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A COMPARISON OF A TYPICAL ROMAN CATHOLIC MASS
OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY WITH
THE WORSHIP SERVICES DEVELOPED BY MARTIN LUTHER

By

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INTRODUCTION

A COMPARISON OF A TYPICAL ROMAN CATHOLIC MASS
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INTRODUCTION

A. The Problem Stated and Explained

It is important to remember that medieval history forms part of the history of the Lutheran Church, for the Lutheran Church was not a creation of the sixteenth century but a reformation and purification of the historic Church. Much that the Lutheran Church possesses in matters of faith, worship, and life is a result of the care and the creative enrichment of the medieval centuries.¹ However, because of the impurity in doctrine and practice that developed in the liturgy, the worship service was not satisfactory for those who protested against the severe evils of the Roman Catholic Church.

The problem of this thesis is that of discovering what Martin Luther accepted and rejected of the Roman Catholic Mass and the criteria for his selections. After Luther became convinced that the Mass as celebrated by the Roman Church was not in accordance with Scriptural truth, he was compelled to institute reforms in the Church. This thesis will attempt to trace the development of these reforms, comparing the worship service which resulted with the Mass upon which it was originally based.

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1. Cf. Reed, Luther, D: The Lutheran Liturgy, p. 67.

B. The Sources

The primary sources will be the Works of Martin Luther, Vol. II and VI which contains his liturgical writings, and An Outline of Christian Worship. Others that are used are: The Mass by Joseph A. Dunney, and Thou Art Peter by Howell-Smith. Other books and periodicals which aid in resolving the problem will be used.

C. The Plan of Procedure

The first chapter will contain historical background leading into a look at a typical Mass of the Roman Church of the sixteenth century, one of which might have been attended by Martin Luther himself.

The second chapter will outline the main liturgical works of Martin Luther. His three Orders of Divine Worship will be examined for form and purpose, especially noting the position of the Lord's Supper.

Showing the similarities and the differences as meaning is expressed through the ritual pattern of the Roman Catholic Mass and the liturgies of Luther will be the object of chapter three.

Then there will be a summary and a conclusion consisting of the results of the study of the stated problem.

D. Definition of Terms

Canon of the Mass--This is the most solemn part of the Mass in which the Sacrificial Act proper takes place, the Consecration and the changing of the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ.¹

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1. The New Catholic Dictionary, Vatican Edition, p. 164.

Oblation -- This is the offering of the Altar bread about to be consecrated. It is placed on the paten and raised aloft by the priest with his eyes on the crucifix.¹

Introit -- This is a fragment of a psalm with antiphon recited by the celebrant of Mass after finishing the prayers at the foot of the Altar and chanted by the choir at High Mass.²

1. The New Catholic Dictionary, Vatican Edition, p. 691.
2. Ibid., p. 487.

CHAPTER I

THE CONCEPTION AND EXPRESSION OF THE LORD'S SUPPER

IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY MASS (ROMAN RITE)

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CHAPTER I

THE CONCEPTION AND EXPRESSION OF THE LORD'S SUPPER
IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY MASS (ROMAN RITE)

A. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present a historical background, showing the development of Eucharistic ideas and doctrines and their expression through the church liturgy in the Christian church history, in order to understand the conception and expression of the Lord's Supper in the celebration of the Mass of the Roman Catholic Church of the sixteenth century. The meaning, types of masses, and implications will be studied, and there will be a specific study of a typical Roman rite of the sixteenth century.

B. Historical Background

1. The Last Supper of the Lord.

It was at the last supper of our Lord and his disciples that the Lord's Supper as a sacrament was instituted. The words used by our Lord at this occasion are found in Matthew 26: 26-30; Mark 14: 22-26; Luke 22: 14-20; and First Corinthians 11: 23-26; and this

event is recorded by John in chapters 13-17. It is impossible to know from the records of the New Testament the exact nature of the meal. Some believe that this supper was the Passover meal. Others think that it may have been the Kiddush, which is a meal held before the great feasts or before the Sabbath.¹ The church traditionally has followed John's account which set the date for the Last Supper on the day before the Passover.² If ~~this were~~ the day, it is possible that the meal was the Kiddush.

Upon taking the position that this supper was the Kiddush, the usual procedure of this type of meal may be profitably examined. The meal was begun with the breaking of bread which was followed by the grace. Then the group had fellowship together as they ate. On solemn occasions the meal was closed with the recitation of a Jewish prayer of blessing over the cup (not Paul's phrase, "the cup of blessing"). After the leader or head of the group had sipped, the cup was passed around to all.³

This type of meal was not uncommon to the followers of Jesus. The breaking of bread and the drinking of wine was a usual occurrence at meal time, and its being offered on the evening of the Lord's last supper could not have been a new experience for them. Because it was a native custom, they broke bread together and probably would continue to do so in that same way. But that night Jesus gave the supper a new

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1. Pittenger, W. Norman,: The Christian Sacrifice, p. 33.
2. Cf. Ibid., p. 35.
3. Dix, Gregory: The Shape of the Liturgy, p.52.

meaning. After Jesus concluded blessing the bread after breaking it, he said, "This is my body;" and after they had drunk of the cup, Jesus said, "for this is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many for the forgiveness of sins."¹ The breaking of bread and the drinking of wine from the cup no longer meant the same thing to the disciples.

2. The early Christian church's observance of the Lord's Supper.

Following Jesus' resurrection, the early Christians were together daily for a "common meal, prayer, Psalms or hymns, an exhortation, and in some form the Eucharist"(Acts 2: 42, 46; 4: 24; 6: 2-4; etc.).² Gradually the Christians began to grasp the sacrificial significance of our Lord's death and its redemptive purpose, and there was a development in the understanding and interpretation of the Lord's Supper which in turn was expressed in their worship.³

Similarities between the Eucharist and the Jewish ritual of the Passover are discovered when comparing the psalms that were sung at the communion and those that were sung at the Passover. The Hosanna, the Alleluia, the Sanctus with its introduction had forms that revealed Jewish origins. The Eucharistic prayer was related to the 135th Psalm which is sung at the Passover. The Missa Fidelium began with the washing of the priest's hands which is Jewish in origin. All these rites are liturgical links between the Jewish ritual and the Eucharist.⁴

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1. Lowrie, Walter: The Lord's Supper and the Liturgy, p. 8.
2. Reed, Luther, D: The Lutheran Liturgy, p. 26.
3. Cf. Ibid., pp. 26-27.
4. Cf. Brilioth, Yngve: Eucharistic Faith and Practice Evangelical and Catholic, p. 39.

The Christian community continued to hold meals of fellowship of which the breaking of bread was a customary part. These meals were called "love feasts" or agape. There was not always a reverent atmosphere, and so after a time, a distinction was made between those who were holding a memorial of our Lord's sacrifice and those who had gathered for fellowship.¹ After this the ceremonial meal of the memorial had as its only object the pointing-up of the memorial itself, and so it came to have more importance and reality.²

3. The development of the sacrificial idea.

The sacrificial terms of Judaism were used by the Christians in a new sense after Jesus Christ's death and resurrection. Sacrifice had meant two things to the Jews. One was a preparation and the other a communion with the Deity.³ The Christians continued to carry out the idea of sacrifice as they brought their gifts as offerings to God and received from Him His grace and mercy. Jesus Christ was the perfect sacrifice, for he not only died for men's sins but it was also through him that men received mercy.⁴ When the Christians began to use the sacrificial terms definitely to denote the idea of the Eucharistic sacrifice is hard to determine.⁵ During the third and fourth centuries the idea was apparent.⁶

As the liturgy and the theory of the Eucharist developed, Holy Communion was conceived as having greater and greater importance,

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1. Cf. Pittenger, op. cit., p. 49.
2. Cf. Ibid., p. 50.
3. Cf. Tucker, M. A. R.: The Liturgy in Rome, p. 2.
4. Cf. Ibid.
5. Cf. Brilioth, op. cit., pp. 42-43.
6. Cf. Ibid., p. 23.

especially after the Council of Nicaea in 325.¹ This centered about the controversy concerning the nature of the God-Man. It was believed by St. Cyril of Jerusalem, Theoderet and others that there was a miraculous union of the Virgin-born with the bread and wine.² The writings of other Fathers of the Church expressed their views. To St. Ignatius the Eucharist was "'the flesh of our Saviour Christ' celebrated in 'the place of sacrifice'".³ Justin Martyr thought that the offering of gifts was an important part of the Eucharist, whereas St. Irenaeus closely connected the rite to the Incarnation itself. Hippolytus of Rome summed up the idea of the Eucharist as being a true "'oblation of the Holy Church' associated with the offering by the people of their gifts."⁴ He did not consider the bread as being merely symbolic of the body of Christ; to him the bread was much more than a symbol. St. Augustine, whose writings Roman Catholics and Protestants have studied, spoke of the "Body and Blood of our Lord as verily present in Holy Communion," along with his emphasis upon the necessity of partaking of Holy Communion in faith and in a Godly spirit in order to receive a spiritual blessing.⁵ To all of these people the Eucharist was the central part of the service.⁶

Stories began to be told to prove that there was a magical transformation of the elements. For example, it is told that during the time of Gregory the Great a woman who was receiving the sacraments

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1. Qualben, Lars P: A History of the Christian Church, p. 121.
2. von Hase, Karl: Handbook to the Controversy with Rome, vol. II, p. 248.
3. Pittenger, op. cit., p. 55.
4. Ibid., p. 57.
5. Cf. van Hase, op. cit., p. 249.
6. Cf. Pittenger, op. cit., p. 58.

laughed aloud as she listened to the words: "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy soul!" The bread, she declared, could not be the actual body of the Lord because she had baked the bread herself that morning. In order that the Lord might strengthen her faith, the priest took the woman's portion and laid it under the altar cloth. When he lifted the corner again, a bloody finger lay there.¹ By the ninth century there were many such legends in the Church.² It was Paschasius Radbertus who first put into treatise form the conception that the "substance of the bread and wine through the all-embracing creative power of God is changed into the Body born of the Virgin."³ Radbertus held that "this is my body ... this is my blood" must be taken literally. When Christ said "do this in memory of me", he was establishing the order of the priests by giving them the power to perform this miracle that was first performed at the Last Supper. After that, when the priests pronounced the words of consecration, this miracle took place. As the communicant took of the sacraments, he was supernaturally nourished in soul and body. Radbertus presented these doctrines to the King of the Franks, Charles the Bald, in 844 in his book, The Body and the Blood of the Lord.⁴

There was great literary opposition to this interpretation. Ratramnus, who was one of the theologians who followed the Augustinian tradition, was consulted by the King. In his rebuttal he sought to

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1. Cf. von Hase, op. cit., p. 250.
2. Cf. von Hase, op. cit., p. 252.
3. Ibid., p. 253.
4. Howell-Smith, A. D.: Thou Art Peter, p. 268.

distinguish between the body that was present on the altar "in mystery" and "in figure" and in "the body which was born of Mary, and suffered, died, and was buried."¹ One was a corporeal transformation and the other a spiritual one. To illustrate what he meant by "figure", he cited John 15: 1: "I am the true vine." Another outstanding opponent of Radbertus was Hrabanus Maurus, Archbishop of Mainz. The idea of identifying the Eucharistic body with the physical body of Christ was new to him. He believed that Christ had three bodies. One was the glorified body that was born of the Virgin Mary; another was the "corruptible" body, which consists of mortal men who compose the Church; and the other is the "consumable" body "which is offered on the altar and communicated to the faithful."²

Public opinion carried great force in the settling of a dispute. Radbertus had depicted Holy Communion as the common people understood it.³ Two centuries later when Berengarius disagreed with the idea of the actual transformation, he was forced by higher authorities to confess that he had been mistaken. After that there were very few who dared to stand against that dogma.⁴

4. The Liturgical development

a. The first three centuries

Early worship was of two kinds. There were Jewish Christians who continued to attend a synagogue or the temple in Jerusalem. Besides

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1. Howell-Smith, op. cit., p. 269.
2. Ibid., pp. 269-70.
3. Cf. Ibid., p. 270.
4. Cf. von Hase, op. cit., p. 254.

attending these customary places of worship, they met together in private groups for fellowship and prayer. Then, about twenty years after Easter and Pentecost, there were also Gentile-Christians. Instead of daily gatherings they chose to assemble on the first day of the week in order to commemorate the resurrection of Christ.

