



Darius Petkūnas





PRUSSIAN LITURGIES: FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE PRUSSIAN UNION



Volume I: The Lutheran Liturgies in the Reformation Era and the Age of Orthodoxy





This book, signed by the author, is available by writing to darius.petkunas@gmail.com

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University of Klaipėda

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Prof. dr. Jyrki Knuutila, Helsinkio universitetas, Suomija

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Galinio viršelio nuotrauka: Hercogas Albrechtas Karaliaučiaus katedroje priima abiejų pavidalų sakramentą, 1525 m. (Karl Ludwig Rosenfelder, Hochmeisterkirche Berlin-Wilmersdorf)

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Readers:

Prof. Dr. Jouko Martikainen, University of Göttingen, Germany

Prof. Dr. Jyrki Knuutila, University of Helsinki, Finland

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Cover photo: Elector Joachim II of Brandenburg receives the Sacrament under both kinds in the St. Nikolai Church in Berlin-Spandau from Bishop Matthias von Jagow, 1539 (Carl Röhling, 1913, St. Nikolai, Berlin-Spandau)

Back cover photo: Duke Albrecht of Prussia receives the Sacrament under both kinds in the Königsberg Cathedral, 1525 (Karl Ludwig Rosenfelder, c. 1852, Hochmeisterkirche Berlin-Wilmersdorf)

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PREFACE

This is the first of a four-volume study which presents to the reader the story of the origins and development of the Prussian liturgy from its earliest beginnings in the Reformation through the age of Orthodoxy.

The Prussian Lutheran Church and its liturgies have proved to be unique in many respects. Prussia was the first land to become a Lutheran state, and in 1525 it established the first official Lutheran liturgy as a sign of the Lutheran confession of the clergy and the people. All this happened five years before the Lutheran theologians and princes appeared before Emperor Charles V at Augsburg to present the *Augsburg Confession*, the document which officially marked the beginning of the separate existence of the Lutheran Church. When the personal union of Brandenburg and Prussia grew into the Kingdom of Prussia incorporating vast geographical territories, it came to encompass a rich variety of unique and significant Lutheran liturgies and associated customs and traditions. The Treaty of Vienna of 1815 brought Wittenberg itself, the heartland of the Lutheran Reformation, into Prussia. In the course of time, the Prussian Church came to be the largest Lutheran Church in Germany and indeed in the world.

However, within a few years this church would be stripped of its Lutheran identity. 1817, 1830, and 1834 were marked by royal decrees which stripped Lutheranism of its *de jure* status as the Lutheran Church, denied the church its proper name, and forcefully deprived it of agendas which clearly espoused its Lutheran heritage.

By means of an examination of the liturgies of the Prussian Church, this four-volume study will trace the history of the church's worship and life. It will examine the beginnings of the Reformation in the Prussian territories through an examination of its liturgies, and it will trace liturgical developments through the ensuing centuries, as well as delineate the decisive nineteenth-century developments by which Friedrich Wilhelm III, a member of the Reformed Church, established the Prussian Union and its liturgical agenda. It relates the story of Lutheran accommodation to these developments and the eventual loss of Lutheran identity in Prussian Lutheranism.

The author wishes to thank posthumously the Rev. Dr. Charles Evanson formerly of Concordia Theological Seminary, Fort Wayne, Indiana, for many hours of fruitful discussions and valuable advice in the preparation of this study. Thanks are due also to the Rev. Daniel Johnson for his careful review of the manuscript and valuable suggestions concerning proper English usage.

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INTRODUCTION

These pages unfold the story of the Lutheran liturgy in Prussia from its earliest beginnings in the Reformation through the age of Lutheran Orthodoxy when traditional Lutheran liturgies assumed their final expression. They reveal the roots of these liturgical formularies that appeared in the church orders and agendas and continued to serve the church until they were, in part, superseded by the rationalist forms of worship and, finally, replaced with the Prussian Union agenda of King Friedrich Wilhelm III.

The territory which came eventually to be known as the Kingdom of Prussia encompassed many provinces in which Lutheranism was the confession of the vast majority of inhabitants and was officially recognized to be the confession of the state. These Prussian provincial Lutheran churches all had their own particular liturgical customs and traditions and their own liturgical documents which governed the form and content of the liturgical services. These particular traditions are examined in order to provide a full and complete picture of liturgical worship in Prussia.

The primary focus of this study is an examination of the liturgy of the Lord's Supper – the Chief Divine Service (Germ. *Hauptgottesdienst*). Attention is given also to the preparatory rites which traditionally preceded the celebration of the Sacrament and prepared communicants for the reception of Communion. Surveyed are the Prussian Lutheran liturgies. Reformed services of worship and agendas are mentioned only in passing because the vast majority of Prussian subjects were of the Lutheran confession and attended Lutheran churches.¹

The examination of Prussian liturgical traditions seeks to reveal the dynamics of the liturgical life in the Prussian provinces and to bring to light the extent to which the spirit of the Lutheran Reformation was understood. It unfolds the dynamic of the tension which developed between the Lutheran Church and a state-dominated Reformed Hohenzollern family which sought to influence the liturgical life of its Lutheran subjects, most particularly in Brandenburg, by restricting some cherished Lutheran liturgical customs and ceremonies. This tension, evident from the seventeenth century on, would increase with the establishment of the Prussian Union in 1817 and King Friedrich Wilhelm III's insistence that Lutherans and Reformed should be required to worship according to a liturgy of his composition within the overarching structure of the "Evangelical Church," i. e., the Evangelical Church in the Royal Prussian Lands (Germ. Evangelische Kirche in den Königlich Preussischen Landen). This tension would culminate in 1830 by

the proscription of the name "Lutheran" in all official titles, and in 1834 by the banishment of all Prussian Lutheran territorial agendas in favor of the king's 1829 Prussian Union agenda.

The aim of this study is to awaken a deeper understanding of the history of Lutheran worship in Prussia through an examination of Prussian liturgies in their historical and theological context. This study examines the emergence and development of Prussian liturgical traditions and their expression in the church's official agendas in the sixteenth and early eighteenth centuries and considers the historical, theological, devotional, spiritual, esthetical, social, and political factors which shaped the development of these traditions. The methods of inquiry to be employed are those of source analysis, comparison, and content analysis. The study takes the form of a historical narrative of the period, incorporating the results of the examination and evaluation of the content of the life of the church and the history of the period.

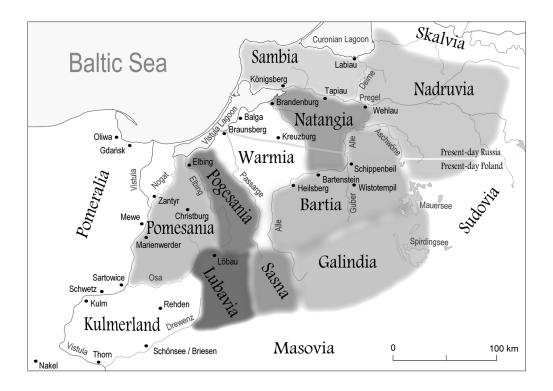
Ample primary and secondary source material is available. The most important primary sources are the officially authorized liturgies of the Prussian provincial churches themselves. Also of primary interest are ducal and royal decrees, orders in cabinets, visitation orders, and governmental edicts concerning liturgical worship, its customs and ceremonies. During eighteenth-twentieth centuries, some important archival material appeared in sourcebooks concerned with liturgies and church orders. Important among these are the works prepared by Otto Mylius, Heinrich Friedrich Jacobson, Ämilius Ludwig Richter, Emil Sehling, Paul Graff, Irmgard Pahl, and others. Included in the secondary source material are the critical studies produced by students of the liturgy and their considered conclusions.

This study may prove of particular interest to students of liturgy and more particularly the Prussian liturgies. In the course of time, Prussia came to envelop three-fifths of the total German territory and included two thirds of its population and was of immense influence. The book may prove of interest also to students of the Lutheran Reformation and the Prussian Union. No complete picture of the Prussia Union can be properly formed without due consideration of the liturgy. Since the Prussian Union Church never developed a single confessional position, it was the agenda which stood as the primary uniting force in the Prussian Union Church. It was nothing less than the very symbol of the Union. Finally, this study should be of special interest to those concerned with the question of Lutheran identity and the roles played by worship and the Lutheran confessional writings in the establishment and maintenance of that identity.

1. SEARCHING FOR "PRUSSIA" - DISAMBIGUATION OF THE NAME

Before one can speak of the history of the liturgies in Prussia, one must first come to understand the meaning of the term. The designation "Prussia" has always been used in many different senses. It has at various times been used to designate a territory along the cost of the Baltic Sea, a state, a province, and a kingdom. It is even used to designate a particular language and language family. Clearly, it is worthwhile to inquire into the term and the many senses in which it has been used through the centuries.

The Baltic Region of Prussia. Originally the term "Prussia" referred to a twelfth-century geographical region lying on the southeastern shore of the Baltic Sea, bordered by the Vistula River on the South and West, the Narev River on the south, and the Memel River (Lith. Nemunas, Rus. Неман) on the east. The nearest neighbors to this Prussia were the Poles on the west and south, and the Lithuanians in the north and east. The tribes which resided in this area were called Prussians and spoke dialects of the old Baltic Prussian language. According to Chronicon terrae Prussiae of Peter of Dusburg, Prussian tribes resided in eleven lands: Pomesania (Germ. Pomesanien), Varmia (Germ. Ermland, Warmien), Pogesania (Germ. Pogesanien), Natangia (Germ. Natangen), Sambia (Germ. Samland), Nadrovia (Germ. Nadrauen), Bartia (Germ. Barten), Scalovia (Germ. Schalauen), Sudovia (Germ. Sudauen), Galindia (Germ. Galindien), and Culm (Germ. Kulmerland). Bolesław I, the first king of Poland, made numerous attempts to bring the Christian gospel to the pagan Prussians. Most of these attempts had at best only limited success. In 1226, Konrad I of Mazovia called for crusades to conquer Prussia. At his urging, the Teutonic Knights agreed to go to battle against the Prussians in exchange for a fief of land of Culm.



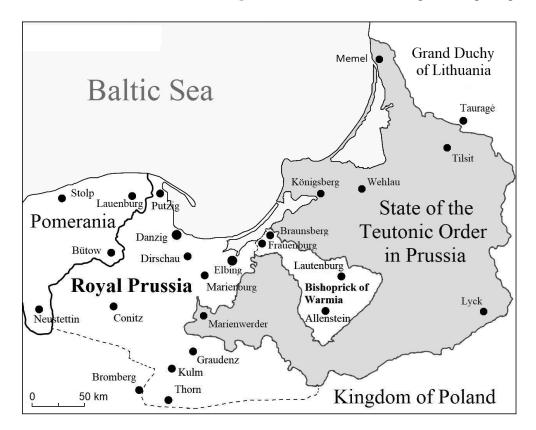
Old Prussian tribes in the thirteenth century (Wikimedia Commons).

The State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia. The Teutonic Knights began their campaign in Prussia in 1230. By means of the Golden Bull of Rimini of 1226 and the Papal Bull of Rieti of 1234, Prussia came under the control of the Order and was made the State of the Teutonic Order (Lat. *Civitas Ordinis Theutonici*; Germ. *Staat des Deutschen Ordens*, also called *Deutschordensstaat* or *Ordensstaat*). From that point on, the term "Prussia" referred to more than a geographical territory; it referred to an ordered monastic state. The knights soon extended its boundaries west of the Vistula River by conquering Polish Pomerelia (Pol. *Pomorze Gdańskie*; Germ. *Pommerellen*) in 1308-1310 and by incorporating it into their monastic state. The State of the Teutonic Order expanded at various times to incorporate medieval Livonia, Samogitia, Gotland, and Neumark.

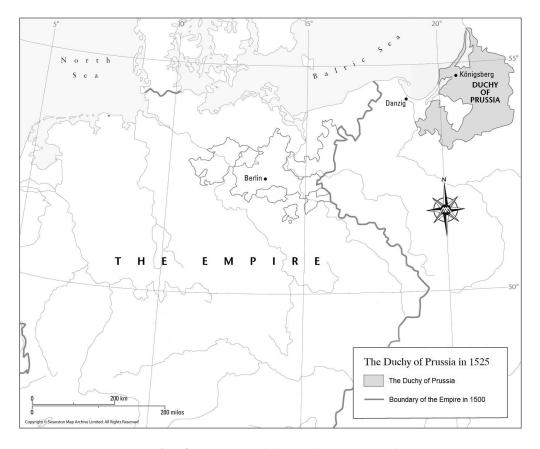


The State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, 1260 - 1410.

The State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia and Royal Prussia. The expansionist policies of the Teutonic Knights, their annexation of Pomerelia, and their continued attacks against Lithuania made the Order an enemy of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. A series of wars culminated in the battle of Grunwald/Tannenberg in 1410 when the forces of the Order were defeated. This effectively weakened the Order and put an end to its expansionist plans. The Second Peace of Thorn of 1466 put Pomerelia with Danzig again under Polish control, along with the land of Kulm with Kulm and Thorn, the mouth of the Vistula with Elbing and Marienburg, and the Bishopric of Warmia with Allenstein. This made western Prussia an autonomous province within the Kingdom of Poland subsequently known as Polish or Royal Prussia. The eastern part remained under the control of the Order, but it was reduced in status to a fief of Poland. Thus, from 1466 there were two Prussias: Royal Prussia, with its most significant port city of Danzig, and the greatly diminished monastic State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia with its administrative capital moved from Marienburg to Königsberg.



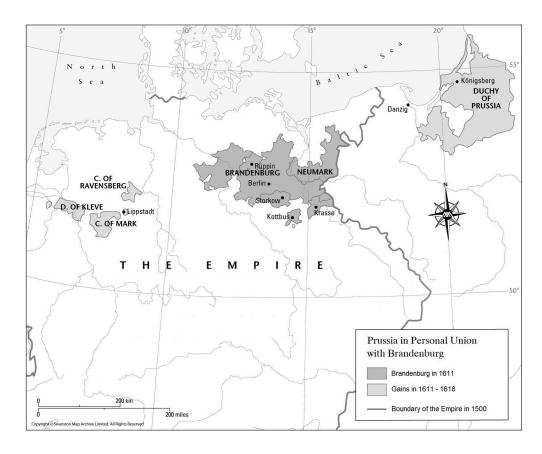
<u>Duchy of Prussia</u>. Eastern Prussia continued as a monastic state ruled by the Order which acted as a secular government. Grand Master of the Order, Albrecht of Brandenburg-Ansbach of the House of Hohenzollern, consulted with Martin Luther about the propriety of this dual status. Luther advised him that it ought not to continue. In 1525, the Prussian branch of the Teutonic Order was secularized and Albrecht and the majority of the knights became Lutherans. Albrecht became the first duke of the Duchy of Prussia and a vassal of the Polish king. Thus, Prussia became the first state to declare itself Lutheran, and henceforth the term Prussia came to be associated primarily with the Duchy of Prussia (Lat. *Ducatus Prussiae*; Germ. *Herzogtum Preußen*).



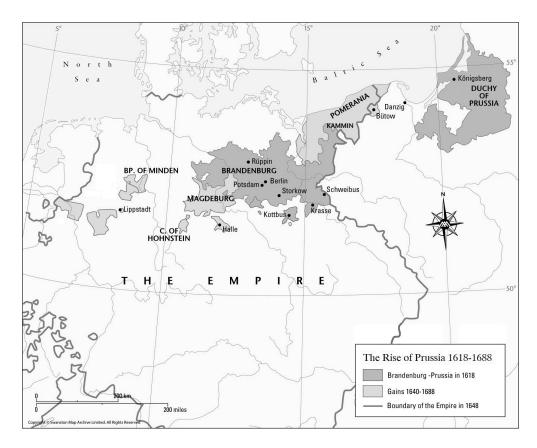
Duchy of Prussia, 1525 (themaparchive.com, MOD).

Brandenburg-Prussia. Duke Albrecht died in 1568, and his son Albrecht Friedrich inherited the duchy. Unfortunately, Albrecht Friedrich was not mentally competent to rule, and from 1577 until 1603, Prussia was governed by Albrecht's nephew, Georg Friedrich of Brandenburg-Ansbach. In 1573, Albrecht Friedrich married Marie Eleonore of Jülich-Cleve-Berg. He had no surviving male heir, and the hereditary title passed to his elder daughter Anna who was also the expected heir of Cleve, Jülich and Berg, as well as Mark and Ravensberg. In 1594, she was married to Margrave Johann Sigismund, securing the Brandenburg claims to the Duchy of Prussia. Johann Wilhelm of Jülich-Cleve-Berg died in 1609 without leaving an heir, and both Palatinate-Neuburg and Brandenburg claimed the right of succession. After several years of conflict, which involved foreign powers as well, the Treaty of Xanten in 1614 gave Cleve, Mark, and Ravensberg to Brandenburg. In 1618, Albrecht Friedrich died, and Ducal Prussia came under the control of Elector Johann Sigismund who became duke of Prussia.

Because the Margraviate of Brandenburg was a part of the Holy Roman Empire and the Duchy of Prussia was a fief of Poland, no real union between the two was possible. However, they were united *de facto* because they had the same ruler who ruled both territories in personal union. This situation continued until the connection between Poland and Prussia was broken as a result of the Second Northern War. Elector Friedrich Wilhelm of Brandenburg joined the Swedes who invaded Poland-Lithuania in 1655. In 1657, the elector signed the Treaty of Wehlau-Bromberg and renounced his alliance with the Swedes. In return, King John II Casimir Vasa recognized Friedrich Wilhelm's full sovereignty over the Duchy of Prussia. Thus, the connection between Brandenburg-Prussia was solidified with Prussia made subservient to Brandenburg in every way.

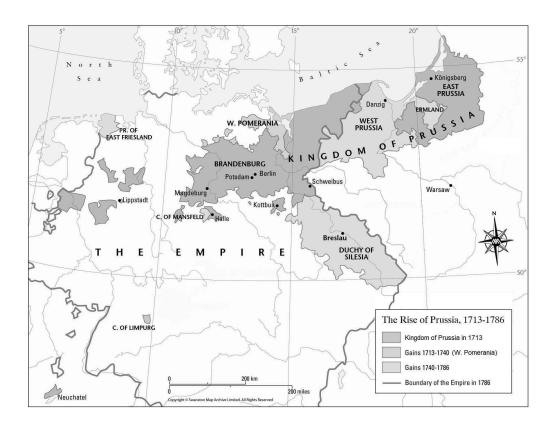


Duchy of Prussia in personal union with the Margraviate of Brandenburg, 1618-1640 (themaparchive.com, MOD).

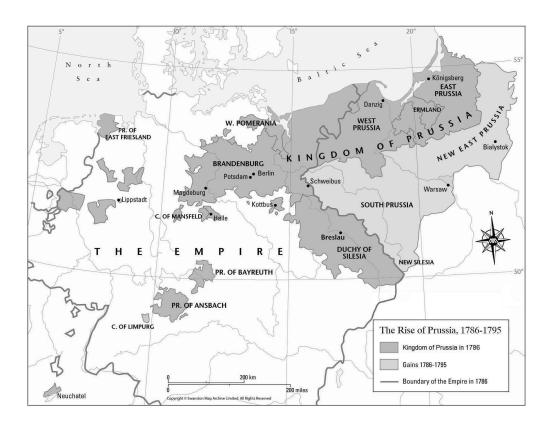


Brandenburg-Prussia at the time of Great Elector Friedrich Wilhelm, 1640–1688 (*themaparchive.com*, MOD).

Kingdom of Prussia. The significance of the designation Prussia was elevated in 1701 as a result of Elector Friedrich III's support of Emperor Leopold I in the War of Spanish Succession. Prussia had never been a part of the Holy Roman Empire, and in return of supporting the emperor, Friedrich III was allowed to upgrade Prussia from a duchy to a kingdom and to crown himself as "King in Prussia." However, as it was made clear, in Brandenburg he was only an elector and not a king since the only king in the Holy Roman Empire was the king of Bohemia. However by that time, the power and influence of the emperor were waning, and the fact that Brandenburg and Prussia were commonly referred to together and were ruled from Brandenburg, had the result that the term "elector" receded into the background as the term "king" gained ground. Finally, after the annexation of Royal Prussia in 1772, the title was officially changed to "King of Prussia." In order to distinguish it from the enlarged Kingdom of Prussia, King Friedrich II announced in 1773 that Ducal Prussia was to be referred to as East Prussia (Lat. Borussia Orientalis; Germ. Ostpreußen).



Throughout the eighteenth century the Kingdom of Prussia used its increasing military power to annex additional territories, with the result that in 1742 Silesia came to be added to the kingdom, which by that time included Brandenburg, Prussia, Farther Pomerania combined with parts of Swedish Pomerania, Magdeburg, Halberstadt, and the western domains of Cleve, Mark, and Ravensberg. Of greatest importance, however, was the First Partition of Poland-Lithuania in 1772, in which the Kingdom of Prussia gained most of the Polish province of Royal Prussia, including the Bishopric of Warmia. The new territory, called West Prussia, now connected together the formerly separated geographic territories of Brandenburg-Pomerania and East Prussia. In the Second Partition in 1793, large territories of Major Poland and its major city of Posen were added to Prussia, creating the province of South Prussia. The Third Partition of 1795 brought even more Polish territories in the south and the establishment of two new provinces: New East Prussia and New Silesia. This brought into Prussia the Polish capital city of Warsaw and the important cities of Lublin and Kraków in Minor Poland.



These new territories and many smaller Prussian lands would be lost in the Napoleonic Wars. According to the terms of the Congress of Vienna in 1815, greater part of the Duchy of Warsaw (Pol. Księstwo Warszawskie), formed in 1807-1809 from the Prussian provinces of New East Prussia, New Silesia, and Posen, as well as some territories taken by Austria, was annexed to the Russian Empire as an autonomous Kingdom of Poland (Pol. Królestwo Polskie). The region of Posen was ceded back to Prussia as semi-autonomous Grand Duchy of Posen. The Kingdom of Prussia made greatest gains in the west and formed the new provinces of Westphalia, Lower Rhine, and Jülich-Cleve-Berg. In the east, the northern part of Saxony, including Wittenberg, was annexed and became the Prussian Province of Saxony. As a result of the Congress of Vienna, Prussia emerged as the dominant power in Germany, a kingdom of ten provinces: Brandenburg (Potsdam), East Prussia (Königsberg), West Prussia (Danzig), Pomerania (Stettin), Silesia (Breslau), Posen (Posen) (since 1848), Saxony (Magdeburg), Westphalia (Münster), Lower Rhine (Koblenz), Jülich-Cleve-Berg (Köln). In 1822, the Rhine Province was created by joining together the provinces of Lower Rhine and Jülich-Cleve-Berg. From 1829 until 1878, a single Province of Prussia was created out of the provinces of East Prussia and West Prussia.



Prussia as the leading state in the German Empire. The Austro-Prussian War of 1866 brought Hanover, Schleswig-Holstein, Hessian Hinterlands, Hesse-Kassel, Nassau, and Frankfurt (Main) into the Kingdom of Prussia. The new provinces of Hanover, Hesse-Nassau, and Schleswig-Holstein were created. Now the Province of Westphalia and the Rhine Province were geographically united with the rest of the Kingdom of Prussia. The defeat of France in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 opened the way for Prussia to bring together the German states into a single German Empire under Prussian leadership. This was accomplished on January 18, 1871, when in Versailles, France, the new German Empire was proclaimed and King Wilhelm I of Prussia was named German Emperor.



Free State of Prussia. The designation Kingdom of Prussia fell out of use at the end of WWI. Emperor and King Wilhelm II abdicated, and the Kingdom of Prussia was replaced by the democratic Free State of Prussia (Germ: Freistaat Preußen), the largest state in the newly organized Weimar Republic (Germ. Weimarer Republik). The Free State of Prussia itself was greatly reduced in size; it lost much territory mainly in the east but still comprised 62,5 percent of Germany. East Prussia was again geographically isolated from the rest of the Free State of Prussia by the Polish Corridor which was given to the newly independent Republic of Poland.

In 1933, Adolf Hitler and his Nazi Party transformed Germany into a totalitarian state, popularly called the "Third Reich," with a centrally controlled Nazi government. The "Law of the Reconstruction of the Reich" and the "Law on Reich Governors" of 1934 and 1935 dissolved the Prussian state government, allowing Prussian provinces only formally continue to exist. All state's power passed to the central Nazi government.

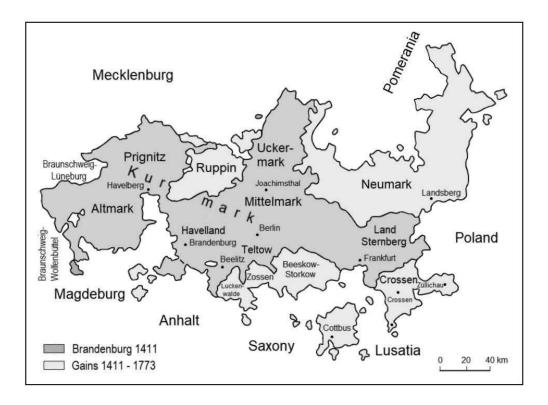


<u>Dissolution of Prussia</u>. The Prussian State ceased to exist at the end of WWII. Territories east of Oder-Neisse line were ceded to Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union. Nearly 40 percent of Prussia was now no longer Prussian, but Prussia was still the largest German state, and the Allies insisted that it must be dissolved. Despite the efforts of Otto Braun, who had been Prime Minister of the Free State of Prussia during the Weimar Republic, the Allied Control Council declared on February 25, 1947, that Prussia must cease to exist because of its history of militarism.

Today the designation Prussia invokes only historical remembrances of a centuries-old German power, which ironically took its name from a small ethnic Baltic tribe and became known as one of the most formidable military, political, and economic power in Europe.

2. LITURGICAL TRADITIONS IN THE MARGRAVIATE BRANDENBURG

The Brandenburg tradition was particularly appreciative of the liturgical traditions and ceremonies of the Western Church. It sought to retain whatever it could of those traditions and ceremonies without doing damage to the impact of the gospel. By the end of the sixteenth century, however, the liturgies of the Brandenburg line had begun to lose some of their rich ceremonial practices and were accommodating themselves to the more moderate liturgical practices of other Lutheran churches. In addition, since Brandenburg was the seat of the Hohenzollern dynasty, the church there was more prone than other Lutheran churches to feel the interfering influences of that ruling family, not least in liturgical matters.



Margraviate of Brandenburg, 1411-1773.

2.1 Joachim I Nestor's Staunch Opposition to "Luther and His Heresies"

The introduction of the Lutheran Reformation in Brandenburg had been neither speedy nor smooth. Joachim I Nestor, elector of Brandenburg from 1499 until 1535, was a strong supporter of the Bishop of Rome, and in the interests of amassing his political power, he secured for his brother Albrecht the Archbishopric of Magdeburg and the Bishopric of Halberstadt. He subsequently acquired for him also the Archbishopric of Mainz which gave the Hohenzollerns control of the electoral votes of both Brandenburg and Mainz, two of the seven electoral districts in the empire, and in 1518, at the age of 28, Albrecht was made a cardinal. This did not sit well with Elector Friedrich the Wise and the Saxons who had also sought for control of the Archdiocese of Magdeburg. Furthermore, Johann Tetzel, who was in the employ of Albrecht and Joachim I Nestor, entered Saxon territory without the permission of Elector Friedrich the Wise. This angered Friedrich the Wise because Tetzel was drawing attention away from Friedrich's own collection of relics and their supposed power. In addition, it stirred Luther's ire because of Tetzel's false statements concerning the power of indulgences. Luther then went on the attack against Tetzel, Albrecht, and Joachim I Nestor.²

Joachim I saw the Wittenberg Reformation as especially dangerous. First, it preached heresy, and second, it attacked him in the pocketbook by its negative effects on the sale of indulgences, half of which were to go to Rome and a half to pay for the loans Albrecht incurred in his purchase of the Archbishopric on Mainz. Consequently, Joachim I became one of the most outspoken Luther's opponents, and at the Diet of Worms in 1521 he and his brother Albrecht took a leading role in pressing of Luther's condemnation. When Luther was condemned by the diet, Joachim I published that condemnation immediately in Brandenburg, and later he would hold Luther personally responsible for the rebellion of the peasants in 1524. In an attempt to ensure that his son Joachim II would remain faithful to the Church of Rome, he arranged for his marriage to Magdalena, the staunchly Roman Catholic daughter of Duke Georg of Albertine Saxony. When Magdalena died suddenly in 1534, Joachim I found for his son another bride, Hedwig Jagiellon (Pol. *Jadwiga Jagiellonka*), the daughter of King Sigismund I the Old of Poland-Lithuania, another staunch enemy of the Reformation.³

In the eyes of Joachim I, Luther was a heretic, and the Lutheran Reformation was a Wittenberg heresy which he would not allow gaining a foothold in Brandenburg. He forbade the singing of any Lutheran hymns and warned his people that they must be loyal to their priests. However, the Lutheran Reforma-

Euthers and **Eutsbers**

eintrechtige vereinigung/io in trif erginichafften finde allendalben gleychförmig verfüget/ Durch U.D.P.C. Sylvium der Cheffendeyt sufelige warnung trevlich beforden von mit Götlicher fehriffe vond der freichtich ergebin der/wiese am legen blat ift vollomlicher derüt.



Sie ist ken spot noch leichtfertigkent/ Sonder ist die ernste warhent/ Die albie ist grungsam erkert/ Ond mie der Golichen schrift bewert. Anno Mi. D. XXXX.

Title page of Petrus Sylvius' polemical pamphlet depicting Luther in "harmonious union with Lucifer (Lutzber)," 1535.

tion did spread in Brandenburg through the efforts of a few priests, even though this made them criminals in the eyes of the law. Luther's writings continued to be circulated and read with appreciation. Attendance at processions and special Masses dropped greatly. The 1521 Corpus Christi procession in Berlin was so poorly attended that Joachim I issued a decree which ordered the people to attend the 1522 procession. Perhaps the greatest personal blow to Joachim I was the conversion of his wife Elisabeth, the sister of King Christian II of Denmark. On Easter Day 1527, she received both the body and blood of the Lord from the hands of a Lutheran priest. Joachim I was away from home at the time, and when he returned to Berlin he was so furious that he summoned his closest secular and ecclesiastical advisors to discuss whether Elisabeth should be put to death or divorced and banished. The advisors warned that neither course of action was practical. It

would be wiser for him to imprison her for life. However, Elisabeth was able to escape to Saxony disguised as a peasant. When Joachim I demanded that the Saxons should return her, the Wittenberg theologians wrote to him, stating that he had no right to attempt to constrain her conscience. Luther himself entered the fray, referring to the elector as "the whore keeper in the old castle on the Spree" a reference to the fact that Joachim I was keeping a mistress.4

Joachim I himself remained a faithful son of the papacy throughout his life. He was present at the Diet of Augsburg, and two of his theologians, Wimpina of Frankfurt (Oder) and Wolfgang Redorfer of Stendal, participated in framing the Confutation of the Augsburg Confession. When the Lutherans established the Schmalkaldic League, Joachim I was among those who responded by forming the League of Halle. As the end of his life approached, he sought to ensure that Brandenburg would continue in the papal fold by stating in his testament of October 22, 1534 "...that our sons and their heirs, together with all their lands and

subjects, remain always faithful to the old Christian faith, religion, ceremonies, and obedience."5

In his last will, Joachim I divided his lands between his two sons. Joachim II received the Mittelmark, Uckermark, Ruppin, Altmark, and Priegnitz. Johann, Margrave of Brandenburg-Küstrin, was given possession of Neumark, Sternberg, Crossen, Züllichau, Sommerfeld, Bobersberg, Cottbus, and Peitz. The possessions bequeathed to Joachim II came to be referred to as Mark-Brandenburg and Johann's territory was called Neumark.⁶

In the course of time, Joachim II and Johann came to understand their commitment to the Church Catholic in somewhat different terms from their father.

2.2 The Reformation in Neumark

As early as 1525, traveling preachers had brought Reformation teaching to Crossen, Züllichau, and Friedeberg. Most formidable among these early preachers was Johannes Briesmann of Cottbus, a former Franciscan friar who had studied in Wittenberg. Beginning in 1522, Briesmann preached salvation by grace through faith alone in the Klosterkirche in Cottbus. At the end of that year, he left there to return to Wittenberg, and from Wittenberg Luther sent him to Prussia to assist in the spread of the Reformation.⁷ He was instrumental in the formation of the first embryonic church order of the Prussian Church, Artickel der Ceremonien of 1525, - the first official Lutheran liturgy to be adopted by a territorial church. From Prussia he was then sent to Riga to assist in the formation of the Lutheran Church and the adoption of its official liturgy, the Kurtz Ordnung of 1530.



Johann of Brandenburg-Küstrin, c. 1600 (Wikimedia Commons).

Johann of Neumark offered no objections to proposals made for the modifications in the liturgy, proposed in 1536, first in Cottbus and later in Königsberg, Züllichau, Crossen, Drossen, Arnswalde, and elsewhere. On Easter Day, 1537, he publicly for the first time received the body and blood in the Sacrament under both kinds, and the next year he became a member of the Schmalkaldic League. His public declaration in 1538 stated that the churches of Neumark adhered to the *Augsburg Confession*.

The church in Neumark needed a church order consonant with the church's confession. The task of preparing for an appropriate church order was assigned to Andreas Althammer, who had been called to Soldin in 1537, and Jacob Stratner, who came to Neumark in 1538. They advised that an entirely new order was not necessary and that it would be sufficient for the Neumark Church to adopt the Brandenburg-Nürnberg church order of 1533.¹⁰

2.2.1 The 1533 Brandenburg-Nürnberg Church Order

The Brandenburg-Nürnberg church order of 1533 was influential not only in its home territories but also throughout German-speaking lands. It pursued a moderate course, including within it elements drawn from Luther's *Formula Missae* and *Deutsche Messe*. The order was created for use in the territory of Margraviate of Brandenburg-Ansbach and the city of Nürnberg and its territories in the same geographical region.

In 1527, Georg of Brandenburg-Ansbach, also known as Georg the Pious (Germ. *Georg der Fromme*), became margrave, and before long announced his plans to conduct a visitation of the parishes in his territories in order to ensure the preaching of the pure gospel and the proper administration of the sacraments. Nearby Nürnberg was also ready for the institution of the Lutheran Reformation, and early in 1528 Lazarus Spengler, the secretary of the city council, suggested that a visitation along the lines of the visitation currently underway in Saxony should be instituted in Nürnberg and its vicinity. Because of the close geographical proximity of these two areas, a plan was devised to conduct a visitation in both jurisdictions according to the same basic pattern. For this purpose, twenty-three articles of doctrine were formulated by the clergy of the margraviate and revised by Andreas Osiander. These articles were then distributed and discussed at a special meeting at Schwabach beginning on June 14, 1528. Also formulated were thirty questions to be asked

⁸ Sehling III 1909, 4.

^{) 17: 1 4004 44}

by the visitors. The documents came to be known as the *Twenty-Three Nürnberg Visitation Articles* and the *Thirty Ansbach Question Points*.¹²

The twenty-three doctrinal articles were meant to cover the main points concerning which the clergy needed to be examined. These articles were set down in a short, concise, and systematic order. The chapter on the Lord's Supper confessed the doctrine of the corporeal presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Sacrament and the benefit of its proper reception. It also specifically stated that proper distribution of the Sacrament required that both the body and the blood be distributed and that a proper and beneficial reception required that the recipients receive the sacramental gifts and consume them both bodily and spiritually, that is, with a faith which relies firmly on the Words of Christ. In this way, the death of the Lord is rightly and properly proclaimed. Those who believe what Christ has promised, receive what he has promised, namely the fruits of his suffering and death. The section also states that the papists had become accustomed to misusing the word "Mass" since, in fact, the Lord's Supper cannot properly be considered a sacrifice offered by man to God.¹³

The councilors of the city of Nürnberg suggested that in collaboration with Margrave Georg a rudimentary church order should be issued which would be in agreement with the terms of the *Visitation Articles*. This church order should be introduced in the course of the visitation. Apparently, Georg approved the draft on July 29, in plenty of time for the institution of the visitation on September 3, 1528.¹⁴

The 1528 Nürnberg church order includes a short description of the structure of the Mass. Its purpose is simply to instruct priests on the proper use of the missal and to indicate what was to be included and what was to be omitted. It set down the following order: Introit in Latin - Kyrie - Gloria and "Et in terra Pax" -Epistle - Gospel - German Nicene Creed, both sung and said. In villages where the people were not competent either to sing or say the Latin Creed, a Christian hymn in German should be sung instead. This was true also of other Latin elements, such as the introit. The German used should not be unseemly or unclear. Some elements, not specifically mentioned, were likely still to be included, as is evident from the statement that the collect should be in German, although it might be necessary in some places to keep it in Latin. The priest at the altar was to wear the vestments, customarily used for divine services. The sermon was to follow the Creed, and after the sermon, the Mass was to continue: Latin Preface - Sanctus - Pater Noster - Pax Domini - German exhortation - Verba - Agnus Dei in Latin or German - distribution in German - Collect in German - Aaronic Benediction in German - "Benedicamus Domino." The order states clearly that the sacramental gifts are to be eaten and drunk, and not to be set apart in a "sacrament house" or carried above. What was to be consumed was to be consecrated in the presence of those who were to consume it, whether in church or at the sickbed. On festival days and work days, the priest was to appear at the altar, as always, wearing his accustomed vestments, and everything was to be done as usual, excepting that if there were no communicants, there was to be no consecration.¹⁵

The service follows the pattern of the *Formula Missae*, but it also introduced the use of the German language in places where Latin was not understood. The main changes were found in the consecration and the distribution of the Sacrament, in that although the usual order was maintained, it was allowed that it be said in German. The Offertory of the bread and wine as a sacrifice and the Canon of the Mass with its prayers for the living and the dead were omitted. In general, this Mass was a conservative order. Although it allowed the use of German, the pattern or style of the *Deutsche Messe* is nowhere evident, and for this reason, it cannot be properly said that this service contained elements of the *Deutsche Messe*. The pattern of the *Formula Missae* was abandoned in some parts of the service. Luther had put the *Pater Noster* after the *Verba*, as in the medieval Mass, but in this church order the Lord's Prayer came before the *Verba*, and it was immediately followed by the *Pax Domini* and a German exhortation, written by Osiander. No clear reason for these changes was offered.

The new church order was to be introduced in the course of the visitation of parishes in Nürnberg and its vicinity, scheduled to begin on September 3, 1528. In the margraviate, every priest was ordered to appear before the visitation commission in Ansbach and to bring with him a member of his parish. The official visitors were chosen by the Nürnberg city council and included among them three Nürnberg priests and two city council members, Christoph Koler and Hieronymus Baumgartner. Chosen to visit the city parishes were five city priests, the two councilors already named, Bernhard Tucher, the head of the alms office, and Lucas Sitzinger, the head of the community chest.¹⁶

The bishop of Bamberg protested all along that this proposed visitation was improper because it was his office to institute and administer such visitations. He sent his complaint to the Swabian League. At a meeting of officials and representatives of the League on July 16 at Ulm, the Nürnberg city council protested that it had nothing but respect for the authority of the bishop, but since it was charged with the protection of both the spiritual and physical welfare of the citizens of the city, it must be their responsibility to determine that their priests and preachers preach the pure Word of God and provide a good example to their people. This responsibility had been clearly stated by the Diet of Nürnberg in 1524, which had

also declared that the clergy were responsible to maintain harmony and good order in their parishes and also to fight false doctrine and the proliferating sects. The bishop had not lifted a finger to fulfill these requirements, and for this reason, the city council was determined to carry out a visitation and thus fulfill the responsibilities which were laid upon it by the Diet of Speyer of 1526. They solemnly declared that this was an obligation both to God and to the emperor.¹⁷

However, at a meeting in Augsburg, the Swabian League forbad the Nürnberg city council and the margrave to carry out the visitation. The council or the margrave paid no attention. The visitation began as planned on September 3 and ended on October 22, 1528. The bishop of Bamberg again protested, but the city council responded that he had failed to do his duty and they did not intend to do the same.¹⁸

The commissioners visited each parish and also the homes of each clergyman to determine conditions and pastoral behavior. In addition, the clergy were asked to submit for an examination. Those living in the vicinity of Nürnberg were examined there. Parishes, in which it was known that there was a general dissatisfaction with the clergy, were told to send five to seven representatives to meet with the visitation commission. Some clergy refused to participate, claiming that to do so would show disrespect and disobedience to the bishop but most of the clergy were cooperative. Those who indicated that it was their intention to lead godly lives, to preach the gospel in its purity, to administer the sacraments according to Christ's institution, and to cooperate with the civil authorities had nothing to fear from the visitors. Those who were stubborn and refused to cooperate were marked for dismissal. The visitation in Ansbach began earlier, on August 15, and continued until November 13. The visitation there was conducted by Priests Johannes Rurer and Andreas Althammer and two members of the Ansbach council.¹⁹

After the conclusion of the visitation, the reports of the visitors were gathered, and early in December the city council met to act upon their recommendation. As a result, only a few clergymen were removed from office. Also in December the Swabian League met in Augsburg, and there the bishop of Bamberg again complained that the Nürnberg city council had usurped his episcopal authority. Action on his complaint was postponed until the next meeting in Ulm in February 1529. At that meeting, the complaints of the Bamberg bishop were supplemented by those of the bishops of Augsburg, Würzburg, and Eichstätt, all of whom attacked the city council and margrave. Their complaints were supported by Leonhard von Eck who wanted to see the results of the visitation nullified. A three-member committee filed eight charges against the margrave and the visitors.

They charged that the clergy were no longer being permitted to celebrate Mass in the old, traditional manner, that they were being urged to marry, that they were being treated like mere citizens, that they were being forced to accept the interpretation of the Scriptures set down by the secular authorities, and that they were being compelled to appear before an improperly convened visitation commission. Other complaints as well were lodged.

The response of the margrave to these charges at the next meeting of the league was prepared by Lazarus Spengler. In his response, he stated that no member of the clergy had been denied the right to celebrate the Mass in accordance with its institution by Christ, that it was disgraceful that the bishops tolerated adultery and other vices among the clergy, and that if the bishops appointed faithful preachers and required that they preach the pure gospel and added nothing to it and themselves fulfill their responsibility to conduct visitations, it would not have been necessary for the margrave and the city council to act as they had.

At a meeting of the league in Augsburg on July 11, 1529, the bishop of Bamberg was asked to prepare a written account of his charges to be read at the next meeting at Ulm. He did not do so, and so consideration of the matter was again put off. Although some political and territorial controversies threatened to drive the margrave and Nürnberg city council into separate camps, their cooperation in religious matters remained firm. The bishops continued their attempts to undo the changes brought about by the visitation, but the Swabian League disbanded and Peace of Nürnberg in 1532 between Emperor Charles V and the Schmalkaldic League ushered in a period of relative peace.²⁰

The Nürnberg church order of 1528 was very modest in its directives, but Margrave Georg was reluctant to allow its publication. In his territories, its provisions would have to be passed from one priest to the other by word of mouth and handwritten manuscripts. The Nürnberg city council, however, was of a very different opinion. The council was determined to publish it. First, it would be needed to be brought up-to-date with the findings of the visitors and made a comprehensive document. For this purpose, Nürnberg city council established a commission in the spring of 1529, consisting of Osiander, Dominikus Schleupner, Wenzeslaus Linck, and Georg Koberer. The most able member on the commission was Osiander, and it was clear that he would carry the greatest responsibility for the work. However, Osiander was reluctant to move forward until the margrave determined that a comprehensive church order was necessary.

Osiander did move ahead though without consulting with his fellow commissioners and submitted a draft to the city council in February 1530. Secretary Spengler was not entirely happy with the draft because it was incomplete. It con-

tained the liturgical services and directives for church discipline but included no summary of Christian doctrine, such as was sorely needed by the clergy. He was concerned also that the draft was the work of only one man. It was his opinion that even though the author was highly competent, the input of others was sorely needed. In response, the Nürnberg city council requested the other members of the commission under the leadership of Koberer to examine the draft and submit their recommendations. Osiander was highly offended by Spengler's critique, and relations between them became tense for a time. Later he came to agree that the work was too important to be the product of only one mind and one pen.²¹

Within a few months, the all-important Diet at Augsburg was called in 1530 by the emperor. Lutherans and some Reformed invited would be called upon to defend their doctrine and practices. Understanding that the course of events might not go well for the Lutherans, a majority of the members of the Nürnberg city council decided to postpone the completion and publication of the church order. At this point, the positions previously taken by the margrave and the council were reversed. Now it was Margrave Georg who wanted to move forward quickly, stating that he needed a complete copy of the Nürnberg draft to guide him in his negotiations at Augsburg. The city council reluctantly complied, stating that it must be remembered that there was not yet a consensus concerning some of the provisions of the order.

Work on the church order did not resume until November. The margrave stated that it was his desire that a large number of theologians representing all Protestants in his realm should be gathered in Nürnberg to deliberate on the document. The Ansbach and Nürnberg theologians were unwilling to open discussions with dissident groups and chose instead to invite the participation of Johannes Brenz of Schwäbisch-Hall. He prepared a memorandum on the church order and met with clergy assembled in Ansbach to discuss it. His draft was sent to the Nürnberg city council in late spring 1531. At this point, the margrave was concerned that the document be completed and published, to prove to Emperor Charles V and King Ferdinand that Brandenburg-Ansbach and Nürnberg continued to adhere to the *Augsburg Confession* and had no intention to give way to enthusiasts and radicals. Finally, Brenz and the Ansbach theologians recommended that a permanent commission be established to assure that the clergy were faithful to the church order and that a synod be held to represent the parishes.

The completed draft was then sent to Wittenberg for an opinion. In a letter to Veit Dietrich, Spengler pleaded for a quick reply. With Luther and Melanchthon taking the lead, the Wittenberg theologians did send a quick reply, but now it was the city council that began to drag its feet. Points of contentions were the right

of excommunication and continuing question concerning the celebration of the Mass without communicants. Osiander insisted that the clergy should have the right to excommunicate, but the city council insisted that it must be given final authority in such matters. Spengler agreed with Osiander. Finally, it was determined that the article on excommunication be dropped, and in place of it a statement was added, declaring that the clergy were empowered to bar grave moral offenders from receiving the Sacrament. Brenz and the clergy of Ansbach agreed to the dropping of the article. For their part, they requested for the establishment of a church commission to oversee discipline and the fulfillment of the provisions of the church order.²²

Important questions still remained concerning the celebration of the Mass. In some places, private Masses were still being celebrated and this caused contentions. The matter was resolved on December 5, 1531, when the private Mass was laid aside. The Mass itself was a point of controversy. The purpose of the celebration of the Mass was the distribution and reception of the body and blood of Christ by the communicants. The question arose concerning what was to be done when there were no communicants. It was suggested that in order to avoid this situation communicants should announce their intention to receive the Sacrament to the celebrant. A form was needed for the conduct of the service when no communicants announced. The theologians of the margraviate had suggested that on such occasions the Mass should be replaced by a simple service which consisted in the reading of Scriptures, a sermon, prayer, the Litany, and congregational hymns, all led by clergy not wearing Eucharistic vestments. The Nürnberg city council disagreed. They maintained instead that the old usages should stand, even when there were no communicants. This presented a problem because it meant that the Mass would be celebrated but no one would be receiving the Sacrament - a clear departure from the purpose of the celebration. Osiander with the support of Luther and Melanchthon and the Ansbach theologians recommended that the Mass be retained as the typical service on Sundays and weekdays with the provision that when there were no communicants, the Missa Fidelium should be omitted. The Nürnberg council agreed. The elevation itself was a point of contention. It was finally decided that the church order should not bring the matter up at all. As a result, priests could decide either to continue its use or discontinue it.23

In a contemporary account of the Lutheran Mass as it was celebrated in Nürnberg in 1532, Sir Thomas Elyot who was present along with a party of diplomats left a record:

"Although I had a chaplain, yet could not I be suffered to have him to sing Mass, but was constrained to hear their Mass, which is but one in a church, and

that is celebrated in form following. The priest, in vestments after our manner, sings everything in Latin, as we use, omitting suffrages. The epistle he reads in Latin. In the meantime, the subdeacon goes into the pulpit and reads to the people the epistle in their vulgar; after, they peruse other things as our priests do. Then the priest reads softly the gospel in Latin. In the mean space, the deacon goes into the pulpit and reads aloud the gospel in the Almaigne tongue [German]. Mr. Cranmer said it was showed to him in the epistles and gospels they kept not the order we do, but do peruse every day one chapter of the New Testament. Afterwards, the priest and the choir do sing the Credo as we do; the Secrets and Preface they omit, and the priest sings with a high voice the Words of the Consecration; and after the elevation the deacon turns to the people, telling them in the Almaigne tongue a long process how they should prepare themselves to the Communion of the flesh and blood of Christ; and then may every man come that desires, without going to any confession."²⁴

As a loyal member of the English Church which was at that time under the pope, the observer noted the considerable similarity between the Lutheran Mass and that practiced in his own country at that time. He does not seem to be particularly alarmed or upset by the Lutheran deviations from the medieval Mass, which omit the Offertory and Canon and include the singing aloud of the *Verba*.

On July 17, 1532, the representatives and councilors of the margrave sent the revised church order to Wittenberg, together with a statement, drawn up by Spengler on behalf of the margrave and the Nürnberg city council. The Wittenberg theologians issued two opinions. In the first, they stated that the church order conformed to the Word of God and contained nothing contrary to that word. In the second opinion, they stated that in Electoral Saxony it had been decided that notorious public sinners should be denied the right to receive the Sacrament. The opinions were signed by Luther, Melanchthon, Johannes Bugenhagen, and Justus Jonas; Wittenberg reformers advised that Masses without Communion be abolished since their retention might encourage some to reinaugurate the practice of again celebrating private Masses.²⁵

The church order which was the result of many hands and minds now needed to be edited so that its nomenclature and wording were uniformed. This work was undertaken by Osiander and Johannes Brenz. When their work was completed, the Nürnberg city council again showed its reluctance to take the decisive step of publishing it. In a letter addressed to the council by Margrave Georg and formulated by Spengler, the council was reminded that this church order was sorely needed to overcome the opposition raised by followers of the pope. In response, the city council finally approved the order, and on December 5, 1532, it signed the order and

Rirchen Dednung/In

meiner gnedigen berrn der Warggras ven zu Brandenburg/Ind eine Er, bern 'Kats der Btat Nürmberg Oberkeyt und gepieten/Wie man sich bayde mit der Zeer und Leremo, nien balten folle.

