also auch in stäter trübsal leben, das wir auch uns alle durch einander als wore brüder und deine kinder halten, bereyt dir zu gefallen, guts zuthun, auch dein rut und bewörung mit aller gedult. allweg ufzunemen und also ganz gutwillig erwarten, wann du uns vom leib der sünden erlöst. Disen glauben, hoffnung und lieb wollestu, himmlischer vatter, in uns sterken und befestigen, uf das wir in der warheit und rechten geist zu dir rufen und bitten mogen, wie uns unser einiger lerremeister gelert hat, und sprechen:

Lord's Prayer

A²

B-Alt.

B

D

Verba

Verba

Verba

Verba

Exhortation

Post Elevationem:

Wie gross ist dein güte, das du uns on allen unsern verdienst die sünd nit allain verzygen hast, sonder uns zu ainer versicherung verlassen den leyb und blut unsers herren Jesu Christi under dem brot und weyn, wie dann sohist gewonlich andere verhayssungen du mit eusserlichen zaychen bezeugt hast. Darumb haben wir yetzund grosse,

Sermon oder gesprech nach ufhebung:

O wie herlich, heylsam und wumgklich ist und sol uns seyn dise heylige gedechtnüs des todes unsers heylands und erlösers Jesu Christi, durch den wir

A²B-Alt.BD

unwidertreybliche sicherhait deiner gnaden und wis-
sen, das wir dein kinder seynd, dein erben und mit-
erben Christi, und mügen frey betten, wie uns dein
eingebrner sun gelernt hat, und sagen:

vom tod, sünd und hell
erlöst synd, und du dey-
nen heyligen geyst, o
Gott and vatter, durch
den wir dir zu kynderen
wider geboren und ange-

nummen synd, gesant hast, also das wir in seynrer väterlichen lieb, gnade und barmherzig-
keit sicher und gewisz synd: nemlich so wir hye haben den gebenedyeten leyb und das hey-
lig blut im brot und weyn deynes allerliebsten suns, unsers herren Jesu Christi, zu ein-
em pfand und sicherung solcher deynrer gnaden und gütigkeit. Darumb, ob schon yetz zu
diser zeyt dise grozze herlichkeit, das wir deyne kynder und erben und miterben Christi
worden seynd, an uns noch nit beschynt, so wir nach täglich sünden, und darumb auch täg-
lich noch in trübsalen, angst und not leben; yedoch so wissen wir, das wir ein fürspre-
cher bey dir haben, Jesum Christum, den gerechten, deynen aller liebsten sun, unseren ge-
benedeyeten und obersten præster. Der ist selbs das opfer und die versönnung für unser
sünd. Uf den sehen wir auch und uf seyne fusztaffen, wie er hie gelitten hat, das wir
auch also leyden und unser Creüz uf uns nemen und jm nach folgen. Und synd auch unge-
zweyfelt, so er nun in deynrer majestat erschynen werd, werden wir auch mit jm erschnynen
in der herlichkeit deynrer geliebten kyndern. Den glauben und dise hoffnung mere, sterke
und befestige in uns, aller liebster schöpfer, Gott und vatter, das wir im geyst und in
der warheit, mit luterem herzen mögen betten, wie uns deyn sun Jesus Christus, unser ey-
gener lerneister, selbs gelert hat, und sprechen also:

Lord's Prayer:

...von übel. Amen. Herr, erlöse uns von allen
sichtbaren und unsichtbaren feyndten, von dem Teu-
fel, der welt, von unserem aygen flaysch, durch
Christum, unsern herren. Amen.

Lord's Prayer:

...von übel. Durch un-
seren herren Jesum Chris-
tum, deynen sun, welicher
mit dir, etc.

Agnus DeiAgnus DeiPaxPaxAgnus Dei

A²

B

D

Adhortatio brevis

"Die Ordnung"

Humble Access:

Humble Access:

Herr Jhesu Christe, du sun des lebendigen Gottes, der du aus väterlichem willen und mitwirkung des hayligen gaysts durch dein tot die welt zum leben bracht hast, erlöse uns durch dise, deinen hayligen leyb und [B: rosenfarbes] blut, von allen unsern ungerechtigkeiten und böshaiten, und verleyhe, das wir alweg gehorsamen deinen gebotten und von dir nymmer ewiglich abgesundert werden. Amen.

Administration

Administration

Administration
"Gott sey gelobet"
or a Psalm

Nunc dimittis

"Gott sey gelobet"

Thanksgiving Collect

Salutation & Thanksgiving Collect

Salutation
Benedicamus
Blessing

Salutation
Benedicamus
Benediction

Priest's Private Prayers

Benediction/Dismissal

MARK BRANDENBURG (a.k.a. KUR-BRAND.), 1540

(In Daniel, Vol. 2, pp. 124-131)

Liturgy of the Word

Preface (in Latin)

Sanctus (in Latin, during which:)

Prayers:¹

O Barmhertziger hymlischer vater, In welliches hand besteet aller menschen gewalt, vnd Oberkeyt von dir gesetzt, zur straff der bösen vnnd wolfart der frummen, inn wellicher handt auch steen alle recht vnd gesetz aller Reyck auff erden, Wir bitten dich, sihe gnediglich auff deine diener, den Römischen Kayser vnser Fürsten vnd alle ordenlich Oberkeyt, damit sie das weltlich schwert, inen von dir befolhen, nach deinem befelch füren mögen, Erleucht vnd erhalt sie bey deinem Götlichen namen, Gib inen lieber Herr weyssheyte vnd verstandt vnd ein fridlich regiment, auff das sie alle ire vnterthanen in frid rwe vnnd aynigkeyt beschirmen vnnd regieren, Erlengere inen O Gott vnsers hayls ire tag, auff das wir vnter irer herrschafft, deinen Götlichen namen sambt ine heyligen vnd preysen mögen, Durch vnsern Herrn Iesum etc.

O Almechtiger güttiger Got vnd Vater vnsers Herrn Iesu Christi, Der du vns ernstlich befolhen hast, das wir dich bitten sollen vmb arbeyter in deiner erndten, das ist vmb rechtgeschaffne prediger deins worts Wir bitten dein grundlose barmhertzigkeyt, Du wöllest vns rechtgeschaffne lerer vnd diener deines Götlichen worts zuschicken, vnd denselben dein haylsamswort in das hertz vnd in den mundt geben, Das sie deinen befelch treulich ausrichten vnd nichts predigen, das deinem heyligen wort entgegen sey, Auff das wir durch dein hymlich ewigs wort ermanet, geleret, gespeyst, getrost vnd gesterckt werden, thun was dir gefellig vnd vns fruchtbarlich ist, Gib Herr deiner gemain deinen gayst vnd Gotliche weyssheyte, Das dein wort vnter vns lauffe vnd wachse, vnnd mit aller fraidigkeit wie sichs gepürt gepredigt, vnd dein heilige Christenliche gemain dadurch gepessert werde, auff das wir mit beständigem glauben dir dienen, vnd in bekantnuss deines namens biss an das ende verharren, Durch vnsern Herrn etc.

¹ These four prayers are the last, next to last, fourth and fifth, in a group of fifteen (non-festal) collects provided for the Liturgy of the Word, in Brandenburg, 1533.

Note that, with certain modifications, the first three of these four prayers reappear in Pfalz-Neuberg, 1543, and later in the liturgy of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, 1855. Cf. Reed: Liturgy, p. 335.

O Almechtiger ewiger Gott, ein König der eeren, vnd ein Herr hymels vnd der erden, durch welliches gaist alle ding regiert, durch welliches fürsehung alle ding geordnet werden, der du bist ein Gott des fridens, von dem allein alle ayingkeyt zu vns kumbt, Wir bitten dich, du wöllest vns vnser sünde vergeben, vnd mit deinem Götlichen frid vnd ayingkeyt begnaden, damit wir inn forcht vnd zittern dir dienen, zu lob vnd preyss deines namens, Durch vnsern Herrn Iesum Christum etc.

O Almechtiger barmhertziger Gott vnnd hymlicher Vater, des barmhertzigkeit kein ende ist, der du langmütig, gnedig, vnd von grosser gütte vnd treu bist, vnd vergibst die missethat übertretung vnd sünde, Wir haben misshandelt vnnd sind gotloss gewest, vnd dich oft erzurnet, dir allein haben wir gesündigt, vnd übel vor die gethan, Aber Herr gedenck nicht an vnser vorige missethat, lass bald dein barmhertzigkeit über vns grösser sein, dann wir sind fast elendt worden, Hilff vns Gott vnser hayls, Errette vnns vnd vergib vns vnser sünde, vmb der eeren willen deines heyligsten namens vnd von wegen deines lieben Suns vnser haylandtss Iesu Christi, der mit dir etc.

Verba (chanted in German) and Elevation

Lord's Prayer (chanted in German)

Pax

Agnus Dei (in Latin)

Prayers (in Latin):

"Domine Iesu Christe, qui dixisti"

"Domine Iesu Christe, Fili Dei vivi"

"Sacramentum corporis tui Domine"

Exhortation

Administration

PFALZ-NEUBERG, 1543

(In Sehlins, Vol. 13:3, pp. 73-76)

Liturgy of the WordExhortationPrayer:

Herr Jesu Christe, du einiger warer son des lebendigen Gottis, der du dein leib fur uns alle in den bitteren tod hast dargeben und dein bluot zu vergebung unserer sund vergossen, darzu denselben dein leib und dasselbig dein bluot allen deinen jungern zu essen und zu trinken und deines tods darbei zu gedenken hast befolhen. Wir bringen fur deine götliche majestat dise deine gaben, brot und wein, und bitten, du wöllest dieselben durch dein götliche gnad, gute und kraft heiligen, segnen und schaffen, das dises brot dein leib und diser wein dein blut sei, und allen denen, die darvon essen und trinken, zum ewigen leben lassen gedeihen, der du mit Got dem Vater in einigkeit des Heiligen Geists lebst und regirest immer und ewiglich. Amen.

Verba (chanted or read loudly and distinctly) and ElevationLatin Sanctus or "ein gut teutsch lied" (during which, or after:)Prayers:

"Für die weltlichen obrigkeit". Barmherziger, himlischer Vater, in welches hende aller menschlicher gewalt und obrigkeit stehet, von dir eingesetzt zur straf der ubelteter und zum schutz der frommen; in welches hende auch stehn alle recht und gesetz aller lender! Wir bitten dich, sei gnedig unserm hearn keiser, allen königen und fürsten, sonderlich unserm landsfürsten und herrn N. und dem rat und regenten diser statt und aller ordenlichen obrigkeit, damit sie das weltliche schwert, das du inen befolken hast, recht führen mögen. Umbschatte sie mit der kraft deiner götlichen majestat! Erleucht und erhalt sie bei deinem götlichen namen! Lass sie dein göttlich wort von herzen lieb haben und sich demselbigen unterwerfen! Gib inen, lieber Herr, weisheit und verstand und ein fridsam regiment, auf das die alle ire untertonen in der warheit und gerechtigkeit, die dir gefällig ist, regirn und beschirmen! Friste in auch, mein lieber Got, ir leben lang nach deinem willen und, dieweil das gericht dein ist und sie an deiner statt sitzen, so gib in gnad, also zu regirn, das dein heiliger name durch sie geheiligt und gepreiset werde von nun an bis in ewigkeit! Amen.

"Für die diener des worts". O allmechtiger, gütiger Gott und Vater unsers Herren Jesu Christi, der uns ernstlich befolhen hat, das wir dich umb arbeit in dein ernt bitten sollen! Wir bitten dein grundlose barmherzigkeit, du wöllest uns rechtgeschaffene lerer und diener deines götlichen

worts zuschicken und denselben dein heilsames wort in ir herz und mund geben, das sie deinen befelch treulich ausrichten und nichts predigen, das deinem heiligen wort entgegen sei, auf das wir durch dein himelisch, ewig wort ermanet, gelert, gespeist, getröst und gesterkt werden und tun, was dir gefellig und uns fruchtbarlich ist. Gib, Herr, deiner heiligen christenheit deinen Geist und götliche weisheit, das dein wort unter uns lauf und wachs und mit aller freidigkeit, wie sichs gebürt, gepredigt und dein heilige, christliche gemein dadurch gebessert werd, auf das wir mit beständigem glauben dir dienen und in erkanntnis deines namens bis ans ende verharren.

"Umb christliche einigkeit". Barmherziger Got und ewiger Vater, ein könig der ehren und ein herr himels und und [sic!] der erden, durch welches Geist alle ding regirt, durch welches fürsehung alle ding geordnet werden! Du bist ein Got des frides, von dem alle einigkeit zu uns kompt. Wir bitten dich, du wöllest uns unser sünd vergeben und mit deinem götlichen frid und einigkeit begnaden, damit wir in forcht und zittern deinem namen immer und ewiglich dienen und dein götliche majestat allzeit von uns gepreist werde, durch unsern Herrn Jesum Christum, deinen son, der mit dir in einigkeit des Heiligen Geists lebt und regirt immer und ewiglich. Amen.

Lord's Prayer with Doxology (chanted or said loudly, when all singing ended)

Pax

Agnus Dei, "abermals ein gut teutsch geistlich gesang"

Prayer: "Domine Jesu Christe, qui dixisti"

Prayer: "Domine Jesu Christe, fili Dei vivi"

Prayer: "Sacramentum corporis et sanguinis tui"

Administration

AUSTRIA, 1571.

(Christliche Kirchen Agenda . . . Ertzhertzogthumb
Oesterreich . . . MDLXXI, pp. cvi/v.-cviii/r.)

Liturgy of the Word

Preface (Versicles and common Preface in Latin & German parallel versions)

Sanctus (in 3 versions: Latin, German & Luther's "Jesaja dem Propheten")

Prayer "den Communicanten fuer" (2 alternates provided):

Almächtiger Gott / Hiömlischer Vatter / sintemal wir dir nicht / denn allein in deinem geliebten Son unserm Herrn wolgefallen mögen / So heilige unser Seel unö Leib / und gib uns sein seelige Gemeinschaft / in seinö heiligen Abentmal mit rechtgläubiger Begierdt und danckbarkeit zu empfangen. Dass wir [in] deiner ewigen Güte und Liebe gegen uns abermals getröstet / unnd in dem Neuwen leben gestercket / dir zu Preyss deines Göttlichen Namens unnd Besserung deines Volcks / mit mehr Fleiss und Forcht leben und dienen mögen / Durch denselbigen unsern Herrn Jesum Christum / Amen.

Almächtiger Gott / Hiömlischer Vatter / Wir bitten dich / du wöllest uns deinen heiligen Geist verleihen / dass wir in Bussfertigkeit leben / das Hoch würdige Sacrament / des waren Leibs und Bluts deines lieben Sons / unsers Herrn und Heylandts Jesu Christi / empfangen / und dadurch unser Glaube gestercket / wir in Liebe / Hoffnung unö allen tugenden wachsen / und bestendig biss an unser ende / in deinem Lobe unnd Gehorsam verharren / Durch denselben deinen lieben Son Jesum Christum / unsern Herrn / Amen.

Lord's Prayer, chanted ("Man kans auch wol erst nach den Worten Christi der einsatzung / Segnung und Sanctus, singen"): ...vom übel. Amen.

Verba spoken loudly and distinctly or chanted

Pax

Distribution

Agnus Dei (Latin or German, or)

"Jesus Christus vnser Heylandt"

"Ich danck dem Herrn von gantzem Herten"

"Als Jesus Christus vnser Herr wust"

SWEDEN, 1576

THE MASS OF JOHN III (The "RED BOOK")

(In Yelverton, The Mass in Sweden, pp. 100-109)

This liturgy was printed in Latin and Swedish parallel columns. The English version given here is Yelverton's translation of the Swedish text.

[The Offertory]

Oremus: Omnipotens aeternae Deus
Pater caelestis, qui nobis spiritum
gratiae et precum promisisti,
largire nobis quaesumus,
ut te ad mandatum et promissionem
tuam in spiritu et ueritate in-
uocemus: dirigat corda nostra tuae
misericordiae operatio, quia tibi si-
ne te placere non possumus.

Te igitur clementissime pater
per Jesum Christum Filium tuum
Dominum nostrum supplices rogamus
ac petimus, ut preces nostras accep-
tas habere, easque exaudire digneris,
imprimis quas tibi offerimus pro
Ecclesia tua sancta catholica,
quam pacificare, custodire,
adunare, et regere digneris toto
orbe terrarum, una cum omni
magistratu ecclesiastico et
politico, cuiuscunque dignitatis
praeeminentiae et nominis sint,
et omnibus orthodoxis atque catholi-
cae et Apostolicae fidei
cultoribus.

Domine Deus qui uoluisti miseri-
cordiae tuae erga nos certissimum
pignus esse sacrosanctam et uener-
andam Filij tui Caenam: excita nos-
tras mentes, qui hanc ipsius Caenam
celebramus, ad salutarem tuorum be-
neficiorum recordationem, ad ueram
et perpetuam gratitudinem, ad glori-
am et laudem nominis tui: Iuuato
nos tuos ministros et tuum populum,

Let us pray. Almighty eternal God,
heavenly Father, thou who hast pro-
mised us the Spirit of grace and
prayer. We beseech thee, grant us
grace, that we according to thy com-
mandment and promise may call upon
thee in spirit and in truth. Let thy
holy Spirit rule our hearts, for with-
out thee we cannot be pleasing to thee.

We therefore humbly pray thee, and de-
sire, most merciful Father, through
thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord, that
thou wilt suffer our prayers to be
pleasing to thee, and graciously hear
that which we bring before thee for
thy holy universal Christian church,
that thou wouldest vouchsafe to grant
it peace, to preserve, unite and
govern it throughout the world, to-
gether with all government, spiritual
and worldly, of whatsoever dignity,
loftiness, and name it may be, so
likewise all true Christians, that love
and confess the true universal and
Apostolic faith.

O Lord God, who willest that thy Son's
holy and most worthy Supper should be
unto us a pledge and assurance of thy
mercy: awaken our heart, that we who
celebrate the same his Supper may have
a salutary remembrance of thy benefits,
and humbly give thee true and bounden
thanks, glory, honour, and praise for
evermore. Help us thy servants and
thy people that we may herewith remem-

ut memores sanctae illius purae, immaculatae et salutaris Filij tui hostiae, pro nobis in ara crucis peractae, tantum noui Testamenti et aeterni foederis mysterium digne peragamus. Benedic et sanctifica Spiritus tui sancti uirtute proposita et sacro usui destinata, panem et uinum, ut in uero usu nobis sint corpus et sanguis dilectissimi filij tui, alimenta aeternae uitae, quae summo desiderio expetamus et quaeramus. Per eundem

ber the holy, pure, stainless, and blessed offering of thy Son, which he made upon the cross for us, and worthily celebrate the mystery of the new testament and eternal covenant. Bless and sanctify with the power of thy holy Spirit that which is prepared and set apart for this holy use, bread and wine, that rightly used it may be unto us the body and blood of thy Son, the food of eternal life, which we may desire and seek with greatest longing. Through the same

There follow the normal versicles. Eight pro tempore prefaces are provided. The Verba are incorporated therein, by means of the linking phrase, Qui ne unquam beneficiorum ipsius obliuisceremur, in ea nocte. Following the Verba and elevations, the Preface is resumed, at Et ideo cum Angelis, and concluded by the Sanctus.

Dum chorus canit Hymnum Sanctus, celebrans sequentem legit orationem. Quando autem legendo sacra peraguntur Liturgiae officia, oratio illa continua lectione Hymno subijcitur.

Memores igitur et nos Domine salutaris huius mandati, et tam beatae passionis et mortis nec non ex mortuis resurrectionis, sed et in caelos ascensionis eiusdem filij tui D. n. J. C. Quem immensa tua misericordia nobis donasti ac dedisti, ut uictima pro peccatis nostris fieret, et una sui oblatione in cruce, solueret tibi pro nobis precium redemptionis nostrae, et iusticiae tuae satisfaceret, et impleret Sacrificium profuturum electis ad finem usque mundi Eundem Filium tuum, eiusdem mortem et oblationem, hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam, propitiationem, scutum et umbraculum nostrum contra iram tuam, contra terrorem peccati et mortis, nobis propositum fide amplectimur, tuaeque praeclarae Maiestati humillimis nostris precibus offerimus. Pro tantis tuis beneficijs pio cordis affectu, et clara voce, gratias agentes, non

Therefore we also remember, o Lord God, this blessed command and the same thy son our Lord Jesus Christ's holy passion and death, his resurrection and ascension. And this thy son thou hast in thy boundless mercy sent and given unto us, that he might be an offering for our sins, and by his one offering on the cross pay the price of our redemption, fulfil thy justice and make perfect such an offering as might serve for the welfare of all the elect unto the end of the world. The same thy Son, the same offering, which is a pure, holy and undefiled offering, set before us for our reconciliation, our shield, defence, and covering against thy wrath, against the terror of sins and of death, we take and receive with faith and offer before thy glorious majesty with our humble supplications. For these thy great benefits we give thee fervent thanks with heart and mouth, yet not as our

quantum debemus, sed quantum possumus.

Et supplices te per eundem Filium tuum unicum intercessorem nostrum in arcano consilio diuinitatis a te constitutum, D. n. J. C. rogantes, ut propitio ac sereno uultu ad nos nostrasque preces respicere digneris, easque in caeleste altare tuum in conspectu diuinae maiestatis tuae suscipias, gratas et acceptas clementer habeas, faciasque ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione benedictum et sanctificatum cibum et potum, panem sanctum uitae aeternae, et calicem salutis perpetuae, sacrosanctum Filij tui corpus et preciosum eius sanguinem sumserimus omni benedictione caelesti et gratia repleamur.

Nobis quoque peccatoribus de multitudine miserationum tuarum sperantibus, partem aliquam et societatem donare digneris, cum tuis sanctis Apostolis et Martyribus, et omnibus sanctis tuis. Intra quorum nos consortium non aestimator meriti sed ueniae quaesumus largitor admitte, Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum

Per quem Domine omnia bona semper creas, sanctificas, uiuificas, benedicis et praestas nobis. Per ipsum et cum ipso, et in ipso sit tibi Deo Patri omnipotenti in unitate Spiritus sancti omnis honor et gloria. Per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

bounden duty is but according to our power.

And we humbly beseech thee through the same thy son, whom thou in thy Godly and secret counsel hast set before us as our only mediator, that thou wilt vouchsafe to look upon us and our prayers with mercy and pitying eye, suffer them to come to thy heavenly altar before thy Divine majesty and be pleasing unto thee, that all we who are partakers as this altar of the blessed and holy food and drink, the holy bread of eternal life and the Cup of eternal salvation, which is the holy body and precious blood of thy Son, may also be fulfilled with all heavenly benediction and grace.

We pray thee likewise, o Lord God, that thou wilt vouchsafe to grant us poor sinful men who trust in thy manifold mercies, that we may be received among thy holy Apostles, Martyrs and all thy saints, in the number of whom suffer us to be, not of our merit, but of thy compassion, who forgivest our sins and failings. Through the same Jesus Christ our Lord.

By whom thou, o Lord, dost ever create, sanctify, quicken, bless and grant us every good thing. Through him, with him, in him be all honour, glory and praise unto thee almighty God Father and to the holy Spirit, from everlasting to everlasting. Amen.

There follow the invitation, Praeceptis salutaribus, the Lord's Prayer, the Embolism (less its mention of saints), the Pax, an optional exhortation, a prayer (Domine Jesu Christe, Fili Dei vivi or Perceptio corporis et sanguinis), the Agnus, etc.

BRANDENBURG-NÜRNBERG, 1533

(in Richter, Vol. 1, pp. 207-208)

Liturgy of the WordExhortation:

Jr aller liebsten in Got, Diweyl wir yetzo das heylig Abentmal vnser Herren Jesu Christi wollen bedencken vnd halten, darinn er vns sein flaysch zu einer speyss, vnnd sein blut zu einem tranck, den glauben darmit zu stercken gegeben hat, Sollen wir pillich mit grossem fleyss ein yeder sich selbs brüfen, wie der heylig Paulus vns vermanet, Dann diss heylig Sacrament, ist zu einem sundern trost vnnd sterck geben, den armen betrübten gewissen, die jre sünde bekennen, Gottes zorn vnd den todt fürchten, vnd nach der gerechtigkeit hungerig vnd dürstig sihd, So wir aber vns selbs brüfen, vnd ein yeder in sein aygen gewissen geen, wie vns der heylig Paulus leret, werden wir gewisslich nicht anders finden, dann allerley greuliche sünde, vnd den todt, den wir mit der sünde verschuldt haben, vnd können doch vns selbs in keinen wege darauss helfen, Darumb hat vnser lieber Herr Jesus Christus, sich vber vns erbarmt, vnd ist vmb vnser sünden willen mensch worden, Auff das er das gesetz vnd allen willen Gottes für vns zu gut erfüllet, vnd den todt vnd alles was wir mit vnsern sünden verschuldt hetten, für vns vnd zu vnser erledigung auff sich neme vnd erlitte, Vnd das wir das ye festiglich glaubten, vnd durch den glauben frölich in seinem willen möchten leben, Nam er nach dem Abentmal das brot, saget danck, brachs vnnd sprach, Nemet hyn vnnd esset, das ist mein leyb, der für euch dargegeben wirdt, Das ist, das ich mensch byn worden, vnd alles das ich thu vnnd layde, ist alles ewer aygen, für euch vnd euch zu gut geschehen, dess zu einem gewissen anzeygen vnnd zeugnuss gib ich euch mein leyb zur speyss, Dessgleichen nam er auch den kelch vnd sprach, Nemet hyn vnd trincket auss disem alle, das ist der kelch des newen Testaments in meinem blut, das für euch vnd für vil vergossen wirdt zu vergebung ser sünde, so oft jr das thut solt jr mein darbey gedencken, Das ist, diweyl ich mich ewer angenommen vnd ewer sünde auff mich geladen hab, will ich mich selbs für die sünde inn todt opfern, mein blut vergiessen, gnad vnnd vergebung der sünde erwerben, vnd also ein new Testament auffrichten, darinnen die sünde vergeben, vnnd ewig nicht mer soll gedacht werden, dess zu einem gewissen anzeygen vnd zeugnuss, gib ich euch mein blut zutrincken, Wer nun also von disem brot isset, vnd von disem kelch trincket, auch disen wortten die er von Christo höret, vnd disen zaichen die er von Christo empfaht, festiglich glaubt, der bleybt in dem Herrn Christo vnd Christus in jme, vnnd wirdt ewiglich leben, Darbey sollen wir nun sein gedencken, vnd seinen todt verkündigen, Nemlich das er für vnser sünde sey gestorben, vnd zu vnser rechtfertigung wider auferstanden, vnd jme darumb dancksagen, ein yeder sein kreütz auff sich nemen, vnd jme nachfolgen, vnd nach seinem gepot einander lieben, wie er vns geliebt hat, dann wir alle sind ein brot vnd ein leybe, diweyl wir alle eines brots taylhafftig sind, vnd auss einem kelch trincken.

Verba

Sanctus (in Latin or German)

Lord's Prayer (in Latin or German)

Pax (in Latin or German)

Administration

Agnus Dei or Scriptural Communion Verse

Thanksgiving Collect (two alternate prayers provided)

Benedicamus

Blessing

SLESWICK-HOLSTEIN, 1797

(In Daniel, Vol. 2, pp. 162-172)

"Anrede und Gebet vor der Communion"

Lasset uns ~~des~~ Herrn Tod verkündigen, bis dass er kommt! Zu solcher Feier des Todes Iesu habt ihr euch heute hier versammelt, meine lieben Mitchristen. Entfernt denn von euch alle fremden, irdischen Gedanken, um euer ganzes Nachdenken auf Gott und euren Erlöser zu richten: es werden selige Augenblicke für euch seyn, darin ihr seiner gedenkt!