The first part of the worship service was general in character, and so non-Christians were allowed to attend, but the second part of the service was for believers only. They read from the Old Testament and from letters of the Apostles. They sang together (Colossians 3: 16), prayed (I Timothy 2: 1), taught and prophesied. Baptism was regularly observed, and offerings were received. The agape, a semi-religious meal, preceded the Eucharist, but it was during this time that the early Christians began to grasp the significance of our Lord's death and to give this memorial more importance.

During the second century the Eucharist is found as the central act of worship. Confession preceded the Eucharist. Then, there was a prayer of thanksgiving and the Words of Institution. Other notable features were the singing of hymns and the spontaneous participation of the people with short exclamations such as Amen, Hallelujah, and Kyrie Eleison (Lord, have mercy upon us). There were certain liturgical responses and simple litany forms which the people knew from memory that they used also. Justin Martyr, c. 165, wrote a description of the assemblies of the Christians: They read from the Old Testament and the Gospels, listened to a sermon by the president, stood while praying common prayers together,² and used

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1. Cf. Reed, op. cit., pp. 25-27.

2. Cf. Ibid., pp. 28-32.

the Kiss of Peace.¹ The Kiss of Peace remained in the liturgy for many years. The words accompanying the rite still ring familiarly as a part of the liturgical heritage. They are: "The peace of God be with you all", and the people answered, "And with thy spirit."² A more formal type of worship was in evidence in this century.³

The earliest form of the Eucharistic Prayer which later developed into the Canon of the Mass was preserved in a book by Hippolytus during the third century. Besides including the Prayer of Consecration of the bread and wine, it was a summary of the Christian faith. The Prayer of Consecration was used in every liturgy in Africa as early as the third century, and it included the Salutation and the Sursum Corda (Lift up your hearts). Cyprian, bishop of Carthage (d. 258), mentions the Kyrie Eleison, the exclamation "Thanks be to God", and the use of the Lord's Prayer following the Consecration of the bread and wine in relation to their worship services. Other customs were to mingle water with wine and to allow the celebrant to partake of the bread and the wine first. It was customary for the people to stand during the reading of the Gospel. A prayer known as the Prayer to the Faithful, which was a general prayer for those inside and outside the Church and for the rulers of the land, became an important feature of the service.⁴

b. From the fourth to the ninth centuries

This freer and more spontaneous period closed with Constantine's decree of 313 A.D. The people were able to hold public worship services

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1. Cf. Reed, op. cit., pp. 29-32.
2. Brillioth, op. cit., p. 31.
3. Cf. Reed, op. cit., p. 32.
4. Cf. Ibid., pp. 33, 34.

and daily communion was taken for granted.¹ This change in the social status of the Christians brought about important changes. The worship services became more solemn and ceremonial.² The Christians began borrowing ornamentation from their pagan neighbors, and the service became more elaborate. There were processions and festival days. Great basilicas were erected.³ The foundation for the liturgy that was used centuries later had been formed.

Since a study of the Western liturgy is the main interest of this thesis, the focus from this point on will be limited to that phase of its development. In the fourth century Rome took an important step. The Greek which had been used rather universally in the Christian Church was replaced by Latin, their native tongue. This opened the way for much local development, and so during the fourth and fifth centuries Latin rites began to emerge from the local churches. Very little specific information is known about this period, but by the sixth century two main rites were in existence. These two rites continued to develop side by side until the tenth century.⁴

The two main rites that developed were classified as the Roman rites and the Gallican rites. At first, the Roman rites developed and were used only in Rome. They were probably less influenced by the East than were the Gallican rites which had spread all over the rest of

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1. Cf. Brilioth, op. cit., p. 32.

2. Cf. Maxwell, William D.: An Outline of Christian Worship, p. 55.

3. Cf. Reed, op. cit., p. 35.

4. Cf. Maxwell, op. cit., p. 45.

Europe. This Eastern influence upon the Gallican rites probably came through Milan.¹ Symbolism, drama, incense, and other sensuous elements were a part of the Gallican rites. The services seem to have been choral. The people took part in the Gallican rites with responses and musical parts. They were led in litanies by the deacon who also administered the Cup at communion. The Lord's Prayer was probably recited by all. Their prayers were longer and elaborate as contrasted with the austere prayers of the Roman rites. The rites were colorful and elaborate which was a natural development of liturgy among more barbarous people than those at Rome.²

The people of Rome were practical, austere, terse. These characteristics were evident in their concisely worded Masses. The best material for a study of the early development of their liturgies are the three sacramentaries: The Leonine Sacramentary, which is a compilation of fourth and fifth century materials; the Gelasian Sacramentary, which is based upon Gelasius' work (c. 492) and later additions; and the Gregorian Sacramentary, which was based upon the reforms of Gregory the Great who was pope from 590 to 604 A.D. In contrast to the Gallican congregational participation, the musical parts in these liturgies were rendered by trained singers, and the responses were led by the deacon.³ The Roman rites were influenced by the Gallican rites as were the Gallican rites by the Roman, so that towards the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century, there were not great differences in

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1. Reed, op. cit., p. 51.
2. Cf. Maxwell, op. cit., pp. 53-55.
3. Cf. Ibid., pp. 55, 56.

the types. Because of the supremacy of the Roman See in the ninth century, the Gallican rites were suppressed and only the Roman rites were properly used.¹

c. From the ninth century until the sixteenth century

The Roman rites were used in most of the churches, but there was variation in how they were used by the different churches. The most important variations were in the ceremony and its emphasis rather than in the text. The Canon, for instance, had remained practically unchanged since the sixth century.² It had become customary for the priests to say the prayers inaudibly for the most part, but the people were able to follow his progress by his actions. The Introit, Kyries, Gloria in excelsis, Gradual, Tract or Sequence, Nicene Creed, Offertory, responses to Sursum Corda, Sanctus, Benedictus qui venit, Agnus Dei, Communion were sung by the choir.³ The use of genuflections, lights, incense, bell-ringing, the elevation of the Host or the bread at the Words of Institution were all elaborations borrowed from the Gallican rites.⁴ "At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the celebration of the Lord's Supper in the Western Church had become a dramatic spectacle," ...⁵

C. The Definition and Implication of the Mass

In order to understand and appreciate the motives that guided Luther in his liturgical reforms, one must know what Luther was reforming

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1. Cf. Maxwell, op. cit., p. 45.
2. Cf. Ibid., pp. 45-46.
3. Cf. Ibid., p. 71.
4. Cf. Ibid., p. 58.
5. Ibid., p. 72.

and why he desired to reform it. Some of the material used in this section concerning the implications and meaning of the Mass was taken from contemporary works. Since there were very few major changes in the doctrine of the Eucharist or in the liturgy of the Mass since the time of the Reformation, this use of available information was felt justifiable. The liturgy that Luther sought to revise had developed to what it was at the time of the Reformation as part of the growth of the doctrine of the Church. Therefore, the following study of the meaning and implications of the Mass will help to clarify the principles involved in the Mass that Luther knew.

1. Definition of Mass

a. Derivation of the Word

The word "mass" is derived from missa or missio, and the earliest evidence of the use of the word, missa, is found in a letter that St. Ambrose of Milan wrote to his sister during the fourth century. The word missio or missa means "dismissal." It was probably taken from the sentence "Ite, missa est" ("Go, you are dismissed"). During the earlier years of Christianity, the catechumens and penitents left the worship service after the reading of the Gospel or before the Offertory because they were not allowed to see the sacrifice of Christ's body and blood as were the faithful. They left the service after the priest said, "Ite , missa est."¹ This sentence was repeated again by the priest at the close of the Eucharist, the second part of the service.²

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1. Howell-Smith, op. cit., pp. 277, 278.

2. Cf. Sullivan, John F.: The Externals of the Catholic Church, p. 96.

For a people to whom Latin was unfamiliar, the word missa came to signify¹ that part of the service having to do with the Eucharist. Because of the common usage of the word missa in referring to the Eucharistic part of the service, missa became the official name for the Eucharist in the Latin Church.²

b. Meaning of the Mass

The Mass was the focal point of the western church worship, for it was the center of the Christian life of the people. The prayers and the ritual of the liturgy were centered around the sacrifice of the Mass,³ and officiating at the Mass was the primary function of the priests.⁴ For the people of Luther's time it was "our supreme act of worship towards God, our Maker and Father. Through it we render him our reverence and thanksgiving."⁵ Through it the people gave their thanks to God, offered themselves to Him in self-oblation, and asked for forgiveness of their sins. Through it they also received nourishment for their souls.⁶ Christ was "truly, really, and substantially present" in the Mass making the sacrament of the Eucharist the most vital of all the sacraments of the Roman Christian Church.⁷

The Mass was a sacrament, for it was a provision by which grace might be given to man by God through ordinary means.⁸ It was a true sacrament, for there was "an outward sign of an inward grace, instituted by Christ."⁹ The Scriptures proclaimed Christ's promises of an inward

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1. Cf. Rizzo, Michael: Reappraisal of Roman Catholicism. Booklet No. 1-- The Mass or the Lord's Supper, p. 1.
2. Cf. Howell-Smith, op. cit., p. 277.
3. Cf. Sullivan, op. cit., p. 95.
4. Cf. Smith George D., ed: A Summary of Catholic Doctrine, Vol II, p. 840.
5. Sullivan, op. cit., p. 95.
6. Cf. Ibid.
7. Cf. Smith, op. cit., p. 840.
8. Cf. Ibid., p. 839.
9. Zacchello, Joseph: Secrets of Romanism, p. 53.

blessing in the sixth chapter of St. John.¹ After partaking of the food at the Lord's Table, which was the human body and the blood of Christ as well as his soul and divinity, the communicant's soul was nourished. The inward grace was indicated by the outward sign. The outward signs were: the bread and the wine, the Words of Consecration, and the outward appearances of the bread and wine after the consecration.² Not only did the communicant receive grace but "Jesus Christ Himself, the Author of all grace."³

The Mass was not only a sacrament but a sacrifice:

A sacrifice, properly so called, is an oblation or offering of some sensible thing made to God by a lawful minister, to acknowledge, by destruction or other change in the thing offered the sovereign power of God, and to render him the homage due to his Supreme Majesty.⁴

Christ as that sacrifice became a dogma of the Church at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, and that dogma is known as the doctrine of transubstantiation.⁵ Thomas Aquinas, born ten years after the Fourth Lateran Council, accepted this doctrine as an indisputable dogma that had been taught by the Fathers and endorsed by Jesus at the Last Supper. He believed that, since Christ had said at that supper the words "this is my body" and "this is my blood," that the bread and wine at Mass became the Incarnate body and blood of Christ as well as his divinity at the moment the celebrant pronounced the Words of Consecration over the bread and wine.⁶

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1. Cf. Smith, George D.: op. cit., p. 844.
2. Cf. Zacchello, op. cit., p. 53.
3. Zacchello, ibid., p. 52.
4. Doctrines and Ceremonies of the Mass. From "The Catholic Christian Instructed", p. 4.
5. Cf. van Hase, op. cit., p. 255.
6. Smith, G., op. cit., p. 864.