M. D. XXXIII.

Title page of the 1533 Brandenburg-Nürnberg church order. handed the document over to the printer. On December 22, the priests of the Nürnberg churches stated that as of January 1, 1533, all services would be conducted in accordance with the new church order. On February 9, 1533, it was introduced in all parishes in the vicinity of Nürnberg, and beginning on March 1, 1533, it was to be introduced in Ansbach and Kulmbach. On May 20, Nürnberg city council established a commission to oversee the implementation of the church order.²⁶

The completed church order was printed in 1533 in Nürnberg by Christoph Gutknecht under the title: Kirchen Ordnung, In meiner gnedigen herrn der Marggrauen zu Brandenburg, vnd eins Erberen Rats der Stat Nürnberg Oberkeyt vndgepieten, Wie man sich bayde mit der Leer vnd Ceremon-

ien halten solle (Church Order, authorized and Commanded by My Gracious Lord, the Margrave of Brandenburg, and the Hereditary Council of the City of Nürnberg, as One Is to Conduct Himself in both Doctrine and Ceremonies). It was a book of doctrine to which had been added in the appropriate places the form for the celebration of the Holy Mass and Holy Communion and other material necessary for the administration of the office of a priest. The doctrinal content of the order included a lengthy opening statement concerning pure doctrine, followed by articles on the Old and New Testament, confession of sins, the Law, the Gospel, the cross and suffering, Christian prayer, free will, Christian freedom, man and his nature, Baptism, together with the formula for its administration, the Lord's Supper, together with forms for absolution, the order of the Mass with an enumeration of its parts, the collects, the order of the Lord's Supper, the order for ministry to the sick, the form for Christian marriage, the burial order, and an enumeration of festal days to be celebrated in the churches. Finally, there were two closing paragraphs that pertained to the proper exercise of the office of the holy ministry.

In 1533, the Lutheran Reformation was still in its teenage years, and not only the common people but the clergy as well were in sore need of clear teaching concerning the chief parts of Christian doctrine. Accordingly, in addition to an examination of the doctrine of Law and Gospel and related matters, the Brandenburg-Nürnberg church order included extended sections carefully explaining the proper understanding of the Sacrament of the Altar and the correct manner for celebrating the Mass, over against contemporary doctrinal errors and misuses. Included also were not only the errors of the followers of the Bishop of Rome but also of the Swiss and some southern German theologians and the enthusiasts.

The section on the Lord's Supper began with the words by which Christ instituted the Sacrament since, as the text stated, one must keep these words before his eyes as the chief matter in the Sacrament if he is to correctly understand and use the Supper of the Lord. It stated that man himself had added much to what the Lord had given in the Sacrament. Some of what had been added served to extol and glorify the Sacrament and to instruct the people, but other additions misled the unlearned and undercut the faith of the people, such as the doctrine which made the Mass a sacrifice for the living and the dead, and instructed people to invoke the saints, to sing improper hymns, and say prayers which were not in accord with the Word of God. Such abuses must be eliminated. Consequently, both the Offertory and the Canon must fall away, along with improper invocations, hymns, readings, and prayers which are contrary to the Holy Scriptures. Christ did not institute the Mass to be a sacrifice for sins, nor did the apostles teach it in such a way. It was to be noted that the Greek Church said nothing of such an offering of the body and blood of Christ but rather spoke of a sacrifice of thanksgiving and prayer. So too, the church of Milan (Ambrosian) included a Canon which was unlike that of the papists. Therefore, it must be evident that the Roman Canon does not come from Christ or the apostles, or the learned holy fathers.

In truth, according to the Holy Scriptures and the articles of faith, the forgiveness of sins comes through Christ's own sacrifice of his body and blood. This was prefigured by the offerings of the high priest among the Hebrews. This work of sacrifice was completed by Christ and was not capable of repetition, for Christ was crucified once for all and died as the offering for sin.

Concerning Mass vestments, altar paraments, and lighted candles, the article states that although these matters added nothing, they were freely kept. Furthermore, it was proper that the minister of the church should be properly vested at the altar.

Mass was not to be celebrated when there was no one present to receive it, for Christ instituted it to be eaten and drunk in obedience to his word. Accordingly, no Mass was to be sung or read when there were no communicants to receive the consecrated elements.

Those who did receive the Sacrament were to be given both species, for this was how Christ instituted and administered the Sacrament himself and ordered



Margrave Johann von Brandenburg-Küstrin in Lucas Cranach the Younger's painting "The Baptism of Christ," 1556 (Generalverwaltung des vorm. reg. Preußischen Königshauses; Jagdschloss Grunewald).

were not truly present. One said that the Sacrament was not the body but only the sign of the body, another said that the Words of Christ refer to his physical body, a third claimed that the bread is like a body, a fourth said that the bread is eaten only in remembrance of Christ, and yet a fifth claimed that only believers receive the body of Christ. These errors were to be pointed out in sermons so that the people would be properly instructed concerning the Sacrament, for Christ said very plainly that what was given to the communicant is his body and that all are to drink of the cup, not just the apostles but all Christians. Furthermore, those who wish to receive the Sacrament should announce their intention the night before, or if they live far away, they should announce in the morning before

Mass to the priest or some other minister. It was pointed out that the enthusiasts, the so-called "schwärmer," and other unbelievers had no Sacrament at all. Finally, ignorant people, children, and others, who do not know the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Our Father, were not to be communed.

The people were to be properly instructed to make their confession and receive the Sacrament according to a proper understanding of it, as set down in the confession made at Augsburg before the emperor and estates of the empire. Those who come to the Sacrament should examine themselves in accordance with the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Our Father, and ask themselves whether they rightly hold the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, whether they are properly reverent and worthy to receive. To this end, they need to listen the sermons on the catechism.

Just as Christ instituted Holy Baptism, so too, he gave the Lord's Supper that his Christian people might be strengthened to live in the faith. The absolution is for those who have fallen, and thus the fellowship of Christians, that is, the spiritual body of Christ, is restored. Furthermore, it must be understood that this absolution is not the same as the papist office of confession. The people need to be instructed that they may seek the absolution from the ministers of the church, for Christ has commanded this.²⁷

Two forms of absolution were given in the order, along with the reminder that those who do not confess their sins, or of whom it is not certain that they want to live changed lives, should not be communed. The forms themselves were not included in the order for the Mass, indicating that confession and absolution were separate from the Chief Divine Service.

Form One:

"Almighty God has had mercy on you, and through the merit of the most holy sufferings, death, and resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, his beloved, he forgives you all your sins. And I, as a called servant of the Christian Church, by the command of our Lord Jesus Christ, announce to you this forgiveness of all your sins in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Amen. Go in peace, and as you believe, so be it to you."

Form Two:

"The almighty and merciful God forgives you all your sins, and I, by the command of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the stead of the Holy Church pronounce you free and clear of all your sins in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Go forth, and sin no more and unceasingly better yourself with God's help. Amen." ²⁸

The order of the Mass was set down in detail. At the beginning of the service, the priest was to come to the altar and pray the Confiteor or whatever his devotion might suggest. Thereafter he was to read the introit which was taken from the Holy Scriptures. In parishes with the school, the schoolchildren were to sing the introit in Latin but in villages, where the people were not acquainted with Latin, an appropriate hymn should be sung in German instead. If the people did not know how to sing, they would need to be taught so that they could sing the introit and other parts in German. Then the priest was to read Kyrie eleison and the Gloria in Latin, and the schoolchildren or the people were to sing these in Latin or in German. The priest was then to turn to the people and say or sing the Salutation in Latin or German, and after it, one or more collects according to the season and the needs of the church. The collects should be in German so that the people could understand and pray along in their hearts. Sixteen collects were provided for ordinary use, along with collects for the chief festivals and the seasons and prayers for the coming of God's kingdom, the doing of His will, and two prayers *pro pace* **–** for peace.

Then followed a chapter from the epistles of Paul, Peter, or John in German. After the epistle, the priest was to read an alleluia and its verse in Latin, or a Gradual from the Holy Scriptures, and the children might sing the same in Latin. He was then to read a chapter from the gospel or from the Book of the Acts. This

was followed by the Nicene Creed, which was to be sung by the children in Latin, or the people might instead sing the German creedal hymn "We All Believe in One True God" ("*Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr*""). Then the sermon was preached and after that the Lord's Supper celebrated.²⁹

The order for the Lord's Supper began with a lengthy admonition which was to draw the attention of the communicants to Christ's Words of Institution and the purpose for which the Sacrament had been instituted. The priest was then to sing the *Verba*, which was then followed by the *Sanctus* in Latin or German. The rubric stated that he was to sing the Words of the Institution in a solemn manner, using the designated musical notes, or if he was "reading the Mass," he was to do so in a loud and understandable voice so that all present could hear him. After the *Sanctus*, the priest was to invite the people to join in praying the Lord's Prayer, saying: "Oremus Preceptis salutaribus moniti: et diuina institutione formati audemus dicere. Pater noster, etc." After the Our Father, the liturgist was to say: "Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum, etc.," in Latin. The Our Father and the Pax Domini might be chanted in German, according to the notes provided. The Lord's Prayer was to close with the petition: "...deliver us from evil," after which the congregation was to sing Amen.

The body of Christ was to be administered with the German words: "Take and eat, this is the body of Christ, given for you," and giving the cup the priest was to say: "Take and drink, this is the blood of the New Testament, shed for the forgiveness of your sins." If he had no deacon (assistant pastor) to assist him, he was to administer first the body and then the cup. If there was an assistant pastor, he was to administer the cup after each had received the host. During communion, the schoolchildren were to sing *Agnus Dei* or another appropriate hymn. If, however, there were no schoolchildren, the congregation was to sing some other verses (hymns) from the Word of God and appropriate to the season.

After communion, the *responsorium* was sung, and the priest was to pray one of two post-communion collects in German, printed in the order. This was followed by the "*Benedicamus Domino*" and one of the four benedictions supplied. The first of these was the Aaronic Benediction. The second was from Psalm 67: "God be gracious and merciful to us and grant us his godly blessing. May he cause his countenance to shine upon us and grant us his peace. Amen." The third: "May God bless and preserve us: the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen," and the fourth: "The blessing of God, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, be with you and remain with you always. Amen." The section closed with an admonitory instruction to the priests concerning their conduct with regard to the Sacrament.³²

²⁹ Kirchen Ordnung 1533, 44-47.

^{20 10: 1 0 1 1522 16}

Included as well were instructions for the conduct of services, particularly for use on weekdays and in villages when there were no communicants. This service consisted in two or three psalms (depending on length), on Sunday the symbol *Quicunque Vult* (the Athanasian Creed) was to be sung, instead of the last psalm. This was followed by an antiphon from the Holy Scriptures and a chapter from the epistles of Paul or another apostle. After the chapter, a German or Latin hymn of moderate length, and which conformed to the Word of God, was to follow. Then a chapter of the gospel was read, followed by a hymn of praise, such as the "Te Deum Laudamus," or a seasonal hymn. Then the priest was to pray three collects in German, the first concerning the "pure Word of God," the second for "good government," and the third for "present necessities." The prayer was to be followed by the sermon, after which the service closed with the Benedicamus and a benediction in German, as in the Mass. The proper vesture at such a service was a surplice rather than Mass vestments.

Vespers was to be prayed at the usual time and in the usual manner, excepting that in place of the Latin chapter, a German chapter from the Old Testament was to be read, followed by an appropriate German hymn. Because one cannot hold to the Word of God or pure doctrine unless he knows the chief articles, the clergy were to teach clearly in accordance with the admonition of St. Paul.

In cathedrals and collegiate churches, the clergy might to continue to use the full daily office, and as in parish churches, celebrate the Lord's Supper when there were communicants. However, the canonical hours should drop the invocation of saints or any references to the "fires of purgatory."³³

The following feast days were marked for observance: New Year's Day or the Circumcision of the Lord, Epiphany, Candlemas, called the Purification, St. Matthias the Apostle, the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, Holy Easter and the day following, St. Philip and St. James the Apostles, the Ascension of Our Lord, Holy Pentecost and the day following, Holy Trinity, St. John the Baptist, St. Peter and St. Paul the Apostles, St. James the Apostle, the Visitation of the Virgin Mary, St. Bartholomew the Apostle, St. Matthew the Apostle, St. Simon and St. Jude the Apostles, St. Andrew the Apostle, St. Thomas the Apostle, the Nativity of Our Lord, and the day of St. Stephen.³⁴

The order allowed for some freedom concerning observances and ceremonies. The elevation of the Sacrament was not mentioned but allowed. It may be assumed that other feast days also might be observed, although they were not specifically mentioned.

The order itself was traditional. It followed many of the provisions of the 1528 order and preserved many traditional usages from pre-Reformation times. It is noteworthy that Eucharistic Preface was eliminated in favor of an admonition, a

change perhaps inspired by the paraphrase in Luther's *Deutsche Messe*. Also similar to the *Deutsche Messe* was the placement of the *Sanctus* after the Words of Consecration. In the *Deutsche Messe*, it was during the singing of the *Sanctus* that the consecrated elements were to be elevated. Although much of the language of the old Latin Mass was retained, provision was made for the use of German instead in congregations where the people were not familiar with the Latin language. The Brandenburg-Nürnberg order may be seen as standing somewhere between Masses either entirely in Latin or German. Those who prepared this order wanted it to be used in all the congregations, both in the cities and in rural areas, among both the educated and uneducated.

2.2.2 The Significant Influence of the 1533 Order in German Lands

New editions of the church order appeared in 1536, 1543, 1552, 1556, 1564, 1591, and 1592 - all printed in Nürnberg, and an edition was published in low German in Marburg in 1534. Within a few years, it was introduced also into free cities, including Weisenburg 1533, Dinkelsbühl 1534, Windsheim 1535, Regensburg 1542, and Donauwörth 1545. It was introduced into the County of Öttingen in 1538 and soon spread to the counties of Henneberg 1544 and Hohenlohe, and in the course of time, it was used elsewhere as well. In 1534, Duke Heinrich of Mecklenburg introduced the Reformation into his territories. He had 311 copies of it distributed to his parishes. It is unclear whether he distributed the church order in its original high German edition or its low German translation, such as appeared in Marburg in 1534. In 1540, this was published as the Mecklenburg church order. This church order proved to be influential in the preparation of the church orders for the Duchy of Württemberg 1536, Mark-Brandenburg 1540, Palatinate-Neuburg 1543, the principality of Calenberg-Göttingen 1542, Köln 1543, and Waldeck 1556. Chyträus would make use of it when preparing the church order for Lower Austria which appeared in 1571.35

The Brandenburg-Nürnberg church order continued to regulate church life and worship in Neumark and other territories of Johann of Brandenburg-Küstrin until after his death in 1571. Then the Brandenburg territories were reunited under Johann Georg, the son of Joachim II.

In 1538, Margrave Johann ordered the visitation of the churches in his territories for the purpose of instituting the church order parish by parish. There was no significant opposition to this decision. Subsequently, visitations were also held in 1550, 1551, and 1554. In 1540, Johann published Order of a Common Treasury (Kastenord-

nung) for the charitable institutions associated with the church. In it, he spoke of the recently completed visitation in which the superintendents and visitors had established the appropriate ceremonies, according to the doctrine of St. Paul who had stated the importance of orderliness in the church. In the same year, a *Police Order (Policey ordnung)* was published for the establishment of an appropriate Christian moral, social order, and the observance of Sundays and feast days.³⁶

2.3 The Reformation in the Margraviate and the Brandenburg Family of Liturgies

When Joachim II inherited the electorship from his father, it was expected that he would continue to follow his father's policies and remain faithful to Rome. However, the new elector did not share the enthusiasm for Rome that his father had displayed. He was determined to take a *laissez-faire* attitude toward the spread of the Reformation, although he personally was highly offended by Luther's continued critical attacks against his family, and especially against his uncle, Car-

dinal Albrecht. In 1536, he and his brother Johann, together with Margrave Georg of Ansbach and Duke Albrecht of Prussia, met in Frankfurt (Oder) to formulate an appeal to Elector Johann Friedrich, asking him to forbid Luther to publish further attacks on the cardinal.³⁷

Joachim II still hoped that accommodation could be forged between Rome and Wittenberg by a general church council. This fond hope kept him from any outright break with Rome. Through the Papal Nuncio, Pietro Paolo Vergerio, his plan was brought to the attention of Pope Paul III, but the pope showed little interest in it. Joachim then met with King Ferdinand at Bautzen on May 26, 1538, and together they formulated a religious settlement which included the giving of the cup to the laity and the marriage of priests. It was hoped that agreement

IOACHIMVSII. DEI GRATIA PRINCEPS ELECTOR BRANDE BYRGICVS ET DVX PRVSSIAE.



Joachim II of Brandenburg (Die Augspurgische Confession 1572).

would lead to the formation of a "German National Church." Joachim II was to bring the proposal to the Schmalkaldic League and King Ferdinand would present it to the pope. Neither the League nor the pope showed any great enthusiasm for the plan. At the same time, Joachim's brother Johann was taking steps to formalize his acceptance of the *Augsburg Confession*.³⁸

During the 1530s, the message of the Lutheran Reformation was spreading through the land and Lutheran priests were beginning to preach in many towns of Mark-Brandenburg. Johann Baderesch preached regularly at St. Peter's in Cölln an der Spree beginning in 1537, with the result that the number of Lutherans in Spandau increased. Brandenburg nobles were securing Lutheran priests to serve as household chaplains on their estates, and even in the anti-Lutheran faculty at Frankfurt (Oder) the theology of the *Augsburg Confession* was making inroads.³⁹

In 1538, the estates of Mark-Brandenburg met in Berlin and brought the question of religious ceremonies before the elector. They asked him for some indication of his support either for the Reformation or for Rome. He tried to remain non-committal, but he was pressed by nobles of the so-called Teltow Coalition, who indicated to the pro-Lutheran Bishop Matthias von Jagow in April 1539 that they believed that the time had come for the gospel to be proclaimed and accepted in Brandenburg. In that same year, citizens of Berlin petitioned the city council for permission to celebrate the Easter Mass with Communion in both kinds. The magistrates sent the petition off to the elector with their recommendation that he approve it. However, Joachim II still appeared to be non-committal.⁴⁰

While outwardly appearing non-committal, Joachim was, in fact, preparing for the introduction of the Reformation in Brandenburg. Peter von Ansbach, the Brandenburg court preacher, wrote a personal letter to Ferdinand's father confessor in Vienna alerting him to that fact. He stated that in October 1538 Joachim had instructed his theologians to begin work on a church order which would allow the Communion in both kinds and married clergy. He followed up this letter with another one in December, stating that if Rome did not make concessions, Joachim would surely declare for the Reformation. His warning was correct. In the spring of 1538, Joachim had requested Rupertus Elgersmann, the dean of the Berlin Cathedral, to prepare a proposal of a new church order. He then asked Philipp Melanchthon to come to Berlin and critique the draft. Melanchthon stated that it was weak in that it did not clearly articulate the doctrine of justification by grace through faith. He suggested that the order should be shelved for the time being since he did not think that at this point Brandenburg really needed a new church order. What it needed instead was the proclamation of the gospel, Communion in

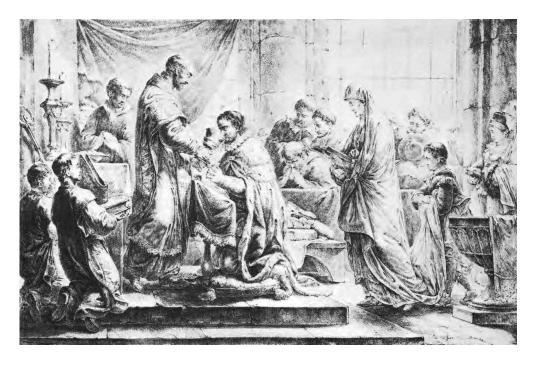
both kinds, and permission for the clergy to marry. Joachim followed his advice. Meanwhile, Luther was renewing his attacks on Cardinal Albrecht and would, therefore, play only a minor role in the Brandenburg Reformation.⁴¹

Joachim II's goal was the introduction into Brandenburg of a form of Catholicism which was thoroughly evangelical and at the same time retained as much as possible of the traditional rites and practices of the medieval church. It was as though he had clearly in mind Melanchthon's words in the *Augsburg Confession* that "... the ancient rites for the most part are diligently observed among us, for the accusation is false that all ceremonies and ancient ordinances are abolished in our churches." He was not reintroducing anything which was condemned by the *Augsburg Confession* and the doctrine of the gospel. At the same time, he was very much a devotee of ceremonies and vestments, and since they were not in themselves idolatrous, he saw no reason to eliminate them.

On September 14, 1539, a sermon clearly proclaiming the doctrine of justification by grace through faith was preached in the Berlin Cathedral, the principal church in Brandenburg's principal city. The preacher was Georg Buchholzer, dean of the cathedral. This action marked the first outward sign of the Reformation of the church in Mark-Brandenburg. Joachim II was not yet ready to publicly declare for the Reformation because he thought that the orderly progression of the Reformation depended upon of a clear and adequate church order. Consequently, he limited his actions to the removal of the staunchly papist Court Chaplain Peter von Ansbach. In that same month of September, he wrote a less than a candid letter to his father-in-law, King Sigismund I of Poland-Lithuania, who was fiercely anti-Lutheran. To pacify him, Joachim wrote that he "... was not submitting to Lutheran doctrine," but it was his purpose "... to put an end to the many unnecessary disputations and questions, especially among the common people." 43

2.3.1 The 1540/1542 Brandenburg Church Order

To prepare for the introduction of the Reformation, Joachim commissioned Buchholzer, the new court preacher, Jacob Stratner, and Georg Witzel, a leading Berlin humanist, to work together with Prince Georg III of Anhalt-Dessau in the preparation of a new church order. According to Nikolaus Selnecker, a leading theologian of the time, both the elector and Georg III were fond of Christian ceremonies and sought to retain them as far as possible. The three principal sources used by Joachim and his commission in the composition of his church order were



Elector Joachim II receives the Sacrament of the Altar in the St. Nikolai Church in Berlin-Spandau from Bishop Matthias von Jagow of Mark-Brandenburg, 1539. Engraving by Bernhard Rode, 1783 (*Wikimedia Commons*).

the 1533 Brandenburg-Nürnberg church order, the Saxon *Visitation Articles* of 1528, and the recently published agenda of Duke Heinrich for Albertine Saxony of 1540. The doctrinal section was strongly influenced by the 1533 Brandenburg-Nürnberg church order. In fact, some sections quoted that order verbatim.⁴⁴

Philipp Melanchthon was asked by Georg III to come to Berlin to examine the new church order. Melanchthon found it far more acceptable than the earlier draft. He stated that it was clearly in accordance with the gospel. At the request of Joachim II, he wrote to King Sigismund I the Old of Poland-Lithuania, stating that it was the elector's goal to accomplish an evangelical Reformation which did not break entirely with the "Old Church" but retained the episcopacy and allowed King Sigismund I's daughter, Hedwig Jagiellon, to continue to practice her faith. Sigismund I appears to have been satisfied with Melanchthon's diplomatic words. Joachim then wrote to King Ferdinand on November 6, 1539, that he had found it necessary to move ahead with his Reformation because even in the face of "horrible abuses" the pope had done nothing and no general church council

had been called. However, he assured him that he was not, in any case, entering an alliance against his imperial majesty.⁴⁵

Now the elector was ready to take the decisive public step. On November 1, 1539, All Saints Day, he attended the Mass at Spandau's St. Nikolai Church, and together with the Lutheran nobility from neighboring regions, he received the Sacrament of the Altar in both kinds at the hands of the celebrant, Bishop Matthias von Jagow, an enthusiastic advocate of the Lutheran Reformation. On All Souls Day, November 2, Mass was celebrated in Cölln an der Spree for the members of the city council and the citizenry. The Mass bore more than a superficial resemblance to the medieval Mass. 46 Many of the ceremonial features of the old rite were retained, including the elevation of the consecrated species.

Some students of the Reformation consider Joachim's order far too Catholic.⁴⁷ However, Luther, Melanchthon, and Justus Jonas, who had been among the framers of Duke Heinrich's 1539 Saxon church order, did not share this view. They informed Joachim of their acceptance of his order and congratulated him. Luther wrote that he was much impressed by the evangelical thrust of Joachim's preface to the work and suggested some revisions in the order for the Communion of the sick:⁴⁸

"Your Electoral Highness Himself is fully aware that it is blasphemous to carry the consecrated host in processions. How much more offensive then is it to carry both elements around. The entire world would gaze with amazement at such an innovation; the papists especially would have reason to rejoice..."⁴⁹

"The Sacrament of the Altar," he reminded the elector, "is to be consumed during Mass, and not preserved in a ciborium." All the other ceremonies he found entirely unobjectionable.

Dean Buchholzer, who had participated in the formulation of the order, complained about having to wear a cope and having to participate in processions and perform ceremonies which he thought to be objectionable. Luther responded to him on December 4, 1539:

"With respect to what troubles you – whether a cope or alb is to be worn in the procession during Rogation week and on Saint Mark's Day, and whether a procession around the churchyard is to be held with a pure responsory on Sundays and with the *Salve festa dies* on Easter without, however, carrying the Sacrament about

⁴⁵ Friedensburg 1908, 1-2; Müller 1908, 45-50; Nischan 1994, 20.

⁴⁶ Gross 1908, 122-135.

⁴⁷ Sonnek 1903, 11-13; Friedensburg 1908, 2.

A controversial feature of the new order prescribed that consecrated Sacrament should be taken from the altar to the homes of those too feeble or ill to come to church, by a priest wearing a cope and following a sacristan ringing a bell and carrying a burning candle. The order stated that in rural areas this would, of course, be too difficult to accomplish, and that



Provost Georg Buchholzer of Berlin (*Küster* 1751).

- this is my advice: If your lord, the margrave and elector, etc., permits the gospel of Jesus Christ to be preached with purity and power and without human additions and the two sacraments of Baptism and the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ to be administered and offered according to their institution, if he is willing to abolish the invocation of saints (as if they were mediators, intercessors, and deliverers) and the carrying about of the Sacrament in procession, and if he is willing to discontinue daily Masses, vigils, and Masses for the dead and the consecration of water, salt, and herbs and allow only pure responsories and hymns, Latin and German, in procession, go along in God's name and carry a silver or gold cross and wear a cope or alb of velvet, silk, or linen. And if one cope or alb is not enough for your lord, the elector, wear three of them,

as the high priest Aaron did when he put on three vestments, one on top of the other and all of them beautiful and attractive [cf. Lev. 8:7] (after which ecclesiastical vestments were called ornata in the papacy). Moreover, if his Grace is not satisfied that you go about singing and ringing bells in procession only once, go about seven times, as Joshua compassed the city of Jericho seven times with the Children of Israel, making a great shout and blowing trumpets [Joshua 6:4,5,16]. If your lord, the margrave, desires it, let his Grace leap and dance at the head of the procession with harps, drums, cymbals, and bells, as David danced before the Ark of the Lord when it was carried into the city of Jerusalem [II Sam. 6:14,15]. I am fully satisfied, for none of these things (as long as no abuse is connected with them) adds anything to the gospel or detracts from it. Only do not let such things be regarded as necessary for salvation and thus bind the consciences of men. How I would rejoice and thank God if I could persuade the pope and the papists of this! If the pope gave me the freedom to go about and preach and only commanded me (with a dispensation) to hitch on a pair of trousers, I should be glad to do him the favor of wearing them.

As concerns the elevation of the Sacrament in the Mass, this is an optional

as long as it is desired. We had ample cause to abolish the elevation here in Wittenberg, and perhaps you do not have such cause in Berlin. Nor shall we restore the ceremony unless some urgent reason requires us to do so, for it is an optional thing and a human exercise rather than a divine commandment. Only what God commands is necessary; the rest is free."⁵⁰

In order to effectively implement the introduction of the church order, Joachim needed the support of the territorial assembly and the bishops of Lebus, Havelberg, and Brandenburg. The representatives of the city dwellers and the nobility supported the order, as did also the bishop of Brandenburg, Matthias von Jagow. However, bishops of Lebus and Havelberg, Johann Horneburg and Busso II von Alvensleben, were very much opposed to it, and Joachim decided that he would need to establish a visitation commission to implement the church order and establish the Reformation despite their lack of support.⁵¹

The church order was published in Berlin in 1540 under the title: *Kirchen Ordnung im Churfurstenthum der Marcken zu Brandemburg, wie man sich beide mit der Leer und Ceremonien halten sol (Church Order, as It Should be Observed with Doctrine and Ceremonies in the Princely Electorate of Mark-Brandenburg)*.

The order itself consisted in three parts. The first was concerned with fundamental Christian doctrines. After an opening section on the significance of doctrine, taken from the 1533 Brandenburg-Nürnberg church order, there were sections on the Old and New Testament, proper Christian repentance, Christian confession, the Law, the Gospel, cross and suffering, Christian prayer, free will, and Christian freedom. Most of the articles were taken directly from the Brandenburg-Nürnberg church order, except the sections on Christian repentance and confession which were new. The article on Christian freedom reproduced the article in the Brandenburg-Nürnberg order with some minor changes in the last two paragraphs, inspired by the Saxon *Visitation Articles* of 1528. Omitted was the Brandenburg-Nürnberg article, "Concerning the Doctrines of Men" ("*Von Menschen leren*").

The second part was entitled: "Catechism or Children's Sermons, as Preached Everywhere in the Electoral Principality of Mark-Brandenburg." Included in this section are a forward, the Ten Commandments and catechetical sermons on each of them, the three articles of the Apostles' Creed and sermons on them, the Our Father with sermons on each of the seven petitions, a sermon on Holy Baptism, and a sermon on the Lord's Supper. Most of this material had been taken from the 1533 Brandenburg-Nürnberg catechism, *Catechismus oder Kinder predig*, which had been composed chiefly by Andreas Osiander and Dominicus Sleupner and appended to the 1533 church order. There were some minor changes in wording, and several paragraphs were added to the sermon of the Third Commandment.





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Title page of the 1540 Mark-Brandenburg church order.

Although there were few direct quotations from Luther's *Small Catechism*, its influence was everywhere evident.⁵²

The third part was entitled: "Concerning the Use of the Holy Venerable Sacraments, and also the Ceremonies by which They Are Administered, and Other Church Usages which Have Been Eliminated and Those which Are Still to Be Practiced in Our Electorate and Lands." This part includes a preface on the sacraments and ceremonies, a preface to the administration of Holy Baptism, a section on the rationale and form for emergency Baptism, the baptismal rite itself, a section on confirmation with no form, a section on private confession and absolution with a form for its administration. Then follows the section on the Lord's Supper, which begins with a short treatise on the Words of Consecration and their importance, at

the conclusion of which is found the order for the celebration of Mass, with instructions also for weekday services when no communicants present themselves, a short instruction concerning the daily office ("Vom Chorgesange"), and a collection of general collects and prayers, including prayers for the principal high feasts, two collects pro pace, and the sung Litany with two versicles and collects. There was a lengthy section on ministry to the sick which included an explanation of the proper form to be used at bedsides. Also included was the order for burial, the order for the Christian marriage, the calling and ordination of ministers of the church, the Christian festivals and their celebration, together with a calendar listing festivals to be observed in addition to Sunday. Then followed a section on Holy Week and Easter, the Rogation Days, Ascension and Pentecost, and their proper observance. The section concluded with a short paragraph on the reform of the schools, as well as a commendatory confirmation by Bishop Matthias von Jagow.

It is evident that the medieval missal must be added to the list of sources of this order. The section on emergency Baptism was taken verbatim from the Saxon church order. The order for Baptism was taken from the medieval rite, with additions from Luther and Osiander. The section on confession and absolution followed the pattern of the Nürnberg church order but more fully developed the instructional section and the form of the absolution. Most influential in the Mass were the medieval missal, Luther's Masses, and the 1533 Brandenburg-Nürnberg church order. The collects were taken from Brandenburg-Nürnberg, as was also the form of the marriage wows in the order for marriage. The admonition in the Communion of the sick was from Duke Heinrich's 1539 church order.⁵³

As in Brandenburg-Nürnberg, those who wished to receive the body and blood of Christ were to prepare themselves by coming to confession the night before the Mass, or if distance or some other pressing cause prohibited this, they were to come to the priest or some other pastor in the morning before the Mass. The section on confession showed the influence of the Brandenburg-Nürnberg rite, although it expanded that rite and added much new material. The Brandenburg-Nürnberg church order had included a section on confession in its instructions concerning the celebration of the Lord's Supper. The Mark-Brandenburg order made this a completely independent section, and while the Brandenburg-Nürnberg had given two forms for absolution, the Mark-Brandenburg order contained a single form.

The section on confession and absolution began with a description of the rite and its proper practice over against its popular and superstitious misuse that ran to several pages. It stated that a proper observance required that the penitent should personally examine himself concerning the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Our Father, as well as his knowledge concerning the Holy Sacrament, especially since were these not properly understood, unbelief and disunity rushed in. It declared that better sermons on the catechism were needed so that young and old alike would be able to properly examine themselves. The penitent should examine himself and consider what commandments of God he had broken in word and deed. If one was to receive forgiveness in true faith, he must receive the Word of Christ, the Good Physician, who said: "Receive the Holy Spirit; whose sins you will forgive they are forgiven, etc." No one could possibly enumerate all his sins, but he must be aware of Satan's purpose to draw him away from the true faith. A person might, of course, confess only his own sins and speak to the priest about his temptations. He was not to doubt that the Word of Christ spoken over him brings true forgiveness, according to Christ's promise. Therefore, he should follow the example of Daniel, Paul, and others who, even though they fell, openly confessed their sins. This displeases the devil who wants people to remain in doubt about their forgiveness.

Because of the role taken by the priest in confession and absolution, he should be called "father confessor" (Germ. *Beicht Vater*). It should be his office to ques-

tion and instruct the people on how to make a proper confession. The penitent (Germ. *Beichtkind*) should state that in accordance with God's mandate he desires to make confession and be instructed. The father confessor should invite him to consider the Ten Commandments which tell him what he is to do and leave undone. Then the penitent should confess his sins. The father confessor should then speak at length about the Commandments and how God gave his dear Son who by his passion and death has brought redemption and salvation. For this, the penitent should give great thanksgiving and remember that it is Satan's purpose that he should not take this seriously and learn it. Instead, just as each person must face death, so too, he should pay attention to God and his word that he may not doubt and be lost eternally. He should have proper sorrow for his sins and take the gospel and meditate upon it, for Christ has made the gospel to be a great treasure which offers eternal comfort.⁵⁴

When he has properly instructed the penitent, he should assure him that when a man does not acknowledge and confess his sin, the devil has his way with him. Therefore, he should thank God, lament his sins, and seek comfort and forgiveness in the gospel. He should receive the absolution as a word from heaven. Then he should lay his hand on the penitent and speak the words of the absolution:

"The almighty God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ desires to be gracious and merciful to you and to forgive you all your sins for the sake of the sufferings and death of his dear Son, Jesus Christ, and in the name of this same our Lord Jesus Christ, according to his command and in the power of his word, when he has said, 'Whose sins you forgive, they are forgiven, etc.,' I pronounce you free, clean, and clear of all your sins, that you are forgiven richly and completely, as Christ Jesus himself gained it through his sufferings and death and as his gospel proclaims in all the world, and this comforting promise, which I now speak in the name of Christ, you should confidently grasp, for the comfort of your conscience and the strengthening of your faith, that you are most certainly forgiven in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. So, go then in peace." 55

The absolution was followed by some directives, addressed to the father confessor concerning his exercise of the keys and the necessity of admonishing parents and heads of households to instruct their children to read and to pray and to come to the Sacrament properly prepared.

The section introducing the Lord's Supper included several pages almost verbatim from the section on the Lord's Supper in the Brandenburg-Nürnberg order. Because of his special concerns, Joachim II and his theologians included a more exhaustive section in which the Words of Christ and the example of his apostles regarding Communion in both kinds were added, together with comments, stating

that the ancient fathers followed this practice. It continued to be practiced for many years in the German-speaking lands until the order changed and the cup was withheld from the laity. Ancient fathers and the popes, including Cyprian, Leo, Julius, and Gelasius, were quoted, and a sermon by Leo the Great was also cited to this effect. The section went on to say that the withholding of the cup was connected with the notion that the priest was more worthy than the laity and that because of his worthiness the priest was given the cup. Also rejected was the notion that the Mass was an offering for the living and the dead and other false doctrines, as well as the practice of holding private Mass which was not in accord with Christ's institution. The order declared that in order to promote a correct understanding of the Mass, the people must be instructed in its proper celebration and use, for Christ instituted the Supper as a remembrance of his sufferings, and gives his body and blood to those who seek salvation and blessedness. Because of this, everyone must give great attention and offer thanksgiving and use the Sacrament often in accordance with its institution. St. Paul's warning about the misuse of the Sacrament is quoted, and along with it, is a declaration that those who misuse the Sacrament are guilty concerning the body and blood of Christ, and that this is a very serious matter. A consideration of the history of Israel showed how idolatry spread, and this should provide a strong warning against the misuse of the Sacrament and improper ceremonies and the notion that the Mass can be applied to bring forgiveness to both the living and the dead. Therefore, priests and preachers must instruct their people zealously concerning Communion so that there will be communicants every day and that the Supper will be rightly celebrated. It was noted, however, that in villages and sparsely populated rural areas there could only be a Sunday Communion with the usual Christian hymns and ceremonies in Latin and German. In these congregations, the Words of Consecration should be sung or spoken publicly before the altar after the Eucharistic Preface since St. John Chrysostom said that one should not only see the Sacrament with his eyes but also hear the Words of Christ. The same idea was expressed in the writings of Leo the Great, Innocent III, and Emperor Justinian, who stated that the priest should speak the words in the Sacrament of Baptism and the Sacrament of the Altar loudly in the church so that everyone might understand them.

Further, it stated that this admonition should be spoken to the people often so that the people would come to the Sacrament, be instructed in the faith, and admonished to live better lives. They should be told that those who refuse to follow this instruction incur the wrath of God, just as St. Paul said. They are blasphemers who refuse to repent and improve, and they must not be permitted to receive the Sacrament.⁵⁶

In general, the order of the Mass followed its traditional form. The vested priest and his assistant minister were to approach the altar, as usual, and pray the *Confiteor*. Then the introit and *Kyrie* according to the season were to follow, and after that, the "*Gloria in excelsis Deo*" and the "*Et in terra pax*." Then the priest was to sing the Salutation and an appropriate collect. Then followed the epistle according to the day or festival in Latin, either sang or said. After the Latin reading, it was to be repeated in German. The proper form for the announcement of the epistle in Latin and German was provided. Then a German hymn was to be sung, and after it, the alleluia and sequence or an appropriate Latin tract. Then the gospel was to follow in Latin and in German, as with the epistle. The proper form for the introduction of the reading was given. Then the priest was to intone the Nicene Creed, followed by the *Patrem omnipotentum*. In cathedrals and collegiate churches, it was to be sung in Latin but in the parish congregations it was to be replaced by Luther's German creedal hymn, "We All Believe in One True God" ("Wir glauben all' an einen Gott").

Up to this point everything was as in Luther's *Formula Missae*, and it differed from the *Formula* and the medieval Mass only in that it provided that German was to be used, either in addition to or in place of Latin in some places. The Roman Missal stated that if a sermon was to be preached, it should follow the gospel. Joachim, however, followed the example of the other Lutheran church orders and put the sermon after the Creed.

In the Roman Missal, the Creed was followed by the Offertory, which included a variable Offertory verse and the solemn preparation of the bread and wine, together with prayers offering them as a sacrifice for sin to God the Father. Because it was thought to be a propitiatory sacrifice, Luther rejected the Offertory. He thought it was no better than the Canon of the Mass which, he said, was an utter abomination which polluted everything in the Mass, before it and after it. He stated that from the Offertory onward "... almost everything smacks and savored of sacrifice," ⁵⁷ therefore the priest should prepare the bread and wine in silence.

Because of this offensive notion of propitiatory sacrifice, all Lutheran church orders up to this point eliminated the Offertory. In the 1540 order of Mark-Brandenburg, a hymn replaced the traditional Offertory. During it, the priest was to prepare the bread and wine in silence, and at its close, he was to sing the customary Preface. This was followed by the *Sanctus*, which, it was noted, was to be sung entirely in Latin.⁵⁸

After the *Sanctus*, the priest prayed four prayers in German, the first of which was designated: "For Those in Authority." The second prayer asked for proper teachers and ministers of the divine word who would rightly govern the church

and preach soundly. The third prayer was a prayer for peace and the forgiveness of sins, and the fourth prayer was a prayer of confession, appropriate for those about to commune. These prayers were taken from the collects in the 1533 Brandenburg-Nürnberg church order. The placement of them after the Sanctus and before the Verba was a feature not ordinarily found in Lutheran agendas. Altogether they comprised a comprehensive prayer for all sorts and conditions of men - government, church, the preaching of the word, peace and unity, and a repentant spirit which would call upon God's mercy for the sake of Christ. It has often been asserted that there is a certain awkwardness in the Lutheran form of consecration, caused by Luther's decision to eliminate entirely the prayers of the Roman Canon. Joachim II sought to overcome any awkwardness by eliminating the offensive prayers and by replacing them with these evangelical alternatives. The first three of these prayers would later appear in the 1543 Palatinate-Neuburg church order of Elector Ottheinrich and may have influenced Thomas Cranmer in his decision to put the prayer for the whole estate of Christ's Church in that same place in the Book of Common Prayer of Edward VI of 1549. The Second Book of Common Prayer of 1552, put the prayer for the church after the Creed, joining it to the offering tithes and gifts.

The Words of Consecration followed the pattern established in Luther's *German Mass*, embellishing only slightly the New Testament accounts of the Institution after the manner of the medieval Mass:

"Our Lord Jesus Christ, on the night in which he was betrayed, took the bread, gave thanks to his heavenly Father, blessed it, and broke it, and gave it to his disciples and said, 'Take it and eat; this is my body, which is given for you. This do in remembrance of me.'

In the same way, he also took the cup after the supper, gave thanks, and blessed it, and gave it to his disciples and said, 'Drink of it, all of you; this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you and for many for the forgiveness of sins. This do, as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me." ⁵⁹

This wording was not ordinarily found in the Lutheran church orders; it appears that the other instances of similar usage are found in the Old Prussian language catechism of 1545,⁶⁰ the 1531 Swedish Mass of Olavus Petri and its subsequent editions, as well as the Red Book of 1576 by King John III.⁶¹

In cathedrals and collegiate churches, a Latin hymn, such as "To You is the Power" ("Tua est potentia") might be sung after the elevation. In parish churches, a German hymn, such as "May God Bestow on Us His Grace" ("Es woll uns Gott genädig sein") or "All Laud and Thanks with Highest Praise" ("Sein lob und dank

mit hohen preis"), was to be used. Then the Our Father was to be sung in German. As in the Roman Missal, it is preceded by an invitation, in this case: "Let us pray as our Lord Jesus Christ has commanded us that we should with true confidence and trust say: Our Father…" After the prayer, the priest was to sing the *Pax Domini* in German, and the *Agnus Dei* was to be sung in Latin.

During the singing of the Agnus Dei, the priest should kneel and say the traditional pre-communion prayers. He was to pray: "Domini Jesu Christe qui dixisti...," as in the Roman mass book, in the first person singular. Following it, "Domini Jesu Christe Fili Dei..," was to be prayed, as in the Roman Missal, but Luther's recommendation was to be followed, dropping "libera mei" in favor of "libera nos," and so too, "fac me" becomes "fac nos." The third prayer, "Sacramentum corporis tui," followed the wording in the Roman Missal. After these prayers, the priest was to read the admonition to the communicants, as in Brandenburg-Nürnberg. This was followed by the administration of the Sacrament. During the administration, the responsory, "Discubuit Jesus," was to be sung in Latin. Where there were many communicants, German hymns, such as "O Lord, We Praise Thee" ("Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet") and "Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior" ("Jesus Christus, unser Heiland"), might be sung as well. The distribution formula and dismissal were from Brandenburg-Nürnberg: "Take now and eat, this is the body of Christ, given for you." As the assistant pastor (Germ. Diaconus) administered the chalice, he was to say: "Take now and drink, this is the blood of the New Testament, shed for your sins."

After communion, the priest prayed a conflation of the prayers, "O Almighty eternal God..." ("O Almechtiger ewiger Got...") and "We thank you almighty God" ("Wir danken dir almachtigen Gott ..."), from the 1533 Brandenburg-Nürnberg church order. 152 Then kneeling at the altar, he also prayed, "Corpus tuum domine quod ...," as in the Roman Missal. Nothing was said about the closing Benedicamus and benediction which would inevitably conclude the rite. This may be assumed because the rubrics for the celebration of weekday Mass when no communicants were present speak of concluding the service with the customary benediction, both in parish congregations and in cathedrals and collegiate churches.

In the agenda, this Mass is followed by directives for the celebration of Mass in rural parishes and villages where no one knows the Latin language. In these churches, the epistle and gospel, which in large cities would be sung in Latin, were to be read by the priest in German. The creedal hymn, "We All Believe in One True God," was to be sung in German by the congregation, followed by a sermon on the gospel ("offertory for the Sunday or festival"). The "offertory" was followed by the Latin Preface, *Sanctus*, communion, and further to the end, as in the order.

Provision had to be made for the celebration of divine services during the week when there were no communicants. The whole of the *Missa Fidelium* was to be left aside in such cases. This would become characteristic of all Lutheran agendas and service books.

The service on occasions when there were no communicants began, as usual, with the introit for the day or feast. This was followed by the Kyrie eleison, the "Gloria in excelsis Deo" and "Et in terra pax" in Latin. The collect for the day or feast followed in Latin or German. Then the epistle was read, in cathedrals and collegiate churches in Latin and in parish churches in German. Then the Gradual was sung, or in parish churches, a German psalm might take its place. The alleluia and sequence or tract followed in Latin. Next came the gospel of the day, sung facing the people, as was the case with the epistle and the provisions concerning Latin and German. The Latin Creed followed in cathedrals and collegiate churches; in city and village churches, "We All Believe in One True God," could replace it. The sermon text was the gospel of the day. After the sermon, the people might join in singing the German Litany or the hymn version of the Lord's Prayer ("Our Father, Thou in Heaven Above") or "In the Midst of Earthly Life," or perhaps, "May God Bestow on Us His Grace." Finally, the congregation was to sing, "Grant Peace, We Pray, in Mercy, Lord" ("Verleih Uns Frieden Gnädiglich"), and the service was to close with the collect pro pace and the customary benediction. In cathedrals and collegiate churches, however, the responsory, "Tua as potentia," preceded the collect and the benediction.⁶³

When the service lacked Communion, the priest was not to wear his chasuble but his usual rochet instead (Germ. *Korkappen*). In villages that did not have one, he was to wear his surplice (Germ. *Korrock*). Priests who preached or assisted in the administration of the Sacrament should wear appropriate vestments (Germ. *Diakonrock*). The customary candles were to be lit for the Mass and the offices.⁶⁴

The canonical hours were regulated in a short section, entitled, "Vom Chorgesange," a common reference to the daily office. These were to remain in use in cathedrals and collegiate churches and also in parish churches where they had been used in the past. They were to be sung in Latin according to the appropriate seasons, and the offices to be observed included: Matins, Prime, Terce, Sext, Nones, Vespers, and Compline, or as desired. However, the propers for saints' days would need to be corrected and set in order. Excepting for the needed corrections, one was to sing and read the offices in accordance with the diocesan breviary and existing hymnals. These would have to be corrected to conform to the divine word and the Holy Scriptures.

Following these instructions were prayers and collects from the 1533 Brandenburg-Nürnberg church order, the German Litany, which was to be sung daily when there was no Communion and also in city churches on Wednesdays or Fridays or other days, after the sermon. In villages, it could be used at any Sunday when there was no Communion.⁶⁵

The section on feast days stated that for the most part celebrations of the commemoration of the most venerable and blessed Mother of God, the Virgin Mary, the holy apostles, and various holy martyrs, previously celebrated in Brandenburg, would continue to remember the gracious blessing of God, which they received and for which thanks were due. They were also to be remembered for their strong faith in which they remained constant to the end of their days and for which some of them were martyred and all displayed Christian virtues. This position was to be held over those who sought to contradict it and do away with such remembrances since, as St. Paul said in Galatians 1, "They received their holiness and all that they had from God in whom they rejoiced and to whom they prayed." Therefore, it was a wholesome thing to praise God who had raised up the holy angels, the apostles, Peter, Paul, Barnabas, and others who confessed not themselves but Jesus Christ as the only Mediator, through whom they were blessed. For their part, the priests must teach the people properly so that they would not misuse the remembrance of the saints or call upon them as though they were mediators between God and man, for such praise is due to Christ alone - the Christ whom they proclaimed, as it was written in "Quo modo invocabent..." ("How can they call upon him in whom they have not believed"). It was to be remembered that justification comes only through Christ who is everywhere to be acknowledged and obeyed. Accordingly, the following days were to be observed in addition to Sundays: the Nativity of Christ, St. Stephen's Day, St. John the Evangelist, the Circumcision of the Lord (New Year's Day), Epiphany ("The Holy Three Kings"), the Purification of Mary, St. Matthias the Apostle, the Annunciation of Mary, Easter Day and Easter Monday and Tuesday, St. Philip and St. James the Apostles, the Ascension of the Lord, the day of Pentecost and Pentecost Monday and Tuesday, Trinity Sunday, Corpus Christi Day, the Nativity of John the Baptist, St. Peter and St. Paul the Apostles, the Visitation of Mary, St. Mary Magdalene, St. James the Elder, St. Lawrence, the Assumption of Mary, St. Bartholomew the Apostle, the Nativity of Mary, St. Matthew the Apostle, St. Michael, St. Simone and St. Jude the Apostles, All Saints Day, St. Martin of Tours, St. Catherine, St. Andrew the Apostle, and St. Thomas the Apostle. Not mentioned were the Conversion of St. Paul or the days of St. Mark and St. Luke, neither of whom were apostles.⁶⁶

The order gave specific directions for the observance of Holy Week and Easter, including the blessing of palms on Palm Sunday, together with the procession and hymns, as in the past, and the reading of the text of the passion of Christ. Maundy Thursday was to be observed with the foot washing in those places where this ceremony was still being practiced. On Good Friday, a harmonized passion of Christ according to the four evangelists was to be read, along with devotions before the sepulcher and with the consecration and administration of the Sacrament of the Altar. The customary Easter Eve ceremonies were to be practiced but without the blessing of the fire. Easter Eve Vespers was to be celebrated with great solemnity, and children not yet baptized were to be brought for Baptism, however, such ceremonies as the blessing of the water and salt, candles, and other material creatures were to be dropped because of gross misuse and notions of magic. The Sunday services, together with a pure responsory and other hymns appropriate to the time, and with all improper matters suppressed, were to be continued.