Erwägt es, wie viel Arbeit und Mühe, welche Leiden des Körpers und der Seele, welchen schmachvollen Tod Iesus nach dem Rath seines Vaters für die Menschen dulden musste: und diese Betrachtung wird euch stärken in dem Glauben, dass Gott, der seines Einigen, seines Geliebten nicht verschont, sondern ihn zu solchen Leiden und zu solchem Tode hingegeben hat, euch mit ihm Gnade, Vergebung, Seligkeit, euch alles mit ihm schenken werde. Bedenkt, wie gewiss Iesus ein Lehrer der Wahrheit seyn müsse, da er seine Lehre mit seinem Tode bestätigt hat, und zu einem unwidersprechlichen Beweise seiner göttlichen Sendung bald nach seinem Tode wieder lebendig geworden ist: und dies Gedächtniss seines Todes wird euch festhalten an seiner heiligen Lehre, welche die beste, sicherste Anweisung zur wahren Glückseligkeit ist. Denkt an seine Liebe, an seine Sanftmuth und Geduld, an das unwandelbare Vertrauen auf Gott, an die feste Hoffnung, die er im Leiden und im Tode bewies: wie lehrreich, wie ermunternd wird euch dies Andenken werden! -- Aber denkt auch an euch selbst. Stellt euch vor, wie viel ihr entbehren würdet, wenn ihr ihn nicht kenntet, wenn ihr seine Lehre nicht hättet, wenn ihr ohne die Überzeugungen in der Welt leben solltet, die euch sein Tod giebt, ohne Gewissheit der Gnade Gottes, ohne Hoffnung einer seligen Ewigkeit: und erweckt euch durch diese Gedanken zur herzlichsten, thätigen Dankbarkeit gegen Gott, der euch so viel Gutes gethan hat. Denkt an euren eignen Tod, denn auch ihr werdet einmal von dieser Welt abscheiden, und fasst dabei den ernstlichen Vorsatz, beständig so gesinnt zu seyn, wie Iesus Christus gesinnt war, und so zu leben, wie er gelebt hat, damit ihr einst auch so ruhig und selig sterben könnt, wie er gestorben ist!

Lasst uns zu solchen guten Entschliessungen uns durch gemeinschaftliches Gebet ermuntern, (indem wir mit einander singen, aus dem Liede Nr. ..., v. ...). Hier singt der Prediger mit den Communicanten ein paar Verse aus einem zweckmässigen Liede, z.B. Nr. 397, v. 7.8. Mel. Es ist gewisslich an der Zeit, etc.

Lass deiner Leiden Zweck und Frucht
mir stets vor Augen schweben!
nimm weg, was mich zu hindern sucht,

¹ One wonders if the intention here is to "validate" Christ's death, by means of comparison to the earlier death of Socrates.

für deinen Ruhm zu leben,
 nur auf dein Vorbild hier zu sehn,
 nur deine Bahn getrost zu gehn,
 die mich zum Himmel führet

Du starbst für meine Seligkeit:
 o dass ich dir nur lebte,
 und eifrig in der Prüfung Zeit²
 nach deinem Beifall strebte!
 Herr, mache mich dazu geschickt;
 und werd' ich einst der Welt entrückt,
 so sey dein Tod mein Leben!

Wo aber solche die Andacht ungemein befördernde Unterbrechung der Anrede des Predigers durch gemeinschaftliches Singen Schwierigkeiten und Hindernisse findet: da spricht der Prediger statt des Gesanges folgendes Gebet.

Prayer

Erwecke, fördre du selbst, o Gott, diese guten Entschliessungen in unsern Herzen! Stärke in uns das kindliche Vertrauen zu dir und zu deiner uns verheissenen und durch den Tod Iesu bestätigten Vaterliebe! Aber gieb uns auch ein reines Herz und einen im Guten befestigten, Iesu ähnlichen Sinn! Lass uns in unserm ganzen Wandel dich und deine Güte preisen! Dazu segne uns, liebevoller Vater, indem wir Brod und Wein zum Gedächtniss unsers Erlösers geniessen; segne uns bei diesem Andenken an ihn mit Kraft zu allem Guten, mit Trost im Leiden, und mit der seligen Hoffnung der Unsterblichkeit!
 Amen!

Der Prediger spricht das Gebet des Herrn und die Einsetzungsworte des Abendmahls, ohne Aufhebung des Brods und des Kelchs, und ohne Bezeichnung mit dem Kreuze.

Lord's Prayer

Verba

Distribution

Jetzt die Abendmahlshandlung selbst. Die Communicanten knien um den Altar, und empfangen Brod und Wein. Bei der Darreichung des Brods spricht der Prediger:

Der Leib deines Heilandes Iesu Christi, für deine Sünden in den Tod gegeben.
 Bei der Darreichung des Weins:
 Das Blut deines Heilandes Iesu Christi, für deine Sünden vergossen.

Oder:

Zum Gedächtniss Iesu Christi, deines Heilandes, der seinen Leib für dich in

² The influence of the university was so strong in the Aufklärungsperiode that the "Day of Judgement" (das jüngste Gericht) has here become "Exam Time."

den Tod gegeben.

Zum Gedächtniss Iesu Christi, deines Heilandes, der sein Blut für dich vergossen.

Wenn der letzte der zugleich um den Altar Knieenden den Wein genossen hat, richtet sich der Prediger an alle Communicanten mit dem Segenswunsch; Iesus Christus, unser Heiland, mit dem ihr euch jetzt durch den Genuss seines Mahls zur treuesten Liebe verbunden habt, der stärke und erhalte euch in wahrem Glauben und in rechtschaffener Frömmigkeit, zum ewigen Leben. Amen.

Wo die Communicanten noch einzeln um den Altar gehen, kann bei Darreichung des Brods und des Weins gesprochen werden:

Nehmt und esst, spricht Iesus, das ist mein Leib, für eure Sünden in den Tod gegeben. Solches thut zu meinem Gedächtniss.

Nehmt und trinkt, spricht Iesus, das ist mein Blut, für eure Sünden vergossen. Solches thut zu meinem Gedächtniss.

Zur Erweckung grösserer Andacht kann auch zuweilen mit kurzen Denksprüchen aus der Bibel, die sich auf den Tod unsers Erlösers beziehen, bei Darreichung des Brods und Weins abgewechselt werden. Z.B. Christus ist darum für alle gestorben, auf dass die, so da leben, etc. -- Lasset uns ihn lieben, denn er hat uns erst geliebt. -- Christus hat uns ein Beispiel gelassen, etc. -- Also hat Gott die Welt geliebt, etc. -- Daran ist erschienen die Liebe Gottes, etc. . . .

Versicles

Prayer ("Der Prediger sprechend, nicht singend:")

Gott, wie glücklich sind wir, und welchen Dank sind wir dir, unserm Vater und Wohlthäter, schuldig, dass du uns durch deinen Sohn, Iesum Christum, zur Erkenntniss deiner himmlischen Wahrheit und zum Genuss der Wohlthaten geführt hast, deren wir uns, als Christen, erfreuen. Für alles, was wir an ihm, als unserm Lehrer, Erretter und Seligmacher, haben, für allen Trost, wenn unser Gewissen uns ängstigt, für alle Hoffnung im Leiden, die wir bei ihm, und in dem Andenken an ihn finden, preisen wir heute deine väterliche Liebe. Lass unsern Dank dir wohlgefallen! Aber erwecke uns nun auch zum würdigen Gebrauch der Wohlthaten, die du uns geschenkt hast! Erhalte uns in deiner Wahrheit; befestige unsern Glauben; stärke unsere Liebe zu dir und zu unsern Brüdern; lehre uns gesinnt werden, wie Iesus Christus gesinnt war, und präge es tief in unsere Seelen dass er darum für alle gestorben sey, damit wir nicht uns, sondern dir, o Vater, leben, und dem, der aus Liebe für uns in den Tod gegangen ist. Erhöre unser Gebet um deiner Erbarmung willen. Amen.

Benediction ("Der Prediger spricht oder singt den Segen.")

Der Herr segne euch und behüte euch!

Der Herr, der Sünde und Übertretung vergiebt, sey euch gnädig!

Der Herr, der euch zur Seligkeit berufen hat, gebe euch seinen Frieden!

Amen.

15.

SYNOD OF OHIO, 1830

(In Liturgy, or Formulary, pp. 64-71)

SYNODS OF PENNSYLVANIA, NEW YORK AND OHIO, 1842

(In Liturgie und Kirchenagende, pp. 176-181)

The forepart of this rite (compared with the 1830 version) was given in two alternate parallel forms, which may be outlined as follows:

First Form:

Hymn
Confessional Address
Prayer of Confession (3 alt.)
Kyrie

Salutation (without Collect)
Scripture
Prayer
Hymn

Sermon
General Prayer
Hymn
Blessing (O.T. or N.T.)

Second Form:

Scriptural Sentences.
Hymn

Antiphon, spoken Te Deum

Scripture

Hymn
General Prayer
Sermon
Prayer (extemporized)

Blessing

Following the Exhortation and Prayer, the balance of the communion service is:

Lord's Prayer
Verba
Invitation and Administration
Prayer of Adoration

Lord's Prayer (German paraphrases)
Verba
Invitation and Administration
Versicles, Thanksgiving Prayer

Three alternate Exhortation-Prayer sequences are part of this rite. The parts lacking in 1830 are supplied from the German edition of 1842.

First Form (1830 & 1842):

Dearly Beloved: with reverence and humility we appear in the presence of Almighty God, to celebrate the glorious ordinance, which our blessed Saviour instituted for the benefit of his Redeemed, shortly before his painful sufferings and death. At this table, Jesus Christ will refresh us with the treasures of his grace, if we come to him with believing and well prepared hearts. Here the eternal Son of God is present, who, out of love, left the courts of heaven, came to our earth, was not ashamed to be our brother, and after having purged our sins, through sufferings and death, triumphantly returned to his eternal abode, where he is crowned with glory and honour, at the right hand of the Majesty on high.

The Lord of glory is willing to be united with us in this holy Ordinance. He giveth to us, under the broken bread, his holy body, which was crucified for us; and under the cup of blessing, his precious blood, which was shed for the sins of the world. Mysterious and incomprehensible as this may be, nevertheless, with the strongest as-

Second Form (1830)

Third Form (1842):

Dearly Beloved: We have met to celebrate the solemn Feast, which Jesus Christ instituted as a pledge of his love, and the benefits of his sufferings and death. Wherefore, let us magnify the unbounded mercy of our heavenly Father, who, from the inexhaustible riches of his goodness, hath imparted to us, numberless blessings in Christ our Lord. Yea, and us also hath he loved from eternity, and in due time, sent his Son, clothed with human flesh, that we might not perish, but have everlasting life. By Him, the Only Begotten, hath he made known to us, his Divine will, and opened for us, the way to a joyful and happy eternity. Bless ye the Almighty, therefore, and with grateful hearts, magnify the Name of Jesus Christ, our Redeemer and Saviour. Where hath greater love ever been found than this? that a man would lay down his life for a friend:--But, behold the Divine Mediator hath even laid down his life for his enemies; he hath, by his bloody and painful death, procured for us the pardon of our sins; and, after having risen from the grave, and was seated on the right hand of

Second Form (1842):

Der Herr sey mit euch! Unsere Herzen in die Höhe, heben wir zum Herrn. Heilig, heilig, heilig ist der Herr Zebaoth; all Lande sind seiner Ehre voll.

Geliebte in dem Herrn! Weil wir versammelt sind, das feierliche Mahl zu halten, welches Jesus, unser Herr und Heiland, verordnet hat; so lasset uns zufoerdest die Absicht des grossen Stifters deselben mit Andacht und Ehrfurcht erwägen. Diese war sicherlich, das Gedächtniss seiner Liebe unter den Menschen zu erhalten, und seinen Versöhnungstod der Welt zu verkündigen. "Solches thut zu meinem Gedächtniss"--spricht er; und Paulus sagt: "So oft ihr von diesem Brod esset und von diesem Kelch trinket, sollt ihr des Herrn Tod verkündigen, bis dass er kommt." Unser hochgelobter Heiland wusste wohl, dass das dankbare Herz des Menschen sehr geneigt sey, Wohlthaten zu vergessen, und dass man in kurzer Zeit seine Liebe zu Sündern geringschätzen würde. Desswegen hat er dieses feierliche Mahl gestiftet, um das Andenken an seinen Versöhnungstod unter den Menschen zu erhalten, und sie zur Gegenliebe, zur Dankbarkeit und zum Gehorsam gegen seine Gebote

First Form (1830 & 1842):

surance, we can depend on the declarations and promises of our Almighty Redeemer, who is able to do exceedingly above all we can ask, or understand. Let us therefore, draw nigh unto his table, with full assurance, that, by these pledges of his grace, he will bestow upon us all the benefits of his redemption--the forgiveness of sins, the heirship of God, spiritual life, and hope of eternal glory.

But let us also comply with that holy command he gave, saying, "Do this in remembrance of me."

"As often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come."

--With grateful hearts, let us, therefore, remember the ignominious sufferings and painful death, by which the magnanimous Friend of Man, Jesus Christ, atoned for our sins.--Behold him in the garden at the mount of Olivet, trembling and agonizing, sweating drops of blood, and wrestling with the powers of death! Behold him delivered by one of his disciples into the hands of his enemies! With what composure and magnanimity did he subject himself to the counsel of his heavenly Father, and bear

Second Form (1830)
Third Form (1842):

God the Father, he there prepared for us everlasting joy and felicity.

Enjoy, therefore, even while here, the heavenly gifts with pleasure, by which he will satisfy, strengthen, and quicken our souls. The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ; and the cup, which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? By the partaking of this ordinance, the faithful enter into the closest union with him. He giveth to us his body and blood; he worketh, liveth, and dwelleth in us; he strengtheneth our faith, awakeneth us to the love of God, and filleth our hearts with heavenly joy.--Examine yourselves; therefore, whether ye be worthy of these Divine blessings. For whosoever shall eat this bread, and drink this cup unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and the blood of the Lord. Be ye, therefore, steadfastly resolved on faithfully fulfilling the will of the Lord, and on complying, as far as possible, with the doctrine, and example of Jesus; and as he loved and willingly served

Second Form (1842):

to ermuntern. So lasset uns denn, meine Geliebten, von ganzem Herzen an das Leiden und Sterben Jesu gedenken. Lasset uns daran gedanken, wie Jesus als Bürge für uns leidet und kämpfet, betet und rinnet,--wie er geschlagen, verhöhnt, gegeisselt, mit Dornen gekrönt, zum Tode verurtheilt und gleich einem Missethäter ans Kreuz genägelt wird, um uns arme Verlorne und Verdammungswürdige von Gottes Zorn, Tod und Hölle zu erlösen. Lasset uns ihm dafür Preis, Ehre und Dank bringen. Ja sein Tod müsse dankbarlich verkündiget werden, so weit die Welt gehet; von unsern Lippen müsse sein Lob erschallen, und unser ganzes Herz und Leben müsse seiner Verehrung und seinem Dienste gewidmet seyn. Es sey demnach unser feierliche Vorsatz bey diesem heiligen Mahle: "Lasset uns ihn lieben, denn er hat uns zuerst geliebt."

Eine andere Absicht Jesu bei der Einsetzung dieses Mahles was, uns in den völligen Besitz seines Versöhnungstodes zu versetzen. Wir wissen, durch Aufopferung seines Leibes und Vergießung seines Blutes hat er, der liebe Heiland, ein Versöhnungsoffer für die Sünder der Welt dargebracht, und an

First Form (1830 & 1842):

all the cruel treatments of his enemies, who sentenced him to die! Behold the Son of God, conducted like a Lamb to the slaughter! No earthly spirit can comprehend, what the Redeemer suffered in this hour of pain and distress. There was he suspended upon Golgatha, like an accursed one, with pierced hands and feet, like a malefactor. He, the most Holy, the most guiltless!—There, cried He, with a terrified soul, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me!"—Finally, he resigned, He, the righteous, the beloved, and compassionate Saviour of man, under inexorable tortures, his suffering soul into the hands of his heavenly Father. Thus he bowed his head and expired.

Glieder einer Familie, als Brüder und Schwestern einander lieb haben; denn das ist unsers Heilands Gebot, dass wir uns unter einander lieben sollen, gleichwie er uns geliebet; und daran wird Jedermann erkennen, dass wir Christi Jünger sind, so wir uns unter einander liebhaben. Endlich sollen wir auch bei diesem Mahle zeigen, dass wir uns unser Heilandes nicht schämen, und dass wir seinem Bekenntniss treu bleiben wollen bis in den Tod. Lasset uns daher den festen Vorsatz fassen, nach seiner theuren Lehre unser Thun und Lassen einzurichten. Alles, was an uns sündlich gewesen, soll von nun an abgelegt werden, und im Gegentheil wollen wir suchen, züchtig, gerecht und gottselig zu leben in dieser Welt; so werden wir als wahre Nachfolger Jesu erfunden werden, und uns aller seiner herrlichen Verheissungen getrösten können.

Second Form (1830)
Third Form (1842):

vor to love and serve all, and ardently aspire after life eternal.--At this feast, remember, particularly, the love of Jesus, and thereby learn also to love the brethren, and to bless even your enemies. With sentiments thus pious, and with faith and confidence in the grace of the Most High, draw nigh and enjoy the benefits of this holy supper.

das gesegnete Brod und den gesegneten Kelch empfängt, so gewiss wird er auch von seinem Heiland auf eine uns unsichtbare Weise Antheil an seinem Leib und Blut empfangen.

Ferner sollte auch das Abendmahl ein Mittel seyn, das Band der Liebe unter Christen fester zu knüpfen. Hier an diesem Tische des Herrn sollen Hohe und Niedere, Reiche und Armé, Gelehrte und Unwissende, Starke und Schwache zeigen, dass sie sich unter einander als Brüder und Schwestern ansehen, und das sie willig sind, auf ihrer Pilgrimsreise nach der Ewigkeit einander beizustehen und fortzuhelfen. Denn gleichwie wir von einem Brode essen und aus einem Kelche trinken, so sollen wir auch als

Glieder einer Familie, als Brüder und Schwestern einander lieb haben; denn das ist unsers Heilands Gebot, dass wir uns unter einander lieben sollen, gleichwie er uns geliebet; und daran wird Jedermann erkennen, dass wir Christi Jünger sind, so wir uns unter einander liebhaben. Endlich sollen wir auch bei diesem Mahle zeigen, dass wir uns unser Heilandes nicht schämen, und dass wir seinem Bekenntniss treu bleiben wollen bis in den Tod. Lasset uns daher den festen Vorsatz fassen, nach seiner theuren Lehre unser Thun und Lassen einzurichten. Alles, was an uns sündlich gewesen, soll von nun an abgelegt werden, und im Gegentheil wollen wir suchen, züchtig, gerecht und gottselig zu leben in dieser Welt; so werden wir als wahre Nachfolger Jesu erfunden werden, und uns aller seiner herrlichen Verheissungen getrösten können.

Second Form (1842):

diesem will er uns nun gern Theil geben. Da wir nun sinnliche Geschöpfe sind, so hat er zwei äusserliche und in die Sinne fallende Elemente, nämlich Brod und Wein, bestimmt, gleichsam als Pfänder, und uns dadurch zu ver-

sichern, dass wir mit, bei und unter denselben, seines Leibes und Blutes, das heisst, seiner ganzen Versöhnungsnade theilhaftig werden sollen. So gewiss demnach der bussfertige Communicant

das gesegnete Brod und den gesegneten Kelch empfängt, so gewiss wird er auch von seinem Heiland auf eine uns unsichtbare Weise Antheil an seinem Leib und Blut empfangen.

Ferner sollte auch das Abendmahl ein Mittel seyn, das Band der Liebe unter Christen fester zu knüpfen. Hier an diesem Tische des Herrn sollen Hohe und Niedere, Reiche und Armé, Gelehrte und Unwissende, Starke und Schwache zeigen, dass sie sich unter einander als Brüder und Schwestern ansehen, und das sie willig sind, auf ihrer Pilgrimsreise nach der Ewigkeit einander beizustehen und fortzuhelfen. Denn gleichwie wir von einem Brode essen und aus einem Kelche trinken, so sollen wir auch als

Glieder einer Familie, als Brüder und Schwestern einander lieb haben; denn das ist unsers Heilands Gebot, dass wir uns unter einander lieben sollen, gleichwie er uns geliebet; und daran wird Jedermann erkennen, dass wir Christi Jünger sind, so wir uns unter einander liebhaben. Endlich sollen wir auch bei diesem Mahle zeigen, dass wir uns unser Heilandes nicht schämen, und dass wir seinem Bekenntniss treu bleiben wollen bis in den Tod. Lasset uns daher den festen Vorsatz fassen, nach seiner theuren Lehre unser Thun und Lassen einzurichten. Alles, was an uns sündlich gewesen, soll von nun an abgelegt werden, und im Gegentheil wollen wir suchen, züchtig, gerecht und gottselig zu leben in dieser Welt; so werden wir als wahre Nachfolger Jesu erfunden werden, und uns aller seiner herrlichen Verheissungen getrösten können.

First Form (1830 & 1842):

Second Form (1830)

Third Form (1842):

Second Form (1842):

But let us first, according to
our Saviour's charge and example,
set apart the elements of bread
and wine, for this ordinance.

[In 1830, the Lord's Prayer, in
normal form follows.]

Zuvor aber lasset uns Brod und
Wein durch Gebet zum Sacramente
weihen.--Betet mit mir das Vater
Unser.

Prayer

O most precious Redeemer! all
this hast thou suffered for us;
our sins which thou didst bear,
were the cause of thine inex-
pressible tortures and painful
death. It was pure love and un-
merited grace that moved thee,
Eternal High Priest! to sacri-
fice thyself, for us, on the
shameful tree! What return of
gratitude can we, dependent
creatures, ever make for this
thy unparalleled love! We vol-
untarily and joyfully present
and devote to thee, our souls
and bodies as holy, reasonable,
and living sacrifices. Thy suf-
ferings and death, shall ever
excite us to hate and forsake
sin, to love thee with an eter-
nal love, to render constant
obedience, yea, to swear eternal
allegiance to thee. This reso-

Lasset uns beten:

Herr, Herr, Gott! barmherzig und
gnädig, geduldig und von grosser
Güte und Treue, der Du vergiebst
Missethat, Übertretung und Sünde
Allen, die sich zu Dir bekehren!
--Dich, den Gott der Liebe, beten
wir in tiefster Demuth an, und
loben deinen grossen und heiligen
Namen.--Gelobet seyst Du, o Vater!
dass Du Dich der gefallenen und
verlorenen Menschen erbarmet, und
ihnen deinen Sohn zum Heiland und
Erlöser gegeben hast, auf dass
Alle, die an Ihn glauben, das
ewige Leben haben. Gelobet seyst
Du, o Sohn Gottes! dass Du unsre
Schuld und Strafe auf Dich ge-
nommen, und durch dein Versöhnungs-
opfer eine ewige Erlösung für uns
gestiftet-hast. Gelobet seyst Du
für die Anerbietung und Mittheil-
ung aller deiner uns erworbenen
Seligkeiten im heiligen Abend-

First Form (1830 & 1842):

lution, we again renew this day, sers Herrn: denn sein Fleisch while partaking of this feast of ist die rechte Speise, sein Blut love. Thine exalted example der rechte Trank. Du hast uns, shall ever be the rule and guide o Vater! durch Christum alle of our lives; we, like thee, Sünden vergeben, und schenkst will love all men, pardon our e-uns jetzt im heiligen Abendmahl,emies, and bear our crosses pa-wenn wir es im rechten Glauben tiently; we will serve thee in nehmen, das kostbare Siegel und righteousness and true holiness: Unterpfand solcher Güte; wir accept our present imperfect wollen darum auch gern unsern thanks, till, in yonder glory, Schuldigern, die uns beleidiget we shall praise and extol thy haben, vergeben. Lass uns, die boundless love with glorified wir schwache Menschen sind, lips. Permit us also now, rich-nicht in zu schwere Versuchung-ly to taste and experience thy en gerathen, unter welchen wir precious friendship, and to re-erliegen müssen; stärke uns ceive, for our eternal salva-durch den Genuss dieser Seelen-tion, thy holy body, which was speise, alle Leiden nach dem crucified for us, and thy pre-Beispiel Jesu geduldig zu er-cious blood, which was shed for-tragen, und lass unsere Ver-suchungen, so wie die seinen, our sins... Amen.

According to our Saviour's charge and example, let us

und lebendigen Opfer--Dir, der Du uns geliebt und Dich selbst Gott zu einem süßen Geruch. Nimm unser Opfer an, o Herr, und lass uns durch den Genuss deines Mahls im Glauben, in der Liebe und in der Hoffnung gestärkt, und also wirklich froher und frömmere gemacht werden. Dir wird dafür zukommen Preis und Ehre

consecrate the elements of bread and wine, for this ordinance.

Lord's Prayer and Verba

Verba

Second Form (1830)
Third Form (1842):

Second Form (1842):

mahl, wodurch Du uns speisen und tränken, erquickten und stärken willst. Ach Herr, wir wünschen sehnlich Theil zu haben an diesen erworbenen Seligkeiten, und diesen bereiteten Heilgütern, und nahen uns demnach mit demüthigem Herzen zu deinem Mahle. Wir fühlen es und bekennen es mit Schaam und Reue, dass wir nicht werth sind der Brosamen, die von deinem Tische fallen; aber wir fühlen es auch, dass wir deine Gnade sehr bedürfen. Im Vertrauen auf deine liebevolle Einladung und auf deine unendliche Sündenliebe kommen wir demüthig, und wagen es, an deiner Tafel zu erscheinen. O lass uns Theil haben an den Früchten deiner Versöhnung!--Wir übergeben uns Dir, unserm Heilande, von Neuem zum Eigenthum, und entsagen allen Übertretungen deiner Gebote. Wir übergeben Dir Leib und Seele, zu einem vernünftigen, heiligen

Wir wollen jetzt in Jesu Namen sein heiliges Testament segnen, handeln und gebrauchen.

Lord's Prayer and Verba

G. C. DIEFFENBACH, 1876

(In Evangelische Handagende, pp. 23-33)

Following the Preface and Sanctus, this Privatagende presents the standard Brandenburg-Nürnberg exhortation, ending it with additional Didache-inspired language--indicating the addition by parentheses.

(Denn wie aus vielen Beerlein zusammengekeltert ein Wein und ein Trank fleusst und sich in einander menget, uns aus vielen Körnlein ein Mehl gemahlen, ein Brod und Kuchen gebacken wird, also sollen wir Alle, die Christo durch den Glauben eingeliebt sind, durch brüderliche Liebe um Christi unseres Heilandes willen ein Leib und Brod und Trank werden und solches gegen einander nicht allein mit Worten, sondern mit der That und Wahrheit, wie St. Johannes lehrt [1. Br. 3], ohne allen Trug treulich gegen einander beweisen. Das helfe uns der allmächtige, barmherzige Gott und Vater unsers lieben Herrn Jesu Christi durch Seinen heiligen Geist.) Amen.

Then follow: A prayer

A brief alternate exhortation (from Pommern)

Three alternates to the prayer just mentioned

Lord's Prayer

"Consecration": The Verba

Agnus, etc.

Below are given the texts of the four alternate prayers.

