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ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF LITURGICAL TRADITIONS IN COURLAND IN THE 16TH – 19TH CENTURIES

16th century Courland had no major metropolitan center of the size and importance of Riga, Tartu (Dorpat), or Tallinn (Reval). The population consisted mainly of peasants and the nobility on whose lands they lived and worked. The Courlandians looked to nearby Riga not only in civil matters, but also in matters pertaining to the church's doctrine, faith, and liturgical worship. Without a middle class it was left to knights and other nobility to propagate the Reformation. Already by 1532 the Courlandian nobility had established a close affinity to evangelical preaching, worship, and doctrine which had so quickly come to predominate church life in Riga. The "*Religionsbündniss mehrerer kurländischer Edelleute mit der Stadt Riga wegen Aufrechthaltung des evangelischen Bekenntnisses*," which was signed on February 6, 1532, bears witness to the desire of Courlandian nobility to share in the treasures of the Gospel rightly taught.¹ At that time there were only a few Lutheran pastors in Courland with small widely scattered flocks and no developed ecclesiastical structure or a uniquely Courlandian canon law. It was sufficient to use the relevant Riga ecclesiastical documents and Briesmann's 1530 liturgy. Even after the enactment of the Courlandian Church Order of 1570, Briesmann's liturgy would continue to be used.

The situation changed during the Livonian Wars. The Livonian Confederation collapsed and the Duchy of Courland and Zemgale came under the control of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. On November 28, 1561 Gotthard von Kettler, the last master of the Livonian Order signed a pact of subjection and other relevant documents with Lithuania and Poland. Included among the conditions which were agreed by King Sigismund II August, were the free exercise of the *Augsburg Confession* and ecclesiastical autonomy.²

In the midst of Roman Catholics and Calvinists Gotthard von Kettler was concerned to firmly establish the Lutheran Reformation in Courland. His first step was to appoint his court preacher Stephan Bülow as superintendent and to sponsor an ecclesiastical visitation in the region. Both matters were accomplished in 1565. The results of that visitation were reminiscent of the results of the visitation of the Saxon parishes in 1528, to which Luther had in effect exclaimed "What a mess!" It was clear to Gotthard that the reformation of his churches must take priority over other matters.

Duke Gotthard determined that there could be no place in Courland for itinerant reformers who would stir up the people to riot. The road to Reformation would be orderly, according to a definite program, supported by the nobility and leading citizens of the land, and applied uniformly throughout the region. He found in Courland only three church buildings of any substantial size - in Jelgava (Mitau), Bauska (Bauske), and Dobeles (Doblen), together with a number of smaller wooden chapels.³ It would be necessary to build at least 70 new churches and prepare a sufficient number of clergy to serve them and to build schools. In order to spread Reformation preaching and worship Kettler turned for support to the nobility in his *Landtag* of February 28, 1567.⁴ Time, manpower, and finances would need to be expended so that the Gospel might be proclaimed truthfully and purely and the sacraments rightly administered. To facilitate this program he appointed Councilor Salomon Henning, Viscount Wilhelm von Effern and Court Preacher Alexander Einhorn as "*Visitatoren und Reformatoren in Kurland und Semgallen*" ("*Visitors and Reformers in Courland and Zemgale*"). In 1570 Einhorn was made the superintendent of all churches in the territory with power to carry thorough the reformatory proposals.⁵

The Reformation of the church in Courland was implemented by two documents. The first was "*Kirchenreformation des Fürstenthums Churlandt und Semigallen*, In

Liefflandt." ("The Reformation of the Church in Courland and Ziemgale in Livonia"), published in 1572 in Rostock. It was prepared chiefly by Einhorn and Henning and contained the articles which outlined how the visitation was to be conducted and Reformation was to proceed.⁶ The second document was the *Kirchenordnung* itself. Prepared by Einhorn, presented to the Landtag on September 8 and officially ratified by the herzog and nobility on September 18, this document contained the definitive statement of the doctrine and the ceremonies of the church. It was published in Rostock in 1572 under the title: "*Kirchen Ordnung Wie es mit der Lehr Göttliches worts, Ausstheilung der heiligen Hochwirdigen Sacrament, Christlichen Ceremonien, Ordentlicher ubung, etc*" ("Church Order. How with the Help of God the most Venerable Holy Sacrament is to be Administered and Christian Ceremonies and the Orderly Usages of the True Divine Service are to be Conducted in the Churches of the Duchy of Courland and Ziemgale in Livonia in accordance with the Divine Word of the Lord.").

This book consisted in five divisions under the general title: "*Artickel und Hauptstücke dieser Kirchenordnung*" ("Articles and Chief Parts of this Church Order"). Part three deals with the public worship of the church, including the Daily Office, the Mass, and all pastoral acts. A distinction is made between the ceremonies established in the divine word and *adiaphora*, matters of strictly human origin, which may in cases of necessity be omitted. However, even these should be universally observed throughout the land. Pastor Briesmann in Riga had designated all of them as serving the good of the church and the Courlandians stated their intention to keep them.

In biblical time the day begins when the sun goes down, therefore the Christian observance of the holy day begins with vespers on Saturday evening. After the bell is rung Vespers begins with an antiphon or with the hymn "*Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist*" ("We Now Implore God the Holy Ghost"). Psalm 110 is intoned by the school children and congregation in German. Psalm 4, 113, and 121 follow the same pattern, although occasionally one or two other psalms may be used in German or Latvian. The *responsorium de tempore* or another responsory is sung by the school master. If necessary some other psalm may be sung instead. The pastor then reads a short admonition to repentance and confession and worthy preparation for the reception of Sacrament. This is followed by an appropriate hymn, as in Riga, and, after the *Magnificat*, the Collect and the *Benedicamus Domino*. In the spirit of Psalm 150 special music may also be included.⁷

A form for private confession and absolution is provided. All are expected to come for the absolution in preparation for the reception of the Sacrament at least four times a year. In the confession the priest stands in the place of God, for God has put him there. He uses the general form of confession found in the Luther's Small Catechism.⁸

Sunday morning divine service begins with the Office of Matins, as in Riga, at 6 AM, after the sexton had prepared the altar for the celebration of the Sacrament. Only the high altar is to be used. On it are two lighted candles, with a third candle in the pulpit. No other candles are to be used, to avoid the old idolatry associated with the lighting of candles.

The service begins with the antiphon *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, in Latin or German, or either "*Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist*", or "*Komm, Heiliger Geist, Herre Gott*" ("Come Holy Ghost, Lord God"). This is followed by an octave from Psalm 119, or Psalms 1, 2, 3 in German. Then follows reading from the Old or New Testaments and the *Te Deum laudamus* is sung in German, as in Riga, or Luther's paraphrase "*Herr Gott, dich loben wir*" ("Lord God, thy Praise we sing"). The elaborateness of the service is determined by the facilities of the church in which it is held. In the ducal chapel and large parish churches pastors, deacons, and school masters are involved. In country side churches with one pastor the service is simplified.⁹

On festivals and Sundays the Mass proper begins after Matins with a Latin Introit or the German hymn. The *Kyrie* and *Gloria in Excelsis* are sung in German or Latin, or the congregation may sing the hymn "*Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr*" ("All Glory Be to God on

High"), by Nicolaus Decius. This is followed by the Salutation, Collect, and Epistle. Among less educated Latvians a section from the catechism may be used instead of the Epistle. This is followed by the Tract or Sequence (*Sequentia pro tempore*) and Alleluia or a hymn, or either the full or shorter Litany. The pastor then speaks the Salutation and reads the Gospel of the day. After it the Latin Creed (*Patrem*) or a vernacular version of it, or Luther's paraphrase "*Wir glauben all an einen Gott*" ("*We All Believe in One True God*") is sung.¹⁰

The pulpit office begins with prayers which conclude with the Our Father said silently. The subject matter of Latvian sermons is the chief parts of the catechism. On festival days one of several specified hymns may be intoned from the pulpit. Then the Gospel is read once again "...in a very clearly and consoling manner." The sermon is to be no more than an hour long. When the sermon is concluded, there is a prayer of thanksgiving and the preacher admonishes the people to pray according to need and necessity. Sermons are to be on the Gospel of the day.¹¹

If there are no communicants, the pastor is to use a form from the Wittenberg Church Order to admonish the people not to neglect the sacrament. Then the Litany or some other suitable prayer, or an appropriate hymn is sung and the service concludes with the Benediction.¹²

It is expected that ordinarily Holy Communion will be celebrated every Sunday. Although Latin was still used in Riga, the services in Courland would be in the vernacular. In the ducal court and other places the fully noted proper Prefaces may be used on the high feasts of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. The consecration, announced by the ringing of a small bell, follows the Preface. After the consecration the choir sings "*Jesaia, dem Propheten das geschah*" ("*Isaiah mighty Seer*") – the German *Sanctus* from Luther's German Mass. Then follows the singing of the Our Father, the *Agnus Dei* or "Lamb of God, pure and holy," and the *Pax Domini* – the evangelical absolution. The priest and all others commune according to the rubrics and formula of the Riga Order. It is stated that what reminds of the wine is to be drunk by the last communicants, not the priest. Nothing is given here concerning the conclusion of the service. It is to conclude, as in Riga, with the post-Communion thanksgiving, *Benedicamus*, and Benediction.¹³

Sunday Vespers begins at 1:30 PM with the singing of an appropriate seasonal antiphon or "*Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist*" ("*We now implore God, the Holy Spirit*"). The Psalms are 111, 112, Isaiah 12, and Psalm 114. Other psalms or responsories may be used at the high feasts. After a hymn the Magnificat is sung and the deacon prays the Collect. Then the preacher preaches the midday sermon on the catechism or the Sunday Epistle. He is to preach no more than one hour. Then the German hymn is sung and the service concludes with the usual ceremonies. In smaller churches hymns on the chief parts of the catechism and the *Gloria in excelsis Deo* ("*Allein Gott in der Hoh sei Ehr*") are sung instead.¹⁴

The pastor is always to be appropriately dressed. Before the altar on Sundays and all other Holy Communion services he wears an alb or rochet, like the angel of the Lord is described in Malachi 2. On high feasts he may wear the chasuble and other Mass vestments. In the pulpit he wears his cassock.¹⁵

Einhorn's Courlandian Church Order is the only Baltic church order produced in that period. It provides us with a rich and detailed picture of the conduct of public worship, the work of the ministry, and church life in Courland. It makes rich use of Briesmann's Riga order, but it also quotes from the Wittenberg church order. However, it does not slavishly follow either one of them. Einhorn supplements the Riga order by providing common forms for pastoral acts for the sake of uniformity in the church. He stresses the importance of teaching proper ceremonial, gestures, such as kneeling and the making of the sign of the cross. These actions are to be a uniform public exposition of the faith and devotion of the people. This order is evangelical, but not Reformed and catholic, but not Roman. It is filled with the spirit of the ecumenical creeds, the unaltered *Augsburg Confession*, Luther's Catechisms, and the other confessional writings. It is not in any Calvinist sense that Einhorn speaks of obedience, as

though discipline and penitence were to be taught with the rod, or obedience constituted faith. Against Roman superstition he teaches the proper significance and use of the sign of the holy cross, the use of candles, liturgical vestments, and other traditional usages, over against the Romanistic superstitions which have soiled these practices among the followers of the Bishop of Rome.