In the Easter Season, the day of St. Mark, which had not been previously mentioned, and the three Rogation days following Rogate Sunday, were to be observed with solemn prayers but without processions or the invocation of saints which had marred these services. In the cities and villages, one day in Rogation Week should be set apart for the German Litany and appropriate prayers. The feast of the Ascension should be kept on a proper day, together with its ceremonies. Inappropriate ceremonies associated with the feast of Pentecost were to be dropped. The preachers were to instruct the people about the meaning of ceremonies, reminding that forgiveness of sins and justification come only through faith in Christ Jesus, as the church order specifically declared.⁶⁷

The 1540 church order of Joachim II included a particularly detailed and comprehensive explanation of days of fasting. It stated that fasting is beneficial for many reasons. It teaches young people and simple folk to occasionally deprive themselves of nourishment, and secondly, to curb any tendency toward gluttony. It is appropriate that those in authority put a curb on their appetites so that they will not drink and gorge themselves. Thirdly, it should be remembered that fish were plentiful in Mark-Brandenburg, and it was appropriate that it be eaten in the springtime in place of meat which was out of season at that time. Accordingly, in Brandenburg, the Lenten period Fridays and Saturdays and other designated days were to be observed with fasting and abstinence from meat. Thus, the 1540 church order differed little in its provisions from practices in countries in communion with the pope at that time, and the same exceptions for the sick and the infirm were also granted. It is not known whether or to what extent similar provisions were followed also in Saxony, Nordhausen, Seidenberg, and other places,

or the extent to which they were followed even in Mark-Brandenburg. It is known that at the beginning of the Reformation the fast was observed by many by its breach rather than its observance.⁶⁸

Appended to the order was an affirmative declaration by Bishop Matthias von Jagow and a statement of St. Augustine of Hippo against the Manicheans.

The church order of Joachim II exhibited great reverence for the traditions and ceremonies of the past which it judged to be in agreement with the Holy Scriptures and the doctrine of the gospel. It included far more elements from medieval missals than can be found in the other church orders. It is very catholic, but at the same time, it is clearly not Roman Catholic because Joachim II and his theologians were careful to follow the advice of Luther and the other reformers by altering the old texts and producing an order which clearly stood within the parameters of the *Augsburg Confession* and Luther's *Formula Missae*.

Although the Mass included many elements and prayers from medieval missals not found in other church orders, it also contained definite statements denying the efficacy of the invocation of saints and any notions that the Mass could be considered a propitiatory sacrifice, offered by the Church for the sins of the living or the dead. It specifically prescribed that both the body and blood of Christ were to be offered to all communicants, and there was to be no consecration of the elements in any divine service if there were no communicants. The Eucharistic Preface remained in Latin in all congregations, including those in small villages and rural areas. The traditional liturgical vestments such as the chasuble and surplice were retained. The order makes no mention of dalmatics or tunicles, and it states that the chasuble is not to be worn at divine services without Communion. The daily office is retained for cathedrals and collegiate churches, and those who wished could use it, after it has been corrected according to the doctrine of the gospel.

The form for Baptism follows Luther's *Taufbüchlein* (*Little Baptismal Booklet*) of 1523 but includes the full text of the exorcisms which Luther abbreviated in his order, some of which he eliminated entirely in 1526. Joachim's church order includes, in full, the five exorcisms, as well as the placing of salt on the lips of the child, found in Luther's 1523 order, along with the spit and chrism. However, the *ephata* which Luther had retained in 1523 was omitted. As in Luther's 1523 and 1526 orders, the vesting of the child in the white baptismal garment is retained, as is also the giving of the burning candle, found in Luther's 1523 order. At the same time, it is recognized that these ceremonies are not the essence of the rite. Confirmation, of which Luther had thought little, was retained, but it is definitely stated that in the past this ceremony had been greatly misunderstood and made light of. It should correctly be seen as a culmination of a period of instruction in

the promises of God given in Baptism and the chief articles of the Christian faith and the Christian way of life which the young people had been taught from the catechism. There is nothing in the confirmation service about vows, previously taken and now for the first time fulfilled. Also included are marriage vows, not found in Luther's *Traubüchlein* (*Little Marriage Booklet*). At the Communion of the sick, the priest was to reverently carry the Sacrament to the house of the infirm, preceded by an assistant wearing a surplice, carrying a candle and a small bell. In case of emergency, the consecration was to take place in the church. However, in villages the consecration was to take place only in the house because of poor roadway conditions which would make it necessary for the priest to lay down wooden planks on the road or climb over fences and hedges or ride by horseback for long distances. Because of long delays, it might no longer be possible for the infirm to receive the Sacrament before death, so the priest should come as quickly as possible and consecrate at his bedside.⁶⁹

Many of these instructions went beyond what Luther had suggested but, of course, Luther had very specifically stated that his suggestions were not to be

regarded as the touchstone for church orders outside Wittenberg. It was his purpose rather simply to share with others what was being done at present in his own city and parish.

There were several printer's errors in this first edition and they were enumerated in the final pages of the order. The two editions of the church order were printed in Berlin in 1542 under the title: Kirchen Ordnung im Churfurstenthum der Marcken zu Brandemburgk, wie man sich beide mit der Leer und Ceremonien halten sol (Church Order, as It Should be Observed with Doctrine and Ceremonies in the Princely Electorate of Mark-Brandenburg). The order dropped a quotation from St. Augustine at the end of the commendatory confirmation by Bishop Matthias von Jagow and corrected the printer's errors.

According to the usual pattern, the church order was introduced in a series of visitations in the dioceses and parishes. Sirthen Stonung
im Eburfurstentbum der Warcken
30 Brandemburgk/wie man sieb
beide mit der Leer und Leres
monien balten sol.



Bedruckt zu Berlin im jar 2000 XLII Ex Psilliotheca Ministerii Gellenfir

Title page of the 1542 Mark-Brandenburg church order.

The members of the visitation committee included Chancellor Johann Weinlöben, Bishop Matthias von Jagow, Superintendent General Jacob Stratner, and representatives of the nobility. Over a period of two years, the Brandenburg churches were visited, and special care was taken to ensure that none of the patronage rights of the nobility were breached.⁷⁰

These visitations began first in Berlin and Cölln in the summer of 1540 and proceeded from there to Frankfurt (Oder) on September 11 and then Müncheberg, Buckow, Müllrose, and other areas connected with Lebus, Fürstenwalde, and Seelow. Easter of 1541 found the visitors present in Brandenburg an der Havel and early in July in the region on Spandau, Havellande, and nearby regions. With the exception of Lebus and Havelberg, the results of the visitation were positive, and the Reformation was successfully introduced. In Lebus and Havelberg, Roman bishops, Johann Horneburg and Busso II von Alvensleben, were loyal to the papacy and refused to allow the parishes to introduce the new church order. The same was true also of the cathedral chapter in the town of Brandenburg, the members of which exercised passive resistance to the introduction of the church order and liturgy.⁷¹

Joachim II wanted to maintain good relations with Emperor Charles V in Vienna and sought his approval of the church order. He was successful in these efforts, and on July 24, 1541, Charles V stated that the order could remain in effect. This would be the only church order approved by both Wittenberg and Vienna.

Joachim II chose to remove the uncollaborative bishops of Lebus and Havelberg from the day-to-day administration of the churches in their dioceses by putting episcopal responsibilities into the hands of the superintendents. Already in 1539, he established the office of general superintendent for Kurmark, giving this position to Jacob Stratner. It would be his responsibility to ordain candidates and supervise the clergy and ensure the proper religious observances together with area superintendents. Superintendents were appointed for Angermünde, Bernau, Altstadt-Brandenburg, Dom-Brandenburg, Cöln-Land, Fehrbellin, Wilsnack, Nauen, Potsdam I, Potsdam II, Prenzlau I, Strasburg, Strausberg, Wriezen, and Königs-Wusterhausen.⁷²

The real power in the church laid in the hands of the territorial ruler and consistory which had been established according to the pattern of the Wittenberg consistory. By 1543, the first draft of the consistorial order was written and the consistory began its work. The second draft in 1551 included necessary revisions of the earlier draft, and the final full order appeared in 1561 under the title: *Des Durchlauchtigsten Hochgeborenen Fürsten und Herrn Joachims u. s. w. Geistliche Poli-*

zei-, Visitation- und Consistorial-Ordnung (The Order of the Most Serene Duke and Lord, Joachim, etc., for the Regulation of Ecclesiastical Discipline, Visitation, and Consistory). The consistory was to take responsibility for the regulation of the church life and the administration of its affairs. It was composed of clergymen who carried on their task in conjunction with the ruler. The first leaders of the consistory were Bishop Matthias von Jagow and General Superintendent Jacob Stratner. Jagow died in 1544 and Stratner left Berlin to return to Ansbach in 1543. His place as general superintendent was then given to Johannes Agricola of Eisleben who served until 1566, when Andreas Musculus became the general superintendent. Musculus served until 1581.⁷³

2.3.2 Concerns About Liturgical Worship from the Augsburg Interim Until the Formula of Concord

Joachim still hoped to accomplish the reconciliation between the Lutherans and the Church of Rome. Together with his wife Hedwig Jagiellon, he attended the Colloquium at Regensburg in the spring of 1541, at which Protestant and Roman theologians sought to hammer out some basic agreements. Chief among those in attendance were Philipp Melanchthon and Cardinal Gasparo Contarini. Luther commended their efforts but stated he was sure that nothing would come of the colloquium. Melanchthon himself stated that the expected results were unrealistic. Joachim himself tried to remain somewhat aloof from both sides. In the end, colloquium came to naught.⁷⁴

The outbreak of war between the Schmalkaldic League and the emperor in 1546-1547 put Joachim II in a difficult position. He wanted to remain neutral, but because of his dynastic interests, he decided, after meeting with King Ferdinand in February 1547, to support the emperor. The Schmalkaldic League was defeated in April 1547, and Joachim II declared that he would abide by the decisions of the ecumenical council which was convened in December 1545. It was his hope that the Council of Trent would bring peace to Europe.⁷⁵

On May 15, 1548, at the Diet at Augsburg, the emperor decreed an Interim to remain in effect until final decisions had been made by the Council. According to its terms, the Lutherans were permitted to continue to give the cup at the Eucharist and to have married priests. However, they were also ordered to restore the number of sacraments to seven and to reintroduce a number of Roman doctrines and ceremonies which they had eliminated. Among these were the doctrine of transubstantiation and the rejection of the doctrine of justification by grace



Allegory of transubstantiation from the fifteenth century altar painting in the Lutheran Church at Retschow in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. The four evangelists throw banners with the Word of God as grain into the funnel of the "sacrament mill" while twelve apostles set the mill in motion. Christ the Child appears in the chalice held by the church fathers, Gregory and Jerome, on the left and Ambrose and Augustine on the right. What was understood as transubstantiation at the end of the fifteenth century, Lutherans interpreted as the corporeal presence of Christ in the Eucharistic elements (© Die Dorfkirche Retschow in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern).

through faith. They were also required to recognize the authority of the Bishop of Rome over the whole Church.⁷⁶

The article concerning the Sacrament of the Altar stated very specifically concerning consecration by the Words of Christ and the doctrine of the transubstantiation:

"[There] is no doubt that as soon as the Word is added to the bread and wine, they become the true blood and body of Christ and the substance of the bread and wine are changed into the true body and blood of Christ."

In addition, the article on "Ceremonies and the Use of the Sacraments" spoke of certain ceremonies in the baptismal service which should be retained.

"The old ceremonies relating to the Sacrament of Baptism should remain, namely, the exorcism, the renunciation of the devil, the profession of faith, the chrism, and other ceremonies, for they serve to show and signify the power of this Sacrament."

Concerning the ceremonies in the Holy Mass and other sacraments the article stated:

"So also the ancient ceremonies that have been added to the Mass by the Catholic Church should not be changed, for they are all appropriate to what is done in the Mass. ... The ceremonies of the other

sacraments should be used according to the old agendas. Still, in cases where they give cause for superstitious use, they should be improved with timely instruction. The altars, priestly vestments, vessels, the sign of the cross, likewise crosses, candles, images, and pictures, should be retained in the church. Nevertheless,

they are remembrances, and no worship should be accorded to them nor should any superstitious practices be attached to pictures or holy objects ..."⁷⁷

Concerning the Sacrament in both kinds the Interim stated as follows:

"Likewise, the administration of the Eucharist under both kinds to which many have now become accustomed cannot be changed at this time without serious commotion. And because a general council to which all subjects of the Holy Roman Empire must submit will, without doubt, consider this issue with pious and zealous care so that in any case the consciences of people and the peace of the church will be taken into consideration, those who have received both kinds before this time need not give this up but should wait for the discussion and decision of the general council."⁷⁸

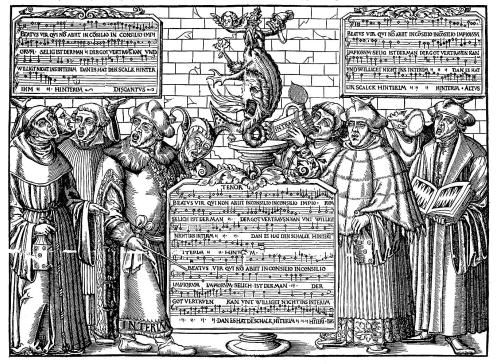
The Interim decree was based upon negotiations between papal theologians and the General Superintendent Johannes Agricola of Mark-Brandenburg. It was no doubt through his influence that the restored Mass ordered by the Augsburg Interim included a revised Offertory as an act of remembrance and thanksgiving, rather than as a propitiatory sacrifice. Joachim could not fail but be pleased by the results because, as he believed, it would further the spread of the gospel. He looked upon the liturgical requirements in the spirit of the 1540 church order. Agricola as well saw the Interim as a great victory for the gospel. In a letter, dated July 22, 1548, he was so bold as to claim that now the pope had become "reformed" and the emperor had become a "Lutheran." Other Lutherans did not



General Superintendent Johannes Agricola of Mark-Brandenburg. Woodcut by Balthasar Jenichen, 1565.

share his enthusiasm. They were particularly incensed that the doctrine of justification by grace through faith was forbidden and the supremacy of the pope had to be acknowledged. Neither were they much interested in restoring ceremonies which their churches had dropped.⁷⁹

Des Interims und Interimisten warhafftige abgemalte figur und gestalt daraus poerman sonderlich ben dem Bretspiel/ond der großen Kannen mit Bier/phrandacht und messig leben erkennen kan.



Broadsheet against the Augsburg Interim, 1548.

"Blessed is the man that can trust God
And does not agree to the Interim
Because it has the mischief behind it"

(Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg).

The strong reaction against the Augsburg Interim made the renegotiation of it necessary. In this, Philipp Melanchthon himself played a key role, and the result was the formulation of a second Interim which was worked about in December 1548 by the bishop of Naumburg and Melanchthon. This Leipzig Interim provided some further concessions to the Lutherans. They were now permitted a compromise concerning the doctrine of justification by grace through faith, but they were still required to reintroduce some Roman ceremonies, such as extreme unction and the *Corpus Christi* ceremonies. Furthermore, they were now again required to recognize the authority of the pope.⁸⁰

Concerning the Mass and ceremonies, the position taken by the Leipzig Interim was essentially Lutheran, although some Roman influences could still be noted. These included confirmation by the bishop, extreme unction of the dying, episcopal ordination, and the recognition of all seven sacraments.

Concerning the celebration of Mass the Interim ordered:

"Mass should be observed henceforth in this land with ringing of bells, with lighted candles and sacramental vessels, with chants, vestments, and ceremonies. In places where there are sufficient persons present, the priests and ministers should come before the altar in suitable manner wearing suitable church vestments and robes ..."

Concerning images it was determined that:

"The images and pictures of the sufferings of Christ and of the saints may be also retained in the churches, and the people should be taught that these are only remembrances, and not things to which divine honor should be attached. To the images and pictures of the saints, however, no superstitious resort should occur or be encouraged."

The article concerning liturgical vestments noted that these vestments provide a way of showing the necessary distinction between the ministers of the Word and Sacrament and laypersons.

"And we consider it honorable and good that pastors and ministers in their vestments as well as otherwise should deport themselves in a priestly and creditable manner, and that with the cooperation and advice of the bishops or consistories they should make an arrangement with one another, and observe it so that by their apparel a distinction may be observed between the ministers and worldly persons, and proper reverence may be shown toward the priestly state." ⁸¹

This Interim was introduced in Saxony and Brandenburg, but it was no more popular than the Augsburg Interim had been. Pastors in Berlin and Cölln expressed grave reservations and complained especially about the reintroduction of such ceremonies as the use of consecrated oil and salt. Pastor Christoph Lasius of Spandau complained not only about the reintroduction of Roman theology but went on to state that even if the clergy could be persuaded to accept it, it would have no force until it was approved by the territorial assembly. Only the Roman bishops of Lebus and Havelberg welcomed the Interim. The Reformation had made significant inroads in these dioceses and the bishops hoped that the Interim would signal a return to the ancient faith. Even Joachim II's brother Johann, who had sided with him in support of the emperor against the Schmalkaldic League, rejected the Interim.⁸²

The Peace of Augsburg, agreed by Charles V and the Schmalkaldic League on September 25, 1555, finally ended the political struggle between the Lutherans and the Roman Catholics by making both groups legal within the Holy Roman Empire. It established the rule *Cuius regio*, *eius religio*, according to which territorial rulers could choose either Lutheranism or Roman Catholicism as the religion of their land. Those who did not agree with their choice were permitted to leave and go to a region congenial to their religious choice.

The Treaty of Passau of 1552 and the Peace of Augsburg of 1555 opened the way for Joachim II to take control of the three bishoprics and consolidate his lands by absorbing these bishoprics into Mark-Brandenburg. Bishop Matthias von Jagow died in 1544, and in 1546 Joachim of Münsterberg-Oels was chosen to succeed him in Brandenburg. He served until 1560, when he was succeeded by Johann Georg, son of Joachim II. In 1569, Johann Georg was succeeded by his son Joachim Friedrich. Johann Horneburg, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Lebus, died in 1555, and he was succeeded by the elector's grandson, Joachim Friedrich, who had been serving as bishop of Havelberg since 1554. He was still a minor, and his father Johann Georg was named administrator, and so now, Joachim II had all three bishoprics in his hands. The secularization of Lebus and Havelberg moved forward only when Wolfgang Redorfer, the cathedral dean in Lebus, and Peter Conradi, the cathedral canon in Havelberg, both of whom were major opponents of the Reformation, died in 1559 and 1561. Roman ceremonies continued in Havelberg Cathedral until 1561, when Johann Georg formally requested that the cathedral chapter abolish papal ceremonies and accept the church order of the electorate. Johann Georg and Joachim Friedrich served as bishops only in a nominal and administrative sense.83

The Majoristic controversy made it necessary for Joachim II to side with such theologians as his own General Superintendent Johannes Agricola and Dr. Andreas Musculus of Frankfurt (Oder), by adopting a more conservative Lutheran position described by some as Gnesio-Lutheran.

The controversy began at the University of Wittenberg in neighboring Saxony in the early 1550s. Georg Major, a Wittenberg theologian closely associated with Melanchthon, who taught that good works were a necessary sign of obedience and therefore played a role in salvation, stated that since obedience is a sure sign that faith is not dead but living, it was a clear indication that none could be saved without good works. By 1558, the controversy was introduced by Professor Abdias Prätorius into the University of Frankfurt (Oder). In Berlin, the Majorist position was advocated strongly by Provost Georg Buchholzer who had been among those who prepared the 1540 church order but had from the start been

cool toward its ceremonial features. In order to restore peace, Joachim II called a meeting of the leading pastors of the city to gather with him on April 19, 1563, in the cathedral. Here he strongly backed the position of Musculus over against Buchholzer and Prätorius. As a result, the position asserted by Johannes Agricola and Andreas Musculus was confirmed. Prätorius left Frankfurt (Oder) for Wittenberg and in 1565 Buchholzer was dismissed from his position.⁸⁴

Until his death on January 3, 1571, Joachim II affirmed a strongly conservative Lutheran position theologically and at the same time insisted that the terms of the 1540 church order remain in force. He took a strong position against iconoclasts and those who advocated the elimination of the exorcism in Holy Baptism, stating that such changes endangered the Word



DOCTOR ANDREAS MUSCULUS CENERA-LIS MAR CHIEF SUPERINTENDENS, ET IN ACADESIA FRANCOFILINANA AN TECES SOR, PRIMARI, COMSTANS EN INVICTI ANI-MI THEOLOGUS, NATUSAO, 36) + MOR TULISÃO, 3683.

General Superintendent Andreas Musculus of Mark-Brandenburg (*Küster* 1751).

of God and the Sacrament of Christ. He bitterly complained that the iconoclasts, who insisted that pictures and crucifixes must be removed from churches because they are idols, were the same people who in their own houses had paintings "that usually were only found in whore houses."

He found particularly offensive the position taken by Wittenberg Professor Paul Eber who condemned the adoration of Christ in the Sacrament. In his 1562 *Uom heiligen Sacrament des Leibs vnd Bluts vnsers Herren Iesv Christi* (Concerning the Holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ), Eber had stated:

"Pastors and rulers who defend the elevation therefore should watch carefully how people react to it. If one notices any strange devotion during the elevation – for instance, that people behave as they have done in the past and come primarily to gaze at and adore the elevated god (as they call it, which is a horrible blasphemy!) and leave church immediately afterwards – it would be a thousand times better, and certainly necessary for the extermination of such idolatry, to eliminate the elevation altogether." ⁸⁶



A Lutheran pastor in chasuble and alb elevates the Sacrament of the Altar at the consecration, depicted in Martin Luther's tract, *Ain Betbůchlin unnd leßbůchlin* 1523.

Eber went on to note that people would sigh and beat their chests and mouth prayers to the elevated host, and engage in other "most dangerous" devotional exercises during the elevation.

"Kneeling, genuflecting, and special veneration ... are dangerous and reprehensible because they confuse the young, foolish, poorly educated, and simple people who can only conclude that such adoration is required."87

He stated that it was his fear that these practices served to reinforce old and erroneous notions, particularly the papal doctrine of transubstantiation.

These and similar views were a cause of much concern to Elector Joachim II.

"Since He [Christ] is present in the Lord's Supper according to his word, why should I not adore Him?" he declared. "When I approach the emperor or any other mighty person, I remove my hat and bow down low because he is my lord." He went on to suggest that it surely must be even more appropriate to act in a humble and reverent manner when his Lord comes before him in the Eucharist. 88

Later, Article VIII of the *Solid Declaration* of the *Formula of Concord* would state that while the consecrated bread and wine were not to be adored in and of themselves, it was at the same time true that "no one except an Arian heretic can or will deny that Christ himself, true God and man, who is truly and essentially present in the Supper when it is rightly used, should be adored in spirit and in truth in all places, but especially where his congregation is gathered." It would appear that Joachim II was affirming a position which in the *Formula* would be articulated by Andreas Musculus, David Chyträus, Martin Chemnitz, and the other framers of the *Formula*.

Concerning the presence of Christ in the Supper, Joachim II ordered Musculus and other clergy to continue the retention of the elevation, and he urged the use of the *ostensio* – the lifting up of the consecrated elements before the eyes of the communicants. Musculus introduced this at the Berlin Cathedral on March 10, 1562, and churches in Mark-Brandenburg followed his example. After the reciting of the *Verba Christi*, the celebrant turned to the congregation, and holding the con-

secrated Sacrament before them, he said: "Behold, dear Christians, this is the true body of Christ, given for us, and this is the true blood of Christ, shed for us." 90

In his 1563 will and testament, Joachim II spoke plainly about the reason for "changing the elevation into the *ostensio*." He stated that he had done this both to the glory of God and to show his opposition to the fanatical views of Paul Eber. He noted that this practice was and is still today preserved in the Greek liturgy. Georg Buchholzer would later report that Joachim II, when he had just invited him to witness the Eucharistic celebration in the Dom, stated: "Do stay and see the new elevation of the Sacrament that I have instituted because of the sacramentarians." He went on to say that he had instructed Superintendent Andreas Musculus to introduce the *ostensio* also in Frankfurt (Oder), the city where future Brandenburg pastors were receiving their training.⁹¹

"The elevation of the Blessed Sacrament is not to be eliminated, but must be kept in accordance with our gracious lord's church order," visitors sent by Elector Johann Georg told pastors in the town of Brandenburg (1575), Stendal (1578), Salzwedel (1579), and Seehausen (1581). Where the elevation had been dropped, it must now again be restored in order that "our faith in the true presence of Christ's body and blood" might be strengthened. So it was that Elector Johann Georg informed pastors in the Neumark, Crossen, Züllichau, and Cottbus in a circular letter, issued on July 27, 1580.92

Joachim II was fully as concerned also with the integrity of the Lutheran baptismal rite. He prescribed in his 1563 testament that the greater exorcism in the baptismal rite was to be retained there with its appropriate wording: "I adjure you, unclean spirit, by the name of God the Father + and the Son + and the Holy Spirit +, to come out and depart from this servant of Jesus Christ, *Name*. Amen."

Inventory listed by the chapter of the Berlin Cathedral in 1599 noted that included in the cathedral's possession were salt and chrism vessels. This would appear to give evidence that indeed the baptismal rite from the 1540 agenda was in use in the cathedral until that time.⁹⁴

Johann of Küstrin, the brother of Joachim II, died only ten days after his brother. He left no heir, and Neumark once again was united with Mark-Brandenburg under the rule of Joachim's son Johann Georg, a staunch Lutheran. Johann Georg saw that a new church order was needed to draw together the two firmly established but distinct liturgical traditions of his lands. Neumark used the Brandenburg-Nürnberg church order of 1533 which was in many respects different from the 1540 church order of Mark-Brandenburg.

⁹⁰ Steinmüller 1904, 242; Nischan 1994, 37.

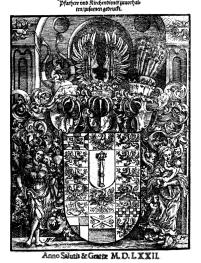
⁹¹ Steinmüller 1904, 242; Nischan 1999, V-15.

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2.3.3 The 1572 Brandenburg Church Order

The task of developing a church order for universal use throughout Brandenburg was given to Andreas Musculus, whose responsibilities as general superintendent of the Kurmark were extended in 1572 to include Neumark as well. The separate office of general superintendent in Küstrin was dropped, and henceforth all administrative work would be centered in Frankfurt (Oder). The Berlin Cathedral dean, Georg Cölestin, was named to assist him in this work.

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Title page of the 1572 edition of the Augsburg Confession.

The Brandenburg church order, published in 1572 in Frankfurt (Oder), consisted of four separate books but these comprised a single publication under the title: Die Augspurgische Confession, aus dem Rechten Original, welches Keyser Carolo dem V. auff dem Reichstage zu Augspurg Anno 1530. vbergeben, Der Kleine Catechismus. Erklerung vnd kurtzer Ausszug aus den Postillen und Lehrschrifften des thewren Mans Gottes D. Lutheri, daraus zusehen, wie derselbe von fürnembsten Artickeln vnserer Christlichen Religion gelehret, Aus verordnunge des Durchlauchtigsten, Hochgebornen Fürsten vnd Herrn, Herrn Johansen Georgen, Marggraffen zu Brandenburg, des Heiligen Römischen Reichs Ertz Cämmerers vnd Churfürsten, in Preussen, zu Stettin, Pommern, der Cassuben, Wenden, Auch in Schlesien zu Crossen Hertzogen, Burggraffen zu Nürnbergk, vnd Fürsten zu Rügen, Vor die Kirchen in seiner Churfürst. G. Landen, Neben einer allgemeinen Agenden oder Ordnung, nach welcher sich die Pfarherr vnd Kirchendiener zuuorhalten, zusamen gedruckt (The Augsburg Confession, Taken

from the Original Text, Presented to Emperor Charles V in the Diet at Augsburg in the Year 1530, the Small Catechism. Explanation and Short Extract from the Postils and Doctrinal Writings of the True Man of God, Dr. Luther, from which It Can Be Seen How He Taught Concerning the Foremost Articles of Our Christian Religion, by the Order of

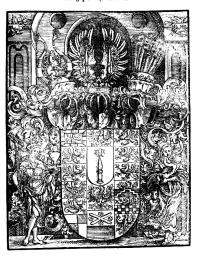
Pomerania, the Kashubia, Wenden, as well as Duke in Silesia at Crossen, Burgrave at Nürnberg, and Prince at Rügen, for the Churches in the Princely Electoral Lands of His Grace, Printed Together with a Common Agenda or Order, According to which Parish Pastors and Church Ministers Are to Minister).

The second book consisted of *Enchiridion: Der Kleine Catechismus für die Gemein, Pfarherr vnd Prediger* (*Enchiridion: The Small Catechism for Ordinary Pastors and Preachers*).

The third book was entitled: Erklerung der Augspurgischen Confession, des Kleinen Catechismi, Consens vnd bestendige, in Gottes wort gegründete, einhellige Lehre, von den fürnembsten Puncten vnserer Religion vnd Christlichen Glaubens, des Ehrwirdigen tewren Mannes Gottes, D. Martini Lutheri, etc. Aus den Postillen vnd Lehrschrifften getrewlich, mit Gottfürchtigen richtigen verstandt zu sammen gezogen (Explanation of the Augsburg Confession, Agreed and Consistent Text of the Small Catechism, Founded in the Clear Doctrine of God's Word from the Foremost Points of Our Religion and Christian Faith, by the Worthy and True Man of God, Dr. Martin Luther, etc., Gathered in a Proper Manner and Adjudged with the Fear of God from the Postils and Correct Doctrinal Writings.)

The fourth book was entitled: Agenda, Kirchen Geschefft: Vnd derselben Ordnung, wie es allenthalben gehalten sol werden (Agenda, the Churchly Office, and the Order of the Same, as It Is Everywhere to Be Observed). It included a preface on the sacraments and ceremonies, a preface on Holy Baptism, and the rubrics for Baptism as found in the order attached to the catechism, emergency Baptism, confession and absolution, the Lord's Supper, the order of the Mass, the daily office (Germ. Chorgesang), the visitation and Communion of the sick, the order for burial, the conduct of marriage according to the form attached to the catechism, the call and ordination of ministers, together with a section on episcopal authority and jurisdiction, church festivals, holy week observances, instructions concerning the catechism, schools, the churching of women, the blessing of a

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M. D. LXXII.

Title page of the 1572 Brandenburg

The 1572 church order was a close copy of its parent, the 1540 rite. In most respects, it was a clone of the earlier work but some changes have been introduced. To put it otherwise, one might say that the editors of the 1572 agenda took scissors to their copies of the Mark-Brandenburg liturgy and pasted together a rite based upon it. Some sections remained as before, others were shortened, and still, others were cut out and cast aside. This church order was meant to serve in two territories, in one of which liturgical services were more ceremonial and medieval, in the other, the Neumark, the Brandenburg-Nürnberg liturgy was used - a thoroughly Lutheran order with fewer medieval ceremonies than the 1540 book. It is evident that the editors of the 1572 rite made frequent reference to the 1533 Brandenburg-Nürnberg agenda. The 1540 rite included many ceremonial features which were no longer in use. Practices, such as the exorcisms in Baptism, had been either shortened or reworked. Furthermore, idolatry and superstition had largely been eradicated, and it was thought unnecessary to include the dire warnings concerning it that had been included in the 1540 order. The editors also consulted other agendas and included prayers which were worthy of inclusion. In summary, it may be said that it was their intention to simply renovate the 1540 rite and bring it up-to-date.

The preliminary preface concerning the proper use of the Holy Sacrament and ceremonies to be observed was tightened up to eliminate material thought to be no longer pertinent. The section, which reminded people that salvation comes only through the merits of Christ and not through ceremonies and other good works, was dropped. Also eliminated was the statement that the forms provided in no way change what Christ has given and ordered, and that nothing had been introduced which would lead to misuse. These sections were deemed unnecessary because they simply repeated what people were taught in sermons and catechesis. In earlier years, it had been necessary to emphasize these things but now that situation had passed. The lengthy section on what is necessary for beneficial Communion, as well as the reminder that Christian ceremonies need not everywhere be the same, were replaced by a much shorter section, which stated that the present order was not to be altered or changed and that superintendents and visitors were to see to it that all provisions were properly observed.⁹⁵

As in the 1540 church order and all other church orders, those preparing to commune were expected to be examined and absolved. In Mark-Brandenburg, confession was to be made before the pastor the day before the Mass, or in urgent necessity, it could be made before the Mass began. The editors made no changes in confession and absolution themselves. They retained their place and the regulations concerning them remained as in 1540.%

Changes were made in the directives concerning the celebration of Mass itself. The section still began with Christ's Instituting Words, and their absolute centrality was still emphasized. However, what had previously been included concerning the need to teach unlearned people that the Mass is not a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead, that the saints are not to be invoked, and that no unchristian hymns and prayers are to be permitted was eliminated. This did not mean that these things, formerly rejected, were now to be allowed; it meant instead that the people had been thoroughly instructed concerning misuse of the Mass, and it was no longer necessary to speak about these matters at length or to point out that the Greek Canon contained no such notions and to note that the Ambrosian Canon in Milan spoke in very different terms. It was thought to be no longer necessary to speak at length about the high priestly



Elector Johann Georg of Mark-Brandenburg. Copper engraving, c. 1700 (Wikimedia Commons).

work of Christ, described so eloquently by the writer to the Hebrews because this was to be dealt in sermons rather than liturgical admonitions. The same could be said about the need to instruct the people concerning the nature of the Eucharistic sacrifice of Christians and its relationship to the propitiatory sacrifice of Christ. Finally, the time was long passed when it was necessary to justify giving the cup to the laity. They had been instructed about such matters for three decades and had learned to properly regard the consecrated Sacrament as the body and blood of Christ in and under the consecrated bread and wine. These matters had all been dealt with almost excruciating detail in the 1540 church order, including the reminder that the Sacrament was instituted to be eaten and drunk, and that those who would receive its benefits must come with believing hearts, in accordance with the words of St. Paul. None of this needed to be repeated. Also dropped were statements condemning the offering of Mass for the benefit of the dead and private Masses without communicants.⁹⁷

In the celebration of the Mass, there were no extensive changes. The clergy were to continue to wear their customary vestments. The Mass was still preceded by a mutual confession of the pastor and ministers, and the order remained as before: introit, Kyrie, Gloria, and collect. The epistle was still to be sung in Latin and then read in German. A new addition to the rite was the recitation of a prayer after the epistle, taken from the eleven prayers which were provided. These prayers were paraphrases of psalms, having to do with the proper way of life of believers. Then followed the alleluia and sequence or tract, sung in Latin. Then the gospel was sung in Latin with its attached ascription of praise; the gospel then was repeated in German. An innovation at this point was the introduction of a second prayer in German, based on the psalms of David and dealing with forgiveness of sins and the turning away of the punishments and the wrath of God obtainable only through the merits of Christ, as proclaimed in the gospel. Twelve such prayers were included. Then the Nicene Creed followed, as in 1540. In the cathedrals and collegiate churches, the Creed was to be sung in Latin, and in the parish churches the congregation was to sing, "We All Believe in One True God" ("Wir glauben all' an einen Gott") in German.98

The prayers followed the Eucharistic Preface and *Sanctus*. In the first prayer, for the authorities, there was a minor change in wording from "all kings and princes" to "our Lord and emperor and the councilors and rulers." In 1540, at the conclusion of the prayers, the consecration followed, and after it, the Our Father was sung. The order is changed in 1572 so that the Our Father followed the prayers. The consecration includes the elevation of the consecrated species.

The Consecratory Words followed the 1540 agenda verbatim and differed somewhat from the traditional *Verba*, as printed in Luther's *Small Catechism*:

"Our Lord Jesus Christ, on the night in which he was betrayed, took the bread, gave thanks to his heavenly Father, blessed it, and broke it, and gave it to his disciples and said, 'Take it and eat; this is my body, which is given for you. This do in remembrance of me.'

In the same way, he also took the cup after the supper, gave thanks, and blessed it, and gave it to his disciples and said, 'Drink of it, all of you; this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you and for many for the forgiveness of sins. This do, as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me." ⁹⁹

In cathedrals and collegiate churches, the elevation was to be followed by a Latin hymn, such as "To You is the Power" ("Tua est potentia"). In parish churches, a German hymn, such as "May God Bestow on Us His Grace" ("Es woll uns Gott genädig sein") or "All Laud and Thanks with Highest Praise" ("Sein lob und dank mit hohen preis"), was to be used.

The *Pax Domini*, *Agnus Dei*, and the three Latin communion prayers by the celebrant remained as before, as did the admonition to the communicants and the communion with the traditional distribution formulas from 1540. The post-communion prayer was, as in 1540, but now the reference to the benediction, which had been inadvertently omitted in 1540 and 1542, was inserted.

The directions concerning the conduct of Mass in cities and villages remained the same. The section giving specific instruction concerning the conduct of the service on Sundays, feast days, or weekdays when there were no communicants, and directives concerning vestments, candles, and other appointments at such services were dropped, probably because most of it simply repeated matters already included in the usual Mass. It was obvious to all that if there were no communicants, the pastor would not continue the normal service beyond the sermon but would simply conclude with an appropriate prayer, hymn, and benediction. That he would not, in this case, wear his Eucharistic vestments was also obvious.¹⁰⁰

The section dealing with the daily office was shortened. It simply stated that the traditional canonical hours of Matins, *Prime, Terce, Sext, Nones, Vespers,* and *Compline* should continue to be used in Latin. Furthermore, the pastors were to take the use of the office seriously. No ordinary or propers for it were included nor rubrics given, even though the clergy were told that they were to follow the rubrics. For all these, they would have to consult other books, most likely that of Lucas Losius or similar works. The German Litany was included, together with a selection of collects.¹⁰¹

In summary, the Mass and its ceremonies and the daily office were little changed in the 1572 book. It contained the same elements as the earlier rite with the addition of prayers after the epistle and gospel, the placing of the Our Father before the *Verba* instead of after it, and the insertion of the benediction which had been inadvertently omitted in the earlier work. The ceremonies remained unchanged, and it was still understood that the Mass was to be celebrated on Sundays, feast days, and weekdays when communicants had announced their intention to commune and presented themselves at the altar. The use of Latin prayers and readings continued. Some later German scholars would observe that present-day Lutherans would likely call this conservative liturgy "Catholic." 102

Changes in other liturgical rites were more extensive. The form for Holy Baptism only stated that the proper order was in the *Small Catechism*, which would be found in the second part of the book, and that pastors should constantly and zealously admonish the people to regard and use this Holy Sacrament with fervent, earnest Christian devotion. No confirmation order was included. The order

for the Communion of the sick no longer provided the optional usage by which the pastor, accompanied by the sacristan, carrying a bell and lighted candle, could take the Sacrament directly from the altar to the sickbed. No longer did the rubrics direct that the pastor should cleanse his fingers over the chalice at the close of the sick Communion, after which the sick person, or some other person present, should consume the ablution. The rather lengthy section of the 1540 rite, which gave extensive details about the Communion of the sick, was shortened to indicate that an appropriate place for the Sacrament should be provided beside the sickbed with a clean linen cloth on which the pastor could put the corporal and the vessels.¹⁰³ The regulations concerning impediments and forbidden grades were no longer included in the marriage service. After the introductory sentence, the service moved directly to the announcement of the bride and bridegroom and the statement of their intention to wed (the publication of banns). From this point on, Luther's Little Marriage Booklet was followed, as found in the Small Catechism. The order for the call and ordination of ministers and episcopal authority and jurisdiction was shortened to eliminate several citations from St. Paul and the ancient fathers. From the earlier order, only the directive that pastors, preachers, and other ministers should be obedient to their overseers, i. e., superintendents or presidents, was retained. In the burial office, the section which spoke on the misuse of Communion (requiem Masses) was eliminated, along with the directive according to which pastors were to preach annually concerning the death and mortality and the resurrection of the dead, concerning souls, etc., which used to be preached in collegiate churches and parishes. The enumeration of festivals was replaced with a shorter section which simply stated that the festivals, which had been celebrated up until that time, were to continue in use. In the calendar, the title, "Corpus Christi Day" was changed to the "Day of the Lord's Supper" ("Der tag Coenae Domini").104 The second section, which detailed the celebration of days of fasting, was dropped as no longer relevant, and the section on the keeping of Holy Week and the Easter season was revised. Palm Sunday was to continue to be celebrated with its appropriate order, which included the reading of the passion of Christ on Sunday and the days following, with Compline at 4 p.m. in the afternoon, and a reading from a portion of a passion and sermon. Maundy Thursday should be marked by a celebration of the Lord's Supper with instruction and a sermon. Good Friday was to be held as before with the Lord's Supper, a reading of the passion, and a sermon on Communion. On Easter Eve, after Vespers, a special hour was to be kept with the burial of Christ as the subject of the sermon. Nothing was said of baptisms on Easter Eve, such as had been included in 1540. Concerning the Easter season, the only special note was that one was to preach

on the appropriate day concerning prayer and pray and sing the Litany as before, an obvious reference to Rogate Sunday. Newly added were sections on days of thanksgiving, the anniversary of the dedication of the church, and two prayers concerning the spread of the gospel and the putting down of heresies, sects, war, and bloodshed. A short section was added concerning the catechism, stating that catechization should be held weekly on Wednesdays and Fridays after Vespers in all city churches throughout the year. The children should be required to recite catechism, and after their recitation the service should close with the hymns, "Lord, Keep Us Steadfast in Thy Word" ("Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort") and "Grant Peace, We Pray, in Mercy, Lord" ("Verleih' Uns Frieden Gnädiglich" / "Da pacem Domine"). Last of all, a collect pro pace was to be prayed. In villages, catechization was to be conducted by the pastor or sacristan at 12 noon on Sunday. He was also to examine the people on what they had studied.¹⁰⁵ The 1540 church order had not included a form for the churching of women, and this omission was corrected in 1572, which also included the blessing of infants. The 1540 conclusion and confirmatory letter of Bishop Matthias von Jagow of Brandenburg were not included, but the new edition included a lengthy poem concerning the contents of Christian doctrine and a short poem comparing Adam and Christ as fathers of the old humanity and the new humanity.

Revisions of the ceremonial introduced in the 1540 order were only minor. They included the replacement of the rites of baptism and marriage with Luther's *Little Baptismal Booklet* and *Little Marriage Booklet*, which by that time had achieved almost confessional status among Lutherans.

It was the responsibility of the general visitation to see that the provisions of the new church order were implemented on the parish and district level. The publication of the new order seemed to require the publication of a new visitation order to implement it. Johann Georg addressed this need in his *Visitation and Consistorial Order* of 1573. Henceforth, this order, together with the church order, would regulate the life of the church in Brandenburg.

The visitation order stated that the pure doctrine of the gospel was to prevail in the churches and schools and in the entire land, and by these means proper and suitable worship, discipline, and a Christian way of life would be preserved, the holy ministry would be established, and the lives of the pastors would be regulated. To this end, regulations were formulated concerning the proper attire of the clergy, and along with it, the reminder that proper worship, administration of the Venerable Sacrament, and the whole conduct of the ministerial office must conform to the contents of the *Augsburg Confession* and the church order. The clergy were expected to furnish their personal libraries with suitable literature.

This was to include the Bible in German and Latin, Luther's postil, his catechisms, the 1572 Brandenburg church order. It also stated that it would be desirable if pastors also possessed the complete works of Luther, Augustine of Hippo, and other theologians. In addition to preaching and administering the sacraments, the pastors would need to supervise chaplains, schoolmasters, sacristans, and other ministers of the church so that they would know and rightly make use of the ceremonies and other ecclesiastical appointments in accordance with the church order. Pastors must recognize no other regulatory documents than the approved church order, and in accordance with its provisions, they must preach zealously on Sundays and feast days on the gospels and epistles and see to it that the Lord's Supper was celebrated in an orderly manner, according to the provisions of the church order. In village churches, it was to be the duty of the sacristan, working under the pastor's authority, to teach every Sunday, or at least once during the week, the Small Catechism of Luther so that the children would learn it word-forword as printed in the church order. He was also to lead the young people in learning to sing Christian German hymns. 106

As before, the consistory was to consist entirely of the members of the clergy. Its membership was limited to four or five pastors with the general superintendent serving as the chairman. It was to concern itself with the general administration of the church-at-large. It was to address complaints, redress grievances, determine matters of casuistry, and hear and act upon the petitions and the legal and spiritual questions put before it. In 1598, the consistory was reorganized into a *consistorium mixtum*, with both clergy and lay members and a lay president.¹⁰⁷

The introduction of the 1572 church order proceeded normally, except in some parts of Neumark where the clergy opposed the elevation. Such was the case in Königsberg in Neumark, and Musculus found it necessary to remind the pastors in 1580 that they were required to elevate the Sacrament. He stated also that the *ostensio* should be practiced to reaffirm the church's confession of the presence of Christ's true body and blood in the Sacrament and to oppose the introduction of any Calvinist notions. ¹⁰⁸

In addition, on July 27, 1580 Johann Georg found it necessary to address the clergy of Crossen, Züllichau, and Kottbus in Neumark about the observance of the church order and the reintroduction of the elevation which, he stated, had the purpose of the strengthening of the faith in the true presence of the body and blood of Christ.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Corpus Constitutionum Marchicarum I/1 [1737], 273-339; Sehling III 1909, 106-142.

This was in accordance with the statement in the visitation instruction for visitors in the 1573-1581 visitation, which declared that the elector did not intend to allow any of his pastors to be negligent and careless in their administration of the Blessed Sacrament:

"In these dangerous and tumultuous times, when all sorts of sects and mobs are agitating, especially while that damned doctrine of Calvinism is trying to sneak in ... they are to watch diligently that God's Word is preached faithfully, that the Blessed Sacrament is administered in a non-sectarian fashion and the traditional Christian responses, canticles, and ceremonies remain unchanged and continue to be uniformly observed throughout the land."¹¹⁰

Nothing would be permitted that would mitigate against the doctrine of the corporeal presence of Christ in the Sacrament.

2.3.4 The Inroads of Crypto-Calvinism and Its Effects on Worship

Elector Johann Georg regarded pure doctrine as a matter of utmost importance, and at the beginning of his reign, he assembled a corpus doctrinae to regulate the church's faith, teaching, and confession. He himself participated in the theological discussions at Torgau which led to the finalization of the Formula of Concord in 1577. When questions arose concerning the best way to introduce the Formula and secure its adoption, Elector Augustus of Saxony, initially, suggested the calling of a general conference or synod representing all German Lutheran lands. Johann Georg recognized that there was opposition to the Formula in some lands and that its universal acceptance was unlikely. He suggested that the Formula should be introduced into each territory individually, beginning with those territories where its acceptance was assured. The Formula was accepted throughout Brandenburg, despite some opposition in Neumark and at the University of Frankfurt (Oder) by members of the faculties of Law, Medicine, and Philosophy. The elector insisted that his faculties be loyal to the Confessions, and he declared that he was unwilling to tolerate any deviations from the Formula of Concord by members of the university:

"I possess but one university, that of Frankfurt-on-the-Oder, and I regard it as my great treasure; if however, I knew that my professors were Calvinistic I should wish the whole teaching staff to be consumed by fire." ¹¹¹

Johann Georg required that the clergy in his territory should subscribe to the *Formula* as well and stand firm against the planting and spread of Calvinism. It

was declared illegal for one to carry Calvinist books, and the penalty for doing so was corporal punishment. At the 1593 synod in Stettin, the electoral Chancellor Lampert Distelmeyer, speaking in the name of his lord, declared:

"The Calvinists in their articles on the person of Christ, on predestination, on the Eucharist, and on Baptism are leading us from the service of God to contempt of Christ, from comfort to despair, from heaven to hell. Therefore, may God fill us with hatred against Calvinism." ¹¹²

The *Formula* was accepted in Electoral Saxony as well, but problems developed after the death of Elector Augustus in 1586, when his son Christian I became elector. He openly tolerated the advance of Calvinism, as did Anhalt Duke Johann Georg, and Superintendent Wolfgang Amling sought to purge the Anhalt church of every vestige of Catholicism. It was clear to the Lutherans that Lutheran doctrine needed the support of appropriate ceremonies since it was evident that the elimination of even seemingly unimportant ceremonies, such as the exorcism in Baptism, could quickly lead to the elimination of altars, images, and organs. The final result would be a church which was no longer Lutheran.



URBANUS BITTUBUTT, DICTUS PIERUS, SUETENSIS MARCHITA, THEO LOGIA DOCTOR ETPROFESS: FRANCO-FURTANS, EXLLUTHERANO REFORMATO, ACERRING, OBITT BREMA: A0.1610

Urban Pierius [Birnebaum], Superintendent of Brandenburg-Küstrin (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek).

There were, however, Crypto-Calvinists in Brandenburg, and not the least among them was Superintendent Urban Pierius of Küstrin. In 1586, he was called upon to confess before Elector Johann Georg his teaching on the person of Christ and the Lord's Supper. At the suggestion of the Crypto-Calvinist Chancellor Nikolaus Krell in Electoral Saxony, he was then invited to become court preacher and superintendent in Dresden. There he was able to publicly express his Calvinist views. He made it clear that common cause should be made with the Calvinists in the Electoral Palatinate where Calvinism was firmly entrenched and with France and the Low Countries, where the Roman Church was attempting to stamp out "the true Christian religion" and replace it with "the Roman Antichrist." He wrote in 1590:

"Make no mistake, the war and murder that Antichrist has inflicted on France, the Low Countries, the Palatinate, Hesse, Württemberg, the Cologne bishopric, etc. concerns us all; we must make common cause with our persecuted and oppressed fellow-Christians and owe them our prayers and assistance." ¹¹³

In 1592, Johann Georg declared that it was now evident that Calvinist error had crept into the churches and schools in Brandenburg, and that it was, therefore, necessary that all pastors and teachers should subscribe anew to the Formula of Concord. With the approval of the elector, Jakob Heilbrunner published his Synopsis Doctrinae Caluinianae. Summarischer begriff, vnd gegründte Widerlegung der Zwinglischen vnd Caluinischen Lehre (Synopsis of Calvinist Doctrine. A Summary and Thorough Refutation of Zwinglian and Calvinist Doctrine), in which he refuted both Zwinglianism and Calvinism point by point. He even went so far as to state that "the Calvinist doctrine ... continues to spread like a cancer." In 1593, Johann Georg required his son Joachim Friedrich and his grandson Johann Sigismund to commit themselves to be faithful to the Formula of Concord and to pledge that they would allow no changes in schools or churches, which might, in any way, violate that confession. His 1596 will and testament stated that church vestments. ornaments, sacramental vessels, paintings, and other precious decorations should remain in the Berlin Cathedral after his death and that the current liturgy and ceremonies should be maintained and preserved by his successors.¹¹⁵

The same position was articulated in 1595 by his sister, Margravine Elisabeth Magdalene. She looked upon liturgical ceremonies as marks of confessional identity and spoke of them as an "effective antidote," a fence. as it were against intrusions of Calvinism. "As long as the old ceremonies are kept in the Mark of Brandenburg, Calvinists also will be kept at bay."¹¹⁶

When Johann Georg died in 1598, he was succeeded by his son, the Magdeburg administrator, Joachim Friedrich. He confessed himself to be a loyal Lutheran, but his confessional commitment was somewhat less firm than that of his father who had distanced himself from Crypto-Calvinism. His father had never favored any sort of close military allegiance with the Reformed, and although he had been sympathetic toward the plight of the Huguenots after the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre in 1572, he still regarded them as "dangerous revolutionaries."