The consecrated bread and wine still looked like bread and wine, but Christ was there hidden from human eyes by the veil of the "appearances" of the bread and wine. Then Christ, as the high priest, offered himself by means of a "mystical" death as the victim without blemish -- the perfect oblation -- to God.¹ Christ's suffering and death on the cross was real, but the Mass was a "mystical" sacrifice.² This unbloody sacrifice was a continual way of representing the sacrifice of the cross.³ The mode had changed, but the essence of the sacrifice was the same as the one that had taken place on Calvary.⁴ As Christ was being offered as a perfect sacrifice, the communicants offered themselves in self-oblation to God through Jesus Christ.⁵

The grace of God was made available to man through the consumption by the communicants of the body and blood of Christ under the veil of the bread and wine. His whole body was consumed because it was believed that the whole body of Christ was in every morsel of the consecrated bread and in every drop of consecrated wine on every altar. In the fifteenth century Gabriel Biel specified that Christ's hair, teeth, lungs, liver, and entrail, etc., were all there in the same way that they had been in the God-Man while he was upon earth.⁶ Thomas Aquinas tried to explain how Christ's body existed in the Eucharist because of its "substance" and not by its "quantity". Although the substance of the body was still creaturely in a sense, it existed in a mode which our senses could not apprehend and in a manner that no one had the ability

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1. Cf. Doctrines and Ceremonies of the Mass, op. cit., p. 4.
2. Cf. Howell-Smith, op. cit., p. 297.
3. Cf. Zacchello, op. cit., p. 58.
4. Cf. Howell-Smith, op. cit., p. 297.
5. Cf. Smith, G., op. cit., p. 840.
6. Cf. Howell-Smith, op. cit., pp. 280, 281.

to conceive.¹

Because of the doctrine of transubstantiation that became a dogma of the Church in the thirteenth century, several problems arose concerning how it took place. One of the problems was concerning how the bread and wine could still look and taste like bread and wine after the consecration. Thomas Aquinas strives to explain it by using the metaphysical terms "substance" and "accidents". The "substance" is "that which exists in another."² The "accidents" are the "perceptible qualities of an object, such as color, size, taste, smell, shape, weight, etc. which remain unchanged."³ It is normal that the "accidents" change with the "substance" but by a miracle of God only the "substance" is changed in the consecrated bread and wine.⁴

Thomas Aquinas offered a metaphysical solution to another problem which arose because it was believed that, when the priests pronounced the Words of Institution, the bread became the body and the wine became the blood. The result of that would be a bloodless body and bodiless blood which would be a dead Christ. The body would be on the paten, and the blood would be in the chalice. Thomas Aquinas offered the force of "concomitance," which means "coming together because they must" as a solution. Therefore, the whole Christ--the body, blood, and divinity--will be present in the consecrated bread as well as the consecrated wine.

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1. Cf. Howell-Smith, op. cit., p. 180.

2. Cf. Ibid., p. 279.

3. Rizzo, op. cit., p. 5.

4. Cf. Howell-Smith, op. cit., pp. 279, 280.

c. Types of Masses

There were several types of Masses. A few of the most outstanding ones were: the High Mass (*Missa Solemnis*), the Low Mass (*Missa Bass*), the Requiem Mass, and the Pontifical Mass.¹ In the High Mass the celebrant was assisted by a deacon and a subdeacon, a number of servers or acolytes and a choir. Incense and lights were used. The celebrant used three different tones of voice during the service. He and the choir sang parts of the service, other parts were whispered inaudibly by the celebrant, and other parts were spoken so that only those very near to the celebrant could hear. The Low Mass, while historically of later origin than the High Mass, became the most common form of the Mass. There was no choir or incense and the celebrant normally had only one acolyte, who was usually a layman or a boy. Hymns in Latin or the vernacular might be used.² There were three voices used at the Low Mass also. The main difference was that the portions sung at the High Mass were spoken at the Low Mass.³ Since most of the rite was inaudible, the Mass became more and more a spectacle.⁴ The Requiem Mass was a Mass offered at a funeral, and the Pontifical Mass was a Mass said by a Pope, a Bishop, or some other hieratic dignitary.⁵

2. The implications of the Mass

a. Values

The dramatic worship service of the Mass was an awe-inspiring ritual. Through it the people expressed their thanks to God for his

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1. Cf. Howell-Smith, op. cit., pp. 307, 308.

2. Cf. Ibid., p. 308.

3. Cf., Maxwell, op. cit., p. 65.

4. Cf. Portescue, Adrian: *The Ceremonies of the Roman Rite Described*, 9th ed., p. 41.

5. Rizzo, op. cit., p. 63.

blessings, repented because of their sins, dedicated their lives to God by offering themselves with the Eucharistic Lord, received the blessings of the Eucharist.¹ There was a common groping after a "beyond."²

b. Anti-biblical developments

(1) The Sacrifice. Instead of viewing the sacrifice of Christ as something accomplished once and for all at Calvary, the act of sacrificing Christ was repeated over and over again in the Mass by means of the priesthood. Every time and everywhere that a priest recited the Words of Institution, the bread and the wine in the Mass miraculously became the whole Christ who offered himself to God and was consumed by man for his own edification.

(2) Adoration of the Sacraments. Since Christ himself was on the altar, although hidden from view by the earthly veil, the people worshipped the host. God was there. It was in the thirteenth century that the paten was elevated for adoration as an action of the Mass. The chalice was elevated the following century, but that did not become a universal practice until after the Reformation.³

(3) Withholding the Cup from the Laity. After the Council of Constance in 1414-1418 withholding the Cup from the laity became an enforced practice.⁴ There were several reasons for withholding the Cup. There was the fear of the Blood being spilled, the voluntary refusal of the Cup by the faithful during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries for superstitious reasons,⁵ and the difficulty of the Church in preserving consecrated wine for the sick. The fact that the priests, by

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1. Cf. Hellriegel, Martin B.: The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, p. 16.

2. Cf. Howell-Smith, op. cit., p. 304.

3. Cf. Ibid., p. 290.

4. Cf. von Hase, op. cit., p. 287.

5. Cf. Ibid., p. 206.

being the only ones to drink of the Cup, elevated their position, and probably had a strong subjective influence on the decision to withhold the Cup from the laity.¹

(4) The Priesthood. It was believed that because of their Order the priests had the privilege of partaking of both the bread and wine. It was held that Jesus had established the order of the priesthood when he told his apostles: "Do this in remembrance of me." When he did this, he gave the apostles and their successors the power to pronounce the words of Consecration which changed the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. Upon his ordination each priest received this power, and even though he became immoral or a heretic, he always had the power to consecrate the bread and the wine and thereby transubstantiate it into the real body and blood of the whole Christ.

(5) Salvation. Partaking of the Mass was necessary for salvation.² It was also a means of earning merit towards salvation since it was a good work.³ Since the Mass was a sacrifice, it could be offered on behalf of deceased Christians who were in purgatory, and so Masses were offered in order to benefit the dead, by obtaining for them works of merit. The more Masses offered for an individual, the greater was his chance of being saved.⁴ Because each Mass was worth a certain amount of merit, it was computed how many would be needed for the salvation of a soul,⁵ for helping a soul in purgatory get to

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1. Cf. von Hase, op. cit., p. 206.
2. Cf. Ibid., pp. 288-289.
3. Cf. Qualben, op. cit., p. 200.
4. Cf. Howell-Smith, op. cit., p. 301.
5. Cf. Maxwell, op. cit., p. 68.

paradise, and for helping a soul in hell find some relief from his¹
condemnation.

D. Missale Romanum

What the Mass involved will be shown by way of a specific analysis of the Missale Romanum, which is similar in form to the Mass that Luther knew intimately. There were two principal parts to the Roman rite. The first part was the Liturgy of the Word and the second part was the Liturgy of the Upper Room.² These two parts were developed to tell the story of the passion of Christ. The first part of the liturgy dealt with the history of Jesus before his entry into Jerusalem. The latter part of the service symbolized the passion, death, resurrection, and ascension of the Lord.³

1. The Liturgy of the Word.

a. Prayer.

The choir sang a fragment of a Psalm antiphonally (two sections of the choir sang alternating) as the priest approached the altar.⁴ The choir then sang a plea for help and mercy⁵ which was in Greek.⁶ This was a ninefold Kyrie Eleison. For variation the middle three Kyries had been changed to Christe,⁷ so that they were sung "Kyrie, eleison ...

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1. Cf. Maxwell, p. 68.
2. Cf. Ibid., pp. 69,70.
3. Cf. Brillioth, op, cit., p. 83.
4. Cf. Dunney, Joseph A.: The Mass, p. 29.
5. Cf. Hellriegel, op. cit., p. 26.
6. Cf. Lowrie, Walter: The Lord's Supper and the Liturgy, p. 74.
7. This change to "Christe" in the Kyrie Eleison was made by Gregory the Great.

Christe, eleison ... Kyrie eleison," three times each.¹ While the choir was preparing the people for the service through these two means, the minister or ministers were preparing themselves at the altar steps. They used the Invocation (In nomine Patris), Psalm 43 and the Gloria, Psalm 126² and the Confiteor.³ The last, the Confiteor, was a liturgical confession recited by the priest, asking God for forgiveness of sins.⁴ There were also several collects or prayers and the blessing of incense, and the censuring of the altar and the ministers. The ministers were making their preparation secretly or inaudibly while the choir was singing the Introit and the Kyrie.⁵

Then the choir sang the Gloria in excelsis. The first part of it was from St. Luke 2: 13-14, and the second part was added by the early Fathers of the Church.⁶ Sometimes this was said secretly by the celebrant rather than sung.⁷ After this hymn of joy, the celebrant greeted the people with the Salutation, "Dominus vobiscum", to which the choir responded, "Et cum spiritu tuo."⁸ Then the priest read the appropriate collects for the day.⁹ The collect was always begun with the word, "Oremus" (let us pray), because there were prayers that all were included in.¹⁰ The collects that the celebrant read were in the Missale.¹¹

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1. Cf. Hellriegel, op. cit.: p. 25.
2. Verse 8 was used only.
3. Cf. Maxwell, op. cit., p. 69.
4. Cf. Dunney, op. cit., p. 14.
5. Cf. Maxwell, op. cit., p. 69.
6. Cf. Dunney, op. cit., p. 42.
7. Cf. Maxwell, op. cit., p. 69.
8. Cf. Dunney, op. cit., p. 44.
9. Cf. Hellriegel, op. cit., p. 27.
10. Cf. Dunney, op. cit., p. 54.
11. Cf. Ibid.

b. Instruction

The next thing that the minister read from the Missal was the Epistle, which on Sundays were readings from the New Testament.¹ The celebrant read the Epistle and the Gradual, which was the next to follow, silently, but then the subdeacon sang the Epistle. Deo gratias (thanks to God) was the response to the hearing of the Epistle. Then a single cantor, standing on the lower step or gradus before the altar,² sang the Gradual. The Gradual was composed of short Scriptural texts which accented the Epistle lesson³ and then prepared the ecclesia or gathering for the Gospel.⁴ An "Alleluia" followed the Gradual between Easter and Whitsuntide⁵ in some of the liturgies. Other liturgies used the "Alleluia" more often, but when it wasn't used, the Tract took its place.⁶ The Tract was a verse or several verses from the Scripture.⁷ During the early Middle Ages elaborate musical settings were written for the "Alleluia" which were played as the choir held the last syllable. To relieve this, words were written to the music, and this poetry was known as the sequence. Many different sequences were written.⁸ As a hymn of joy, the sequence very fittingly followed the Epistle and the Gradual.⁹

During the singing of the Tract or Sequence, the celebrant prepared himself for the Gospel.¹⁰ He recited the Gospel in a low tone

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1. Cf. Hellriegel, op. cit., p. 31.
2. Cf. Duchesne, L.: Christian Worship: Its Origin and Evolution, p. 169.
3. Cf. Dunney, op. cit., p. 62.
4. Hellriegel, op. cit., p. 32.
5. Swete, Henry Barclay; Church Services and Service Books Before the Reformation, p. 103.
6. Cf. Duchesne, op. cit., p. 163.
7. Pallen, Conde B. and Wynne, John J.: The New Catholic Dictionary, p. 969.
8. Cf. Swete, op. cit., p. 103.
9. Cf. Pallen and Wynne, op. cit., p. 382.
10. Cf. Maxwell, op. cit., p. 69.

while the ministers gave the responses. Then the deacon lifted up the Book before the people while they stood to show their respect for the Gospel. Before the Gospel the ministers sang, Gloria Tibi, Domine (Glory be to Thee, Lord). The deacon chanted the Gospel, and the ministers responded with Laus Tibi, Christe (Praise be to Thee, O Christ).¹ The Gospel was a revelation to the people of Jesus Christ as well as instruction.² The first few centuries of the Mass's history the sermon followed the Gospel, and then the catechumens were dismissed.³ During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Creed (the Nicene Creed) followed the Gospel, and the sermon was frequently omitted from the service. The Creed served to summarize the teachings of the Scripture.⁴

2. The Liturgy of the Upper Room.

a. The Offertory

The Offertory marks the beginning of the Mass which only Christians were permitted to attend in the early Church.⁵ During the Offertory gifts were given as an expression or symbol of one's inward self-oblation to God.⁶ Later the Offertory consisted of less action but more words. With a prayer, Suscipe sancte Pater (Receive, Holy Father . . .),⁷ the priest held up the paten which had the bread on it, and offered the bread to God. It was an offering for his own sins, for

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1. Cf. Hellriegel, op. cit., p. 34.
2. Cf. Ibid., p. 34.
3. Luther, Martin: Von Ordnung Gottis Diensts und der Gemeyne, in His Works, Introduction by Strodach, P. Z., p. 37.
4. Lowrie, op. cit., p. 102.
5. Cf. Dunney, op. cit., p. 91.
6. Cf. Hellriegel, op. cit., p. 43.
7. Ibid., p. 46.

the sins of all present, of all Christians and of all the living and the dead.¹ Having offered the bread, the priest mixed a few drops of water with the wine as he prayed a prayer which revealed the symbolism of this admixture. As the wine and water became inseparable, so the two natures of Christ, the human and the divine, were joined.² Then the chalice was offered to God with a prayer.³ Censing, washing the celebrant's hands, and more prayers brought the Offertory to a close.⁴ The Offertory was over, but this was only the beginning of self-oblation "through Him and with Him and in Him" which was to find its culmination in the perfect Sacrifice.⁵

b. The Preface.