This order articulated a vibrant Lutheran piety which would provide a line of defense in later times against the inroads of anthropocentric pietism, which claimed that the real spirit of Luther and Lutheranism had been lost and could only be regained as the people turned inward to cultivate a private faith.

Duke Gotthard's theology was staunchly confessional. When the *Formula of Concord* was subscribed in 1577, he became its defender and was grieved that many princes in Germany paid it so little regard.¹⁵ He revered what was ancient and consonant with the Gospel, but he also was a man of his own era, not afraid to engage the culture of his own day in understandable terms. Under his leadership the Courlandian Church flourished and developed a staunchly Lutheran character which would equip its pastors to be theologians not easily bettered even by the learned theological professors in later generations.

Now it was necessary that a work be made available also to those who spoke Latvian. Therefore the book *"Undeutsche Psalmen und geistliche Lieder oder Gesenge, etc."* ("Non-German Psalms and Spiritual Hymns and Songs which shall be sung in the Churches in the Principality of Courland and Ziemgale in Livonia") was published in Königsberg in 1587. The groundwork for this little service book was laid by Pastor Johannes Rivius of Dobeles, as a resource for local pastors. The 1587 hymnal follows the well established pattern of the Briesmann liturgy, as it is found in the Courlandian *Kirchenrecht* of 1570.¹⁷ Even before that year in 1586 there appeared in Latvian translation in a single volume the rites for Baptism and Marriage, appended to the Enchiridion of Luther's Small Catechism.¹⁸ This was a helpful resource for German pastors who ministered to the Latvian speaking parishioners.

A second Courlandian Latvian hymnal was published in 1615, included in which are the Passion of Christ, Gospels, Epistles, and catechism. It was edited by Pastor Gotthard Reimer from Bauska.¹⁹

A third Courlandian hymnal was published in Jelgava in 1685, under the title: *"Lettische Geistliche Lieder und Collecten Wie sie so wol in öffentlicher Christlicher Versammlung alß auch zu Hause in Andacht zugebrauchen"* ("Latvian Spiritual Songs and Collects as Used in the Public Christian Gatherings at Home and in Church. In Part Assembled by the most Worthy and Highly Educated Mr. George Mancelius, Licentiate in the Holy Scriptures and Court Preacher for the Duchy of Courland, Translated from German, Also in Part Authored by the Equally Worthy and Learned Mr. Christopher Fürecker, Serious Student of the Holy Scriptures, Improved with Freely Flowing Rhymes, and Augmented by him and Other Christian Lovers of the Latvian Language with Many Nice Rhymic Songs, and for the First Time Assembled Together and Issued, and with the Initial Letters of the Names of the Translators by Heinrich Adolphi, the Superintendent of the Duchy of Courland and Ziemgale and Head Pastor at Mitau."). This book differed greatly from its predecessors. No longer does the Sunday Mass stand at the beginning of the book as the center of worship life with all hymns and devotions flowing out of it. The pattern here is much the same as in the Riga 1685 hymnal. The book is set up as the traditional hymnal beginning with hymns for Advent and moving from there through the church year. This is followed by hymns based on the six chief parts of the catechism given in the catechism order. Alternative translations of German hymns by Georg Mancelius and Christopher Fürecker are provided, along with traditional collects and responsories, and yet the Courlandians have not simply copied the Riga 1685 Book and named it their own. As in the Riga 1685 hymnal the Sacrament of the Altar is placed in catechism fashion, after the section on justification (absolution). The *Sanctus* is used only at Christmas and the other chief feasts. Several alternative *Sanctus* are

provided, none of which are identical to the Sanctus in the 1587 Book.

Communion still begins with the Preface and the *vere dignum*. The Words of Christ's Testament follow. After the consecration the *Sanctus* is sung in a form which differs from that of Riga and the older books. Then follows the invitation to prayer and the Our Father, as earlier, and the *Agnus Dei*. After the *Agnus Dei* comes the evangelical absolution (*Pax Domini*), as before. The Salutation before the post-Communion collect is dropped, replaced by the versicle "Give thanks to the Lord, for he is good. Alleluia", and response "And his mercy endures forever. Alleluia." Three alternative collects are included. The service closes with the short blessing and the choral response.²⁰

The new rite represented no distinctive improvement over the old. Notations concerning alternative usages probably simply indicate that the Latvian speaking congregations put their own individual congregational stamp on their celebration of the liturgy. In general evolution of the liturgy follows Riga, indication that the Courlandians still kept their eyes on what was happening in Riga.

It was in 1727 that a Latvian agenda finally appeared together with up-to-date hymnal. Responsible for both was the Pastor Alexander Gräven, superintendent of the Courlandian Church and chief pastor of the congregation in Jelgava. Gräven was a staunch Lutheran, unwilling to cave in to Pietism, as the Livonian and Estonian superintendents had. In addition he was the man of careful scholarship, theologically and liturgically conservative in nature, who wished to preserve as much as possible of the heritage of the church. At the same time he was a man of his own age, conversant with and willing to make use of what was of value in contemporary culture. He was born in 1679 and ordained in 1699. He served as a pastor for 47 years and held positions of leadership in Courland for almost 30 years.²¹ He was a churchman, convinced that the pietists and others were wrong in rejecting the liturgy which had for such a long period so well served the Courlandian Church. He asserted that no one should claim for himself the right to ignore or alter the provisions which the church has firmly ratified as her own in 1570 order.

The agenda was published in Jelgava in 1727 at the publishing house of Georg Radetzky, under the title: "*Lettische Neu verbesserte-und vollständige Kirchen-Agende Oder Hand-Buch, etc.*" ("*The Latvian Newly Improved and Complete Church Agenda and Handbook in which are Included the Gospels, Epistles and the History of the Birth, Suffering, Death and Resurrection and Ascension of Jesus Christ our Savior, the Sending of the Holy Spirit and the Terrible Destruction of the City of Jerusalem, etc.*"). This newly improved agenda was in fact the first published in Latvian for Courlandian Church. It would no longer be necessary for pastors to use manuscript translations of German rituals; one form and one wording in Latvian could be used everywhere and by all in Courland.

The agenda begins with the propers for Sundays of the church year. This is followed by the history of the Passion of Christ and the Destruction of Jerusalem, the formula for Baptism, the priestly blessing of a child received emergency Baptism, the formulas for marriage, prayers of intercession and thanksgiving to be used from the pulpit, the investiture or setting in order of pastors, and register of parishes in the Courlandian Church.

The service of the Holy Communion is identical in every respect to the Holy Communion service found in 1685 Hymnal. There was no need to include Communion hymns, since they were already available in the 1727 Hymnal.²²

Gräven's work bares witness to how worship was being conducted in all Courlandian congregations both German and Latvian during this period. Little is now known of any German agenda published during this time. It appears that amended editions of the 1570 liturgy were in use in the congregations. Earlier during the short administration of Frederik Casimir Kettler, who was duke of Courland from 1692 to 1698, some attempts had been made to meet the needs of German speaking pastors. Superintendent Johann Adolf Hollenhagen was charged with the responsibility of procuring the paper and printing the work. It is not known whether the work was ever published.²³

The task of producing the new German agenda was taken up again during the time of Duke Ferdinand Kettler who ruled from 1717 until 1737. The situation was urgent. Pietism was sweeping through the Baltic lands and liturgies were being abused, dismembered, or all together cast aside. The Tartu (Dorpat) faculty was powerless to stop the relentless advance of the new spiritual movement. By 1740 Pietism was espoused by the highest consistorial office holders in the Livonian and Estonian consistories.²⁴ Only the Courlandian consistory was able to counter the theologically and liturgically corrosive new theology. The consistory stood firm, but in the countryside parishes pastors were increasingly following the whims of the peasantry who cared little for theology and wanted worship and sermons that were down-to-earth, folksy, and heartwarming. The *Gloria in Excelsis*, hymns, including Luther's *Te Deum Laudamus* ("Herr Gott, dich loben wir"), and Decius' *Gloria in Excelsis* ("Allein Gott in der Hoh sei Ehr") were discarded, because the farmers complained that the service was too long. Furthermore the pietists and new thinkers wanted to see the service "improved." The weekly collects were dropped and replaced by a single collect to be used every Sunday. Although the old service was still used only in the larger German churches, the situation in rural areas was chaotic. No two congregations followed the same order.²⁵

Understanding that the situation was serious, Duke Ferdinand Kettler commissioned Superintendent Alexander Gräven to compile and publish a new German agenda. The result of his labors were completed on November 1, 1741 and published in Jelgava, as: "*Vollständiges Kirchen-Buch, Darinnen Alle Priesterliche Handlungen und requisita ministerii ecclesiastici, etc.*" ("*Complete Church Book in which are Included all Priestly Acts for Ministers of the Church which have been Used in the Duchy of Courland and Ziemgale. By the Decree and Expense of the Highest Authority Now for the First Time Put into Print in a Suitable Arrangement for the Convenient Use of those in the Preaching Ministry*"). The agenda is divided into four main sections which include Sunday propers, major liturgical acts, service prayers, and formularies for pastoral acts.