Joachim Friedrich took a very different stance. He was worried less about supposed "revolutionaries" than he was about the Counter-Reformation, which the Roman Church had been pursuing aggressively since the close of the Council

¹¹³ Pierius 1590, Bvi-Bvii; Nischan 2004, 389-390.

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Joachim Friedrich, Elector of Brandenburg (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek).

of Trent in 1563.117 The Roman Church and secular powers aligned with it were no longer willing to remain silent as their territories became Protestant. They were now prepared to take action to prevent this. Such was the case when Gebhard Truchsess von Waldburg, archbishopelector of Cologne, began to openly espouse Calvinism in 1582 and issued a proclamation establishing parity for Catholics and Calvinists in the electorate. Opponents in the cathedral chapter promptly elected another archbishop, Ernst of Bavaria, who, with the aid of Bavarian and papal mercenaries, prevented the secularization of the archdiocese. In the eyes of Joachim Friedrich, militant Roman Catholicism seemed a far more formidable opponent than the Calvinists. In addition, he had been humiliated by

the Roman Catholics, when they successfully blocked his participation in the Diet of Augsburg in 1582. His election as the administrator of the archdiocese of Magdeburg in 1566 had never been confirmed by the pope. Although he had himself at one time entered minor orders in the Roman Church, he had never been ordained to any of the major orders and was in no sense a loyal subject of the Bishop of Rome. Although he had been on good terms with Emperor Maximilian II, who had appreciated his support in the Turkish wars, the new emperor, Rudolf II, had no sympathy whatever for Protestants. When Joachim Friedrich appeared at the Diet of Augsburg in 1582, the Roman Catholic party flatly stated that if he was seated, they would boycott all future meetings. 118

It was in Magdeburg that Joachim Friedrich acquired his particular understanding of Lutheranism. It was a Lutheranism dominated by the person and theology of Philipp Melanchthon. In Magdeburg, the Formula of Concord was understood to be anti-Melanchthonian, and, initially, the clergy were unwilling to affirm a position which repudiated the positions taken by the theologian whom they called "their master." It was only with reservations that the pastors formally accepted the Formula of Concord at Wolmirstedt on January 30, 1578. Some outspoken critics refused to accept it at all, and Joachim Friedrich did not sign it until November 7, 1579, after he had been warned that any failure to do so would cause great suspicion among Lutherans in Brandenburg and other territories. He signed it, but he never really accepted it, and in 1584 he appointed as his closest advisors in Magdeburg, Hieronymus von Schlick, who was closely affiliated with Bohemian Calvinists, and Wilhelm Rudolf von Meckbach, who as Magdeburg's chancellor was closely aligned with Wilhelm IV, the pro-Melanchthonian land-grave of Hesse-Kassel. 119

Upon his elevation to the electorship, Joachim Friedrich lost little time in countermanding his father's testament. In the second month of his reign, on February 27, 1598, he sent a memorandum to Johann von Löben, chancellor of the Mark, and Superintendent General Christoph Pelargus and other leading ecclesiastical and secular councillors, proposing a series of church reforms, to begin with the revision of liturgical practices in the cathedral. He stated that for well-known reasons the liturgical practices in the cathedral no longer corresponded to the practices of other Lutheran churches and were doing "more harm than good." 120

It is not known whether von Löben approved these initiatives, but Pelargus accepted them with enthusiasm. In his May 27, 1598, response, he and his associates took the position that Lutheran doctrine must remain firm, but ceremonies could be changed or amended as warranted by the times. They agreed with Elector Joachim Friedrich that the use of the sign of the cross in the consecration of the Sacrament was entirely inappropriate and only promoted the notion that the Sacrament was consecrated by this action. They agreed as well that the elevation of the Sacrament was inappropriate and must be eliminated. So too, the *ostensio*, they believed, gave rise to the "worship of the bread." They claimed that the *ostensio* was especially popular in Berlin and Frankfurt (Oder), but that it was no longer widely used. They said that it was offensive since "many of the simpleminded, especially women, upon hearing these words, will beat their chests, raise up their arms, and generally act very superstitiously." In addition, it misled foreign friends into thinking that the Lutherans held "horrible errors." ¹²¹

Pelargus also raised questions about liturgical vestments. Chasubles were, of course, appropriate for divine services, but the use of the bishop's mitre and crosier no longer had any significance for Lutherans and ought to be laid aside. The church calendar, too, needed to be simplified. At least fifty-five days must be eliminated. Among them were Marian Days which he considered "unnecessary and dangerous." The Day of *Coena Domini*, formerly *Corpus Christi*, and All Saints could be retained if there was preaching. Pelargus also wanted the elimination of processions, passion plays, and other liturgical dramas, as well as the Stations of

the Cross, as remnants of papism. He found the passion plays, usually held on Palm Sunday and Good Friday, to be particularly offensive because they "turn Christ's agony into a human comedy." Even the old practice of a wooden dove lowered on Pentecost Day was to him highly offensive. He clearly preferred internal, spiritual worship with as little external expression as possible.¹²²



General Superintendent Christoph Pelargus (*Bildarchiv Austria*).

General Superintendent Pelargus was particularly offended by the custom of the clergy in the Berlin Cathedral of making the sign of the cross over the communion hosts, "as if by virtue and power of the cross (virtue et vi crucis formatae) the presence of Christ's body would be affected," and he recommended that this action, which was not commonly in use everywhere, should cease. The 1598 advisory opinion of the Berlin theologians recommended "that the cross be made according to the ancient custom of the church only once when the benediction is spoken," and as a precedent for this, they stated that this was the common practice in other churches. 123

Joachim Friedrich found this response very gratifying. However, it soon became clear that many were not in agreement with the positions taken by Pelargus and his associates. On May 10, 1598, the elector turned to them for reassurance. On May 27, they responded that it would be best if he moved slowly.¹²⁴

When Joachim Friedrich sought advice concerning elevation and *ostensio* from his cousin, Margrave Georg Friedrich of Brandenburg-Ansbach, who was also the Regent of Prussia, Georg Friedrich advised him to use great caution. He wrote to him that the elevation was most certainly a "papal abuse" and should be eliminated. However, for Mark-Brandenburg, where this particular practice was deeply rooted, he should be very cautious and "not to rush into sudden abrogation of the elevation or *ostensio* but to acquiesce a little for now, until some point in the future

when the parishioners have been better instructed from God's Word, and then probably gradually or even readily want to omit and abrogate it themselves." 125

Pelargus thought it would be best to retain the elevation, simply to indicate that this bread was consecrated and set apart from ordinary bread. It and the *ostensio* could be eliminated in due course, but nothing should be done which would raise unnecessary questions among the simple-minded. Consequently, Joachim Friedrich responded on June 8, 1598, to Andreas Wenzel and Pelargus that much of the "old pomp" and ceremony would for the present remain unchanged.

The year 1600 brought another visitation, the purpose of which was to obtain a general picture of parish life and to implement further the desired changes. General Superintendent Pelargus headed the visitation, and like the elector, he was primarily concerned with what he considered to be "lingering superstitions in ceremonies" and other deviations from the usual order. The visitation instruction was issued on February 9, 1600, and it was not until 1602 that the visitation of all parishes was completed. The instruction stated that the ostensio was to be eliminated; it was permissible to keep the elevation but not much was to be made of it. Absolutely no changes in public worship, with the exception of those specifically authorized by the elector or the consistory, would be permitted - an indication that most of the 1572 ceremonies still remained in force. The Frankfurt (Oder) churches were told that they ought to eliminate the processions through the churchyard on the high feasts, but they were not specifically instructed that this instruction was mandatory. The visitors in Prenzlau indicated their concern that the pastors were overly zealous in their confessional commitment and urged them not to engage in needless polemics about the Augsburg Confession, the Apology, and Luther's writings. Further, if the epistle and gospel were to be chanted in Latin, it was necessary that in every case these same lessons must be read also in German.

The visitors did not appear to have found any widespread deviations from the church's confession. The elector's instruction was that careful note must be taken that no "Papist, Antinomian, Calvinistic, and other errors" were spread and that the *Formula of Concord* was being adhered to.¹²⁶ The visitors found no evidence of the spread of Calvinism, but nothing in the visitation articles would have indicated to them what precisely they should be looking for. This was no surprise since the elector himself while espousing Lutheranism was more and more congenial toward Calvinism and answered critics by stating that the Reformed "... are quiet, peaceful people, who do their assigned tasks properly without getting involved in theological debates." ¹²⁷

By the year 1600, there were still many rich ceremonial observances engaged by Lutheran clergy and people in the Berlin Cathedral, which were of great concern to Pelargus and his associates. According to Nikolaus Müller, over a hundred processions took place in the cathedral year after year. Every Sunday morning and every festival, and in the afternoon on special feast days there were processions, and in addition, there were special processions on St. Mark's Day, on the days between Rogate Sunday and the Ascension Day, and on *Corpus Christi* Day.

These processions were not even limited to the cathedral but participation in them was shared by all of the clergy in Berlin and Cölln, as well as by schoolboys, all girls above the age of ten, and the villagers within an eighteen-mile radius of Berlin, as previous electors had mandated. What Pelargus and his associates would regard as "upholding, noisy pomp, and splendor" was the order of the day. Many of the clergy were vested and carried a chalice and paten. The cathedral provost was followed with the Prussian eagle and a banner with the Prussian coat of arms, and last of all came the elector himself, sitting on a horse, vested in a brocade garment lined with sable. 128

Offensive and scandalous in the eyes of the Crypto-Calvinists were such practices in the Berlin Cathedral as the special observances during Passiontide with its many processions, the bishop's mitre and staff, and the washing of feet on Maundy Thursday. Some Lutheran theologians regarded all this as a "stone of stumbling," recalling Luther's words that "such a stench from the pope might now cause new damage to the soul." 129

Their comments indicate that practices observed during the reign of Joachim II in Mark-Brandenburg in the 1540s were still being observed at the end of the century. Passion plays during the Passion Week were still being presented, and highly illustrative displays, such as the bringing of the wooden donkey on Palm Sunday and the pouring down of water from the roof of the church, sometimes even throwing down fire or releasing doves, on the feast of Pentecost, were still being practiced. Many people were illiterate and this provided them with visual aids for their devotion, as the washing of feet on Maundy Thursday, and the portrayals of the tomb of Christ at the Good Friday Communion were very illustrative. The 1540 Brandenburg church order had advised against abuses and overly dramatic displays but had allowed the special acts associated with Ascension, Pentecost, and other days to continue because they were "good reminders to the youth and the ignorant." ¹³⁰

Popular culture and religious observances were clearly intermixed. Lutheran pastors maintained in their churches religious festivals and even relics of the saints from medieval days. Carnival celebrations, which began before pre-Lent and reached their climax on the Tuesday before Ash Wednesday – *Fastnachtsdienstag* or Shrove Tuesday – were among the most popular civic festivals in the sixteenth

century. In Germany, the carnival fool, "Hans Wurst," was a popular coarse-comedic figure who presided over a masquerade by giving out large sausages, pretzels, and kegs of beer and wine. At Königsberg in Prussia, ninety representatives of the butcher's guild carried a sausage which weighed 440 pounds (200 kg) in the 1583 *Fastnacht* procession. This was meant to symbolize a large amount of meat that people were eating and the works of the flesh in which they indulged.¹³¹

The decades which followed the conversion of the Hohenzollerns to Calvinism saw many changes. Now the electors of Brandenburg would fight against such carnivals, labeling them "as gross idolatry." On February 4, 1659, the elector announced that workers and others were parading through the streets with music and playing pranks and begging for food and money, and then they were feasting for more than a week on what they had gotten, after which they would get into a fight and even kill each other. ¹³² Such activities, he declared, must cease at once. This edict was not popular with the people and they paid little attention to it. The elector repeated his proscription "against such frivolity" on February 8, 1670, ¹³³ and it was repeated once again fifty years later, on May 28, 1739. ¹³⁴

The Brandenburg clergy were not quite sure how to react to the carnival and other feast day traditions observed by the people. In a sermon on Corpus Christi Day, Johannes Mathesius, a popular preacher in Joachimsthal, who had been a personal acquaintance of Luther himself, warned the people against some more secular rituals and so-called "sacred performances," such as when young people dressed up as St. Nikolaus during Advent, placing a wooden cradle with the baby Jesus on the altar at Christmas, a parade with an ass on Palm Sunday, the washing of the feet on Maundy Thursday, the decorating of the altar with greens and the cake figurines on Easter, the burning of the devil in effigy on Walpurgis Night, the pulling of the picture of Christ up to the ceiling on Ascension Day, the letting loose of flying doves at Pentecost, and popular singing around the St. John's fire on Midsummer's Eve. All of these activities, he declared, had been abused and therefore must be restricted somewhat, but he was not willing to condemn them outright. "Where the doctrine is pure and the sacraments are administered properly, and blasphemy and abuse have been eliminated, people will be able to judge these games for themselves and on occasion may allow their children to engage in them."135

The elector had not been able to move as fast as he wanted in stripping the Berlin Cathedral of its special status. In 1608, as a part of the renovation project which includ-

¹³¹ Burke 1994, 186; Nischan 1999, VII-7.

[&]quot;Edict wegen Abstellung derer Fastnachts-Spiele, Processionem &c. vom 4. Febr. 1659." Corpus Constitutionum Marchicarum I/2 [1737], 69-74.

[&]quot;Rescript wegen derer im Edict vom 4. Febr. 1659. verbothenen Fastnachts-Spiele etc. vom

ed the remodeling of the Dom, its status was reduced to that of a parish church, and it was given the name Holy Trinity Church. The hypersensitivity of the elector and his General Superintendent Pelargus over the ceremonies in the cathedral came to clear expression in the words of the general superintendent, who in his sermon on the day of the rededication of the church stated that he found there to be "too much bleating, singing, and screaming and too little devotion." Funds formerly set aside for cathedral clergy and musicians were now diverted elsewhere. The number of such clergy and musicians were reduced, and the funds set apart for them were used as scholarship funds for students at Frankfurt (Oder) and Joachimsthal gymnasium.¹³⁶

The elector's tolerant attitude toward the Reformed raised suspicions among the nobility. They insisted that he must confirm their rights of patronage and affirm his complete loyalty to the *Unaltered Augsburg Confession* and the *Formula of Concord*. Neither was the consistory pleased with the increasingly high profile of the Crypto-Calvinists in Brandenburg. It complained in 1602 that there were in the court and elsewhere in the country those who assumed the guise of adherence to the *Augsburg Confession* but were doing so in order to destroy the *Formula of Concord* and quietly introduce Calvinism into the land.¹³⁷

The consistory, the clergy, and the nobility saw evidence of Joachim Friedrich's friendliness with the Reformed in both religious and political spheres. In the political sphere, the elector had been aware that Duke Johann Wilhelm of Jülich-Cleve-Berg was aged and had no heir, and that upon his death the Roman Catholics could be expected to reassert their position and again become the dominant religious influence in the region.

The nobility and pastors were apprehensive about the increasing number of Calvinists among the elector's advisors in his court. In 1604, he established a new Privy Council (Germ. *Geheimer Rat*) which was modeled after the *Oberrat* of the Electoral Palatinate. No one from Brandenburg was invited to sit on this council. Joachim Friedrich determined that its membership would be limited only to his most trusted advisors, several of whom were either Reformed or influenced by the Reformed confession. He expected that the Lutherans and Reformed should be able to work side-by-side at least in political matters.¹³⁸

Despite his frequent declarations of his loyal Lutheranism, it was clear that Joachim Friedrich initiated policies favorable to the Calvinists. He opened his court to them and established policies which would in the future prove fruitful to them. The Lutheran Church in Brandenburg was still firm in its confession, but the ground on which it stood was no longer as firm as it had been in the past.

2.3.5 The Agendas of Joachim Goltz

Although the 1572 Mark-Brandenburg order was meant to be obligatory throughout the territory, the city of Frankfurt (Oder) was able to exercise a certain measure of independence with regard to it. It had done the same with the 1540 church order of Joachim II. The city used the order in a "somewhat free manner," and worship was conducted according to the independent agenda prepared by Joachim Goltz.¹³⁹

The people of Frankfurt (Oder) had accepted the Lutheran Reformation without hesitation, and the first evangelical Mass was celebrated there on November 11, 1539. Shortly after that Joachim II published his church order and it was introduced in Frankfurt (Oder), however, because it lacked regulations concerning some important aspects of church life, a supplementary document was published on September 11, 1540, to cover these aspects. This document included provisions for hospitals and the care of the poor, and in addition, it stated that the church order of Mark-Brandenburg was to be used and that no one was to depart from it or introduce novelties or usages which contradicted it.¹⁴⁰

Frankfurt (Oder) was an important city with its own university and the ability to exercise a certain measure of freedom with reference to church ceremonies, and the result was a lack of liturgical uniformity. To correct this, Joachim Goltz, the senior pastor of the city, prepared and published in 1569 an agenda under the title: Auserlesene Kirchen-Ceremonien, welche in den Kirchen A. C., im üblichen Brauche seien und hin und wieder, gleich und ungleich, bei den Sakramenten, der hl. Taufe, Administration des herrn Christi Nachtmahl, Copulation Bräutigam und Braut, Einsegnung der Sechswöcherinnen und christlichen Begräbnissen gehalten werden. Colligirt und zusammengetragen durch Dr. Joachimum Goltzium, Seniorem, Dienern göttlichen Worts zu Frankfurt a. O. (Selected Church Ceremonies, which in the Churches of the Augsburg Confession Have Been in General Use from Time to Time, Uniformly or in Part, for the Sacrament of the Holy Baptism, the Administration of the Supper of the Lord Christ, the Marriage of Bride and Bridegroom, the Churching of Women, and Christian Burial; Collected and Assembled by Joachim Goltz, Senior Minister of the Word of God at Frankfurt on the Oder). The primary source was, of course, the Mark-Brandenburg church order of 1540.¹⁴¹

By the time that the revised church order of Mark-Brandenburg was published in 1572, Goltz's agenda was already firmly entrenched in Frankfurt (Oder), and the cry of evangelical freedom was used to defend its decision to continue its use. In their 1573 report, the visitors of the Frankfurt (Oder) parishes reported that these parishes were taking an independent attitude toward the official church order. In a later visitation, visitors reported on April 17, 1600, that there was much superstition and lack of unity in the conduct of the divine services. They insisted that the elevation should be restored.¹⁴²

¹³⁹ Sehling III 1909, 207.



Title page of the 1614 agenda by Joachim Goltz.

Four and one-half decades after its publication, the extant copies of the Goltz agenda were wearing out. In 1614, the Friedrich Hartmann book concern in Frankfurt (Oder) published a new edition of it: Agenda Das ist Außerlesene Kirchen-Ceremonien: Welche in den Kirchen Augspurgischer Confession in ublichem Brauche sein, unnd hin und wieder gleich und ungleich Bey Dem Sacrament der H. Tauffe, Administration des Herrn Christi Nachtmahl, Copulation Breutigams unnd Braut, Einsegenung der Sechswöchnerinnen, und Christlichen Begrebnussen gehalten werden, Collegiret und zusammen getragen, Durch M. Joachimum Goltzium Seniorem Dienern Göttliches Wortts zu Franckfurth an der Oder (Agenda, that Is, Selected Church Ceremonies which in the Churches of the Augsburg Confession Have Been in General Use from Time to Time, Uniformly or in Part, for the Sacrament of the Holy

Baptism, the Administration of the Supper of the Lord Christ, the Marriage of Bride and Bridegroom, the Churching of Women, and Christian Burial; Collected and Assembled by Joachim Goltz, Senior Minister of the Word of God at Frankfurt on the Oder).

The earliest extant copy of this agenda is from 1614 and for this reason it is not possible to state what changes may have been introduced in it. It may be simply a verbatim copy of the original edition. Included in it are Baptism of infants, confession and absolution to be administered in connection with the Lord's Supper, a short form of confession for simple folk who are old and infirm, constructed after the manner of Luther's *Christian Questions and Answers*, the public admonition, asking for the acceptance of a public sinner who has renounced his sin and received absolution, the form of confession for use at the sickbed, the admonition and form for use with one who on his sickbed has confessed and desires to receive the Sacrament, the form for the administration of the Lord's Supper, the form for the marriage of bride and bridegroom, the churching of women with the blessing of the child, the form for use when the child has not survived, the form for burial, and the form for the ordination of pastors.

As in the 1540 and 1572 agendas, confession and absolution were wedded with

first to the altar and then to the confessional. He was to speak an admonition to the penitents, together with a general confession, which he was to pray on behalf of the penitents. He was then to give the absolution and issue a general exhortation.

In the admonition, he was first to remind the penitents why they had come. They were preparing to receive the Lord's Supper in a wholesome and worthy manner, and therefore they should keep three things in mind. They should remember, first, that they had been born in sin and that they had sinned against God in thought, word, and deed and had deserved his temporal wrath and eternal punishment. But they had now come with penitent hearts and trusting in God's mercy to ask that God forgive them their sins and turn away his anger. Secondly, they should remember that their own good works and merits could never obtain God's grace for them. Grace comes only through the sufferings and death of Christ, the Son of God, who paid the price for sin and shed his blood for forgiveness and the cleansing of souls. It was for the sake of Christ that the people were able to cry out to God, asking for forgiveness of their sins and the blessing of their souls. Thirdly, they should take to heart that they should desire with the help of the Holy Spirit to turn away from sin and improve their Christian lives and bear their burdens.

The father confessor then invited the penitents to pray with him a prayer of confession 143 and grant that his ordained servant would forgive them in the name of the Triune God. Then the penitents were to go one by one to the confessional and ask that the father confessor would hear their confession and grant forgiveness through Christ, saying: "Worthy and dear Sir, for the sake of God I ask that you hear my confession and in the place of Christ announce my forgiveness." Each penitent was to make a personal confession before the pastor in a confessional prayer, spoken before him, in which he acknowledged that he was conceived and born in sin and had sinned against God's commands in thought, word, and deed, justly bringing upon himself God's wrath and eternal death. He prayed that God would, for the sake of his dear Son Jesus Christ, forgive his sins and grant his Holy Spirit and strengthen his faith and confidence to follow Christ's commandments. He asked also that the pastor would instruct and comfort him in God's Holy Word by speaking to him the forgiveness of sins in the name of Jesus that he might receive Christ's body and blood for the strengthening of his faith and the improvement of his life.

A somewhat simpler form was provided for the use of uneducated persons who were old and infirm. A form was also included for the examination of younger and uneducated persons. It consisted of seventeen questions and answers, based on Luther's *Christian Questions and Answers*. This was followed by a form of absolution in which the pastor laid his hand upon the head of the penitent. A form

was also provided to be read from the pulpit when one guilty of gross public sin had made his confession and publicly renounced his sinful deeds. Also included was a form for confession and absolution to be used at a sickbed, and a form for use at the sickbed which included an admonition and prayer of confession to be used before the pastor prayed the Our Father, consecrated the Sacrament, and communed the patient. In this case, a special act of thanksgiving was also provided to be used just before the closing benediction.

The form for the celebration of the Lord's Supper on various occasions, and especially on high feasts in places where Latin, as well as German, was being used, was also provided. It gave the Eucharistic Prefaces for all the chief feasts and ordinary Sundays in Latin. Printed also was the common Preface to be used in services where the Preface, *Sanctus*, and other parts of the Mass were in German. In this case, the Preface and *Sanctus* were followed by the Our Father and the Words of Consecration. Then the pastor was to read a lengthy admonition, taken from the 1540 church order. No formula for distribution or direction concerning hymns during communion was provided. The service was to end with the prayer of thanksgiving after communion from 1540 Mark-Brandenburg and the benediction. The final directive stated that when there were no communicants, the pastor was to go from the pulpit to the altar and read one or more of the fourteen collects, provided together with versicles and responses.¹⁴⁵

The provisions for the ordinary Sunday Mass were incomplete. Nowhere was the preaching service for Sundays and weekdays, or any of the daily offices, even mentioned. This volume by itself was not sufficient. It had no calendar of services or listing of special occasions. It could only provide a pastor with a resource, a supplement to the regular 1572 church order, which would provide for him the wording of the Latin Prefaces, not included in the 1540 or 1572 books, and other desirable liturgical material. Indeed, the earlier books had not even given the German Prefaces. It is noteworthy that nowhere were there given any instructions for the conduct of services in the cities. The rubrics for confession and absolution spoke only of village churches and places where the congregation was composed of those people with little or no education. Nothing was said concerning the elevation. Perhaps it had fallen out of use, and therefore the 1600 visitors had to insist on its reintroduction. Goltz provided nothing concerning the consecration of the Sacrament apart from the Words of Institution and a directive which stated that the pastor should reverently take the chalice in his hands.

The 1572 revised Mark-Brandenburg church order was never republished because it had "the smell of Rome in it." Goltz's liturgy was far less offensive to the Hohenzollerns. When pastors needed new books, the republication of Goltz's

liturgy could be deemed far less offensive than the republication of the 1572 revision of the 1540 order.

Goltz's liturgy gradually came to be the norm in many parishes in Brandenburg. A new edition of it came off the press in 1679. This time it was printed in Leipzig with the title: Agenda Das ist Außerlesene Kirchen-Ceremonien Welche in den Kirchen Augspurgischer Confeßion in üblichem Brauche seyn, und hin und wieder gleich und ungleich Bey Dem Sacrament der H. Tauffe, Administration des Herrn Christi Nachtmahl, Copulation Breutigams und Braut, Einsegnung der Sechswöchnerinnen, und Christlichen Begräbnüssen gehalten werden, Collegiret und zusammen getragen, Durch M. Joachimum Goltzium Seniorem Dienern Göttliches Worts zu Franckfurt an der Oder (Agenda, that Is, Selected Church Ceremonies which in the Churches of the Augsburg Confession Have Been in General Use from Time to Time, Uniformly or in Part, for the Sacrament of the Holy Baptism, the Administration of the Supper of the Lord Christ, the Marriage of Bride and Bridegroom, the Churching of Women, and Christian Burial, Collected and Assembled by Joachim Goltz, Senior Minister of the Word of God at Frankfurt on the Oder).

A further edition appeared in 1697, published in Frankfurt (Oder) by the Johann Völckern book concern. Its title was only slightly altered: Agenda Das ist Außerlesene Kirchen-Ceremonien, Welche in den Kirchen Augspurgischer Confession in üblichem Brauche seyn, und hin und wieder gleich und ungleich Bey Dem Sacrament der H. Tauffe, Administration des Herrn Christi Nachtmahl, Copulation, Bräutigam und Braut, Einsegnung der Sechswöchnerinnen, und Christlichen Begräbnüssen gehalten werden, Colligiret und zusammen getragen, Durch M. Joachimum Goltzium, Seniorem Dienern Göttliches Worts zu Franckfurt an der Oder, An vielen Orten verbessert, die Fehler geändert und auf Begehren gedruckt (Agenda, that Is, Selected Church Ceremonies which in the Churches of the Augsburg Confession Have Been in General Use from Time to Time, Uniformly or in Part, for the



Title page of the 1697 agenda by Joachim Goltz.

Sacrament of the Holy Baptism, the Administration of the Supper of the Lord Christ, the Marriage of Bride and Bridegroom, the Churching of Women, and Christian Burial, Col-

on the Oder). In Many Places Improved, with Errors Corrected and Printed by Popular Demand).

The 1697 edition included an undated preface by the unidentified writer, but it is likely that the preface was approved by the consistory. It stated that it had been the desire of the editors to offer those who used this book a word-for-word reproduction of Goltz's work, together with appropriate collects for festivals and other occasions, taken from other contemporary church agendas. They noted that it would be unseemly, if any, or all, pastors simply made their own alterations to the agenda as they saw fit, and so the editors had decided to adhere to the collects of the Brandenburg agenda which had been in use since 1572, as well as collects from the book of formularies of Johannes Schrader and an appendix of prayers which had been used in the Frankfurt (Oder) congregation in its Sunday, festal, thanksgiving, and day of repentance and prayer services. Although some of this material pertained specifically to the Frankfurt (Oder) congregation, still it was to be remembered that this congregation was the mother church of the region, to which many other congregations had looked for help in time of need and which had found these liturgical materials helpful. The Church of Christ had always prayed and worshiped in an orderly manner and had taught her children to stand or kneel, as appropriate, for such liturgical elements as the alleluia and the Kyrie eleison, although on some occasions, from time to time and from place to place, congregations had exercised some freedom in the manner by which it offered its praises to God. Some years earlier it had been decided what should be kept from the papacy and what ought to be cast aside, that is, a distinction was made so that the pearls were kept and the foam discarded, the gold was kept and the dross was cast aside. In any case, no unnecessary changes were permitted. Accordingly, the editors had used their best judgment and determined to keep the greater part of the old Latin hymnody, the biblical lectionary for Sundays, and the prayers in connection with the Sunday readings, and included them together with Zechariah's Song of Praise ("Benedictus Dominus Deus"), psalms, and other materials which had inspired the forefathers in their devotion and which, perhaps, could do the same for present-day people. However, concerning the administration of the holy sacraments and other pastoral ministrations, the old usages had been retained without change.146

The book included a form for the Baptism of infants, confession, absolution, administration of the Lord's Supper, a collection of collects for feasts of the church year and ordinary Sundays, a collection of collects from the 1572 agenda, along with versicles and collects from the Johann Schrader church formulary, the form of marriage, the churching of women and the blessing of a child, the form of blessing when the child

had died after Baptism, and a form for the churching of the mother when the child was stillborn or died without Baptism, the burial of the dead, together with readings, the form for the ordination of pastors (*Forma ordinandi presbyteros*) as in Frankfurt (Oder), and the "*Frankfurt Church Prayers*" for use on Sundays or during the week before and after the sermon, as well as on high feast days, days of repentance and thanksgiving, the confirmation of children, and the feast day calendar.

The forms for confession, absolution, and administration of the Sacrament were all included without change but now put under one general title. The Latin Prefaces were still included, as well as the single Latin rubric which instructed the celebrant to reverently take the chalice in his hand. Newly included was the church calendar from 1572 which incorporated the feasts of Christ and Mary, including the Assumption of Mary, and the days of the apostles and other saints, such as St. Laurence, St. Martin, and St. Catherine, and All Saints Day, along with the anniversary of the dedication of the church and the day of the Supper of the Lord, formerly called *Corpus Christi*. 147

It was with this agenda on its altars that the Brandenburg Church would enter the eighteenth century, pass through it, and come, finally, to the opening decades of the nineteenth century. Although it lacked the specificity and many ceremonial provisions of the 1540 and 1572 agendas, this book was still clearly Lutheran in its intentions and provisions, and it remained richer in its provisions than the agendas of some other territorial churches.

2.4 The Defection of Johann Sigismund from Lutheranism

The death of Joachim Friedrich in 1608 brought to the electorate his son Johann Sigismund, who in January 1593 had been required by his father to take an oath that he would remain constant and true to the *Unaltered Augsburg Confession* and to the *Apology*, thereof, and that he would make in the churches and schools no changes which were at odds with these confessions. Johann Sigismund took this oath before the provincial estates on March 12, 1602, but in 1613 he shocked his entire electorate when he declared that he had converted to the Reformed faith.

¹⁴⁷ Agenda 1697, "Franckfurtische Kirchen-Gebete" 1 ff.

¹⁴⁸ Foerster 1907, 453-454.

One year later, in 1609, Johann Sigismund assumed the role of guardian of the mentally challenged Duke Albrecht Friedrich of Prussia and in this way he took control of the government of the Duchy of Prussia. Two years later, in 1611, Polish-Lithuanian King



Elector Johann Sigismund of Mark-Brandenburg. Copper engraving from Theatrum Europaeum, 1662.

Johann Sigismund's initial interest in Calvinism was evident in his early years. His father permitted the young Johann Sigismund to visit the Electoral Palatinate where the Reformed were the predominant influence. There he became acquainted with the writings of Rudolf Hospinian, a Swiss Reformed theologian, who had derisively described the Formula of Concord as "Concordia Discors" ("Harmony of Discord").151 It was while in the Palatinate that he began to have doubts concerning the Lutheran doctrine of the Sacrament of the Altar. So it may be said that as early as 1606 he was moving toward an explicit confession of the Reformed faith, even though he did not speak of it publicly at that time. 152 It is also unclear whether or to what extent Johann Sigismund made his interest in Calvinism known to his father. In any case, before

Joachim Friedrich died, he prevailed upon his son to vow that he would remain true to the pure teachings of the *Unaltered Augsburg Confession*.

It could hardly have been a complete surprise, however, when immediately upon Joachim Friedrich's death in 1608, Christoph Jordan of Wittenberg wrote in his 1608 tract, *Trewhertzige Warnung Für Calvinischer Brüderschafft (A Well-Meant Warning Against Fellowship with Calvinists*), that the Calvinists in Mark-Brandenburg were "engaged in secret plottings" and that policies favorable to them would lead to imminent danger.

"There was heard, more frequently than before, the venomous talk about it is being wrong to anathematize the Calvinistic devil's rabble in print and from the pulpits, and that there ought to be good fellowship with them, which could be regarded in no other light than that Christ the Lord and His divine word should be denied, as Judas the traitor had denied them, and that we should associate and hold commerce with a Belial who was even worse than the Antichrist at Rome." 153

¹⁵¹ *Hospinius* 1607.

⁷⁷ Library Colores and Adams Appendix 20, 1714 that had been a small attention to California

Jordan stated that since the accession of Joachim II, "the evangelical form of worship had been maintained pure and unfalsified, as well against all antichristian tyranny as against the heresy of all the antichristian plotters in the Mark-Brandenburg," but now the Calvinists were at work denying the doctrine of the ubiquity of the human nature of Christ, and Superintendent General Pelargus had published a treatise on the breaking of the bread which was fully Calvinist. There could be no fellowship with those who followed such teaching, no "brotherhood with people whose schoolmaster was Satan." "Against all spirit of brotherly love the Calvinist rabble accuses us of placing the humanity of the Lord, by some process of natural extension or inclusion, in beer-cans and in the most base utensils." ¹⁵⁴

The first public step in the Reformed direction by a Hohenzollern had, in fact, already been taken by Johann Sigismund's brother, Margrave Ernst, who openly converted in Düsseldorf on the day of Pentecost 1610, when he received Reformed Communion. When Ernst returned to Brandenburg from the Rhineland in 1613, he asked Martin Füssel, the Reformed superintendent in Zerbst in the Calvinist Duchy of Anhalt, to conduct a Communion service in his private chambers. More than a dozen people attended this service.¹⁵⁵

Simon Gedicke, the dean of the Berlin Cathedral, however, complained bitterly. He called Füssel's behavior in Berlin a scandal. He stated that Füssel and his companions taught in rather vague terms about reforming the Lutheran Church and "completing the Reformation," and by their actions, Gedicke stated, it was clear what they intended to do. "I have noticed the fraction ... in the celebration of the Lord's Supper!" As far as Gedicke was concerned, this was a clear indication that these new preachers were not Lutherans. They were Calvinists! They were "Sacramentarians and the Zerbst superintendent is one of them." 156

The action of Ernst not only violated the church order but encouraged the common people to ignore their pastors. Gedicke was Ernst's pastor, and it was he who should have been asked to minister to him. What Ernst did would certainly give Brandenburgians and foreigners alike the impression that the Mark-Brandenburg court was coming under the influence of the Reformed. As Gedicke would say later: "The Calvinist fire began with Margrave Ernst." ¹⁵⁷

The Reformed Communion service brought storms of protest. It was a clear encroachment of the "lamentable Calvinism," as Gedicke stated on July 27, 1613. His letter of protest was directed to Margrave Johann Georg, brother of Johann Sigismund and Ernst. Johann Georg had like his brother studied abroad and had

¹⁵⁴ *Jordan* 1608, 3, 5, 258; *Janssen X* 1906, 303.



Provost Simon Gedicke in 1614 (*Küster* 1751).

come to reject the Lutheran confession concerning the Lord's Supper. ¹⁵⁸ On September 2, 1613, he left Lutheranism behind and converted to Calvinism. ¹⁵⁹

In his October 8, 1613 reply to Gedicke, Johann Georg stated that the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper was based neither on God's Word nor the church's traditional teaching. He complained also that the Lutherans maintained such improper ceremonies as the elevation of the host, sacring bells, and traditional Mass vestments. All of these he regarded as a continuation of "superstitious papal practices." It was obvious from his statement that he and his brother Johann Sigismund shared Ernst's theological opinions. This was answered by Gedicke who defended the Lutheran doctrine and noted that pious rulers were often misled by their

best friends and their most trusted advisors. 160

Equally offensive to the Lutherans was the appointment of Solomon Finck to replace the retiring Sebastian Müller as court preacher. Solomon Finck had formerly been a Lutheran pastor in Königsberg, the Duchy of Prussia, but through his contacts with Calvinists, he was won over to pro-Reformed opinions. He kept quiet about them until he started to minister to Ernst in his last illness. During Ernst's funeral service on September 20, 1613, Finck read a statement of Ernst in which the margrave confirmed his conversion to the Reformed faith which, he stated, was strictly for the "greater glory of Christ, our Savior." Finck later stated that he had become convinced of the "deceptiveness and fraudulence" of Lutheran doctrine, and within a short time, he publicly spoke against Lutheran ceremonies and defended the practice of breaking the bread. He also decried the fact that the Lutherans continued old papist ceremonies, stating that there was no need for altars, chasubles, sacring bells, candles, hosts, and other "idolatrous objects." ¹⁶¹

Public reaction to Finck's statements was swift and dramatic. It came to a head on October 17, 1613. An October 29 report of the incident claimed that some were so offended that when Finck left the pulpit after his sermon the people cried out: "Come out of there, you damned Calvinist," and when he left the church some

¹⁵⁸ Bekändtniß 1614, 11-15.

^{150 147}

began to hurl rocks. He was hit at least twice. One of the mob yelled that he would finish the job if Finck ever dared to enter that pulpit again!¹⁶²

The situation became even more tense, and the Brandenburg estates decided that they must intervene to stop Finck from doing more harm. They sent a letter to Elector Johann Sigismund in early December 1613 in which they charged that he had "caused much division in Berlin's residential and parish churches. He had made himself suspect by eliminating Luther's teachings, ceremonies, and church customs, and by introducing Calvinistic dogmas." Letters in the same vein were also sent to Christoph Pelargus and to the elector's wife, Anna, who was sympathetic to the Orthodox Lutheran cause. The nobles complained that Finck described Lutheran ceremonies as "papal blasphemies" and also sought to displace Lutheran doctrine with "erroneous teachings of Calvinism." "He and other predicants who belong to his religion must immediately stop preaching at court and throughout the entire country," they demanded. 163

Gedicke characterized Finck as a new "Berliner Hecebolius," that is, he likened him to rhetor Hecebolius at Constantinople, who under Emperor Constantius was a "fervent" Christian, and then, under Julian the Apostate, he professed idolatry. Finally, when Jovian came to power, he returned to Christianity, ostentatiously professing extreme penitence for his apostasy, prostrating himself in front of the church, crying to all who entered there: "Trample upon me – the salt that has lost its savor" ("calcate me sal insipidum"). Like him, Gedicke claimed, Finck "changed his coat" every time the wind changed. In March 1613, he had in the presence of thousands of people preached publicly in a sermon against the Calvinists, asking that God would "preserve us from their fanaticism." However, when it was obvious to him that the wind was changing, he spoke quite differently, as Gedicke remarked:

"Not long ago, indeed, he had revealed his impious heart and brazen fornicator's forehead in the presence of an honorable company by saying: 'When I belonged to the Lutherans I went with them six times to the Communion. I knew very well, however, that I was not partaking of the body of Christ in reality. In my own mind, I recognized what our religion [Calvinism] lays down.' Is not this the depth of Satanic iniquity which this bird [*i.e.* Finch] reveals?"¹⁶⁵

Representatives of the estates called upon Johann Sigismund, his wife Anna, and General Superintendent Christoph Pelargus to silence Finck. They were concerned about the scandalous statements he had made concerning Lutheran ceremonies and his insistence upon promoting Calvinism in the court and parish churches. They described him as a "sneaking wolf" who was determined to destroy

¹⁶² Wangemann 1884, 25; Rieger 1967, 156; Nischan 1994, 87.

Letters of the Brandenburg estates to Christoph Pelargus (December 7, 1613), Elector Johann Sigismund (December 8, 1613), Electress Anna (December 8, 1613) are printed in *Bekändtniß*

Lutheranism in the Mark. Johann Sigismund was reminded that he had promised to defend the church's heritage and that if matters continued as they were, irreparable damage would be done to the relationship between Johann Sigismund and his estates. Furthermore, his relationship with Saxony would also doubtless suffer.¹⁶⁶

Pelargus decided that at this critical juncture he would have to deal with the situation diplomatically. He had stated earlier that "Lutherans and Calvinists are as irreconcilable as water and fire," but, as an irenic disciple of Melanchthon, he was becoming weary of Lutheran Orthodoxy. Inclined to adopt Melanchthon's irenic attitude, Pelargus provoked distrust among the Orthodox Lutherans and the estates. He proved to be of little help in supporting Orthodox Lutheranism and the pure Lutheran understanding of the Lord's Supper. He was very noncommittal in his approach to the problem. In his December 17, 1613 response to the estates, he stated that he had sought to stop and think, and had even spoken with Johann Sigismund about the situation but saw no need to take official action. He was not even sure what ceremonial forms Finck had used and it was not clear to him what charges could be laid against him. Furthermore, he understood that Johann Sigismund intended to schedule a theological colloquium to deal with these issues. It was clear to Brandenburg Church officials that Johann Sigismund was not going to do anything to stop Finck or any other Calvinists.¹⁶⁷

An early evidence of Johann Sigismund's conversion came on Ascension Day of 1613 during the official visit of Landgrave Moritz of Hesse-Kassel, a recent convert to the Reformed faith. Moritz brought with him his chaplain, Hermann Fabronius, who was invited to preach in the Berlin court chapel on Ascension Day. His Reformed interpretation of the Ascension was foreign and offensive to Lutheran ears. According to Leonhard Hutter, it represented the opening shot in the ensuing struggle between the Lutherans and the Reformed.¹⁶⁸

Up to this time the court chapel and cathedral had been Lutheran. The cathedral itself had already in the days of Joachim Friedrich been reduced in status to the leading parish church in Cölln an der Spree, and in a dedication ceremony, at which General Superintendent Christoph Pelargus of Frankfurt (Oder) delivered the sermon, the church was renamed: "The Church of the Most Blessed Trinity." 169

Johann Sigismund still had not made any public statement about his attraction to the Calvinist religion or his own conversion. Calvinist services were restricted to his private court chapel. However, toward the end of 1613 he began to make plans to publicly announce his conversion and introduce Calvinist worship into the most important church in Brandenburg, the Berlin Cathedral, where a sound Lutheran con-

¹⁶⁶ Bekändtniß 1614, 47-51; Nischan 1994, 88.

fessional theology was preached and traditional Lutheran ceremonies were still employed. There was, of course, no Reformed congregation there, and so, on December 12 he invited some five dozen of his closest and most loyal advisors and foreign guests to attend a special Christmas Communion service on December 25 in the cathedral. He announced to them that it was a matter of great concern to him that the Lutherans were still spreading abroad absurd doctrines and unfounded opinions and employing improper rites and ceremonies. He was particularly concerned that they were violating the strict example of Christ who had made the breaking of the bread the most essential and central act in the celebration of the Lord's Supper. They even continued to employ the "papist exorcism" in Baptism. He would now exercise his duty as a Christian ruler to see to it that the gospel was finally proclaimed in a proper manner without the addition of "papist ceremonies." It was his intention to return the church to the simple ways of the apostles. All this would publicly begin with the Christmas Communion service which, no doubt, would lead to a new Reformation of the church. The elector was convinced that his conversion to Calvinism would set an example to others and this would initiate the process of a Second Reformation in Brandenburg. Consequently, the work of Martin Luther would be "brought to completion." 170

As might be expected, those to whom these invitations were addressed were in complete agreement with the elector in all matters, sacred and secular. The Lutheran clergy, however, would be a problem. The elector called them together to meet with him at the palace on December 18, 1613. There he would speak to them in plaintive and emotional words that they must be reasonable and tolerant toward him for, after all, he only wished to be allowed to worship God as he saw fit. To this meeting the elector also invited his closest and most loyal advisors: his brother, Margrave Johann Georg, and Abraham von Dohna, the leading advocate of Calvinism in the Duchy of Prussia and the strongest supporter of his legitimacy there. In this meeting, the elector assured the Lutheran pastors that it was not his intention to force them to abandon their ceremonies, vestments, candles, and holy pictures if they wished to keep them. He had no intention of imposing his faith on them, he declared, but he expected them to allow him the courtesy of worshipping God according to the "dictates of his faith" and in a manner which "eliminated papal superstitions." Speaking on behalf of the pastors, Gedicke stated that no new Reformation was necessary, that the Lutherans were doing nothing to cause or incite any civil disturbances, and that the elector's actions would cause great unhappiness and only increase the opposition of the estates to his rule. He would be better off to affirm the faith of the Formula of Concord and make no public statements against the Lutheran ceremonies. Councillor Friedrich Pruckmann immediately protested, saying that the elector had never approved of the Formula of Concord and had pointedly omitted any reference to it in his electoral oath. Furthermore, he stated, that his highness was determined to move ahead with his Reformed agenda.¹⁷¹

On Christmas Eve, Martin Füssel held a brief penitential service for those who intended to receive Communion the next day. On Christmas Day, the service was held. There was, of course, no such thing as an official Reformed agenda in Brandenburg, and so, a simple form, based on the Communion service of the Electoral Palatinate, was adapted and used at the service, conducted by Füssel and Finck.

The elector's former Lutheran chaplain, Simon Gedicke, reported about the service in great detail to Saxon friends, stating:

"Not far from the altar a Communion table, covered with a white velvet cloth, had been placed. ... On the table lay a long cake, already cut so that Füssel could easily break off one piece after another and place it into the hands of each communicant. ... There was no consecration as we know it. No Lutheran hymns were sung, only Lobwasser's songs. ... About fifty people communed: first the English ambassador, then the elector of Brandenburg and Margrave Johann Georg, his regent." 172

What the Lutherans had come to suspect was now to be proven true, indeed. The elector was a Calvinist!

Johann Sigismund's Christmas Communion was made the occasion of his public demonstration that he had left the Lutheran Church once and for all. Some historians have supposed that his actions were motivated by political factors. ¹⁷³ Indeed, political factors would necessarily be involved since questions concerning the rule of Jülich-Cleve-Berg was involved, but still, Johann Sigismund's chief motivation was definitely religious. Before 1628, no Lutheran writer ever made the claim that Johann Sigismund converted to secure a political or territorial advantage. It was widely recognized that his decision brought with it serious political disadvantages. The conversion caused great dissension in the Duchy of Prussia, which remained staunchly anti-Reformed. The result was great tension between Johann Sigismund and the Lutheran nobility in Prussia. Furthermore, Sigismund III Vasa, King of Poland-Lithuania, was himself strongly anti-Reformed and was greatly displeased by this conversion. It also caused tension in neighboring Saxony and complicated relations with the emperor. ¹⁷⁴

Concerning his conversion Johann Sigismund stated that he had been sympathetic to the Reformed position for more than eight years and had become convinced that

¹⁷¹ Wangemann 1884, 32-35; Nischan 1994, 92-93.

¹⁷² Nischan 1994, 93-94.

In 1609, Duke Johann Wilhelm of Jülich-Cleve-Berg died without an heir. Johann Wilhelm's niece, Duchess Anna of Prussia and expected heir to Johann Wilhelm's domains, was the wife of Johann Sigismund, and Johann Sigismund was able to become a contender for the rule of these territories. He took control of Cleve, Mark, and Ravensberg; Jülich and Berg came under the control of Palatinate-New New 2018.

Lutheran pastors and theologians were misleading their people. He had decided that the Formula of Concord was divisive, false, and highly controversial in its Christological doctrine and in its doctrine of the Lord's Supper, which he considered to be a return to the papal doctrine of ex opere operato. To his mind, the Lutherans had departed from Luther and were now well on the road back to Rome. 175

When the elector was reminded by the Brandenburg estates on December 8, 1613, that he had assured his father and them that he would continue in the faith he had inherited,¹⁷⁶ Johann Sigismund replied on March 28, 1614, that "in the things of God no such agreements could be binding."

"What an unpardonable sin it would be if we were to close all access, bar all doors and gates, to the Holy Spirit by human agreements, and hinder His carrying on His work in us and leading us to the truth of God's Word."177

He justified his action by stating that he was following the example of Elector Joachim II and his brother Johann of Küstrin who had once promised their father that they would maintain the papist faith but had instead gone over to Lutheranism. Furthermore:

"We are not a little surprised that you should insist so strongly on the *Un*altered Augsburg Confession, seeing that we are inclined to think that there are none among you who have so much as read it. For had you done so, you would at once have discovered that this confession approves of popish transubstantiation, which execrable and withal blasphemous abomination you will never countenance."178

He then went on to state that Luther and all the estates had heartily approved the Variata. "The Altered Confession," he said, "had been published with the approbation of Luther and all the estates."179

He then declared that concerning the Formula of Concord, it was well known "that the object of the ambitious parson Jakob Andreae, in publishing this book, had been not simply and solely to further the glory of God but to establish a primacy or Lutheran papacy over the Church and community of God. Elector Augustus of Saxony had himself complained that he had been vilely deceived by the parsons through the publication of this *Formula of Concord*; had it not, indeed, been sufficiently shown up by friends and foes as a concordia discors, and had not its founders and followers wrangled, quarreled, and fought over it like very Cadmean brothers; were they not indeed still doing so at the present day?" 180

He went on to claim that even though Luther had been "a chosen instrument of God," he "still had remained deeply stuck in the darkness of the papacy ... and there-

¹⁷⁵ Bekändtniß 1614, 57-58; Nischan 1994, 94-95.