Solches alles zu erlangen lasset uns beten: O mein Herr Jesu Christe, Du ewiger und allmächtiger Sohn Gottes, der Du nach Willen und beschlossenem Rath Deines himmlischen Vaters durch ein einiges, heiliges, vollkommenes Opfer Deines Leibes und Blutes in Ewigkeit vollendet hast, die geheiligt werden, auch solchen Deinen wahren kostbaren Leib und Blut in dem heiligen Abendmahl uns zu essen und zu trinken verordnet hast: mit was (welch) ernster und herzlicher Reu und Leid über die Sünde, mit was (welch) starkgläubiger Begierde und Ehrerbietung soll man billig Dein heilig Abendmahl begehen und geniessen.--Nun sind aber wir Menschen aus uns selbst lanklebender Sünde halben viel zu gering, schwach und unwürdig solches Deinem Willen und Befehl nach mit Nutzen im heiligen Schmuck zu begehen. Heilige demnach, getreuer Herr und Heiland, Du selbst unsere Seele und Leib durch Deinen heiligen Geist und mache uns also bereit und geschickt, würdiglich zu dieser himmlischen Wohlthat zu kommen. Auch was uns an rechtschaffener Busse, Reu und Leid über die Sünde, an festem kindlichem Vertrauen und Glauben auf Dein Verdienst und ernstlichem wahrhaftigem Vorsatz, das Leben zu bessern, in dieser Schwachheit mangelt, das erstatte und erfülle Du gnädiglich mit dem Reichthum und Verdienst Deiner bitteren Schmerzen, Deiner Noth und Deines Todes, die Du am Stamme des Kreuzes für uns Alle erlitten und ausgestanden hast, auf dass also wir, die wir jetzt noch in der Welt auf dem Wege unsrer

Pilgerfahrt Dich, unsern einigen Trost und Seligmacher, verkleidet in dem heiligen Sacrament, begehren zu geniessen, Dich dermaleins dort auch in dem ewigen rechten Vaterland von Angesicht zu Angesicht klärlich anschauen und vor Dir stehen mögen, der Du mit Gott dem Vater . . . R. Amen.

Alt. 1

Allmächtiger, ewiger Gott, himmlischer Vater, da wir Dir nicht, denn allein in Deinem geliebten Sohn, unsrem Herrn Jesu Christo, wohlgefallen mögen; so heilige unsern Leib und Seel und gib uns Seine selige Gemeinschaft in Seinem heiligen Abendmahl mit recht gläubiger Begier und Dankbarkeit also zu empfangen, dass wir Deiner ewigen Güte und Liebe gegen uns abermals getröstet und in dem neuen Leben gestärkt werden, und hinfort Dir mit mehr Fleiss und Furcht leben und dienen mögen zum Preise Deines göttlichen Namens und zur Besserung Deines Volkes, durch denselben, unsern Herrn, Jesum Christum. R. Amen.

Alt. 2

Herr Jesu Christe, Du einiger wahrer Sohn des lebendigen Gottes, der Du Deinen Leib für uns Alle in den bitteren Tod hast dargegeben und Dein Blut zur Vergebung unsrer Sünden vergossen, dazu denselben Deinen Leib und dasselbige Dein Blut allen Deinen Jüngern zu essen und zu trinken und Deines Todes dabei zu gedenken hast: wir beugen vor Deine göttliche Majestät diese deine Gaben, Brod und Wein, und bitten, Du wollest dieselben durch Deine göttliche Güte, Gnade und Kraft segnen und schaffen, dass dieses Brod Dein Leib und dieser Wein Dein Blut sei und allen denen, die davon essen und trinken zum ewigen Leben gedeihen, der Du mit Gott dem Vater in Einigkeit des heiligen Geistes lebest und regierest immer und ewiglich. R. Amen.

Alt. 3

Allmächtiger, barmherziger Vater, wir bringen Dir dar dieses Brod und diesen Kelch, zum Zeugnis, dass wir selber sind Dein, Dein Eigenthum, denn alles, was wir haben, ist Dein und nur von Deinen Gaben können wir Dir geben. Wir sind unwürdig, Dir irgend ein Opfer darzubringen; doch nimm an, wir bitten Dich, diesen unsern schuldigen Dienst. Denn uns verlanget darnach, Dich zu ehren, Deine Majestät anzubeten und, wie uns gebühret, zu bekennen, dass Du bist unser Gott und wir sind Deine Knechte. Wir stellen Dir uns dar mit Seele und Leib und weihen uns Deinem Dienste, indem wir geloben, Deinem heiligen Willen und Deinen Geboten hinfort zu gehorchen und alles gänzlich zu meiden, was Du verabschenest. O Gott, Du kennest unsre Schwachheit, und unser Gebrechen ist Dir nicht verborgen: Erbarme Dich unser und erfülle Du in uns unsre Gelübde. Sende Deinen heiligen Geist auf uns herab und lass das Fleisch sammt allen seinen Lüsten und Begierden in uns zerstört werden, wie durch ein verzehrendes Feuer, auf dass wir uns hinfort Dir hingeben als ein lebendiges, heiliges und Dir wohlgefälliges Opfer, welches sei unser vernünftiger Gottes dienst. Und nun, o Herr verleihe uns Deine himmlische Gnade durch dieses allerheiligste Sacrament und Gnadenmittel. Siehe an den Glauben und die Gebete Deiner Kirche. Rechne nicht zu Deinem Volke seine Sünden, noch die Sünden Deines Knechtes, der vor Dir dienet; sondern bestätige, vollziehe und mache wirksam diese Worte und Handlungen, die Dein verordneter Diener reden und thun wird in Deinem Namen, im Gehorsam gegen Dein Gebot und gemäss Deinem Willen. Erhöre uns, himmlischer Vater, um Jesu Christi, Deines Sohnes, willen, welchem mit Dir . . . Amen.

17.

BAVARIA, 1879

(In Agenda für die e.-l..K. in Bayern, pp. 21-23)

CONSECRATION

Abendmahlsgebet

(Nach dem Sanctus spricht der Geistliche, gegen den Altar gewendet, eines der nachfolgende Gebete:)

1.

Ja, gelobet seist Du, Herr Jesu Christe, ewiger und allmächtiger Sohn Gottes, dass Du mit dem einmaligen und vollkommenen Opfer Deines Leibes und Blutes in Ewigkeit vollendet hast, die geheiligt werden, und hast dess zum Gedächtniss und Siegel Dein heiliges Abendmahl verordnet, in welchem Du uns Dein Fleisch zu essen und Dein Blut zu trinken gibst, auf dass wir, als die in Dir sind, gleichwie Du in uns, das ewige Leben haben und auferweckt werden am jüngsten Tage. Gnädiger, erhöhter Heiland, wir sind viel zu gering der Barmherzigkeit und Treue, die Du uns beweisest, und sind unserer Sünden halber viel zu unrein und schwach, Deine heilsame Gabe würdig zu empfangen. Heilige darum Du selbst uns an Leib und Seele durch Deinen heiligen Geist, und mache uns also bereit und geschmückt, Deinem Tische zu nahen, Dir zu Ehre und uns zum Segen. Und was uns in solcher Schwachheit inangelt an rechter Busse und Reue über die Sünde, an festem Glauben und Vertrauen auf Dein Verdienst, an ernstlichem Vorsatz, unser Leben zu bessern, das erstatte und erfülle Du gnädiglich mit dem Reichthum des Verdienstes Deines bitteren Leidens und Sterbens, auf dass wir, die wir jetzt noch auf dem Wege unserer Pilgerschaft Dich, unsern einigen Trost und Seligmacher, im heiligen Sakramente begehren zu geniessen, dereinst auch dort in dem rechten Vaterland Dich von Angesicht zu Angesicht schauen und sammt allen Gläubigen mit Dir leben mögen in Ewigkeit. Amen.

2.

Gelobet seist Du, Herr Jesu Christe, dass Du gekommen bist im Namen des Herrn, und täglich zu uns kommst in Deinem Worte und Sakramente, und einst wiederkommen wirst, zu richten die Lebendigen und die Todten, Deine Gläubigen aber einzuführen in Dein ewiges seliges Reich: Gelobet seist Du, dass Du Deinen Leib, welchen Du gegeben hast für das Leben der Welt, und Dein Blut, welches Du vergossen hast zur Versöhnung für unsere Sünden, in dem heiligen Abendmahle uns zu essen und zu trinken verordnet hast. Bereite uns durch Deinen heiligen Geist, dass wir zu dem Tische, den Du uns bereitest hast, mit recht gläubiger Begier und Dankbarkeit hinzutreten, und Dein heiliges Sakrament empfangen zum Trost und zur Stärkung unseres Glaubens, zum Wachsthum in der Liebe, zur Befestigung in der Geduld und Hoffnung. Du bist der Weinstock, wir die Reben; so lass uns denn in Dir sein und bleiben und Deinen Tod verkündigen immerdar, bis dass Du kommst. Lass uns auch unter einander, als Ein Leib und Ein Geist, fleissig sein zu halten die Einigkeit im Geist durch das Band des

Friedens, damit wir, wenn Du erscheinen wirst in Herrlichkeit, Dir freudig entgegen gehen und sammt allen Gläubigen das grosse Abenmahl mit Dir feiern mögen in Deinem Reiche. Dir sei Ehre in der Gemeinde zu allen Zeiten von Ewigkeit zu Ewigkeit! Amen.

3.

Heiliger und barmherziger Gott, Vater unseres Herrn Jesu Christi, wieviel wir Dir nicht anders denn allein in Deinem geliebten Sohne wohlgefallen mögen, so bitten wir Dich, die wir jetzt Sein heiliges Sakrament empfangen wollen: heilige unseren Leib und Seele, und gib uns Deines Sohnes wahren Leib und Blut in diesem heiligen Abendmahle mit recht gläubiger Begier und Dankbarkeit zu empfangen, damit wir Seiner ewigen Liebe und Treue gegen uns abermals getröstet, im rechten Glauben gestärkt und mit aller Gnade zum neuen Leben erfüllet werden, um Dir hinfort mit mehr Fleiss und Frucht zu leben und zu dienen, zur Ehre Deines Namens, zu unserem Heil an Leib und Seele und zur Erbauung Deiner Gemeinde. Lass uns geduldig und treu ausharren bis ans Ende, damit wir Freudigkeit haben auf den Tag der Zukunft Deines lieben Sohnes, der unsern nichtigen Leib verklären wird, dass er ähnlich werde Seinem verklärten Leibe, und damit wir endlich sammt allen Gläubigen mit Ihm das grosse Abenmahl feiern mögen in Seinem himmlischen Reiche. Amen.

18.

RUSSIA, 1897

(In the St. Petersburg Agende, pp. 14-16)

This liturgy provides the two alternates: the sequence of Lord's Prayer and Verba, or that of Verba and Lord's Prayer. In the latter instance, a brief prayer of invocation precedes the Words of Institution. The signing of the Elements, with the sign of the Cross, during the recitation of the Verba is optional, but preferred.

Preface (only a single, common text is provided)

Sanctus (not including the Benedictus verse)

Prayer

Wir rufen Dich an, barmherziger, himmlischer Vater: Segne das heilige Mahl Allen, die hier von dem Brot und Kelch essen und trinken und dadurch auch allesamt den Leib und das Blut Deines eingebornen Sohnes, unseres Heilandes, auf Seine Zusage empfangen werden.
Die Gemeinde singt: Amen.

Verba

Lord's Prayer

In Jesu Namen bitten wir: Vater unser.. . .

"Exhortation" and Pax

Der Liturg wendet sich zur Gemeinde und spricht die Exhortatio mit dem Pax Vobiscum:

So oft ihr von diesem Brot esset und von diesem Kelch trinket, sollt ihr des Herrn Tod verkündigen, bis dass Er kommt.--Der Friede des Herrn sei mit euch Allen!

Die Gemeinde singt: Amen.

19.

OHIO, 1864

(In Synode von Ohio, Agende, pp. 147-148)

PrefaceSanctusExhortationPrayer

Lasset uns beten: Herr Jesus Christus, du einiger Sohn des lebendigen Gottes, ewiger Hoherpriester, der du deinen Leib für uns alle in den bitteren Tod hast dargegeben, und dein Blut in dem heiligen Sacrament allen deinen Jüngern zu essen und zu trinken und deines Todes dabei zu gedenken, befohlen hast: Wir bringen vor deine göttliche Majestät diese deine Gaben, Brod und Wein, und bitten du wollest dieselben nach deinem Wort durch deine göttliche Gnade, Güte und Kraft heiligen und segnen, dass dieses Brod dein Leib, und dieser Wein dein Blut sei, und allen denen, die mit bussfertigen Herzen davon essen und trinken, zum ewigen Leben es lassen gedeihen, der du mit dem Vater in Gemeinschaft des heiligen Geistes lebest und regierest immer und ewiglich. Amen.

Pastor's Prayer (Der Pfarrherr betet ferner:)

O heiliger Geist, heilige uns und reinige mir Herz und Lippen, dass ich würdiglich im Namen des Herrn und in Kraft seines Wortes das heilige Testament verwalte! Amen.

"Consecration" (Verba)Prayer

Lob Ehre und Preis sei dir, o Christe! Das gesegnete Brod ist deines heiligen Leibes und der desegnete Kelch deines heiligen Blutes Gemeinschaft. O du, unser Mittler zur Rechten des Vaters, du wollest uns theilhaftig machen deines heiligen Leibes und Blutes, dass wir, gereinigt von Sünden, uns vereinigen mit allen Gliedern deiner Gemeinde im Himmel und auf Erden. Herr Jesu, du hast uns erkauft, dir leben wir, dir sterben wir, dein sind wir in Ewigkeit. In deinem Namen beten wir für uns und für die ganze Christenheit zum Vater:

Lord's PrayerAgnus, Pax, Distribution

OHIO, 1894 (to 1923)

(In Joint Synod of Ohio, A Liturgy, pp. 8-10)

The Synod reprinted this rite, without discernible alterations in the portion under consideration, in 1908, 1912 and 1923. In the 1923 edition of The Liturgy, the "Common Service" rite has been printed first in a section of 206 pages; the Synod's own traditional rite follows thereafter with its own pagination. The rite of the Synod of Ohio was lost from use, when the Synod joined the emergent American Lutheran Church in 1930, and its congregations introduced the American Lutheran Hymnal whose liturgy was that of the "Common Service."

Preface and SanctusExhortation"The Consecration"

Glory be to Thee, O Lord, Jesus Christ, Thou almighty and everlasting Son of the Father, that by the sacrifice of Thyself upon the cross, offered up once for all, Thou didst perfect them that are sanctified, and ordain, as a memorial and seal thereof, Thy Holy Supper, in which Thou givest us Thy body to eat, and Thy blood to drink, that being in Thee, even as Thou art in us, we may have eternal life, and be raised up at the last day. Most merciful and exalted Redeemer, we humbly confess that we are not worthy of all the mercies, and of all the truth, which Thou hast shown unto us, and that, by reason of our sins, we are too impure and weak worthily to receive Thy saving gifts. Sanctify us therefore, we beseech Thee, in our bodies and souls, by Thy Holy Spirit, and thus fit and prepare us to come to Thy Supper, to the glory of Thy grace, and to our own eternal good. And in whatsoever, through weakness, we do fail and come short, in true repentance and sorrow on account of our sins, in living faith and trust in Thy merits, and in an earnest purpose to amend our sinful lives, do Thou graciously supply and grant, out of the fullness of the merits of Thy bitter sufferings and death; to the end that we, who even in this present world desire to enjoy Thee, our only comfort and Savior, in the Holy Sacrament, may at last see Thee face to face in Thy heavenly kingdom, and dwell with Thee, and with all Thy saints, for ever and ever. Amen!

(Then the Minister, turning toward the Altar, shall say:)

Our Father, . . . for ever and ever. Amen!

Our Lord Jesus Christ, in the night . . .

. . . as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me.

Praise, and honor, and glory, be unto Thee, O Christ! The bread which we bless is the communion of Thy holy body, and the cup which we bless is the communion of Thy holy blood. O Thou everlasting Son of the Father, sancti-

fy us by Thy Holy Spirit, and make us worthy partakers of Thy sacred body and blood, that we may be cleansed from sin and [be] made one with all the members of Thy Church in heaven and on earth. Lord Jesus! Thou hast bought us: to Thee will we live, to Thee will we die, and Thine will we be forever. Amen!

Agnus Dei

Distribution

P. Z. STRODACH, 1946

(In A Manual on Worship, pp. 252-254)

With very little change, this is a eucharistic prayer which Strodach had composed for the Federated Lutheran Churches in India, and which was incorporated in its Book of Worship.

Until the 1950's, it was the only eucharistic prayer in fully anaphoral style, officially in use in Lutheranism.

Given Lutheranism's historic disquiet concerning offertory prayers, Strodach buried an offertory petition in the General Prayer which immediately precedes the Preface in this rite:

And here do we present before Thee these Thy creatures of bread and wine, beseeching Thee to place Thy blessing upon them, hallowing them to the high use which Thy Church has been commanded to make of them: that as we receive daily from Thee, with thankful hearts, food of Thy provision for the nourishment of our bodies, so through This Food here present before Thee we may be nourished in heart and soul unto fuller and more faithful life in Thee. We beseech Thee to hear us, Good Lord.

Preface and Sanctus

The Eucharistic Prayer

It is fitting and due to praise Thee, to hymn Thee, to bless Thee, to worship Thee, to give thanks to Thee, Therefore, we also with this Blessed [i.e., heavenly] Host, cry aloud and say:

Holy art Thou, O God, Thou and Thine Only-Begotten Son and Thy Holy Spirit. Holy art Thou, and great is the Majesty of Thy Glory, O Father and Lover of men, Who didst so love the world as to give Thine Only-Begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him might not perish, but have everlasting life; Who having come into the world, and having fulfilled for us Thy Holy Will, and being obedient unto the end,

In the night in which He was betrayed . . .

. . . as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of Me.

Therefore remembering His salutary precept, and all that He endured for us: His Passion and Death, His Resurrection and Ascension, His Session on the Right Hand, and His Glorious Coming Again, we give thanks to Thee, O Lord God Almighty, not as we ought, but as we are able; and we offer to Thee, according to His Institution, these Thy gifts of Bread and Wine, giving thanks to Thee through Him, that Thou hast deemed us worthy to stand before Thee, celebrating and making the Memorial which Thy Son hath willed us to make.

And we beseech Thee: Send down Thy Holy Spirit upon us and upon these Gifts here before Thee, that according to the Word of Thy dear Son they may be sanctified and blessed, and so used by us, that this Bread may be the Body

of Christ and this Wine His precious Blood, that all who eat and drink thereof in true faith and with contrite hearts may be sanctified in soul and body, that we may be one body and spirit, and may have our portion with all Thy Saints who have been well-pleasing unto Thee; through the Same, Christ Our Lord;

Who has taught us to pray and through Whom we make bold to say:

Lord's Prayer

Our Father, . . . from evil.

Embolism

Deliver us, O Lord, from all evil, the past, the present, and that which may come; grant us gracious peace in our days: that in all things Thy Holy Name may be hallowed, praised, and blessed, for to Thee is due all glory, worship, [and] adoration, O Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, One God, now and evermore.
R. Amen.

ADOLPH WISMAR, 1946

(In Una Sancta 7:3[1947], 10-12)

Preface

It is truly meet, right, and salutary, that we should at all times and in all places give thanks unto Thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty, Everlasting God; For in the beginning Thou didst create our nature in the image of Thy holiness, and when through sin we lost Thy divine likeness and brought death upon ourselves through disobedience to the Law of the first Covenant, Thou, O Father of infinite mercy and unfailing benevolence, gavest us not over to the reserved [deserved?] doom of everlasting death, but didst establish the New Covenant and didst restore us unto Thy favor and unto life through the death of Thine Only Begotten Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord. For this Thy grace and goodness we are truly bound ever to praise Thee through the same Jesus Christ, our Lord. Therefore the angels praise, . . .

Sanctus (without Benedictus verse)The Eucharistic Prayer

Yes, Holy Father, Almighty, Everlasting God, heaven and earth are truly full of Thy glory, the Glory of Thy grace and truth which Thou hast shed abroad in Thy Blessed Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord; Who for us humbled Himself and became obedient to the death of the Cross, bearing our sins in his Body and shedding His precious Blood for our salvation; Who also, that we might never forget, but ever thankfully remember His perfect sacrifice and all the life-giving benefits of His saving death, gave us a wonderful Sacrament as an abiding Memorial of His dying love.

For our Lord Jesus Christ, in the night . . .

. . . as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of Me.

Mindful, therefore, of the command which He gave His Holy Church, saying, Do this in remembrance of Me, we commemorate His bitter Passion and His innocent, life-giving Death, His glorious Resurrection and triumphant Ascension, as well as His sending to us the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of Truth and the faithful Witness of His Passion. And we beseech Thee, heavenly Father, look with favor upon these Thy gifts of bread and wine, which we have set before Thee in obedience to His commandment, and by Thy Holy Spirit bless and sanctify this bread for the Communion of His Body, even that Body which He gave unto death for us. And bless and sanctify this cup for the Communion of His Blood, even that Blood which He shed for our sins, That according to His Word and promise He may come and feed us with His Body and give (us) to drink of His Blood.

(Benedictus:) Blessed is He That cometh in the Name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.

And although we be unworthy of these holy and divine gifts, yet we humbly entreat Thee, O Lord Most High; heavenly Father, Who art ever the Giver of

all good gifts: Bestow upon us Thy grace and fill us with Thy Holy Spirit, that in this mystery of heavenly love we may be enriched with all the fullness of salvation. Hear us, O heavenly Father, for the sake of Him Who is even now present in our midst, Thy Beloved Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord, through Whom we, Thy children, may confidently say:

Lord's Prayer

Elevation

Behold the Body and the Blood of your Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the Lamb of God.

Agnus Dei, Pax, Distribution

* * * * *

In an earlier experimental rite, Pastor Wismar had demonstrated his strange fascination with the Epiclesis, by providing four alternate wordings. (In Adolph Wismar, "The Communion Liturgy," Pro Ecclesia Lutherana 5:1[1937], 15.)

Doing this, therefore, in remembrance of Him, we beseech Thee to look with favor upon these Thy gifts of bread and wine, which we set before Thee according to the command of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, and pray Thee, through Thy Holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of Life, Who ever glorifieth our Lord Jesus Christ,

(1) to bless + this bread, that, according to the word of our Lord Jesus Christ, it may be united with His very Body, so that all who eat this bread eat therewith His true Body, even that Body which was given for us, and to bless + this cup that, according to the word of our Lord Jesus Christ, it may be united with His true Blood, so that all who drink from this cup drink from this cup the very Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, even that Blood which was shed for us,

(2) to bless + this bread and this cup, and, according to the word of our Lord Jesus Christ, make this bread and this cup the means whereby we receive the Body and Blood of our Lord, even that Body which was given for us, even that Blood which was shed for us,

(3) to bless + this bread for His Body, even that Body which was given into death for us, and to bless + this cup for His Blood, even that Blood which was shed for us,

(4) to bless + this bread to be His Body, even that Body which was given into death for us, and to bless + this cup to be His Blood, even that Blood which was shed for us,

nothing doubting that Thou art good and dost hear the petition which we ask according to Thy will and for the sake of the Holy Life and the Bitter Passion of Thy Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord, and that, as He hath promised, He will come and feed us with His Body and give us to drink of His Blood.

23.

L. D. REED, 1947.

(In Reed-Liturgy, p. 336f.)

~~"A Proposed Form"~~

Holy art Thou, O God, Who art from everlasting, the Master and the-Lover of men, Who didst so love the world as to give Thine Only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him might not perish but have everlasting life;

Who although He was eternal God, yet deigned to become man, and, having fulfilled for us Thy holy will and accomplished all things for our salvation;

in the night in which he was betrayed; . . .

. . . as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me.

Remembering, therefore, His holy Incarnation, His perfect Life on earth, His life-giving Passion, His glorious Resurrection and Ascension, His continual Intercession and Rule at Thy right hand, His gift of the Holy Spirit and the promise of His coming again, we give Thee thanks, not as we ought but as we are able; and we make here before Thee the Memorial which Thy dear Son hath willed us to make. And we humbly pray Thee graciously to accept this the sacrifice of our thanksgiving and praise, and to bless and sanctify with Thy Word and Holy Spirit these Thine own gifts of bread and wine, so that in very truth the bread which we break may be the communion of the Body of Christ and the cup of blessing which we bless may be the communion of the Blood of Christ.

And we beseech Thee to send Thy Holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of Life into our hearts, so that we and all who partake of these gifts consecrated by Thy grace and power, may be filled with all heavenly benediction and grace, may receive the remission of our sins, be sanctified in soul and body, be united in one body and one spirit, and finally have our portion and lot with all Thy saints who have been well-pleasing unto Thee, unto Whom be glory now and evermore; through the same Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord, Who taught us when we pray to say:

Our Father, who art in heaven . . .

"THE PIEPKORN RITE," 1947

(In Una Sancta 7:3 [1947], 10-12)

In his article, Arthur C. Piepkorn claims co-authorship (together with Howard R. Kunkle) of the eucharistic prayer given below; however, within the Lutheran liturgical movement, it was almost always referred to as "The Piepkorn Canon," or "The Piepkorn Rite," a mark of the high esteem in which this St. Louis seminary professor was held, in those circles.

This eucharistic prayer (with a minor addition), together with a full offertory rite and a group of communion prayers and private devotions, was anonymously printed and distributed, in the form of insert pages meant to be glued into the communion service section of the Missouri Synod's Lutheran Hymnal. Below, such additional material, which was not included in the Una Sancta article, is enclosed in square brackets.

[Offertory]

Receive, O holy Father, almighty God, this bread which we Thine unworthy servants offer unto Thee, our living and true God, that by Thy Word it may be for us a means of Thy divine grace for salvation unto life-everlasting.

O God, who, in creating man didst exalt his nature very wonderfully, and yet more wonderously didst establish it anew, by the mystery signified in the mingling of this water and wine grant us to have a part in the godhead of Him, who has vouchsafed to share our manhood, Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord, who is living and reigning with Thee in the unity of the Holy Spirit, one God, for ever and ever. Amen.

We offer unto Thee, O Lord, the chalice of salvation, beseeching Thee, that by Thy Word it may be for us a means of Thy divine grace for the salvation of us and of the whole world.

Come Thou Sanctifier, God, almighty and everlasting: Bless this our service prepared for the glory of Thy holy name.

Lavabo

Offering ("The offerings are gathered and brought to the altar.")

Most high and holy God, we humbly beseech Thee to accept these our (alms and) oblations, which we offer unto Thy divine goodness, together with this the sacrifice of our thanksgiving and the incense of our prayers. And here, we would present ourselves, though unworthy, body, soul, and spirit unto Thee; beseeching Thee to make us very members incorporate in the mystical body of Thy Son, so that, in communion with Thy whole Church, militant on earth, triumphant in Heaven, and in union with the one perfect oblation of Jesus Christ upon the cross, we may make a pure offering unto Thy name; and praying that, as this bread was once scattered upon the mountains and is here

gathered into one, so also gather Thy holy Church out of every nation and make one, living, holy Church; and, as this wine was gathered from the fruit of the vine, so all Thy people may abide as branches of that holy vine made known to us in Thy Son, Jesus Christ; and bring forth fruit unto eternal life, for His most worthy sake. R. Amen.]

Preface and Sanctus

The Eucharistic Prayer

Almighty and most merciful Father, Who by Thy Holy Apostle hast taught us to make prayers and supplications and to give thanks for all men, we humbly beseech Thee graciously to receive these our prayers, which we bring before Thee for Thy Holy Church throughout all the world, that Thou wouldst be pleased to guard, to govern, and to keep it in concord and peace everywhere, and to grant that all they that do confess Thy Holy Name may agree in the truth of Thy Holy Word and live in unity and godly love.