The pattern of the Sunday service is found in part three: "*Allgemeine Kirchen-Gebete An denen Fest- Sonn- und Wöchentlichen Kirch- Tagen*," under the title: "*Diaeta des Gottesdienstes. Am Sonntage in der Haupt Predigt*."²⁶ The services are given in the form of a directory and one must look elsewhere in the book to find the prayers and readings referred to in it. The directory indicates that Holy Communion should be celebrated in the chief service every Sunday morning, but also includes notes concerning services without Holy Communion. This indicates that even at this late day the full service of Gospel and Sacrament was the norm in Courland.

The Sunday Mass begins with Luther's *German Te Deum* ("Herr Gott, dich loben wir"), followed by the *Kyrie*. The pastor intones the *Gloria* and the congregation sings "*Allein Gott in der Hoh sei Ehr*." Then follows the Sunday Collect and the Epistle. The directory does not specifically mention the Gospel, but the proper Gospels are all found in the book. The sermon hymn is sung and after the sermon the German Creed "*We all believe in one true God*" ("*Wir glauben all an einen Gott*").²⁷ After this a general hymn is sung. The order for Holy Communion is similar to that found in the 1727 Latvian agenda. It begins with the Preface. During the singing of the Salutation "The Lord be with you," the pastor makes the sign of the cross. A single short form is used throughout the year. The pastor closes the Preface with the words "O Holy Lord, almighty Father, eternal God, through Christ our Lord." Then he immediately says the words of consecration, but there is no provision for the sign of the cross. After the consecration the choir sings a form of the *Sanctus*. Unlike the 1570 Order which called of the singing of Luther's hymn "*Jesaia, dem Propheten das geschah*" ("*Isaiah mighty seer*"), the new order includes only a portion of that hymn: "Holy is our God, holy is our God, holy is our God, the Lord of Sebaoth." The pastor then sings the Our Father through the sixth petition and the choir responds "But deliver us from evil. Amen". The choir sings "*O Lamm Gottes unschuldig*", as in 1570 agenda, and the priest blesses the people with the *Pax Domini* and the sign of the cross. After communion there is a versicle, collect, and the

Benediction.²⁸

Compared to the earlier 1570 agenda the new work is somewhat impoverished. The service is not written out and the only ceremony mentioned is the sign of the cross. Nothing is said about standing, sitting, or kneeling. At the same time it must be noted that this large work is clearly an attempt to provide an up-to-date version of that form of worship which had been first established in 1570. Elsewhere by 1740's liturgies had deteriorated or been discarded. Only the barren outline of the traditional service were still in use in Prussia.²⁹ The Mass used in Livonia and Estonia was that imposed by the Swedish king. Had they been able to follow their own pietist inclinations, the situation there might simply mirrored the Prussian use. The Courlandians, however, were able to maintain their traditional rites and ceremonies. The main elements of the service remained intact and it can be assumed that the traditional vestments were still in use. A pastor introduced into his parish promised that he would in no way alter the uses and ceremonies of the church. This contributed to a sense of continuity lacking elsewhere.

A new edition of the Courlandian German agenda was printed in Jelgava in 1765 under the title: "*Vollständiges Kirchen-Buch, darinnen alle Priesterliche Handelungen und requisa ministerii ecclesiastici, etc.*" ("*Complete Church Book, in which are Included All Priestly Acts and Needs of Ministers of the Church who are in the Duchy of Courland and Ziemgale. Set down for the Convenient Use of those in the Preaching Ministry, Newly Improved Edition.*"). The editorial preface from 1741 is dropped along with the form for the burial of the young and a prayer after the sermon at a service of Ordination. There are a few additions. The 1741 Holy Communion service is unchanged.³⁰

It is noteworthy that at this time the Courlandian church stood firm against the such innovations as public confession and absolution in the service. In 1756 Piltene had introduced this innovation, but Courland did not.³¹ Private confession was still the norm, and the form for the consecration of a new church included the blessing of the confessional (*Beichtstuhl*).

Latvian speaking congregations also needed an up-to-date agenda. This need was satisfied in 1744 when Hartung's Press in Königsberg published a new book of liturgical ceremonies and formularies in the Latvian tongue, under the title: "*Lettische Neu verbesserte und vollständige Kirchen-Agenda oder Hand-Buch, etc.*" ("*Newly Improved and Complete Latvian Church Agenda and Handbook, in which are Also the Gospels, Epistles, the History of the Birth, Passion, Death, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Sending of the Holy Spirit and the Terrible Destruction of the City of Jerusalem. All that Pertains to the Acts and Performance of Official Ministerial Duties and the Accustomed Ceremonies and Forms of the Courlandian Church. Set down to be Useful to the Right Honorable Ministers of the Church.*") The editor of this work was again Superintendent Gräven. Included are all materials needed by a pastor in the administration of his pastoral duties, together with the formulas of administration of the sacrament, intercession, etc.

Gräven's 1744 Latvian agenda simplified the rites by eliminating the alternative forms and bringing the Latvian and German services closer together.³² The book is only 62 pages in length, little more than a pamphlet. The pastors would naturally have the 380 page German work of 1741 close at hand. The shorter Latvian agenda was needed only in the Latvian speaking congregations. For other rites and ceremonies pastors could make use of the larger German work.

A new Latvian agenda was published in Königsberg in 1754, authorized by the new Superintendent Joachim Baumann. This new "*Lettische neuverbesserte und vollständige Kirchenagenda oder Hand-Buch, etc.*" ("*Newly Improved and Complete Latvian Church Agenda and Handbook, in which is Everything which Pertains to the Acts and Performance of Official Ministerial Duties and the Accustomed Ceremonies and Forms of the Courlandian Church. Set Down to be Useful to the Right Honorable Ministers of the Church*") was almost identical to the 1744 work in structure and contents and provided only for adjustments in

Latvian phraseology.³³

A new Latvian agenda printed in Jelgava appeared in 1771, entitled: "*Lettische neuverbesserte und vollständige Kirchen-Agende oder Hand-Buch, etc.*" This book rearranged material from the earlier Latvian agendas and added collects and antiphons for the seasons of the church year and festival days, as well as ordinary Sundays and special occasions, all taken from the 1754 Order. The 1754 Lord's Supper remains, but without musical notation.³⁴ The agenda still retains the traditional exorcism in the Baptismal rite.

Pietism never gained a strong foothold in Courland. Throughout the first half of the 18th century the Courlandian Church remained confessionist and orthodox. However, a new generation of pastors brought back with them an attitude of religious tolerance which made little of confessional subscription. Religious toleration quickly turned into theological indifference, and this left the church prey to Rationalism.

By the last quarter of the 18th century pastors wanted to be up-to-date and agreeable to the modern scientific views. This was the direction being taken in the theological faculties which believed that only by modernizing could the church survive. At the same time many pastors still confessed a moderate Lutheran orthodoxy, even though modern thinkers held up to ridicule them and their ancient beliefs up.

By that time even in Courland the top officials of the church and state were thoroughgoing rationalists. Not the least among them was Dr. Ernst Friedrich Ockel, who became superintendent of the Courlandian Church in 1786. He received his doctorate *honoris causa* from University of Greifswald in 1792. He saw the Enlightenment and Rationalism as a triumph of spirit of the religion of Jesus and yet to him religion was more than Rationalism and the Enlightenment could understand it to be.³⁵ Although he regarded the liturgy of his day to be antiquated and anachronistic, he recognized that it was an important element in the education of the populous. He did not himself produce any collection of proposed changes in the liturgy, but he did not strongly object when enlightened pastors altered the traditional liturgical forms.

In 1778 by Duke Peter Biron, the last duke of Courland, assigned Pastor Christoph Frederick Neander the task of creating a new up-to-date church order in the spirit of the Enlightenment. Neander was well known as a public figure and poet. He had been made dean of Dobeles deanery. In 1784 he declined election as church superintendent.³⁶

The outline of Neander's proposal was published with the title: "*Entwurf zur Kirchenordnung 1785*" ("*Draft of the Church Order 1785.*"). The draft consists of 22 sections which covered every aspect of the life and work of pastors, their call, examination and ordination, and conduct in office, regulations for church employees, and the improvement of liturgies for Divine Service, Baptism, Confession, Lord's Supper, and other matters.

Neander does not suggest any highly visible changes in the pattern of services. Worshipers prepare for the Sunday service by gathering on Saturday at 2 PM for a German or Latvian "Vespers" service. The service begins with a table hymn, that is to say, a spiritual song, and a hymn appropriate to the season, after which a boy is to read the Gospel or some other part of the Bible chosen by the pastor. There follows a hymn of thanksgiving and the prescribed Collect from the church agenda. The service concludes with the following verses: "Praise our God, the almighty, alleluia, alleluia, thank our God, the merciful, alleluia, alleluia." No mention is made of exposition or interpretation of the Gospel or the other portion of Scriptures that had been read.³⁷

In the cities and rural areas the Sunday service begins at 8 AM in the morning from Easter until St. Michael's Day, and at 9 AM from St. Michael's Day until Easter. However, if the large number of communicants are waiting in rural parishes, or the congregation has to wait for a long time, some other arrangement can be made. After the communicants are registered the pastor goes to the altar, says a prayer of repentance, and speaks some preparatory words. After confession and absolution this part of the service concludes with a hymn of repentance and prayer. Then Luther's *Te Deum* is sung or, when the service will be

lengthy because of the number of communicants, a shorter hymn. Then the pastor standing at the altar sings "Glory be to God on high" and the hymn "*Allein Gott in der Hoh sei Ehr.*" Then follows the Epistle or some other appropriate Bible passage and the chief hymn. Then one of the chief parts of the catechism is reviewed and the congregation sings the creedal hymn and the pulpit office continues as usual. This is followed by the usual prayers and intercessions. If there is no Communion, or only a small number of communicants, a hymn is sung and the children receive instruction. Then pastor says the collect and the blessing and one or two dismissal verses. No one is permitted to leave during the instruction and the pastor is to exhort the congregation to pay close attention to what the children are learning. This provision clearly intends to provide instruction for "uneducated Latvians."³⁸