The Preface is a very ancient, stately prayer, and one of the most beautiful in the Mass. It was a thanksgiving prayer which went back to the third century when thanksgiving had been the outstanding motif of the Mass. The Preface had come to be thought of as the "lifting up" prayer,⁶ and was sung accordingly on a high note.⁷ Following a Salutation the celebrant said, "Sursum corda," (Lift up your hearts!), and the response was, "Habemus ad Dominum" (We have lifted them up to the Lord.) Then the priest said, "Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro" (Let us give thanks to the Lord our God). The response to that was, "Dignum et justum est" (It is meet and just).⁸ Following the Gratias,

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1. Cf. Dunney, op. cit., p. 96.
2. Cf. Ibid., p. 98.
3. Cf. Maxwell, op. cit., p. 70.
4. Cf. Hellriegel, op. cit., p. 46.
5. Ibid., p. 49.
6. Cf. Dunney, op. cit., p. 138.
7. Cf. Duchesne, op. cit., p. 176.
8. Cf. Dunney, op. cit., p. 138.

the Consecration Prayer opened with Vere dignum, which was the invocation (It is truly meet and just ...that we ... should give thanks to Thee), followed by the enumerations of blessings through Christ, which was the Proper Preface, and closed with paeans of joy: "Sanctus,
sanctus, sanctus."¹ During High Mass the Sanctus was sung by the choir while the celebrant proceeded secretly with the Benedictus qui venit and the Canon.² The Benedictus qui venit was a thanksgiving for man's redemption through Christ, and it afforded an excellent transition from the Preface to the Canon.³

c. The Canon

This was the heart of the Mass. The mystery of Calvary was to be presently renewed.⁴ Before the Canon reached the celebration of the Last Supper, oblation was made for the church and for all people both living and dead. God was asked to accept the oblation and to transform it.⁵ The first prayer of the Canon, Te igitur, (the prayers are entitled by the first words quoted from them),⁶ was an intercession for the Church and an acceptance of the offerings in its behalf. The prayer that followed, Memento Domine, was a prayer that was for certain persons who were named and for all the faithful living.⁷ Then the priest recited the Communicantes which was an invitation to the saints to join in the procession towards the mystic Sacrifice.⁸ It consisted mostly of the

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1. Dunney, op. cit., p. 147.
2. Cf. Maxwell, op. cit., p. 60.
3. Cf. Lowrie, op. cit., p. 150.
4. Cf. Dunney, op. cit., p. 159.
5. Cf. Duschene, op. cit., p. 179.
6. Cf. Maxwell, op. cit., p. 60.
7. Cf. Ibid.
8. Cf. Hellriegel, op. cit., p. 50.

names of the Virgin Mary, the Apostles, and other saints and martyrs.¹
As the celebrant spread his hands over the oblation, the chalice and
the host, he concluded the intercessions for the living with Hanc
igitur,² the first of the two oblation prayers.³

The second oblation prayer, Quam oblationem, began the con-
secration proper.⁴ It was a petition that God would make the bread and
the wine that had been offered in human weakness "become for us the Body
and Blood of His most beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ."⁵ Then
followed the Qui prae of the Words of Institution which were said
inaudibly:

Who, the day before He suffered, took bread into His holy
and venerable hands, and with eyes lifted up toward heaven,
unto Thee, O God, His Almighty Father, giving thanks to Thee,
did bless, break, and give unto His disciples, saying: Take,
and eat ye all of this. For this is My body.⁶

At this very moment the bread became the whole body of Christ.⁷ As a
bell rang three times, the priest adored the sacred Host, elevated it,
and then adored it again. This was the moment that some of the people
came to Church for. The elevation of the Host was comparable to the
Lord's body being lifted up onto the cross.⁸

After adoring the body of the Lord, the priest continued the
Consecration:

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1. Cf. Maxwell, op. cit., p. 61.
2. Cf. Ibid.
3. Cf. Hellriegel, op. cit., p. 51.
4. Cf. Maxwell, op. cit., p. 61.
5. Hellriegel, op. cit., p. 54.
6. Dunney, op. cit., p. 188.
7. Cf. Ibid.
8. Cf. Ibid.

In like manner, after He had supped taking also this excellent chalice into His holy and venerable hands, also giving thanks to Thee, He blessed and gave it to His disciples, saying: Take, and drink all of this: For this is the chalice of my blood of the new and eternal testament. The mystery of faith; which shall be shed for you and for many, for the remission of of sins. As often as ye do these things, ye shall do them in remembrance of Me.¹

Again the bell rang three times, and the priest adored the blood of our Lord.² This was the heart of the Sacrifice. No longer did the bread and wine exist. Instead, it had been replaced with the very Incarnate and Divine Body of Christ. Christ was believed to be actually present on the altar.³ The real Presence of the Lord was with the people.⁴

Now was the time to recall what the Lord had done. This meditation was called the Unde et Memores.⁵ This meditation was meant to lead one to think about Christ and to be considerate of his wishes.⁶ It should have caused one to reflect on the offerings and the great Sacrifice, and to ask that God may receive the Sacrifice, as he accepted the oblation of Abel and the sacrifices of Abraham and Melchisedech, Supra quae.⁷ Then there was a petition, Supplices te rogamus, that those who will partake of the "sacred Body and Blood may be filled with every heavenly grace and blessing."⁸ Those in purgatory were remembered, Memento etiam,⁹ and a prayer, Nobis quoque,

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1. Dunney, op. cit., p. 190.
2. Cf. Ibid.
3. Cf. Ibid., pp. 191-192.
4. Cf. Ibid., p. 199.
5. Cf. Hellriegel, op. cit., pp. 54, 55.
6. Cf. Dunney, op. cit., p. 204.
7. Cf. Ibid., p. 207.
8. Dunney, Ibid., p. 208.
9. Cf. Dunney., Ibid., p. 222.

was made that "we" might be made worthy to "join the ranks of the saints by their help, inspiration, and intercession."¹

Pater noster, the Lord's Prayer, was recited at this time. The priest said it while he was looking at the Host.² Then he broke the bread accompanied with a desire for peace, Pax Domini.³ He mixed the bread and wine, Haec commixtio, as a particle of bread was dropped into the Chalice.⁴ The choir sang the Agnus dei, which was a plea for mercy,⁵ as the priest continued with the Communion. He prayed three prayers for peace: (1) a prayer for outer peace, Domine Jesu Christe, followed by the Pax tecum or Kiss of Peace; (2) a prayer for inner peace, Domine Jesu Christe, Fili Dei; and (3) a prayer that one's preparation for Communion be worthy, Perceptio Corporis.⁶ Then the priest said audibly Domine, non sum, a prayer repeated three times concerning the unworthiness of man.⁷

Before the priest received the Host, he prayed: Corpus Dominis ... (May the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve my soul unto life everlasting). He received the Host and then gave thanks, Quid retribuam.⁸ He prayed before receiving the Blood, the Sanguis Domini (The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve my soul unto life everlasting. Amen).⁹ Then the priest drank all that was in the chalice.¹⁰

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1. Cf. Dunney, op. cit., pp. 222-223.
2. Cf. Ibid., p. 246.
3. Cf. Ibid., p. 280.
4. Cf. Ibid., p. 278.
5. Cf. Ibid., p. 290.
6. Cf. Ibid., p. 290.
7. Cf. Ibid., p. 298.
8. Cf. Ibid., p. 303.
9. Cf. Ibid., p. 304.
10. Cf. Ibid.

d. The Communion

As soon as the priest drank the precious blood the people who were to receive Communion rose and proceeded to the altar. This was the time when they received Communion --the Host.¹ They were united with Christ² for the grace of God had been received by them through the Sacrifice of the Altar.

e. Post Communion

The post Communion was a prayer of thanksgiving for the Communion with Christ that had just been received. It was a thanksgiving to God for his blessings, and a plea that these blessings might be evident in one's daily life.³

f. Ite, missa est: benedicto.

Ite, missa est was the dismissal of the congregation followed by a benediction to the Almighty God,⁴ Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus.⁵

C. Summary

This study had revealed that the Mass of the Roman Catholic Church of the sixteenth century was the product of many years of growth and development. It has been influenced by good and by evil from within and from without. The worship service of the Church from the first to the sixteenth centuries vividly reflected the doctrine of the Church for, as the doctrine of the Church developed, the liturgy developed correspondingly. The memorial of the Lord's Supper as

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1. Cf. Maxwell, op. cit., p. 71.
2. Cf. Hellriegel, op. cit., p. 64.
3. Cf. Pallen, Conde B. and Wynne, John J., op. cit., p. 778.
4. O'Brien, John: A History of the Mass and its Ceremonies in the Eastern and Western Church, p. 4.
5. Cf. Dunney, op. cit., p. 332.

celebrated by the Roman Catholic Church of the sixteenth century indicated the dogma of the Church concerning Mass. Therefore, faults in the Mass are due to erroneous concepts of the basic essentials of the atonement of Christ, salvation, and the means of grace. Along with the errors, there was much in the service esthetically satisfying and beautiful, and the beautiful may well be remembered and cherished for its inspiration and enrichment.

CHAPTER II

LUTHER'S PURIFICATION OF THE ROMAN MASS (MISSALE ROMANUM)

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A. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to study how Martin Luther converted the Roman Mass into a worship service that better expressed the new spirit aroused by the great awakening of the Reformation. It is interesting to note that the form of worship for the people and the doctrinal reforms were alike of great concern to the reformers.¹ Luther, who played an important role in the liturgical reforms, shows this as is evident by his treatise, Von Ordnung Gottis Diensts ynn der Gemeyne; his Latin Mass, Formula Missae; and his German Mass, Deutsche Messe. After investigating the doctrinal conceptions Luther had of the Lord's Supper, which had been the central action of the Roman Mass, the writer will discuss these three liturgical publications. The liturgical terms have been defined in the Introduction of this thesis and the first chapter. No further definitions will be given.

B. Luther's Understanding of the Last Supper

The positive contributions that Luther made to the Reformation in regard to the Lord's Supper were the idea of the fellowship of all saints and the element of Mystery. Luther felt that the purpose of the sacrament was to have fellowship with Christ and with all who were of one spiritual body united with Christ, the Church.² This was the prominent

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1. Cf. Reed, op. cit., p. 88.

2. Luther, Martin: A Treatise Concerning the Blessed Sacrament and Concerning the Brotherhoods, in Luther's Works, Introd. by Schindel, J. Vol. II, p. 10.

idea of the Lord's Supper apparent in the early chapters of the books of the Acts, and now it was retrieved. The fellowship-idea changed the whole aspect of worship, for if the people were to have fellowship together, they had to understand what was being said and done at the worship service.¹ Inseparable from the concept of the fellowship of all believers was the element of Mystery which involved the reality of Christ's presence at the Lord's Supper.²

After Luther entered a controversy with Rome about the Lord's Supper, he took the word, Testamentum, from the Words of Institution, and exegeted it. He explained that Christ instituted the Lord's Supper as a seal upon his "death-bed" testimony promising "remission of sins" for the heirs, "for you and for many."³ Therefore, the word of Christ was the important factor of the Mass because it was the means of revealing this redeeming love of Christ.⁴ If the Eucharist was just a sign of Christ's testament, it could not be the sacrifice of the Mass.