Especially do we commend to Thy merciful goodness this congregation, here assembled in Thy Name to show forth the atoning death of Thy Son, and to offer unto Thee this sacrifice of praise for their redemption, salvation, and eternal safety.

[We also remember before Thee, O Lord, Thy servants and handmaidens whose faith is known to Thee and who are near to us.]

And here do we give unto Thee most high praise and hearty thanks for the wonderful grace and virtue declared in all Thy saints from the beginning of the world, (especially in Blessed N., whose solemnity we celebrate) whose examples, O Lord, and steadfastness in Thy faith and in the keeping of Thy holy commandments, grant that we may follow, ever rejoicing in the Communion of Saints and defended in all things by Thy help and protection. Order our days in Thy peace, we beseech Thee, O Lord, deliver us from eternal condemnation, and hereafter number us among Thy blessed saints in glory everlasting.

Send down upon us the grace of Thy Holy Spirit, and through Thy Holy Word vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the Body and the Blood of the same Thy most dearly beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ;

Who, the same night . . .

. . . This do, as oft as ye drink it in remembrance of Me.

Wherefore, O Lord, according to the institution of Thy dearly beloved Son, Jesus Christ, we, Thy servants and Thy holy people, having in remembrance His blessed Passion, mighty Resurrection, and glorious Ascension, do celebrate and make here before Thy divine Majesty, with these Thy holy gifts, the memorial which Thy Son hath commanded us to make, giving thanks that Thou dost account us worthy through Him to stand before Thee in this priestly service, and humbly beseeching Thee to grant that, by the merits and death of the same Thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in His Blood, we and Thy whole Church may obtain forgiveness of sins and all other benefits of His Passion.

And here we offer and present unto Thee, O Lord, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and living sacrifice, and we devoutly implore Thee to

accept this our bounden duty and service, and to command these our prayers and supplications, by the ministry of Thy holy angel to be brought up unto Thy holy altar on high before the sight of Thy divine majesty, and to grant that all we who are partakers of this altar may worthily receive the most precious Body and Blood of Thy dear Son, and be fulfilled with all heavenly benediction and grace, and be made one Body with Christ and with all Thy holy Church.

We also remember before Thee, O Lord, Thy servants and handmaidens, N. and N., who have gone before us with the Sign of Faith and are now fallen asleep. To them, O Lord, and to all that rest in Christ, we beseech Thee to grant Thy mercy and everlasting peace.

To us sinners also, Thy servants, who trust in the multitude of Thy mercies, be pleased to grant a part and fellowship with Thy Holy Apostles and Martyrs, and with all Thy saints, unto whose company we implore Thee to admit us, not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offenses; through Jesus Christ, our Lord.

By whom and with Whom and in Whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honor and glory be to Thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. Amen.

P. BRUNNER, 1954

(In Worship in the Name of Jesus, pp. 309-311)

After the Preface has been prayed and the Sanctus chanted, the congregation shall continue to pray, through the ministry of the pastor, as follows:

Praise be to Thee, holy Father, inscrutable, eternal God, together with Thy only-begotten Son, the Image of Thy essence, and to the Holy Spirit, who unites in the perfect communion of love from eternity to eternity. We laud Thee that Thy goodness hath created heaven and earth and hath fashioned us men in Thy image. We thank Thee that Thou hast borne us sinners, who deserved Thy wrath, with great forbearance and patience and still preservest us. Above all, however, we praise and magnify Thy tender compassion which sent Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ into our flesh, to restore Thy image to us and to redeem us from sin and death and from the powers of darkness and to bring us home to Thee. Assembled in His name and in His memory, we pray Thee for His saving presence in this saving Meal. We place this bread and this wine, Thy gifts, before Thy countenance, heavenly Father, and pray Thee to consecrate and to bless them through the power of the Holy Spirit, that this bread be the body of our Lord Jesus Christ and this wine be His blood, as we now administer His own Testament according to His command:

Our Lord Jesus Christ, the same night . . .

. . . as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me."

Therefore we recall before Thee, Lord, heavenly Father, the redemptive suffering and the life-giving death of Thy dear Son Jesus Christ, our Lord. We profess and praise His victorious resurrection from the dead and His mighty ascension into Thy heavenly sanctuary, where He, our High Priest, ever represents us before Thee with the one, all-sufficient sacrifice of His body and blood, given and shed for us on the cross, and present to us in the mystery of this sacred Meal.

We thank Thee for the bread of life and the cup of salvation, for the remission of all our sins, for the new birth of our lost life, for the infinite fullness of the future glory, which Thou offerest to us through Jesus, Thy Servant. Eternal glory and thanks and praise be to Thee for Thy mercy.

We implore Thee to send down upon us the Holy Spirit, who quickens. Sanctify and renew us in body and soul. Grant us the faith that saves so that we may receive the true body and true blood of Thy Son with thanksgiving and unto our eternal salvation. And as we all are one body in Christ Jesus, our Lord, through the communion of His body and blood in this sacred Meal, gather Thy elect from the ends of the earth into Thy holy people. Let us endure patiently to the end. For Jesus' sake deliver us from the terrors of the Day of Judgment, and cover us with His righteousness when that day dawns, so that we, together with all other believers, may celebrate, united with Him, the nuptial feast of the Lamb in His kingdom, which has no end.

Hear us as we pray in His name and with His words:

Our Father . . . but deliver us from evil. Congregation: For Thine . . . Amen.

SERVICE BOOK AND HYMNAL, 1958

CULTO CRISTIANO, 1964

The Prayer of Thanksgiving

Holy art thou, Almighty and Merciful God. Holy are thou, and great is the majesty of thy glory. Thou didst so love the world as to give thine only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him might not perish, but have everlasting life; Who, having come into the world to fulfill for us thy holy will and to accomplish all things for our salvation,
In the night in which . . .

. . . as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me.

Remembering, therefore, his salutary precept, his life-giving Passion and Death, his glorious Resurrection and Ascension and the promise of his coming again, we give thanks to thee, O Lord God Almighty, not as we ought, but as we are able; and we beseech thee mercifully to accept our praise and thanksgiving, and with thy Word and Holy Spirit to bless us thy servants, and these thine own gifts of bread and wine, so that we and all who partake thereof may be filled with heavenly benediction and grace, and, receiving the remission of sins, be sanctified in soul and body, and have our portion with all thy saints.

And unto thee, O God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, be all honor and glory in thy holy Church, world without end. Amen.

Acción de Gracias

Santo eres Tú, ¡oh Dios!, todopoderoso y misericordiosísimo Señor. Santo eres Tú y grande en la majestad de tu gloria. De tal manera amaste al mundo que diste a tu Hijo unigénito para que todo aquel que en Él cree no se pierda, mas tenga vida eterna, y le enviaste al mundo para cumplir por nosotros tu santa voluntad y consumir nuestra salvación.

Él, nuestro Señor Jesucristo,
la noche que fue entregado, . . .

. . . todas las veces que bebieresis, en memoria de mí.

Al recordar, por tanto, su precepto saludable, su vivificante Pasión y muerte, su gloriosa resurrección y ascensión, y la promesa de su segunda venida, te damos gracias, Señor Dios todopoderoso, y te suplicamos que aceptes misericordiosamente nuestra alabanza y acción de gracias

y nos bendigas a nosotros, tus hijos, de modo que todos los que participamos del santo cuerpo de Cristo y de su preciosa sangre seamos llenos de tu paz y gozo celestiales; y haz que, al recibir el perdón de los pecados, juntamente con los dones de vida y salvación, seamos santificados en cuerpo y alma, y participemos de la herencia de los santos en luz.

A Ti, ¡oh Dios!, Padre, Hijo y Espíritu Santo, sean todo honor y gloria en tu santa iglesia, por los siglos de los siglos. Amén.

MISSOURI SYNOD, 1969

(In Worship Supplement, pp. 45-47, 59-67)

In 1965, the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod issued an invitation to inter-Lutheran cooperation, which was ultimately to bear fruit in the publishing of the 1978 Lutheran Book of Worship. In 1969, its own Commission on Worship issued a 253 page collection of ninety hymns and various contemporary worship materials, meant to up-date the resources of the synod's 1941 Lutheran Hymnal, until such time as a new inter-Lutheran book could be achieved. This interim resource was titled Worship Supplement.

Three distinct communion rites were provided in WS:

1) A modern English liturgy in quite traditional form, including chant settings for pastor and congregation. Three eucharistic prayers were made available:

a) An English "retroversion" of that in Culto Cristi-
ano.

b) The "Cambridge" Prayer of Thanksgiving (The present writer has been unable to discover its source).

c) A version of the Hippolytus prayer.

2) A simplified, informal liturgy, doubtless intended for small-group use. This rite bows to Gregory Dix, by dividing the communion service proper into four sections or "Actions" (under separate titles): Taking, Blessing, Breaking, Sharing. A form of eucharistic prayer is given under the second of those rubrics.

3) The "Experimental Liturgy" of Father James Empeur, with only minor amendment, is printed together with the "Dutch Canon." (Cf. Robert F. Hoey, The Experimental Liturgy Book [New York: Herder, 1969, pp. 48f., 151-154.]) These sources are not acknowledged.

Below are given the eucharistic prayer texts: 1-b, 2, and 3.

1-b.

Blessed are you, Lord of heaven and earth, who of your tender love for mankind gave your only Son, Jesus Christ, to take our nature upon him and to suffer death on the cross for our redemption. Assembled in his name and in the communion of all saints, we pray you to send down your Holy Spirit on us, and through him to sanctify and renew us in body and soul for the sake of your Son, our Savior, Jesus Christ, who on the night . . .

. . . as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me.

Remembering therefore his whole work of redemption, his conception and birth, his suffering and death, his resurrection and ascension, and looking forward for his glorious coming again, we here present before you the remembrance

which your Son has commanded us to make, beseeching you graciously to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving.
 We pray you that so many of us as shall here receive the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ may be filled with all heavenly benediction and grace. Grant to us, who trust in the multitude of your mercies, our part and fellowship with all saints, not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offenses, through Christ our Lord, by whom, and with whom, and in whom, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, all honor and glory be to you, O Father Almighty, forever and ever. Amen.

2.

"The Second Action: Blessing"

[Following the versicles Sursum corda and Gratias agamus.]

Thanks and praise be to you, O Father, who sent your only Son into the world to be a man, born of a woman, to die for us on a cross that was made by us.

He came for us. Help us to accept his coming.

He walked among us, a man, on our earth, in our world of conflict, and commanded us to remember his death, his death which gives us life; and to wait for him until he comes again in glory.

We remember his death; we live by his presence; we wait for his coming.

On the night when he was betrayed . . .

. . . as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me." Therefore, remembering his death, believing in his rising from the grave, affirming his presence, now, in this place, we obey his command; we await his gift of himself.

Come, Lord Jesus, come.

Send down on us, O Father, the spirit of life and power, glory and love, that in this Holy Communion we may be made one with him, and he with us, and that we may remain faithful members of his body until we eat with him in his heavenly kingdom.

Come, risen Lord, live in us that we may live in you.

Now with all the faithful who ever were, are, and will be, with all creation in all time, with joy we sing (say):

Holy, holy, holy, Lord God almighty. All space and all time show forth your glory now and always. Amen.

And now, in the words of our Lord, we are bold to say:

Our Father in heaven . . .

3.

[Following the traditional versicles:]

We thank you, almighty Lord, that you are a God of all mankind, that you are not ashamed to be called our God, that you know us by our name, that you keep the world in your hands. For you have made us and called us into this life to be united with you, to be your people on this earth. Blessed are you; Maker of all that exists. Blessed are you, who have given us space and time to live in. Blessed are you for the light of our eyes and the air we breathe.

We thank you for the whole of creation, for all the works of your hands, for all you have done in our midst, through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Therefore we praise your Majesty, almighty God, with all your faithful people; therefore we bow before you and adore you with the words:
 Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of all living. Earth and heaven are filled with your glory. We bless your name. Blessed is he who comes in the midst of his people.

Blessed are you, almighty God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, blessed are you. Before the foundation of the world you chose us to be your children. You have liberated us from the power of darkness and brought us into the kingdom of your dear Son, the very image and reflection of your glory. For him the universe was made. In him we have received redemption and forgiveness of sins.

On the night when he was betrayed . . .

. . . Each time you drink of this cup, do it in remembrance of me."
 When we eat of this bread and drink from this cup, we proclaim the death of the Lord until he comes. Therefore, Lord, our God, we commemorate that Christ had to suffer and die, but most of all that he is the firstborn from the dead, the firstborn of the whole creation; that glorified at your right hand, he speaks on our behalf; and that he will come to judge the living and the dead on the day which you have appointed. We pray, Lord our God, send us your Holy Spirit, the Spirit who brings to life the power of Jesus Christ. We pray that we may surrender ourselves completely to your service, and that, in the midst of this world, and before the eyes of all your people, we may live your Gospel and be a sign of your peace; that we may support and serve each other in love; that our hearts may be opened to the poor, the sick, and the dying; and to all who are in need, that so we may be the Church of Jesus Christ, united with all faithful people everywhere. Through him and with him and in him you are blessed and praised, Lord our God, almighty Father, in union with the Holy Spirit, today and all days, forever.
 Amen.

CONTEMPORARY WORSHIP 2, 1970

(In ILCW, Services: The Holy Communion, pp. 15-17)

Published in one of a series of booklets of liturgical materials released for discussion and use, in preparation for the Lutheran Book of Worship. The present eucharistic prayer, with editorial changes, has become the first "canon" therein.

Holy God, mighty Lord, gracious Father: endless is your mercy and eternal your reign. You have filled all creation with light and life: everything everywhere is full of your glory. You made man in your image, the crown of creation. Through Abraham you promised to bless all mankind. You rescued Israel, your chosen, the people of your promise; you sent them prophets with words of judgment and of hope. And, when the time had come, you sent your Son, born of Mary by the power of the Holy Spirit. In words and wonders he proclaimed your kingdom and was obedient to your will, even to giving his life.

At supper the night he was betrayed . . .

. . . Whenever you drink it from now on, do this to remember me."

Gracious Father, we therefore celebrate the sacrifice of our Lord by means of this holy bread and cup: rejoicing to receive all that he accomplished for us in his life and death, his resurrection and ascension; and awaiting his coming again to share with us the heavenly feast.

Amen. Come, Lord Jesus.

Send the power of your Holy Spirit upon us and upon this bread and wine, that we who receive the body and blood of Christ may be his body in the world, living according to his example, to bring peace and healing to all mankind. Join our prayers with those of your servants of every time and every place, and unite them in the ceaseless petitions of our great High Priest until he comes in power and great glory as victorious Lord of all. Through him, with him, in him, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, all honor and glory is yours, almighty Father, now and forever. Amen.

29.
CONTEMPORARY WORSHIP 01, 1975

(In ILCW, The Great Thanksgiving, pp. 10-35)

In 1975, the Inter-Lutheran Commission on Worship, in order to increase the amount of experimental liturgical material available to the several churches committed to the production of the Lutheran Book of Worship, issued "CW 01," a booklet containing drafts of eight new eucharistic prayers.

The members of the drafting subcommittee were: John W. Arthur, Robert W. Jenson, Gordon W. Lathrop, and Gail Ramshaw Schmidt.

The eight prayers may be described as follows:

I. An extremely flexible prayer, perhaps inspired by old Gallican forms, in which are provided: in the post-Sanctus, 4 alternates; in the post-Verba anamnestic section, 5 alternates; and in the following epicletic section, 4 alternates. If all possible combinations of all of the alternates were utilized, a full eighty different permutations of this prayer could have been used.

II. A prayer based on Hippolytus, to be used without Preface or Sanctus. This prayer was to appear as alternate IV, in the Lutheran Book of Worship.

III. A modern English version of the "Prayer of Thanksgiving" from the Service Book and Hymnal. With further revisions, a version of this prayer appears in the Lutheran Book of Worship, as alternate III.

IV. A new composition, with an invariable Preface.

V. A prayer, without Preface or Sanctus, inspired by the Exultet and intended for Easter use.

VI. A prayer with invariable Preface, taking inspiration from the tri-partite style of the Birkat-ha-Mazon.

VII. The so-called "Common Eucharistic Prayer," based on the Roman Eucharistic Prayer IV, copyright 1975 by Marion J. Hatchett.

VIII. A translation of one of the so-called "Dutch Canons."

The second and third of these prayers, which in final form are found in the Lutheran Book of Worship, are omitted here. The remaining prayers appear on the following pages, reproduced (in xerographic reduction) from the pages of "CW 01."

14. I. [Post-Sanctus alternates:]

C. YOU ARE INDEED HOLY, O GOD.

1. General

You are the Holy Father,
the hope at the beginning of
all things,
We praise you for our lives,
and for the world you give us.
We praise you for the
new world to come.
and for the love that will rule.
We praise you for your mercy:
though we deny your gift, you
keep us from the emptiness
we dread.

Therefore we praise you as the
God of Israel:

of her rescue from Egypt,
of her memory of Abraham and
Isaac and Jacob,
of her exile in Babylon,
and of her Prophets' hope
which will not be in vain.

Amen. Praise be to God.

In all this we praise you* for
our Lord Jesus,
who fulfilled, and will fulfill,
all your mercies. WHO . . .

(page 16)

2. General

We praise your holiness that calls all
things from nothingness to take the
chance of life.

We praise your holiness that calls us from
false security in sin to risk the gift
of love.

We praise your holiness

that called our father Abraham to leave
his safety and wander by precarious
ways of faith,

that called slaves into the desert, and
set them journeying to be a nation,
that called them on from each new
stopping place,

that gave them the good land, yet
would not let them sleep,

but called them there to justice and to love
and when they would not, sent them out
again to Babylon.

We praise your endless holiness,
that from this end of Israel's ways
made our beginning,

and called her to be the pioneer of all
our pilgrimage, by Prophets' words
that will not be in vain.

Amen. Praise be to God.

In all this we praise you* for our Lord Jesus,
who fulfilled and will fulfill

all Israel's wanderings.

who had no place to lay his head, and after
calling to him the slaves of all nations,
entered the wilderness of death,
to meet your kingdom; WHO . . .

(page 17)

3. General

...enthroned on the praises of Israel,
enthroned on the winds and lights
of creation,

enthroned before the Tribes, going
free into the desert,

enthroned in Prophets' hope, which
will not be in vain--

Amen. Praise be to God.

--enthroned on the cross of our
Lord Jesus,

in whose Name we dare to stand

before you, and cry out for the

last fulfillment of your promises.

For we are a people of unclean lips,

O God, and it is wise to our eyes

to see you hidden.

Therefore we do not presume to

break this loaf, and

share this cup of blessing

trusting in our own righteousness,

but in your great mercy.

We are not worthy to gather the

crumbs under your table,

and we come relying only on the

command of our Lord, WHO . . .

(next page)

4. General

...who bring life from death.

Blessed be God,

that our Lord lives.

Blessed be the Creator of light
from darkness, and of speech
from silence.

Blessed be the Recreator of
love from hatred, and of one
people from all nations.

Blessed be God,

*who raised his people Israel

from the underworld of Pharaoh,

who from their repeated will to death,

raised each time the faith

for life,

and from the dry bones of the

Nation's death in Babylon raised

at last the hope of all nations*

by Prophets' words, that

will not be in vain.

Amen. Praise be to God.

In all this, we bless you* for

our Lord Jesus,

who lived and will fulfill the hope

of Israel,

WHO, IN THE NIGHT BEFORE HE ENTERED

DEATH, AND IN THE THIRD NIGHT

BEFORE HIS RESURRECTION,

TOOK BREAD . . .

(next page, at
the appropriate place)

* By replacing you with God and your with God's the section containing
the Narrative of Institution may be distinguished from the more prayer-like
parts of the Great Thanksgiving.

D. WHO IN THE NIGHT HE SURRENDERED TO BETRAYAL AND DEATH,

TOOK BREAD,

AND GAVE THANKS,

BROKE IT,

AND GAVE IT TO HIS DISCIPLES SAYING:

TAKE AND EAT:

THIS IS MY BODY,

GIVEN FOR YOU.

DO THIS FOR MY REMEMBRANCE.

AGAIN, AFTER SUPPER,

HE TOOK THE CUP,

GAVE THANKS,

AND GAVE IT FOR ALL TO DRINK, SAYING:

THIS CUP IS THE NEW COVENANT SEALED BY MY BLOOD,

SHED FOR YOU AND FOR ALL PEOPLE,

*FOR THE FORGIVENESS OF SIN.

DO THIS FOR MY REMEMBRANCE.

AS OFTEN AS YOU EAT THIS BREAD AND DRINK FROM THIS CUP,

YOU CONFESS THE LORD'S DEATH,

AND PROCLAIM THAT HE IS RISEN AND LIVES,

UNTIL HE COMES.

Christ has died.

Christ is risen.

Christ will come again.

1. General

...we recall before you
the whole sacrifice of
our Lord's life for us.
And believing the message
of his resurrection, we
await his coming in
power, to share with us
the feast of hope
fulfilled.

Amen. Come, Lord
Jesus.

(next page)

2. General

...we make the memorial
our Lord commanded, ask-
ing you to remember all
his work: the body of his
fellowship with us, and
the blood-sealed cove-
nant he made. Delay no
more your triumph in
him, that he may quickly
come, to share with us
the feast of hope
fulfilled.

Amen. Come, Lord
Jesus.

(next page)

4. Passion

...we recall before you the whole
sacrifice of our Lord's life:
his preaching of your kingdom,
his life-giving signs of salva-
tion, his eating with outcasts
and sinners, and his acceptance
of death. And believing the
message of his resurrection,
we await his coming in power,
to share with us the feast of
hope fulfilled.

Amen. Come, Lord Jesus.

(next page)

3. Christlike

...we celebrate the
Incarnation of your Son:
the body of his human
birth, and the covenant
he thereby has made with us.
Fulfill for us his birth,
life, death, and resur-
rection, that he may
quickly come, to share
with us the feast of
hope fulfilled.

Amen. Come, Lord
Jesus.

(next page)

5. Easter

...we recall before you the
life that is risen: Jesus'
preaching of your imminent
kingdom, his life-giving signs
of salvation, his eating with
outcasts and sinners, and his
redemptive death. But (on this
glorious day) we chiefly remem-
ber his rising from the tomb.
We adore the living Lord, and
cry out for the resurrection
of our lives also, when he
will come in beauty and great
power, to share with us the
feast of hope fulfilled.

Amen. Come, Lord Jesus.

(next page)

f. SEND NOW, WE PRAY

2. General

...your Spirit,
the Spirit of the Prophets' call,
and of our Lord and of his
resurrection,
that we who receive the Lord's
body and blood
may be his living body in
the world,
and forever may be the body of
his eternal praise,
to serve the mystery of your
love.

Amen. Come, Holy Spirit.
(next page)

3. General

...your Spirit,
the Spirit of life and blessing.
Let him bless and vivify this
bread and cup,
that all who share the communion
of our Lord's body and blood
may be united in the forgiveness
of sin,
the resurrection from death,
and the true life where we may
serve the eternal mystery
of your love.

Amen. Come, Holy Spirit.
(next page)

2. General

...the Spirit of our Lord.
Let him be the Spirit of our
eating and drinking;
that the feast may be our life
and resurrection,
freedom from sin and freedom for
the future,
that none of your people may perish
at the last,
but stand before you,
as now, so in the fulfillment,
to serve the eternal mystery
of your love.

Amen. Come, Holy Spirit.
(next page)

4. Pentecost

...your Spirit,
the Holy and Life-giving Spirit,
who is the goal of our lives
and the lives of all creatures.
As once you gave the Spirit to holy
Disciples and chosen Apostles,
so pour your Spirit now on us,
that we may be holy,
to receive your holy mysteries.
Remember the promise of our Lord,
and do not leave us comfortless
on the way,
but send your power even now,
that our lives may open into hope,
and faith and love,
and to the final kingdom in which we
shall forever praise the mystery
of your love.

Amen. Come, Holy Spirit.
(next page)

g. JOIN OUR THANKSGIVING WITH THE PRAISES OF YOUR
SERVANTS OF ALL EARTH AND HEAVEN,
AND UNITE OUR SERVICE WITH THE ETERNAL WORSHIP
OF OUR GREAT HIGH PRIEST---

Through whom, with whom, in whom,
in the unity of the Holy Spirit,
all honor and glory is yours, almighty Father,
now and forever. Amen.

Suggested form for the congregation.

- ☐ The Lord be with you. ☒ And also with you.
Lift up your hearts. We lift them to the Lord.
Let us give thanks to the Lord our God. It is right to give him thanks
and praise.
- ☐ ...glorify your Name, forever saying: SANCTUS
- ☐ ...Prophets' hope, which will not be in vain.
- ☐ Amen. Praise be to God.
- ☐ --Institution Narrative--
...and proclaim that he is risen and lives, until he comes.
- ☐ Christ has died. Christ is risen. Christ will come again.
- ☐ ...to share with us the feast of hope fulfilled.
- ☐ Amen. Come, Lord Jesus.
- ☐ ...to share the mystery of your love.
- ☐ Amen. Come, Holy Spirit.
- ☐ ...the eternal worship of our great High Priest.
- ☐ Through whom, with whom, in whom,
in the unity of the Holy Spirit,
all honor and glory is yours, almighty Father,
now and forever. Amen.

IV.

The Lord be with you.

And also with you.

Lift up your hearts.

We lift them to the Lord.

Let us give thanks to the Lord our God.

It is right to give him thanks and praise.

It is indeed right and salutary,

that we at all times and in all places

offer thanks and praise, O God, holy Father

through Christ our Lord;

You live in inaccessible light,

our Source, our Guide, and Goal through all eternity:

revealing your presence by your eternal Word,

and, by the power of the Holy Spirit,

giving light and life to the world,

by whom we form our praise.

Therefore with the Church in all times and all places

and with the company of heaven,

we praise and glorify your Name, forever saying:

Holy, Holy, holy Lord, God of power and might,

heaven and earth are full of your glory.

Hosanna in the highest.

Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord.

Hosanna in the highest.

We bless you Father, Lord of lords, God of gods,

we bow down to praise and adore your holy Name;

your hand created the heavens and earth

and from the earth you fashioned a people in your image.

When we fell into disobedience you, in your mercy,

raised up Abraham, Moses and the Prophets,

calling us to obey your will and to look for the Messiah.

In the fulness of time, you sent your own Son into the world,

born of Mary by the Holy Spirit;

he is our brother and Savior,

come to fulfill your will and to lay down his life for our salvation.

In the night he surrendered to betrayal and death,

our Lord Jesus Christ took bread, and gave thanks,

broke it, and gave it to his disciples saying:

TAKE AND EAT.

THIS IS MY BODY, GIVEN FOR YOU.

DO THIS FOR MY REMEMBRANCE.

Again, after supper,

he took the cup, gave thanks,

and gave it for all to drink saying:

THIS CUP IS THE NEW COVENANT SEALED BY MY BLOOD,

SHED FOR YOU AND FOR ALL PEOPLE

FOR THE FORGIVENESS OF SIN.

DO THIS FOR MY REMEMBRANCE.

Obedient to his command, we share this bread and drink this cup,

remembering his life and death, resurrection and ascension:

we give you thanks, Father, with the faithful of all times and places,

and await our Lord's return in glory to share with us the heavenly feast.

Amen. Come, Lord Jesus.

Send your Holy Spirit on us and on these gifts,

that we may be freed from evil and be obedient to your will.

Create in us a new heart that we may be the body of Christ in this world,

healing the wounded, bearing peace to all,

and sharing the mystery of your love.

Amen. Come, Holy Spirit.