In rural areas and small towns where there is only one church building the German service begins immediately after the Latvian service, but if the Latvians have their own church, the German service begins at 9 AM or 10 AM according to the season, with the singing of the German *Te Deum*. After the *Gloria* there is a prayer of repentance or thanksgiving and the Epistle or some other appropriate passage. Then follows a hymn on the theme of the sermon. A second hymn of the creed is then sung and the offering is taken. This is followed by the sermon, prayers, and intercessions. This should be no longer than one hour in length. After the sermon is a hymn and a collect or the administration of the Holy Communion, a blessing, and then one or two dismissal verses.³⁹

Vespers on Sundays and festivals is to be held at 2 PM in the city churches. It includes a hymn of praise and thanksgiving, a sermon hymn, sermon, another hymn, and then the pastor standing before the altar sings: "Give thanks to God and praise his name, alleluia," and the congregation answers: "We give thanks to God and praise his name. Alleluia." This concludes the service. In country parishes there is no Vespers. In addition in city churches services during the week include a morning hymn, a passage from the Bible, sermon hymn, sermon, another hymn, the administration of Holy Communion or a Collect and the Blessing.⁴⁰

No one is to be admitted to Communion unless he has made Confession beforehand to the pastor and received the Absolution. It appears that the Confession takes place in a public service and each penitent comes to the confessional individually to receive absolution. The length of the confessional address is determined by the number of communicants and whether or not the church is heated. Those who wish to receive the Lord's Supper register at least one day in advance, and may if they wish make a personal confession and receive the absolution either in the confessional or in the sacristy.⁴¹

It seems that Neander wants to appear to stand with the tradition and show some continuity with past orders, especially the church order of 1570. He would like it to appear that he is neither rebuilding nor remodeling the house, but simply rearranging the furniture. He never explicitly rejects Lutheran doctrine concerning Baptism and the Real Presence, but he will not affirm anything other than a symbolic value to the recitation of Christ's Words and the use of the sign of the cross. If questioned about it, he could take refuge in phrases which are in themselves unclear. He never explicitly says that Christ is not present under bread and wine. What he does say is that conscience stricken clergy object to formulas which give the appearance of sacramental magic. Rationalists would find little in his directives to offend them.

Neander was in fact destroying the church's traditional liturgy and putting in place of it a "hymn-sandwich" of several layers: hymn-reading-hymn-sermon-hymn-prayer-hymn-blessing, etc. The "sandwich" which Neander was setting before the Courlandians was meager fare with little power to sustain them.

Neander's work was never officially adopted, but the enlightened clergy in Courland used it, explaining that it had the backing of Duke Peter Biron, the church superintendent, and the highly educated. They had resisted Pietism, but caved into Rationalism; they had strained out the gnat and swallowed the camel.

A second corrected and improved edition of Neander's work was published under the same title: "*Entwurf zur Kirchenordnung*" in Jelgava (Mitau) in 1786. It eliminated material which Neander now considered extraneous or offensive, such as the sign of the cross. Gone as well is the Saturday "Vespers" and the Sunday service is pared down to the pattern of verse, suitable hymn of repentance, prayer of repentance and admonition, confession, absolution with the laying on of hands and prayer, hymn of praise and thanksgiving, followed by the catechism - not Luther's but the far more "relevant" work of Pastor Gotthard Friedrich Stender. Then hymn and sermon and the rest of the service follow as before.⁴²

The German service drops Luther's German *Te Deum* in favor of a suitable song of thanksgiving, but Luther's *Te Deum* is allowed in both the Latvian and German services on the high feasts. After the hymn the pastor prays. Then follows another hymn and a sermon limited to 60 minutes. After the sermon there is a blessing and a hymn, but if there are communicants, the celebration of Holy Communion follows the sermon. The service concludes with one or two stanzas of a dismissal hymn.⁴³

Sunday Vespers follows a very simple order. As before it begins at 2 PM. It differs from the earlier draft only in that the closing versicle and response "*Give thanks to God*, etc." is omitted.

Confession and the Lord's Supper remain as in the earlier book, but the practice by which pastors heard confessions of other pastor's parishioners is now forbidden. In Jelgava and Bauska where there are two pastors, the second pastor, the so called deacon, is now designated as the city pastor and is responsible for all those who are under the authority of the local magistrate. In the Baptismal service Christ is referred to as "The author of our religion." Nowhere can the sign of the cross be found.⁴⁴

Neander's work was received with appreciation by the enlightened. The most prominent among these was Dr. Karl Dietrich Wehrt who now prepared an agenda based on Neander's proposals. It was entitled: "*Handlungen und Gebete bey dem öffentlichen Gottesdienst in den Herzogthümern Kurland und Semgallen*" ("*Acts and Prayers for the Public Divine Service in the Duchy of Courland and Ziemgale*"), published in Jelgava in 1786, and was bound together with Neander's 1786 book in a single volume.

Dr. Wehrt was a strong advocate of modern thought and an outspoken opponent of earlier generations of Lutheran leaders. He particularly disliked Dr. Johann August Starck, formerly professor and high court preacher in Königsberg, later professor at the *Petrinum* in Jelgava and then high court preacher in Darmstadt, whom he denounced as a catholic and crypto-Jesuit.⁴⁵

In his book Wehrt congratulates himself for seizing the moment and for satisfying the desire of so many intelligent people who want a new relevant liturgy to replace the present outdated and useless liturgy of the Courlandian Church. He states that not only preachers, but thoughtful and worthy members of the nobility and many others have determined that the old liturgical forms and ceremonies were not worthy of the excellency of the religion of Jesus. He notes that no one less than Duke Peter Biron himself had suggested that flesh be put on the skeleton, provided by Pastor Neander, so that the people would have a suitable form of public worship. He contends that science and the Enlightenment have ennobled the spirit of the present age, making the improvement of the liturgy as an absolute necessity. The task is especially urgent among the Latvians who are an ignorant and uncultured people, who need to be introduced to beautiful songs and uplifting speech which will bring them closer to God. This would enoble, both the Latvian language and the people, and fulfill the goal of the religion of Jesus to teach men, to better them, and to bring them joy and this would free them from the fetters of idolatry to walk in the light of a modern and enlightened religious consciousness. The old liturgy with its crude practices, such as exorcism in Baptism, can afford amusement to the enlightened. The same thing is true of the remembrance meal established by Jesus. The liturgy imparts to this meal a significance which people of culture and refinement could never accept. Now in the present moment, Wehrt says, men must do

for the church what in days of old Gotthard von Kettler did for the nation. He brought order out of chaos and he did it primarily through education. The Courlandian Church must be led out of confusion and disorder, so that she may be guided by the light of human knowledge and religious sensibility. Only in this way can religious indifference and immorality be put down. Unfortunately the Riga hymnals are of no use. They are not the solution, they are part of the problem. Through the efforts of Courlandian Superintendent Ockel and with the encouragement of many other learned preachers, motivated by the spirit of Jesus with good will and tolerance, and also with the support of most of the leading members of the upper class and commoners as well, the true religion of Jesus is being spread abroad, so that at last God is worshiped in spirit and truth.⁴⁵

Neander's influence pervades the entire work. Little is changed, except the wording and the order of services, for now the German service comes first. Furthermore, Wehrt's opinion is that Latvian congregations in the cities consist of people more highly educated and more sophisticated than their countryside cousins. They should be able to use the same order as that used by the Germans. They were probably ready for solid food and not just the skimmed milk of the word.

Wehrt puts meat and skin on the bones of Holy Communion service sketched by Neander. After an appropriate hymn the communicants gather before the altar and are instructed by the pastor. He speaks about the institution and purpose of the Lord's Supper, the proper Christian attitude which marks fruitful participation, and the proper state of the communicants heart. There is not one word about the nature of the sacrament, its gift, and purpose. What is most important is the communicant's life and attitudes. Pietism's basically anthropocentric viewpoint had long since moved the focus from the gift of the recipient, and it was not difficult for the preachers of the Enlightenment to go one step further and drive the gift completely from the scene. Communion preparation and participation now find their center in the affirmation of an upright life and the determination to follow the moral example of the master, and it is expected that those who come to the altar had done their best to do their duty and had examined themselves, grieved over their failures, and resolved to make a fresh start at the altar. No prayer of confession is included, because the whole purpose of the address is to stir up the hearers to make a good resolution. Indeed, the real purpose of self examination is not confession and absolution, but one's personal resolution to do better. The pastor assures his listeners that if they truly regret their sins and are determined to do better, then they are forgiven in the name of the Triune God.⁴⁷

A hymn to the tune of "*Allein Gott in der Hoh sei Ehr*" replaces the ancient Preface and its call to communal thanksgiving and the joining of heaven and earth in the praise of God. The hymn pledges man to a virtuous life and exults in the reward God gives to virtue. The consecration of the Sacrament of the Altar is remodeled as follows: "In that night when Jesus for the last time ate the Jewish Passover Supper with his disciples and was moved by emotion over his approaching passion, filled with virtue and strengthened by his trust in God, he took the bread, etc." After the blessing of the cup the congregation sings the short *Sanctus*. Then turning to the communicants the pastor says: "*We humble ourselves before the Holy God and Father and with tender affection, as Jesus has told us, we pray, Our Father (Unser Vater).*" Then he takes the bread in his hands and prays: "Let the remembrance of your love, your suffering, and your redemptive love be blessed to us as your highest portrayal of virtue, o exalted Redeemer, in this bread and in this wine which are blessed to inner unity with you, both for the reassurance of our hearts and to encourage us to noble good deeds in which we can rejoice here and now and in the life to come." A hymn is sung during the communion and after the distribution the pastor speaks a solemn admonition to the communicants and dismisses them with the blessing. The service concludes with a short hymn of praise and thanksgiving.⁴⁸

Now the modern Courlandian had a Holy Communion service which matched his beliefs and which he could observe with a good conscience. It gave him all that he could

expect and it is well that he expected very little. There were other and less burdensome ways for him to celebrate his virtue. According to his understanding he needed to repent, but not of sins of the first and second tables of God's Law, but rather of the ignorance and superstition which he had allowed to dominate his religious consciousness. He needed to unburden himself of the baggage of a theology and worldview which he now understood to be obsolete and now he had liturgical forms which matched his new understanding. If he needed no confession and absolution, he surely also did not need the gifts which were promised to him in the Sacrament of the Altar according to the old faith. He had found the bread and the cup of the sacrament to be a burden. Now he would rise above the need of them and stand on his own two feet. It is not the words "*given and shed for you for the forgiveness of sins*," which faith is to grasp and hold as the hearth of the Sacrament. Man must himself be a sacrament, a holy thing given to the Lord. Long ago Jesus resolutely faced the idolatrous leaders and mob to offer himself up to be a model of resolute integrity. The modern Christian must do no less.