Luther once stated that he had discarded all that was sacrificial in the Mass. However, he still maintained the spiritual oblation. Man offered himself to God in complete dedication to Him. He also offered God thanks and praise for his promise of grace and mercy which were given in this sacrament. Luther took the idea of sacrifice one step further as he studied the Epistle to the Hebrews. Man must cast Himself upon Christ in faith as he prays, for Christ is the High Priest, our Mediator before God.⁵

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1. Cf. Maxwell, op. cit., p. 74.
2. Cf. Brillioth, op. cit., p. 97.
3. Luther, Martin: The Babylonian Captivity of the Church in Luther's Works, Vol. II, p. 197.
4. Cf. Micklem, Nathaniel, ed: Christian Worship: Studies in its History and Meaning, pp. 74, 75.
5. Cf. Brillioth, op. cit., pp. 99, 100.

Luther's controversy with Rome about the Lord's Supper reached its climax in his De Captivitate Babylonica.¹ The denial of the Chalice to the laity was the "first captivity." It was not difficult for Luther to prove that Communion was in both kinds at the Last Supper according to the Scriptures.² The "second captivity" was the doctrine of transubstantiation. Luther questioned the teaching of Aquinas and repudiated the doctrine.³ However, he still left room for the doctrine of the Real presence of Christ in the sacrament.⁴ The "third captivity" was the doctrine of the Sacrifice of the Mass, which was Luther's main attack. He explained the testament-idea at length. In refutation of the idea of the sacrifice being a meritorious work, Luther stated that forgiveness of sins -- which included the idea of "God's justifying and sanctifying work wherein He imparts himself to men"⁵ -- was a gift of God,⁶ and that the only requirement of man was faith.

Besides Luther's controversy with Rome, he became involved in a controversy with Protestants who wished to give the Words of Institution a purely symbolical interpretation. His emphasis was still on faith in the Word of Promise, and his problem was to relate the doctrine of the testament with the doctrine of the Real presence of the body and blood of Christ.⁷ Luther denied that there was transubstantiation or any kind of change in the essence of the earthly or heavenly elements.⁸

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1. Cf. Brillioth, op. cit., p. 100.
2. Cf. MacKinnon, James: Luther and the Reformation, Vol. II -- The Breach with Rome, p. 251.
3. Cf. Ibid., p. 252.
4. Cf. Brillioth, op. cit., p. 101.
5. Ibid., p. 102.
6. Cf. MacKinnon, op. cit., p. 254.
7. Cf. Brillioth, op. cit., p. 103.
8. Piepkorn, Arthur Carl, What the Symbolical Books of the Lutheran Church Have to Say about Worship and the Sacraments, pp. 30-32.

However, he did believe in the immanence of God. Christ could not be localized in the earthly elements, for God was omnipresent. The whole Christ was present because the two natures of Christ were inseparable.¹ However, Christ was not fully realized until the communicant had received the sacrament.² In the sacrament the recipient received life and salvation through the words of Christ's promise.³ It was God's Word that made the bread and wine of the sacrament different from ordinary bread and wine, so that the sacrament could not be given a purely symbolical interpretation since it brought about an effective change in man.⁴

The main ideas of Luther's concept of the Eucharist were expressed during the controversies with Rome and with others who differed with him. Later, he took up controversial exegesis.⁵ The Greater Catechism (1529) shows again his emphasis on the forgiveness of sins, but there are no new views developed.⁶ Luther did not attempt to express himself in a formula that would rationalize the Eucharist because he felt that it was impossible to know all that was involved in the Sacrament of the Altar.⁷

C. Luther's Liturgical Work on the Worship Service

The Roman Mass for the Christians before the Reformation was regarded as an awesome, supernatural act through which God was mediated.

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1. Cf. Brillioth, op. cit., pp. 105, 106.
2. Cf. Maxwell, op. cit., pp. 74, 75.
3. Cf. Luther, Martin: Large Catechism, p. 177.
4. Ibid., p. 176.
5. Cf. Brillioth, p. 107.
6. Cf. Ibid., p. 108.
7. Cf. Ibid., p. 109.

Since most of it was carried through without congregational participation in a language that the people did not understand, the Mass had become a spectacle.¹ For Luther the liturgy was to be a means by which the Word might be read and explained so that the people might have their Lord and Redeemer revealed to them.² The determining factor in worship was not to be the Church and the Sacraments, but the Word and the Sacraments.³ Because worship was the means by which the common people acquired and expressed their faith, Luther was faced with the fact that the churches needed help.⁴ In assisting them Luther made suggestions and presented general outlines of worship services leaving much up to the individual ministers. His reforms were conservative which showed that he wished to cleanse the old service rather than to create new forms, for Luther was very much aware of the dangers of radical change for the people.⁵

1. Von Ordnung Gottis Diensts ynn der Gemeyne.

The Von Ordnung Gottis Diensts ynn der Gemeyne is an eight-page treatise published at Whitsuntide, 1523, in answer to the personal request of a congregation at Leisnig. That this kind of pamphlet was needed was verified by the fact that it was reprinted eight times in the first year. The principles and practices of worship to which Luther objected in this treatise were: The Word of God was not heard in church, unscriptural fables and lies had been introduced, and the

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1. Schwiebert, E. G.: Luther and His Times, p. 663.
2. Cf. Micklem, op. cit., p. 121.
3. Cf. Ibid., p. 129.
4. Cf. Ibid., pp. 121, 122.
5. Cf. Schwiebert, op. cit., p. 663.

service was conceived of as a meritorious work. Luther suggested that the sermon be used, too, since it was a means of conveying the Word of God.¹ The Roman Mass was to be continued on Sundays,² but these suggestions pertained to the devotional periods that had taken the place of the daily Masses. Thus, there was still a provision for those who wished to receive the Sacrament of the Altar during the week at a worship service that was replacing the Mass.³

2. Formula Missae

Later in the same year that Luther wrote the Von Ordnung Gottis Diensts ynn der Gemeyne, Luther proposed a form of Mass to use in the church at Wittenberg. This was in 1523.⁴ There had been several attempts at revising the Mass by others, but Luther was not satisfied with their work and even feared their over-zealousness. He believed that changes had to be brought about slowly. The Formula Missae reflected his cautious spirit; this form of worship was very similiar to the Roman Mass. It even retained the Latin language in the liturgy.⁵

The first change in Luther's Mass was the omission of the Preparation⁶ known as the Asperges in the Roman Mass.⁷ Instead, Luther suggested that a sermon preached in the vernacular could be used

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1. Cf. Reed, op. cit., p. 69.
2. Cf. Brillioth, op. cit., p. 115.
3. Luther, Martin: Von Ordnung Gottis Diensts ynn der Gemeyne, in Luther's Works, Introduction by Strodach, Vol. VI, pp. 56.
4. Luther, Martin: Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittenbergensis, in Luther's Works, Introduction by Strodach, Vol. VI, p. 67.
5. Cf. Maxwell, op. cit., p. 77.
6. Luther, Martin: Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittenbergensis, in Luther's Works, Introduction by Strodach, P.Z. Vol. VI, p. 72.
7. Cf. Maxwell, op. cit., p. 69.

appropriately before the Introit.¹ Luther changed the Church's general rule for the use of the Introits. Only the proper Introits for Sundays and the Great Festivals were all right to use because these Introits were Scriptural.² Some of the Introits for the Saints' Day had not been so. The Great Festival days which had the use of scriptural Introits were Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas.³ Luther appreciated the sincere and simple worship of the early Church. Instead of using a part of a psalm before the memorial of the Lord's Supper, the early Fathers prayed one or two psalms in reverent subdued-sounding voices,⁴ It was after chanting became a customary practice in the Church, that the psalms that had been used by the early Fathers in that way had been changed into the form of the mediæval Introit.⁵ Luther preferred that the liturgy of the Church again use the entire psalm.⁶

Luther included the Kyrie Eleison into his Formula Missae just as it was in the Missale Romanum. Through his study of the Church Fathers, he learned that under Basil the Great, Kyrie was used in public by all the people. It was greatly enjoyed by the common people.⁷ Luther inserted it into his service with its various melodies for the

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1. Luther, Martin: Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittembergensis in Luther's Works, Introduction by Strodach, P.Z., Vol. VI, p. 72.
2. Ibid., p. 73.
3. Luther, Martin: Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittembergensis in Luther's Works, Document tr. by Strodach, P.Z., Vol. VI, p. 86.
4. Ibid., p. 85.
5. Ibid., p. 85.
6. Luther, Martin: Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittembergensis in Luther's Works, Introduction by Strodach, P.Z., Vol. VI, p. 72.
7. Luther, Martin: Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittembergensis in Luther's Works, Document tr. by Strodach, P.Z., Vol. VI, p. 85.

different church seasons.¹ The Kyrie was still ninefold.² One of Luther's principles was that there should be freedom in the use of the ritual,³ so he left it to the local minister of the church to decide how he wanted it to be used in his church.⁴

Immediately following the Kyrie was the Gloria in excelsis. This was another early Church heritage, which Luther referred to as the Angelic Hymn because of its quote from Luke 2: 13-14.⁵ The bishop of each church was free to use it as he desired, but Luther set it in his Missae that it might be used every Sunday throughout the Church year.⁶ More careful choosing was in evidence in his suggestions of Collects. Some of them were not pious.⁷ However, most of the collects for Sunday use, he felt to be scripturally devotional.⁸

Luther heartily approved of reading from the Word of God, the Bible. The Epistle followed the Collect for the day.⁹ Luther felt that most of the reading of St. Paul's writings, according to the calendar

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1. Luther, Martin: Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittenbergensis in Luther's Works, Document tr. by Strodach, P.Z., Vol. VI, p. 87.
2. Luther, Martin: Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittenbergensis in Luther's Works, Introduction by Strodach, P.Z., Vol. VI, p. 73.
3. Kramm, H. H.: The Theology of Martin Luther, p. 99.
4. Luther, Martin: Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittenbergensis in Luther's Works, Document tr. by Strodach, P.Z., Vol. VI, p. 87.
5. Ibid., p. 85.
6. Luther, Martin: Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittenbergensis in Luther's Works, Introduction by Strodach, P.Z., Vol. VI, p. 73.
7. Ibid.
8. Luther, Martin: Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittenbergensis in Luther's Works, Document tr. by Strodach, P.Z., Vol. VI, p. 87.
9. Luther, Martin: Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittenbergensis in Luther's Works, Document, Introduction by Strodach, P.Z., Vol. VI, p. 73.

of the western liturgy, were those Epistles which especially dwelt on good works. The Epistles were to be continued, but Luther thought that they needed some revising so that there was more emphasis on faith.¹ He was also in favor of their being read in the vernacular.²

Before the Gospel lesson the Gradual and/or the Alleluia were still to be included. He shortened the Gradual.³ He suggested that those who wanted to sing the longer Graduals might sing them at home.⁴ The church's minister could decide how the Graduals and the Alleluias were to be sung,⁵ for there were no words nor music included in the Formula Missae itself.⁶ The Alleluia was felt to be the "perpetual voice of the Church, just as the memorial of His Passion and victory is perpetual."⁷ Ceremonial variations, such as distinguished one day from another and the season from each other, were discontinued, as were the longer Graduals and the Tracts. The rite became more uniform here.⁸ Various Sequences and Proses had been used in the Roman Mass after the Gradual. Luther, however, only approved of three. One

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1. Luther, Martin: Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittenbergensis in Luther's Works, Document tr. by Strodach, P.Z., Vol. VI, p. 87.
2. Luther, Martin: Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittenbergensis in Luther's Works, Introduction by Strodach, P.Z., Vol. VI, p. 73.
3. Ibid.
4. Luther, Martin: Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittenbergensis in Luther's Works, Document tr. by Strodach, P.Z., Vol. VI, pp. 87-88.
5. Ibid., p. 87.
6. Cf. Reed, op. cit., p.
7. Luther, Martin: Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittenbergensis in Luther's Works, Document tr. by Strodach, P.Z., Vol. VI, p. 88.
8. Luther, Martin: Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittenbergensis in Luther's Works, Introduction by Strodach, P.Z., Vol. VI, p. 73.

was a short one for the Nativity of Christ, Grates nunc omnes. The other two were about the Holy Spirit: Sancti Spiritus and Veni Sancte Spiritus.¹ Luther simplified the worship service by modifying some of the extravagant forms of the Roman Mass.