Remember your whole Church, Father,

your servants of every time and place,

the saints in glory, (and _____) and this people:

unite them in the ceaseless petitions of our great High Priest

until he comes in power and great glory

as victorious Lord of all.

Through whom, with whom, in whom,

in the unity of the Holy Spirit,

all honor and glory is yours, almighty Father,

now and forever. Amen.

The Lord be with you.

And also with you.

Lift up your hearts.

We lift them to the Lord.

Let us give thanks to the Lord our God.

It is right to give him thanks and praise.

It is right, our joy and our hope,

that our very lives sing praise

to God, holy, mighty, immortal Father.

For the Lord is risen:

He is risen, indeed.

Today the Lamb's blood seals the door against death.

Today Israel is called from slavery and saved through the sea.

Today the pillar of light shatters sin.

And that light is Christ:

Thanks be to God.

Today Christ conquered.

He escaped death's grip, his blood removes our stain.

He triumphed over every death: Adam's debt is paid.

The Lord is risen:

He is risen, indeed.

From chaos to creation, discord gives way to peace.

Heaven is married to earth, all people united with God.

Now the night is brilliant as day.

And its light is Christ:

Thanks be to God.

God is born a baby,

the cripples dance their joy.

A carpenter reigns,

the Son of God dies.

Enemies claim his body,

friends acclaim their living host:

He took bread, gave thanks, broke and shared it, saying,
THIS IS MY BODY, GIVEN FOR YOU.

He took the cup, gave thanks, and shared it with them, saying,

THIS CUP IS THE NEW COVENANT SEALED BY MY BLOOD,

SHED FOR THE FORGIVENESS OF SIN.

Let us proclaim the mystery of faith:

Christ has died, Christ is risen, Christ will come again.

Raise us up, Spirit of God. Breathe us into life.

We are saved through water: renew us with your wine.

Gather us by one bread into one body.

Give us eyes to see your miracles,

for our light is Christ:

Thanks be to God.

We praise your new creation bursting into bloom,

freeing us for service with all your faithful world.

We await the Lamb's feast of light and love to come,

as we live now and always through Christ our Lord.

For the Lord is risen:

He is risen, indeed.

The Lord be with you.

And also with you.
Lift up your hearts.

We lift them to the Lord.

Let us give thanks to the Lord our God.

It is right to give him thanks and praise.

Blessed are you, Lord, God of all creation,
for you feed the world with goodness,
with food shared in love,
and with hope for your kingdom.
With grace and mercy you sustain all that lives.

In these latter days
you have given a witness of your creation,
and anticipated your promises,
in the body and blood of Jesus your Son.
Therefore at this table

we join with all who look to you for food
and with all who hope for your kingdom,
saying with them:

Holy, holy, holy Lord, God of power and might,
heaven and earth are full of your glory.
Hosanna in the highest.
Blessed are you, Lord, for you give food to all.
Blessed be God forever.

We give you thanks, Father,
for your steadfast and abiding love.

Though Abraham's hope had withered away,
at Mamre you fed him a meal filled with promise.
Though it is death to see your face,
at Sinai you looked at Moses and the elders eating before you
and they lived.

And also we who shun your gift of life
are filled with manna in the wilderness.
So also our Lord Jesus,
in the night he surrendered to betrayal and death,
took bread and gave thanks,
broke it and gave it to his disciples, saying:
TAKE AND EAT; THIS IS MY BODY, GIVEN FOR YOU.
DO THIS FOR MY REMEMBRANCE.

Again, after supper, he took the cup,
gave thanks and gave it for all to drink, saying:
THIS CUP IS THE NEW COVENANT SEALED BY MY BLOOD,
SHED FOR YOU AND FOR ALL PEOPLE,
FOR THE FORGIVENESS OF SIN.
DO THIS FOR MY REMEMBRANCE.

As often as we eat this loaf
and drink from this cup,
we proclaim the death of Jesus
and confess that he is risen and lives,
until he comes.

Blessed are you, Lord, for you give life to the dead.
Blessed be God forever.

Remember, therefore, O God, the broken body of our Lord.

Remember that he went into death
to seal his trust in your promises.

Fulfill those promises for all creatures in his reign
Come, Lord Jesus.

Send now your Spirit

upon this loaf of blessing

that the body of our Lord may be our life and hope.

Come, Holy Spirit.

Remember, O God, the covenant
sealed by the blood of our Lord.

Remember the promises of that covenant,
and be our God,

making us your people in the reign of your Son.

Come, Lord Jesus.

Send now your Spirit

upon this cup of the covenant

that the blood of our Lord may be the mark of our freedom from
death and fear.

Come, Holy Spirit.

Feed us,

nourish and sustain us
now and forever.

Blessed are you, Lord, for you give us the Kingdom.

Blessed be God forever. Amen.

VII.

The Lord be with you.

And also with you.

Lift up your hearts.

We lift them to the Lord.

Let us give thanks to the Lord our God.

It is right to give him thanks and praise.

It is truly right to glorify you, Father, and give you thanks.

For you alone are God,

Living and true,

Dwelling in light inaccessible

From before time and forever.

Fountain of life and source of all goodness,

You made all things, and fill them with your blessing:

You created them to rejoice in the splendor of your radiance.

Countless throngs of angels stand before you

To serve you night and day.

And, beholding the glory of your presence,

They offer you unceasing praise.

Joining with them,

And giving voice to every creature under heaven,

We acclaim you, and glorify your Name, as we say:

Holy, holy, holy Lord, God of power and might,

Heaven and earth are full of your glory.

Hosanna in the highest.

Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord.

Hosanna in the highest.

We acclaim you, holy Lord, glorious in power;

Your mighty works reveal your wisdom and love.

You formed us in your own image,

Giving the whole world into our care.

So that, in obedience to you, our Creator,

We might rule and serve all your creatures.

When our disobedience took us far from you,

You did not abandon us to the power of death.

In your mercy you came to our help

So that in seeking you we might find you.

Again and again you called us into covenant with you,

As the prophets taught us to hope for salvation.

Father, you loved the world so much

That, in the fullness of time, you sent your only Son to be our Savior.

Incarnate by the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary,

He lived as one of us, yet without sin.

To the poor he proclaimed the good news of salvation,

To prisoners, freedom,

To the sorrowful, joy.

To fulfill your purpose

He gave himself up to death,

And, rising from the grave,

Destroyed death and made the whole creation new.

And that we might live no longer for ourselves

But for him who died and rose for us,

He sent the Holy Spirit,

His own first gift for those who believe,

To complete his work in the world

And to bring to fulfillment the sanctification of all.

When the hour had come for him to be glorified

By you, his heavenly Father,

Having loved his own who were in the world,

He loved them to the end:

At supper with them, he took bread, and gave thanks,

Broke it, and gave it to his disciples saying:

TAKE AND EAT;

THIS IS MY BODY, GIVEN FOR YOU.

DO THIS FOR MY REMEMBRANCE.

Again, after supper,

He took the cup, gave thanks,

And gave it for all to drink, saying:

THIS CUP IS THE NEW COVENANT SEALED BY MY BLOOD.

SHED FOR YOU AND FOR ALL PEOPLE

FOR THE FORGIVENESS OF SIN.

DO THIS FOR MY REMEMBRANCE.

Father, we now celebrate this memorial of our redemption.
 Recalling Christ's death and his descent among the dead,
 proclaiming his resurrection and ascension to your right hand,
 awaiting his coming in glory;
 and offering to you from the gifts you have given us,
 this bread and this cup,
 we praise you and we bless you.
 We praise you, we bless you,
 we give thanks to you,
 and we pray to you, Lord our God.
 Lord, we pray that in your goodness and mercy
 your Holy Spirit may descend upon us,
 and upon these gifts;
 sanctifying them and showing them to be
 holy gifts for your holy people,
 the bread of life and the cup of salvation,
 the body and blood of your Son Jesus Christ.
 Grant that all who share this bread and cup
 may become one body and one spirit,
 a living sacrifice in Christ
 to the praise of your Name.
 Remember, Lord, your one holy catholic and apostolic Church,
 redeemed by the blood of your Christ.
 Reveal its unity, guard its faith, and preserve it in peace.
 Grant that we may find our inheritance
 with all the saints
 who have found favor with you in ages past.
 We praise you in union with them and give you glory
 through your Son, Jesus Christ our Lord.
 Through whom, with whom, in whom,
 in the unity of the Holy Spirit,
 all honor and glory is yours, almighty Father,
 now and forever. Amen.

VIII.

The Lord be with you.
 And also with you.
 Lift up your hearts.
 We lift them to the Lord.
 Let us give thanks to the Lord our God.
 It is right to give him thanks and praise.
 It is indeed good and right that we bless you,
 O Lord God of the hosts of heaven,
 great above all gods and powers,
 enthroned in your court,
 more unspeakably magnificent than anything Solomon knew.
 You multiply your wisdom and your grace throughout the earth.
 In every field you sow your Word and you harvest love,
 the fruit of your Spirit.
 The deepest waters you people with reverence
 and the tops of the trees with mirth.
 Therefore, with every living spirit
 in the depths beneath and in the heights above,
 we long to serve you and praise you
 and sing without ceasing:
 Holy, holy, holy Lord, God of power and might,
 heaven and earth are full of your glory.
 Hosanna in the highest.
 Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord.
 Hosanna in the highest.
 We bless you, Lord God, who made the heavens and the earth
 with all this is within them,
 who made humankind in your image and likeness,
 for you have planted your Word in our midst,
 Jesus Messiah,
 seed of Abraham, son of David, first born Son of God.
 He was obedient to the teaching of Moses,
 with all his heart, and all his soul,
 and all his mind, and all his strength,
 and so he confirmed your promises
 and led us into that fruitful land
 overflowing with milk and honey,
 where wisdom before the ages

We ask you
to send upon us your life-giving Spirit
who has incorporated us into your assembly
here standing before your face
and bound to your Word.
Grant that we may not forget the Messiah,
but cheerfully bear witness
and await with all peoples his promised inheritance.
Through whom and with whom and in whom,
you are hallowed and blessed and thanked,
Lord our God, almighty Father,
in the unity of the Holy Spirit,
on this day, on all days
and forever.
Amen.

34 had built her house and set her table,
39 preparing the bread and mixing the wine.
36 We bless you for your Son, your gift beyond praise,
37 in whom is given
38 all that you bestow on us
39 and all that is due to you from our hand.
40 In Jesus, your Son, you are God-with-us,
41 to lift up the oppressed,
42 to heal the sick,
43 to feed the hungry,
44 in him who was in the form of God,
45 yet who in the form of a servant
46 received us as his own,
47 making us his brothers and sisters.
48 He bore all our evil
49 and went to the end in his love.
50 In the night when he was handed over
51 he took the bread in his hands,
52 gave thanks and broke it, saying:
53 TAKE AND EAT; THIS IS MY BODY, GIVEN FOR YOU.
54 DO THIS FOR MY REMEMBRANCE.
55 In the same way after the meal
56 he prayed a thanksgiving prayer,
57 took the cup of thanksgiving and said,
58 THIS CUP IS THE NEW COVENANT IN MY BLOOD
59 POURED OUT FOR YOU AND FOR MANY
60 FOR THE FORGIVENESS OF SIN.
61 AS OFTEN AS YOU DRINK THIS CUP,
62 DO IT FOR MY REMEMBRANCE.

64 We do remember with thanksgiving your mercy and faithfulness, Lord our God,
65 the servitude of your Son,
66 who descended to hell
67 whom you raised up on the third day,
68 whom you exalted in your glory
69 to give him the place at your right hand,
70 from which place he shall come as judge
of the living and the dead.

LUTHERAN BOOK OF WORSHIP, 1978

(In "Minister's Desk Edition," pp. 206-226)

As a second option, this liturgy allows the recitation of Verba alone. As a third option, a brief prayer comes before the Verba--this prayer will be given below as item V. The first option is a fully developed eucharistic prayer, and for this four different forms are provided. Emphasis type will indicate congregational responses.

Two offertory collects are provided. They, together with Preface and Sanctus in normal Western form, precede the eucharistic prayer, which is itself followed by Lord's Prayer and Distribution. The Agnus and other hymns may be sung during Distribution.

Merciful Father, we offer with joy and thanksgiving what you have first given us--our selves, our time and our possessions, signs of your gracious love. Receive them for the sake of him who offered himself for us, Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Blessed are you, O Lord our God, maker of all things. Through your goodness you have blessed us with these gifts. With them we offer ourselves to your service and dedicate our lives to the care and redemption of all that you have made, for the sake of him . . .

I.

Holy God, mighty Lord, gracious Father: Endless is your mercy and eternal your reign. You have filled all creation with light and life; heaven and earth are full of your glory. Through Abraham you promised to bless all nations. You rescued Israel, your chosen people. Through the prophets you renewed your promise; and, at this end of all the ages, you sent your Son, who in words and deeds proclaimed your kingdom and was obedient to your will, even to giving his life.

In the night in which he was betrayed, . . .

. . . shed for you and for all people for the forgiveness of sin. Do this for the remembrance of me.

For as often as we eat of this bread and drink from this cup, we proclaim the Lord's death, until he comes.

Christ has died. Christ has risen. Christ will come again.

Therefore, gracious Father, with this bread and cup we remember the life our Lord offered for us. And, believing the witness of his resurrection, we await his coming in power to share with us the great and promised feast. Amen. Come, Lord Jesus.

Send now, we pray, your Holy Spirit, the spirit of our Lord and of his resurrection, that we who receive the Lord's body and blood may live to the praise of your glory and receive your inheritance with all your saints in

light.

Amen. Come Holy Spirit.

Join our prayers with those of your servants of every time and every place, and unite them with the ceaseless petitions of our great high priest until he comes as victorious Lord of all.

Through him, with him, in him, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, all honor and glory is yours, almighty Father, now and forever. Amen.

II.

You are indeed holy, O God, the fountain of all holiness; you bring light from darkness, life from death, speech from silence. We worship you for our lives and for the world you give us. We thank you for the new world to come and for the love that will rule all in all. We praise you for the grace shown to Israel, your chosen, the people of your promise: the rescue from Egypt, the gift of the promised land, the memory of the fathers, the home-coming from exile, and the prophets' words that will not be in vain. In all this we bless you for your only-begotten Son, who fulfilled and will fulfill all your promises.

In the night in which he was betrayed, . . .

. . . shed for you and for all people for the forgiveness of sin. Do this for the remembrance of me.

For as often as we eat of this bread and drink from this cup, we proclaim the Lord's death until he comes.

Christ has died. Christ is risen. Christ will come again.

Therefore, O God, with this bread and cup we remember the incarnation of your Son: his human birth and the covenant he made with us. We remember the sacrifice of his life: his eating with outcasts and sinners, and his acceptance of death. But chiefly [on this day] we remember his rising from the tomb, his ascension to the seat of power, and his sending of the holy and life-giving Spirit. We cry out for the resurrection of our lives, when Christ will come again in beauty and power to share with us the great and promised feast.

Amen. Come, Lord Jesus.

Send now, we pray, your Holy Spirit, that we and all who share in this bread and cup may be united in the fellowship of the Holy Spirit, may enter the fullness of the kingdom of heaven, and may receive our inheritance with all your saints in light.

Amen. Come, Holy Spirit.

Join our prayers with those of your servants of every time and every place, and unite them with the ceaseless petitions of our great high priest until he comes as victorious Lord of all.

Through him, with him, in him, . . . Amen.

III.

You are indeed holy, almighty and merciful God; you are most holy, and great is the majesty of your glory.

You so loved the world that you gave your only Son, that whoever believes in him may not perish but have eternal life. Having come into the world, he fulfilled for us your holy will and accomplished our salvation. In the night in which he was betrayed, . . .

. . . shed for you and for all people for the forgiveness of sin. Do this for the remembrance of me.

Remembering, therefore, his salutary command, his life-giving Passion and death, his glorious resurrection and ascension, and his promise to come again, we give thanks to you, Lord God Almighty, not as we ought, but as we are able; and we implore you mercifully to accept our praise and thanksgiving; and, with your Word and Holy Spirit, to bless us, your servants, and these your own gifts of bread and wine; that we and all who share in the body and blood of your Son may be filled with heavenly peace and joy, and, receiving the forgiveness of sin, may be sanctified in soul and body, and have our portion with all your saints.

All honor and glory are yours, O God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, in your holy Church, now and forever. Amen.

IV.

We give you thanks, Father, through Jesus Christ, your beloved Son, whom you sent in this end of the ages to save and redeem us and to proclaim to us your will. He is your Word, inseparable from you. Through him you created all things, and in him you take delight. He is your Word, sent from heaven to a virgin's womb. He there took on our nature and our lot and was shown forth as your Son, born of the Holy Spirit and of the Virgin Mary. It is he, our Lord Jesus, who fulfilled all your will and won for you a holy people; he stretched out his hands in suffering, in order to free from suffering those who trust you. It is he who, handed over to a death he freely accepted, in order to destroy death, to break the bonds of the evil one, to crush hell underfoot, to give light to the righteous, to establish his covenant, and to show forth the resurrection, Taking bread and giving thanks to you, said: Take and eat; . . .

. . . poured out for you. Do this for the remembrance of me.

Remembering, then, his death and resurrection, we lift this bread and cup before you, giving you thanks that you have made us worthy to stand before you and to serve you as your priestly people. And we ask you: Send your Spirit upon these gifts of your Church; gather into one all who share this bread and wine; fill us with your Holy Spirit to establish our faith in truth, that we may praise and glorify you through your Son Jesus Christ. Through him all glory and honor are yours, Almighty Father, with the Holy Spirit, in your holy Church both now and forever. Amen.

V.

Blessed are you, Lord of heaven and earth. In mercy for our fallen-world you gave your only Son, that all those who believe in him should not perish, but have eternal life. We give thanks to you for the salvation you have prepared for us through Jesus Christ. Send now your Holy Spirit into our hearts, that we may receive our Lord with a living faith as he comes to us in his holy supper.

Amen. Come, Lord Jesus.

(Verba

BERNEUCHENER KREIS, 1937

(In Die Ordnung der deutschen Messe, pp. 18-32)

Two forms of offertory are provided, one for festivals, the other for ordinary celebrations; the latter follows:

Gegeben sind uns Brot und Wein / dass sie uns dienen beim heiligen Mahle der christlichen Gemeinde.

Herr, dreieiniger Gott / wir bringen herzu diese Deine Gaben / das Gedächtnis zu feiern der Menschenwerdung / des Leidens und Sterbens und der Auferstehung unseres Herrn Jesu Christi / auf dass wir in Deiner heiligen Kirche den Anbruch der neuen Schöpfung erfahren und preisen. Amen.

Herr, alles ist Dein, was im Himmel und auf Erden ist / Du hast alles erschaffen um Deines Namens willen / und allen Menschen Speise und Trank gegeben, sie mit Dankbarkeit zu geniessen / Nimm an das Opfer unseres Dankes: Nimm was wir haben und sind / Wir bringen Dir dar unseren Leib und unsere Seele / und alle Kräfte unseres Gemütes. [There is inserted here a petition proper to the season or feast.] Herr, erhöre unser Gebet / und verleihe uns / dass wir Dich allezeit loben und preisen mögen. Denn Dein ist dir Herrlichkeit und die Kraft durch Jesum Christum in Ewigkeit. Amen.

Then follow: Creed

Preface and Sanctus

Words of Institution

Anamnesis (Gedachtnis der Erlösung)

Also gedenken wir, o Gott, und Deine ganze Kirche / des segensvollen Leidens und Sterbens Deines lieben Sohnes / Jesu Christi, unseres Herrn / und bekennen Seine sieghafte Auferstehung von den Toten / und Seine Auffahrt zu Deiner Rechten / bis dass Er kommt. Christum verkündigen wir als ein reines, heiliges, unbeflecktes Opfer / als das heilige Brot des ewigen Lebens / als den Kelch unseres immerwährenden Heils / Mit Ihm loben wir Dich, Vater im Himmel / in Ihm rühmen wir Dich / durch Ihn beten wir Dich an. Halleluja [in penitential times: Amen].

Seasonal Hymn Verse (by the congregation)

Epiclesis (Segnung)

Herr, himmlischer Vater / sende Deinen Heiligen Geist herab auf Deine Gemeinde / und heilige diese vergänglichen Güter der Erde zur himmlischen Speise.

Herr Jesu Christe / Du bist es, der das Opfer darbringt / und der sich selber den Seinen schenkt / Dir senden wir empor Lob und Dank / samt Deinem Vater und dem Heiligen-Geiste.

Segne und heilige, Herr, dieses Brot / und mache es uns zur Gemeinschaft + Deines Leibes.

Segne und heilige, Herr, diesen Kelch / und mache ihn uns zur Gemeinschaft

+ Deines Blutes.

Und wie in der Kraft der Auferstehung Dein irdischer Leib verwandelt ist in himmlisches Wesen / so wandle uns, Herr + und lass uns diese Gaben gereichen zu einem Brote des ewigen Lebens / und zu einem Tranke des immerwährenden Heils.

Ja Herr, schaffe uns und diese Welt neu / nach Deiner Liebe. Helfer: Amen.

The sacramental species are shown to the congregation, cup first, then bread, as the pastor says the appropriate words from 1 Cor. 11:26. At each showing, the congregation responds, Ja komm, Herr Jesu!

Next follow the Lord's Prayer and the communion rite.

GERMANY: VELKD, 1954; EKU, 1959

(In Herbst, pp. 315-318)

Both the VELKD and EKU Agenden present the Preface and Sanctus in normal form. Thereafter, VELKD presents two options: "A," following the Deutsche Messe precedent, simply presents the Lord's Prayer and then the Verba; "B" presents the eucharistic prayer in the left-hand column, below. In the EKU liturgy, the VELKD eucharistic prayer has been abbreviated and is printed within square brackets (for optional use), prior to the recitation of the Verba, followed by the Lord's Prayer.

Gelobet seist du, Herr des Himmels und der Erde, dass du dich über deine Geschöpfe erbarmst und deinen eingebornen Sohn in unser Fleisch gesandt hast. Wir danken dir für die Erlösung, die du uns bereitet hast durch das heilige, allgenugsame Opfer seines Leibes und Blutes am Stamme des Kreuzes.

In seinem Namen und zu seinem Gedächtnis versammelt, bitten wir dich, Herr: sende herab auf uns den Heiligen Geist, heilige und erneuere uns nach Leib und Seele und gib, dass wir unter diesem Brot und Wein deines Sohnes wahren Leib und Blut im rechten Glauben zu unserm Heil empfangen, da wir jetzt nach seinem Befehl sein eigen Testament also handeln und brauchen.

Unser Herr Jesus Christus . . .

. . . so oft ihrs trinket, zu meinem Gedächtnis.

Also gedenken wir, Herr, himmlischer Vater, des heilbringenden Leidens und Sterbens deines lieben Sohnes

Jesu Christi. Wir preisen seine sieghafte Auferstehung von den Toten und getrösten uns seiner Auffahrt in dein himmlisches Heiligtum, da er, unser Hoherpriester, uns immerdar vor dir vertritt. Und wie wir alle durch die

[Gelobet seist Du, Herr des Himmels und der Erde, dass Du Dich über Deine Geschöpfe erbarmst und Deinen eingebornen Sohn in unser Fleisch gesandt hast. Wir danken Dir für die Erlösung, die Du uns bereitet hast durch das heilige Opfer des Leibes und Blutes unsers Herrn Jesus Christus am Stamme des Kreuzes. Wir preisen seine sieghafte Auferstehung von den Toten und getrösten uns seiner Auffahrt in Dein himmlisches Heiligtum wo er, unser Hoherpriester, uns immerdar vor Dir vertritt. In seinem Namen bitten wir Dich, Herr: sende herab in unsere Herzen Deinen Heiligen Geist, heilige und erneuere uns nach Leib und Seele und gib uns in diesem heiligen Mahle Deines Sohnes wahren Leib und Blut im rechten Glauben mit Danksagung zu empfangen. Bringe zusammen Deine Auserwählten von den Enden der Erde zu Deinem Reich und lass uns die Wiederkunft Deines Sohnes mit getroster Zuversicht erwarten. Dir sei Ehre in Ewigkeit. Gemeinde: Amen.]

Gemeinschaft seines Leibes und Blutes ein Leib sind in Christo, so bringe zusammen deine Gemeinde von den Enden der Erde, auf dass wir mit allen Gläubigen das Hochzeitsmahl des Lammes feiern mögen in seinem Reich. Durch ihn sei dir, allmächtiger Gott, im Heiligen Geiste Lob und Ehre, Preis und Anbetung jetzt und immerdar und von Ewigkeit zu Ewigkeit. Gemeinde: Amen.

[Followed by the Lord's Prayer, etc.]

¹ Though approved by the general church body (Vereinigte Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche Deutschlands), at the time of publishing, the use of this eucharistic prayer was still facultative, at the decision of the several Landeskirchen.

MICHAELSBRUDERSCHAFT, 1957

(In Die Ordnung der Messe: Erläuterungen
und Ergänzungsblatt, pp. 9-12)

Offertory

Herr Gott, himmlischer Vater / aus der Fülle Deiner Gaben bringen wir dieses Brot und diesen Wein / das Gedächtnis zu feiern der heiligen Geburt / des Leidens und Sterbens und der Auferstehung unseres Herrn / auf dass wir in Deiner Kirche den Anbruch der neuen Schöpfung erfahren und preisen. Du hast alles erschaffen um Deines Namens willen / und hast den Menschen Speise und Trank gegeben, Dich zu loben mit allen Deinen Geschöpfen / So legen wir die Gaben Deiner Güte nieder auf Deinen Altar / und bekennen, dass Dein ist alles, was wir sind und haben / Wir rufen Dich an für uns, für die ganze heilige Kirche und für alle Welt / und flehen zu Dir: Sieh nicht an unsere Sünde / sondern schaue auf das reine makellose Opfer Deines Sohnes und nimm uns gnädig auf. [There is here added a petition proper to the season or feast.] Herr, erhöere unser Gebet und verleihe uns / dass wir Dich allezeit loben und preisen mögen. Denn Dein ist die Herrlichkeit und die Kraft durch Jesum Christum in Ewigkeit. Amen.

CreedPreface and SanctusThe Eucharistic Prayer

Gelobet seist Du, heiliger allmächtiger Gott, Herr aller Himmel und Herr dieser Erde / in der Gemeinschaft aller Deiner Heiligen. Du hast Dich über Deine Geschöpfe erbarmt und zu unserer Erlösung gesandt Jesum Christum, Deinen Sohn, unsern Heiland / der gehorsam war bis zum Tode. Und in der Nacht, da Er verraten ward, ...

. . . so oft ihr's trinket / zu Meinem Gedächtnis.

Also vereinigen wir uns mit der ganzen heiligen Kirche / und gedenken vor Dir, Herr himmlischer Vater, des heilbringenden Leidens und Sterbens Deines Sohnes, Jesu Christi, unseres Herrn. Wir preisen Seine sieghafte Auferstehung von den Toten und Seine Auffahrt zu Deiner Rechten / wo Er, unser Hoherpriester, uns immerdar vor Dir vertritt. Durch Sein Blut gereinigt und versöhnt / treten wir mit Freudigkeit ein in das Heilige / und nahen dem Thron Deiner Gnade in der Kraft dieses reinen, heiligen, allgenugsamen Opfers. Also loben wir Dich, Vater im Himmel / und beten Dich an in der Gemeinschaft dieses heiligen Mahles:

Demütig flehen wir zu Dir, Herr allmächtiger Gott / sende herab auf uns Deinen Heiligen Geist / der lebendig macht / und erfülle mit Ihm das Haus Deiner ganzen Kirche. Mit Ihm heilige auch Deine Gaben zum Brote des ewigen Lebens (+) und zum Tranke des immerwährenden Heils (+). In diesem Brot, das wir brechen, gib uns teil an dem Leibe Deines Sohnes Jesu Christi. In diesem Kelch / über dem wir Dank sagen, gib uns teil an dem Blute Deines Sohnes

Jesu Christi.