Given this new interpretation of the Lord's Supper it is not hard to understand why it came to take a rapidly diminishing role in the lives of the congregations. It was celebrated less and less frequently to the point where it might have been dropped all together, but for the fact that the Master himself had commanded it.

The rationalist Courlandian liturgy was of course greatly impoverished when compared to earlier Lutheran liturgies which stood in a far more catholic and confessionalist tradition. It was not, however, essentially irreligious. It represented a piety far differed from that of confessionalists and pietists. The rationalists looked upon the old liturgies with embarrassment. What they proposed left little of the traditional order, because their system of belief could attach no positive meaning to the old services. Wehrh and others thought they were doing the important service by sweeping away antiquated language, theology, and worship which were no longer suitable for modern Christians. Their work can only appear to us to be far more complex than the complexities against which it complains and far more empty of theological value than the theology it sought to supplant. Ordinary congregations and clergy wanted nothing to do with rationalist thought or worship. There were, however, those who accepted it as simply translating the faith of the fathers into the language of the children.

A second slightly amended edition of "*Handlungen und Gebete beym öffentlichen Gottesdienst in den Herzogthümern Kurland und Semgallen*", dedicated to Duke Peter Biron, was published in Königsberg in 1792. It differs little from the first edition, but adds new collects and prayers. The author no longer assumes that Holy Communion will be celebrated every week, and in the Communion service a new declaration is included, which states that the purpose of confession is that the people would fill their hearts with childlike trust in God's unchangeable love and to assure them that, as holy religion pledges, their sins have indeed been forgiven. The service then proceeds as in the earlier book.⁴⁹

The new liturgy was never officially accepted. The traditionalists rejected it and secular rationalists no longer felt any need for a church which simply echoed their sentiments but offered them nothing. Although rationalist pastors used it, their congregations were dwindling, for modern rationalists felt no need to attend church. However, the proposed liturgy did leave its mark on the church both at home and throughout the Russian empire, of which Courland became a part in 1795. The rationalists in the St. Petersburg consistory would find in Wehrh an important ally whose liturgical expertise was most helpful in their own program of dragging the church and its worship into the 19th century.⁵⁰

The responsibility of bringing the Enlightenment to the simple Latvian peasants was undertaken by Pastor Alexander Johann Stender. His liturgical work appeared in 1805 under the title: "*Neuverbesserte lettische Kirchen - Agende: ein Versuch von A. J. Stender*" ("*Newly Improved Latvian Church Agenda; A Test Edition by A. J. Stender*"). He intended to provide a form of worship which would not insult the intelligentsia and enlightened, but would be a worthy tool in the work of advancing the education of the peasants.

Stender's father Gotthard Friedrich Stender is credited as the founder of Latvian secular literature. His son Alexander entered the ministry with the expressed purpose not of preaching the traditional Gospel, but of pursuing the twin goals of education of the peasantry and the pursuit of the good life. In addition to his secular writings which included translations of German Enlightenment literature and the first Latvian play, he set to work with a number of other pastors to create a revised hymnal. That his notions concerning the Enlightenment were not considered in any way out of order in the church of his day can be seen from the fact that he was made provost of the Selburg (Sēlpils) deanery in 1787 and in 1806 he was made a member of the Courlandian consistory.⁵¹

When Stender spoke of an "improved" worship he took this to mean worship radically reformulated and reordered. He clearly states that the old agenda is out of step with modern culture and needs to be altered and improved according to what is now known concerning that which is really worthy in religion and the analogy of faith. What he understands this to mean can be seen by an examination of the rites which he proposes.⁵²

Stender believed that the congregation needed a clearer understanding of the circumstances of the institution of the Lord's Supper and its significance. Following Wehr, he states that the night in which the Lord's Supper was instituted was the night of the Passover in which Jesus ate the paschal lamb with his disciples and instituted a new law. "Jesus Christ, our Savior, in the night before his suffering ate the paschal lamb with his disciples and instituted a new law. Taking the bread, he gave thanks to God, and blessed it, saying: 'Take and eat, this is my body which will be given for your sins. This do in remembrance of me.' After this Jesus took the cup of wine and he gave thanks to God and then blessed it, saying: 'Take and drink all of you, this cup is established for you as a new covenant in my blood which is shed for you into death of your sins. This do as often as you drink it in remembrance of me.'"⁵³ Then choir sings "Holy is our God, holy is our God, the Father of heaven and earth." This is followed by the Lord's Prayer, this time spoken straight through by the pastor without the participation of the choir. A form of the *Agnus Dei* follows and the *Pax Domini* is replaced by an improved formula: "The blessing of the high God be with you always," with the sign of the cross to which the choirs respond: "And with the power of your Spirit." Then follow the prayer and communion, for which no distribution formula is provided. After communion there is a versicle and response and the prayer of thanksgiving, which includes the following phrase: "O, help us through your Holy Spirit that what we have promised and taken upon ourselves in a holy manner, we may with good resolve accomplish, that these heavenly gifts which we have received at the table of the Lord's Supper we may not cast away through voluntary sins, but that our faith may daily increase and grow through true love even as with the Lord's love." Then the pastor blesses the people: "May the Lord God sanctify you, may the almighty One protect you, may the loving Father of heaven be merciful to you." The people respond with the Amen and a versified prayer.⁵⁴

The service is free of any notion of Christ's death as substitutionary or salutary. It is a celebration of the depths of his love for those who follow him. It is meant to inspire one with a deeper understanding of Jesus' own commitment and his willingness to suffer and die for his ideals. Although nothing is said aloud about the matter, one may expect that such devotion should awaken a similar sentiment in those who participate in the Lord's Supper, for growth in Enlightenment requires of people that they be ready and willing to suffer for their noble ideals and for the ultimate benefit of others. There is little ceremony, no Preface, very little dialog which might detract from the solemnity of the moment. In place of liturgy single minded attention must be given to Christ's sacrifice and the obligation which it places upon those who would follow Jesus. One may see here an early instance of the liberal theology of later generations and its noble thought: "With Jesus for master, for prophet, for friend, the world to the purpose of God shall ascend." It goes almost without saying that one finds in the Baptismal service no exorcism or abnegation of the devil, his works, or his ways."⁵⁵

Stender's experimental work was the last Courlandian liturgy. His work appeared in

the same year which saw the publication of the rationalist 1805 agenda with the approval of the St. Petersburg consistory, governmental ministers, and the tsar himself. By now all political and ecclesiastical power had shifted from the provinces to the imperial capital. Jelgava was now no more than the chief city of a small and rather unimportant province. The first imperial agenda was prepared with the full approval of the ecclesiastical authorities and those of the nobility who were rationalist. There were however many pastors and members of the nobility who maintained the traditional faith. In Courland these had the strong backing of Count Friedrich Wilhelm von Buxhöwden, the military governor of Riga. Early in 1805 he brought their protestations against all liturgical innovations to the attention of the liturgical commission in St. Petersburg.⁵⁶ The commission would discover that the discontent expressed in their protests was not theirs alone. The commission could not agree about how a proper liturgy should be composed and had to content itself with issuing only very general rubrics concerning the conduct of the public worship in the empire. The 1805 agenda provided only a barren outline for pastors in preparing for public worship in their congregations. Its only real contribution was the introduction of a general prayer which included supplications for the tsar and all the various members of his family. The conservatives in Courland still stuck to the old 18th century forms and continued to do so until a new agenda in which there was little evidence of rationalist influence appeared in 1832.

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- ¹⁶ Kallmeyer 1851, 186.
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Theodor Kallmeyer Die evangelischen Kirchen und Prediger Kurlands. Bearbeitet, ergänzt und bis zur Gegenwart fortgesetzt von G. Otto, herausgegeben von der kurl. Gesellschaft für Literatur und Kunst. Zweite Ausgabe. Riga 1910.
- Kirchenordnung 1570*
De doctrina et ceremoniis sinceri cultus diuini Ecclesiarum Ducatus Curlandiae, Semigalliaeque etc. in Liuania. Kirchen Ordnung Wie es mit der Lehr Göttliches worts, Ausstheilung der heiligen Hochwirdigen Sacrament, Christlichen Ceremonien, Ordentlicher ubung, des waren Gottesdiensts, In den Kirchen des Herzogthumbs Churlandt und Semigallien in Liefllandt, sol stetes vermittelt Göttlicher hülf gehalten werden. - Anno salutis 1570. Rostock 1572.
- Kirchenreformation 1570*
Kirchenreformation des Fürstenthumbs Churlandt und Semigallien, In Liefllandt. - Anno domini 1570. Rostock 1572.
- Lettische Geistliche Lieder und Collecten 1685*
Lettische Geistliche Lieder und Collecten Wie sie so wol in öffentlicher Christlicher Versammlung alß auch zu Hause in Andacht zugebrauchen; Theils vormahls von dem Wyland Hoch Ehrwürdigen und Hochgelahrten Herrn GEORGIO MANCELIO Der Heil:Schriff Licentiate, und Hoch Fürstlichem Curländischen Hof=Predigern/ auß dem Deutschen übersetzel/ Theils hernach von dem auch Weyland / WolEhrenfesten und Wolgelarten Herrn CHRISTOPHORO Fürecker / Der Heil:Schriff Beflissenen in wol=lautende Reime verfasset / und so wol von Ihm / alß auch andern Christlichen Liebhabern der Lettischen Sprache mit vielen schönen Reim=Liedern vermehret / zum erstenmahl zusammen außgegeben / und mit der Übersetzer Namen Initial= Buchstaben angedeutet/ Von HENRICO ADOLPHI, Der Hertzogthümer Curland und Semgallen Superintendente, und Ober=Pastorn in Mitau/ Gedruckt / in der HochFürsti:Residentz Mitau/ von Sr:HochFürsti:Durchi: Hoch=Buchdrucker George Radetzky. 1685.
- Lettische Neu verbesserte und vollständige Kirchen-Agende 1744*
Lettische Neu verbesserte und vollständige Kirchen-Agende oder Hand-Buch, darinnen Nebst den Evangelii, Episteln, der Historia von der Geburt, Leyden, Sterben, Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu Christi unsers Heilandes, der Sendung des H. Geistes und erbärmlichen Zerstörung der Stadt Jerusalem, Alle zu denen geistlichen Priesterlichen Handlungen und Amts-Verrichtungen gehörige und in denen Curländischen Kirchen gäbräuchliche Ceremonien und Formeln verfasset sind; Dem Wohl-Ehrwürdigen Ministerio Ecclesiastico zum bequemen Gebrauch eingerichtet. Königsberg 1744.
- Lettische Neu verbesserte und vollständige Kirchen-Agende 1727*
Lettische Neu verbesserte-und vollständige Kirchen-Agende Oder Hand-Buch / Darinnen Nebst denen Evangelii / Episteln / der Historia von der Geburt, Leiden, Sterben, Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu Christi unsers Heylandes, der Sendung des Heiligen Geistes, und erbärmlichen Zerstörung der Stadt Jerusalem, Alle zu denen geistlichen Priesterlichen Handlungen und Amts-Verrichtungen gehörige und in denen Cuhrländischen Kirchen gäbräuchliche Ceremonien und Formeln verfasset sind. Dem Wohl-Ehrwürdigen Ministerio Ecclesiastico zum bequemen Gebrauch eingerichtet. Mitau 1727.
- Lettische Neuverbesserte und vollständige Kirchen-Agende 1754*