¹⁷⁶ Bekändtniß 1614, 47-50.

¹⁷⁷ Bekändtniß 1614, 58; Janssen X 1906, 305.

fore had not been able to extricate himself completely from all human teachings."¹⁸¹ His doctrine of the Sacrament of the Altar was, for example, "false, divisive, and highly controversial" and did not come from the Scriptures. Luther, however, was not willing to admit his errors even when they were plainly shown to him.

"Luther was also guilty in that he had not been willing to own his error in this respect, although another view of the matter stared him plainly in the face out of God's Word; hence it came that he maintained one thing in his doctrinal, another in his controversial, writings, and that in both equally he sanctioned at one moment what he had rejected at another, and *vice versa* rejected what before he had approved of. The writings are there, and you can read them for yourselves; you will not find it otherwise than I have stated." ¹⁸²

2.5 Johann Sigismund's Efforts to Transform Brandenburg into a Reformed Land

So, with the approval of Johann Sigismund, the Privy Council set to work to formulate a plan to displace Lutheranism and transform Brandenburg into a Reformed territory. They brought a twelve point plan before the elector on February 21, 1614. (1) The elector must provide an important example to the country. He must either convert his Lutheran wife or force her to be silent. (2) It was necessary that he invite foreign Calvinist pastors, such as Martin Füssel, Urban Pierius from Herborn, and others, to take up residence in Brandenburg. (3) Special preference should be given to Calvinists and those sympathetic to Calvinism in educational institutions. (4) In place of the Lutheran consistory, a new Church Council, the so-called Kirchenrat, must be established, representing both Lutherans and the Reformed. (5) A comprehensive Reformed confessional statement should be formulated and public meetings be held to explain it. (6) Lutheran pastors must be compelled to stop making negative statements about the Reformed and their faith. (7) Church literature must be carefully censored to eliminate any and all anti-Reformed statements. (8) Papal ceremonies, such as the exorcism in Baptism, must be completely eliminated. (9) Daily Reformed prayer services should be held in the palace chapel with attendance mandatory for all court attendants. (10) The Berlin Cathedral should be made a simultaneous church with Lutheran and Reformed preachers alternating as officiants. (11) The Marian festivals, Corpus Christi, and St. Michael's Day, all of which were still in the Lutheran calendar, must be eliminated. (12) Finally, the electoral grammar school in Joachimsthal and the University of Frankfurt (Oder) must be put under Reformed control. 183



Calvinist principalities and city-states in the Holy Roman Empire (© Yale University Press).

Johann Sigismund's Christmas demonstration aroused storms of protest, and as could be expected, pastors spoke of it from their pulpits. In order to forestall and hopefully even silence clergy opposition, Johann Sigismund issued an anti-polemical edict (Germ. *Lästeredikt*) on February 24, 1614. In it, he reminded his subjects that it was their duty to give heed to their pious and God-fearing ruler and that pastors must desist from all "immederate and indecent shouting."

sideration and moderation in the pulpit, and in Christian love they must avoid creating disputes. Johann Sigismund went on to remind his subjects that the government was appointed by God to be the highest authority in the land and that, in accordance with the Second Table of the Law, it was to be held in honor and obeyed. He stated that his personal confessional position was grounded in the clear and pure Word of God from the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures, the four chief symbols of the Christian Church (unspecified), the "Improved" *Augsburg Confession (Variata)*, and its *Apology*. He very pointedly left out the *Invariata*, the *Formula of Concord*, and other confessional writings. As far as he was concerned, they were mere glosses and new formulations of doctrine prepared by "idle, impertinent, and arrogant theologians." ¹⁸⁴

If the purpose of Johann Sigismund's edict was to be irenic in nature, it was woefully inadequate and failed to accomplish its purpose. In his sermons and writings, Simon Gedicke, the dean of the cathedral, continued to condemn the changes advocated by Johann Sigismund's court and wrote a tract in which he stated that the elector had been "duped and deceived." Gedicke was ordered to cease and desist but he refused to do so. He was summoned to appear in the electoral palace to explain his actions. Margrave Johann Georg complained that his sermons included absurd accusations and blasphemous slander which incited disorder. In two meetings with the councillors, Gedicke insisted that he had made no new accusations against the Calvinists but had simply repeated what Lutheran theologians and pastors had always said about them. His purpose was to warn the elector against those who were misleading him. Johann Sigismund then warned him that he must either apologize from the pulpit or face suspension. Gedicke refused to make any such apology. On March 11, Anna, Johann Sigismund's wife, warned him that he was about to be arrested, and he quickly fled to Saxony. 185

In Electoral Saxony, Gedicke found the freedom to preach in strong and clear terms against Calvinist encroachments in Brandenburg. There he was made superintendent and the pastor in the Meissen Cathedral. It was in the cathedral on the occasion of its reconsecration in 1616 that he recounted how the Dom and its traditional furnishings had been able to survive during the ravages of the Peasants War and later the Schmalkaldic War. He noted that the church still needed to face yet another conflict and rise victorious over the "Calvinistic poison," which was poured upon it back in 1590-1591 when the Calvinists sought to desecrate and remove the altar, the images, the holy crucifix, and even the pipe organ from the cathedral premises. He predicted that there

would be further conflicts with Calvinists in the days to come, and he pleaded: "God protect us from their zeal and venom." ¹⁸⁶

Martin Willich, the archdeacon of St. Peter's Church in Berlin-Cölln, also refused to be silenced. He continued to preach sermons which were said to be inflammatory, and the rumor was spread that he was using the confessional to speak against the Reformed. In his Ascension Day sermon in 1614, he declared that the Calvinists were "locking Christ up in heaven like a mouse in a mouse trap." He rejected the Calvinist view that Christ had literally ascended upward in the heaven and after arriving there could not possibly be physically present anywhere else, not even in the Lord's Supper. He condemned this as a rationalistic notion in which the true meaning of the Ascension was entirely lost.

Willich followed the same line of reasoning as had been articulated earlier by Tilemann Heshusius, who in the Ascension Day sermon had said that the Calvinists acted as though "Christ has left us with his body and is now thousands of miles away and will not return until the final days." If this were true, then the Ascension Day would be a day of mourning rather than rejoicing, Heshusius had declared. The heaven in which the Savior had ascended, he stated, "is not the visible firmament with stars, as if the Lord now were sitting above the clouds among the planets," or "residing among the birds," as though he were confined to a "swallow's nest." "Heaven is not a building in the sky that houses the stars, the sun, and the moon ... rather the word 'heaven' here means divine majesty." Heshusius further explained that when one speaks of Christ as having ascended, what it means, is that "he shares the power and majesty with his eternal Father." 188

For this, Willich received a stern warning from the court which stated that it was closely examining his sermons for inflammatory statements. Willich himself stated that he was merely repeating what preachers before him had said about the Reformed understanding of the Ascension and the presence of Christ in the Sacrament. He went on to say that he was preparing for a trip abroad and would not have sufficient time before he left to make a manuscript copy of his sermon available to the court. He would do so upon his return. He left for Hamburg and never returned. 189

Following the advice of Abraham von Dohna, Johann Sigismund requested of Friedrich V of the Palatinate that he might send him Court Preacher Abraham Scultetus to help him implement his Reformation. Scultetus had already shown himself to be an experienced enforcer of the Calvinist Reformation among Lutherans. In response, the Palatinate elector granted Scultetus a leave of absence to go to Berlin to help with the organization of the Reformed Church. A most pleased Johann Sigis-

¹⁸⁶ Gedicke 1616, 35-37; Heal 2011, 602.

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mund declared that "God's churches here will benefit greatly ... from your preaching and teaching." He urged Scultetus to come in all haste so that, if possible, he might arrive before Easter. Scultetus did arrive on Good Friday and stayed until October. During that time, he became a most trusted adviser of Johann Sigismund and was made his privy councillor, and given the responsibility of setting down the program by which this new Reformation would be planted and nurtured.

Scultetus immediately attempted to defuse Lutheran opposition. He sought to achieve the complete calvinization of Brandenburg by issuing a thirteen-point



Abraham Scultetus. Copper engraving by Johann Azelt, 1688 (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek).

memorandum of the charges which Johann Sigismund was leveling against the Lutheran Church in Brandenburg. This memorandum was issued on May 10, 1614, with "the approval of the elector" who had it printed in Frankfurt (Oder).

In it, Scultetus claimed that Joachim II had begun the work of Reformation by repudiating the papacy and embracing the "Evangelical religion." Inadvertently he had retained many of the objectionable features of the pope's church, including the "delusion" that Christ's true body was present in the bread and cup of the Sacrament. His successors had continued the work of reforming the church. Johann Georg had issued a new church order and revised the agenda. Joachim Friedrich had eliminated many objectionable practices, such as the *ostensio*, processions, and episcopal vesture. Unfortunately, the church still retained some of the residue of papal doctrine and ceremonies.¹⁹¹

This memorandum more closely defined and then expanded the "twelve points" that had been presented by the privy councillors in February. It

stressed (1) the importance of prayer against the hard-headed Lutheran zealots who were "resisting the truth." (2) It stated again the urgent need for a Reformed clergy. Scultetus declared that there was talk among the people that the elector had no native Brandenburgian preachers and was bringing in outsiders. More native Brandenburgians must be brought into the ministry, and in addition, foreigners who were brought in must become permanent residents. Furthermore, teaching positions in the principal schools in Brandenburg must be given to Cal-

vinists. (3) The grammar school at Joachimsthal and the Frankfurt theological faculty must be turned over to the Reformed, and scholarships must be made available to the theological students who wished to study at Heidelberg. (4) A Church Council (Germ. Kirchenrat) must be organized to supervise the calvinization of the Mark. The Palatinate Church Council would serve as the best model for this new council. (5) The elector must compose a confessional statement, indicating to all his Calvinist positions. (6) The clergy must be colloquised so that the Lutherans might become aware of their errors, especially concerning the Lord's Supper, exorcism, and "papal idolatry." (7) Lutheran pastors must be forbidden to make polemical statements about the Reformed. (8) Anti-Reformed statements must be removed from all church literature. (9) The exorcism must be eliminated from the baptismal service. (10) The cathedral in Berlin must become a model for every church in the land. The Dom must be cleansed of all images, and all services must be conducted in accordance with the "Word of God." The building could no longer be shared with Lutherans and must become a completely Calvinist place of worship. (11) A complete church order must be finalized to regulate Reformed Church life. (12) All offensive church festivals, including the Marian festivals, Corpus Christi, and others, must be eliminated at once. (13) A thorough visitation of the schools must be undertaken. 192

Now, finally, Johann Sigismund had decided to complete the work of reforming the church by eliminating from the liturgy offensive elements still found in the Lord's Supper rite, including such doctrines as the oral manducation of Christ's body. At the same time, he had resolved to introduce the fraction of the bread which had been retained elsewhere but which the Lutherans had cast aside. He was not, in fact, Calvinizing the Brandenburg Church; he was simply bringing it into line with early Evangelical Churches and the early Apostolic Church, he and his followers claimed. He was not advocating that the church's confession be changed but rather that it should be clarified and correctly explained. Surely, open-minded men and the common folk as well should understand and welcome his work wholeheartedly.

Later that year the elector published his own personal confession of faith, the *Confessio Fidei Johannis Sigismundi, Electoris Brandenburgici*. It had been prepared for him by Martin Füssel. In the course of time, it would be adopted by many Prussian Reformed congregations as their confession of faith. This confession sought to prove the elector's contention that he had not departed from Luther's doctrine in any essentials. He still held to the true, infallible, and salutary Word of God, as found in the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures. He still confessed the chief symbols of the Christian Church, such as the "Apostolic, Athanasian, Ni-

cene, Ephesian, and Chalcedonian" Symbols, in which the articles of the Christian faith were summarily described and doctrines contrary to the Scriptures were rejected. It claimed that he still confessed the *Augsburg Confession* which had been presented before Emperor Charles V by the Protestant princes and estates, and which had later been reviewed and improved at various points. To confess all this, he declared, was to confess that the Scriptures alone were the proper teacher and master over all other writings and doctrines. If the pope or Luther, or Augustine, or Paul, or even an angel from heaven were to preach any other doctrine than the pure Word of God, they and their adherents were to be cursed and condemned.

The confession then turned to the chief doctrines of the Christian Church, concerning (1) the person of Christ, (2) Baptism, (3) the Lord's Supper, (4) and Predestination. In all of these, the elector showed his clear rejection of Lutheranism and his adoption of Calvinist theology. With regard to Baptism, he ascribed the washing away of sins to the blood of Christ and the Holy Spirit, rather than the baptismal waters, and he specifically rejected exorcism as a superstitious ceremony, which must be completely abolished among believers since evil spirits were not driven out by exorcism but by fasting and prayer. In the Lord's Supper, he identified the bread and wine as "external signs" of the true body and blood of Christ, and spoke of a "sacramental union" in which the bread and wine are received bodily and the body and blood are received spiritually but only by believers since unbelievers and unrepentant people have no portion in the true body and blood of Christ, and only believers can eat his flesh and drink his blood and have eternal life. Here it was possible for him to assert that Luther was in support of this position since Luther had said in the Small Catechism that a person was indeed worthy and well prepared who came believing the Words of Christ, "given and shed for you," and because the words "for you" required a believing heart.

The elector's confession went on to speak against the use of unleavened hosts in Holy Communion since it was a late addition with no biblical support. Furthermore, since the body of Christ is "spiritual and heavenly food which nourishes the soul," the communion bread which represents it should be strong yeast bread. In addition to this, since Christ broke the bread and distributed it, and the apostles later followed the same practice as can be seen from Acts 2:42, the bread should always be broken before the eyes of the people when the Words of Christ, "This is my body, which is broken for you," are spoken. He stated that this example should be followed in the present day since Communion must be given in the form and manner instituted by Christ.

The confession went on at some length to seek to establish the doctrine of double predestination and of the eternal security of the elect. Having said all this,

the faith that he affirmed, and he called upon his subjects to avoid all disputes, backbiting, and indifference against it, as well as all hatred and envy against the Reformed faith. At the same time, he said that he had no intention of forcing his beliefs on those who were "weak in faith" or had not been sufficiently instructed to the point where they were able to conform to it. However, he straightly warned them that they were not to denounce or condemn it but instead to rather diligently search the Scriptures since judgment would come "from him who judges justly and who is able to bring light out of darkness and reveal the counsels of the heart." 193

All in all, Johann Sigismund's confession made it clear that he did not regard Calvinism as something new, but a faith which intended only to continue and complete the Lutheran Reformation. He continued to cite Scriptures, the original Creeds, the *Variata* edition of the *Augsburg Confession*, and Luther's words, and did not even mention Calvin or the Reformed writings, even though it was clear that he himself was Calvinist and was speaking from a Calvinist perspective.

Salomon Finck insisted that this new confession of faith was "solidly Lutheran" and defended his assertion by quoting from Luther and by not mentioning Zwingli, Calvin, or Melanchthon.¹⁹⁴

In order to properly instruct and enlighten the Berlin clergy and help to lead the pastors out of darkness into the light, Johann Sigismund's court scheduled a colloquium for the pastors and superintendents to be held in the electoral palace in Berlin. To encourage the common people also to attend, it was stated that the colloquium would be held in the German language, rather than Latin. The colloquium was scheduled for October 3, 1614. Well aware of the elector's intention the clergy sought to put off the meeting until such time as they would be able to confer together and determine a course of action. However, they were not permitted to hold such a meeting. They were ordered to appear on October 3. In response, the pastors appealed to the estates which were meeting in Berlin at that time, stating that the elector was clearly biased against Lutheranism and was determined to institute a new Reformation. They also wrote to the elector, asking for a postponement until such time as they would be able to bring a theologian from neighboring Saxony. They insisted that they themselves were not skilled in the various German dialects and that serious theological issues must be addressed in Latin. The elector, as would be expected, disagreed, stating that only simple and clear German terms were to be used because the colloquium was meant for the common people.¹⁹⁵

Bekändtniß 1614, 36-46; Die Drey Confessiones 1695, A2-C; Corpus Constitutionum Marchicarum
14, 17271, 464, 474



Privy Councillor Friedrich Pruckmann (*Küster* 1751).

The colloquium was held as scheduled on October 3. Forty-five pastors and inspectors (superintendents) from the Berlin region attended, along with the elector and his councillors and the regent Johann Georg. Several members of the nobility and some of the so-called "common people" also attended. General Superintendent Pelargus was excused from the meeting because of illness. Privy Councillor Pruckmann opened the meeting by stating that the task before them was to discuss the doctrine of Christ's ubiquity and other related matters. All this, he stated, was very confusing to the people and could easily be used against the Protestants by the papists. In response, the Lutheran spokesman, Superintendent Johann Fleck, called for a postponement. To everyone's surprise, the elector allowed it. He admitted that he had no power to force the consciences of his people and he had no

intention of trying to convert anyone by force. He realized that a direct confrontation between the Calvinists and the Lutherans would not serve any useful purpose. He did, however, ask that the Lutherans shake hands and agree to abide by his antipolemical edict. So saying he dismissed the meeting. ¹⁹⁶

Because of his exalted position and authority, Brandenburgians were not free to complain about his apostasy, but he had no power to silence those who lived outside his domains. Theologian Leonhard Hutter of Wittenberg University stated in 1614 that the Calvinists were attempting to "persuade God, his angels, and all mankind" that black is white and that lies are the truth. He warned that all must beware of the Calvinists, even though to do so would infuriate the "devil and his grandmother." He went on to say that if the Berliners "foolishly believed" that the Calvinists were in agreement with the Lutherans on the fundamental truths of the Christian faith, then it was certainly not appropriate that they should call the Lutherans "Nestorians, Eutychianers, Capernaites, idolaters, popish hypocrites, flesh-eaters, blood-suckers, and so forth?" Not only that but if they were truly in agreement with the Lutherans, as they claimed, why did they banish "Lutherans from the Palatinate, Hesse, and other territories?"¹⁹⁷

Equally harsh in his criticism was Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg, the court preacher of the elector of Saxony, who in 1614 published his Unvermeidliche, und umb Gottes Ehre willen trewhertzige Erinnerung (An Indispensable and True-Hearted Reminder for the Glory of God to all Steadfast Evangelical, Zealous Lutheran Christians, as in Berlin and others in the Kur and Mark-Brandenburg), in which he warned his readers to avoid the confusion of Calvinism. He stated that they should "by no manner of means allow themselves to become associated with the Calvinistic poison of souls and the newly-published simple confession."198

In that same year, 1614, his tract, Wider das zu Berlin newlich aussgeflogene Calvinische Lastergesprach (Against the Vicious Calvinistic Colloquy Newly Flowing out of Berlin) was published. In it, he stated that the "dangerous deformation had been started by a few people and agitators that had crept into" the country from out-



A seventeenth century woodcut of Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg by unidentified artist.

side.¹⁹⁹ Not only had the Calvinists turned the elector against Lutheranism, but the elector's Berlin confession had falsely stated that the Calvinists did not deny the Godhead of Christ.

"The Berliners say they believe that Christ is the eternal Son of God. The other Calvinists, also, in the main, talk in the same manner. At the same time, however, they use words by which the divinity of Christ is denied in genuine Turkish, Jewish, and Arian fashions." ²⁰⁰

They also besmirched the memory of the deceased electors by accusing them of having permitted references to "popish abominations" to be taught in the schools. It was Hoë's prayer, he said, that God might "frustrate the machinations of the devil and his tools" and that Orthodox Lutherans would remain steadfast and never bow their knee "before the Calvinistic Baal." ²⁰¹

¹⁹⁸ Hoë II 1614, 2; Janssen X 1906, 312.

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In yet another of his writings, Hoë stated that the Calvinists falsely asserted that they had never been rejected in a general Church assembly. To the contrary, Hoë asserted, Huldrych Zwingli, Andreas Karlstadt, John Calvin, and other Sacramentarians had been false teachers, and that surely the doctrines of such false prophets were never accepted in the Councils of the Church. He reminded his readers that Christ never called a council to oppose the false teachings of the Pharisees and the Sadducees, and Peter had never called a council against Simon the sorcerer. He instead simply declared that he was an arch-heretic.

"How comes it that the Calvinists so furiously condemn the Anabaptist doctrine, the synergist doctrine, the Flacian doctrine, antinomianism, the new Photinian doctrine, when none of these doctrines have been ventilated or investigated at any single regular council? Could not the Turks by such reasoning free their Alcoran from reproach?" ²⁰²

Hoë also warned against the religious conference which the elector had called. He stated that the Berlin Calvinists were putting the cart in front of the horse. They had done their work of distorting the Christian doctrine in Berlin, and now their cart was stuck in the mud and they were beginning to ask whether the proceedings were just or unjust. Furthermore, only preachers from Berlin and Cölln an der Spree were being invited to participate in the colloquy, and they had all been intimidated. "They may hold conferences as often and as long as they like: not one of the Calvinist heretics will let himself be easily converted." ²⁰³

Despite his own protestations, it had from the beginning been the intention of Johann Sigismund to employ his *jus reformandi* to displace Lutheranism in Brandenburg and replace it with his own Reformed confession. As far as he was concerned, he was the ruler and he was a member of the Reformed Church. It was the duty of his people to follow suit and accept his confession as their own. However, by that time the principle *cuius regio*, *eius religio* was difficult to apply successfully in Brandenburg; Lutheranism there was firmly established and the Lutherans had no intention of surrendering their faith. By every means possible, the Lutheran consistory would seek to operate independently and without reference to the plans and intentions of the elector, and it would depend upon the Lutheran nobles to support its efforts.

Johann Sigismund saw that he needed to break the power of the consistory. He attempted to do so by establishing a new body – the *Kirchenrat*, the so-called "Church Council," as suggested by his privy councillors on February 21, 1614. Although the Reformed insisted that it was not the purpose of this new body to displace, in any way, the Lutheran consistory, it was clear to all that this was, in fact, the chief purpose for which it was being established. The charter of the Church Council was to move the

Second Reformation forward and see to it that the "Word of God was being taught purely" in accordance with the Ecumenical Creeds and that all "alien seductive practices, ceremonies, and doctrines" were rejected. It was also to supervise the appointment of pastors and teachers, and see to it that they taught "pure doctrine" and that their moral character was above reproach. The Council must also search out all teachers and pastors who were unworthy of their office and remove them and see to it that a program of strict church discipline was put into effect. According to the Calvinists, the employment of strict discipline to ensure the purity of the church was an essential mark of the church.²⁰⁴

It was Johann Sigismund's plan that the work of the *Kirchenrat* should begin quietly and proceed carefully. He wanted the initial membership to consist of two members of the Reformed Church and two Lutherans. However, the Lutherans recognized at once that this new *Kirchenrat* would take over many of the responsibilities of the consistory, and for this reason they refused to cooperate in its formation. They were determined not to join it and as far as possible to ignore it. Therefore, Johann Sigismund chose a four-member board, consisting only of the Reformed: Solomon Finck, Martin Füssel, Wolf Dietrich von Rochow, and Carl Sachse, with von Rochow presiding.²⁰⁵

The *Kirchenrat* proved to be very unpopular. It met with hostility and opposition everywhere. Johann Köppen, the president of the consistory, set the path by his clear opposition to the *Kirchenrat*, and the clergy and congregations followed suit. Köppen refused to accept any directions from the *Kirchenrat*, even to the point of refusing to observe the mandatory prayer and penitential services it prescribed. Even during the Spanish invasion of the areas in the Rhineland, he refused to follow *Kirchenrat's* directives that called for prayers for victory to be prayed in every Lutheran church. Köppen responded to the order that prayers be made on behalf of the elector, by stating that the Lutherans had no business reciting Calvinist prayers on behalf of a ruler whose religious views they could only regard with great suspicion. This greatly offended Johann Sigismund, but there was really not much he could do about it because any action he took would simply energize Lutheran opposition to him.²⁰⁶

2.5.1 Concerns About the Prospects for the Publication of New Calvinist Literature

In order to move forward his project to press the Calvinist cause, Johann Sigismund needed publishers who would print and disseminate Calvinist literature. Johann Werner, the principal book publisher in Berlin, was unwilling to participate in this endeavor by publishing books "about a new faith." When Hans Kalle indicated that he was willing to collaborate, Johann Sigismund issued him a patent to publish. ²⁰⁷ It was not as difficult to find a publisher in Frankfurt (Oder) where the largest local publishing firm, that of Friedrich Hartmann, had a close relationship with the university. Hartmann's firm subsequently published numerous books authored by Scultetus, Füssel, Finck, Theodorus, and other Calvinists. However, Hartmann came in for some serious criticism from the Calvinists because of his decision to print the anti-Reformed writings of Jakob Heilbrunner and Joachim Westphal. He defended himself by declaring that he was simply putting out a new edition of an old standard work. If anyone complained too bitterly, he could always present in his defense a list of Calvinist books which he had published. The new toleration sponsored by the elector required the careful examination and censorship of all Frankfurt (Oder) faculty materials presented for publication. The elderly Professor Johann Heidenreich was severely criticized by the elector for daring to publish a book which was critical of *Consensus Sandomiriensis* of 1570. ²⁰⁸

2.6 Lutheran Reactions to Elector's Program of Calvinistic Reforms

2.6.1 Calvinistic Polemics Against Lutheran Sacramental Theology and Ceremonies

Writings by advocates of the new Reformation in Brandenburg made it clear what was needed to effect a proper Reformation of the church which, they stated, had been virtually abandoned by the Lutherans. Among such writings were Abraham Scultetus' Berlinische Reformation (The Berlin Reformation), 1614, Ein Christlich und ernst Gespräch (A Conversation, both Christian and Serious), 1614, Auff sonderbahren Befehl und Anordnung (A Noteworthy Instruction and Direction), 1614, which was published under the name of Elector Johann Sigismund. It was actually a reprint of the "Confession of Germany's Reformed Churches," which had earlier been published in Heidelberg. Its preface was written by Scultetus and Privy Councillor Pruckmann. It stated that what was needed was a new Reformation which would finally do away with all that was left of "papal dung," so that "Christ's stable might be clean." Other Calvinist writings included Martin Füssel's Ceremoniae Christianae (Christian Ceremonies), 1616, and Confessio oder Kurtz Glaubens-Bekentnuss (Confessio or Short Confession of Faith), 1615, which was the

elector's personal confession of faith, published in Frankfurt (Oder) in 1615, Jobst Friederich's Ein gar kurtzer Bericht (A Quite Short Account), 1616, Simon Pistoris' the so-called "Düsseldorf Book" of 1613, Zwölff vornehme wolgegründete Haubt-Ursachen (Twelve Distinguished Well Established Principal Causes), Thomas von Knesebeck's Einfältiger Bericht (Simple Report), 1614, Solomon Finck's Sacramentspiegels (Sacramental Mirror), 1614, and Sacraments Spiegels Verklärung (The Transfiguration of the Sacrament Mirror), 1616, Lazarus Theodorus' Synopsis doctrinae (Synopsis of Doctrine), published in Frankfurt (Oder), 1615, et al.

The new reformers claimed that, in the strict sense of the word, they were not attempting to change the church's doctrine but were only concerned to eliminate "improper ceremonies." The truth of the matter was that they were attacking major Lutheran theological emphases in Christology and other areas. In Christology, the attack focused on the doctrine of the communication of attributes (*communicatio idiomatum*) of Christ's divine and human natures and the ubiquity of Christ's divine and human natures in his exultation, and their expression in the corporeal presence of Christ in the consecrated Sacrament, as well as the oral manducation of the body and blood (*manducatio oralis*). Johann Bergius of Frankfurt (Oder) likened the doctrine of ubiquity to a "poison which destroys the gospel message." He characterized it as a step toward the Roman Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, and said that it represented a return to the "papal Mass" and its "magical consecration." Thomas von Knesebeck, a close advisor of the elector, expressed the opinion that if one could do away with the doctrine of ubiquity, the remaining issues were negligible. ²¹¹

From the standpoint of the Reformed, these doctrines were unreasonable and philosophically untenable. They insisted that it was physically impossible for any human body to be in more than one place at a time, and that in any case, the axiom must forever stand which stated that *finitum non capax infiniti* – finite objects cannot be bearers of the infinite. To the Reformed, Christ in heaven cannot also at the same be on earth and present in the bread and wine of the Eucharist. Pistoris condemned this Lutheran teaching, saying that it "turned the Sacrament into a miracle."²¹²

Solomon Finck characterized the Lutheran doctrine of the real presence as blasphemy, and described it as a monstrous "fetish with all its accompanying ceremonies, prostituting the church and turning Lutherans into papists." The elevation, genuflecting, and kneeling before the Sacrament, still found in some places in Brandenburg, must be eliminated, he insisted. He went on to say that the Lutheran consecration simply returned to the medieval "papist notion that the spoken words

²¹⁰ Bergius 1664, 206.

transformed a dead host ... into Christ's living body."214 The Reformed thought the doctrine of manducatio oralis to be utterly abhorrent. Scultetus stated that Satan was up in arms and virtually screaming because the Calvinists had their knives to the throat of his beloved bride - the doctrine of oral manducation. "He wails and screams, 'Help! Calvinists! Murderers!'."215 He warned those who held the doctrine of ubiquity in Berlin that if they overdid it, the "sensible" Lutherans of that city would soon see their errors and cease to criticize the Calvinists.

Special attention had to be given to the elimination of the ceremonies which adorned these "false doctrines" and beguiled people into accepting them. The Calvinists were convinced that the elimination of these ceremonies would topple the "false doctrines" connected with them. They recognized, however, that the elimination of these ceremonies would be no easy matter. It would anger and offend the average simple parishioner. Jobst Friederich had to admit that "the common man especially is greatly angered and offended when those papal ceremonies which have survived in our churches are eliminated."216

Martin Füssel also was against the continued use of Lutheran ceremonies, stating that "he who touches pitch will not remain unsoiled ... just as nobody can walk on burning coals without getting his feet burned." He said as much at the Reformed Communion service at the Berlin Dom which marked the beginning of the Second Reformation in Brandenburg in 1613. He fulminated against the "anti-Christian abominations" which Lutherans still held dear but which, he believed, were idolatrous. "God has commanded us to purge all that which caused and still serves the papal blasphemy not only from our hearts but from our sight as well."217

Calvinists in Berlin were convinced that the Lutheran Reformation in Brandenburg had only increased the "prevalence of idolatry" among the people. Solomon Finck stated that the attempt of the Lutherans to maintain the old ceremonies was nothing more nor less than a futile attempt to mend a badly worn garment with new patches. He stated that when patches were sewn on old garments, those garments would simply rip again.²¹⁸ He further noted that "Martin Luther may have still used these ceremonies," but it was "only because he could not change everything at once."219 Now it was up to them to complete what the Lutherans had been unable to accomplish. Luther had unlocked the door. Now they must open it fully.

The Lutheran doctrine of the corporeal presence of Christ in the Eucharist was the real problem, most Calvinists agreed. Almost all of the objectionable Lutheran ceremonies were closely connected with this "erroneous doctrine." Pistoris as-

²¹⁴ Finck II 1615, 62-63; Nischan 1994, 139.

²¹⁵ Scultetus II 1615, 2; Nischan 1994, 195.

²¹⁶ Friederich 1616; Nischan 1994, 141.

serted: "What superstitious papal ceremonies still survive in the Lutheran Church derive largely from this faulty doctrine."220 What persisted along with the detestable Mass vestments and ceremonies, was the use of unleavened bread in the form of hosts, all of it reminiscent of the Roman Mass. To the Calvinists, this was in itself a clear violation of Christ's clear commands. The use of communion hosts "perpetuated papal superstition" and clearly violated "Christ's commandments," according to Finck. In his eyes, the unleavened hosts were not even real bread. In order to mislead simple people into believing that Christ was present in the elements, the Lutherans went so far as to stamp the sign of the crucifix on the hosts. "Their form, especially the crucifix, that is stamped on the wafer, deludes the common man into believing that Christ is actually present in the bread," asserted Lazarus Theodorus in his Synopsis doctrinae, 1615.²²¹ According to Füssel, the hosts represented a step back toward Rome. In the Lutheran Mass, he stated, one could even smell "the papal sacrifice of the Mass."222

The Calvinists simply could not understand why the Lutherans had not completely cast aside all the "deadliest devices of the Antichrist." They had "divested themselves of the popish anti-Christian devil's works" and his "superstitious idolatry," but they still insisted on using communion hosts, and not only that, but they elevated the host at the consecration, and in this way they were clinging steadfastly to "bread worship." "God wants all popish idols to be eliminated, not only from our hearts but from our sight as well," stated Füssel in his Ceremoniae Christianae. 223 He and other Calvinists were convinced that "it was to these hosts and their elevation during divine service ... that the people both of the upper and the lower classes still at heart clung steadfastly to the popish abomination of veneration of the bread."224 Rector Jacob Fabricius in Danzig asked: "How it could come to pass that in such a small bit of bread, which had neither the taste nor the smell of bread, Christ, a man of six and a half feet, could possibly be contained."225 Lazarus Theodorus stated that the use of hosts had been introduced by Pope Sergius, whose surname was Os porci - the "Pig's nose," and it was a sign of the papal doctrine of the sacrifice of the Mass. Furthermore, these hosts were of such a shape and size that they could scarcely be called "bread."

"They could not be regarded as real bread, for they had neither the name of bread, nor its form and substance, nor its qualities, neither were they to be got from bakers' shops. The crucifix on the hosts was enough in itself to warrant their

²²⁰ Pistoris 1668, 294; Nischan 1994, 137.

²²¹ Theodorus 1615, 164; Nischan 1994, 139.

²²² Füssel 1616, 20; Nischan 1994, 139.

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abolition, for the people were befooled by this sign into thinking that Christ was present in them in His own substance."²²⁶

In an attempt to gradually introduce the Calvinist teaching concerning the Lord's Supper, it was decided to follow the practice which had been in use in Hesse. Gregor Franck drafted a visitation document for inspectoral council, *Entwurf eines Visitationskonsilii*, which stated that the hosts "are baked tolerably thick in some places, in order that those who wish to swallow them should be obliged to grind them with their teeth."²²⁷

The Reformed were equally opposed to any notion that the Words of Christ in the Chief Divine Service were consecratory, and they opposed the practice of Lutheran pastors who turned their backs on the congregation and faced the altar in order to address the Words of Institution directly to the bread and cup, so the Reformed claimed. By doing so, they clearly encouraged "old papist superstitions" and promoted the notion that the "secret murmurings" of the pastor were "creating the Sacrament" 228 – a notion further encouraged by the ringing of the sacring bell. The Lutherans, for their part, declared that the bells "wake up people ... and remind them why they have come to church." The Reformed responded that if the people were sleeping, then it was clear enough that "the Word of God obviously is not proclaimed loudly enough!" 229

The Lutherans had added many "inappropriate ceremonies," but had pointedly rejected the one ceremony which was absolutely essential and which Christ himself had commanded, namely the breaking of the bread. Margrave Johann Georg chided Pastor Gedicke on October 8, 1613: "Your Communion contains still many papal superstitions, yet does not observe the things Christ instituted and ordered us to do." To the Reformed, the ceremony of the breaking of the bread represented a strong repudiation of the doctrine of the real presence.

Under no circumstances could the Reformed look upon the *fractio panis* as an adiaphora. "The fraction … is not an adiaphoron," Thomas von Knesebeck stated, "but a rite that was instituted by Christ himself and therefore had to be followed by all."²³¹ In an attempt to explain why this was so, his contemporary, Lazarus Theodorus, declared: "The issue in this dispute is not whether Christ, the Lord, had broken the bread in the first Communion service, but whether the bread in Holy Communion had to be broken in the Calvinistic manner … and whether Christ … had instituted and ordered it."²³² His own position was that the break-

²²⁶ Theodorus 1615, 164; Janssen X 1906, 315-316.

²²⁷ Tholuck 1861, 263; Janssen X 1906, 316.

²²⁸ Füssel 1616, 18.

²²⁹ Christiana Concordia 1593, 251-252; Nischan 1994, 140.

²³⁰ P. J. J. J. 23 1614 22 N. J. J. 23 1004 120

ing of the bread must be included in the service to assure the faithful that the Lord had been crucified for each and every penitent Christian. At the same time, it needed to be made clear to one and all that the breaking of the bread did not symbolically refer to the breaking of Christ's symbolical flesh in the bread but to his body broken on the cross.

"We follow the command and example of the Lord Jesus, who broke bread," further elaborated Abraham Scultetus. "For when Christ says 'hoc facite,' 'do this,' he meant the entire administration, that is, the actions of both the minister and the communicant." ²³³ Martin Füssel himself wanted to go even further, stating that the breaking of the bread "signifies and seals the breaking of the body of Christ. ... For just as the bread in the Lord's Supper is broken and divided into pieces, so the body of Christ was broken and divided. ... It, therefore, follows that he who denies the fraction ... also denies Christ's suffering and death on the cross." ²³⁴ He called this ceremony the "holy eternal order" and for this reason under no circumstances was it to be omitted.

The Lutherans chose not to make the ceremony of the breaking of the bread anything more than adiaphora which could be either used or eliminated as the pastor and congregation saw fit. Hoë von Hoënegg had summarized the Lutheran position by saying that it was alright to introduce the fraction as a matter of Christian freedom, as long as it was understood that its real purpose was simply to prepare the bread for the distribution. "But it must not be allowed to take the appearance of something necessary."²³⁵

Eminent Orthodox Lutheran theologians, including Abraham Calov, Johann Gerhard, Balthasar Meisner, and David Hollaz, all wrote that it was permissible to practice the ceremony of the breaking of the bread as a practical expedient when the number of hosts was inadequate, but they completely rejected the notion that it was necessary to break the bread in order to have a valid service or that the breaking of the bread had any symbolic significance.²³⁶

The Lutheran position on the *fractio panis* was that it must be regarded as adiaphora. The *Formula of Concord* stated that the command of Christ, "This do," "embraces the entire action or administration in this Sacrament, that in an assembly of Christians bread and wine are taken, consecrated, distributed, received, eaten, drunk, and the Lord's death is shown forth at the same time." The command of Christ is not the ceremony of the *fractio panis*, which is entirely adiaphora in itself, but it encompasses "the entire action of the breaking of bread or of distribution and reception." ²³⁷

²³³ Scultetus I 1615, 28; Nischan 1999, IV-24.

²³⁴ Füssel 1616, 54-55; Nischan 1999, IV-24-25.

²²⁵ II " II 4 44 40 31" 1 4000 IV 0

Gedicke noted, however, that to the Reformed the "breaking of the body of Christ" was taken to be the most important thing in the Communion service, and he noted that this rite was not only completely unnecessary, but it was based on a faulty understanding of symbolism. He stated that the Gospel according to St. John noted that when Christ's body was on the cross, his bones were not broken, which meant that the *fractio panis* as a symbol was not only totally meaningless; it was actually misleading.

"Breaking bread means in the Bible the same as distributing the bread. For if a loaf of bread is to be divided among many it has to be broken. ... However, it is the Calvinists' own invention when they claim that the bread has to be broken to – symbolize the crucifixion of Christ's sacrificial body. Never in all eternity will they be able to prove that this was the reason why Christ instituted the bread." ²³⁸

Gedicke went on to note that the *fractio panis* had become for the Reformed an outward proclamation that Christ is not present in the bread:

"With their theatrical fraction the Calvinists do not merely wish to break the bread, but signify the absent body ... of Christ [in the Sacrament]."²³⁹

The fraction became a point of contention because it was indeed a symbol of a very significant confessional difference between the Lutherans and the Reformed. By employing the fraction, the Reformed demonstrated that they were not Lutheran, and the Lutherans refused to employ it to show their repudiation of "faulty Calvinist theology."²⁴⁰

The list of objectionable Lutheran practices went on and on. It included altars and candles. No respectable Reformed church would ever have an altar with its connotation of sacrifice; in its place, there was a simple communion table on which was placed the bread and wine in appropriate vessels. It is "not the table altars, [but] only the sacrificial altars [which] are to be eliminated," insisted Füssel. Together with altars, candles also were reminiscent of the papal Mass and they were not needed because the Reformed held their Communion service in churches where the light of the sun shone brightly through the windows. "Thanks be to God, we are now able to celebrate the Sacrament during the bright daylight hours and do not need candle light any longer." Scultetus stated that it was not candles but Christ who was "the true light of the world." Apparently to his mind, the use of candles somehow represented a repudiation of Christ.

The Calvinists also thought the Lutheran use of Mass vestments to be closely connected with the doctrine of the real presence, and therefore, also a part of

²³⁸ Nischan 1999, IV-27.

²³⁹ Gedicke 1620; Nischan 1999, II-150.

²⁴⁰ G 1: 1 4(40 G::: G 1: 1 14(45 40 0

Lutheranism's innate Romanism and the Romish sacrifice of the Mass. Scultetus looked upon Mass vestments as the fitting attire of the "Antichrist" and stated that neither Christ nor the apostles wore them. Preachers ought to wear plain and simple clothing - either a black gown or no vestments at all. He contemptuously described the alb as a white "bathrobe" which "belonged in the bathroom" and certainly not in the church.²⁴³ Adam Christian Agricola went so far as to emphatically state that it was inappropriate for the clergy "to dress up with Mass vestments." He clearly stated that this was "vexing and sinful."244 The Reformed position was also clearly articulated by Jobst Friederich who said concerning the ceremonies in the Lord's Supper: "Such things as candles, pictures, albs, chasubles, and Mass vestments generally, are useless and vain papal relics that deform the Lord's Supper more than they adorn it."245

The Reformed found further evidence of "lingering Romanism" in the Lutheran Church in the sign of the cross and the exorcism in the baptismal ritual. Theodorus called the use of the exorcism a superstitious ceremony which caused "many dangerous and horrible errors ... among the common people." 246 It was bad enough that the exorcism was a heritage from pre-Reformation times. Even worse, it gave the impression that Baptism actually did something more than simply point to the fact that sinners are washed by the blood of Christ. This the Reformed thought to be an ex opere operato view which needed to be repudiated. It contributed to the notion that people were to trust in their Baptism, a statement which the Calvinists would hotly deny. Other objectionable features included the blessing of the baptismal candidate with the sign of the cross in token of his redemption by Christ and the continued presence in the church of baptismal fonts. These were nothing but relics of the past which detracted from the true faith.

Also highly objectionable was the practice of emergency Baptism. The Calvinists saw no need for it since the Sacrament did not really do anything and God would surely save his elect whether they were baptized or not. Furthermore, it left Baptism in the hands of midwives and other persons when, of course, Baptism should only take place in proper churches and be performed by worthy clergy in the presence of the congregations. They labeled "Weibertauff" ("Midwives Baptism") improper and stated that often the midwives "were so confused that they did not know what they were saying or doing."247 Writing on emergency Baptism, Finck stated that "it is better that the devil himself, if only he were an appointed preacher, should baptize, than that a Christian woman should do so."248 In all,

²⁴³ Scultetus I 1618, 47; Nischan 1994, 141.

²⁴⁴ Agricola 1628, 242.

²⁴⁵ Friederich 1616; Nischan 1999, II-150.

the fifteen cases cited, Gedicke noted that they had made themselves the "mouth-pieces of the devil." "Let me conclude this little treatise with the following argument against Finck: 'Whosoever is against Christ is of the devil. The Calvinists are against Christ in the articles enumerated; therefore they are of the devil'."²⁴⁹

The Calvinists rejected private confession as well. Scultetus claimed that Luther had perpetuated it only for the sake of the "weak" and for those who were too ignorant to be taught otherwise. He asserted that Luther had never liked it and that before his death he "had abandoned it altogether." He claimed that the Lutheran clergy perpetuated it only for the sake of the money, that is, the so-called "confessional penny" (Germ. *Beichtpfennig*), which they collected from the penitents. The Reformed insisted that "the Lutheran preachers impose auricular confession as a strict obligation, that they forgive sins for half a thaler, which the penitents are compelled to pay, and that they did not concern themselves as to whether those who receive the Sacrament understand the faith. If only the half-thaler is paid, the father confessor will lay his hand on the head of the penitent and say: 'Thy sins are forgiven'." Private confession must be eliminated.

Leonhard Hutter could not deny that the clergy did collect a "penitent's fee" (Germ. *Beichtgeld*) for hearing confession, but he explained that no one was of the opinion that forgiveness came through the payment of the *Beichtgeld*.

"When the pamphleteer tries to convince the people that our penitents imagine that the payment of half a thaler to the confessor gives efficacy to the absolution, he is inventing a wicked, diabolical lie, and villainously calumniating and degrading our Church. We would advise the present-day Calvinist ministers, such as Finck, Füssel, Clotho, and others, to look into their own consciences and to consider well what it is that they have chiefly had regard to hitherto, in their own public confessing and absolving, and which of them, as the tale goes, has received a confession fee of several hundred, if not thousand, imperial thalers, and what bad blood this has made so that Füssel and Finck, it is said, wrestled together and bravely pommelled their Calvinistic heads about it." ²⁵³

Lutheran churches of Brandenburg were "shrines of idolatry" in the eyes of the Reformed. They believed that the artwork in the churches plainly violated the Mosaic Law which prohibited graven images and that art had absolutely no teaching value whatever. They rejected Gedicke's explanation that pictures help simple people to better understand the Word of God by depicting it in their minds so that they receive encouragement in Christian faith and living.²⁵⁴ The Lutherans

²⁴⁹ Gedicke I 1615, 60; Janssen X 1906, 311.

²⁵⁰ Scultetus I 1615, 6-10; Nischan 1994, 144.

²⁵¹ *Scultetus I* 1615, 12.

stated that artworks were not objects of worship and Christians were free to use them, but they were to be instructed in their proper use so that they would not misuse them. To the Reformed, the very presence of religious art in a church was an invitation to misuse it. Finck declared that no one could ever persuade him that pictures do not encourage superstition and idolatry.

"How then can you state that you do not love the pictures, do not revere them, and do not fear them? How can you contend that all abuses must be abolished? How can you deny that the pictures do not bring superstition and false devotion into the hearts of your hearers? That is why it is much safer to abolish such things than to build up them, for God will share his glory to no wood or idol." ²⁵⁵

Scultetus declared that religious art had convinced people that God the Father was a "decrepit and weak old man" and that the Holy Spirit was a "bird." "Who is responsible for such ignorance?" he cried.²⁵⁶ Füssel abominated pictures of the Virgin. He stated that "paintings of the Virgin Mary are like papal concubines or adulterer's whores" which "mislead and seduce the common man," but do nothing for his piety.²⁵⁷

The Reformed rejected the religious art and decorations in the churches as detrimental to true spiritual worship. Pastors should instruct their people by the words they say, not by pointing them to pictures, they insisted. Luther had said that when the pure gospel was proclaimed, the idols which mitigated against it would fall of their own weight. Scultetus disagreed. He declared that this had clearly not happened. The mere existence of pictures would lead to their misuse, therefore the fact that pictures still existed was from the point of view of the Calvinists an indication that idolatry was still wide-spread among the Lutherans. "You have now preached against idols for over fifty years, but instead of declining their number actually has increased. When are you finally going to get rid of these things?" The Reformed were also incensed by the fact that the Lutherans used art to illustrate their doctrinal positions in matters such as the real presence.

Music, too, was a sore point. The Calvinists did not approve the use of the organ as a solo and virtuoso instrument, and they objected to the use of any music that had not been written exclusively for religious use. They rejected the Lutheran choral and medieval hymns and restricted themselves to metrical hymns, based on the psalms and other words of Scripture. They complained about the continued use in Lutheran services of elements of the Latin ordinary of the Mass; they rejected the gospel motet in Latin, as well as other Latin motets, some of which, they claimed, only reintroduced into the Lutheran Mass the "Offertory"

²⁵⁵ Finck II 1615, 78.

and communion verses which had been eliminated in the Reformation era. They insisted upon the elimination of all Latin in the divine services, claiming that it was "sinful" to include in the service anything that was not in the vernacular.

Reformed preachers in Brandenburg did not reject the church year as such, but they insisted that the Lutherans had retained many observances which perpetuated superstition and "Roman errors" and which must be eliminated. Furthermore, in comparison with other German territories, the calendar of the Brandenburg Church was especially rich, and even after the reforms instituted by the theological commission in 1598, the calendar still included in addition to the three Marian Days (Annunciation, Visitation, and Purification), the feast of the Holy Cross and *Corpus Christi*, as well as All Saints Day and the commemoration of St. Catherine, St. Mary Magdalene, St. Martin of Tours, St. Michael the Archangel, St. Chrysostom, St. Augustine, and St. Jerome.²⁵⁹ It was a point of Lutheran doctrine that the saints were not to be venerated, but that Christians should thank God for their faith and example and seek to emulate them, as the *Confessions* stated, as Gedicke noted.²⁶⁰

Particularly repugnant to the Reformed was the continued inclusion of the feast of *Corpus Christi* which celebrates the real presence. The elector's privy councillors identified it as the "source of all abominations." ²⁶¹ Lutherans, however, looked at the matter quite differently and considered this festival day from a completely different point of view. In his 1608 *Kirchen Calender*, Silesian Pastor Martin Behm told his readers that *Corpus Christi* Day was important because it was a reminder to the people of the importance of Holy Communion. He stated that Lutherans honor "the true *Corpus Christi* of Jesus Christ, our sole Savior, to whom we pray daily; we do not adore the bread because it is not substantially transformed into the body of Christ." ²⁶²

The privy council's plan, formulated in February 1614, stated that a reform of the calendar must be undertaken at once and that it must eliminate the Marian Days, together with the commemorations of Mary Magdalene and Michael the Archangel, and the Celebration of *Corpus Christi*. The Reformed complained that there were still far too many apostles' days and days commemorating the church fathers in the calendar, and Agricola stated that it was God's desire that he should be worshiped only on Sunday and that the rest of the week should be spent in "good hard labor." Holding church services during the week encouraged "idleness and dissipation," according to his thinking. "What good the large number of church festivals has wrought, is quite apparent," warned another polemicist. "On no regular workday do people engage in as much gluttony, carousing, blas-

²⁵⁹ Müller II 1906, 289; Nischan 1994, 154.

phemy, idleness, lust, lewdness, fornication, dancing, gaming, and the like, as on these feast days."263

The Brandenburg Lutherans loved their ceremonies, traditions, customs, music, art, and other matters termed "ceremonial," and intended to keep them in so far as they were not inherently contrary to the gospel. They saw them as aids to the propagation of God's Word and as valuable means of instruction. Gedicke was not alone in defending the Lutheran position. Pastor Philipp Arnoldi of Tilsit in the Duchy of Prussia wrote a substantial volume in defense of Lutheran ceremonies and customs. Ceremonial matters were, according to the Lutheran Confessions, adiaphora, that is, they were matters which in themselves were innocuous and were not to be regarded as worship in the proper sense. One was free to use them or not. They were matters which should be neither commanded nor forbidden.²⁶⁴ However, the Calvinists made ceremonies an issue. To them, they were not matters of indifference. They were instances of "papal abomination," which could no longer be tolerated because they "spread idolatry" in the church. Füssel stated that "even though vestments, burning candles, and similar items are in and by themselves unimportant ..., they actually are not adiaphora but anti-Christian abominations since they are the tools ... of Antichrist."265 By means of constant verbal and printed attacks on their ceremonies and customs, the Lutherans came to understand that their confessional identity was at stake, and for this reason, they could no longer be regarded as indifferent. They must be defended.