Wie du Ihn auferweckt hast von den Toten / und den irdischen Leib verwandelt hast in himmlisches Wesen, so wandle uns, Herr (+) und schaffe diese Welt neu nach Deiner Liebe. Und wie dies gebrochene Brot zerstreut war auf den Bergen und zusammengebracht eins wurde / so bringe zusammen Deine Kirche von den Enden der Erde zu Deinem Reich. Maranatha / Unser Herr kommt. Ja komm, Herr Jesu!

Lord's Prayer

Communion Rite

The Anamnesis and Epiclesis of this liturgy (beginning, Also vereinigen wir) had earlier appeared in very similar form in the liturgy of the Lutherische Liturgische Konferenz (cf: Karl B. Ritter and Karl F. Müller, Die Ordnung der Messe [Kassel: Stauda, 1950].).

However, in this latter liturgy there is nothing corresponding to the Post-Sanctus (Gelobet seist Du). Furthermore, its Offertory reflects that of the Berneuchner Kreis (1937).

34.

- GERMANY, 1976/1977

(In Das Herrenmahl, pp. 63-67)

The VELKD has added five alternate eucharistic prayers, to the text approved in 1954. In addition, a new option, "C," has a form of eucharistic prayer for use in less formal circumstances.

1.

Wir loben dich, Herr des Himmels und der Erde. Du hast dich über deine Geschöpfe erbarmt und deinen Sohn Mensch werden lassen. Wir danken dir für die Erlösung, die er am Kreuz für uns vollbracht hat. Wir bitten dich: Sende auf uns herab den Heiligen Geist, heilige und erneuere uns an Leib und Seele, damit wir unter diesem Brot und Wein den Leib und das Blut Jesu Christi zu unserm Heil empfangen, wenn wir jetzt tun, was er geboten hat:

Unser Herr Jesus Christus . . .

. . . so oft ihr's trinket, zu meinem Gedächtnis.

Gemeinde: Deinen Tod, o Herr, verkündigen wir und deine Auferstehung preisen wir, bis du kommst in Herrlichkeit.

So gedenken wir, himmlischer Vater, des Leidens und Sterbens deines Sohnes. Wir preisen seine Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt und vertrauen auf seine Herrschaft über alle Welt.

Wir bitten dich: Wie alle, die seinen Leib empfangen, ein Leib sind in Christus, so bringe deine Gemeinde zusammen von den Enden der Erde, und lass uns mit allen Gläubigen das ewige Freudenmahl feiern in seinem Reich. Durch ihn sei dir, allmächtiger Gott, im Heiligen Geiste Lob und Ehre, Preis und Anbetung jetzt und immerdar und von Ewigkeit zu Ewigkeit.

Gemeinde: Amen.

2.

Wir preisen dich, Herr, und singen dir unser Lob. Du hast nicht der Sünde und dem Tod überlassen, was du allmächtiger Gott, erschaffen hast. Durch Jesus Christus, dein Wort, rufst du uns alle zum Leben. Er hat unsre Schuld auf sich genommen und Frieden gemacht zwischen dir und den Menschen. In der Nacht, da er verraten ward . . .

. . . so oft ihr's trinket, zu meinem Gedächtnis.

Gemeinde: Deinen Tod, o Herr, verkündigen wir . . .

Darum danken wir dir, Vater im Himmel, für das Leben und das Leiden deines Sohnes, für sein Opfer am Kreuz. Wir preisen seine Auferstehung, den Sieg über Unheil und Tod. Gib uns, Herr, den Heiligen Geist und erneuere durch ihn unser Leben. Vereine alle, die teilhaben an Christi Leib und Blut, in

in der Einheit des Glaubens, in der Gemeinschaft der Liebe und in der Hoffnung auf deine Herrlichkeit.

(Maranatha!) Unser Herr kommt.

Gemeinde: Amen, ja komm, Herr Jesu!

3. (without Preface or Sanctus)

Herr, unser Gott, Herrscher des Alls. Wir preisen dich für die Wunder deiner Schöpfung.. Du segnest die Arbeit der Menschen und beschenkst uns mit Leben und Freude. Du hast uns Brot und Wein gegeben, das Mahl deines Sohns zu halten. Wir danken dir für das Geheimnis deiner Liebe. Nimm uns aufs neue an zu deinem Eigentum, dass unser Tun und Lassen dich ehre durch Jesus Christus, unsern Herrn.

In der Nacht, da er verraten ward . . .

. . . so oft ihr's trinket, zu meinem Gedächtnis.

Gemeinde: Deinen Tod, o Herr, verkündigen wir . . .

So gedenken wir, Vater, seines Lebens, das er für alle dahingab, und seiner Auferweckung vom Tod. Er hat sich geopfert zum Heil der Welt und ist eingesetzt zum Herrn über alle Gewalten. Sende uns den Heiligen Geist, dass er uns durch diese Gaben mit neuem Leben erfülle. Verbinde alle, die zu deinem Volk gehören, in der Gemeinschaft des Glaubens. Erbarme dich deiner Kirche und schenke ihr die Einheit in dem Mahl der Freude. Wir warten, Gott, auf deinen grossen Tag.

(Maranatha!) Unser Herr kommt.

Gemeinde: Amen, ja komm, Herr Jesu!

4.

Wir loben den ewigen, heiligen Gott, der seine Schöpfung wunderbar erhält, der den Lauf der Welt regiert nach seinem Rat und sein Volk erwählt hat zum Zeugen seines Erbarmens. Wir danken ihm, dass er uns seinen Sohn gesandt hat, den Boten seiner Liebe, der uns trägt mit unserer Schuld und uns beisteht in aller Not, der uns geliebt hat bis ans Ende.

In der Nacht, da er verraten ward . . .

. . . so oft ihr's trinket, zu meinem Gedächtnis.

Diakon: Sooft ihr von diesem Brot esset und von diesem Kelch trinket, verkündigt ihr des Herrn Tod, bis dass er kommt.

Gemeinde: Deinen Tod, o Herr, verkündigen wir . . .

Darum gedenken wir seines Leidens und Sterbens, seiner Auferstehung und seiner Zukunft. An seinem Tisch schenkt er uns Gemeinschaft mit Gott und Liebe zu den Menschen.

Diakon: Ihm gehört unser Denken und Tun. Er stellt uns auf den Weg des Friedens. Er segne uns in seinem Mahl und heilige unser Leben durch seinen Geist.

Gemeinde: 'Komm, Heiliger Geist, erfüll die Herzen deiner Gläubigen und entzünd in ihnen das Feuer deiner göttlichen Liebe, der du in Mannigfaltigkeit der Zungen die Völker der ganzen Welt versammelt hast in Ewigkeit des Glaubens. Halleluja, Halleluja.'

[Hymn #124 in the EKG, or another Hymn to the Holy Spirit.]

5.

Wir preisen dich, allmächtiger Gott, dass du deinen Sohn für uns dahingegeben hast, Jesus Christus, unsern Heiland, der gehorsam war bis zum Tod. In der Nacht, da er verraten ward . . .

. . . so oft ihr's trinket, zu meinem Gedächtnis.

So gedenken wir an seinen Tod und bitten dich: Erfülle uns mit deinem Geist. Segne uns auch diese Gaben. Durch dieses Brot, das wir miteinander teilen, schenke uns die Gemeinschaft mit Jesus Christus. Durch diesen Kelch, aus dem wir trinken, verbinde uns mit ihm. Gedenke an deine Gemeinde, die zerstreut ist in aller Welt, und bringe sie zusammen zu deinem Reich. Dir sei Ehre in Ewigkeit.

"G"

[Following a hymn on Holy Communion:]

Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, lädt uns an seinen Tisch. Er will uns Kraft und Zuversicht schenken, die von seinem Sterben und Auferstehen ausgeht. In Brot und Wein, dem Zeichen seiner Gegenwart, verbindet er sich mit uns und führt uns zusammen als Glieder seiner Gemeinde. Der Herr Jesus Christus, in der Nacht . . .

. . . so oft ihr's trinket, zu meinem Gedächtnis.

Sooft ihr von diesem Brot esset und von diesem Kelch trinket, verkündigt ihr des Herrn Tod, bis dass er kommt. In diesem Mahl, das Jesus Christus mit seinen Jüngern gehalten hat, will er bei uns sein mit allem, was er geben kann. Nun kann uns nichts mehr von Gott trennen, aber auch nichts, was uns quälen könnte, unser Zweifel, unser Versagen, unsere Schuld. Wir sind nicht mehr verlassen.

Barmherziger Gott und Vater, du hast deinen Sohn zu uns gesandt, und hast uns eingeladen, heimzukehren zu dir. Du bist grösser als alles, was uns beschwert und ängstigt. Weil dein Sohn sich für uns hingegeben hat, so nimm uns an. Erneure und heilige unser Leben, dass uns nichts scheiden kann von deiner Liebe.

Herr, wir glauben, hilf unserm Unglauben!

Ist dies euer Gebet, so stimmt ein in die Bitte:

Christe, du Lamm Gottes, der du trägst die Sünd der Welt, erbarm dich unser. Gemeinde: Christe du Lamm Gottes . . .

Herr, erbarme dich unser!

Gemeinde: Herr, erbarme dich unser!

Unser Herr Jesus Christus lädt euch ein, unter Brot und Wein seine Vergebung zu empfangen. Kommt, denn er ist bereit für euch. Selig ist, wer das Brot isset im Reiche Gottes.

SWEDEN (KYRKLIG FÖRNYELSE), 1954

(In Missale för svenska Kyrkan,
appendix, pp. 12-17*f.)

Offertory

Köm, du evigheternas Konung, som är den oförgänglige, osynlige, ende Guden, kom med din Helige Andes kraft och välsigna och helga detta bröd och vin som frambäres till din älskade Sons, Jesu Kristi, åminnelse. Drag oss till honom, den levande stenen, som väl av människor är förkastad men inför dig är utvald och dyrbar. Låt oss såsom levande stenar uppbyggas på honom till ett andligt hus, så att vi bliva ett heligt prästerskap, som kan bära dig andliga offer, vilka genom honom äro välbehagliga inför dig. Du som lever och regerar med samme din Son och den Helige Ande i en gudom från evighet till evighet. Amen.

Come, eternal King, who are the unchangeable, invisible, only God. Come with the power of your Holy Spirit and bless and sanctify this bread and wine which are offered for the remembrance of your beloved Son, J. C: Draw us to him, the living stone, who was rejected by men, but who, before you, is chosen and dear. Like living stones, let us be built up upon him, to form a spiritual house, so that we may become one holy priesthood, which can bring you spiritual offerings, which through him are pleasing to you. To you who live and reign with the same your Son, and the Holy Spirit, in one Godhead, for ever and ever. Amen.

Preface and Sanctus

Lovad vare du, himmelens och jordens Herr, att du förbarmat dig över människors barn och utgivit din enfödde Son, på det att var och en som tror på honom icke skall förgås, utan hava evigt liv. Vi tacka dig för den frälsning du berett oss genom Jesus Kristus. Sänd din Ande i våra hjärtan, att han må hos oss upptända en levande tro och bereda oss att rätt fira vår Frälsares åminnelse och mottaga honom, då han kommer till oss i sin heliga nattvard.

Prästen kan här tyst tillfoga:
Sänd ock, o Gud, din Ande över dessa gåvor av bröd och vin, att de må för oss bliva din älskade Sons Le-kamen och Blod.

Praised are you, Lord of heaven and earth, for you had compassion on the children of men and gave your only-begotten Son, so that every one who believes on him will not perish, but have eternal life. We thank you for the salvation you prepared for us through Jesus Christ. Send your Spirit into our hearts, that he may kindle a living faith within us and prepare us rightly to celebrate our Savior's remembrance, and receive him, when he comes to us in his holy supper.

The priest may silently add:
O God, also send your Spirit upon these gifts of bread and wine, that they may be for us your beloved Son's Body and Blood.

Verba and Lord's Prayer

Anamnesis (after St. Ambrose)

Allsmäktige Gud, i åminnelse av din Sons dyrbara lidande och död, hans ärorika uppståndelse och himmelsfärd, och i förbäddan av hans tillkommelse i härlighet, framställa vi inför dig detta heliga Bröd och den eviga salighetens Kalk, vår Herres Jesu Kristi för oss offrade Lekamen och Blod. O Gud, du upptog nådeligen den rättfärdige Abels, vår patriark Abrahams och din överstepräst Melkisedeks offer. Se i nåd till detta rena och obefläckade; fullkomliga och eviga Offer, med vilket din Son en gång för alla försonat hela världens synder. Värdes genom dina änglar mottaga det på ditt himmelska Altare, så att vi som vid detta altare undfå din Sons allraheligaste Lekamen och Blod, må varda uppfyllda med all himmelsk nåd och välsignelse. Genom samme din Son, Jesus Kristus, vår Herre. Amen.

Eller.

I lydnad för vår Herres, Jesu Kristi, saliga befallning och i åminnelse av hans lidande och död, hans uppståndelse och himmelsfärd, äta vi detta bröd och drincka denna kalk, och bedja detta må vara dig behagligt och lända våra själar till frälsning. Och såsom de spridda kornen förenats till ett bröd, så förena oss med honom och genom honom med varandra inbördes, att vi alla må vara ett, såsom du, o Gud, är i honom och han i dig, för att världen skall tro att du har sänd honom.

Intercessions

Prästen kan fortfara att tyst bedja: Tänk, o Gud, på din Kyrka i hela världen: regea, helga och ena henne; giv henne frid och bevara henne för falsk lära. Tag alla krist-

Almighty God, in remembrance of your Son's precious passion and death, his glorious resurrection and ascension, and in anticipation of his glorious second coming, we place before you this holy bread and the cup of eternal salvation, our Lord Jesus Christ's Body and Blood, which were sacrificed for us. O God, you graciously accepted the sacrifices of Abel, the righteous, of our patriarch Abraham, and of your high priest Melchisedech. Look graciously on this pure and spotless, perfect and eternal Sacrifice, through which your Son once-for-all propitiated the whole world's sins. Through your angels, receive it upon your heavenly altar, so that we who, at this altar, receive your Son's most holy Body and Blood, may be filled with every heavenly grace and blessing. Through the same, your Son Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

Or.

In obedience to the blessed command of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in remembrance of his passion and death, his resurrection and ascension, we eat this bread and drink this cup, and pray that this may be pleasing to you and [we] present our souls for salvation. And as the scattered grains unite to [form] one loaf, so unite us mutually with each other, with him and through him, so that we may all be one, as you, o God, are in him and he [is] in you, so that the world shall believe that you have sent him.

The priest may continue to pray silently: Be mindful, O God, of the one Church in the whole world: guide, sanctify and unite her; give her peace and protect her from false teaching. Take all Christian

trogna i din faderliga omvårdnad. Välsigna vår biskop N., prästerkapet och diakonatet. Ihågkom dina tjänare och tjänarinnor N. och alla här närvarande, vilkas tro du känner och volka här frambära lovets offer för sig själva och alla de sina.

Tänk öck, o Gud, på dina hädangångna tjänare, särskilt N., vilka avsomnat i hoppet om uppståndelse till evigt liv. Giv dem den eviga friden, och låt ditt ansiktes ljus lysa över dem.

Varkunna dig också över oss syndare, dina tjänare, som hoppas på dig, och värdes giva oss medborgarskap i himmelen med den allra saligaste jungfrun Maria, dina heliga apostlar och martyrer och alla dina helgon; och låt oss alla en gång med dem upptas i din eviga härlighet. Genom din Son Jesus Kristus, vår Herre.

Genom honom, med honom och i honom tillhör dig Gud Fader allsmäktig och den Helige Ande all ära och härlighet från evighet till evighet. Amen.

Agnus Dei

believers into you fatherly care. Bless our bishop N., the priesthood and the diaconate. Remember your servants N., and all those present here, whose faith you know, and who here present the sacrifice of praise, for themselves and all their [loved ones].

O God, be mindful also of thy servants who have gone ahead, especially N., who dies in the hope of the resurrection to eternal life. Give them eternal peace, and let the light of your countenance shine upon them.

Be merciful also to us sinners, your servants, who hope in you, and give us citizenship in heaven, together with the most blessed virgin Mary, your holy apostles and martyrs, and all of your saints; and in time, let us all, with them, be received into your eternal glory. Through your Son Jesus Christ, our Lord.

Through him, with him and in him, all honor and glory belong to you, almighty Father, and to the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever. Amen.

(In Das Herrenmahl, pp. 78-82)

In this recent rite, several alternate eucharistic prayers are provided. The German translation is that provided in Das Herrenmahl. The Swedish original has not been available.

A.

Gelobet seist du, Herr des Himmels und der Erde, der du dich über uns Menschen erbarmt hast und deinen eingeborenen Sohn gabst, auf dass alle, die an ihn glauben, nicht verloren werden, sondern das ewige Leben haben. Wir danken dir für das Heil, das du uns durch Jesus Christus bereitet hast. Sende deinen Geist in unsere Herzen, auf das er einen lebendigen Glauben in uns entzündet. Heilige auch durch deinen Geist dies Brot und diesen Wein, Gaben der fruchtbaren Erde und menschlicher Arbeit, die wir vor dich bringen, so dass wir durch sie teilhaben an unseres Herrn Jesu Christi wahren Leib und Blut. In der Nacht, da er verraten ward, . . .

. . . so oft ihr's trinkt, zu meinem Gedächtnis.

Daher feiern wir, heiliger Vater, dieses Mahl zum Gedächtnis an das Leiden und Sterben, die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt deines Sohnes. Wir essen vom Brot des Lebens und trinken aus dem Kelch des Segens bis zu dem Tage seiner Wiederkunft in Herrlichkeit.

Wir bitten dich: Siehe an das vollkommene und ewige Opfer, mit dem du in Christus uns mit dir versöhnt hast. Lass uns alle durch den heiligen Geist zu einem einzigen Leib vereinigt und zu einem lebendigen Opfer in Christus vollendet werden.

Durch ihn und mit ihm und in ihm . . . Alle: Amen.

B.

Wir loben dich, Gott, der du Himmel und Erde in deiner Hand hältst. In dir leben wir, in dir bewegen wir uns und in dir sind wir. Deine Gnade ist besser als Leben. Dich wollen unsere Lippen preisen. Wir danken dir dafür, dass du deinen Sohn gesandt hast, die Welt zu retten. Du liessest ihn den Tod am Kreuz erleiden, um ihn dadurch zu erhöhen und ihm den Namen zu geben, der über allen Namen ist. Lass deinen Geist uns und diese unsere Gaben von Brot und Wein anrühren, so dass wir durch sie teilhaben an Christi Leib und Blut. In der Nacht, da er verraten ward, . . .

. . . so oft ihr's trinkt, zu meinem Gedächtnis.

Alle: Seinen Tod verkündigen wir, seine Auferstehung bekennen wir, bis dass er wiederkommen wird in Herrlichkeit.

Heiliger Vater, wenn wir das Gedächtnis unseres Heilandes feiern, lässt du uns teilhaben an seinem Leben, seinem Tod und seiner Auferstehung, seiner himmlischen Herrlichkeit. Hier sind sein Leib und sein Blut, die uns mit dir versöhnt haben. Lass uns alle durch deinen Geist eins in ihm werden,

auf dass wir sein Leben in der Welt offenbaren können. Lass den Tag bald kommen, an dem du neue Himmel erschaffst und eine neue Erde, auf der Gerechtigkeit wohnt. Dir wollen wir lobsingeln und dich verherrlichen durch Jesus Christus im Heiligen Geist, jetzt und alle Zeit und in Ewigkeit.
Alle: Amen.

C.

Wir danken dir, Herr Himmels und der Erden, der du deine Hand aufstest und alles Lebendige mit deiner Gnade sättigst. Du gibst uns das täglich Brot, Gesundheit und Kraft. Aus dem Korn der Äcker und dem Trauben der Berge bereitest du Brot und Wein. Du deckst uns deinen Tisch. Lass deinen Geist über uns und diese Gaben kommen, auf dass wir teilhaben an dem himmlischen Brot und dem Kelch des Segens, welche sind Christi Leib und Blut.
In der Nacht, da er verraten ward, . . .

. . . so oft ihr's trinkt, zu meinem Gedächtnis.

Alle: Seinen Tod verkündigen wir, seine Auferstehung bekennen wir, bis dass er widerkommen wird in Herrlichkeit.

(Das Gebet wird in einer der beiden folgenden Formen fortgesetzt.)

Hier sehen wir das Leiden und Sterben deines Sohnes, seine Auferstehung von den Toten und sein Leben in Herrlichkeit bei dir. Hier begegnen wir ihm, der für uns bittet und der kommen wird, zu richten die Lebendigen und die Toten an dem Tag, den du bestimmst. Wir danken dir, Gott, für die Verheissung neuer Himmel und einer neuen Erde, auf der Gerechtigkeit wohnt. Wir danken dir für die Hoffnung auf eine selige Auferstehung durch deinen Sohn, unseren Heiland. Alle: Amen.

Lass alle, die dieses Brot und diesen Kelch teilen durch den heiligen Geist zu einem einzigen Leib vereinigt und zu einer lebendigen Opfergabe in Christus vollendet werden, dir zu Ehre und Preis.

Alle: Amen.

* * * * *

In his article, André Renard, reveals that six prayers were submitted for approval in 1974. Based on his description of their contents (here identified as A . . . F), A, C and D were dropped. B = B, above; E = C; and F (based on the rite of 1942, with additions) = A.

FRANCE, 1966

(In Das Herrenmahl, pp. 71-73)

Préface

Il est vraiment digne et juste que nous te rendions grâce en tout temps et en tout lieu, Dieu tout-puissant, Père saint et éternel, par Jésus-Christ notre Seigneur, pour ta gloire infinie et pour ton amour rédempteur. Car tu as créé les cieux et toutes leurs armées, la terre et ses magnificences; tu nous as donné l'être et la vie et tu nous conserves par ta Providence. Mais tu as surtout manifesté ton amour en envoyant dans le monde ton Fils bien-aimé, ta Parole éternelle et ton image visible, en qui habite corporellement la plénitude de la divinité, et qui s'est abaissé jusqu'à nous pour nous élever jusqu'à toi. Pour le don précieux de ce puissant Sauveur, Fils de l'homme qui allait de lieu en lieu en faisant le bien, sainte et adorable victime qui s'est chargée de nos iniquités, médiateur charitable qui nous a réconciliés avec toi, et pain vivant donné pour la nourriture du monde, nous te louons et nous te bénissons, ô Seigneur Dieu. C'est pourquoi, avec l'Eglise universelle, avec les saints glorifiés, avec les anges et toute l'armée des cieux, nous louons et nous magnifions ton nom, nous t'exaltons et nous chantons:

Saint, saint, saint est le Seigneur . . .

Consécration

Envoie ton Saint-Esprit sur nous ton peuple élu, et pénètre de sa puissance ton Eglise entière. Que cet Esprit de vie fasse pour nous, de ces aliments terrestres que tu nous as donnés, un aliment spirituel. Qu'ainsi, dans ce pain et dans ce vin, nous ayons communion au corps et au sang de notre Sauveur, qui, la nuit où il fut trahi, . . .

. . . toutes les fois que vous en boirez.

Que toute créature fasse silence. Adorons le Seigneur.

O Dieu, nous nous tenons devant toi pour accomplir l'acte sacré que nous a ordonné ton Fils[:] nous annonçons sa mort rédemptrice, nous proclamons sa résurrection et son ascension glorieuses, et dans l'attente joyeuse de son retour, nous célébrons son sacrifice, te suppliant d'amener tous les hommes à en accepter la puissance de salut.

Pour nous, pécheurs, qui n'avons de refuge qu'en ta miséricorde, daigne recevoir la prière de ton Fils en notre faveur. Car c'est par lui que tu crées, que tu sanctifies, que tu vivifies, que tu bénis et que tu donnes tous tes biens.

C'est par lui, et avec lui, et en lui, que te sont rendus tout honneur et toute gloire, ô Père tout-puissant, en l'unité du Saint-Esprit, aux siècles des siècles. Amen.

Notre Père, la Paix, Agneau

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

SOURCES

Agende für die evangelisch-lutherische Kirche in Bayern. Ans-
bach: C. Brügel und Sohn, 1879.

Agende für die evangelisch-lutherischen Gemeinden im russischen
Reich. St. Petersburg: R. Gollicke, 1897.

Agende für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden ungeänderter Augsburgischer Konfession. Herausgegeben von der Allgemeinen Ev.-Luth. Synode von Ohio und anderen Staaten. Columbus: Verlagshandlung der . . . Synode von Ohio . . . , 1884.

Agende fuer Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden Ungeänderter Augsburgischer Konfession. Herausgegeben von der Allgemeinen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Ohio und anderen Staaten. Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1909.

Agende für Gemeinden des Evangelisch-Lutherischen Bekenntnisses. Herausgegeben von der Allgemeinen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Ohio u. a. St., A.D. 1863. Columbus: Reinhard und Fieser, 1864.

The Altar Service Book of the American Lutheran Church: Prepared by the Commission on Worship and Church Art. Columbus: Wartburg, 1936.

American Lutheran Hymnal: Music Edition. Compiled and Edited by an Intersynodical Committee. Columbus: Wartburg, 1930.

Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche. 2nd ed. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1952.

Berneuchener Kreis. Die Ordnung der Deutschen Messe. Herausgegeben im Auftrage des Berneuchener Kreises von Ludwig Heitmann, Karl Bernhard Ritter, Wilhelm Stählin. Kassel: Johannes Stauda, n.d. [1937].

The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments . . . : According to the Use of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. New York: Church Pension Fund, 1945.

Brightman, F. E. Liturgies Eastern and Western. Vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon, 1896.

Brown, Edgar S., ed. Liturgical Reconnaissance: Papers Presented at the Inter-Lutheran Consultation on Worship, February 10-11, 1966, Chicago, Illinois. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968.

Christliche Kirchen Agenda: Wie die von den zweyen Ständen der Herrn und Ritterschaft / im Ertzhertzogthumb Oesterreich unter der Enns / gebraucht wirdt . . . Anno MDLXXI..

"Bueghagen's Order of Service." Lutheran Church Review, 10 (1891), 288-293.

Common Service Book of the Lutheran Church. Authorized by the United Lutheran Church in America. Philadelphia: Board of Publication of the United Lutheran Church in America, 1917, 1918.

The Concordia Hymnal: A Hymnal for Church, School and Home. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1932..

Concordia Triglotta: Die symbolischen Bücher der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche, deutsch-lateinisch-englisch, als Denkmal der vierhundertjährigen Jubelfeier der Reformation, anno Domini 1917. Herausgegeben auf Beschluss der evangelisch-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten. St. Louis: Concordia, 1921.

Culto Cristiano (Evangélico Luterano): Es el fruto de una empresa editorial conjunta en que han colaborado oficialmente los siguientes cuerpos eclesiásticos: la Iglesia Luterana Americana, la Iglesia Luterana en América, y la Iglesia Luterana-Sínodo de Misuri, en union con el Comité Latino-americano de la Federación Luterana Mundial. New York: El Escudo, 1964.

Daniel, Hermann Adalbert, ed.. Codex Liturgicus Ecclesiae Universae in Epitomen Redactus, II: Ecclesiae Lutheranae in Epitomen Redactus. (1848 edition reprinted:) Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1966.