Lettische Neuverbesserte und vollständige Kirchen-Agende oder Hand-Buch, darinnen Alle zu denen geistlichen Priesterlichen Handlungen und Amts-Verrichtungen gehörige und in denen Curländischen Kirchen gebräuchliche Ceremonien und Formeln verfasst sind. Dem Wohl-Ehrwürdigen Ministerio Ecclesiastico zum bequemen Gebrauch eingerichtet. Königsberg 1754.

Lettische neuverbesserte und vollständige Kirchen-Agende 1771

Lettische neuverbesserte und vollständige Kirchen-Agende oder Hand-Buch, darinnen alle zu denen geistlichen priesterlichen Handlungen und Amts-Verrichtungen gehörige und in denen Curländischen Kirchen gebräuchliche Ceremonien und Formeln verfasst sind. Dem Wohl-Ehrwürdigen Ministerio Ecclesiastico zum bequemen Gebrauch eingerichtet. Mitau 1771.

Neuverbesserte lettische Kirchen-Agende 1805

Neuverbesserte lettische Kirchen-Agende: ein Versuch von A[lexander] J[ohann] Stender . - Mitau 1805.

Sehling 1913

Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts. / Herausgegeben von Dr. jur. Emil Sehling. / Bd 5, Livland. Estland. Kurland. Mecklenburg. Freie Reichsstadt Lübeck mit Landgebiet und Gemeinschaftsamt Bergedorf. Das Herzogthum Lauenburg mit dem Lande Hadeln. Hamburg mit Landgebiet. Leipzig 1913.

Sonntag 1805

Carl Gottlob Sonntag Geschichte und Gesichtspunct der Allgemeinen liturgischen Verordnung für die Lutheraner im Russischen Reiche. Riga 1805.

Tetsch 1767

M. Carl Ludwig Tetsch Curländischer Kirchen-Geschichte, von dem Zustande dieser Provincial-Kirche, bis zum Ableben Gothhards ersten Herzogs zu Curland, nebst der gegenwärtigen äusserlichen kirchlichen Verfassung dieses Herzogthums. Erster Theil. Riga und Leipzig 1767.

Tetsch 1751

Carl Ludwigh Tetsch Kurtze Geschichte Der Zum Dienst der Gemeine Jesu in den Hertzogthümern Curland und Semgallen Gewidmeten Lettischen Kirchen-Lieder, und ihrer öffentlichen Sammlungen, Abgefasst Von M. Carl Ludwigh Tetsch, Prediger zu Liebau. Copenhagen 1751.

Tetsch 1768

M. Carl Ludwig Tetsch Curländischer Kirchen-Geschichte, Zwoter Theil. Königsberg und Leipzig 1768.

Undeutsche Psalmen und geistliche Lieder oder Gesenge 1587.

Undeutsche Psalmen und geistliche Lieder oder Gesenge, welche in den Kirchen des fürstenthums Churland und Semigallien in Liefvlände gesungen werden. Königsperg bey George Osterbergern 1587. Zur feier des 300 jährigen Jubiläums der lettischen Litteratur mit zwei facsimile-Beilagen neu herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. A. Bezzenberger, Ehrenmitglied der lettisch-litterarischen Gesellschaft, und Dr. A. Bielenstein, deutschem Pastor zu Doblen, Präsident der lettisch-litterarischen Gesellschaft. Mitau / Hamburg 1886.

Vollständiges Kirchen-Buch 1741

Vollständiges Kirchen-Buch, Darinnen Alle Priesterliche Handlungen und requisita ministerii ecclesiastici Die in denen Fürstenthümern Curland und Semgallen zeithero gebräuchlich gewesen enthalten. Auf Hohe Obrigkeitl: Verordnung und Unkosten Anjetzo zum ersteumahl in der gehörigen Ordnung Dem Predigt-Ambte zum beqvemen Gebrauch dem Druck übergeben. Mitau 1741.

Vollständiges Kirchen-Buch 1765

Vollständiges Kirchen-Buch, darinnen alle Priesterliche Handlungen und requisita ministerii ecclesiastici Die in denen Fürstenthümern Curland und Semgallen zeithero gebräuchlich gewesen enthalten, dem Predigtamte zum bequemen Gebrauch eingerichtet, Neue verbesserte Auflage. Mitau 1765.

KURZEMES LUTERĀŅU BAZNĪCAS LITURĢISKĀS TRADĪCIJAS VEIDOŠANĀS UN ATTĪSTĪBA 16.-18. GADSIMTĀ.

Luteriskās reformācijas pusē pārgājušajā Kurzemē 16. gadsimtā neizveidojās tik nozīmīga galvaspilsēta un metropole kāda Vidzemē bija Rīga vai Igaunijā Tērbata un Tallina. Kurzemieki pēc parauga nereti skatījās uz blakus esošajiem rīdziniekiem. Tas parādījās ne tikai civilajās lietās, bet arī attiecībā uz baznīcas dzīvi, tās mācību, ticības praksi un dievkalpojumu liturģiju. Pēcreformācijas laikā Kurzemes baznīca neveidoja savu agendu un citus baznīcas dokumentus, bet izmantoja 1530. gada Brīsmarņa Rīgas liturģiju.

Situācija izmainījās pēc Livonijas kara, kad sabruka Livonijas valsts un uz tās drupām kā Polijas-Lietuvas vasaļvalsts, izveidojās Kurzemes hercogiste. Kurzemes hercogistes pirmais hercogs Gothards Kelters dzīvoja valstī, kurā bija gan katoļu gan reformātu konfesiju piederīgie, tomēr viņš galvenokārt rūpējās par luteriskās baznīcas nostiprināšanu. Pirmie soļi uz to tika sperti 1565. gadā, kad viņš nozīmēja savu galma mācītāja Stefana Bīlovu (Stephan Bülow) par hercogistes superintendantu un atbalstīja vizitāciju organizēšanu visās draudzēs. Vizitāciju rezultāti bija ļoti līdzīgi tiem, kurus Luters piedzīvoja pēc 1529. gada vizitācijām Saksijas draudzēs un par kuriem viņš izsauca: "Kāds sajukums!" Hercogs Gothards saprata, ka reformācijas novešanai līdz galam ir jāierāda prioritāte citu valsts lietu starpā.

Reformāciju Kurzemes hercogistes baznīcās līdz galam iedzīvināja divi dokumenti. Pirmais – 1570. gadā Einhorna un Heninga sagatavotā reformu programma, kura ietvēra norādījumus kā organizēt vizitācijas un kā turpināt reformāciju. Otrs – 1570. gadā Einhorna sarakstītā un 1572. gadā Rostokā publicētā Baznīcas dievkalpošanas kārtības grāmata (Kirchenordnung). Šī darba trešā daļa nosaka dievkalpojuma liturģisko kārtību. Bībeles un agrīnās kristīgās baznīcas laikos diena iesākās ar saulrietu, tāpēc arī svētdienas svinēšana iesākās ar sestdienas saulrietu. Šī doma ir saglabāta 16. gadsimta Kurzemes liturģijā, tādēļ svētdienas svinēšana iesākas ar sestdienas vakara dievkalpojumu – vesperi. Svētdienas rīts Kurzemē, tāpat kā tajā laikā Rīgā, iesākās ar agro rīta dievkalpojumu – matuīnēm 6.00 no rīta, kam, tiklīdz altāris bija sagatavots, sekoja Svētā Vakarēdiena dievkalpojums. Uz altāra aizdedzināja divas sveces, bet trešo sveci aizdedza uz kanceles. Nekur citur sveces netika dedzinātas. To pamatoja ar nepieciešamību izvairīties no asociācijām ar elku kalpību, kas bija saglabājusies attiecībā uz sveču dedzināšanu.

Dievkalpojums iesākās ar antifonu "Nāc Svētais Gars" (Veni Sancte Spiritus) dziedāšanu latīniski vai vāciski, vai arī baznīcas dziesmām "Mēs tevi lūdzam, Svētais Gars", vai "Nāc Svētais Gars, nāc paties Dievs". Antifona dziedājumam sekoja oktāva no 119. psalma vai arī pirmā, otrā, vai trešā psalma dziedāšana vācu valodā. Pēc tam tika turēti lasījumi no Vecās vai Jaunās Derības un tad – vai nu kā Rīgā, tika vāciski dziedāts "Dievs tevi slavējam" (Te Deum laudamus), vai arī Lutera pārfrāzējums "Dievs Kungs Tevi slavējam" ("Herr Gott, dich loben wir").