The reading of the Gospel lesson was one of the important features of the Roman Mass. It was accompanied with ceremony which included the use of lights and incense. Luther made the use of these optional.² Luther wanted more Gospel reading which were from the best and more weighty parts of the Gospels. He felt that the readings should be carefully chosen. They must be sections in which faith in Christ were taught.³ The responses that were appropriately used with the Gospel lesson followed.

The Nicene Creed was sung after the Gospel. Luther thought that singing the Nicene Creed as was the custom of the Roman Mass was pleasing to the ear, so he suggested that it be continued.⁴ After the Nicene Creed the sermon could be given if it had not preceded the Introit. With the preaching placed after the Nicene Creed, it unconsciously brought out the ancient distinction between the instruction session and worship of the catechumens and the Lord's Supper of a different spirit which followed.⁵

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1. Luther, Martin: Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittembergensis in Luther's Works, Document tr. by Strodach, P.Z., Vol. VI, p. 88.
2. Luther, Martin: Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittembergensis in Luther's Works, Introduction by Strodach, P.Z., Vol. VI, p. 73.
3. Luther, Martin: Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittembergensis in Luther's Works, Document tr. by Strodach, P.Z., Vol. VI, p. 87.
4. Ibid., p. 88.
5. Luther, Martin: Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittembergensis in Luther's Works, Introduction by Strodach, P.Z., Vol. VI, p. 73.

The Offertory and the Canon were thought to be abominable by Luther because of their sacrificial implications. The only parts that Luther accepted were the Salutation, Sursum, Gratias, and the Vere dignum of the Preface. Luther carefully analyzed and assorted each part of it, judging what was pure by that which centered in the one and all-important tradition regarding the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.¹ Because he had eliminated prayers for the living and for the dead and for those who paid to have their names mentioned in prayer, as well as the prayers that accompanied the preparation of the elements,² Luther left little to the latter part of the Roman Mass. He thought that the elements could be prepared during the Creed or after the sermon. As far as his idea of the preparation of the elements went, Luther was of the opinion that the wine should remain pure rather than mixed with water.³ Pure wine symbolized the pure teaching of the Gospel for him. Besides, when Christ died for men, his blood only was shed.⁴ The preparation of the elements was the only act that took place between the singing of the Nicene Creed or the preaching of the Sermon and the accepted prayers and responses of the Preface.

After the preparation of the elements, Luther used the Salutation, Sursum, Gratias, Vere dignum of the Preface to precede the Words of Institution. The Words of Institution were quoted from

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1. Luther, Martin: *Formula Missae et Communions pro Ecclesia Wittembergensis* in Luther's Works, Introduction by Strodach, P.Z., Vol. VI, p. 74.
2. Reed, op. cit., p. 72.
3. Luther, Martin: *Formula Missae et Communions pro Ecclesia Wittembergensis* in Luther's Works, Introduction by Strodach, P.Z., Vol. VI, p. 74.
4. Luther, Martin: *Formula Missae et Communions pro Ecclesia Wittembergensis* in Luther's Works, Document tr. By Strodach, P.Z., Vol. VI, p. 39.

the Gospel in the Vulgate rather than from the Roman Mass.¹ Luther allowed these Words to be said silently or audibly at this time, but he preferred their being said aloud.² The Words of Institution was the one element of the service that was not to be changed at will. All the rest of the service might vary because the external rite was of no commendation to God without the inner unity of faith and love.³ The Words of Institution were essential, however, to the celebration of the Lord's Supper. The tone of voice in which the Words were to be said was to be the same tone used by the minister when he sang the Lord's Prayer later in the service if these Words were going to be used audibly.⁴ After the consecration, the Sanctus was sung.⁵ Then the Benedictus qui venit was used as the bread and the chalice were elevated. The elevation had been retained "chiefly on account of the infirm who might be greatly offended by the sudden change."⁶ This can only be understood in the light of the fact that during those days, there were many who came to church just to see the bread and chalice elevated. This was the high point of the service for them.⁷ Luther suggested that

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1. Luther, Martin: *Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittembergensis* in Luther's Works, Introduction by Strodach, P.Z., Vol. VI, p. 74.
2. Luther, Martin: *Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittembergensis* in Luther's Works, Document tr. by Strodach, P.Z., Vol. VI, p. 90.
3. Luther, Martin: *Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittembergensis* in Luther's Works, Introduction by Strodach, P.Z., Vol. VI, p. 78.
4. Luther, Martin: *Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittembergensis* in Luther's Works, Document tr. by Strodach, P.Z., Vol. VI, p. 90.
5. Luther, Martin: *Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittembergensis* in Luther's Works, Introduction by Strodach, P.Z., Vol. VI, p. 74.
6. Ibid.
7. Cf. Dunney, op. cit., p. 188.

its use might be better recommended if the vernacular sermon explained¹
its meaning.

After the customary introduction ("Let us pray"), the Lord's Prayer was read.² The Embolism, a prayer based on the last words of the Lord's Prayer;³ the Fraction, the ceremonial breaking of the bread or host; and the Commixture, the placing of a portion of the Host in the Chalice⁴ were not longer in the outline of worship.⁵ Immediately after the Lord's Prayer came the Pax or the Peace. The Pax was said by the minister, and Luther preferred that he face the people as he said it because that was the way it was used in ancient times. The Pax begins with the words: "The peace of the Lord be with you."⁶ It was something probably like a public absolution of sins of the communicants, the Gospel announcing the remission of sins.⁷

While the Agnus dei was sung, the minister took Communion first, and then the people. Before the minister administered the elements to the people, he was permitted to say one of the ancient prayers of the Mass, but Luther preferred that he change the singular pronoun in the prayer to a plural pronoun, thus indicating that the prayer referred to all the communicants. Both the bread and the wine

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1. Luther, Martin: Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittembergensis in Luther's Works, Document tr. by Strodach, P.Z., Vol. VI, p. 90.
2. Ibid.
3. Cf. Maxwell, op. cit., p. 50.
4. Cf. Reed, op. cit., p. 73.
5. Luther, Martin: Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittembergensis in Luther's Works, Introduction by Strodach, P.Z., Vol. VI, p. 75.
6. Cf. Maxwell, op. cit., p. 30.
7. Luther, Martin: Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittembergensis in Luther's Works, Introduction by Strodach, P.Z., Vol. VI, p. 75.

was to be administered to everyone.¹ It was left up to the individual minister, however, to decide how he would consecrate and administer the elements. Both elements might be consecrated at the same time and then administered, or one element might be consecrated and distributed and then the other.² The Communion (a Chant) was to conclude the Office of Communion, and Luther suggested that the bishop sing this if he desired.³

The Post Communion (Collect) was displaced by two collects of the Mass. Ite, missa est, the dismissal, was omitted,⁴ and in its place Luther suggested the Benedicamus with the Alleluia.⁵ Various forms of benedictions were suggested. One was the Aaronitic Benediction from Numbers 6, which begins: "The Lord bless us and guard us." Another form began: "May God, our God, bless us," as found in Psalm 96.⁶

Of the three documents which Luther wrote that dealt with Divine Worship, the Formula Missae was the most important.⁷ Luther omitted those things which were not in accord with the teachings of the Reformation. Luther wrote of the use of other features as optional, but the Offertory and the Canon were not to be used at all. The

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1. Luther, Martin: Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittembergensis in Luther's Works, Introduction by Strodach, P.Z., Vol. VI, p. 79.
2. Ibid., p; 77.
3. Luther, Martin: Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittembergensis in Luther's Works, Document tr. by Strodach, P.Z., Vol. VI, p. 91.
4. Cf. Maxwell, op. cit., p. 78.
5. Luther, Martin: Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittembergensis in Luther's Works, Introduction by Strodach, P.Z., Vol. VI, p. 75.
6. Luther, Martin: Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittembergensis in Luther's Works, Document tr. by Strodach, P.Z., Vol. VI, p. 91.
7. Cf. Reed, op. cit., p. 71.

Formula Missae was conservative, and it was also constructive.

Luther suggested the use of a vernacular sermon and vernacular hymns.

He also tried to approach worship from the congregational viewpoint.¹

Luther's desire was not to create a new liturgy but to cleanse and reform the precious heritage of the Christian Church.²

3. Deutsche Messe

Luther did not want to become involved in a liturgical reform, and especially one that had to do with the vernacular, probably because he felt his own inadequacy for encountering so great a task. However, the urgent pleading of the people and the unsatisfactory German masses that were becoming popular, gave him the motivation that enabled him to undertake it.³ Luther asked for the help of Bugenhagen and Jonas as he worked with the text, and of two court musicians, Conrad Rupff and Johann Walther, as he worked with the music.⁴

Luther wanted the music as well as the text to be artistic. He appreciated the great heritage of the Roman Church with its wealth of chants and melodic forms for Church use. The liturgical chants such as the variable Introits, Graduals, Offertories, and Communion were sung in plain song or Gregorian music. Plain song had no harmony. It was a melody free from bars and measures and based on eight "modes" rather than major or minor scales. These melodies were used for all

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1. Cf. Reed, op. cit., pp. 72, 73.

2. Luther, Martin: Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittenbergensis in Luther's Works, Document tr. by. Strodach, P.Z., Vol. VI, p. 30.

3. Cf. Reed, op. cit., pp. 74, 75.

4. Schwiebert, op. cit., pp. 667, 668.

the parts of the Liturgy, whether sung by the choir or intoned by the priest.¹ Luther loved the beauty of the music, and so he wanted the melodies of the Gregorian type for his texts.

Deutsche Messe did not follow the Romanum Missale or Roman Mass as closely as did the Formula Missae. Everything was in the vernacular throughout the service except the Kyrie. Luther introduced hymns and responses for the congregation to sing. The teaching idea was very prominent in the service, for, as Luther wrote this, he had the uneducated, common people in mind; he wanted them to take a very active part in the worship because, thus, the people would learn from what was read and said more quickly.²

The service no longer began with the Introit but with a hymn or a German Psalm sung in the First (Gregorian) Tone, perhaps antiphonally. It was not clear who was to sing it. Some have felt that it would have taken a practiced choir to sing this and the Kyrie. The hymns that Luther substituted for the Latin Introits were hymns that he and others had begun publishing a year before.³ Following the opening hymn or German Psalm, the Kyrie was sung. That had been reduced to a threefold chant. The Gloria in excelsis, which had customarily followed the Kyrie, was not mentioned at all in the

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1. Cf. Reed, op. cit., p. 62.

2. Cf. Ibid., p. 77.

3. Luther, Martin: Deutsche Messe vnd Ordnung Gottis Diensts in Luther's Works, Document tr. by Steimle, A., Vol. VI, pp. 158, 159.

¹
Deutsche Messe.