Denzinger, Henricus, and Schönmetzer, Adolfus, eds. Enchiridion Symbolorum. 36th Ed. Barcelona: Herder, 1976.

Dieffenbach, Georg C., ed. Evangelische Handagende. Part 1. Gotha: Schloessmann, 1876.

- Eizenhöfer, Leo. *Canon Missae Romanae*. Rome: Orbis Catholicus, 1954.
- Evangelical Lutheran Hymnal with Music. Published by Order of the First English District of the Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States. Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1908.
- Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference. *The Lutheran Liturgy*. St. Louis: Concordia, n.d. [1941?].
- "Evangelical Mass (Germany: Michaels Brotherhood)," *Studia Liturgica*, 4:4 (1965), II-c: 1-20.
- Evangelische Michaelsbruderschaft. *Die Ordnung der Messe: Erläuterungen und Ergänzungsblatt gemäss den Beschlüssen von Rat und Kapitel der Evangelischen Michaelsbruderschaft im Jahr 1957*. Kassel: Bärenreiter, n.d. [1957].
- The First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI. Everyman's Library, 448. London: Dent, [reprint:] 1968.
- Gemeinsame römisch-katholische evangelisch-lutherische Kommission. *Das Herrenmahl*. Paderborn: Bonifacius, 1978.
- Hänggi, Anton, and Pahl, Irmgard, eds. *Prex Eucharistica: Textus e variis liturgiis antiquioribus selecti*. Spicilegium Friburgense, 12. Fribourg: Editions universitaires, 1968.
- Herbst, Wolfgang, ed. *Quellen zur Geschichte des evangelischen Gottesdienstes von der Reformation bis zur Gegenwart*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968.
- The Hymnal and Order of Service. Authorized by the Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod. Lectionary Edition. Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Book Concern, 1925.
- Hymnal for Church and Home. Blair, Neb.: Lutheran Publishing House, 1938.
- Lietzmann, Hans, ed. *Johannes Bugenhagens Braunschweiger Kirchenordnung, 1528*. Kleine Texte, 88. Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Weber's, 1912.
- Lietzmann, Hans, ed. *Liturgische Texte, VII: Die Preussische Agende im Auszug*. Kleine Texte, 70. Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Weber's, 1911.

Inter-Lutheran Commission on Worship. The Great Thanksgiving. Contemporary Worship, 01. New York: Inter-Lutheran Commission on Worship, 1975.

_____. Contemporary Worship, 2: Services, The Holy Communion. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1970.

Liturgie und Kirchenagende für die Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeinden in Pennsylvanien, Neu York, Ohio und den benachbarten Staaten. Philadelphia: Böttcher, 1842.

A Liturgy for the use of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, by Authority of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1860.

A Liturgy for the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Congregations. Prepared by a Committee Appointed by the Evan. Luth. Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States. Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1923.

A Liturgy for the use of Evangelical Lutheran Pastors. Prepared by a Committee Appointed by the Ev. Luth. Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States. Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1894.

A Liturgy for the use of Evangelical Lutheran Pastors. Prepared by a Committee Appointed by the Ev. Luth. Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States. Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1912.

Liturgy, or Formulary, for the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Churches: Compiled by a Committee, Appointed by the Synod of Ohio, and Ordered to be Printed. Lancaster, Ohio: John Herman, 1830.

Löhe, Wilhelm. Agende für christliche Gemeinden des lutherischen Bekenntnisses. Nördlingen: Beck'schen, 1844.

Luther, Martin. D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Weimar: Böhlau, 1883ff.

_____. Luther's Works. Edited by Jaroslav Pelikan and Helmut Lehmann. St. Louis: Concordia, and Philadelphia: Fortress, 1955ff.

Lutheran Book of Worship: Ministers Desk Edition. Prepared by the churches participating in the Inter-Lutheran Commission on Worship. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1978.

The Lutheran Hymnal. Authorized by the Synods Constituting The Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America. St. Louis: Concordia, 1941.

The Lutheran Hymnary. [Norwegian Lutheran Church of America, 1912. This writer has been unable to locate a copy with title page information.]

Missale Romanum: Ex Decreto Sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini Restitutum Summorum Pontificum Cura Recognitum. New York: Benziger, 1962.

Modern Eucharistic Agreement. London: SPCK, 1973.

Piepkorn, Arthur C., and Kuñkle, Howard R. "The Eucharistic Prayer," *Una Sancta* 7:3 (1947), 6-22; 7:4 (1947), 6-11.

Proceedings of the Thirty-Seventh Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States . . . August 25-31, 1904. Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1904.

Richter, Aemilius Ludwig, ed. Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts. Leipzig: Günther, 1871.

The Sacramentary: The Roman Missal, Revised by Decree of the Second Vatican Council and Published by Authority of Pope Paul VI., Approved for Use in the Dioceses of the United States of America . . . New York: Catholic Book Publishing, 1974.

Schmidt-Lauber, Hans-Christoph. Die Eucharistie als Entfaltung der Verba Testamenti. Kassel: Stauda, 1957.

Sehling, Emil, ed. Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des xvi Jahrhunderts. [1902 edition reprinted:] Tübingen: Mohr, 1955.

Service Book and Hymnal, Authorized by the Lutheran Churches cooperating in The Commission on the Liturgy and Hymnal. Music Edition. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1958.

A "Text Edition," including the lectionary, was published in 1967, at Philadelphia, by the Board of Publication of the Lutheran Church in America.

Smend, Julius. Die evangelischen deutschen Messen bis zu Luthers Deutscher Messe. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1896.

- Tappert, Theodore G. The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1959.
- Vajta, Vilmos, ed. Church in Fellowship: Pulpit and Altar Fellowship Among Lutherans. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1963.
- Wolf, Richard C., ed. Documents of Lutheran Unity in America. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1966.
- Worship Supplement. Authorized by the Commission on Worship, The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod and Synod of Evangelical Lutheran Churches. St. Louis: Concordia, 1969.
- Yelverton, Eric E. The Mass in Sweden: Its Development from the Latin Rite from 1531 to 1917. London: Harrison, 1920.

LITERATURE - CITED

- Allbeck, Willard D. A Century of Lutherans in Ohio. Yellow Springs, Ohio: Antioch, 1966.
- _____. Studies in the Lutheran Confessions. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968.
- Althaus, Paul. The Theology of Martin Luther. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1966.
- Arden, G. Everett. Augustana Heritage: A History of the Augustana Lutheran Church. Rock Island: Augustana, 1963.
- Arndt, William F., and Gingrich, F. Wilbur. A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1957.
- Audet, Jean-Paul. La Didachè: Instructions des Apôtres. Paris: Gabalda, 1958.
- Aulén, Gustaf. Eucharist and Sacrifice. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1958.
- _____. The Faith of the Christian Church. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1960.
- Aune, Michael B. "An Approach to American Lutheran Liturgical

Theology," *Luther Theological Seminary Review* 16:2 (1977), 41-48.

Averbeck, Wilhelm. *Der Opfercharakter des Abendmahls in der neueren evangelischen Theologie*. Paderborn: Bonifacius, 1966.

Bailey, Larry. "In Defense of CW2's Eucharistic 'Shape': On the 'Greening' of the Liturgy," *Lutheran Forum* 10:1 (1976), 11-12.

_____, and Klein, Leonard. "Renewing Lutheran Worship: Installment #5," *Forum Letter* 5:5 (1976), 7.

Bainton, Roland. *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther*. New York: Abingdon, 1950.

"Le baptême et l'eucharistie dans une perspective oecuménique." [Faith and Order Conference, Accra, 1974.] *Istina* 20 (1975), 214-228.

Bergendoff, Conrad. *The Church of the Lutheran Reformation: A Historical Survey of Lutheranism*. St. Louis: Concordia, 1967.

Bernadin, Joseph L. "The Yet Undisclosed Paths," *One in Christ* 15 (1979), 98-113.

Bishop, Edmund. *Liturgica Historica*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1918.

Bornert, R. "Parole et sacrement en perspective luthérienne et catholique," *Irénikon* 45:1 (1972), 22-50.

Bouyer, Louis. *Eucharist: Theology and Spirituality of the Eucharistic Prayer*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame, 1968.

_____. *Rite and Man: Natural Sacredness and Christian Liturgy*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1967.

Brand, Eugene L. "A Eucharist for All Lutherans," *Lutheran Forum* 4:6 (1970), 16-18.

_____. "Forms and Norms: The Sovereignty of the Word and Lutheran Liturgics," *Una Sancta* 19:4 (1962), 5-13.

_____. "From Recovery to Advance in Liturgical Renewal," *Lutheran Quarterly* 19 (1967), 4-8.

_____. "The ILCW: Dimensions of Its Task," *Dialog* 14 (1975),

90-96.

_____. "Preaching and the Lord's Supper in the Liturgy of the Church," *Lutheran Quarterly* 20 (1968), 342-351.

Bretscher, Paul G. "'Missouri's' Purifying--A Special Report," *Lutheran World* 21 (1974), 173-176.

Brilioth, Yngve. *Eucharistic Faith and Practice: Evangelical and Catholic*. London: SPCK, 1956.

Brunner, Peter. *Worship in the Name of Jesus*. St. Louis: Concordia, 1968.

Bryant, Robert H. "Some Trends in Recent Protestant Interpretation of the Eucharist," *Oecumenica* (1968), 250-273.

Buxton, Richard F. *Eucharist and Institution Narrative: A Study in the Roman and Anglican Traditions of the Consecration of the Eucharist from the Eighth to the Twentieth Centuries*. *Alcuin Club Collections*, 58. Great Wakering: Mayhew-McCrimmon, 1976.

Byrom, J. K. "Eucharistic Theology Today," *Theology* 77:645 (1974), 124-137.

Cabasilas, Nicholas. *A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*. London: SPCK, 1960.

Caesarius of Heisterbach. *The Dialogue on Miracles*, II. London: Routledge, 1929.

Chemnitz, Martin. *Examination of the Council of Trent*. St. Louis: Concordia, 1971.

_____. *The Lord's Supper: De coena Domini*. Translation of the 2nd ed. of 1590. St. Louis: Concordia, 1979.

Clark, Francis. *Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Reformation*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Blackwell, 1967.

_____. "The Real Presence: An Appraisal of the Recent Controversy," *Unitas* 18 (1966), 86-99.

The Confession-Making Process. [New York:] Division of Theological Studies, Lutheran Council in the USA, 1975.

Convention Proceedings: 52nd Regular Convention, The Lutheran

Church-Missouri Synod, Dallas Texas, July 15-22, 1977.
St. Louis: Concordia, n.d. [1977?].

Convention Proceedings: 53rd Regular Convention, The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, St. Louis, Missouri, July 6-12, 1979. St. Louis: Concordia, n.d. [1979?].

Cooke, Bernard. Ministry to Word and Sacraments: History and Theology. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976.

Coventry, John. "Lutherans and Catholics in Dialogue," One in Christ 7 (1971), 371-378.

_____. "The Presence of Christ in the Eucharist," Furrow 20 (1969), 69-78.

Croegaert, A. The Mass: A Liturgical Commentary. Vol. 2. London: Burns & Oates, 1959.

Cross, F. L., ed. The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church. London: Oxford, 1958.

Cuming, G. J. A History of Anglican Liturgy. London: Macmillan, 1969.

Daly, Robert J. The Origins of the Christian Doctrine of Sacrifice. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978.

Damm, John S. "The Eucharist in the Life of the Church," Concordia Theological Monthly 43 (1972), 155-164.

DeLetter, P., and Putz, J. "Eucharistic Convergence," The Clergy Monthly 36 (1972), 461-470.

Diess, Lucien. It's the Lord's Supper: Eucharist of Christians. New York: Paulist, 1976.

Dix, Gregory. The Shape of the Liturgy. Westminster: Dacre, 1945.

Durrwell, François-Xavier. "Eucharist and Parousia: The Fundamental Basis of the Interpretation of the Real Presence," Lumen Vitae 26 (1971), 273-315.

_____. The Eucharistic Presence of Christ. Denville, N.J.: Dimension, 1974.

Edwards, David L. "The Uppsala Report on Worship: Introduction," Studia Liturgica 6 (1969), 66-68.

Egge, Mandus A., ed. *Worship: Good News in Action*. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1973.

Egner, G. "More Thoughts on the Eucharistic Presence," *New Blackfriars* 54 (1973), 171-180.

_____. "Some Thoughts on the Eucharistic Presence," *New Blackfriars* 53 (1972), 354-359, 399-408.

Elert, Werner. *The Lord's Supper Today*. Contemporary Theology Series. St. Louis: Concordia, 1973.

_____. *The Structure of Lutheranism*. Vol. 1. St. Louis: Concordia, 1962.

Empie, Paul C. "Lutheran/Roman Catholic Theological Dialogues in the U.S.A.," *Currents in Theology and Mission* 3 (1976), 275-278.

Evans, Gene. "The Lutheran Book of Worship--A Resource," *The Bride of Christ* 3:3 (1979), 21.

An Explanation of the Common Service: With Appendices on Christian Hymnody and Liturgical Colors and a Glossary of Liturgical Terms. 5th Ed. Philadelphia: United Lutheran Publishing House, 1908.

An Explanation of the Common Service . . . 6th Ed. . . . 1941.

Fagerberg, Holsten. *A New Look at the Lutheran Confessions (1529-1537)*. St. Louis: Concordia, 1972.

"A Faith and Order Study on the Holy Eucharist," *Studia Liturgica* 5 (1966), 121-128.

Foelber, Paul F. "Lutheran Book of Worship," *Concordia Journal* 2 (1976), 107-109.

Førde, Gerhard. "A 'Great Thanksgiving' for Lutherans?", in *Inter-Lutheran Commission on Worship: A "Great Thanksgiving" for Lutherans?: Theological Conversation in Progress*. New York: ILCW, n.d. [1976?].

Fraser, Daphne. "The Michaelsbruderschaft Evangelische Messe: An Anglican Lay Comment," *Studia Liturgica* 7 (1970), 50-53.

The Function of Doctrine and Theology in the Light of the Unity of the Church: A Report . . . from an Official Study

Conducted by the Division of Theological Studies, Lutheran Council in the USA. New York: LCUSA, 1978.

- Grass, H. "Luther et la liturgie eucharistique," 135-150 in: B. Botte, et al. *Eucharisties d'Orient et d'Occident*. Lex Orandi, 46. Paris: Cerf, 1970.
- Gray, Donald P. "The Real Absence: A Note on the Eucharist," *Worship* 44 (1970), 20-26.
- Green, Lowell C. "The New Holy Communion Rite--II: Historical and Practical Questions," *Lutheran Forum* 5:4 (1971), 12-14.
- Grislis, E. "The Arnoldshain Theses on the Lord's Supper in Recent Discussion," *Lutheran Quarterly* 13 (1961), 333-355.
- Gritsch, Eric W., and Jenson, Robert W. *Lutheranism: The Theological Movement and Its Confessional Writings*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976.
- Guzie, Tad W. *Jesus and the Eucharist*. New York: Paulist, 1974.
- Hals, Ronald M. "The Concept of Sacrifice as a Background for Eucharist," *Lutheran Quarterly* 26 (1974), 174-188.
- Hedegård, David. *Seder R. Amram Gaon*. Part 1. Lund: Ph. Lindstedts, 1951.
- Hellwig, Monika. *What are the Theologians Saying?* Dayton: Pflaum-Standard, 1970.
- Hoefler, R. "The 'Real Presence' of Christ in the Preaching Situation," *Lutheran Quarterly* 21 (1969), 173-178.
- Hoey, Robert F. *The Experimental Liturgy Book*. New York: Herder and Herder, 1969.
- Hoffmann, Joseph. "L'approche catholique et l'approche luthérienne du thème 'Evangile et Sacrement'--Essai de confrontation," *Oecumenica* (1970), 177-209.
- Horn, Edward T. "Liturgical and Historical," *Lutheran Church Review* 15 (1896), 115-117.
- _____. "The Significance of Liturgical Reform," 19-39 in: *Memoirs of the Lutheran Liturgical Association*. Vol.

1. Pittsburgh: The Association, 1907.

Jenson, Robert W. "A 'Great Thanksgiving' for Lutherans?", in Inter-Lutheran Commission on Worship: A "Great Thanksgiving" for Lutherans?: Theological Conversation in Progress. New York: ILCW, n.d. [1976?].

_____. Visible Words: The Interpretation and Practice of Christian Sacraments. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978.

Jeremias, Joachim. The Eucharistic Words of Jesus. Revised edition. London: SCM, 1966.

Jordahl, Leigh D. "The New Holy Communion Rite--I: Encouraging and Disappointing," Lutheran Forum 5:4 (1971), 10-12.

_____. "A New Rite of Holy Communion for American Lutherans," Worship 44 (1970), 578-587.

Journet, Charles. "Transsubstantiation," Nova et Vetera 46 (1971), 161-172.

Jungmann, Joseph A. The Mass: An Historical, Theological, and Pastoral Survey. Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1976.

_____. The Mass of the Roman Rite. Revised by Charles K. Riepe. London: Burns & Oates, 1959.

_____. The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development. 2 vol. New York: Benziger, 1955.

Kalb, Friedrich. Theology of Worship in 17th-Century Lutheranism. St. Louis: Concordia, 1965.

Kelly, B. "Sacramental Presence: Real Presence," Irish Theological Quarterly 37 (1970), 71-79.

Kilmartin, Edward J. "Sacramental Theology: The Eucharist in Recent Literature," Theological Studies 32 (1971), 233-277.

_____. "Sacrificium Laudis: Content and Function of Early Eucharistic Prayers," Theological Studies 35 (1974), 268-287.

Klein, Leonard R. "Answer to Missouri's 'blue ribbon' Committee: The LBW is Lutheran," Lutheran Forum 12:3 (1978), S10-S19.

_____. "Shaping up the Liturgy: or, Getting Ready for the Lutheran Book of Worship," *Currents in Theology and Mission* 4 (1977), 276-282.

Krauth, Charles P. *The Conservative Reformation and Its Theology: As Represented in the Augsburg Confession, and in the History and Literature of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*. Philadelphia: United Lutheran Publication House, 1913.

Krodel, Gottfried G. *The Great Thanksgiving of the Inter-Lutheran Commission on Worship: It is the Christian's Supper and Not the Lord's Supper*. The Cresset, Occasional Paper, 1. Valparaiso, Ind.: Valparaiso University, 1976.

Krugler, Arnold F. "The Words of Institution: Proclamation or Prayer?", *Concordia Journal* 2 (1976), 53-60.

Lanne, Emmanuel. "L'Eucharistie dans la recherche oecuménique actuelle: Observations sur le nouveau document de Foi et Constitution," *Irénikon* 48 (1975), 201-214.

Lash, Nicholas. *His Presence in the World: A Study in Eucharistic Worship and Theology*. London: Sheed and Ward, 1968.

Lau, Franz, and Bizer, Ernst. *A History of the Reformation in Germany to 1555*. London: Black, 1969.

Leenhardt, F. J. "This is My Body," 24-87 in Oscar Cullman and F. J. Leenhardt: *Essays on the Lord's Supper*. Ecumenical Studies in Worship, 1. Richmond, Va.: John Knox, 1958.

Lehmann, Helmut T., ed. *Meaning and Practice of the Lord's Supper*. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1961.

"Leuenberg Agreement." [Text.] *Lutheran World* 20 (1973), 347-353.

Lienhard, Marc. "Church Fellowship Through the Leuenberg Agreement: A New Way for the Reformation Churches in Europe?", *Lutheran World* 21 (1974), 332-338.

_____. "Leuenberg, 1971: On the Road to Fellowship," *Lutheran Forum* 5:10 (1971), 18-20.

Lietzmann, Hans. *Mass and Lord's Supper: A Study in the His-*

tory of Liturgy. Introduction and Supplementary Essay by Robert Douglas Richardson. Leiden: Brill, 1979.

Lindemann, Herbert. "Contemporary Worship: A Report from the Lutherans," *Worship* 48 (1974), 153-163.

_____. "CW-2 Passes in Review," *Lutheran Quarterly* 26 (1974), 221-224.

Lueker, Erwin L., ed. *Lutheran Cyclopedia*. St. Louis: Concordia, 1954.

Lutherans and Catholics in Dialogue, III: The Eucharist as Sacrifice. Published jointly by Representative of the U.S.A. National Committee of the Lutheran World Federation and the Bishops' Committee for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs. Washington: United States Catholic Conference, 1967.

Lutherans and Catholics in Dialogue, IV: Eucharist and Ministry. . . . 1970.

McCabe, Herbert. "Transubstantiation: A Reply to G. Egner," *New Blackfriars* 53 (1972), 546-554.

McLelland, Joseph, et al. *A Reexamination of Lutheran and Reformed Traditions--II: Christology, The Lord's Supper and Its Observance in the Church*. Published jointly by Representatives of the North American Area of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches Holding the Presbyterian Order and the U.S.A. National Committee of the Lutheran World Federation. New York: National Lutheran Council, 1964.

McSorley, Harry J. "Unprecedented Agreement on the Eucharist," *The Ecumenist* 8 (1970), 89-93.

Includes text of "The Eucharist in the Life of the Church: An Ecumenical Consensus," of the National Council of Churches Faith and Order Study Commission.

Martimort, A. G., ed. *L'Eglise en prière: Introduction à la liturgie*. Paris: Desclée, 1961.

Mascall, E. L. "Egner on the Eucharistic Presence," *New Blackfriars* 53 (1972), 539-546.

Minutes of the Fiftieth Annual Convention of the English District of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Ohio

- and Other States . . . October 17-23, 1906. Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1906.
- Minutes of the Forty-Sixth Convention . . . August 24-30, 1922.
- Montgomery, John Warwick. Chytraeus "On Sacrifice": A Reformation Treatise in Biblical Theology. St. Louis: Concordia, 1962.
- Mueller, John T. Christian Dogmatics. St. Louis: Concordia, 1934.
- Mueller, Karl F. "The Lutheran Liturgy Today: A German Perspective," Response 8 (1966) 22-28.
- Nagel, Norman. "The Presence of Christ's Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Altar According to Luther," Concordia Theological Monthly 39 (1968), 227-238.
- Nelson, E. Clifford. Lutheranism in North America 1914-1970. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1972.
- _____, ed. The Lutherans in North America. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975.
- Neve, J. L. A History of Christian Thought. 2 vol. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1946.
- Nicholas, Jean-Hervé. "Présence réelle eucharistique et transsignification," Revue Thomiste 71 (1971), 439-448.
- Nickel, James T. "Whither the New Hymnal?", Concordia Journal 2 (1976), 110-113.
- Olson, Oliver K. "Contemporary Trends in Liturgy Viewed from the Perspective of Classical Lutheran Theology," Lutheran Quarterly 26 (1974), 110-157.
- _____. "Liturgy as 'Action'," Dialog 14 (1975), 108-113.
- Parker, T. M. The English Reformation to 1558. 2nd ed. London: Oxford, 1966.
- Parvey, Constance F. "CW-2: An Ecumenical and International Response," Response 15:2/3 (1975), 22-24.
- Pelikan, Jaroslav. Luther the Expositor: Introduction to the Reformer's Exegetical Writings. Luther's Works: Com-

- panion Volume. St. Louis: Concordia, 1959.
- _____, et al. More About Luther.. Martin Luther Lectures, Vol. 2. Decorah, Iowa: Luther College, 1958.
- Persson, Per Erik. "Preaching and the Real Presence of Christ," Lutheran World 6 (1959/1960), 359-368.
- Peters, Edward F. "Luther and the Principle: Outside of the Use-There is No Sacrament," Concordia Theological Monthly 42 (1971), 643-652.
- Pfatteicher, Phillip H. "The New Holy Communion Rite--III: Seven Clear Achievements," Lutheran Forum 5:4 (1971), 14-15.
- Pfnur, Vincenz. "Beyond an Old Polemic: Sola fide/Opus operatum," Origins 8 (1979), 478-480.
- Piepkorn, Arthur Carl. "Exercise in Comparative Ecumenism: Two Statements on the Eucharist," Lutheran Forum 8:1 (1974), 11-14.
- _____. "The One Eucharist for the One World," Concordia Theological Monthly 43 (1972), 94-108.
- _____. "The Norm of Lutheran Piety," Una Sancta 6:3 (1946), 10-15.
- _____. "Pray, Brethren: Reflections on the Devotional Value of a Prayer of Consecration," Una Sancta 8:2 (1948), 8-13.
- _____. Profiles in Belief: The Religious Bodies of the United States and Canada. Vol. 2. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1978.
- _____. "Sacrament, Sacrifice and Stewardship," Una Sancta 18:4 (1961), 7-25.
- _____. The Survival of the Historic Vestments in the Lutheran Church after 1555. Graduate Study Number 1. St. Louis: Concordia Seminary, 1956.
- Pittelko, Roger D. "Tappert, Heineken and the Reformed--Toward a Strange Consensus," Una Sancta 21:3/4 (1964), 61-66.
- Pousset, Edouard. "The Eucharist: Real Presence and Transubstantiation," Chicago Studies 9 (1970), 307-320; 10

(1971), 91-110.

Powers, Joseph M. *Eucharistic Theology*. New York: Herder and Herder, 1972.

Preus, Robert D., and Rosin, Wilbert H. *A Contemporary Look at the Formula of Concord*. St. Louis: Concordia, 1978.

Proceedings of the Thirty-Eighth Convention of the Evangelical Luther Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States . . . August 23-29, 1906. Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1906.

Proceedings of the Thirty-Sixth Biennial Convention . . . August 21-27, 1902. Columbus: . . .

Quanbeck, Warren A. *Search for Understanding: Lutheran Conversations with Reformed, Anglican, and Roman Catholic Churches*. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1972.

Queré, Ralph W. "Christ's Efficacious Presence in the Lord's Supper: Directions in the Development of Melancthon's Theology After Augsburg," *Lutheran Quarterly* 29 (1977), 21-41.

Ratcliff, Edward C. "The Institution Narrative of the Roman Canon Missae: Its Beginning and Early Background," in: *Studia Patristica, II, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*. Berlin: Akademie, 1957, 64-82.

_____. "The Sanctus and the Pattern of the Early Anaphora," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 1 (1950), 29-36, 125-134.

Reed, Luther D. "The Character and Claims of the Church Book." Address delivered at the Second Anniversary of the Lutheran Church Book and Literature Society, Philadelphia, Pa., April 14, 1907.

_____. "The Common Service in the Life of the Church," *Una Sancta* 23:4 (1966), 27-38.

_____. "Liturgical Landmarks: Significant Monuments in the Liturgical Development of the Lutheran Church in America," *Una Sancta* 8:1 (1947), 7-12; 8:2 (1948), 4-8; 8:3 (1948), 21-26.

_____. *The Lutheran Liturgy: A Study of the Common Service of the Lutheran Church in America*. Philadelphia: Muh-

lenburg, 1947. [Revised Edition, 1959.]

_____. "The Standard Manuscript of the Common Service and Variata Editions," *Lutheran Church Review* 20 (1901), 459-473.

_____. *Worship: A Study of Corporate Devotion*. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1959.

Renard, André. "Redécouverte de la prière eucharistique en Suède," *Irénikon* 48 (1975) 178-194.

"Report and Recommendations of the Special Hymnal Review Committee: The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod," *The Christian News* 11:20 (May 15, 1978), 7-14.

_____. *Reports and Actions of the Fourth General Convention of the American Lutheran Church, 1968*. Minneapolis: American Lutheran Church, n.d. [1968?].

_____. *Reports--Minutes--Documents. Faith and Order Paper No. 50*. Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1968.

Rietschel, G. *Lehrbuch der Liturgik*. Vol. 1. Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1900.

Sasse, Hermann. "The Liturgical Movement: Reformation or Revolution?", *Una Sancta* 17:4 (1960), 18-24.