Tas, cik izvērsta bija dievkalpojuma liturģija, bija atkarīgs no baznīcas ēkas lieluma. Hercoga galma kapelā, lielo draudžu baznīcās dievkalpojumos piedalījās mācītāji, diakoni, draudzes skolu skolotāji. Mazajās lauku draudzēs, kurās kalpoja vienīgi viens mācītājs dievkalpojuma kārtība bija vienkāršāka.

Svētdienās un svētku dienās mesa – Svētā Vakarēdiena dievkalpojums, sākās ar introitu latņu valodā vai baznīcās dziesmu vācu valodā. Dziedājumi "Kungs apžēlojies" (Kyrie) un "Gods Dievam Augstībā" (Gloria in Excelsis) tika dziedāti vai nu latīniski vai vāciski, vai arī vācu valodā dziedātu Nikolaja Decija (Nicolaus Decius) korāli "Lai slava Dievam ir un gods". Tam seko salūtācija – mācītāja sveicinājums "Tas Kungs ar jums", kolektes lūgšana un Jaunās Derības vēstules lasījums. Pēc tam dziedāja Allelujā

dziedājumu vai traktus vai sekvenci (sequentia pro tempore), un īsāku vai garāku lītāniju. Tam sekoja salūtācija un mācītāja lasīts dienas evaņģēlijs. Kā atbilde uz to latīniski vai vāciski tika skaitīta ticības apliecība vai dziedāts Lutera parafrāzējums "Uz Dievu Tēvu ticam mēs" ("Wir glauben all' an einen Gott"). Dievkalpojuma kanceles daļa sākas ar lūgšanu, ko noslēdz klusi sacīta "Mūsu tēvs" lūgšana. Vācu draudzēs sprediķot bija paredzēts par svētdienas evaņģēlija tēmu, latviešu draudzēs – par katehisma gabaliem. Sprediķis nedrīkstēja būt garāks par vienu stundu. Sprediķa noslēgumā tika sacīta pateicības lūgšana, kā arī mācītājs pamācīja un mudināja draudzes locekļus lūgt par aktuālām paša un draudzes vajadzībām.

1570. gada Kurzemes liturģijā ir paredzēts, ka Svētai Vakarēdiena tiek svinēts katru svētdienu. Rīgā tajā laikā dievkalpojumā vēl tika lietota latīņu valoda, bet Kurzemē dievkalpojums pa lielāku daļu notika vāciski. Hercoga galmā un citās lielākajās baznīcās lielajos svētkos Ziemassvētkos, Lieldienās un Vasarsvētkos tika lietoti atbilstošās prefācijas. Svētā Vakarēdiena konsekrāciju iezīmēja zvaniņu zvanišana un prefācija. Pēc konsekrācijas koris dziedāja "Jesaja senais praviētis" ("Jessia, dem Propheten") un "Svēts ir" (Sanctus) no Lutera vācu mesas. Šiem dziedājumiem sekoja "Mūsu Tēvs" lūgšanas dziedājums un "Dieva Jērs" (Agnus Dei) vai arī "Ak, šķīstais Dieva jēriņ". Pēc tam "Dieva Miers" (Pax Domini) evaņģēliskais grēku piedošanas apliecinājums un svētīšana.

Svētais vakarēdiena tika izdalīts saskaņā ar Rīgas kārtību. Tas, kas paliek pāri no vīna ir jāizdzer pēdējam komunikantam, ne mācītājam. Kurzemes agenda neko nesaka par to, kā dievkalpojums noslēdzās. Līdz ar to var pieņemt, ka tas noslēdzās tāpat kā Rīgā, ar pateicības lūgšanu pēc Svētā Vakarēdiena un "Pateiciet Tam Kungam," un svētīšanu.

Bez svētā vakarēdiena dievkalpojuma bija paredzēts arī turēt svētdienas vakara dievkalpojumu – vesperi 13.30, kurā lietoja Baznīcas gada laikam atbilstošu antifonu un dziesmas. Mācītājiem bija paredzēts vienmēr būt atbilstoši ģērbtiem – katrā svētā vakarēdiena dievkalpojumā altārī ir jāvalkā alba, simbolizējot eņģeli par ko rakstīts Maleahija grāmatas 2. nodaļā. Augstajos svētkos var valkāt kazulu vai citus mesas liturģiskos apģērbus. Kancelē mācītājs var valkāt kasoku jeb talāru.

Einhorna 1570. gada Kurzemes Baznīcas dievkalpošanas kārtība ir vienīgā, kas šajā laikā ir uzrakstīta Baltijas valstīs. Šis dokuments mums sniedz plašu informāciju par dievkalpojuma vadīšanu, mācītāja kalpošanu un Baznīcas dzīvi Kurzemē. Šajā dokumentā plaši tika izmantot Brīsmāņa Rīgas Agenda, kā arī Vitenbergas baznīcas kārtība. Tomēr verdziski netiek sekots ne vienai, ne otrai. Einhorns papildināja Rīgas agendu pievienojot kazuāliju formas, lai baznīcā būtu vienotība attiecībā uz tām. Viņš arī uzsver to, ka liela nozīme ir pareizā ceremoniāla mācīšanai draudzēs – kā pārmest krustu, kā nomesties ceļos un kā izpildīt citus ceremoniālos žestus. Šī dievkalpojuma kārtība ir evaņģēliska, bet nav ne reformātu, nedz katoļu ietekmēta. Tā ir sarakstīta ekumēnisko ticības apliecību, Augsburgas Ticības apliecības un Lutera Mazā katehisma garā.

Latviešu mācītāju agenda Kurzemes hercogistē pilnā mērā parādījās tikai 1727. gadā kopā ar rediģētu Dziesmu grāmatu. Par šo izdevumu atbildīgs bija Kurzemes baznīcas superintendants un Jelgavas pilsētas galvenais mācītājs Aleksandrs Grēvens (Gräven). Svētā Vakarēdiena dievkalpojums ir identisks 1685. gada Dziesmu grāmatā atrodamajam. Darbs pie jaunas agendas vācu valodā Kurzemes hercogistē iesākās hercoga Ferdinanda Ketlera laikā, kurš valdīja no 1717.–1737. gadam. Steidzami bija jāveido jauna agenda, jo pāri Baltijas zemēm vēlās piētisma vilnis. Tā ietekmē ļoti cieta tradicionālā luterāņu liturģija. Piētisma ietekmē nonākušie mācītāji sāka patvalji rīkoties ar dievkalpojuma kārtību – atmet kādas liturģijas daļas vai vispār zemu to vērtēt. Tērbatas universitātes teoloģijas fakultāte izrādījās bezspēcīga apturēt šīs kustības izplatīšanos. Uz 1740. gadu piētisma ietekmē bija nonākuši augstākie konsistorijas locekļi kā Vidzemē tā Igaunijā. Vienīgi Kurzemes konsistorija un baznīcā stājās pretī teoloģiju un liturģiju ārdošajiem jaunajiem teoloģiskajiem impulsiem. Konsistorija stipri stāvēja savās ortodoksā luterisma pozīcijās, bet lauku draudžu mācītāji paši sāka mainīt liturģiju. Lai gan lielajās vācu draudzēs joprojām

lietoja spēkā esošo agendu, laukos bija izveidojies haoss un patvaļa, nevarēja atrast divas draudzes, kuru dievkalpojumu kārtības būtu vienādas.

Hercogs Ferdinands Ketlers saprata, ka situācija ir nopietna, tāpēc uzdeva superintendentam Grēvenam sastādīt un publicēt jaunu Baznīcas dievkalpošanas kārtības grāmatu vācu valodā. Tā tika publicēta Jelgavā 1741. gadā. Tā ir iedalīt četrās galvenajās daļās un ietver Svētdienas propriumus, galvenos liturģiskos aktus, lūgšanas, formulārus kazuālījām. Jaunās dievkalpojuma kārtības vadlīnijās ir teikts, ka Svētais Vakarēdiens ir svinams katras svētdienas galvenajā dievkalpojumā, bet ir doti norādījumi par Vārda dievkalpojuma turēšanu. Tas parāda, ka pat vēl 18. gadsimta otrajā pusē, daudz vēlāk nekā citur Eiropā, Kurzēmē vēl pilns Svētā Vakarēdiena dievkalpojums svētdienās bija vispāratzīta norma.

Salīdzinot ar iepriekšējo, 1570. gada agendu, 1741. gada agendas dievkalpojuma kārtība ir nedaudz nabadzīgāka. Nav skaidri norādītas dievkalpojuma daļa un vienīgā ceremonija, kas ir skaidri minēta, ir sevis apzīmēšana ar krusta zīmi. Nekas nav sacīts par to, kad draudzei jāsēž, kad jāpieceļas, kad jāmetas ceļos. Tanī pat laikā, ir jāatzīst, ka šis lielais darbs bija domāts agrākas 1570. gada dievkalpojuma kārtībā iedibinātās liturģijas rediģēšanai atbilstoši vēsturiskajai attīstībai. Citur Eiropā uz 1740. gadu reformācijas laikā izveidotās liturģijas bija jau nobīdītas malā vai atmetas. Prūsijā, piemēram, vairs bija atlicis tikai kails tradicionālā dievkalpojuma plāns. Tikai eksortācija (brīdinošs pamudinājums par sakramentu lietošanu "cikārt jūs no šīs maizes ēdat..."), Mūsu Tēvs lūgšana, un Kristus vārds Svētā Vakarēdiena iestādīšanā un izdalīšana bija saglabāta.

Nākamā Kurzemes vācu agenda tika publicēta Jelgavā 1756. gadā. Tā lielā mērā atspoguļoja 1741. gada kārtību un izmaiņas bija nelielas. Svarīgi ir tas, ka Kurzemes baznīca šajā laikā joprojām stingri turējās pretim toreiz plaši jau ieviestai kārtībai, kurā dievkalpojumā laikā notiek vispārējā bikts un absolūcija. 1756. gadā šis jauninājums tika ieviests Piltēnē, bet citur Kurzēmē joprojām norma bija privātā grēksūdze un grēku atlaišana. Jaunajā dievkalpojumu grāmatā joprojām bija paredzēts rituāls bikts krēsla (Beichtstuhl) iesvētīšanai.