The perplexed Calvinists wondered why, if Lutherans regarded ceremonies as indifferent, they still continued to use them instead of adopting a minimalist point of view similar to their own. The Lutheran explanation that the Reformation did not signal a new beginning but a continuation of ceremonies, which are not in themselves harmful or contrary to the gospel, was to them simply unreasonable.

In order to justify the anti-ceremonial attitude, the Reformed quoted Luther himself. Jobst Friederich asserted that it was the Lutherans, and not the Reformed, who had departed from Luther's teachings. "The Reformed hold much more rigidly and firmly to Luther's doctrine than those false Lutherans who invoke the reformer's name but actually have departed from his basic teachings."266 Abraham Scultetus argued from a similar point of view. "You Lutherans may quarrel with our teachings, but you cannot shoot a single arrow at us that would not first also pierce the heart of Dr. Luther."267 He went on to assert that if Luther were still alive today, he would approve what was being done in Berlin.²⁶⁸

²⁶³ Christiana Concordia 1593, 314; Nischan 1994, 157.

²⁶⁴ Arnoldi 1616, A2-A3.

²⁶⁵ Füssel 1616, 11; Nischan 1994, 160.

The problem with the Lutherans was that they did not properly understand Luther. "Once they understood Luther's true opinions about ceremonies, the Berliners would stop criticizing" the Reformed, for Luther was clearly opposed to ceremonies, Scultetus insisted.²⁶⁹

Unfortunately for Scultetus and the Calvinists, Luther had spoken about the Sacrament of the Altar and appropriate ceremonies before his death, and now his words came as if from the grave itself:

"... if any one shall say after my death, 'If Luther were living now, he would teach and hold this or that article differently, for he did not consider it sufficiently,' etc., let me say once and for all that by the grace of God I have most diligently traced all these articles through the Scriptures, have examined them again and again in the light thereof, and have wanted to defend all of them as certainly as I have now defended the Sacrament of the Altar. I am not drunk or irresponsible. I know what I am saying, and I well realize what this will mean for me before the Last Judgment at the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ. Let no one make this out to be a joke or idle talk; I am in dead earnest, since by the grace of God I have learned to know a great deal about Satan. If he can twist and pervert the Word of God and the Scriptures, what will he not be able to do with my or someone else's words?" 270

When Luther had come to see that Martin Bucer had made changes to Bugenhagen's Psalter and had added his own thoughts to it and that an anonymous tract had asserted that Erasmus, Luther, Melanchthon, Bugenhagen, and all the others in Wittenberg were in agreement with the Sacramentarians, he had exclaimed: "What will happen to us after we are dead, if such things take place while we are still alive?" ²⁷¹

Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg, chief court preacher to the elector of Saxony, stated in 1606:

"The ungrateful cuckoos, although without Luther they would still be sunk in papal abominations," they always "delight in improving on, censuring, blaming, condemning, and slandering the great teacher and divinely enlightened evangelist of Germany."²⁷²

In 1614, Leonhard Hutter published his *Gründliche und Nothwendige Antwort* (*Fundamental and Necessary Response*), in which he warned his readers that they must be alert to the misuse of Luther's statements by Brandenburg Calvinists:

"The Berlin propagandists unabashedly appeal to Luther's authority and writings, but do so with the greatest insincerity. I therefore intend to show to the Christian

²⁶⁹ Scultetus II 1614, E; Nischan 1994, 135.

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reader ... with what treachery Calvinists operate and how they mislead people by perverting and distorting Dr. Luther's words."²⁷³

The Lutherans themselves saw no need to eliminate ceremonies which did not need to be eliminated and saw Calvinist insistence upon their elimination as an indication that they dare not eliminate them. They regarded Calvinist attacks on their ceremonies as insulting and not to be taken lightly but rather to be seen as an incitement to insist upon their use.

2.6.2 The Lutheran Response

The anti-polemic edict of Johann Sigismund made it a dangerous matter in Brandenburg for anyone to publish or spread statements defending Lutheranism against Calvinism. Toleration worked only one way. The Calvinists were free to malign Lutherans and Lutheran doctrine, but any Lutheran who returned the favor was promptly accused of "shouting, damning, cursing, storming, and scolding."²⁷⁴ The Lutherans were well aware that Gedicke and others had found it necessary to flee, and they themselves might suffer the same fate. Consequently, any anti-Calvinist literature came mostly from Saxony and Pomerania. In Prussia as well, there was still a great deal of independence from Brandenburg and from there literature was produced defending the church against the anti-Lutheran provocations of Finck, Scultetus, Füssel, and others.

Simon Gedicke, who was now serving as superintendent of Merseburg in neighboring Saxony, continued to write against the Calvinists in Berlin. In 1615, he responded to Finck's Sacrament Spiegel (Sacramental Mirror) by writing his Abfertigung, der Sacramentirischen Bespiegelung (Rejoinder to Fink's Sacramentarian Mirror), in which he warned that faithful Christians in Berlin and Cölln an der Spree must be on the alert against false "birds" like Finck, the "finch," which, like birds on the weather vane, change direction according which way the wind is blowing.²⁷⁵

Gedicke defended such Lutheran ceremonies as kneeling and genuflecting, stating that these honored Christ and his presence in the Sacrament. In his 1615 *Von den Ceremonien bey dem Heiligen Abendmahl (Concerning the Ceremonies of the Lord's Supper)*, he declared: "We pay homage to our secular rulers with external ceremonies like kneeling and removing our hats." He went on to suggest that believers should certainly honor Christ in the Lord's Supper in a similar manner. "We therefore must hold the Holy Sacrament in high regard ... as a warning to

²⁷³ Hutter II 1614, "Vorrede;" Nischan 1999, I-212.

guard against the Calvinists' poisonous sacramental fanaticism," as he wrote in his 1598 postil.²⁷⁶

Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg of Dresden, supreme court preacher to Elector Johann Georg of Saxony, was a tireless opponent of the new Reformation. His 1614 polemical book was entitled: *Gar kurtzer aber Gründlicher deutlicher und unwiedertreiblicher Beweiß* (*Brief, yet Thoroughly Clear and Irrefutable Proof of the Blasphemous and Abominable Doctrines of the Calvinists and Sacramentarians* ...). In it, he sounded an alarm so that Lutherans would be alerted to the symptoms and characteristics of "that horrible disease," called Calvinism, "which has recently spread like a cancer."

In 1615, Hoë followed this with the publication of *Triumphus calvinisticus* (*Triumphus Calvinisticus*: *A Response to the Calvinist Dialogue, Recently Published at Berlin...*). Here he presented a detailed response to the writings of Scultetus and warned his readers that major doctrinal differences separated Lutherans from Calvinists.

Jakob Heilbrunner contributed to the many warnings about the dangers of Calvinism in his *Synopsis Doctrinae Caluinianae*. *Summarischer begriff, vnd gegründte Widerlegung der Zwinglischen vnd Caluinischen Lehre* (*Synopsis of Calvinist Doctrine*. *A Summary and Thorough Refutation of Zwinglian and Calvinist Doctrine*), 1592. He sought to warn the Brandenburgians against "the disease of Calvinism" which, he said, was spreading "like cancer."²⁷⁸

In 1595, he published the second volume of warning, his *Synopsis Doctrinae Caluinianae altera* (Second Synopsis of Calvinist Doctrine. Repeated Exposition of All Calvinist Errors, Between the Pure Doctrines of the Augsburg Confession and Their Disputed Religious Articles, Together with a Fundamental Refutation of Their Apology and Arguments). The purpose of this *Synopsis* was to provide an exposition of Calvinist positions and point out the errors of each of them.

One of the most outspoken advocates of the Lutheran confessions was Leonhard Hutter of Wittenberg University. In 1614, he published *Calvinista Aulico-Politicus Alter (Calvinist Court Politics, Part Two*), directed against the Calvinist encroachments in Brandenburg, and he encouraged Lutherans to continue steadfast in the true faith and contend boldly against the new religion of the Brandenburg court.²⁷⁹

Professors Friedrich Balduin and Balthasar Meisner of Wittenberg also published refutations of the charge that the Lutherans had abandoned the Reformation.

In neighboring Pomerania, Superintendents Daniel Cramer, Conrad Schlüsselburg, and Barthold von Krakewitz were the leading critics of the new Reformation. Schlüsselburg, superintendent and theological professor at Stralsund, complained against General Superintendent Pelargus that he was guilty of gross dereliction of

²⁷⁶ Gedicke 1609, 153-156; Nischan 1999, VI-214.

duty because he had been willing to accept the new theology instead of staunchly maintaining the church's faith, as expressed in the *Formula of Concord*. He had failed, just as in earlier days Melanchthon had failed, to speak out to staunch the spread of the "Calvinist poison." In his 1614 tract, *Erstes Schreiben D. Schlusselburgij an D. Pelargium (First Writing of Dr. Schlüsselburg to Dr. Pelargus*), Schlüsselburg put to Pelargus a penetrating question, asking whether he intended to join the Lutherans in defending the truth of the *Book of Concord*, as taken from God's Word, or whether it was his intention to tie up with the Calvinists.²⁸⁰ "Let the Calvinists go their way, like the devil's servants that they are, and do you join with us in defending and fighting for the heavenly truth reiterated in the *Book of Concord*, and formerly acknowledged by you yourself?"²⁸¹

He recalled that the medieval theologian, Berengar of Tours, and Johannes Oecolampadius of Basel, who denied the truth, had come to a bad end, and Daniel Cramer, pastor and professor at Stettin, solemnly warned on November 11, 1614, that Pelargus was "in very truth too great an apostate or renegade to escape the thunderbolts of God." ²⁸²

The most outspoken critic of Pelargus was former Brandenburg Court Preacher Gedicke who in 1617 published *Pelargus Apostata* (*Pelargus, the Apostate, or a Short but True Report of how Dr. Christopher Pelargus, Pastor and Professor at Frankfurt (Oder), as well as General Superintendent in Mark-Brandenburg, Shamefully Deserted Our True Lutheran Religion, and Became an Abominable Mamluk and Turncoat Calvinist). In this book, Gedicke referred to Pelargus as "a dog without a bark," "a hypocritical coward," who had himself fallen from the faith and had become a "Calvinist apostate." "In order to please men, you have scandalously denied the Lord Christ." ²⁸³*

In the Duchy of Prussia, it was Johann Behm, professor *primarius* of the theological faculty at Königsberg and the court preacher, who took the leading role in defending Lutheranism and attacking the Berlin reformers. Because Prussia still retained a large measure of independence over against Brandenburg, Johann Sigismund's edict had a little effect there, and anti-Calvinist literature came freely off the Königsberg presses. In his 1614 tract, *Gantz Trewhertzige Warnung (Faithful Warning to Each and Every Subject of the Duchy of Prussia, in Order to Protect Them from the Accursed Zwinglian or Calvinist Sect)*, he warned that like the devil they had learned to "glibly quote Holy Scriptures" for their own purposes in order "to lead people astray and to destroy their souls." He was able to prevent Calvinist inroads in the university by provoking the faculty to reject any right of the elector to make appointments there. In

²⁸⁰ Schlüsselburg 1614; Janssen X 1906, 308.

²⁸¹ Schlüsselburg 1614; Janssen X 1906, 308.

⁰⁸² District 1: California 1016 F04 (California V 100 Canada

1614, Sigismund attempted to appoint to the faculty of Law Andreas Krebs, a recent graduate of the University of Basel, who was understood to have Calvinist sympathies. This attempt was rebuffed.²⁸⁵

Another important combatant in the Duchy of Prussia was Pastor Adam Praetorius of Schaaken. In 1614, he wrote *Refutatio Pseudolutherani Martini Fusselii (The Refutation of the Pseudo-Lutheran Martin Füssel*). He stated that Füssel's confession of faith was not a confession at all; it was instead an admission "of perfidy." ²⁸⁶

Finck's *Sacrament Spiegel* provoked Friedrich Wagner, a graduate of Wittenberg teaching at Königsberg, to publish in 1616 a detailed refutation, *Fincken Spiegels* (*The Finck Mirror: A Reply to that Blind and Superstitious Sacramental Mirror*).²⁸⁷ He characterized Finck as a "*Schwärmer*" ("fanatic") who always supported whatever opinion was currently in fashion.²⁸⁸ He warned his readers that they must not allow themselves be mislead by Finck's criticisms of the Lutheran Lord's Supper.

The 1617 volume, *Monstrum Cinglio-calviniarum* (*The Monstrous Zwinglianism and Calvinism*), gave a history of the sacramental controversy, started by Berengar of Tours in the eleventh century when he insisted that only the true believers receive the body of Christ in the Supper. In the opinion of Wagner, Karlstadt, Zwingli, Oecolampadius, and Calvin had all fallen victim to this error. "This Calvinist doctrine, in short, has become the root of all sorts of abominable blasphemies," he asserted.²⁸⁹

In 1614, Arnoldi's, Confessio vera & Lutherana, Oder Warhafftige Glaubens Bekentnuß (A Confession, True and Lutheran, or a Truthful Confession of the Faith), responded to Füssel's statements that it was the new Reformation which really represented true Lutheran theology. He showed that Zwingli, Oecolampadius, Calvin, Füssel, and others had clearly stated that their position was contrary to that of the Lutherans. His Caeremoniae Lutheranae (Concerning Lutheran Ceremonies), 1616, sought to refute the iconoclastic new reformers by defending every single liturgical ceremony which the Reformed rejected. Plane of the Lutheranae (Plane) is the Reformed rejected.

All these writings were meant to encourage the Brandenburgians to stand firm in their confessional Lutheranism and refuse to be misled by the new reformers. Numerous theologians and preachers everywhere denounced Calvinism with much vehemence.

Among the leading critics of the Brandenburg Calvinists was the aforementioned Matthias Hoë, the court preacher of the elector of Saxony, who declared that he was overjoyed by the prospect of exposing their errors. He said that

²⁸⁵ Nischan 1994, 172.

²⁸⁶ Praetorius 1614, "Vorrede" A2.

²⁸⁷ Fincken Spiegels ... zu entgegen dem vermeineten, blinden, Aberglaubigen Sacrament Spiegel, 1616.

²⁸⁸ Wagner 1614, 10.

he could "take no more pleasure in life if compelled to be silent concerning the Calvinistic horrors and soul murderers in the Mark-Brandenburg." ²⁹²

In his, *Grundlicher* ... *Beweis von den gotteslasterlichen Reden der Calvinisten* (Well-Grounded ... *Proof of the Blasphemous Talks of the Calvinists*), Hoë made the statement that "a true Calvinist must learn how to slander and revile the Lutherans." He went on to state that the Calvinists had a well-worn catalog of anti-Lutheran epithets, originally coined by Calvin and Theodore Beza. "He must learn to call us cannibals, blood-suckers, men-eaters, as Calvin and Beza call us repeatedly, and as we are also called in their public confession." "He must call us eaters of the Lord God, as Beza does. He must learn, with Beza, to call us God-gobblers. He must learn to ring the changes on all that is foul ... also to ask the young boys and girls whether there can be anything left of Christ since the Lutherans have been eating Him for such a long while? Whether they will not soon have quite eaten Him up? Whether any morsels of Him are left sticking on their teeth? Lying, denying, and slandering are their daily bread."²⁹³

The Berlin Calvinists, for their part, responded by seeking to show from Luther's own writings that the "great reformer" himself had taught doctrines which Hoë was condemning as Calvinistic. Had not Luther taught, as Calvin did, that "God had caused the fall of Adam and Eve?" wondered Scultetus aloud.²⁹⁴ In *The Bondage of the Will* had not Luther taught about this, asked Theodorus, and if so, how could Lutherans decry it "as the worst possible heresy and a sacrilege?" Since "Luther had written this," they should "hold their tongues," since the *Formula of Concord* said that *The Bondage of the Will* was Luther's finest book.²⁹⁵

To the contrary, Hoë pointed to "the godly zeal against the Sacramentarian abominations in which Luther, the saintly man, had died." He noted as well "to the energy and skill with which he had refuted them, and condemned them to the abyss of hell." Hoë stated that by means of the "Berlin Calvinist crowd" the devil had shaken out his "incense-powder" and left an "ungodly smell" behind him. 296 In 1618, Hoë wrote with chagrin that "in the Mark of Brandenburg the devil has now established a Calvinistic stronghold." 297 In yet another pamphlet, he asserted that the ninety-nine points of Calvinistic doctrine were "in agreement with the Arians and the Turks." 298 The Lutheran pastor at Hohenleina in Electoral Saxony, Zacharias Faber, was willing to take the matter even further. He stated that he

²⁹² Janssen X 1906, 311-312.

²⁹³ Hoë I 1614, 323-324; Janssen X 1906, 313-314.

²⁹⁴ Scultetus II 1615, 75; Janssen X 1906, 314.

²⁹⁵ Theodorus 1615, 16; Janssen X 1906, 314.

could bring forward two hundred, if need be three hundred, proofs to show that the "Calvinistic doctrine was far worse than that of the devil." ²⁹⁹

In his *Gründliche und Nothwendige Antwort* (*Thorough and Necessary Answer*), which was a response to the Berlin *Newe Zeitung* (*New Tidings*) of Hans Knorr and Benedict Hobrecht, Hutter stated that "it almost seems as if God now, as in the days of the impious King Ahab, was allowing the devil to trouble the whole of Israel, and as if a false spirit of lying were in the mouths of all Calvinistic prophets and preachers." He stated that he was not writing to answer the falsehoods of these writers but rather to provide reassurance for perplexed souls. Hobrecht declared that "cursing and slandering" were common day occurrences among the Lutherans, and Hutter replied that if this were true, the falsehood could not be laid at the feet of Lutheran doctrine. If one were to follow Hobrecht's arguments closely, the doctrines of the Calvinists would have to "be condemned as false and erroneous simply and solely on this same ground," because such "sins as cursing, swearing, blasphemy, gluttony and drunkenness, fornication and profligacy were just as much, if not more, in vogue in the Calvinist Church as in the Lutheran."

The battle between the Lutherans and the Reformed gave rise to many polemical writings. Within two years of the announcement of Johann Sigismund's conversion over one hundred writings appeared asserting one side against the other. From Johann Sigismund's conversion until his death in 1619, no less than 225 such writings appeared. Another twenty appeared in 1620, and it was not until 1622 that the number of such writings began to decline.³⁰¹ No doubt, the initiation of the Thirty Year's War was largely responsible for this decline.

2.6.3 Calvinistic Influences on the Brandenburg Educational System

Johann Sigismund and his Calvinist reformers saw the necessity of making use of the education system to spread their new Reformation and its theology. The specifics of their plan were laid down in a Twelve Point Program, which was formulated by the Privy Council in February 1614. It specifically designated the Joachimsthal Grammar School and the University of Frankfurt (Oder) as schools which should be reformed and then serve to spearhead the new Reformation.

Margrave Johann Georg, one of the most outspoken advocates of this Calvinist Reformation, declared to the elector in December 1615:

"It is very important that well-known and highly educated professors and preceptors be appointed at the prince's school and at the university. Special care must be taken that only people who confess the true Reformed faith are chosen as teachers." 302

The most important and proper seminaries for the church and state would be the two academic institutions where the Second Reformation was to be promoted and from there would come the necessary ministers, teachers, and state officials who would serve the new Calvinist society.

The Joachimsthal grammar school in the Uckermark had been established by Joachim Friedrich for the education of future statesmen and servants of the church. From its inception, the school and its teachers had been inclined toward the irenic quasi-Lutheranism of the Melanchthonians, who were favorably disposed toward Calvinism. In fact, the headmaster Samuel Dresemius had studied at Heidelberg, the cradle of Calvinist thought. His appointment in 1610 would certainly be supported by Johann Sigismund who by that time was preparing to openly declare his Calvinist persuasion. Two members of the privy council, Abraham von Dohna and Friedrich Pruckmann, devised and pushed the agenda to make Joachimsthal a Calvinist stronghold. They suggested that Heidelberg Court Chaplain Scultetus should be invited to visit Joachimsthal and formulate recommendations for its calvinization.³⁰³

In September 1614, Scultetus arrived at Joachimsthal together with the elector, and soon Joachimsthal was flying the Calvinist flag. Lutheran liturgical services were curtailed. Ceremonial worship and the use of Latin were banned, and the Sacrament was to be celebrated only in the Reformed manner with the *fractio panis* as the central act. There was to be no talk of the ubiquity of Christ's presence or the real presence, or oral manducation. Baptisms, if any such were to be performed in the school chapel, were to be cleansed of such "papist abominations" as the exorcism and the sign of the cross. All teachers, the staff, the headmaster, and both the pastor and deacon were to publicly confirm their acceptance of the *Confessio Sigismundi*. Open toleration could demand no less.³⁰⁴

Still, more important was the process of calvinization at the University of Frankfurt (Oder), the *Viadrina*, the theological faculty which had formerly been Lutheran Orthodox. Among its professors had been two of the writers responsible for the *Formula of Concord*, Andreas Musculus and Christoph Corner. They had set the Orthodox tone in the faculty. Apart from the theological faculty, the university largely held to an irenic Melanchthonian position, partially due to the influence of Georg Sabinus, the son-in-law of Melanchthon, and since 1555, a pro-

fessor of rhetoric. Anti-Melanchthonianism in Saxony had moved some students to come to Frankfurt (Oder), and close ties had developed between the university and humanists, and to some extent also with Reformed leaders in the Lowlands and the University of Leiden. The faculties of Law, Medicine, and Philosophy had never formally subscribed to the *Formula of Concord*, and it was clear that some members of the theological faculty, notably Urban Pierius, and later Christoph Pelargus and Johann Heidenreich, had their own intellectual reservations concerning the *Formula*, even though they had signed it. In 1610, two years after Johann Sigismund assumed the electorate, the statutes of the university were revised, and the new statutes made it no longer necessary for any member of any faculty of the university to subscribe the *Formula of Concord*.³⁰⁵

The position of Orthodox Lutherans in the faculty of theology was weakened by the deaths of Andreas Wenzel in 1613 and Jakob Ebert in 1614. Pelargus and Heidenreich, the remaining professors were at best lukewarm toward the *Formula* and had no reservations about following the terms of Johann Sigismund's February 24, 1614, Anti-polemical Edict. The first specifically Reformed professor to be brought to Frankfurt (Oder) by Johann Sigismund was Johann Bergius, a Pomeranian, who had studied at Heidelberg, Saumur, Cambridge, and Leiden. He was made associate professor in 1614 and full professor in 1616. In 1616, Wolfgang Crell, who had studied at Calvinist institutions in Bremen and Marburg, and had served Moritz of Hesse-Kassel, accepted a call to the *Viadrina*. When Heidenreich died in 1617, Gregor Franck was named to replace him. He was the third avowed Calvinist on the faculty. To support their theological positions, the university's statutes were altered on August 17, 1616, to state that "henceforth the doctrine of ubiquity ... and the manducation of Christ's body in the Lord's Supper no longer are to be taught at this university."

These actions put the theological faculty firmly in the hands of Calvinists. Such changes provoked a strong reaction by some Lutheran theologians outside Brandenburg. Johann Affelmann, professor at Rostock, wrote: "The Calvinist dragon, will henceforth ravage the fold of Christ at Frankfurt." ³⁰⁷

³⁰⁵ Hering 1778, 325-327; Mühlpfordt 1981, 27, 70-71; Nischan 1999, XI-222.

³⁰⁶ Printed in Cyprian 1726, (Beylage No. V) 75-77; Hering 1784, 38 ff.; Nischan 1994, 129, 244.

Affelmann went on to suggest that the locusts spoken of in the Book of Revelation "were

2.6.4 Public Disturbances in Berlin over the "Iconoclastic Reformation"

By the early months of 1615, Johann Sigismund, his court, and his Reformed preachers were convinced that the time was now ripe to begin the forced Reformation of the churches in Berlin. First attention would be given to the cathedral. While the church had remained Lutheran, Reformed services had regularly been held there since Johann Sigismund's Christmas Communion service of 1613. Now the ground had been adequately prepared for the planting of the Calvinist seed. The people of Berlin, however, did not share this opinion. Whenever a Reformed preacher appeared in the pulpit of the cathedral, he was met by the boos and hisses of disgruntled parishioners. "The common mob behaved very disorderly ... and with shoutings and curses." 308

Johann Sigismund, acting on the advice of Scultetus, sought to end the disturbances of this "unruly mob" and create a peaceful place of worship for Calvinists. On Trinity Sunday, June 20, 1614, he announced that from that day forward the cathedral would be a Reformed house of worship.³⁰⁹

The Calvinists could not tolerate that the cathedral church still bore witness to its Lutheran pedigree with epitaphs, holy pictures, crucifixes, life-size statues of Christ and the Apostles, and a large gilt wooden crucifix at the entrance to the choir. They had no desire to worship in the church in which there were such manifest evidences of "papal idolatry." In other German lands where Calvinism now held sway, all such "remnants of the papacy" had long since been cast out and the churches were suitably barren. Still, present evidence of a Catholic past in the cathedral was seen as an embarrassment in need of speedy correction.

In March 1615, two weeks before Easter, while Margrave Johann Georg was acting as governor on behalf of his absent brother, Elector Johann Sigismund, he decided that the "idols" could be tolerated not one day longer.

The work of desecration began at once. Both of the altars, the triptychs, pictures, crucifixes, the baptismal font, the life-size statues of Christ and the apostles, and together with them, all of the images were removed. The more valuable liturgical vessels were sent to the elector's treasury to be cataloged among his assets. Many of the paintings and panels were moved to the Lutheran chapel in the palace where services were held for Electress Anna and her daughters. The twelve gilded statues of the apostles and the statue of Christ with his apostles were put into storage in the Küstrin fortress. The artwork was destroyed and the large gilded crucifix was taken down, sawed apart into small pieces, and thrown into the River Spree.³¹⁰



Berlin Cathedral 1536-1747. Copper engraving by Johann David Schleuen, c. 1747 (Wikimedia Commons).

In earlier times, before the desecration of the church, a visiting Polish Roman Catholic bishop, who attended at a Divine Service in the Berlin Cathedral, said that he found little difference between it and a Roman Catholic liturgy.311 After the desecration, Philipp Hainhofer, an appreciative contemporary artist from Augsburg who appreciated Calvinist austerity, spoke in glowing terms about the "redecoration" of the cathedral. He described it as "a beautiful, huge bright church, from which all altars, panels, pictures, and crucifixes have been removed. Except for the green railings and carpets, it is now completely white inside."312

Reformed preacher Füssel lost no time in offering thanks in his Palm Sunday sermon that God had cleansed his house of

worship of "papal idolatry." "God through his prophets enjoins us to remove all blasphemous pictures." Not a few of the Lutherans present began to murmur that religious objects were sacred to them. Füssel coldly replied: "If you insist that pictures are the laity's Bible, then go visit some of the other churches."313

The result was an open conflict. Rumors spread quickly through Berlin that in the course of this thorough desecration of the old cathedral Füssel had referred to the image of St. Peter as *Hurenbild*, emblematic of whoredom. In reaction, Deacon Peter Stuler of St. Peter's Church in his sermon lashed out against the iconoclastic activities of the Reformed. He said: "The Calvinists call our place of worship a whorehouse ...; they strip our churches of pictures and now wish to tear the Lord Jesus Christ from our hearts as well." He stated that if they wanted to reform a church, they should start with the Reformed Church of Jülich. "If you wish to reform, then go to Jülich - there you will find plenty to reform."314

His words strengthened the resolve of many local citizens to take their anger out on the Reformed clergy and other Calvinists and "ring their necks." About one hundred citizens continued to mill around after the service. The next day Stuler further agitated the people by running about anxiously, stating that he might

³¹¹ Müller I 1906, 342; Iserloh, Glazik, Jedin 1980, 423-424.

be put to death by decapitation because of his bold words. This led a number of younger people to pledge that they would guard his house and protect him. They were encouraged by Stuler's wife who served them beer. By that evening, some 500 protectors had gathered and were becoming hard to manage. Some had drunk far more beer than was good for them and began to prowl the streets looking for Calvinists. They gathered outside the homes of court preachers Carl Sachse and Füssel and before long rocks were flying and windows were breaking.³¹⁵

When Margrave Johann Georg was awakened by a servant and told about the disorder, he dressed and went with a protective escort of eight horsemen and about one dozen or so soldiers to confront the mob. He hoped in this way to calm the mob, but his appearance only agitated the people because they thought that he had come to arrest Stuler. They immediately turned on him, calling him a "damn black Calvinist" who had stolen their pictures and destroyed their crucifixes. Now he and his Calvinist preachers would get what was coming to them. A shot was fired, perhaps by Johann Georg himself in an attempt to startle the crowd. It set off a volley of gunshots by armed men on both sides. Those who had no gun started to pelt the soldiers with stones. One stone struck the margrave himself and he decided that it was time for him and his men to leave. Georg Jahnen, the Lutheran mayor of the city, tried to restore calm but his efforts were fruitless. The crowd was by this time unmanageable. The homes of both Füssel and Sachse were broken into and both men were forced to flee. Füssel in his nightshirt escaped across the roof to a



Strong reaction provoked by the desecration of the Berlin Lutheran Cathedral (*Vier Blätter zur Preussisch-Brandenburgischen Staatengeschichte*, Daniel Nikolaus Chodowiecki, 1790).

neighbor's house, while the mob vandalized his house.³¹⁶ After the tumult came to an end, he appeared in the pulpit on Good Friday in what could only be described as unusual apparel, namely in an undergarment and green camisole which were

the only clothing he had left.³¹⁷ Finck faired somewhat better. The crowd let him off with a warning: "Don't show your face, Finch, or you will swim like a Duck!"³¹⁸

Johann Sigismund, who had been keeping Holy Week by going hunting, immediately returned to Berlin. He ordered a 300 men militia to keep order in Berlin and Cölln and issued arrest warrants for those he suspected of having instigated the riots. The chief suspects were twelve young working men who had been seen leaving the city on Tuesday morning carrying large bundles. Stuler was not yet arrested, probably because the elector feared that his arrest would precipitate more riots. Stuler himself thought that he could safely say whatever he pleased. He continued to denounce the iconoclastic Calvinism, but since the city was now under martial law, no one rioted. He was warned, however, that his arrest was imminent, and on April 8 he fled to Wittenberg.³¹⁹

The elector realized that the effective prosecution of the leaders of the rebellion would require a certain level of cooperation with the Brandenburg estates. The territorial assembly of nobles and representatives of the city dwellers met in Easter week in Berlin, and Pruckmann approached it on behalf of the elector. The assembly responded that none of its members condoned rioting and violence, but they had no intention of acting against members of their own faith who had been provoked to riot by the actions of Reformed officials and their supporters. When an attempt was made to implicate the Electress Anna as a leader in the riot, Anna responded that it was not she but the margrave himself who had provoked the problems which resulted in rioting. Clearly, no action could be taken against Stuler because he was now in Saxony, and as for the twelve supposed riot leaders no one had any idea where they were. Under the circumstances, Johann Sigismund decided that it would be wisest simply to drop the matter. To pursue it further would only increase the unpopularity of Calvinism.³²⁰

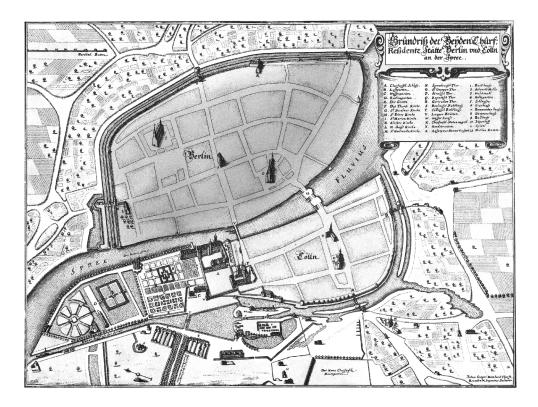
The Calvinists would, however, continue to remember the desecration of the cathedral as a necessity which had to be carried out boldly and single-mindedly, even if at risk to life and limb. Seventy-eight years later Daniel Ernst Jablonski, the court preacher, preached in the Berlin Cathedral and recalled the event:

"There are still a number of old people ... who remember that the first Evangelical Reformed preacher of this church, Reverent Füssel, had to perform his office at a great risk, and preached on Good Friday after his own house had been assaulted and plundered. He was forced to enter the pulpit of this church in very unusual attire, namely in underclothes and a green camisole. That was all the clothing he had left. He preached here while in fear for his life." 321

³¹⁷ Hering 1784, 290; Nischan 1994, 187-188.

³¹⁸ Faden 1954, 37; Nischan 1994, 188.

^{210 11 : 4550 200 200 11: 1 4004 40}



Johann Gregor Memhardt's illustration, depicting the twin cities of Berlin and Cölln separated by the Spree River, c. 1650. The Easter Week riot occurred between the St. Peter's Church (H) in the lower right corner and the Dom (F) two blocks to the west near the electoral palace (A) (*Zeiller* 1652).

2.6.5 The Arbitrary Placement of Reformed Ministers in Lutheran Churches and the Lutheran Reaction

This did not mean that Johann Sigismund was giving up his attempts to convert the Brandenburgians. He still sent Reformed preachers to their congregations when their older clergy became incapacitated or died. He could do this only in those churches where he had the *jus patronatus totaliter*, and such parishes were predominantly in the Neumark where he had patronage rights in practically every city and village. In the Kurmark, such parishes were few and far between, and he could hardly expect that the Lutheran nobility would allow him to place pastors in the parishes where they were patrons. But even in parishes where the elector was the patron and had the right to appoint the clergy, Lutheran con-

gregations most often steadfastly opposed and resisted his efforts to give them Reformed ministers sent to convert them.

In Templin, Pruckmann reminded the elector that because he had the right of appointing the local Lutheran pastor, it would be justified if he chose to remove the current incumbent, Andreas Zahn, because of his belligerent attitude toward the local Reformed Pastor Joachim Roloff. Roloff arrogantly regarded Zahn as little more than an "idiot" under the influence of the pastor of St. Mary's Church in Prenzlau, Johann Finck, an outspoken foe of the Calvinists who shared the same family name as Solomon Finck. This Lutheran Johann Finck referred to the Reformed as the "deformed" and accused them of preaching absurdities. For his part, the elector realized that the furor which would ensue if he deposed and replaced Zahn would not be worth the effort.³²²

In Stendal, Reformed Deacon Peter Giesen was in 1614 appointed to serve at St. Peter's Church. He was jeered and mocked publicly and was made the butt of practical jokes by citizens who among other things tied a horse by its tail to his door. This led to a real surprise when Giesen tried to use the door. Privy Councillor Pruckmann complained bitterly that this disrespect was injurious to the reputation of the Reformed Church, but there was really nothing that could be done about it.³²³

The controversy was once more inflamed in Stendal when the University of Frankfurt (Oder) tried to exercise its right of patronage by assigning a new pastor, Andreas Winsius, to the Lutheran congregation of St. Nicolaus after the death of one of the pastors. No fault was found with his trial sermon, but the people were not certain about his doctrinal position because it was reported that he had made statements against Luther in a colloquium in Frankfurt (Oder). The parishioners met with Superintendent Daniel Schaller for additional information. Schaller tried to convince the people that Winsius was a suitable candidate who had never criticized Luther personally but had quoted some of his writings about intricate theological points which were far too complex for the people to understand and which were not important to them. He told them that his remarks concerned "the crude fleshly notion of the oral manducation of the truly physically present Christ."324 This was just what the congregation was concerned about. Stephan Walter, a member of the congregation, rose to ask just exactly what was wrong with the Lutheran doctrine of the real presence. Schaller tried to explain but only made matters worse by speaking of "papist delusions and superstitions" about Christ being corporeally present in the Sacrament. Another parishioner jumped up and yelled that this was precisely the point at issue. "Lutherans believe in a physical, the Reformed in a spiritual presence."325 At this point, Schaller tried

³²² Wangemann 1884, 91; Nischan 1994, 198-199.

to move away from this discussion by stating that Lutherans were too much attached to papal ceremonies. The people responded that it was clear to them that if Winsius became their pastor, he would change their ceremonies and they were dead set against that. Schaller's attempt to "sell" Winsius was fruitless. The people were now more than ever convinced that he must not become their pastor.

A riot broke out at Beelitz when the organist began to play a Reformed Communion hymn by Ambrosius Lobwasser. In the ensuing disturbance, a Lutheran threw the candelabra at the organist. He missed the musician but hit and nearly killed the musician's wife. 326

At Lindau, in the County of Ruppin, the elector sent Minister Georg Henckel to replace the Lutheran pastor of the place. His attempts to introduce Reformed doctrine and ceremony were greatly opposed by the citizens of the town and public disturbances ensued. The parishioners only gave way when a captain came to them from Zechlin and announced that "the elector would avenge this disobedience in the most summary manner on clergy and laity, on young and old, in order to make an example of them to others." 327

In Spandau, a Berlin suburb, Reformed Minister Joachim Grunow complained that the Lutheran Deacon Simon Grimm was inflaming people's passions. Members of the congregation responded to Grunow's Advent sermon by saying that if he ever appeared in their pulpit again, they would make short work of him. Grunow recognized that it was not safe to stay there and appealed to the elector to warn the people of the consequences of their actions and insist that Grimm must "stop his debauchery and agitation completely." However, he knew that not much would be done, and added his request that the elector allows him to remain in Spandau until Easter, both because he needed the money and because traveling was difficult during the winter.

In the town of Brandenburg an der Havel, Johann Sigismund forbad the use of a church prayer in which God was called upon to "strengthen this land and people through the might of His Spirit and His Word, that they might fight with pure hearts for the gospel." The town pastors sent a petition protesting this action in 1616, saying that "if prayer was offered up for the strengthening of the followers of both religions, a great confusion of both religions would ensue, but if only one religion was meant, then one would be praying against the other." In their address to the town council, they complained that "they could have no fellowship in prayer, and they could as little obey this injunction as faithful shepherds could obey the wolf's orders."³²⁹

³²⁶ Nischan 1994, 157.

When Crypto-Calvinist superintendent, Joachim Garcäus, appeared at the communion rail in the Brandenburg an der Havel Cathedral, Archdeacon Ulrich Nagel turned him away in the presence of the entire congregation because he had not come to private confession. For this, Nagel was deposed, however, other Lutheran pastors insisted on the necessity of private absolution and continued to do so until Johann Sigismund threatened them as well. "Luther himself," he stated, "when he went to Communion, never confessed beforehand."³³⁰ In the same direction, he declared in 1616: "Illumined with the light of divine truth, he [Luther] abhorred with his whole heart the dogma of ubiquity," and with equal disgust, he rejected also "the popish abomination of eating the body of Christ with the mouth." He would not allow either of these doctrines to be approved of or taught in schools and churches in his realm.³³¹

Hostility against Reformed ministers and their religion spread quickly throughout Brandenburg. The Lutherans were particularly opposed to the introduction of the *fractio panis*, which they regarded as an empty ceremony which turned the administration of the Sacrament into a "Calvinist carousel," as Pastor Hoë von Hoënegg observed. In many places, Lutherans publicly mocked the Calvinists by parodying their ceremony of breaking the bread and enacting mock of the Reformed Communion services. In Stendal, the Reformed were lampooned, and in October 1614 a carnival play made fun of the way they observed the Supper, leading to a report that "evil-disposed people tore about at night with torches, and indulged in blasphemous jesting by holding Communion services after the manner of the Reformed Church."³³²

Even zealous Calvinists were becoming discouraged. Very few of the nobility, indeed no more than five of them, converted. Even in Berlin enthusiasm for the new Reformation was short lived. In the later months of 1614, Johann Sigismund reported to Moritz of Hesse-Kassel that in recent weeks little more than thirty communicants had appeared with him at the communion table. A few months later, in March 1615, Margrave Johann Georg reported to the Heidelberg court that the number of Calvinists in Berlin was modest and small. In the autumn of 1614, Scultetus, who had come from Heidelberg, returned from whence he had come. He was disillusioned and wrote to Johann Georg: "Great and difficult is the task of those who wish to draw the spirits of men away from superstition and lead them to the true worship of God." Füssel wrote to Johann Georg I of Anhalt-Dessau in late 1616: "I have trouble driving out the chill and exciting any enthusiasm ... and only seem to provoke more bitter hatred toward me." **334*

³³⁰ Hering 1778, 319; Janssen X 1906, 320.

³³¹ Cyprian 1726, 75-77 (Beylage No.V); Janssen X 1906, 319-320.

2.6.6 The Rejection of the Calvinistic Reformation by the Nobility

The plan of Johann Sigismund and his privy councillors to accomplish a sweeping new Reformation of the Brandenburg Church did not take into account the fact that the Lutheran clergy and the laity would strongly object to this attack on their faith. The clergy and laity did indeed react strongly and were able to make life generally miserable for the Reformed ministers, sent by Johann Sigismund and his *Kirchenrat* to accomplish the eradication of the remaining "Catholic" elements in the Lutheran parishes and effect their purification. If the court thought that these Reformed ministers would be able to reform the territory, it clearly had no real understanding of the attachment of the clergy and laity to the Lutheran Church.

Johann Sigismund and his court tried to move resolutely ahead despite the strength of the opposition because they thought that with the passing of time the opposition would wear itself out. What Johann Sigismund had not considered was the strength of the opposition to the calvinization of Brandenburg among the higher classes, and most particularly the landed gentry. They opposed the elector's Reformation for both political and religious reasons. They were concerned about any measure which Johann Sigismund might employ to strengthen his own political position over against them and recognized that the calvinization program, if successful, would greatly weaken them individually and as a group. Furthermore, the majority of them were staunchly Lutheran in their own confession and had no desire to see Lutheran preaching and catholic ceremonial replaced by stern and dry Calvinism, preached in bare chancels by dour black-robed Calvinist preachers.

Even before Johann Sigismund announced that he had become a Calvinist, the estates had seen the handwriting on the wall in the conversion of his brothers, the Margraves Ernst and Johann Georg, who surely would never have dared to convert without the approval of the elector. They also noted the selection of Solomon Finck and Martin Füssel as court preachers who spent much time in the pulpit roundly criticizing Lutheran doctrine and ceremonies. To the estates the announcement of Johann Sigismund's conversion came as no real surprise; it was the next logical step. They did, however, publicly state their great displeasure in letters addressed to the elector, Superintendent Pelargus, and Electress Anna. On December 8, 1613, they wrote to Johann Sigismund condemning Finck for his inflammatory preaching against the doctrines of Lutheranism and ceremonies which the Brandenburgians held dear. They complained that Finck was causing disharmony and that Pelargus was derelict in his duties as superintendent for not silencing this "sneaking wolf." They recalled to the elector that he had made

of alienation between the elector and the estates.³³⁵ In a separate letter on December 8, 1613, they asked Anna to use her influence to ensure that the churches of Brandenburg would remain free of "Calvinist error" and that Finck and others like him would not be permitted to foment dissension. Johann Sigismund paid no attention to this entreaty and suggested that the letter did not represent the majority of the estates but only a few troublemakers.³³⁶ In his response of March 28, 1614, he warned the estates that they should not listen to overzealous preachers but diligently examine the Reformed faith and realize that it had its basis in the Holy Scriptures. He was sure that a fresh look at the Scriptures would give them a new point of view. They would see that Luther had done much to set the gospel free but had never been able to free himself from the "snares of the papacy," especially with regard to the Lord's Supper. Furthermore, any promises that he had made about religion in Brandenburg must be subject to revision under the "ongoing guidance of the Holy Spirit."³³⁷

The elector underestimated the estates. They were not about to become Calvinists and they were not about to acquiesce to him. The estates condemned Johann Sigismund's new reformation as a "dangerous deformation." He needed them more than they needed him. He needed them particularly to resolve the crisis in the Rhineland which had been precipitated when Duke Johann Wilhelm of Jülich-Cleve-Berg died childless and Johann Sigismund sought to lay claim to the duchy because his wife Anna was next in the line of succession. The Habsburgs had immediately contested his claim, and the complicated political situation, which involved the Rhineland, the Netherlands, France, and England over against Spain, threatened a continent-wide conflict. Johann Sigismund needed funds in order to establish and support a Protestant military union with the Netherlands to defend his claims. For this, he needed a great deal of money, at least 300,000 thalers annually, and for this, he desperately needed the support of the Brandenburg estates. The estates, however, insisted that this question could not be considered apart from questions concerning religious freedom and their own rights as patrons, both of which Johann Sigismund had sought to override. Johann Sigismund was not willing to negotiate and sought to borrow sufficient funds to cover his needs, not realizing that as he sank further and further into debt, the power of the estates over against him increased. In December 1614, it was announced that 230,000 thalers were needed from the estates in the Neumark. 150,000 thalers were needed to pay expenses incurred by the elector and 80,000 thalers to pay dues owed to the Protestant military union. The estates recognized their responsibility to support the union, but they were unwilling to contribute to meet Johann Sigismund's expenses. They

stated that they were living in hard times; the harvests were poor and the livestock was unhealthy but even more important, they complained, that the Calvinist power was increasing and that the elector was putting Calvinist preachers into parishes where he had the right of patronage. They further complained about the Calvinist professors at Frankfurt (Oder). Chancellor Pruckmann rejected their criticisms but the nobility were not about to be silenced. They met in January 1615 without the elector's approval to discuss the religious situation in Brandenburg. Pruckmann responded that their meeting was illegal and that the hapless estates were allowing themselves to be misused by fanatical rabble-rousers.³³⁸

The court was determined not to give in to the Lutheran estates but at the same time, Johann Sigismund recognized that his own situation was critical. He desperately needed the financial support of the nobility. The response of the nobility was that before they would consider any financial support, he would have to confirm the status of the Lutheran Church in Brandenburg and promise that he would not violate their *jus patronatus*, and where he himself had the right of *jus patronatus*, he would not appoint suspect teachers and pastors. Johann Sigismund angrily responded that this was nothing short of blackmail and that he would not give in to it. The estates responded that if the elector responded favorably to their requests, then they would respond favorably to his. Johann Sigismund protested that the February 24, 1614, anti-polemical edict had already given them the guarantees for which they were asking. The estates replied that unless these pledges were renewed and reaffirmed in clear terms, they would not cooperate. Finally, on February 5, 1615, Johann Sigismund issued an edict of toleration, stating:

"Whosoever in the land wishes it may remain attached to the doctrine of Luther and the *Unaltered Augsburg Confession* ... and also to the *Formula of Concord*. Such persons shall not be subjected to any pressure or compulsion to relinquish it. For his electoral highness in no way arrogates to himself dominion over consciences and therefore does not wish to impose any suspect or unwelcome preachers on anyone, even in places in which he enjoys the right of patronage, whether towns, communes, or villages."³³⁹

One day later, on February 6, 1615, he sought to soften the obvious pain this edict had caused him, by reassuring himself and others that he guaranteed also "the free and peaceful exercise of the Reformed religion everywhere." The words rang hollow. Technically this February 1615 Recess applied only to the Kurmark estates, but it served successfully as a precedent for the representatives of other provinces as well. Within a month the estates at Neumark were demanding the same exemptions. They were especially concerned because the elector had rights

³³⁸ Clausnitzer 1895, 43, 64 ff.; Nischan 1994, 207.

of patronage throughout Neumark. Therefore they demanded that in their territory no Reformed ministers were to be appointed to any parishes, not even those in which Johann Sigismund had the *jus patronatus*. Johann Sigismund and his court complained bitterly against this provision, but it was clear that in actual practice he would have to concede and the estates saw to it that he did.³⁴⁰

Within a year, in 1616, the estates were complaining that Johann Sigismund and his court were still exercising control over Lutheran parishes by placing Reformed ministers in them, even though he had specifically promised not to do so. They demanded that he should follow the terms of his pledge to protect their Lutheran faith and its ceremonies, and not impose Reformed ministers even where he had the right to do so. They complained also that Superintendent Pelargus could hardly be called a Lutheran superintendent since he was examining and ordaining new pastors who were unqualified and were suspected of being Calvinists. They complained also that the consistory was understaffed and that the Reformed *Kirchenrat* was continuing to push Calvinism in Brandenburg. Daniel Schaller, the superintendent of Stendal, was also using his position to promote the elector's new Reformation, a clear misuse of his ecclesiastical office. Even aside from the serious problems which this created, from a religious point of view, it also represented a danger to the peace and welfare of the country.³⁴¹

The consistory was indeed understaffed, as the estates complained. Gedicke and Willich had fled Brandenburg in 1614, leaving only Sebastian Müller and Christoph Pelargus as the only clergy members on the consistory, and both of them were sympathetic to the elector's religious program. Johann Köppen, the head of the consistory, asked that new members be appointed to replace Gedicke and Martin Willich, but Johann Sigismund and his court refused to act. It was Johann Sigismund's intention to allow the consistory to quietly go out of existence with the death of its remaining members. It was his plan that the Reformed *Kirchenrat* should take over the functions of the Lutheran consistory as a part of his new Reformation of the church.