_____. *This is My Body: Luther's Contention for the Real Presence in the Sacrament of the Altar*. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1959.

Schillebeeckx, E. *Christ the Sacrament of Encounter with God*. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1963.

_____. *The Eucharist*. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1968.

_____. "Transubstantiation, Transfinalization, Transignification," *Worship* 40:6 (1966), 324-338.

Schlink, Edmund. *Theology of the Lutheran Confessions*. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1961.

Schmid, Heinrich. *The Doctrinal Theology of the Evangelical Lutheran Church: Verified from the Original Sources*. Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1875.

Schmidt, Wayne E. "Lutheran Book of Worship--A Perspective,"

Concordia Journal 3 (1977), 99-106.

Schoonenberg, Piet. "Transubstantiation: How Far is this Doctrine Historically Determined?", Concilium 4:3 (1967), 41-47.

Schuette, C. H. D. Before the Altar, or A Series of Annotated Propositions on Liturgics, to which is Added a Selection of Standard Forms. Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1894.

Scudamore, W. E. Notitia Eucharistica. 2nd. ed. London: Rivingtons, 1876.

Senn, Frank C. "Contemporary Liturgical Theology," Response 14:1 (1974), 10-17.

_____. "The ILCW Communion Service: A Liturgical Critique," Lutheran Forum 7:3 (1973), 9-13.

_____. "Liturgia Svecanae Ecclesiae: An Attempt at Eucharistic Restoration during the Swedish Reformation." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 1979.

_____. "Martin Luther's Revision of the Eucharistic Canon in the Formula Missae of 1523," CTM 44 (1973), 100-118.

Seybold, Ernst. "Church Renewal in Germany," Una Sancta 7:1 (1960), 13-20.

Shepherd, Massey H., Jr., ed. The Liturgical Renewal of the Church. New York: Oxford, 1960.

Sittler, Joseph. "Theological Developments of the Lutheran-Catholic Dialogue," Chicago Studies 11 (1972), 45-58.

Skibbe, Eugene M. "Conscience, Ecumenism and the Eucharist," American Ecclesiastical Review 164 (1971), 404-417.

_____. "The Discussion of Intercommunion in German Protestantism," Lutheran Quarterly 11 (1959), 91-111.

_____. Protestant Agreement on the Lord's Supper. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1968.

Smend, Julius. "Die älteste Strassburger Deutsche Messe," Monatschrift für Gottesdienst und Kirchliche Kunst 1 (1896), 4-8.

Spaeth, A. "History of the Liturgical Development of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania," *Lutheran Church Review* 17 (1898), 93-119.

_____. *The Order of Lutheran Worship*. Burlington, Iowa: German Literary Board, 1906.

Standing Liturgical Commission of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. *Prayer Book Studies*. New York: Church Pension Fund, 1950ff.

"A Statement on Communion Practices: The American Lutheran Church--Lutheran Church in America." Philadelphia: Division for Parish Services of the Lutheran Church in America, 1978.

Stendahl, Krister. "The New Testament Background for the Doctrine of the Sacraments," *Oecumenica* (1970), 41-58.

Strodach, Paul Zeller. *A Manual on Worship*. Revised Edition. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1946.

Strommen, Merton P., et al. *A Study in Generations*. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1972.

Sullivan, John. "Le Conseil oecuménique des Eglises et le renouveau du culte," *Istina* 19 (1974), 350-367; 20 (1975), 307-314; 21 (1976), 238-256.

Swanson, Clifford J. "The Inter-Lutheran Commission on Worship: A Progress Report," *Response* 14:2 (1974), 23-31.

Tappert, Theodore G., ed. *Lutheran Confessional Theology in America: 1840-1880*. New York: Oxford, 1972.

_____, and Doberstein, John W., eds. *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg*. Vol. 1. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1942.

Taylor, Michael J. *The Protestant Liturgical Renewal: A Catholic Viewpoint*. Westminster, Md.: Newman, 1963.

Taylor, Theophilus M. "The Eucharist in Ecumenical Thought," *Studia Liturgica* 6 (1969), 171-182.

Teig, Mons A. "LBW One Year After in ALC: Problems and Possibilities," *Lutheran Forum* 13:3 (1979), S14-S16.

- Teigen, B. W. "The Real Presence in the Book of Concord,"
Concordia Theological Quarterly 41:2 (1977), 41-57.
- Thompson, Bard. Liturgies of the Western Church. Cleveland:
World, 1962.
- "Threat to Unity and Renewal--Missouri's Proposed Hymnal," Una
Sancta 22:1 (1965), 45-48.
- Thurian, Max. The Eucharistic Memorial. Ecumenical Studies in
Worship, 7,8. Richmond, Va.: John Knox, 1960, 1961.
- Towards an Ecumenical Consensus on Baptism, the Eucharist and
the Ministry: A Response to the Churches. Faith and
Order Paper No. 84. Geneva: World Council of Churches,
1977.
- Tressel, E. G. "The Fundamental Principles of Liturgics,"
15-31 in: Minutes of the Forty-Third Annual Convention
of the First English District of the Evangelical Lu-
theran Synod of Ohio and Other States . . . October
18-24, 1899. Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1900.
- Uppsala Report 1968: Official Report of the Fourth Assembly of
the World Council of Churches, Uppsala, July 4-20,
1968. Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1968.
- Vajta, Vilmos. "Eucharistic Faith and Practice in the Encycli-
cal 'Mysterium Fidei'," Oecumenica (1966), 179-224.
- _____. Luther on Worship. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1958.
- _____, ed. The Lutheran Church Past and Present. Minnea-
polis: Augsburg, 1977.
- VanLoon, Ralph R. "LBW One Year Later in the LCA: Satisfaction
and Suffering," Lutheran Forum 13:3 (1979), S16-S18.
- von Schenk, Berthold. "The Liturgical Revival in the Lutheran
Church of America," Una Sancta 16:1 (1958), 10-18.
- Wangerin, Harvey W. "Thoughts on the New 'Worship Book',"
Concordia Journal 2 (1976), 113-116.
- Wentz, Abdel R. A Basic History of Lutheranism in America.
Philadelphia: Fortress, 1955.
A revised and expanded edition was published,
in which the printer made no change in the title page.

- _____. The Lutheran Church in American History. Philadelphia: United Lutheran Publishing House, 1923.
- Wicks, Jared. "The Movement of Eucharistic Theology," Chicago Studies 10 (1971), 267-284.
- Willebrands, John Cardinal. "The International Roman Catholic/Lutheran Dialogue: An Appraisal," One in Christ 13 (1977), 98-107.
- Wisløff, Carl F. The Gift of Communion: Luther's Controversy with Rome on Eucharistic Sacrifice. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1964.
- "Worship Today: Report on a Faith and Order Consultation," Studia Liturgica 7 (1970), 23-39.

LITERATURE - CONSULTED

- Allchin, Arnold M. "The Eucharistic Offering," Studia Liturgica 1 (1962), 101-114.
- _____. "The Liturgical Movement and Christian Unity," Studia Liturgica 1 (1962), 61-68.
- Ambrogio, Thomas E. "Lutherans and Roman Catholics on Eucharist and Sacrifice," Una Sancta 24:4 (1967), 28-45.
- Atchley, E. G. Cuthbert F. On the Epiclesis of the Eucharistic Liturgy and in the Consecration of the Font. Alcuin Club Collections, 31. London: Oxford, 1935.
- Averbeck, Wilhelm. "The Eucharist in Ecumenical Thought: An Evaluation from a Roman Catholic Point of View," Studia Liturgica 7 (1970), 37-48.
- Barclay, William. The Lord's Supper. London: SCM, 1967.
- Bergendoff, Conrad. "The Unique Character of the Reformation in Sweden," in The Symposium on Seventeenth Century Lutheranism: Selected Papers. Vol. 1. St. Louis: The Symposium . . . , 1962. Pp. 91-105.
- Bergsma, Joop. "The Eucharistic Prayer in the Non-Roman Catholic Churches of the West Today," Studia Liturgica 11 (1976), 177-185.

- Betz, Johannes. "Sacrifice and Thanksgiving," *Theology Digest* 17 (1969), 16-21.
- Boehrer, Hans. "Identity of Lutheran Worship," *Dialog* 16 (1977), 287-291.
- _____. "Liturgical Minimalism--A Second Look," *Response* 11 (1971), 89-95.
- Bouman, Walter R. "The U.L.C.A. Statement on the Sacrament: A Critique," *Una Sancta* 18:3 (1961), 8-23.
- Bouyer, Louis. *Liturgical Piety*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame, 1955.
- Brand, Eugene L. "The Development of Lutheran Worship: 1748-1978," *Partners* 2:1 (1980), 20-22.
- _____. "Inter-Lutheran Commission on Worship Releases Revised Eucharistic Prayers for the LBW," *Lutheran Forum* 11:1 (1977), 16-18.
- _____. "Liturgical Renewal: A View for the Seventies," *Lutheran Forum* 5:10 (1971), 12-17.
- Brown, Edgar S., Jr. *Living the Liturgy*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1961.
- Buszin, Walter E. "The Unity of the Church and Her Worship," *Concordia Theological Monthly* 37 (1966), 195-206.
- Cazalles, Henri. "Eucharistie, bénédiction et sacrifice dans l'Ancien Testament," *La Maison-Dieu* 123 (1975), 7-28.
- Chauvet, Louis-Marie. "La dimension sacrificielle de l'eucharistie," *La Maison-Dieu* 123 (1975), 47-78.
- Cullman, Oscar. *Early Christian Worship*. *Studies in Biblical Theology*, 10. London: SCM, 1953.
- _____. "The Meaning of the Lord's Supper in Primitive Christianity," pp. 5-23 in Oscar Cullman and F. J. Leenhardt: *Essays on the Lord's Supper*. *Ecumenical Studies in Worship*, 1. Richmond, Va.: John Knox, 1958.
- Dürig, Walter. "Centrality of Consecration," *Theology Digest* 21 (1973), 122-125.
- Edge, Thomas L. "Great Men of American Lutheranism: Luther D.

Reed," *Una Sancta* 23:4 (1966), 9-26.

Erling, Bernhard. "Communicatio Idiomatum Re-Examined," *Dialog* 2 (1963), 139-145.

Evanston, Charles J. "Worship and Sacrifice," *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 42 (1978), 347-377.

Fisher, R. H. "Luther's Stake in the Lord's Supper Controversy," *Dialog* 2 (1963), 50-59.

Frere, Walter Howard. *The Anaphora or Great Eucharistic Prayer: An Eirenic Study in Liturgical History*. London: SPCK, 1938.

Goebel, Hans. "Wilhelm Loehe and the Quest for Liturgical Principle," *Una Sancta* 22:4 (1965), 20-32.

✓ Green, Lowell C. "The Statement on Communion Practices: A Critical Appraisal," *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 41 (1977), 58-69.

Greifenstein, Hermann. "Zur Frage der praxis pietatis der römisch-katholischen und der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche," *Oecumenica* (1968), 284-299.

Grisbrooke, W. Jardine. "Intercessions at the Eucharist," *Studia Liturgica* 4 (1965), 37-55, 129-155; 5 (1966) 20-44, 87-103.

_____. "Oblation at the Eucharist," *Studia Liturgica* 3 (1964), 227-239; 4 (1965), 37-55.

Hall, Basil. "The Early Success and Gradual Decline of Lutheranism in England, 1520-1600," *Concordia Theological Monthly* 38 (1967), 576-595.

Harjunpaa, Toivo. "Lex Orandi--Lex Credendi: Reflections on the Relationship Between Liturgy and Theology," *Lutheran Quarterly* 19 (1967), 56-73.

_____. "Liturgical Developments in Sweden and Finland in the Era of Lutheran Orthodoxy," *Church History* 37 (1968), 14-35.

Heineken, Martin J. "A Reply to 'Communion Practices'," *Dialog* 18 (1979), 285-292.

Herbert, A. S. *Worship in Ancient Israel*. Ecumenical Studies

- in Worship; 5. London: Lutterworth, 1959.
- Hicks, F. C. N. *The Fullness of Sacrifice: An Essay in Reconciliation*. London: SPCK, 1959.
- Higgins, A. J. B. *The Lord's Supper in the New Testament*. *Studies in Biblical Theology*, 6. London: SCM, 1952.
- Horn, Henry E. "The 'Philadelphia Tradition' and the Lutheran Book of Worship," *Lutheran Forum* 12:1 (1978), 5-10.
- _____. "Second Thoughts About the LBW," *Lutheran Forum* 14:1 (1980), 22-24. Response article: Bougher, Aubrey N. "Second Thoughts About 'Second Thoughts'," *ibid.*, 24-28.
- Hughes, John Jay. "Eucharistic Sacrifice: Transcending the Reformation Deadlock," *Worship* 43 (1969), 532-544.
- Jensen, John W. "Liturgy of the Spirit," *Lutheran Quarterly* 26 (1974), 189-203.
- Jenson, Robert W. "Communion Malpractices," *Dialog* 18 (1979), 4-7.
- _____. "Eucharist: Its Relative Necessity, Specific Warrant, and Traditional Order," *Dialog* 14 (1975), 122-133.
- Johnson, Charles E. "The Church of Sweden in Revival," *Una Sancta* 22:2 (1965), 47-50.
- Jordahl, Leigh D. "Folk Church, Liturgy and Ceremony: or, Can We Avoid Disaster?," *Dialog* 14 (1975), 114-121.
- _____. "Liturgy and Ceremony: Catholic-Protestant Cross Currents," *Worship* 44 (1970), 171-181.
- _____. "New Winds of Liturgical Renewal in the USA," *Lutheran World* 21 (1974), 15-23.
- Journet, Charles. "Le sacrifice de la Messe," *Nova et Vetera* 44 (1971), 241-250.
- Kavanagh, Aidan. "Thoughts on the Roman Anaphora," *Worship* 39 (1965), 515-529; 40 (1966), 2-15.
- Kennedy, V. L. "The Moment of Consecration and the Elevation of the Host," *Medieval Studies* 6 (1944), 121-150.
- Kidd, B. J. *The Later Medieval Doctrine of the Eucharistic*

Sacrifice. Church Historical Society, 46. (1898). Reprinted, London: SPCK, 1958.

Klein, Leonard R. "Reflecting on Visible Words: A Bone of Contention that Demands Attention," *Lutheran Forum* 13:3 (1979), S19-S22.

Klein, Walter C. "Words of Memory: Royden Keith Yerkes (1881-1964)," *Anglican Theological Review* 49 (1967), 296-305.

Knust, Romanus. "The Eucharist in Ecumenical Dialogue: A Consideration of the Liturgical Pronouncements of the Confession of Augsburg," *Studia Liturgica* 7:4 (1970), 1-22.

Krodel, Gottfried G. "Lord's Supper in the Theology of the Young Luther," *Lutheran Quarterly* 13 (1961), 19-33.

Lathrop, Gordon W. "Pastoral Liturgical Theology and the Lutheran Book of Worship: A Reconnaissance," *Dialog* 18 (1979), 108-113.

_____. "The Prayers of Jesus and the Great Prayer of the Church," *Lutheran Quarterly* 26 (1974), 158-173.

Ligier, Louis. "The Origins of the Eucharistic Prayer: From the Last Supper to the Eucharist," *Studia Liturgica* 9 (1973), 161-185.

Lindemann, Herbert. "Constancy and Change: Mode and Mood in Lutheran Worship," *Response* 13:3 (1973), 5-14.

McCue, James F. "Luther and Roman Catholicism on the Mass as Sacrifice," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 2 (1965), 205-233.

McKenna, John H. *Eucharist and Holy Spirit: The Eucharistic Epiclesis in Twentieth Century Theology* (1900-1966). Alcuin Club Collections, 57. Great Wakering: Mayhew-McCrimmon, 1975.

Marshall, Paul V. "The Eucharistic Rite of the Lutheran Book of Worship," *Worship* 54 (1980), 246-256.

Mascall, E. L. "Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Reformation," *Theology* 64 (1961), 310-316.

Olson, Oliver K. "Luther's 'Catholic Minimum'," *Response* 11 (1970), 17-31.

- Pelikan, Jeroslav. *Obedient Rebels: Catholic Substance and Protestant Principle in Luther's Reformation*. New York: Harper & Row, 1964.
- Piepkorn, Arthur Carl. "Christ Today: His Presence in the Sacraments," *Lutheran World* 10 (1963), 267-287.
- Power, David N. "Words that Crack: The Uses of 'Sacrifice' in Eucharistic Discourse," *Worship* 53 (1979), 386-404.
- Prenter, Regin. "Tradition and Renewal in the Liturgy," *Response* 8 (1966/1967), 5-11.
- _____. "Worship and Creation," *Studia Liturgica* 2 (1963), 82-95.
- Rahner, Karl. *Theological Investigations*. Vol. 4. Baltimore: Helicon, 1966.
- Ratzinger, Joseph. "Is the Eucharist a Sacrifice?", *Concilium* 4:3 (1967), 35-40.
- Reed, Luther D. "New Features of the Recent Lutheran Liturgy in America," *Studia Liturgica* 1 (1962), 21-30.
- _____. "A Pan-Lutheran Liturgy and Hymnal," *Response* 7 (1966), 205-210.
- Santmire, H. Paul. "The Shape of the Liturgy: A Review Article," *Lutheran Quarterly* 19 (1967), 34-55.
- Sasse, Hermann. "Liturgy and Lutheranism," *Una Sancta* 8:3 (1948), 6-18.
- _____. "The Lord's Supper in the Life of the Church," *Una Sancta* 17:3 (1960), 4-11.
- Schaaf, James L. "Wilhelm Loehe and the Missouri Synod," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 45 (1972), 53-67.
- Schram, Glenn N. "One Man's 'nay' to LBW," *Lutheran Forum* 12:4 (1978), 24-25.
- Schweizer, Eduard. *The Lord's Supper According to the New Testament*. Facet Books, Biblical Series, 18. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1967.
- Seybold, Ernst. "Wilhelm Loehe," *Una Sancta* 14:3 (1957), 11-15.

Skibbe, Eugene M. "Reaction to the Arnoldshain Theses on the Lord's Supper," *Lutheran Quarterly* 12 (1960), 249-255.

Stephenson, Anthony A. "Two Views of the Mass: Medieval Linguistic Ambiguities," *Theological Studies* 22 (1961), 588-609.

Talley, Thomas J. "The Eucharistic Prayer: Directions for Development," *Worship* 51 (1977), 316-325.

_____. "The Eucharistic Prayer of the Ancient Church According to Recent Research: Results and Reflections," *Studia Liturgica* 11 (1976), 138-158.

_____. "From Berakah to Eucharistia: A Reopening Question," *Worship* 50 (1976), 115-137.

Thurian, Max. *The One Bread*. New York: Sheed & Ward, 1969.

_____. "The Present Aims of the Liturgical Movement," *Studia Liturgica* 3 (1964), 107-114.

Vajta, Volmos. "Liturgical Cooperation in the Lutheran World Federation," *Una Sancta* 16:4 (1959), 4-8.

_____. "The Theological Basis and Nature of the Liturgy," *Lutheran World* 6 (1959/1960), 234-246.

van Beeck, F.-J. "Towards an Ecumenical Understanding of the Sacraments," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 3 (1966), 57-112.

Verinus, Titus [pseud.]. "The Moment at Which the Sacramental Union Begins," *Una Sancta* 17:3 (1960), 12-18.

Verkamp, Bernard J. "The Limits upon Adiaphoristic Freedom: Luther and Melancthon," *Theological Studies* 36 (1975), 52-76.

Vischer, Lukas. "The Eucharist: Sign of Unity and Renewal," *Studia Liturgica* 6 (1969), 30-39.

_____. "Questions on the Eucharist: Its Past and Future Celebration," *Studia Liturgica* 5 (1966), 65-86.

Völz, Carl. "Lex Orandi, Lex Credendi: or, Prayer and Profession," *Response* 14:2 (1974), 17-22.

von Allmen, Jean-Jacques. *The Lord's Supper*. Ecumenical Stu-

dies in Worship, 19. Richmond, Va.: John Knox, 1969.

— . Worship: Its Theology and Practice. London: Lutterworth, 1965.

Watteville, J. de. Le Sacrifice dans les textes eucharistiques des premiers siècles. Neuchatel: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1966.

Webber, F. R. Studies in the Liturgy. Erie, Pa.: Ashby, 1938.

Weil, Louis. "The New Lutheran Book of Worship: Ministers Edition," Worship 52 (1978), 400-403.

White, Joyce L. "The Affiliation of Seven Swedish Lutheran Churches with the Episcopal Church," Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church 46 (1977), 171-186.

Wilken, Robert L. "The Liturgy and the Lutheran Book of Worship," Dialog 17 (1978), 4-5.

Wisløff, Carl F. "Worship and Sacrifice," Lutheran World 2 (1955/1956), 345-355.

Wood, A. S. "Luther's Approach to Worship," Lutheran Quarterly 13 (1961), 213-218.

Yerkes, Royden Keith. Sacrifice in Greek and Roman Religions and Early Judaism. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1953.

LUTHER'S PRINCIPLE EUCHARISTIC AND

LITURGICAL WORKS

1519

Eyn Sermon von dem Hochwirdigen Sacrament des Heyligen Waren
Leychnams Christi Und von den Bruderschafften.
The Blessed Sacrament of the Holy and True Body of Christ
and the Brotherhoods.

WA 2:742-758

LW 35:45-73

1520

De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiae. Praeludium Martini Lutheri.

The Babylonian Captivity of the Church.

WA 6:497-573

LW 36:3-126

Eyn sermon von dem newen Testament, das ist von der heylige Messe. D. M. L. A.

A Treatise on the New Testament, that is, The Holy Mass.

WA 6:353-378

LW 35:75-111

1521

Sermon von der würdigen Empfahung des heiligen wahren Leichnams Christi, gethan am Gründonnerstag (28. März 1521):

Sermon on the Worthy Reception of the Sacrament.

WA 7:692-697

LW 42:167-177

Vom Missbrauch der Messe.

The Misuse of the Mass.

WA 8:482-563

LW 36:127-230

1522

Von beider Gestalt des Sakraments zu nehmen.

Receiving Both Kinds in the Sacrament.

WA 10,2:11-41

LW 36:231-267

1523

Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Vuittembergensi.

An Order of Mass and Communion.

WA 12:205-220

LW 53:15-40

Von Anbeten des Sakraments des heiligen Leichnams Christi.

The Adoration of the Sacrament.

WA 11:431-456

LW 36:269-305

Von ordenung gottis diensts ynn der gemeyne.

Concerning the Order of Public Worship.

WA 12:35-37

LW 53:11-14

1525

Vom Greuel der Stillmессe.
The Abomination of the Secret Mass.

WA 18:22-36

LW 36:307-328

Wider die himmlischen Propheten, von den Bildern und Sakrament.
Against the Heavenly Prophets in the Matter of Images and
Sacraments.

WA 18:62-125;134-214

LW 40:73-223

1526

Deutsche Messe und ordnung Gottis diensts.
The German Mass.

WA 19:72-113

LW 53:51-90

Sermon von dem Sacrament des leibs und bluts Christi, widder
die Schwarmgeister.

The Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ--Against the
Fanatics.

WA 19:482-523

LW 36:329-361

1527

Das diese wort Christi (Das ist mein leib etce) noch fest
stehen widder die schwarmgeister.

That These Words of Christ "This is My Body, etc." Still
Stand Firm Against the Fanatics.

WA 23:64-283

LW 37:3-150

1528

Unterricht der Visitatoren an die Pfarhern ym Kurfurstenthum
zu Sachssen.

Instructions for Visitors of Parish Pastors in Electoral
Saxony.

WA 26:195-240

LW 40:263-320

Vom abendmal Christi, Bekendnis.
Confession Concerning Christ's Supper.

WA 26:261-509

LW 37:151-372

1530

Vermanung zum Sacrament des leibs und bluts unsers Herrn (Christi).

Admonition Concerning the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord.

WA 30,2:595-626

LW 38:91-137

1533

Von der Winkelmesse und Pfaffen Weyhe.

The Private Mass and the Consecration of Priests.

WA 38:195-256

LW 38:139-214

1534

Ein Brief D. Martin Luthers von seinem Buch der Winkelmessen.

A Letter of Doctor Martin Luther Concerning his Book on the Private Mass.

WA 38:262-272

LW 38:215-233

1544

Kurzes Bekenntnis vom heiligen Sakrament.

Brief Confession Concerning the Holy Sacrament.

WA 54:141-167

LW 38:279-319

THE REINTRODUCTION OF THE EUCHARISTIC PRAYER
IN THE LUTHERAN CHURCHES
OF NORTH AMERICA

by Leander. J. Ecola

ABSTRACT

The Roman Canon, the only form of eucharistic prayer known to him, was suppressed by Martin Luther in his Mass revisions of 1523 and 1526. In the Formula Missae (1523), all of the orations from the Te igitur, through the Per quem haec omnia, were abolished, and the Dominical Words of Institution (Verba) were inserted in the eucharistic Preface. In the Deutsche Messe (1526), the Preface was itself suppressed, except for Luther's rewritten Sanctus, and the Verba were thus left standing alone, following the recitation of a eucharistic Admonition or Exhortation. The vast majority of Lutheran liturgies, down to the present time, have followed the Reformer's lead in this matter--although there were individual liturgies, in the Reformation period and later, which kept alive the precedent for a eucharistic prayer, by placing other brief prayers (for consecration, for the communicants, or general intercessions) in conjunction with the Verba.

Agitation for a recovered full eucharistic prayer be-

gan to be felt during the decade of the 1930's, in North American Lutheranism; and this desire was honored through the inclusion of officially approved eucharistic prayer texts in the Service Book and Hymnal of 1958 and in the Lutheran Book of Worship of 1978. (The soon to be published Lutheran Worship, of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, will evidence a reaction against the eucharistic prayer form, by not including such a text among its liturgical materials.)

This work is a historical survey of the use of the eucharistic prayer in Lutheranism, with modern North American Lutheranism as its particular focus. Among background topics discussed are the nature and form of the eucharistic prayer, and the medieval Church's understanding of the Sacrifice of the Mass. Luther's scriptural insights led him to reject that understanding of the Mass, as well as the Canon in which he found it epitomized. The second chapter is a study of Luther's eucharistic theology, organized under the rubrics of "Sacrifice" and "Real Presence." The third chapter studies the ritual form given to Luther's eucharistic theology in his two Mass projects; attention is also given to those Kirchenordnungen of the Reformation period, which included prayer forms in conjunction with the Verba. The fourth chapter focuses on the development of North American Lutheran liturgy, with special attention being given to the "Common Service" of 1888, to the rite of the Synod of Ohio (disused since 1930, this rite contained what are evalu-

ated to be adequate eucharistic prayer formulations), to a variety of private twentieth century proposals, and finally to the official work leading to the approved eucharistic prayers of 1958 and 1978. Lesser attention is given to the development of eucharistic prayer texts in European Lutheranism, as well. The final chapter surveys the present state of eucharistic theology in North American Lutheranism, and attempts to assess the future of the eucharistic prayer in this Church.

The specific contributions of this work are:

1. Providing the doctrinal and liturgical history which has just been outlined.
2. Discussing a number of Lutheran warrants for the use of the eucharistic prayer (from both Luther and the Lutheran Confessions), which do not appear to have been so assessed elsewhere.
3. Noting that Lutherans have traditionally used the Lord's Prayer and eucharistic Exhortations as eucharistic prayer "substitutes," in periods when the eucharistic prayer form itself has been in disuse.
4. Collecting all relevant liturgical texts in a convenient appendix, and providing for their discussion.