The minister intoned his liturgical parts. As he faced the altar, he read the Collect for the day in a monotone in the key of F. He read the Epistle lesson in the Eighth Tone as he faced the people.² (Martin Luther wrote out the musical notation in his Deutsche Messe for an Epistle lesson.³) Instead of the Gradual being sung between the Epistle lesson and the Gospel, a German hymn was suggested.⁴ Then the minister intoned the Gospel in the Fifth Tone. Luther indicated by an illustration how a passage could be set to music.⁵

After the Gospel a German versification of the Creed was sung by the congregation.⁶ Then a sermon on the Gospel followed. Luther suggested that there be a collection of sermons on the Gospels for the Church year in order to protect the people from false preaching and to help those who were unable to give a suitable sermon without help.⁷ The sermon was an essential part of the service.⁸ After the sermon there was a paraphrase on the Lord's Prayer.⁹ Then there was

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1. Luther, Martin: Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittembergensis in Luther's Works, Introduction by Strodach, P.Z., Vol. VI, p. 76.
2. Luther, Martin: Deutsche Messe vnd Ordnung Gottis Diensts, in Luther's Works, document tr. by Steimle, A., Vol. VI, p. 178.
3. Luther, Martin: Deutsche Messe vnd Ordnung Gottis Diensts, in Luther's Works, Deutsche Messe of 1526 by Reed, L. D., Vol. VI, p. 159.
4. Cf. Reed, op. cit., p. 76.
5. Luther, Martin: Deutsche Messe vnd Ordnung Gottis Diensts, in Luther's Works, Deutsche Messe of 1526 by Reed, L.D., Vol. VI, p. 159.
6. Cf. Reed, op. cit., p. 76.
7. Luther, Martin: Deutsche Messe vnd Ordnung Gottis Diensts, in Luther's Works, Deutsche Messe of 1526 by Reed, L.D., Vol. VI, p. 159.
8. Harjumpaa, Toive: Luther and Public Worship in Luther Speaks, p. 50.
9. Cf. Maxwell, op. cit., p. 79.

a sermonette on the Lord's Prayer and the Words of Institution reminding the people of the seriousness of the Lord's Supper.¹ Luther suggested forms for the paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer and the exhortation that followed, but the ministers could use what they desired.²

The Communion Office followed. All the prayers that were used in the Missale Romanum at this place in the service were omitted, and the Words of Institution were begun at once. Luther expanded the Words to be used here.³ He included what Matthew, Mark, Luke, and St. Paul wrote telling of what the Lord had said at the Last Supper before eating and drinking of the bread and wine. Luther's Words of Institution were:

"Our Lord Jesus Christ, in the night in which he was betrayed, took bread; and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying: Take, eat; this is my body which is given for you; this do in remembrance of me.

"In like manner, when he had supped, he took also the cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying; Drink ye all of it; this is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for you for the remission of sins; this do, as oft as ye drink of it, in remembrance of me." (Matthew 26: 26ff; Mark 14:22ff; Luke 22: 19ff; I Corinthians 11: 23ff.)⁴

The words were no longer to be said inaudibly, but were to be sung loudly by the minister⁵ to a melody which Luther provided.⁶

The bread was administered as soon as it was consecrated and before the

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1. Schwiebert, op. cit., p. 669.
2. Luther, Martin: Deutsche Messe vnd Ordnung Gottis Diensts, in Luther's Works, Deutsche Messe in 1526, by Reed, L.D., Vol. VI, p. 159.
3. Ibid., p. 160.
4. Luther, Martin: Larger Catechism, p. 174.
5. Luther, Martin: Deutsche Messe vnd Ordnung Gottis Diensts, in Luther's Works, Deutsche Messe in 1526 by Reed, L.D., Vol. VI, p. 160.
6. Kramm, op. cit., p. 96.

consecration of the wine, and while it was being administered, the German versification of Sanctus or a German hymn was sung. While the Cup was being administered, the German Agnus dei or the remainder¹ of the hymn was to be sung.

It was a custom for all the communicants to go forward to the chancel and stand around the altar until it was their turn to receive the Sacraments of the Altar. They knelt while receiving the bread and the wine. First, the men partook of the Sacrament and then the women.² As the minister consecrated the elements, he elevated them as was the practice in the Roman Mass. This act was retained because Luther felt that it was an act of faith and devotion to the Lord, and it well agreed with the German Sanctus. It was also probably kept because of popular feeling on the one hand and as a reaction to the radical changes of some of the liturgical reformers.³ The elevation of the elements was retained in Wittenberg until 1542.⁴

After the Communion Luther suggested the use of a collect of thanksgiving which he had written, Wir danken dir almechtiger Herr Gott,⁵ or "We give thanks to Thee, Almighty God."⁶ The service was concluded with the Aaronitic Benediction.⁷

The Deutsche Messe had most of the parts that the Formula Missae contained except that a difference in order existed in some places. This document gave the people a part in the service that they

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1. Luther, Martin: Deutsche Messe vnd Ordnung Gottis Diensts, in Luther's Works, Deutsche Messe of 1526 by Reed, L.D., Vol. VI, p. 160.
2. Schwiebert, op. cit., p. 669.
3. Luther, Martin: Deutsche Messe vnd Ordnung Gottis Diensts, in Luther's Works, Deutsche Messe of 1526 by Reed, L.D., Vol. VI, p. 160.
4. Schwiebert, op. cit., p. 669.
5. Maxwell, op. cit., p. 79.
6. Luther, Martin: Deutsche Messe vnd Ordnung Gottis Diensts, in Luther's Works, Deutsche Messe of 1526 by Reed, L.D., Vol. VI, p. 160.
7. Ibid., p. 161.

were able to do with understanding. It was a worship service primarily for the uneducated laity, for Luther did not expect this to replace the Latin Mass. In Luther's own mind it possessed limitations.¹

D. Summary

Luther's concept of the Lord's Supper was the basis for his entering the field of liturgical reforms. He knew that worship had to be in accord with the teachings of the Church. His ideas of the meaning and essence of the Eucharist were based on the Word of God from which he had learned that salvation was not earned by the good works that man did but was gift to men who believed in Him. Therefore, Luther's principles governing the expression of worship experiences were not those of the Roman Church. Luther issued three publications which pertained to the order of Divine Worship. In the first document, Von Ordnung Gottis Diensts ynn der Gemeyne (1523), he briefly commented on what should and should not be used in the worship services that were held daily. The second document, Formula Missae, (1523), was his best liturgical piece of work. Luther had carefully selected what was to be left in the Mass and what had to be discarded. He made a few constructive suggestions about the additional use of the sermon and hymns. The third document, Deutsche Messe (1526), probably required the most effort because of the difficulties involved in translating the Roman Mass into an excellent German Mass. These three treatises did a great

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1.Cf. Reed, op. cit., p. 77.

deal in maintaining a re-formation of the Church rather than a revolution. Luther's purpose was to purify the Mass of the Middle Ages in order that the true heritage of the Church, true to the Word of God, might be preserved.

CHAPTER III

THE COMPARISON AND CONTRAST OF THE ROMAN MASS
WITH LUTHER'S ORDERS OF DIVINE WORSHIP

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A. Introduction

In the two previous chapters the Lord's Supper, as doctrinally understood and as liturgically expressed, was studied in the Roman Catholic Church of the sixteenth century and by Martin Luther in his documents, was presented. The present chapter proposes to compare and contrast the doctrinal understanding of the Lord's Supper as held by the Roman Church and as held by Martin Luther, and then to compare and contrast the celebration of the Roman Mass with the Formula Missae and the Deutsche Messe with references to Von Ordnung Gottis Diensts ynn der Gemeyne by Luther.

B. The Lord's Supper as Understood by the Roman Church and Martin Luther

The doctrines of the Lord's Supper as held by the Roman Church of the sixteenth century and Martin Luther will be compared and contrasted under two headings: the sacrament as understood by the Roman Church and Luther and the sacrifice as understood by the Roman Church and Luther.

1. The sacrament as understood by the Roman Church and Luther.

A sacrament has three characteristics. The Roman Church designated them as being an outward sign of an inward grace

instituted by Christ.¹ Luther agreed with this except that he included² an emphasis upon the Word which promised and defined the inward grace³ given to men who had faith.

a. The outward sign.

The outward sign was the use of bread and wine in eating and drinking.⁴ Unleavened bread⁵ and wine mixed with water were used by the Roman Church in the sixteenth century.⁶ Luther preferred the use of pure wine⁷ instead of the wine mixed with water, but use of unleavened bread was⁸ continued.

b. The inward grace.

The inward grace or the invisible sign was a means of making God's mercy available to man according to the Roman Church. This concept rested on the doctrine of sacrifice when a perfect oblation was made to God to appease him so that man in turn would receive remission of sins. The inward grace was given to man in spite of the moral character of the administering priest or the unworthiness of the communicant.⁹ Immediately upon receiving the sacrament, the communicant was nourished spiritually,¹⁰ for he had received the actual body of Christ.

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1. Ante, pp. 14-15.
2. Piepkorn, op. cit., p. 16.
3. Luther, Martin: A Treatise Concerning the Blessed Sacrament and Concerning the Brotherhoods, in Luther's Works, Vol. II, tr. by Schindel, p. 9.
4. Ibid., p. 9.
5. Howell-Smith, op. cit., p. 290.
6. Ante, p. 25.
7. Ante, p. 43.
8. Brilioth, op. cit., p. 127.
9. Ante, p. 20.
10. Ante, p. 16.

The chief significance of the Eucharist for Luther was the element of fellowship and the element of Mystery. Fellowship at the altar was first of all fellowship with God, and then because all those who believe in Him are of one body, there must be a fellowship among the believers. Luther also believed that there was an element of Mystery in the Lord's Supper so that the celebration was a means by which a communicant more fully realized the blessings of God after receiving the sacrament.¹ A communicant was never left unaffected, and this did not depend upon his worthiness.² Through the Word of Promise the recipient of Communion received forgiveness, life, and salvation.³

c. Luther's and Rome's Understanding of the Lord's Supper as instituted by Christ.

The Roman Church gave to Christ's words at the Last Supper a literal meaning when Christ instituted the sacrament. They held that when Christ said, "This is my body," he actually meant that, the bread that the disciples were all to share in eating was actually the body of Christ. This doctrine was known as transubstantiation. The elements continued to look like bread and wine, but the appearance of the bread and the wine were only "Accidents." The "substance", that was hidden by the "accidents", was

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1. Ante, pp. 33, 34.

2. Luther, Martin: Larger Catechism, p. 183.

3. Ante, p. 35.

actually the Christ in his entirety.¹ Thereafter, until the destruction of "accident" by digestion of the communicant, the elements remained the body and blood of Christ unless something unforeseen happened to the sacrament, such as its being nibbled on by a mouse.² All that was involved in the doctrine of transubstantiation was incomprehensible. The whole Christ was present in every drop of the wine and every morsel of the bread. Therefore, it was not necessary to administer both the Host and the chalice to a communicant. Since there was the danger of spilling the precious "wine", the chalice was withheld from all but the priests and other hierarchy. It is evident that, although the Roman Church understood the Words of Institution literally, they did not imitate his actions in regard to administering the bread and the wine.³

One of the reasons that the Roman Church of the sixteenth century gave for not following Christ's example of action was that the disciples were believed to have been commissioned by Jesus as priests who would continue to pronounce the Words of Institution and so work the miracle that had been worked when Jesus first spoke the Words over the bread and wine. The priests were the privileged who were allowed to partake of both. The disciples, who were the first priests, passed on the power to transubstantiate to succeeding priests. The validity of the power to transubstantiate was not dependent upon the character

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1. Ante, p. 17.
2. Von Hase, op. cit., pp. 258-259.
3. Ante, p. 19.

of the priest. Once he had received the super-natural power, he always had it, even though he became a heretic. The priests were looked upon¹ as privileged persons in the sixteenth century.

Luther believed that Christ meant for the Words of Institution² to be taken literally. However, there was a great contrast between what Luther understood about the Eucharist and what the Roman Church dogmatically believed. Redemption was not wrought by the eating and drinking of the elements, but by the word of God on His part and faith on our part.³ Luther rediscovered the fellowship that the disciples had with their Lord at the Last Supper which was continued in the memorial suppers found in the book of the Acts. There was no room for the idea of a privileged group such as the priests in the sight of God because everyone alike depended on God's gift of grace for redemption. The Lord's Supper afforded an opportunity for fellowship with God as well as with the other saints of the Church. Luther believed that Christ had instituted the sacrament as a seal to his testimony which promised forgiveness⁴ of sins to all who believed.