Atjaunotu agendu vajadzēja arī Kurzemes latviešu draudzēm, tāpēc 1744. gadā Hartunga spiestuvē nodrukāja jauno agendu ar liturģiskajām ceremonijām un formulāriem. Arī šī darba redaktors bija superintendentas Grēvens. Šī agenda tika no jauna izdota 1754. un 1771. gadā.

Kurzēmē piētisms nekad nenostiprinājās. 18. gadsimta pirmajā pusē Kurzemes baznīca palika luteriski konfesionāla un ortodoksa. Tomēr jaunie, Hallē, Kēnigsbergā un citur studējošie mācītāji atpakaļ uz Kurzemi atnesa idejas par reliģisko iecietību un ne visai augstas domas par parakstīšanos zem konfesionālajiem dokumentiem. Reliģiskā tolerance ātri pārvērtās par teoloģisku vienaldzību un tas padarīja Kurzemes baznīcu par vieglu upuri racionālismam.

Tādējādi jau pirms 18. gadsimts bija beidzies, Kurzemes konsistorijas vadībā bija nonākuši racionālistiski noskaņotu mācītāji. Par Kurzemes baznīcas superintendentu 1786. gadā kļuva Dr. Okels (Ernst Friedrich Ockel), kurš par savu galveno uzdevumu uzskatīja baznīcas tālāku pielāgošanu racionālisma laika garam. Viņš bija pārliecināts, ka esošā baznīcas agenda ir novecojusi, aizspriedumiem un katolicisma elementiem pilna, un ka tā neatbilst modernajam, zinātniskajam pasaules redzējumam. Viņš uzskatīja, ka baznīcai un agendai nepieciešami ne tikai nelieli uzlabojumi un izmaiņas, bet ka dievkalpojumu kārtību ir pilnīgi jāpārstrādā un jāveido no jauna. Patiešām jaunu vīnu nevar liet vecos traukos.

1778. gadā pēdējais Kurzemes hercogs Pēteris Bīrons nozīmēja mācītāju Neanderu (Christoph Frederick Neander) veikt jaunās, Apgaismības laika garam atbilstošas dievkalpošanas Baznīcas kārtības izveidošanu. 1785. gadā tika publicēts Neandera agendas priekšlikums ar nosaukumu "1785. gada Baznīcas dievkalpošanas kārtības uzmetums" ("Entwurf zur Kirchenordnung 1785"). Neanders neiesacīja kādas acīm redzamas izmaiņas dievkalpojuma kārtības daļās. Draudze gatavojās svētdienai joprojām

sestdien 12.00 pulcējoties uz vesperēm vācu vai latviešu valodā. Dievkalpojumi svētdienās sākās 8.00 no rīta vasarā un 9.00 ziemā. Pēc tam, kad tie, kas saņēms Svēto Vakarēdienu ir reģistrējušies, mācītājs iet altārī, saka grēksūdzes lūgšanu un ievadvārdus. Pēc kopējās grēksūdzes un absolūcijas, šī dievkalpojuma daļā noslēdzas ar grēknožēlas dziesmu un lūgšanu. Tad tika dziedāts Lutera Te Deum un mācītājs no altāra dzied "Gods Dievam augstībā." Pēc tam tika lasīta kāda no Jaunās Derības epistelēm vai cita atbilstoša Bībeles vieta un dziedāta dievkalpojuma galvenā dziesma. Pēc šīs dziesmas tika skaidrota viena no Katehisma daļām, draudze dziedāja ticības apliecināšanas dziesmu, un dievkalpojuma kanceles daļa turpinājās kā parasti. Kanceles daļa noslēdzās ar lūgšanu un aizlūgšanām. Ja dievkalpojumā netika svinēts Svētais Vakarēdiens, vai bija tikai nedaudz komunkantu, draudze dziedāja dziesmu un tika mācīti bērni. Tad mācītājs sacīja kolektes lūgšanu, svētīšanu un atlaišanas vārdus. Pilsētu baznīcās svētdienās un svētku dienās 15.00 notika vesperes.

Liekas, ka Neanders vēlējās palikt saiknē un pēctecībā ar iepriekšējo agendu, īpaši ar 1570. gada dievkalpojuma kārtību. Viņš mēģināja radīt iespaidu, ka viņš nevis pārbūvē māju, bet gan tikai pārkārto mēbeles. Viņa darba rezultāts nekad netika oficiāli apstiprināts, bet apgaismotā Kurzemes garīdzniecība to izmantoja, pamatojoties uz hercoga Bīrona, superintendanta un izglītoto pilsoņu atbalstu. Līdz ar to kurzemnieki bija izturējuši pietrisma spiedienu un nepadevušies, bet krituši par upuri racionālistam. Nākamā Neandera Baznīcas dievkalpošanas kārtības redakcija tika publicēta Jelgavā 1786. gadā. Jaunajā redakcijā bija izņemtas ārē tās liturģijas daļas, kuras viņš uzskatīja par neatbilstošām vai aizskarošām, tādas kā piemēram, krusta pārmešana.

Apgaismības atbalstītāji uzņēma Neandera agendu ar sajūsmu. Viens no visdzegākajiem Apgaismības agendas atbalstītājiem un veidotājiem bija mācītājs Dr. Vērts (Dr. Karl Dietrich Wehrt), kurš balstoties uz Neandera uzmetumiem veidoja savu dievkalpojuma kārtību. Tā tika publicēta 1786. gadā vienā sējumā kopā ar Neandera agendu ar nosaukumu "Kurzemes hercogistes un Zemgales publisko dievkalpojumu kārtība un lūgšanas."

Dr. Vērts sevi cildināja par mirkļa uztveršanu un iespējas izmantošanu apmierināt daudzo izglītoto cilvēku vēlēšanos pēc laika garam atbilstošas liturģijas, kas nāca novecojušās un nevajadzīgās Kurzemes liturģijas vietā. Vērts apgalvoja, ka ne tikai mācītāji, bet arī domājošie un cienījamie muižnieki un izglītotie draudžu locekļi ir noteikuši, ka vecās liturģiskās formas un ceremonijas nav Jēzus reliģijas izcilībai atbilstošas un cienīgas. Zinātne un Apgaismība ir darījusi cēlu šo laikmetu, tādēļ uzlabot liturģiju esot absolūti nepieciešams. Dr. Vērts apgalvo, ka šis uzdevums īpaši steidzams ir latviešu vidū, jo tie ir neizglītoti un nezinoši ļaudis, kurus jāiepazīstina ar skaistām dziesmām un garu pacilājošām runām, un tādējādi jāved viņus tuvāk Dievam. Tas darīs cēlākus, gan pašus latviešu, gan viņu valodu. Vecā liturģija ar tās primitīvajām praksēm, tādām kā eksorcisms kristību sakramentā, apgaismotos cilvēkus smīdina. Kurzemes baznīcu ir jāved ārā no sajukuma un nekārtības, lai to vadītu cilvēku zināšanu un reliģijas jūtu gaisma. Tas ir vienīgais veids kādā var mazināt reliģisko vienaldzību un amoralitāti.

Visu Vērtā darbu caurstrāvo Neandera ietekme. Faktiski, Vērts piedod miesu un pārvelk ādu pāri Neandera konstruētā Svētā Vakarēdiena skeletam. Pēc atbilstošas dziesmas nodziedāšanas kominkanti sapulcējas ap altāru un mācītājs viņus pamāc. Prefācijas vietā nāk "Gods Dievam augstībā" tonī dziedāta dziesma. Svētā Vakarēdiena konsekkrācija ir paveidota sekojoši: "Tanī naktī, kad Jēzus kopā ar saviem mācekļiem pēdējo reizi ēda jūdu Pashā mielastu, savu tuvojošos ciešanu emociju pārņēmts, tomēr joprojām izcili uzticībā Dievam stiprināts, Viņš ņēma maizi..." Pēc bīķera svētīšanas draudze dzied tsu Sanctus. Svētā Vakarēdiena izdališanas laikā un pēc tam tiek dziedātas dziesma. Dievkalpojums noslēdzas ar tsu pateicības un slavēšanas dziesmu.

Otrā, mazliet redīgēta Pēterim Bīronam veltīta agenda tiek publicēta Kēnigsbergā 1792. gadā. Pēc būtības tā neatšķiras no 1786. gada varianta, vienīgi pievienotas ir jaunas

kolektes lūgšanas un lūgšanu paraugi. Arī šī jaunā liturģija nekad netika oficiāli pieņemta. Tradicionālisti to noraidīja, bet sekulārie racionālisti nejuta vairs nekādu vajadzību pēc baznīcas, kura atbalso viņu sentimentu, bet neko viņiem nedod. Lai gan racionālisma ietekmēti mācītāji lietoja šīs dievkalpojuma kārtības, viņu dievkalpojumu apmeklētāju skaits kritās, jo modernie racionālisti nejuta nekādu vajadzību pēc baznīcas apmeklēšanas. Tomēr sagatavotā liturģija atstāj lielu ietekmi gan uz baznīcu Kurzemē, gan uz luterisko baznīcu visā Krievijas impērijā. Vērtā personā racionālisti Sanktpēterburgas konsistorijā atrada svarīgu sabiedroto, un viņa liturģiskā ekspertīze noderēja viņu pašu programmai novest baznīcu un tās dievkalpojumus 19. gadsimtam atbilstošā līmenī.

Apgaismības novadīšanu līdz vienkāršajiem latviešu zemniekiem uzņēmās mācītājs Johans Stenders, slavenā latviešu mācītāja un laicīgās literatūras pamatlicēja Gotharda Frīdriha Stendera dēls. Stendera eksperimentālais darbs bija pēdējā Kurzemē veidotā liturģija. Tā tika publicēta 1805. gadā, tanī pat gadā, kad Sanktpēterburgas konsistorija publicēja savu racionālisma garā veidoto agendu, kuru bija apstiprinājusi valdības ministrija un pats cars. Uz to brīdi visa politiskā un Baznīciskā vara no provinces bija pārbīdīta uz impērijas galvaspilsētu. Konservatīvie Kurzemes mācītāji turpināja lietot 18. gadsimta liturģiskās formas, līdz tam brīdim, kad tika publicēta jauna 1832. gada agenda, kurā racionālisma iezīmes vairs gandrīz nebija manāmas.