Finally, on March 23, 1617, the Privy Council recommended to the elector that he respond to the constant complaints of the Lutherans by filling the vacancies on the consistory. Furthermore, it suggested that the Reformed *Kirchenrat*, which it had been hoped would eventually supplant the Lutheran consistory, was altogether a failure and need not be continued. "Nobody pays any attention to the instructions of the *Kirchenrat*. It only produces envy among His Highness' subjects [and] ... has accomplished absolutely nothing."³⁴² In fact, Wolf Dietrich von Rochow, the president of the *Kirchenrat*, had proved to be an ineffective leader, a poor administrator, who had difficulty accounting for and properly administering the funds

given for the support of the clergy and needy students. Reformed ministers went unpaid. One could hardly expect that the Lutheran congregations to which they were sent would be willing to support them. Even at the Joachimsthal and at the University of Frankfurt (Oder), the bastions of the Reformed, there were serious setbacks. The Lutheran nobility had no intention of sending their offspring to a Reformed school, nor were Lutheran foresters and farmers about to send it wood, meat, vegetables, and other necessary goods. Teachers often went without pay and the number of students dropped dramatically. Similar problems developed in the university. It continued to attract Reformed students, but Lutherans were unwilling to send their sons there. In addition, war and other disasters, including the plague, forced students and teachers to flee the city time and time again.³⁴³

The privy council's memorandum, which was signed by Dohna, Pruckmann, and Daniel Matthias, spelled the demise of the *Kirchenrat*. It had not been competent to accomplish any of the functions for which it had been organized. It was totally ineffective. To make matters worse, it was a financial liability. By order of Johann Sigismund, the *Kirchenrat* closed its doors in 1618 and the Lutheran consistory was restaffed. The Second Reformation was officially a failure.³⁴⁴

It had been the elector's fond hope that given a chance to become Reformed, the majority of the Lutherans in Brandenburg would follow his example and flock to the Reformed fold. Such would not be the case. The Hohenzollern court converted to Calvinism but few followed them, and the Second Reformation became operative only in those places where the Brandenburg elector was in complete control, such as the University at Frankfurt (Oder), the electoral grammar school in Joachimsthal, and the churches in towns where members of the Hohenzollern family resided: Berlin, Frankfurt (Oder), and Königsberg in the Duchy of Prussia.³⁴⁵

The year 1617 marked the centenary of the nailing of the *Ninety-Five Theses* to the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg and the beginning of the Lutheran Reformation. In Saxony, the anniversary was marked by great celebrations, including dramatic reenactments, comedies, and other public ceremonies. Across the border, in Brandenburg, there was no joyful celebration among the Reformed, and apart from local Lutheran celebrations in a number of communities, the day was marked only by a special festal sermon delivered by General Superintendent Pelargus and Reformed Professor Tobias Magirus of Frankfurt (Oder). Johann Sigismund and his Reformed associates saw no reason to celebrate the day since it was not their own.³⁴⁶

Court Preacher Scultetus, however, who had spent a great part of 1614 in Berlin working to effect the forward movement of the Second Reformation, felt it appro-

³⁴³ Nischan 1994, 219-220.

priate to celebrate the centenary of the Reformation in a special way. He sought to play down the importance of Luther and the Lutheran Reformation and give his special attention to Calvinism. He drew parallels in his sermon between the way by which Christ had reformed the world, when he walked on earth so many centuries before Luther, and stated that as Christ had reformed the world not by using theologians but rather simple apostles, he had done the same in 1517 not through cardinals but by a "simple monk," named Luther, a "non-theologian teacher," named Melanchthon, and simple ministers such as Zwingli and Oecolampadius. To him, Luther was no hero but just one among many in a throng which included Zwingli, Oecolampadius, Wolfgang Fabricius Capito, and even those who were gone, such as Johannes Creutzer of Strasburg, Johann von Wesel, Jan Hus, John Wycliffe, and the Waldensians.³⁴⁷ He stated on the occasion of the centenary of the Reformation in his *Historischer Bericht (Historical Report)*, 1618:

"About a hundred years ago when God began to reform and govern his church anew. ... While Dr. Luther was the first to attack the pope publicly, he was not alone in exposing his fraud and deception. For already there were many other pious and learned men in Switzerland and Upper Germany who proclaimed God's Word loudly and clearly." 348

As for the doctrine of the gospel, it was left to Melanchthon, Oecolampadius, and Calvin to progressively expose the "horrors of the papacy." To Scultetus, the Reformation only came to its conclusion when territories, which had been Lutheran, completed the Reformation cycle by successfully converting to Calvinism. Now, in this centenary year, he stated, the time was ripe for those who were still Lutheran to finally leave the "papacy" behind and confess the "true teaching of the gospel" concerning of the real presence of Christ in the Sacrament.

"I really wonder about our brothers, the so-called Lutherans. ... I wonder because for years we have now preached loudly and written clearly about the Lord's Supper, yet they refuse to understand that the delusion of Christ's true physical presence remains the very cornerstone on which the entire papacy is founded." ³⁴⁹

Scultetus spoke very clearly, criticizing Luther and the Lutherans, although upon occasion his remarks concerning Luther were simply disrespectful rather than outrightly hostile. His more caustic and critical remarks he reserved for Luther's disciples. From early in his career, Scultetus insisted that Luther showed himself to be far inferior to John Wycliffe in his teachings concerning the Eucharist. He remarked that Luther had even declared that he would far sooner accept the doctrine of transubstantiation than deny the bodily presence of Christ in the Sacrament.³⁵⁰

³⁴⁷ Scultetus II 1618, 267 ff.; Cameron 2002, 125.



"The Primitive Reformers to whom (under GOD) we are indebted for the Glorious Light of the Gospel." The Calvinist vision of a pan-Protestant Union from an anonymous eighteenth century engraving by unknown artist, 1769. Twenty-four Protestant reformers, all of the "same spirit," prepare to fight the "powers of darkness" who seek to extinguish the light of the Gospel. Around the table are: (1) William Perkins, (2) Jerome of Prague, (3) Martin Bucer, (4) Peter Martyr Vermigli, (5) Huldrych Zwingli, (6) John Knox, (7) Girolamo Zanchi, (8) Heinrich Bullinger, (9) Johannes Oecolampadius, (10) Johannes Buxtorf, (11) Robert Bolton, (12) Jacobus Arminius, (13) John Wycliffe, (14) Theodore Beza, (15) John Calvin, (16) Nicholas Ridley, (17) Hugh Latimer, (18) Martin Luther, (19) Philipp Melanchthon, (20) Thomas Aquinas, (21) Peter Du Moulin, (22) Hugo Grotius, (23) Jan Hus, (24) Thomas Cranmer (Wikimedia Commons).

In his 1618 tract, *Trewhertzige Warnung (A Heartfelt Warning)*, Hoë von Hoënegg boldly repudiated the claims of Scultetus concerning Luther and Lutheran reformers that they did not understand the true doctrine preached by the Reformed. Scultetus did not seem to understand that for Luther and the Lutherans the Reformation was complete and the doctrine of the real presence was not a heritage of the Roman Church, but it has its firm foundation in the Holy Scriptures and the Words of Christ's Testament. To indicate this, Hoë cited Luther's own testament in his 1544 *Brief Confession*, in which he repudiated in very clear terms the doctrine of those whom he called "fanatics and enemies of the Sacrament," and promised that he would continue to preach against their "blasphemous and deceitful heresies daily." Going even further, Hoë offered a satirical greeting to Luther which might well have come from the mouths of the Calvinists:

"O you, blessed Luther, if you had been more lenient, if you had not gone so hard after the Sacramentarians, if you had not been so precise, then you would have been glorified in Heidelberg at a festal celebration of the Reformation centenary." 352

Hoë turned the tables on the Heidelberg reformers who were claiming that it was the Lutherans who were disturbing the unity of the church and were continuing to sow discontent. He replied that it was, in fact, the Calvinists who were guilty, and he warned his fellow Lutherans that they must not be deceived by "duplicitous theologians and their erroneous doctrines," but instead hold firm to the *Augsburg Confession* and the whole Book of Concord.³⁵³

Despite what seemed to be an auspicious beginning, Elector Johann Sigismund and his Calvinist court were not successful in their campaign to establish firmly a Second Reformation which would draw the Brandenburg Lutherans into their orbit. They had indeed established Reformed worship in the cathedral in Berlin, they had created a "Church Council" (Kirchenrat) to replace the Lutheran consistory, they had banned anti-Calvinist polemics and instituted censorship overall theological literature, and they had placed Calvinists in the most important educational institutions, but all of this together was not enough to supply the needed breakthrough for the Second Reformation. In the last years of his life, it became increasingly clear to Johann Sigismund that his campaign of calvinization had not reached the goal he had intended for it. The whole program would need to be revised and more realistic goals would need to be set. With the beginning of the Thirty Years' War more circumspect Brandenburgian Hohenzollerns elected to take a far more cautious direction than had been earlier envisioned. Their long-term objective called for a slow but systematic movement of the Lutheran Church into the Reformed direction. This would eventually lead to the creation of the Prussian Union.

2.7 Ongoing Opposition to Lutheran Doctrinal Positions and Ceremonies by Calvinist Rulers

Elector Georg Wilhelm and his government made few direct attempts to encroach on the rights of Lutherans and the Lutheran Church. His reign fell during the course of the Thirty Years War, and he struggled to maintain neutrality between the Protestants and Roman Catholic forces. His sister Maria Eleonora was married to King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden. His own wife Elisabeth Charlotte was from the Palatinate. She was the sister of the "Winter King," Friedrich V of the Palatinate, and was a zealous member of the Reformed Church. As testimony to his intentions to maintain good relations between the confessions, he wrote to

Louis XIII of France in 1632 that it had never been his intention to exclude from his lands any religion which confessed Christ or to treat any Christians unfairly, much less persecute them. He chose as his chancellor and governmental head Adam von Schwarzenberg, a committed Roman Catholic. His own neutrality was in some measure compromised by the fact that in 1631 Gustavus Adolphus was able to force him to join the Protestant military forces. In any case, despite his intention to maintain neutrality, his territories were plundered and burned by both the Protestant and Roman Catholic armies, as they marched through them. After the death of Gustavus Adolphus, he withdrew from the Protestant League, and in 1635 he signed the Peace of Prague together with Emperor Ferdinand II. He then moved to Königsberg where he lived in retirement until his death in 1640.³⁵⁴

Despite the moderate attitude which he claimed, he still favored the Reformed confession and occasionally attempted to impede some ceremonies and liturgical practices in the Lutheran Church. An evidence of his interference with Lutheran church life can be seen in the Berlin rescript of March 17, 1621, which stated that the *Magnificat*, the song of the Virgin Mary, was not sufficiently edifying and was often being sung merely by force of habit and ought properly to be eliminated from the office of Vespers altogether. Furthermore, on July 18, 1624, he issued an order which allowed Lutheran parents to request the elimination of the exorcism in the baptismal rite at the Baptism of their children if they desired to do so. Lutheran clergy could point to this as direct evidence of his Reformed influence.³⁵⁵

The harrowing experiences of the Thirty Years' War moved the elector to avoid any overly concerted effort to interfere with Lutheran church life. He understood that what was most needed was that he should strive for peace and unity with his Lutheran subjects.

The term "toleration" to describe Lutheran – Reformed relations first came into use in 1631 as the result of the decision of the Leipzig Colloquy of that year. The elector's realization that unity and peace were most needed was strengthened by his realization that all his Protestant subjects faced a common danger from the Roman Catholic powers. On March 6, 1629, Ferdinand II issued an Edict of Restitution which enforced the restoration of the "Ecclesiastical Reservation" of the 1555 Augsburg Treaty, which Georg Wilhelm interpreted as a promotion of the destruction of Protestantism. Facing the threat presented by the armies of the emperor, elector, together with Johann Bergius, his court chaplain, Margrave Wilhelm V of Hesse-Kassel, and Johann Crocius and Theophil Neuberger, professors of theology in Hesse, met with Elector Johann Georg of Saxony in Leipzig in a meeting in which Saxon Court Chaplain Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg was present together with his colleagues, Polycarp Leyser and Heinrich Höpfner. 356

Lutherisch: wie Salvinisch ingligehaltener Rathschluß. Parimen ein jedweder Tein Mainung fürbringt/ wie darge gen (dero engnen wahren befandtnuß nach) Ihr Intent wider Kan. Man. Jurugg gehet/ vob Elagen wie es etlichen voll ergangen ift.



The 1631 Leipzig Colloquy. A satirical leaflet mocking the efforts of the Lutheran and Reformed imperial estates that are seeking to reach theological consensus between the two churches, as they are surrounded by the Roman Catholic forces. A fictitious depiction of the Lutheran and Reformed princes and representatives of the imperial cities, along with the European powers allied with them. The chair is headed by the "invalid spirit." As spectators on the left, the disempowered Elector Friedrich V of Palatinate and his wife, and on the right, the Lutheran preachers showing their fear for the fate of German Lutheranism. The colloquium is viewed from the left by the Roman Catholic Church and from the right by the Emperor. Everyone expresses his assessment of the political situation and its readiness for military action (Wikimedia Commons; Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel).

The purpose of their meeting was to consider how a more positive relationship between the two Protestant confessions might be fostered in those trying times. From March 3 until March 23, the colloquium met daily for three hours. Three Calvinist theologians agreed together on March 3 that the *Invariata* edition of the 1530 *Augsburg Confession* was to be used as the basis of their theological discussions. This was a major concession because German-speaking Reformed churches greatly preferred Melanchthon's *Variata* edition of 1540. The discussions, con-

the *Augustana*. As could be expected, no agreement could be reached concerning the third article, the doctrine of Christ, and the tenth article, the Lord's Supper. Although both sides stated emphatically that they accepted these articles, they could not agree concerning their meaning. They could not agree concerning the omnipresence of Christ's human nature and the *manducatio oralis* of the body of Christ in the Eucharist by believers and unbelievers alike, but they did agree that these matters should be considered thoroughly. In the course of time, in the concluding days of the colloquy, questions concerning predestination arose – a doctrine not considered in the *Augustana*. No agreement could be reached resolving the differences between the Lutherans and the Reformed on this doctrine, although later Bergius would state that in his opinion the disagreements between the two sides on predestination were mainly semantic and could probably be overcome. His own view of predestination was not far from that of the Lutherans, and this may well have led him to view the possibility of agreement optimistically.³⁵⁷

The outcome of the Leipzig Colloquy caused some to believe that the Brandenburg elector had completely abandoned his plans of "reforming" the Lutheran Church and that he was now seeking harmony and greater parity between the two confessions. Indeed, he and his Calvinist theologians now would attempt to placate the Lutherans by claiming they were in essential agreement with them and that they should be considered to be in fellowship with them as equals. However, the illusion that the elector had modified his goals was in fact just an illusion. The differences between the Lutherans and the Reformed were irreconcilable, and the elector's court would continue its attempts to interfere in the life of the Lutheran Church by insisting upon the elimination of "superstitious papal practices."

Since the early days of the Reformation, the Berlin Cathedral had been a Lutheran church in which the Lutheran sacraments were celebrated and Lutheran sermons were preached. In 1615, Johann Sigismund had been able to turn it into a Calvinist sanctuary, and Georg Wilhelm wanted to prevent any possibility that it would ever again come into Lutheran hands. For this purpose, he issued a decree on June 9, 1632, which declared that the Berlin Dom "henceforth and in perpetuity was to remain a Reformed parish church." Even if any of his successors were to leave Calvinism and return to Lutheranism, the administration of this cathedral would be put into the hands of the local "presbytery and leading members of the congregation." By this means, Georg Wilhelm made it clear that he was and would forever be a committed Calvinist, and yet, at the same time, he showed that he was fearful about the power of the Lutherans and their ability to once again take control of the Dom.³⁵⁸

Elector Georg Wilhelm continued to further his efforts to subvert Lutheranism by subtle means. By this time, he was planning a general visitation, and for this purpose, he issued a memorandum with directives for the visitors from the theological faculty of Frankfurt (Oder). The *Consilium theologicum* was prepared on June 6, 1633, by Frankfurt professors Gregor Franck and Christoph Pelargus. Although it was far more moderate than the demands set down by Abraham Scultetus in 1614, it contained within it many indications that the elector had by no means given up his efforts to eliminate Lutheran ceremonies and other "abusive" practices from the Lutheran churches in Brandenburg.

The twenty-five point Memorandum stated that there was still room for much improvement in both in doctrine and ceremonies in the Brandenburg churches and that many objectionable, and in fact, scandalous practices must be eliminated. A general church visitation should be conducted for the purpose of abolishing "useless ceremonies" which still showed the influence of Romanism. Included among these "abominations" which must be removed were the idolatrous pictures which still hang in many churches but at the same time, it was admitted that the removal of such images depended upon the goodwill of the patrons. So too, in fulfillment of the rescript of 1624, parents must be allowed to request the elimination of the exorcism from the Baptism of their infant children. Franck and Pelargus stated approvingly that in some congregations the communion hosts were now being baked so thick that they had to be broken before the distribution, and in this way, the Calvinist fractio panis had been introduced without making the whole matter controversial. The authors of the memorandum counseled that instead of individual communion hosts "large hosts be prepared so that pastors had to divide them by fraction into two or more pieces," and in this way "the ceremony of the fraction ... could thus be gradually introduced in many places." The elevation and ostensio were to be eliminated at once because they drew undue attention to the earthly signs so that the people sought Christ in the bread rather than in his promises. So too, Christ was not to be sought in the wine or in the straw through which it was sucked. In fact, the use of such "fistula," which was still practiced in some places in the region of Frankfurt (Oder), should be set aside. Other ceremonies, such as singing or reading in Latin from the altar, should for the present time be tolerated. The authors also stated that the pastors were to be informed that the doctrinal norm of the Lutheran Church is the Holy Scripture and the chief symbols of the church, along with the Augsburg Confession, whether in its original or its variata editions. What was most important and sufficient (!), however, to a full and complete confession is the Holy Scriptures, and in a lesser sense - the Apostolic Symbol. Superintendents, inspectors, and theological proby the church through the imposition of fines were to be used as stipends for students of theology at the University of Frankfurt (Oder). "For there are so few to be found here in Frankfurt, who oblige themselves for this task, that one should be ashamed of such things." ³⁵⁹

The authors also presented their thoughts concerning the conduct of a general visitation. They stated that the visitation committee should consist of two clergymen and two secular members. Furthermore, the general superintendent should be released from pastoral duties so that he might have sufficient time and energy to fulfill his office as the visitor. Public prayer was to be announced which would include petitions concerning the coming visitation that it may accomplish its purpose of abolishing abuses and that it might promote discipline in the church. Here prayer was to be used not so much to ask God's blessing but as to inform the people of the intention of the visitation. Furthermore, many changes were to be made in the Communion service in the course of time. Included among these was the "controversial practice" of singing of the hymn, "Isaiah, Mighty Seer" ("Jesaia, dem Propheten"), which was regarded as a remnant of the "papal Mass," the playing of the pipe organ, the practice of paying for pipes and fiddles to be played during communion. The authors admitted that these could not simply be done away in a hasty manner, even though they were the adiaphora, and their elimination would make for "far more proper worship." "Not all the weeds can be torn out immediately, and besides, we are dealing here only with adiaphora that can be either kept or deleted." Visitors should not only ask concerning where the pastor had studied, who had ordained him, and whether or not his installation was confirmed, but they should also ask what kind of hosts he uses in the Lord's Supper, what view he takes toward the absolution, and what heresies might be present in the congregation. Schoolmasters should also be questioned concerning their doctrinal position. Finally, the memorandum stated that the visitation was to begin in Neumark, where no visitation had taken place for forty-three years, and the findings of the visitation should be brought before the synod so that proper measures and remedies might be taken.360

This document was co-authored by Franck and Pelargus who had to admit that the power of the nobility and city governments was more than they were able to overcome. For this reason, they could not dictate the appointment of pastoral candidates in Brandenburg. "As long as they retain their position, His Electoral Highness will not succeed in promoting his religion and reformation," they had to admit. However, with reference to some other matters that the elector had sought to do away with, they stated that these customs would have to be tolerated, even though as good "Protestants" they saw no benefit in them. "As long as necessary, these ceremonies can be tolerated, even if they contribute little, if anything, to our

edification." They made it clear that any attempt to discard traditional Lutheran ceremonies would lead to trouble, as had previously been the case during the rule of Johann Sigismund. "For the time being," they declared, "doctrines and ceremonies should be left intact and each person should be allowed to practice his faith as heretofore. For in this manner much more will be accomplished ... than by rushing and forcing the issue. Let us hope that, eventually, all quarrels will cease by themselves." ³⁶¹

The planned-for visitation never took place, but this secret memorandum was made public by a secretary and the Lutheran clergy were infuriated. They pointed to this memorandum as a clear indication that the elector intended to outlaw Lutheran practices and the doctrines upon which they were grounded.

Pelargus, the superintendent general for Brandenburg, passed away in 1633, and the elector decided to offer the post of superintendent to his Reformed Court Chaplain Bergius. It was his opinion that since Bergius was known to be moderate and fair-minded, he would fit well in this position, despite the fact that he was a Calvinist. He informed the estates that he was insisting that Bergius be approved by them. Bergius, however, realized that his appointment to this position would give him a great deal of authority over the Lutheran Church in Brandenburg, and it was unlikely that the estates would approve his nomination. Were he to take this position, the effects of his control of the church might be very harmful to Lutheran – Reformed relations. Therefore he informed Georg Wilhelm that he would not accept this nomination. 362

The office of superintendent general remained unfilled for four years, and in 1637 Georg Wilhelm offered it once again to Bergius who again stated that he was not willing to accept it. He and Professor Gregor Franck of Frankfurt (Oder) University wrote a memorandum, which Bergius sent on April 13, 1637, to the elector, in which they stated that the office of general superintendent was of such importance that neither a Lutheran nor a Calvinist ought to be given it. It would be better if the position were abolished and an ecclesiastical councilor be named for each of the two churches. Both would serve on the consistory as equals. 363

Georg Wilhelm approved this suggestion. There would no longer be a superintendent general but in the future, there would be instead a general notion of parity and evangelical unity between the Reformed and the Lutherans in Brandenburg. For this reason, the almost defunct Lutheran consistory was reorganized. On May 16, 1637, a rescript, entitled: "Rescript, daß das Consistorium auch mit Geistlichen zu besetzen" ("A Rescript that the Consistory Should also Include Clergy"), ordered that henceforth two clergy would sit on the consistory together with its secular members. One of these clergymen would represent the Lutherans and the other the Reformed. Johann Bergius was appointed as Reformed representative and Johann Koch, the dean of St. Peter's Church in Berlin-Cölln, as the Lutheran. A revised church order, issued on September 26, 1637, was tabled but the elector never introduced it.³⁶⁴

More determined to effectively eliminate distinctive Lutheran practices was Friedrich Wilhelm, the so-called Great Elector, who assumed the rule in 1640. His chief political concern was to ensure that the Reformed Church would be granted the same recognition as a legal confession under the Peace of Westphalia as Roman Catholicism and Lutheranism. He insisted that parity must be maintained in the theological faculty at the University of Frankfurt (Oder).

In 1614, Palatinate Court Preacher Scultetus had advised Johann Sigismund that it was necessary that a Calvinist should be named to serve on the theological faculty of the University of Frankfurt (Oder), and that as elector, Johann Sigismund had the right and duty to appoint new faculty members and promote men already on the faculty. These constitutional privileges would be most useful in his plans to make the theological faculty at the university a dedicated Calvinist institution. On August 17, 1614, he decreed a change in the theological statutes of the university to the effect that "that henceforth the doctrine of ubiquity ... and the manducation of Christ's body in the Lord's Supper no longer are to be taught at this university."³⁶⁵

The first to receive the appointment as a Reformed teacher in the theological faculty was Johann Bergius, a Pomeranian who had graduated from the University of Heidelberg and had also attended Saumur, Cambridge, and Leiden. In 1614, he was appointed as associated professor of theology, and in 1616 he was promoted to a full professorship. For more than fifteen years following this, he would serve the Hohenzollerns and have a decisive influence on religion and politics in Mark-Brandenburg. Also named to the faculty was Wolfgang Crell who accepted a call to Frankfurt (Oder) in 1616 after having studied in the Reformed academies at Bremen and Marburg. He also served Calvinist Moritz of Hesse-Kassel for a short time before moving on to Frankfurt. A third Calvinist was Gregor Franck who arrived in 1617. He was appointed to fill a vacancy left when Professor Heidenreich died. Franck had previously taught Greek in the university and had spent several years in France. He, too, was associated with the Reformed academy at Saumur and was acquainted with Philippe Duplessis-Mornay and other Huguenot leaders. The presence of these three men on the faculty gave a distinctively Calvinist bent, and Frankfurt (Oder) came to be known as the easternmost bastion of Calvinism in German-speaking lands. In the opinion of the privy councilors, this school could now compete on level ground with other theological faculties of whatever confession. None of the three Calvinist professors were native to the Mark but became enthusiastic promoters of Calvinism in the territory.³⁶⁶

In order to serve effectively as a launching point for Calvinism in Mark-Brandenburg, Johann Sigismund directed that no professor in the university was to publish anything without prior consent, excepting such insignificant materials as programs, personal announcements, and wedding or funeral poems. Whatever of substance these men produced had to be carefully examined by the dean and faculty, and copies of all publications had to be sent to the elector's court to be evaluated by the privy council. Finally, the personal approval of the elector was required for all substantive publications. Johann Sigismund was willing to forego this rigid procedure only after each individual member of the faculty agreed that he would not write or print anything that would in any way be critical of the Reformed religion or its supporters. Anyone who failed to comply would do so knowing that he was likely to lose his position.³⁶⁷

By the time this transformation had been effected, the university began to feel the effects of the changes. Until the middle years of the 1620s, attendance at the University of Frankfurt, the fourth largest German university, remained consistently high. Many Lutherans now avoided Frankfurt and chose to matriculate instead at Lusatia and Silesia. However, Philippists and Calvinists continued to enroll, especially after the fall of Heidelberg in 1619. Frankfurt now became the leading Calvinist school in German-speaking lands. However, warfare and natural disasters came to affect enrolment. The city was visited by plagues in 1613, 1622, 1625, and 1631-32, and teachers and students alike evacuated to Fürstenwalde. In 1622 and 1625, floods, food shortages, and the approach of warring armies, and the sacking of the city by Swedish troops on April 3, 1631, caused students to flee. As a result, the university never played as prominent a role in the spread of Calvinism as Johann Sigismund and his advisors had planned.³⁶⁸

By the 1630s, it was necessary to abandon the plan to make the Frankfurt theology faculty exclusively Calvinist. The death of Pelargus and the move of Bergius and Crell from Frankfurt to Berlin brought new vacancies to the faculty. A Lutheran, Simon Ursinus, was chosen to fill one of these positions in 1639, and he and Franck made a private agreement in 1641 to follow a plan by which it would be ensured that the faculty would always have an equal number of Lutherans and Calvinists serving. 369 Although Calvinist Friedrich Wilhelm, the great elector, was

³⁶⁶ Hering 1778, 327-330; Nischan 1999, 224-225.

not pleased with this plan, he did confirm it and subsequently, Frankfurt (Oder) came to be known as an "avant-garde university." The irenic attitudes of the Calvinist professors were important contributing factors in the development of an attitude of religious tolerance which became a hallmark of the Hohenzollerns.

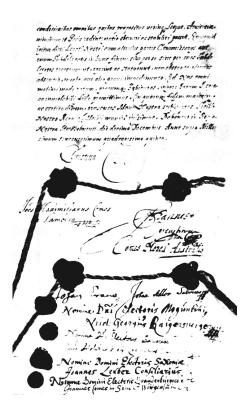
In 1648, the Peace Treaty of Westphalia resolved the problem of what was to be the relationship of Calvinists and Lutherans in the German-speaking lands.

The Lutherans had always taken the position that their confession stood within the Catholic tradition and that the Lutheran Church was indeed a Catholic Church in which the major change had been the return to the gospel. Other matters, such as liturgy and ceremonies, had been allowed to continue much as they were in earlier days. Therefore in the negotiations leading up to the Treaty of Westphalia, the Lutherans, especially the Saxons, could not easily see themselves as lumped together with the Reformed who rejected much of what had gone before and found the traditional liturgy and ceremonies repugnant and superstitious. This caused tensions to heighten between the Saxons and Brandenburg. Elector Friedrich Wilhelm, however, pointed to the Augsburg Diet of 1566 as a witness to his contention and that of Calvinist Church in the empire, stating that since 1566 the Reformed confession stood within the circle of recognized groups as equal to those which affirmed the Augsburg Confession. On February 12, 1648, Friedrich Wilhelm declared that it was unacceptable to Brandenburg to regard the Reformed as a new religion, but rather Lutheran and Reformed confessions must be seen as churches standing side-by-side under the "evangelical" banner. 370

Such a position was the cause of little or no concern to the Swedes or the Imperial Court because it did not affect them in the slightest. However, it was disturbing to Lutherans in German-speaking lands because despite evident and irreconcilable theological differences, the designation "Evangelical" could be and was now used to describe the Reformed as a confession closely related to the Lutherans. "Evangelicals" they might indeed be but after 1648, they would always point to the distinction and stress that they were "Lutheran Evangelicals" or "Evangelical Lutherans."

According to the terms of the 1648 Treaty, the Reformed were to receive the same rights and benefits as had been conferred upon the adherents to the Roman Catholic and Lutheran Churches. Article VII stated:

"It is agreed by the unanimous consent of His Imperial Majesty and all the Estates of the Empire that whatever rights and benefits are conferred upon the Estates and subjects of the Catholic and Augsburg faiths, either by the constitutions of the Empire, or by the Religious Peace and this public treaty..., shall also apply to those who are called Reformed."



The Treaty of Osnabrück (*Instrumentum Pacis Osnabrugensis*) which, along with the Peace of Münster and the Treaty of Münster (*Instrumentum Pacis Monasteriensis*), constituted the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. The 1649 copy for Elector Maximilian I of Bavaria with seals of the imperial and Swedish envoys and the envoy of Mainz (*Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv*, *Kurbayern*, München).

The same article lumped the Lutherans and Reformed together under the general designation "Protestants" and at the same time recognized that this "Protestant community" consisted of two quite distinct parties, the Reformed and the Lutheran.

Furthermore, "because certain religious controversies prevailing among the abovementioned Protestants have not yet been... resolved, and therefore the Protestants form two parties ..., the right of reforming the practice of religion (jus reformandi)" was to be understood and applied in the new sense. Article VII proceeded:

"If a Prince, territorial overlord, or other church patron" of either Protestant confession were to convert "to the faith of the other party," he would be permitted to appoint a court chaplain of that faith to serve him and his court. However, he would not "be permitted to alter the public practice of religion and the ecclesiastical laws and ordinances that have been valid up until that time, nor alienate churches, schools, hospitals or the incomes, rents, and stipends of their previous owners and confer them on an [adherent] of his own confession, or impose on his subjects a pastor of the other confession, whether under the pretext of territorial sovereignty, episcopal authority, ecclesiastical patronage or any other right,

or in any way hinder or cause disadvantage to the other confession either directly or indirectly."

If, however, a congregation should desire to follow its prince, territorial overlord, or patron and convert along with him, it may do so at its own expense without causing disadvantage to other congregations. Finally, no religion was to be tolerated excepting those hereby designated as Catholic or "Protestant" that is "Evangelical."³⁷¹

Georg Wilhelm's theological course was to deemphasize the distinctions between Lutheranism and Calvinism. Most helpful to him was the syncretic theology of Georg Calixtus of Helmstedt who sought to unite Lutherans, Reformed, and even Roman Catholics on the basis of the Apostles' Creed, which according to his view contained every fundamental doctrine necessary for external fellowship among Christians. He went even beyond this to speak of what he called the common consensus of the ancient church in the first five centuries. His thesis was that whatever disagreements had arisen during that period, these had been solved by the councils, and any remaining differences were really of very little consequence. His position was congenial to the goals set by Friedrich Wilhelm who invited him to participate in the *Colloquium charitativum* at Thorn, Poland. In 1642, in his third year in office as elector, Friedrich Wilhelm took it upon himself to appoint two Reformed professors to the theological faculty at Frankfurt (Oder). The Lutherans strongly protested. When a polemical document, a *Disputationes Theologicas*, was published by the provost and the Berlin consistory member, An-

dreas Fromm, the elector issued an order, dated May 11, 1654, stating that henceforth all theological literature had to be officially examined and approved before it could be published and disseminated.³⁷²

Systematic interference with the doctrinal position of the Lutheran Church was undertaken by Friedrich Wilhelm in 1656. On December 3, he ordered that from that time forward candidates for ordination in Brandenburg were no longer to be requested to subscribe to the Formula of Concord as a symbolical book. They were instead to subscribe only to the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, the ancient symbols, and the Augsburg Confession. In order to ascertain that the candidates not only exhibited but sincerely held their proper toleration toward the Reformed, he stated that Reformed clergy and professors were henceforth permitted to participate in the theo-



Great Elector Friedrich Wilhelm at the age of thirty-seven. Portrait engraving from a painting by Anselm van Hulle, 1657 (Wikimedia Commons; *Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte*, Münster).

logical examination of the Lutheran candidates. In order to placate the Lutherans, he stated that Lutheran pastors and professors might participate in the examination of Reformed candidates.³⁷³ To ensure the elimination of any subscriptions to the *Formula of Concord* and the elimination, as well, of any intolerance toward the Reformed, the elector issued on March 3, 1657, an encyclical order, stating that no candidates were to be called who had been examined and ordained outside Brandenburg. This meant that no candidates for ordination could enter Brandenburg who had been educated and examined in neighboring Saxony where the Wittenberg theological faculty was staunchly Lutheran.³⁷⁴

Yet another step forward in the elector's program was his First Edict of Toleration of June 2, 1662. It stated that Lutherans and Reformed should be regarded as related to each other in a Christian and a peaceful manner, and called the Lutheran clergy to refrain from all polemics against the Reformed religion. The clergy should make it clear that in their preaching they would not exclude a positive consideration of the *Confessio Sigismundi* of 1614, the decisions of the Leipzig Colloquium of 1631, and the decisions made at the *Colloquium charitativum* in Thorn in 1645. The wording of the elector's edict was taken verbatim from a sermon which had been delivered by Bartholomäus Stosch, the Reformed court preacher, in a sermon on Romans 15:5-6. This interpretation was now made law. All pastors were under obligation to accept it and act according to it.³⁷⁵

On August 21, 1662, Friedrich Wilhelm went even further down the path first laid out by his ancestors. He issued an edict which spoke in favor of the ordination of candidates from the theological faculty at Frankfurt (Oder) and proscribing any further theological studies at Wittenberg because of its anti-Calvinist stance which, according to the elector, was a clear act of hatred against the Reformed Church.³⁷⁶ On March 4, 1690, the elector again issued a decree, stating that as of that date no one would be admitted to the office of preacher who had studied at Wittenberg University because he had been subject to the influence of the notoriously anti-Reformed professor, Abraham Calov, and had been imbued with a "spirit of bitterness" against the Reformed. Accordingly, candidates who hoped

³⁷³ "Verordnung, wie es mit der Ordination der Prediger gehalten werden solle; vom 3ten Dec. 1656." Corpus Constitutionum Marchicarum I/1 [1737], 365.

^{374 &}quot;Circular-Verordnung an die Inspectores, wo die Examina und Ordinationes derer neuvocirten Pfarrer zu verrichten; de dato Cölln an der Spree den 3. Martii, 1657." Corpus Constitutionum Marchicarum I/1 [1737], 366-368.

[&]quot;Mandatum, wie sowohl zwischen Reformirten und Lutherischen Predigern als Unterthanen die Einträchtigkeit zu erhalten; vom 2. Jun. 1662." Corpus Constitutionum Marchicarum I/1 [1737], 375-381; Brecht 1981, 110-111.

to be accepted would most probably decide to matriculate and seek promotion via the theological faculty at Frankfurt (Oder).³⁷⁷

As precedent for this move, Friedrich Wilhelm could point to the "General Agreement" which had been reached at the colloquy of Hesse-Kassel in 1661. At this colloquy, Reformed theologians from the University of Marburg and theologians from the University of Rinteln, who had represented themselves as authentically Lutheran, agreed that the two confessions did not differ in any fundamental articles of the Christian faith. In the course of that colloquy, the Lutherans agreed to the elimination of the exorcism from the baptismal rite and the insertion of the fractio panis in the Eucharist. The staunchly Lutheran faculties of Wittenberg, Jena, and Leipzig rejected this agreement in a document, titled: Epicrisis De Colloquio Casselano, Rinthelio-Marpurgensium, published in 1662 by the Wittenberg faculty and widely circulated in Brandenburg. The Lutherans stated that they could not regard the Reformed as a "sister church." The elector took a strong exception to this critique, stating that it completely undercut the terms of the Peace of Westphalia which, he said, made the Lutheran and Reformed Churches "sister churches." 378

Friedrich Wilhelm was determined to move ahead by initiating an "amicable and brotherly" colloquy between Lutherans and Reformed to meet in Berlin and come to an agreement that there were no fundamental differences in teaching or faith between their churches.

The meeting was to convene on September 1, 1662, and indeed it did. Between that date and May 29, 1663, no less than seventeen joint sessions were held, but the proceedings were not quite as amicable as the elector had desired. The chief Lutheran spokesman was Elias Sigismund Reinhardt, archdeacon of St. Nicolaus Church, and Paul Gerhardt took responsibility for providing the written defense of the Lutherans. Reformed were under the leadership of Bartholomäus Stosch.³⁷⁹

Two chief questions were on the agenda:

"Whether there was anything taught in the Reformed Confessions because of which the individual who believes and teaches it must be condemned by divine judgment; or whether in the same there was anything denied or omitted, the unacquaintance with which, on the part of an individual, will make it impossible for God to save him." ³⁸⁰

The Reformed hoped that by posing these questions they could force the Lutherans to answer negatively on both counts. Then they would have to admit that there was no real fundamental difference between the two churches. From there,

³⁷⁷ "Renovirte Verordnung, daβ keiner zum Predigt-Amt zu admittiren, so in Wittenberg studirt hat, vom 4. Mart. 1690." *Corpus Constitutionum Marchicarum I/*2 [1737], 109-110.

they could move on to insist that there was, in fact, fellowship in the fundamental articles, and differences in articles not fundamental could be described as little more than tolerable opinions.

The colloquy discussion revolved around the doctrine of the sacraments and most particularly around the manner in which Christ's body is received and consumed in the Sacrament. Thus, by extension, the discussion must touch on the doctrine of the nature of the personal union of divine and human natures in the person of Christ. The Reformed sought to frame their questions so as to attempt to force the Lutherans to admit that differences between the two churches in these matters were of little theological significance, and in any case, did not touch on the doctrine of salvation. Would the Lutherans be willing to admit, they asked, that the doctrine of the oral reception (manducatio oralis) of Christ's body and blood was an article which must be accepted if one is to be saved? Paul Gerhardt acting as chief responder diplomatically suggested that this was not a very good question and that no useful answer could come from it since bad questions lead to bad answers. Since the body and blood of Christ nourish faith, they could hardly be said to be anything but beneficial to salvation, and to deny their benefit would be to deny the truth of the personal union. Consequently, the manducatio oralis must never be denied but forever upheld. The Reformed, of course, could not agree to this. They asserted as always that the doctrine of the oral reception was of minor importance and was not a sufficient cause for denial of fellowship between the churches.³⁸¹

The colloquium ended in failure, and in response, the elector issued the Second Edict of Toleration on September 16, 1664. Once again the edict was prepared for him by Bartholomäus Stosch. It repeated the demand that Lutherans were not to preach publicly against the doctrinal positions held by the Reformed, and they were not to call them derogatory names, such as "Calvinists, Zwinglians, desecrators of the Sacrament, Manicheans, and the like." They were not to be permitted to state that the holy sacraments of the Reformed were nothing but empty signs and examples, or to say that the Reformed believed Baptism to be unnecessary, or that the Words of Christ, "this is my body, etc.," were not taken by the Reformed to be true. For their part, the Reformed were not to refer to the Lutherans as "Ubiquitists, Flacians, Marcionites, Pelagians, Eutichians, and the like." Furthermore, they were not to say that Lutherans thought of the presence of the body of Christ in the Sacrament as capernaic nor were they to claim that the Lutherans mingled the two natures of Christ. In addition, the mediating, who wanted to live together in peace and harmony, were no longer to be referred to as "Hypocrites, Calixtians, and Syncretists," since to do so would only occasion new divisions.

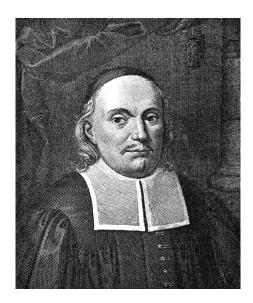
Furthermore, it was once again ordered that Lutheran pastors were to omit the exorcism from the baptismal rite if requested to do so by the parents, and no one was to be considered improperly baptized because in his Baptism the exorcism was either included or left out. Superintendents, inspectors (visitors), provosts (deans), pastors, preachers, rectors, and school teachers throughout Brandenburg were to conform themselves to this edict most seriously on pain of removal from office and possible additional punishment.³⁸²

Two additional declarations (Germ. *Reversen*) came to be appended to the 1664 toleration edict. The first one was to be subscribed by inspectors responsible for the oversight of preachers and candidates for the holy ministry. This declaration stated that they were obliged to conduct their ministry in accordance with God's Holy Word, as found in the writings of the prophets and the apostles, and in its four chief symbols – the Apostles, Nicene, Athanasian, and Chalcedonian Creeds, and to conduct themselves as pastors and teachers of souls, as stipulated by the electoral consistory and the anti-polemic edict of Johann Sigismund of February 24, 1614, as reiterated in the toleration edicts of June 2, 1662 and September 16, 1664, when it was made very clear that in doctrine and life, and also from the pulpit, abuse and slander were forbidden.³⁸³

The second declaration was to be subscribed in the consistory by all pastors (predigern). It made reference to the good example, which they were to show in their way of life and behavior, their avoidance of taverns and other places of questionable associations, their manner of dress, their conduct of divine services and the administration of the Sacrament, and every aspect of their pastoral office. In terms of doctrine, they were to remain committed to the doctrine grounded in the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures, the three ancient Creeds, and the Augsburg Confession. It was not stated whether it was the Invariata or Variata edition referred to. They were further obliged to teach Luther's Small Catechism every Sunday or at some other convenient time and to add to it texts from Luther's writings. In all, the declaration mixed together some matters which Lutherans could readily accept, however, it contained others which were entirely unacceptable and harmful to Lutheran Orthodoxy. Indeed, the very purpose of both Reverses was to undermine Orthodoxy. 384

[&]quot;Edict, daβ die Evangelischen Religions-Verwandte Reformirte und Lutheraner weder mit Schmähen und Lästerungs-Nahmen noch mit denen aus der Lehre gemachten Consequentien einander angreiffen sollen, und daβ streystehen solle den Exorcismum auszulassen; vom 16. September, 1664." Corpus Constitutionum Marchicarum I/1 [1737], 381-385.

^{(&}quot;Reverse, welche die Inspectores, Prediger und Candidati Ministerij in der Chur und Marck Brandenburg zu unterschreiben haben.") "Ein Churfürstl. Rescript vom 3/13 April. 1666. an dem Magistrat hiesiger Residentzien, daβ die Prediger den Revers unterschreiben



A lithography of Paul Gerhardt from an etching by Ludwig Buchhorn, 1882 (Wikimedia Commons; Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden).

Friedrich Wilhelm required that all inspectors must comply and all clergy must agree to the edict and the attached declarations. Among those who stated that they would comply with the regulation that nothing hateful be said publicly about the Reformed but at the same time would refuse to subscribe to the edict, were Archdeacon Reinhardt, Pastor Georg Lilius, and Pastor Paul Gerhardt.385 On February 6, 1666, Gerhardt publicly declared to the consistory that he could not subscribe to the edict. He was formally suspended from office on February 13, 1666, and the next day he ministered at St. Nicolaus Church for the last time.³⁸⁶

Public reaction against the suspension was immediate and widespread. Citizens from all walks of life protested loudly against the suspension. The city council was presented with a petition from the

people of Berlin, demanding that the council must inform the elector that the people wanted "their beloved pastor to be restored to office."

In its communication to the elector, the council reminded him that no one had lodged any complaint against Gerhardt or accused him of improper words and actions and that he had never defamed the faith of the elector or any other member of the Reformed Confession. The elector refused to withdraw the suspension. He insisted that Gerhardt was the sworn enemy of the Reformed. The citizens remained unsatisfied and continued to complain. It was clear to the elector that he would need to take some action. Without mentioning Gerhardt by name, he wrote to the estates that he now intended to take some time to reflect on the matter. Offers of support came to Gerhardt from outside Brandenburg. Countess Maria Magdalena of Lippe informed him that he was welcome to minister in her territory but he graciously refused the offer.³⁸⁷ Early in 1667, it became clear to the elector that he would have to relent. He wrote to the Berlin magistrate that Gerhardt could return and resume

unterschreiben sollen; sambt dessen Copie sub A.") Corpus Constitutionum Marchicarum I/1 [1737], 392-393.

his pastoral office at St. Nicolaus.³⁸⁸ Gerhardt refused because, although he was no longer required to subscribe to the formal declaration, he would still be bound by its requirements. This meant that in accordance with the terms of the edict, he must ignore the doctrinal position confessed in the *Formula of Concord*. This he could not and would not do. In November 1668, he accepted the call to become archdeacon of Lübben an der Spree in Saxe-Merseburg.³⁸⁹

No longer bound to follow the edict of the elector, he was now free to publicly declare his disagreement with the policies and the Reformed religion of the elector. "I cannot regard the Calvinists, *quaterus tales*, as Christians," he declared from the pulpit in Lübben.³⁹⁰

Because of the strong opposition from the estates, the elector understood that he would need to proceed with great caution. Earlier on April 3/13, 1666, he had maintained a strong position in favor of his edict and the attached declarations and had publicly declared that they were fully binding. On June 26/July 6, he issued a rescript, stating that in the future when a pastor died, patrons were not to call successors unless they had been examined by the consistory and subscribed to the edict and *reverses*. In this way, blasphemy, slander, and denunciatory statements against the Reformed would be put to silence. There were no positive results but only further irritation and agitation. It was at this point that the elector decided that a change in tactics was in order.³⁹¹ On June 6, 1667, he started a new approach to the matter of the pastoral *reverse*. Henceforth, pastors already in the ministry, who were called or transferred to another place, would not be required to subscribe to the *reverse*.

Some arrangement would still need to be made concerning those who had studied at Wittenberg and other institutions, sharing the same theological principles which spoke against the Reformed.³⁹² On May 6, 1668, the elector issued an edict, stating that Reformed and Lutheran pastors acting in their official capacities could speak of controversial matters from the pulpit, as long as they did not foment bitterness or accuse the other confession of heresy, or otherwise anathematize or condemn. They were at all times to accurately state the official position of the other confession.

Friedrich Wilhelm still continued to keep a watchful eye on the Brandenburg parish churches. It came to his attention that the pastoral assistants (*küsters*) were still reading sermons from postils which the elector had declared to be offensive.³⁹³

³⁸⁸ Wangemann 1884, 198-203; Brecht 1981, 112; Ruschke 2012, 453.

³⁸⁹ Langbecker 1841, 210-213; Wangemann 1884, 220-221; Ruschke 2012, 470.

³⁹⁰ Zeeden 1965, 96; Iserloh, Glazik, Jedin 1980, 429.

^{391 &}quot;Rescript, daβ statt ordinirter Prediger keine Studiosi gebrauchet werden sollen; de dato Cleve den 26 Junii / 6 Julii Anno 1666." Corpus Constitutionum Marchicarum I/1 [1737], 393-394.

[&]quot;Verordnung, wie es wegen Ausstellung der Priester-Reverse künfttig zu halten; de dato Cölln an der Spree, den 6. Junii 1667." Corpus Constitutionum Marchicarum 1/1 [1737], 394-396.

To solve this problem, on February 29, 1683, the consistory ordered in accordance with the request of the elector that pastoral assistants, who read postils when the pastor was not present, were not to read sermons which contained crude and indefensible untruths against the Reformed and labeled them as Calvinists. The inspectors would need to determine which postils should be proscribed, and the consistory would need to find other material of a less offensive nature for use instead. Another solution would be for pastoral assistants to stop reading postils at all and read instead, one or two chapters from the New Testament. The elector was also concerned about the content of some Lutheran catechetical material, and at his request, the consistory ordered the visitors to ensure that the so-called "Frankfurt (Oder) Catechism" was suppressed since it contained many cutting remarks about the Reformed. Henceforth, only Luther's Small Catechism was to be used.³⁹⁴ This same order was repeated by the elector himself on December 14, 1683, when he widened the scope of censorship of catechetical materials by adding to the Frankfurt (Oder) catechism some other catechetical materials which made statements about the Reformed which he considered painful.³⁹⁵

The elector understood himself to be summus episcopus of the Reformed and Lutheran churches. Other religious bodies were related to him somewhat less directly. When the anti-Trinitarian Socinians were expelled from Poland, some of them fled to Brandenburg where, at least initially, their presence was regarded as problematic. However, on January 5, 1683, Friedrich Wilhelm issued a rescript, stating that Socinians were to be tolerated in Brandenburg not as a group but only as individual families, so long as they remained quiet and peaceable and did not seek to spread their errors. There were also a sizable number of Roman Catholics in the elector's western lands, and in these regions it appears that Reformed, Lutherans, and Roman Catholics were able to live together without undue strife. However, in 1685 Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes and this led to the flight of many French Reformed to the elector's western provinces. They were attracted by the "Edict of Potsdam" which Friedrich Wilhelm had proclaimed on October 29, 1685. In it, he stated that the French Reformed "in each town shall be provided with their own pastor, and divine services shall be conducted in the French language with the same rites and ceremonies as have hitherto been customary in the Evangelical-Reformed Churches in France."396

[&]quot;Consistorial-Verordnung an die Inspectores, alle andere Catechismos auch Franckfurter abzuschaffen, und nur der Lutheri beyzubehalten; vom 29. Febr. 1683." Corpus Constitutionum Marchicarum 1/1 [1737], 405-406.

[&]quot;Wiederholete Verordnung den Franckfurter Catechismum und andere abzuschaffen, und allein des Lutheri Catechismum beyzubehalten; vom 14. Dec. 1683." Corpus Constitutionum

In addition, proclaiming this edict the elector also chose to move against the French crown by issuing proscriptions against the practice of Roman Catholicism in his territories.³⁹⁷ These proscriptions were never applied in the western territories, and it is unclear whether they were ever applied to any great extent even in Brandenburg where some members of the elector's court were Roman Catholic.