To Luther God was immanent (remaining near or in); but God could not be localized. Christ was present in a real way and in both natures since they are inseparable, but there was no change in the earthly or heavenly elements when the Words of Institution were spoken. The consecration of the elements, however, did not make the celebration

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1. Ante, p. 20.
2. Luther, Martin: Larger Catechism, p. 175.
3. Ibid., pp. 178, 179.
4. Ante, pp. 33, 34.

of the Lord's Supper valid. It was the Word of God which made the ordinary bread and wine become the bread and the wine of the sacrament.¹

2. The Understanding of Sacrifice by the Roman and Luther.

After the Roman Catholic priests had transubstantiated the elements of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, the very physical body and blood as well as His divine nature were consumed by the communicants, which is what Jesus had commanded. This "destruction of a sensible thing" was looked upon as the unbloody sacrifice of a perfect oblation before God. Because of the unworthiness of the mortal priests, only Christ, the High Priest was worthy of offering Himself to God as the perfect oblation. He offers himself to God for the sake of men and then allowed man to consume him which brings about a mystical death because of the destruction of the sacrament. The mode of death, which was once Calvary, had changed, but the essence of the sacrifice was the same. Only through Christ's sacrifice could man earn forgiveness of sins. The more a man consumed the sacrament, the more he then deserved redemption.²

Basing his conviction on the Scriptures, Luther declared that the one sacrifice of Christ on the cross on Calvary was all that was needed.³ Luther considered the idea of a continual sacrifice of Christ as being abominable. His testament-idea left no room for such a theory.

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1. Ante, pp. 35, 36.

2. Ante, p. 20.

3. Luther, Martin: Larger Catechism, p. 78.

However, he did maintain some elements of sacrifice. Offering praise and thanks to God for His great mercy and rendering oneself to God in dedication to His will were the sacrifices God wanted man to make. Luther ventured one step further than those ideas which he had from the Roman Church. From the Epistle to the Hebrews Luther imaged Christ as the High Priest before the "face of God" who was mediator¹ for us, and so we ought to cast all our needs upon Christ.

C. Comparison and Contrast of the Roman Church's Liturgy and Luther's liturgy

This section will point out the general principles behind the worship in the Roman Church as compared and contrasted with those that guided Luther's reforms. Then the Roman Mass and the worship service of Luther will be compared and contrasted.

1. Principles of Worship

The Roman Mass of the sixteenth century was a pageant. The active participants in the service were the priests and the choir who re-enacted to some extent the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ. It was a spectacle that the congregation watched and often failed to understand fully because the language used was Latin, which most of the laity did not know. This had led to many abuses of which Martin Luther wanted to rid his church. One of Luther's greatest

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1. Ante, p. 34.

contributions to Christian worship was his restoring the idea of the fellowship of believers. To apply such a principle to worship meant making the worship intelligible (e.g. use of the vernacular) to the congregation so that all might share in worshipping together in fellowship with God.¹

The priest and the choir of the Roman Church carried through the audible parts of the service by chanting them in Gregorian tones. Luther, a lover of music, made in his Deutsche Messe musical notation in Gregorian tones which fit the translation of the Latin Mass into German. Luther suggested the tones that the minister might use for the reading of the Collect, the Epistle, and the Gospel. The intoning of the Lord's Prayer would be the same as it was in the Roman Mass, and since the Words of Institution were spoken audibly in Luther's Masses rather than silently as in the Roman Mass, Luther suggested that the minister use the same tone² for those words that he used for the Lord's Prayer.

In Luther's Masses the people began to participate in the service by singing. In the Roman Mass the choir sang the Introit, the Kyrie, and the Gloria in excelsis and the Gradual with possibly the Alleluia and Sequence, the Nicene Creed, and the Sanctus.³ In Luther's Deutsche Messe he suggested the use of a German hymn or a German Psalm to take the place of the Introit and the Gradual. He omitted the Gloria in excelsis. The Nicene Creed, the Sanctus, and the Agnus dei

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1. Ante, pp. 33-34.

2. Ante, pp. 47-52.

3. Cf. Maxwell, op. cit., p. 71.

were translated into German verse.¹ The use of hymns in the vernacular² were suggested in his earlier Mass, the Formula Missae.

In the Roman Mass the ministers prayed many of their prayers and pronounced the Words of Institution silently. Luther believed that the people should hear everything that was said, since it was through learning of God and his promises that the people would know of God's redemptive love. The Words of Institution, especially, should be said aloud. In his Deutsche Messe Luther emphasized the importance of hearing Christ's promise as given in the Words of Institution by suggesting that the celebrant sing them loudly.

The persons, except the priests and other hierarchy, who received the Sacrament of the Altar in the Roman Church only received the Host. Since Luther believed that both elements should be administered, he had the problem of suggesting ways of administering the elements. In his Formula Missae he left it up to the individual ministers to decide whether both elements would be consecrated and then administered, or whether the bread would be consecrated and administered and the wine likewise.

Luther did not want a Mass that he wrote to become simply another spectacle for the people. Through his revised Masses, particularly the Deutsche Messe, he hoped that the people might learn to know God so that they might believe in Him.³ Therefore, the Word of God, the Bible, was a fundamental principle. This led to his insisting that

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1. Ante, pp. 48-51.

2. Luther, Martin: *Formula missae et communionis pro ecclesia Wittenbergensis*, Vol. VI, tr. by Strodsch, P.Z., p. 94.

3. Ante, p. 48.

the Gospel and the Epistle lessons be read in the vernacular, and the sermon was to be preached on the Gospel lesson. Because Luther was cautious about having a service that was too different from what they were used to, he permitted the continued use of lights and incense as in the Roman Mass, while other elements in the Roman Mass were omitted because they were abuses.¹ Luther's introduction of hymn singing into his Masses was a great factor in enabling the congregation to worship their God together.

2. The Orders of Worship

a. The Liturgy of the Word

Luther's Formula Missae, which was in Latin, was very similar to the Roman Mass in its order of worship from the Introit to the Nicene Creed. In the Roman Mass the choir sang the Introit, the Kyrie Eleison, and the Gloria in excelsis while the priest prayed and confessed his sins.² The only difference that Luther made in his Formula Missae³ was that he suggested the use of the whole Psalm for the Introit. In his Deutsche Messe he substituted a German hymn or a psalm that had been translated into German for the Introit. The inaudible prayers and the priest's confession of sins were eliminated from both of Luther's Masses. The Kyrie Eleison became a threefold rather than a ninefold chant, and the Gloria in excelsis was omitted from the Deutsche Messe.⁴ The Kyrie

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1. Ante, pp.42, 43.

2. Ante, pp.38-47.

3. Ibid.

4. Ante, pp.47-52.

Eleison and the Gloria in excelsis were used in the Formula Missae as¹
they were in the Roman Mass.

The Salutation and the Collect in the Roman Mass were followed by the Epistle lesson, the Gradual, Alleluia, and the Sequence, the Gospel lesson, and the Nicene Creed. Luther carefully selected from the Collects of the Roman Church those that were devotional in nature, and he preferred the Epistle and Gospel lessons which were on faith. In the Formula Missae Luther suggested that the Gradual be shortened and its use be made more uniform from Sunday to Sunday. Only three of the² various Sequences of the Roman Mass were acceptable to him. The Gradual, the Alleluia, and the Sequences were discarded for a German hymn in³ Luther's German Mass. The Nicene Creed was sung in Latin in the Roman⁴ Mass and in the Formula Missae, but in the Deutsche Messe Luther translated it into German verse. A sermon followed the Creed in Luther's Masses, but the Roman rite used the Nicene Creed as a transition between the first part of the Missale Romanum and the celebration of the Lord's Supper.

b. The Liturgy of the Upper Room.

The Office of Holy Communion or the celebration of the Lord's Supper in the Roman Mass began with the Offertory which included the preparation of the elements and their being offered to God.

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1. Ante, p. 40.
2. Ante, p. 41.
3. Ante, p. 41.
4. Ante, p. 42.

The Preface followed with prayers for the purpose of preparing the communicants for the miracle of the sacrifice of the Roman Mass.¹

From the Preface Luther took only a few selected things. In his Formula Missae he suggested that the preparation of the elements for Holy Communion be done after the sermon. Then the Salutation, the Sursum, the Gratias, and the Vere dignum from the Preface were used.²

The Deutsche Messe omits all of the Offertory and Preface except the Sanctus, which is used after the Words of Institution, in both Masses.³

The liturgy of the Lord's Supper in the Missale Romanum reached its climax in the Canon when the Words of Consecration wrought the miracle of transubstantiation while everyone adored the "body and blood of Christ." Then the priest said the Lord's Prayer, broke the Host, and dropped a piece of it into the Chalice. He sang the Agnus dei, a plea for peace, and the Pax, the grant of peace. After that the priest communicated of both kinds. Then he administered to the laity in one kind.⁴

In the Formula Missae Luther quoted from the Vulgate the Words of Institution rather than from the Roman Mass. The Words were to be said audibly followed by the Sanctus and the elevation of the elements. The Lord's Prayer was prayed, the Pax given, and the Agnus dei sung, after which the minister communicated and then administered both elements to the people.⁵ The Deutsche Messe varied in that the Words of Institution had been expanded. The Sanctus or a hymn during the administration of bread, and the Agnus dei or a hymn was sung while the cup was administered.⁶

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1. Ante, p. 25.
2. Ante, p. 43.
3. Ante, p. 50.
4. Ante, pp. 27-29.
5. Ante, pp. 43-45.
6. Ante, p. 51.

The Roman Mass followed the Communion with a post Communion Collect of thanksgiving, after which the dismissal and benediction were given.¹ The Formula Missae suggested the use of two collects to take the place of the Post Communion Collect in the Roman Mass. Then there was the Benedicamus domino (Let us bless the Lord)² and the Alleluia and then a benediction.³ The Deutsche Messe used a thanksgiving Collect written by Luther and closed with the Aaronitic Benediction.⁴

D. Summary

Although Luther agreed with the Roman Church about the Lord's Supper being a sacrament, he disagreed with some of the theories about it. These theories grew out of the Lord's Supper, not only as a sacrament, but as a sacrifice. At the pronouncement of the Words of Consecration by the priests the bread and the wine became the real body and blood of Christ, who was then offered to God as a perfect oblation for man's sins. Luther believed that Christ was present and a means of grace to the communicant, but that the bread was still bread and the wine still wine. Instead of the Lord's Supper being a sacrifice, Luther understood it to be a fellowship with God and with all the saints.

Luther saw abuses in the Roman rite that needed to be changed in order that the worship service might be in harmony with his understanding of the Lord's Supper. Therefore, in his liturgical reforms he excluded the impurities of the Missale Romanum, but he maintained all that he felt was beautiful and true. His aim was not to create a new worship service but to reform the liturgy of the church.

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1. Ante, p. 30.

2. Ante, p. 46.

3. Ante, p. 46.

4. Ante, p. 51.

CHAPTER IV
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

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The purpose of this thesis was to compare and contrast a typical Roman Catholic Mass of the sixteenth century with the worship services developed by Martin Luther. After the historical background of the Last Supper and the liturgy a Roman Mass of the sixteenth century was studied in order to see how the Lord's Supper was expressed. It was composed of a study of a Mass in two parts: the Liturgy of the Word and the Liturgy of the Upper Room. The Liturgy of the Word consisted of prayer and instruction. The components of the Liturgy of the Upper Room were: the Offertory; the Preface; the Canon; the Communion; Post Communion; and Ite, missa est: benedicto.

A specific study of the meaning of the Lord's Supper, which had become known as the Mass of the Church, was made in order to know the meaning and the implications of its dogma.

Then a study was made of Luther's understanding of the Last Supper and his efforts to purify the Roman Mass. In doing so, he published three documents which dealt with the specific problem of a suitable order of worship. The first document was the Von Ordnung Gottis Diensts ynn der Gemeyne in which he very briefly states the main things he does not like and makes a few suggestions about what might be done. In the same year that the document was issued, his Formula Missae was published. That was a complete order of worship, which was very similar to the Roman Mass in many sections. The components that were omitted as being erroneous were those relating to the

sacrifice as it was observed in the Roman Mass. The third document that Luther published was the Deutsche Messe. In it he encouraged much congregational participation. The vernacular was used.

The conclusions that can be drawn from this study are that the Offertory, Preface, and Canon of the Roman Mass were almost completely eliminated by Martin Luther because of the sacrificial nature of those sections. Many of the sections that he retained were chants and responses that had been used in the early Church. He discarded all that was anti-biblical, and he retained all that was in harmony with the Word of God.

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