As a part of his ongoing campaign to remove everything distinctively Lutheran from the church, the elector answered affirmatively to a request conveniently put to him by "prominent members of the cathedral" in Havelberg. On September 29, 1663, they asked if perhaps the Latin choral music in that church could be set aside and replaced by German hymns and readings from the catechism. On October 10, 1663, Friedrich Wilhelm wrote to the consistory to state that Latin hymns in the church of St. Mary in Havelberg were simply leftovers from the papacy, and according to the "evangelical doctrine," everything in the Christian congregation should be in the language understood by the members.³⁹⁸ In 1671, he decided that what he had ordered as appropriate in Havelberg should be extended to all Kurmark Lutheran congregations. In a March 28 encyclical address to the consistory, he stated that in the churches of Brandenburg the Magnificat, sung in Latin at Saturday Vespers, and other Latin hymns were no longer to be sung at all. They were to be replaced by German psalms and hymns.³⁹⁹ Furthermore, on January 5, 1681, he directed an order to the magistrates at Cölln an der Spree that the crucifix was henceforth forbidden in funeral processions in Friedrichswerder. 400

With reference to vestments and ornaments, he ordered on June 9, 1683, that henceforth preachers in funeral services in Berlin and Cölln an der Spree were not to wear white surplices (*weisse Corrocke*) and funeral processions were no longer to be led by a crucifer and a crucifix. Again, both of these were leftovers from the days of the pope and not based on the Scriptures. He claimed that many Lutherans had been clamoring for the enactment of such regulations – which is hardly likely.⁴⁰¹

It may be asked whether pastors and people adhered to the rescripts and declarations of the elector. Time and again since the days of Johann Sigismund, the

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so sich in Jhren Landen niederlassen werden, wegen der Jurisdiction und sonst, daselbst zu verstatten gnädigst entschlossen seyn; den 29. Octobr. 1685." *Corpus Constitutionum Marchicarum I/3* [1737]; "Edict of Potsdam, issued by Frederick William (October 29, 1685)." http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/docpage_s.cfm?docpage_id=4202.

³⁹⁷ "Rescript, daß denen Papisten kein Exercitium Religionis zu verstatten; vom 24. Octobr. 1685." *Corpus Constitutionum Marchicarum I/*1 [1737], 410.

³⁹⁸ "Rescript, wegen Abschaffung derer Lateinischen Gesänge in der Stiffts-Kirche zu Havelberg; vom 10. Octobr. 1663." Corpus Constitutionum Marchicarum I/1 [1737], 381-382.

³⁹⁹ "Circulare, die Lateinische Lieder abzuschaffen; vom 28. Mart. 1671." Corpus Constitutionum Marchicarum I/1 [1737], 397-398.



A chasuble from the church at Ketzür in Brandenburg, c. 1651, presently in the Cathedral treasury of Brandenburg an der Havel (© Kirchengemeinde Ketzür im Domstift / Dommuseum Brandenburg an der Havel; Photo: Hans-Uwe Salge).

clergy were constantly being instructed not to practice exorcism in Baptism if the candidate's parents requested that it be omitted. The order had to be repeated often because it was seldom heeded. On September 7, 1686, Friedrich Wilhelm issued a rescript, once again stating what he and his ancestors had often declared against the exorcism. He went on to say that it appeared that there were here and there a few Lutheran churches in which the pastors were still practicing it. He reminded them that his 1664 edict on this matter was firm and was still in effect. They were under obligation to eliminate exorcism if the parents of the candidate so requested.402

As seems to have often been the case with the Reformed, the elector preferred an austere and suitably somber attitude in all religious matters. Accordingly, many holiday practices which had been carried on since the Middle Ages came under his disapproving gaze.

In nearby Saxony, as well as in Branertainments were often held during re-

denburg and elsewhere in Germany, entertainments were often held during religious holidays for the amusement of families and friends. On these occasions people would present gifts, especially to children and tell popular stories about how the "blessed Savior descends from heaven on the night of his Nativity, and brings with him all manner of play-things." A popular custom was the wrapping of an infant in swaddling-clothes to be laid in the manger representing the newborn Christ-child.⁴⁰³

On December 6, 1655, Friedrich Wilhelm ordered that the Nativity scene must no longer be portrayed because it and many other holiday practices involved frolicking, foolishness, and gross idolatry. He sternly stated that such things had no place in a pious Christian society. It was necessary for him to reorder this un-

^{402 &}quot;Rescript, wegen des Exorcismi, daβ derselbe auf Begehren vom Prediger ausgelaβen

popular order on December 17, 1664, and again, on December 1, 1665, and on December 18, 1677. Clearly the people had no intention of casting aside their ancient and innocent customs and traditions. 404 A consistorial decree, issued on December 17, 1686, ordered that church inspectors should take this matter in hand because many preachers and others were insisting that these customs associated with Christmas and the representation of Christ in comedies and pantomimes were improper and downright dangerous, and it was the earnest desire of his electoral highness that these activities be done away with. Therefore, the inspectors were charged to see that this important task was accomplished.405

The elector also directed his fire against the celebration of Shrove Tuesday, the day before the beginning of Lent - a traditional day of carnival, frolicking, music, and dance before the beginning of the penitential season. All this too must cease, the elector declared on February 4, 1659, because artisans and others go through the streets in procession with music, play pranks, and beg for food and money from the citizens and then "for eight or more days they feast on what they have gotten, get into fights with each other, and even kill each other."406 This was yet another edict which the people were not willing to follow. The elector had to repeat his



A Lutheran play of the Wise Men in Holland described by Bernard Picart: "This formal act of devotion can scarcely be distinguished from a complete masquerade. The singers make choice of three of the tallest fellows... to represent the three kings, who march in the van: the middlemost advances with an air of majesty, and carries a large star on the top of a pole made with white paper. In the center of the star, there are two or three lighted tapers, which as he sings, he turns round about. The three kings are dressed in white surplices, crowned with a kind of wreath or royal diadem, embellished with tinsel. One of the company wears a black mask, but sometimes his face is only besmeared with soot; and at other times, all three appear in

the same gloomy hue" (Picart 1736).

^{404 &}quot;Verordnung wegen der Abschaffung der Repräsentation des heiligen Christs. 1655." Jacobson 1839, (Anhang) 91; Sonnek 1903, 27.

[&]quot;Consistorial-Verordnung an die Inspectores, daβ das so genannte Umgehen des H. Christs abgeschafft seyn soll, vom 17. Decembr. 1686." Corpus Constitutionum Marchicarum 1/2

command on February 8, 1670. 407 Indeed, Shrove Tuesday was still being celebrated long after Friedrich Wilhelm had left the scene. Even after seventy years, it was still necessary for King Friedrich Wilhelm I to complain on May 28, 1739, that these festive activities had not ceased and must still be eliminated because they were inherently sinful and godless and gave rise to all sorts of unwhole-someness. Such activities, he emphatically stated, were dangerous, not least to innocent young ladies for obvious reasons. Such pranks and parodies must cease at once and suitable punishment must be imposed on those who disregarded this edict. 408 So too, the traditional representation of the coming of the Wise Men from the east following the star was according to elector's edict of December 28, 1685, altogether impure and needed to be proscribed. Such processions of groups of people following a star must cease, he stated, because they were offensive to many pious people and they profaned the spiritual story of the Wise Men. 409

Through the efforts of the elector many more Reformed immigrants flooded into Brandenburg-Prussia from Switzerland, France, Holland, the Palatinate, Hesse, England, and elsewhere. By the time of his death, Reformed communities could be found all over the land.

In the Kurmark, such Reformed congregations could be found in (1) Libbenichen, (2) Joachimsthal, (3) Zehlendorf at Oranienburg, (4) Alt-Landsberg, (5) Potsdam, (6) Liebenberg and Neu-Holland, along with Zehdenick and Kreuzbruch, (7) Oranienburg, (8) Spandau, (9) Neustadt (Donau), (10) Köpenick, (11) Nattwerder or Vierhäuser, and (12) Brandenburg an der Havel.

In Neumark, congregations could be found in (1) Cüstrin, (2) Zicher, along with affiliated congregations in Schaumburg, Fürstenfelde, Blumberg, and Zorndorf, (3) Crossen, (4) the provost circuit at the mountain at Crossen, (5) Züllichau, and (6) Treppeln.

Lutherans were able to prevent the Reformed from settling at Altmark, Uckermark, and Priegnitz.

The Reformed congregations were also established in Pomerania at (1) Colberg (since 1657), (2) Stargard (1669), (3) Draheim, (4) Stettin (1678), (5) Stolp (since 1673), (6) Lauenburg, together with Schwartow, (7) Charbrow.

In Magdeburg and Halberstadt, Reformed communities were organized in (1) Magdeburg (1666), (2) Jerichow (1685), (3) Halle, and (4) Halberstadt.

In the Duchy of Prussia, congregations were founded in (1) Königsberg (1645), (2) Memel (1667), (3) Tilsit (1679), and (4) Pillau (1681).

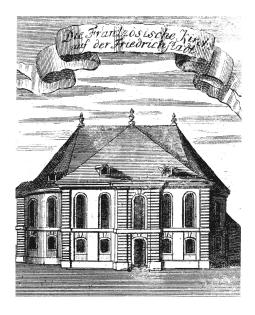
[&]quot;Rescript wegen derer im Edict vom 4. Febr. 1659. verbothenen Fastnachts-Spiele etc. vom 8. Febr. 1670." Corpus Constitutionum Marchicarum I/2 [1737], 85-86.

^{408 &}quot;Verordnung wegen Abstellung des sog. Fastnachts-Spiels. 1739." Jacobson 1839, (Anhang)

In Westphalia, congregations of Reformed were established in (1) Petershagen and Minden, (2) Sparenberg with Bielefeld.

Before the time of the Great Elector, there had been only a few scattered individuals or families of the Reformed persuasion but through his efforts, there was a great influx of Reformed into the region with authority radiating outward from the elector's court and the cathedral church in Berlin where the elector established in 1658 a Reformed High-Church Directorate (Germ. *Ober-Kirchendirektorium*) to regulate Reformed congregations. 410

Up to his dying day in 1688, the elector dedicated himself to the abolition of "papal abominations" which from his point of view still abounded in Lutheran-



French Reformed church in Berlin, 1740 (Wikimedia Commons).

ism. He stated in his last will and testament of 1667 that "by the grace of God Brandenburg and Pomerania were now entirely free of outrageous papist abominations and idolatry of past ages, excepting for those ceremonies which were still retained by the Lutherans." He went on to state that he was certain that these abominations as well could in the course of time be abolished if those who carried on after his death "would reasonably strive to do so." He urged that his successor should follow his policies and zealously see to it that the Reformed religion be spread throughout his domains since it and it alone was founded solely on "the true Word of God and on the works of the Apostles without any human additions." He counseled, however, that it would be futile to try to force the Lutherans or close their churches or withdraw their incomes, but rather they should endeavor the promotion of Calvinism in the kingdom by erecting Reformed churches.⁴¹¹

Brandenburg proved to be a fertile ground for the sprouting of new Rationalistic liturgies in the closing days of the eighteenth century. There was no single agenda used throughout this territory; the last edition of the Joachim Goltz agenda had appeared in 1697. This left a vacuum into which new and innovative Rationalistic liturgies rushed. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, most

Berlin pastors were using Rationalistic liturgies imported from other territories or their own creation.

Especially significant was the work of Wilhelm Abraham Teller who devoted his primary intellectual activity to the reform of the liturgy, hymnal, and religious instruction. In 1793, he published in Berlin his contributions to the liturgical reform, entitled: *Sammlung einiger Gebete zum Gebrauch bey öffentlichen Gottesdiensten (Collection of Some Prayers to Be Used in Public Divine Services*). He included in it a formula for the celebration of the Lord's Supper which consisted of an opening votum, a short admonition to the communicants, built on the model of the "*Sursum corda*," a communion prayer, the Our Father, Words of Institution (not printed), *Pax Domini*, distribution (formula not printed), prayer of thanksgiving, and benediction (not printed).⁴¹²

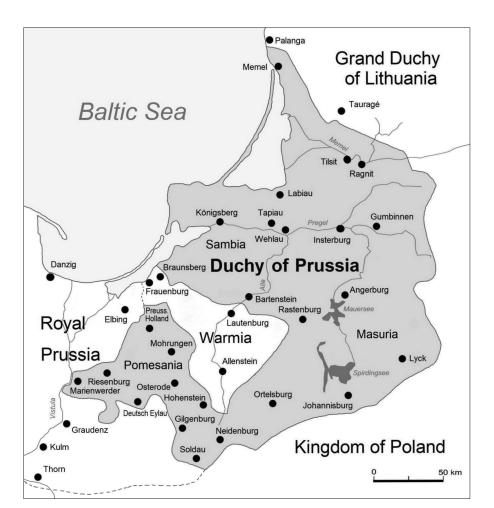
Yet another strongly Rationalist agenda appeared early in 1788. The author was Christian Wilhelm Krause who was the garrison and field chaplain of the Royal Prussian Army. His work appeared in Berlin and was entitled: *Versuch einer Agende für Prediger von allen christlichen Kirchenparteien* (*Quest for a Liturgy for Preachers of All Christian Church Parties*). Krause meant his theology and liturgical work to rise above the confessional differences between the Lutherans and the Reformed but in actual fact, his work displayed very clearly the spirit of Deism and Naturalism which left any Christian particularity at all far behind.⁴¹³

Imported Rationalist agendas, such as the Electoral Palatinate *Ordnung Gebete und Handlungen bey dem öffentlichen Gottesdienste*, 1783, and Schleswig-Holstein *Schleswig-Holsteinische Kirchen-Agende*, 1797, were put to use also by pastors in Berlin.⁴¹⁴

3. LITURGICAL TRADITIONS IN THE DUCHY OF PRUSSIA

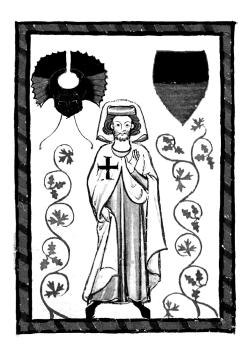
3.1 The Sixteenth-Century Liturgies in the Duchy of Prussia

The Prussians were the most westerly of all the Baltic tribes who occupied territory on the southern coast of the Baltic Sea, bordered on the east by the Lithuanian and the Samogitian tribes and on the west by the Poles.



The first attempts to convert the Prussians to Christianity were made by Adalbert of Prague who arrived in the closing years of the tenth century. His efforts were unsuccessful, and he was charged with sacrilege for entering the oak groves and chopping down sacred trees. For this, he was martyred in 997.

An intensive effort to convert Prussians by military means was undertaken by Konrad I of Masovia at the beginning of the thirteenth century. He was unable to achieve any decisive victories. In 1209, Pope Innocent III commissioned Christian of Oliva, a Cistercian monk, to devote himself to the conversion of the Prussians. In 1215, Christian became the first bishop of Prussia, but he encountered continued massive resistance. Konrad I's forces were too weak to carry out its mission, and so in 1226 he called for the help of the Order of Brothers of the German House of Saint Mary in Jerusalem (Lat. *Ordo domus Sanctæ Mariæ Theutonicorum Hierosolymitanorum*), commonly called the German Order (Germ. *Deutscher Orden*).



German minnesinger and poet Tannhäuser in the habit of the Teutonic knights (Codex Manesse c. 1300 -Cod. Pal. germ. 848, p. 264r. Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg,).

The German Order was the youngest of the three great military and religious orders which were organized during the crusades. It differed from the Templars and the Hospitallers in that it restricted its membership to German nobles. The Golden Bull of Rimini of 1226 and the Papal Bull of Rieti of 1234 promised that the successful efforts of the Order would result in its being given the territory.

The crusades attempts to take the land, which began in 1230, went on for decades and resulted in devastation and heavy looses on both sides. The Prussians were finally defeated at the end of the thirteenth century but long before that, as early as 1243, the papal legate William of Modena had established four dioceses: Culm, Pomesania, Ermland, and Samland, each given a modest allotment of territory. Most of the land, however, became the property of the Order, and by the end of the fourteenth century, it extended all the way from Pomerelia to Memel, and included also Samogitia,

Sword. State of the Teutonic Order (Germ. *Staat des Deutschen Ordens*; Lat. *Civitas Ordinis Theutonici*), with its largely autonomous *Terra Mariana* or Medieval Livonia, came to be known as the German Northern Domain in the Baltic, although in fact, the natives in the region spoke Prussian, Polish, Lithuanian, Samogitian, Curonian, Livonian, Estonian, and a number of minor dialects.

The ostensive purpose of the Order was to extend the kingdom of God by acquiring territories and baptizing the inhabitants by force, if necessary. Unfortunately, little was done beyond that to establish Christianity among the peoples. The so-called "kingdom of God" was to be found chiefly within the walls of the castles, built by the knights. The local population was still heathen in thought and manner, and they thought of the Order as an oppressive foreign power. In fact, the Poles and Lithuanians did not refer to them as German knights (Germ. Deutschritter), as they liked to call themselves, but by the far more negative term - "Crossers" (Pol. "Krzyżacy;" Lith. "Kryžiuočiai"), because of the black crosses which decorated their white gowns. They did not associate the knights with Christianity but rather with waves of spilled blood. During the fourteenth century, there was constant warfare between the Order and the Poles and Lithuanians. These battles culminated in 1410 in the Battle of Grunwald (Tannenberg) when the power of the Monastic State was finally broken. The Peace of Thorn (Pol. Toruń) in 1411 forced the knights to resign any claim to Samogitia, and the lands of Dobrzyń (Germ: Dobriner Land) and Zawkrze (Germ. Sakrze) were ceded back to Poland.

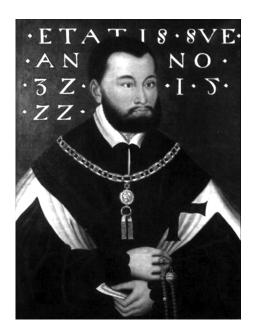
The borders between Prussia and Lithuania remained contested and unsettled until the Peace Treaty of Melno of 1422. Now Lithuania gained a fifteen-kilometer corridor to the Baltic Sea in the area adjacent to Prussian Memelland and Courland with the result that the territories of the Teutonic Order and the Livonian Order were separated. 415

The terms imposed by the First Peace of Thorn was very costly to the Order. They emptied its treasuries and attempts to gain revenue by taxation led to rebellion. German cities in Prussia established the Prussian Confederation which sought the support of Polish King Kazimierz IV against the Order. The Thirteen Years War ended with the defeat of the Teutonic Order and the establishment of the Second Peace of Thorn in 1466 in which the Order lost control of Western Prussia, i. e., the area called Pomerelia or Danzig Pomerelia (Germ. *Pomerellen*). The Order also lost control of the entire territory of Culm (Germ. *Kulmerland*) with Kulm and Thorn, as well as the mouth of the Vistula with Elbing and Marienburg (Pol. Malbork). These territories were now made a part of Poland and were called Royal Prussia (Pol. *Prusy Królewskie*). In the east, the Bishopric of Ermland (Lat. *Warmia*) with Allenstein (Pol. *Olsztyn*) became an autonomous bishopric, ruled by

the bishop of Warmia. The power and authority of the Teutonic Order had been greatly diminished and its capital was moved from Marienburg to Königsberg.

By the end of the fifteenth century, the Order still held out the vision of once again taking control of its lost territories. Tensions were not eased when in 1511 Duke Albrecht, the nephew of the Polish king, Sigismund the Old, was elected Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, succeeding the late Friedrich of Saxony. Within a few years he was planning to go to war. In 1516, he demanded the return of the territories which the Order had lost, and when these demands were rebuffed, he called on knights from German lands to enforce his claims. In 1519, the Poles launched a preemptive attack and Albrecht was forced to negotiate a settlement. This was reached in a treaty agreed at Thorn in 1521. At that time, calls for the Reformation were beginning to be heard.⁴¹⁶

The widespread realization that the church was in need of reform had taken



Grand Master Albrecht of Brandenburg-Ansbach in the habit of the Teutonic knights. A portrait by unidentified painter, 1522 (Wikimedia Commons).

root in cities of Royal Prussia. In Danzig, Jacob Knade (Knothe), priest of the Church of St. Peter, took a wife and preached theological and ecclesiastical reform. By 1521, the calls for Reformation had spread to Thorn, and by 1522, preachers acquainted with the writings of Dr. Martin Luther were preaching in pulpits in the city of Riga, Livonia. By 1523, calls for reform had become insistent also in Königsberg. The monk-knights themselves had become an object of ridicule and were unwilling to appear in public in their characteristic white robes.⁴¹⁷

Calls for the reform of the Order were common not only from the populace but also from Pope Leo X. It was from counselor Dietrich von Schönberg, who had become acquainted with the writings of Luther and his supporters, that Albrecht received the suggestion that he should submit the statutes of the Order to Luther for his examination and sug-

gestions. Albrecht responded by asking von Schönberg to consult with Elector Friedrich the Wise about it. Subsequently, on June 14, 1523, a copy of the statutes

was taken to Wittenberg by Albrecht's councilor, Magister Johann Oeden of Heilbronn. Oeden's subsequent report had been lost. 418

Even before this, in April 1522, Albrecht himself had gone to Germany to attend the Diet of Nürnberg. Here he became acquainted with Lazarus Spengler, a leader of the Reformation in Nürnberg, and listened to the sermons of Andreas Osiander and secretly converted to Lutheranism. On November 29, 1523, Albrecht met personally with Luther and Melanchthon. Both of them advised that the statutes of the Order should be laid aside and that Prussia should become a state, principality, or duchy. Luther subsequently wrote his treatise *An die herren Deutsch Ordens* (*To the Knights of the Teutonic Order*) early in December. In it, he advised that the knights should forsake their false vows, which had often been broken, and take wives in accordance with God's will. He stated that since the Order claimed to be both secular and spiritual, it was, in fact, neither secular nor spiritual. It could not be a secular power and still maintain vows of celibacy, poverty, and obedience, as human reason and daily experience clearly indicate. In short, Prussia should become a secular entity.⁴¹⁹

3.1.1 The 1525 Article on Ceremonies

Albrecht's own conversion was clearly indicated when, at Luther's suggestion, his close Wittenberg associate, Johannes Briesmann, still wearing the garb of a Franciscan friar, was installed as the first evangelical preacher in the Königsberg Cathedral. Briesmann arrived in Königsberg in late summer 1523 and preached his first sermon in the Königsberg Cathedral on September 27. Within a short time, he published his *Flosculi de homine interiore et exteriore, fide et operibus*, a tractate of 110 theses on the fundamentals of the Lutheran Reformation.⁴²⁰

Bishop Georg von Polentz of Samland did not react negatively to the appearance of Briesmann or to the doctrine which he had come to teach and preach in Königsberg. With the encouragement of Albrecht and the influence of Briesmann, von Polentz himself became acquainted with the doctrine of salvation by grace alone, and by Christmas Day 1523, he preached his first Lutheran sermon from the pulpit of the cathedral.

The espousal of the Reformation by von Polentz quickly came to the attention of Bishop Mauritius Ferber in the nearby Bishopric of Warmia. On January 20, 1524, he issued an edict against the "Lutheran heresy," stating that in his churches no Lutheran preachers or preaching would be tolerated. The Warmia territory



Johannes Briesmann. Copper engraving from the sixteenth century (*herder-institut.de*).

was an autonomous bishopric and Albrecht was powerless to act against the bishop.⁴²¹

It was little more than a week later, on January 28, 1524, that Bishop von Polentz issued his mandate that henceforth candidates for Holy Baptism would be baptized in the language of the people, according to the order set down by Martin Luther who had said that it was not only advisable but also necessary that this should be done. He went on to state that without the word the faith could not flourish. Therefore, the gospel and the divine promises must be proclaimed in the language of the people, be it German, Lithuanian, Prussian, or Polish. He went on to say that to facilitate this, Luther engaged himself in the work of translating the Old and New Testaments, had written extensively on the freedom of the Christian, good works, the Magnificat of the Virgin Mary, lectured on the psalms, and that his homilies on the gospels

and epistles had been made available in the postil. Von Polentz mandated that his priests study these testimonies because they were now being given official status under his seal. This mandate can be understood to mark the official beginning of the Lutheran Reformation in Samland. 422

With the assistance of Briesmann, Bishop von Polentz moved slowly, seeking to instruct his people and encourage them, rather than to replace the old canonical regulations with new laws which gave the impression that the Christian life consisted primarily in works and actions, rather than faith in the heart, planted and nurtured by the word. In his 1524 Easter Day sermon, he encouraged his people to understand that the old regulations concerning the forty days fast and the canonical requirement that the people must make confession and go to Communion during the Easter Season were now rolled away, just as the stone had been rolled away from the tomb which could no longer confine the risen Christ.

Now they should with glad hearts and free consciences receive both the body and blood of Christ in the Sacrament with the assurance that thereby their sins were altogether forgiven.⁴²³

Changes in the liturgy at the *Altstadt* Church and the cathedral were already evident during Lent. The images of the saints and their altars were set aside and only a single Mass was celebrated every day, according to the institution of Christ.

In his Easter sermon, von Polentz ridiculed the Franciscan friars as "guardians of the tomb of Christ" who tried by means of their "monkey business" to keep the stone in place. However, he did not seek to incite the people to act against the Franciscans because he understood that it is the Word of God, and not the rash acts of man, which builds up and maintains the church.

Some wanted more decisive action to be taken. Just as Karlstadt in Wittenberg had incited mob violence, so too in the *Löbenicht* Church, the new pastor, Johannes Amandus, formerly an indulgence preacher, now incited violence against the Franciscans. In his Easter Monday sermon, he incited the common people and the youths to attack the Franciscan cloister. They broke into it and destroyed the statue of St. Francis and desecrated the church. In his Easter Tuesday sermon, Amandus declared that this was only the beginning. He suggested how the people should continue their "godly work." "The monks had long enough eaten and drunk with you. Now you go and eat and drink with them." ⁴²⁴ As soon as the service was over, a mob attacked the cloister, breaking windows and destroying everything in their path and taking for themselves whatever was of value. It was only through the efforts of the mayor of *Löbenicht* and members of the city council that the lives of the friars were spared. Neither Bishop von Polentz nor Duke Albrecht approved of the actions of Amandus and the mob which he had incited. By the end of the year, he was banished from the city.

In the closing days of July 1524, Paul Speratus arrived from Wittenberg to assist in the reformation of the church. At the same time, the first printing house was officially opened by Hans Weinreich. From its presses came the first Lutheran literature printed in Prussia, including important pamphlets by Speratus and Briesmann.

By the end of the year, the *Ordnung eines gemeinen Kastens der Altenstadt Königsberg Anno 24 aufgerichtet (Order of a Common Treasury of the Altenstadt District of Königsberg, Instituted in the Year [15]24*) was enacted, setting up a common treasury for the towns of Königsberg and *Altstadt* for the support of church workers and to relieve the necessities of the poor, as Luther had suggested.⁴²⁵

The Reformation had spread to the neighboring diocese of Pomesania where it was supported by Bishop Erhard von Queiss. The bishop understood that it was the responsibility of the church and the civil officials to support the proclamation of the pure

doctrine of God's Word and to put down paganism and superstitious practices. His 1524 twenty-two point program of Reformation, *Themata episcopi Risenburgensis*, called for important and even somewhat radical liturgical and ceremonial alterations. ⁴²⁶

Greater emphasis was placed on Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and other elements of the Roman sacramental system were abandoned because consciences should not be bound by "human institutions but only by the Word of God."

"In the first place you have hitherto observed seven sacraments; the celebration of these has been unlawful; henceforth you must consider faith as the essential basis of salvation, and you must only recognize the two sacraments which Christ Himself instituted – the Lord's Supper and Baptism. Secondly, no ban, which has no warrant in God's Word, and which is a burden on consciences, shall any longer be valid. Thirdly, in the confessional, the detailed enumeration of sins must be discontinued. Pilgrimages and processions must cease, for they are profitable to nobody's salvation, and have no warrant from the Word of God. All Church services and ceremonies for the benefit of the dead must also be abolished as quite useless; this included the tolling of bells, singing, Masses, vigils, and even prayers for the dead because such were of no use to the deceased"427

Also discontinued was the blessing of water, salt, ashes, palms, candles, pine branches, etc. "for it is all human absurdity and of no use whatsoever." It was determined that religious orders, excepting those which, like the Teutonic, had been actively involved in struggles against the infidels and the heathen, should be closed.

Since it was understood that the episcopal church government was not essentially against the gospel and could be used to extol it, it was determined that it should not be overthrown. The bishops were to continue in office to preach and teach the pure Word of God and preside over the church, but it was understood that no special anointing or consecration for this was necessary ("nicht chrysambischöfe, auch nicht weihe-bischöfe").

Every day was to be considered a day of the Lord and the superstitious distinction between "feast days, Fridays, Saturdays, ember days, fast days, etc.," would need to be eliminated, and accordingly, the question as to whether meat or fish should be put on the table, would henceforth need to be decided upon the basis of one's personal fasting preferences or upon what the good God had provided. The feasts which should remain were all the Sundays of the year, for they commemorate the resurrection of Christ, and the three chief feasts of Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas. These were all to be observed in a proper manner in accordance with God's Word and his mandate. Days, which were not grounded in the Word of God and which kept men from doing honest labor, must be discouraged since they inevitably led to drunkenness, quarrels, and carousing.

Hymns and prayers in church and the rite of Holy Baptism were to be administered in the German language, "so that everyone might understand what was being sung, prayed, or done." It was determined that the hymn of praise to the Virgin, "Salve Regina," was contrary to Scripture in that it belittled the majesty of God, and therefore, should no longer be sung.

Bishop von Queiss also determined that new regulations concerning clergy compensation must be instituted. Clergymen who did not regularly serve their office but who still held stipends attached to a living, should no longer to receive them. It was decided that only those who actually served at the altar should receive the wages of an officiating clergyman. Outside of the Communion service, the host was not to be "taken for God's body." "Henceforth in no churches shall the consecrated bread be reserved and regarded or carried about as the body of Christ at other times than that of the Communion service." Religious pictures might be retained in the churches, but they were not to be venerated, and the banns of marriage in connection with the "spiritual relationship" of baptismal sponsors and their godchildren were to be declared null and void. Confraternities and guilds were to be urged not to expand the endowments which they had received to pay for Masses. They were instead to use these funds to aid the poor and for other godly purposes.

The daily celebration of the Mass was to be identified as a misuse which must be discontinued. "The daily Mass is an abomination to God; so henceforward it is not to be observed in any church or anywhere." Communicants were to inform their pastor of their intention to receive the Sacrament and they were encouraged to receive both species.

Those who thought that they could make satisfaction for their sins themselves apart from the merits of Christ were to be declared *anathema*, and priests, monks, and nuns who desired to laicize were declared free to do so. The bishop proclaimed that "all priests, monks, and nuns are free to forsake their orders and enter into the married state."

Bishop von Queiss went about the work of Reformation quite differently from Bishop von Polentz. Von Polentz concerned himself with doctrine; he appears to have taken the attitude that when Law and Gospel are rightly taught, what does not extol the gospel but instead contradicts it, will of necessity fall away. Von Queiss seems to have been anxious to help that process along by his regulations to assist the people in proper observances. Now for the first time, an attempt was made to institute the Reformation by legal measures.

Reformation doctrine was now being taught from pulpits in both the dioceses of Samland and Pomesania. Albrecht offered no objection. Indeed, such progress could not have been possible without his tacit agreement. He was responsible for the invita-

tions which brought such leading Lutheran theologians and preachers as Johannes Briesmann, Paul Speratus, and others to Prussia to spearhead the Reformation of the Church. The question of the future of the Teutonic Order, however, was not yet decided. Albrecht's initial questions to Luther on November 29, 1523, were concerned with the future usefulness and status of the Order and the appropriate revision of its statutes. Luther and Melanchthon made it clear that the Order had outlived its usefulness and should be secularized. Albrecht listened attentively, but he did not at that time commit himself to a course of action. Later he wrote to Luther and indicated by his questions that what had been suggested was now understood by him to be a real option. Before such an important step could be taken, however, he needed answers to his questions concerning the Office of Peter in the Church, not only because he was directly responsible to the pope, but because the pope claimed authority over all Christians and churches and stated that beyond his authority there is no church and no hope of salvation. Albrecht asked Luther, did Christ indeed build his church upon Peter and those who succeeded him? Did he employ them to make laws beyond the commandments of God, commandments which alter those commandments, commandments which contradict them? Luther's decisive answer was based upon Galatians 1:8: "If we or even an angel from heaven should preach a gospel different from that which we have preached to the people, let him be accursed." Thus, Luther rejected both the spiritual and secular jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome. On May 12, 1524, Albrecht again visited Luther in Wittenberg. Now he was ready to act. 429

The time was ripe for such action because the interim with Poland would soon come to an end and he could not possibly stand against the king of Poland in open battle. Albrecht, therefore, called upon his brother Georg and his brother-in-law Duke Friedrich II of Liegnitz to ask King Sigismund I of Poland to raise him to the status of a secular duke of Prussia in return for his promise that he would pay him fealty. When the king put this proposal before the Polish Imperial Council, many members of the council were opposed to it. They objected that such an action was bound to lead to a disruption of good relations between Poland and the Holy See under whose suzerainty Prussia stood and with the Holy Roman Empire of which Albrecht was a prince. Members of the council, who were in favor of the proposal, stated that such an action by the king would be of benefit to Poland, for the Teutonic Order was an enemy of the Polish State, and it was a matter of complete indifference to them to whom it owed its allegiance. In any case, it was evident that the original purpose of the Teutonic Knights to wage war against the infidels was no longer of great significance to the Order.⁴³⁰

Sigismund I decided to agree to Albrecht's proposal, and after talks between the delegates of the Order and the Prussian estates had been successfully conclud-

ed, along with the personal interview between Sigismund and the Grand Master, on April 8, 1525, the last day of the interim, the treaty was concluded between the Polish Kingdom and the Order. Albrecht signed the document which dissolved the Prussian branch of the Order and turned it into a secular state, a fiefdom of Poland. Two days later, on April 10, he handed to the king the title-deeds received from the Emperor Friedrich II von Hohenstaufen, which had given Prussia to the Teutonic Order, and he swore perpetual fealty and homage of the Polish Crown. He was made a "Dux in Prussia," a title which his male heirs would inherit together with dominion over Prussian territory. As a sign of it, he could wear, on a gold chain, an eagle with outstretched wings and on the breast of the eagle the initial letter of the name "Sigismund." 431



Duke Albrecht of Prussia by Lucas Cranach the Elder, 1528 (Wikimedia Commons; Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig).

Prussia was now no longer a monastic state in league with the Holy Roman Em-

pire and the Bishop of Rome. Now it enjoyed only the protection of Poland. King Sigismund I and his nobles regarded it as a great victory that their former foes were now their fief – a miscalculation which would become clear with the passing of time. Prussia would be built upon the military mentality and aspirations which it inherited from the Teutonic Order. Its close familiar relationship with German lands would grow, and by 1618, it would be joined together in a personal union with Brandenburg. In 1701, the Kingdom of Prussia would be established, a kingdom which would continue to grow in size and power. After the Congress of Vienna in 1815, it would be the most formidable of all German states. It is somewhat ironic that such a mighty kingdom should retain the name of a small Baltic tribe which had fallen into obscurity at the end of the sixteenth century.

On May 26, 1525, the first Prussian territorial assembly convened to regularize affairs of state and ecclesiastical. On July 6, 1525, a Reformation mandate was ordered to be posted on all church doors and read from every pulpit for five Sundays in succession. It announced the initiation of a new government and poli-

cies which called for the bold and clear preaching of the Christian faith. In general terms, it stated that false and pernicious doctrines, sects, clandestine preachers, fortune tellers, and those who offered pagan sacrifices of goats would not be tolerated. They were to be reported and receive proper punishment. Drunkenness, blasphemy, swearing, cursing, and adultery, as well as irreligious mocking, would not be tolerated. Henceforth, secular and ecclesiastical authority would be separate and each given its own domain.⁴³²



Renfmeifter Breuer

Poliander (Aufabt)

Die Bischöle Bueiß und Polenh

Heinrich Reuß von Plauen Komthur zu Bartenstein

Die Prediger Dr. Briehmann (Pom) Dr. Sperafus (Indoh)

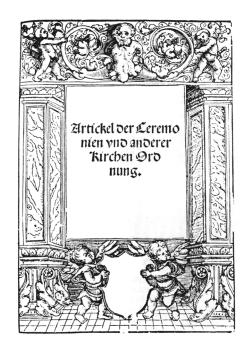
Burggraf Peter von Dohna Bischof Maurifius von Ermland (vergl. Ichluß des Vorworts Scile 6)

The Prussian Territorial Assembly approves the 1525 Article of Ceremonies (Benrath 1920).

Albrecht and the bishops decided to tour the country to get a more accurate picture about spiritual and material conditions. This plan had to be canceled because of the riots of peasants and city dwellers in September 1525. After peace was restored, the territorial assembly passed the first *Territorial Order* (Germ. *Landesordnung*) on December 6, 1525. Eighty articles were passed, including some concerning ecclesiastical matters. The most significant of these were printed in 1526 by Hans Weinreich. They dealt with the selection of clergy and their proper maintenance, the observance of Sunday, high feasts and other special days, ecclesiastical ceremonies, regulations concerning guilds and brotherhoods, witchcraft, and the pagan sacrifice of goats.⁴³³

The territorial assembly also commissioned Bishop Georg von Polentz and Bishop Erhard von Queiss to prepare a comprehensive church order. This they accomplished in consultation with pastors Briesmann, Speratus, and Johannes Poliander (Gramann). The resulting Artickel der Ceremonien und anderen Kirchen Ordnung (Article of Ceremonies and Other Ecclesiastical Regulations) was adopted by the territorial assembly on December 10 and published in March 1526.

This short church order consisted in two parts. The first part set down in summary form general directives to guide the clergy in the conduct of public divine services and pastoral ministrations. The second, entitled "Here Follow the Forms and Instruction for the Order Given Above as Announced and Promised" ("Volgen die Formen vnd anleytung yn vor angeezaygter Ordnung vor meldet vnnd vor-



Title page of the 1525 Article of Ceremonies.

heyschen"), provided forms in the proper use of the order.

The compendious *Artickel* included a summary of what priests needed to know for the proper conduct of public worship in the churches. Included were directives for the conduct of daily Matins and Vespers, the collects, prayers for the ruler, preaching services on Sundays and feast days, general confession (without absolution) for inclusion after the sermon on Sundays and feast days, the proper

way to celebrate the Mass, and the correct manner of praying the Our Father. Included also were customs and ceremonies connected with the Sacrament, the instruction of the people, the sacramental vessels, Holy Baptism, public repentance of a mother who inadvertently caused the death of her child, marriage, adultery, church feasts, burial, and visitations and synods.

The order of Mass followed principles laid down by Luther in the Formula Missae 1523. In parishes where the introit had not been dropped, the usual Sunday introits were to be used in Latin, as long as they were Scriptural. Where it was no longer in use, German psalms should be sung to replace them. In city parishes with Latin schools, the Latin introit or an entire Latin psalm should be sung at the beginning of the Mass. The Kyrie, which followed, might be sung first in Greek, then in Latin, and then in German. The "Gloria in excelsis Deo" and "Et in terra pax" was to be sung either in German or Latin. The collect or prayer should always be in clear and understandable German, using the traditional chant. On Sundays and feast days, the preacher was to read from the pulpit either a whole or a half chapter from the epistles of Paul or some other apostle, or the Acts of the Apostles. On other days, he was to read facing the people from the altar in German. On feast days, the epistle was not to be read by the priest celebrating the Mass but by an assistant standing in the pulpit. In smaller parishes or when few worshipers were present, he need not go to the pulpit. After the epistle, a German psalm and the alleluia was to be sung. Either the priest or his assistant was then to read a whole chapter of the gospel, beginning with Matthew, so that in the course of time all four gospels were read. The Creed should be sung in German by the choir and congregation.

The Offertory, Secret, and Major and Minor Canon were dropped, and the priest immediately turned to the Preface, singing it together with the *Verba* in German. The consecrated elements were to be elevated in turn, while the choir sang the *Sanctus* in Latin or German. The priest was then to admonish the people to prayer, and turning to the altar, he was to pray the Our Father in German with the choir responding, "But deliver us from evil," again in German. The choir was then to sing the *Agnus Dei* in German or Latin, two times. The first stanza should end, "... have mercy of us," and the second, "... and grant us peace." The priest then sang the *Pax Domini* in German, as an "Evangelical absolution." After it, he admonished the communicants and administered the Sacrament, saying, "Take and eat, this is the body, given for you," and "Take and drink, this is the blood, shed for you," while the choir sang, "Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior" ("*Jesus Christus, unser Heiland*"). When all have communed, they were to sing, "O Lord, We Praise Thee" ("*Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet*"). The service closed with a Ger-

The order specified that the Mass was to be celebrated every Sunday and on feast days. On weekdays when there were no communicants, the order was to be shortened by eliminating everything from the Preface on, excepting the Our Father, the *Pax Domini*, and the benediction.

Directives were given concerning who should be permitted to commune. Communicants were to be warned and instructed that they must not continue in open sin but must be repentant. In addition, they must demonstrate that they are faithful Christians who hunger and thirst for Christ's body and blood. Those who did not do so were to be warned that they were on the road that leads to excommunication since they receive no blessing but eat and drink to their judgment, as the Word of God plainly says and teaches. In Königsberg and elsewhere, many who



Königsberg Cathedral (Hubatsch III 1968).

did not speak German came on the high feasts to receive Communion; therefore a translator would need to be provided for them so that they could attest to their proper preparation.

In Königsberg and *Altstadt*, three chalices were to be consecrated, two to commune those who were sick and those with communicable diseases and one for the ordinary communicants. In these churches, a large chalice should be used at the high feasts. It was stated also that a large candle was to be lit and set beside the chalice. The Sacrament was not to be reserved for any purpose other than the Communion of the sick.⁴³⁴

The celebration of the Mass was to be preceded by the office of Matins. In addition, Matins was to be prayed every day. Vespers was to be prayed in the afternoon, according to a similar pattern. Matins was to begin with the usual versicle, "O Lord, open my lips" ("Domine labia mea aperies"), and its response, "And my mouth will declare your praise" ("Et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam"), in Latin and German, followed by the Gloria Patri and the invitatory, "O Come, Let Us Sing unto the Lord" ("Venite, exultemus Domino"), and two or three additional psalms, depending on their length. The Matins psalms were to be prayed in order, beginning with

Psalm 1 and continuing to Psalm 109. After the psalms, the chaplain or pastor was to read in clear German a chapter or half chapter from the Old Testament, from Genesis through the Prophets. He was also to provide a short explanation of the reading. Then the usual responsory was to be sung. After the responsory, the priest was to sing the versicle, "O Lord, show us your mercy" ("Erzeige uns herr dein barmherzigkeit"), with the choir singing the appropriate response. This was followed by a German collect and the common benediction. In Königsberg and Altstadt, Matins was to begin at 6 a.m. in the summer months and otherwise at 7 a.m.. The directives stated that German hymns could also be included.

Vespers followed a similar pattern. It began with the versicle, "Make haste, O God, to deliver me" ("Deus in adjutorium meum intende"), and the response, "Make haste to help me, O Lord" ("Domine ad adjuvandum me festina"), in German or Latin. This was followed by the Gloria Patri. One, two, or three psalms from Psalm 110 to Psalm 150 were then to be sung. A chapter or half chapter from the other books of the Old Testament were then to be read and briefly explained. After the reading, the Magnificat was to be sung in German. The office then concluded with a versicle and collect and the benediction, as at Matins.⁴³⁵

The following feasts of Christ were always to be celebrated: the Nativity, the Circumcision, the Epiphany, the Purification of Mary (without the blessing of candles), the Annunciation of Mary, Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, Easter (without the blessing of Easter cakes), Ascension, and Pentecost. A sermon should also be preached on the second and third days of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. The apostles' days and the day of St. John the Baptist may be kept but not as days of rest. They should be announced on the Sunday preceding and kept in such a manner that people will take from them such good Christian examples as the Holy Scriptures provide.⁴³⁶

The Divine Service, which some later German Protestant scholars have described as "very Catholic," in fact followed Luther's counsel in his *Formula Missae* rather closely and restored nothing that he had omitted. As in the *Formula*, the Offertory and the Canon were eliminated, and in accord with Luther's suggestion, there was no commingling of water and wine. In the *Formula Missae*, Luther had not condemned the practice and stated that he had no intention of limiting anyone's freedom in the matter since it really was not worth arguing about. The elevation in connection with the *Sanctus* was retained. An unusual feature introduced in the cathedral and the *Altstadt* Church in Königsberg, and later found also in Briesmann's *Kurtz ordnung* in Riga, was the stipulation that three chalices should be consecrated: two for the chronically ill and those with contagious illnesses and

⁴³⁵ Artickel der Ceremonien 1526, Aiij.

the third for the ordinary communicants. Also unusual for that time was the notion that communicants could receive the Sacrament on any celebration of the Mass and that there was to be no consecration without communicants. In the medieval church, reception of the Sacrament outside of the Easter Season was rare. The *Artickel* directed that the Sacrament was not to be reserved and that bread and wine were to be consecrated in the presence of home-bound or infirm, so that they could hear the life-giving words by which the Sacrament is consecrated.

The appendix to the articles included an introductory invitation to be spoken by the pastor before the Our Father in the Mass. 439 Also included were an admonition for those who would commune, a short form of instruction for them, and a form of scrutiny addressed to those who wished to commune. The admonition referred to the communicants as those who hunger and thirst after righteousness and reminded them that the body and blood of the Lord are to be received by them as a sign of God's forgiveness and fellowship with him. In this way, their hope was to be strengthened. In the short form of instruction which followed, the pastor reminded his hearers that in the Sacrament, Christ gives his body and blood under the bread and wine to strengthen and exalt the faith of those who receive it, and that by it, they have forgiveness of sins and a gracious God. Furthermore, they were to give attention to Christ's words, "Take and eat," and understand that those who trust in Christ's words in their hearts receive the benefit and fruit of the Sacrament. The scrutiny consisted in three questions. The pastor was to ask whether they had faith in what the Sacrament is, whether they would seek to make use of what it gives, and whether they would seek to depart from their sinful ways and live a proper Christian life.

The supplement also provided a form of general confession, entitled: "The Form of General Confession After the Sermon" ("Form der offenen beicht nach der predigt"). After the sermon, the pastor was to admonish the people to make confession and lead them in saying a confessional prayer:

"O Lord, gracious and merciful God, I confess unto you that all my nature and life, both inwardly and outwardly, are nothing but sin and my thoughts, words, and deeds are nothing but pure evil and transgression, therefore I seek mercy through Jesus Christ, your dear Son; be merciful unto me for his sake who is my High Priest and Advocate." 440

No absolution was provided.

⁴³⁹ The present writer was able to obtain only the *Artickel* itself form the collection in the Danzig library. The description of the supplement is based on Sehling's reprint of the forms in *Sehling IV* 1911, 36-38. According to *Cosack* 1861, 67 fn. 7, the original document was held

The supplement then included an instruction for the admonishing of the living friends and those who go to the graveside at a burial. It was followed by a directory, listing those days for which collects and general prayers were appointed for the Mass, Vespers, and Matins throughout the year. Also mentioned were two general collects to be used at the conclusion of Mass throughout the entire year. These collects were not printed. Listed also were a directory of responsories to be used and their sources in the Old Testament and Apocrypha, as well as the benediction, "May God grant us his blessing, may our God bless us," and response, "And let all the ends of the earth fear God," to be used at festivals. On ordinary occasions, the final benediction was: "The Lord lift up his countenance upon us and give us peace." Included also was a form for the reconciliation and absolution of a public sinner. The supplement also noted that the feast of the Annunciation must not be celebrated during Holy Week or Easter Week but transferred to the first Sunday after Easter or later so that it did not interfere with sermons on the passion and resurrection of Christ.⁴⁴¹

The 1525 *Artickel* were that and that alone. The articles were not an agenda. They simply provided specific instructions concerning the conduct of the Mass using German and Latin. The need for a full agenda was not yet urgent. The priests knew how to celebrate Mass; they needed only to be informed to how to celebrate it in a manner which would complement and exalt the gospel. Much of the material in the *ordinarium* and the *propria* could still be taken from the existing missals. Furthermore, Luther's 1522 translation of the New Testament and the Pentateuch had already been widely circulated. The priests were expected to use these with whatever specific directives were provided in the articles. Furthermore, the *Artickel* contained helpful information about the provisions made for the celebration of Mass and the distribution of communion in the Königsberg churches. The priests were to follow these provisions as far as possible. It would appear that, as a result, there was some variety of practice in the churches in both dioceses.

The bishops had not had sufficient time to produce a detailed agenda. In synods and visitations, steps would need to be taken to ensure as great a measure of uniformity as could be hoped for. The time would come when much that they had ordered would have to be updated to some extent. Still, it was to be desired that a high measure of Christian unity should be maintained. They called for patience and the observance of the directives set down.

It was planned that the first visitation of the parishes should be undertaken as soon as possible. Initially, the duke and the bishops hoped that it could be inaugurated in the summer of 1525, but unrest and rebellions made it necessary to postpone it until 1526. The visitation was needed not only to ensure a high

level of uniformity in liturgical matters but also in matters of parish administration, the correction of abuses, and the collection and distribution of funds. Adrian von Waiblingen and Paul Speratus were invited by Duke Albrecht to work with the two bishops to set down particular points concerning which inquiry needed to be made.442 Their consultations were concluded on March 31, 1526, and on that same day they issued the nine articles concerning which the visitors were to inquire. After the visitors had read the visitation articles aloud in each parish, they were to consult with those responsible concerning the proper maintenance of the clergy. They were to see to the organization of the congregation's treasury that the necessities of the poor were attended to, the church buildings were maintained, and people of goodwill were made aware of their responsibilities. In addition, suitable persons were to be appointed to properly supervise and account for the parish treasury, its incomes, and its expenditures. Records were to be made of



Bishop Paul Speratus of Pomesania. Copper engraving from the sixteenth century (Wikimedia Commons).

all church buildings in which divine services were no longer being held, and provision was to be made for their proper maintenance. These buildings were not to be demolished or privatized. They were to ensure that the pastor had in his possession the *Article of Ceremonies* and that his conduct of the ministry was in accordance with it. It must also be determined whether the pastor was zealous in preaching the Word of God and in his conduct of the ministry, and whether his catechization of the people was conducted in a Christian and friendly manner. Pastors were to maintain a parish register, listing the names of all parishioners and indicating their status as nobles, free men, innkeepers, or servants, so that each may know his place and conduct himself accordingly. Public officials must serve as models of propriety and zealously fulfill their duties. The tithe due to the clergy was to be collected by St. Martin's Day, and it must be determined that

those who have been assigned heavy labors must be dealt with properly so that there might be no public unrest among the people.⁴⁴³

These cursory articles of visitation were followed up by articles formulated for a second visitation, issued by Albrecht on April 24, 1528. These articles were more specific. They stated that the bishops were responsible to see to it that the pastors were learned in Christian doctrine, that they properly administered the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, that they conducted their ministry in an orderly fashion, that they instructed their people properly in the chief articles of faith, and conducted their own lives in a proper manner. The bishops were also to see to it that every pastor had a copy of a postil and was not ashamed to use it. They were also to determine whether the pastor was keeping proper records and were to appoint deans or archpriests to assist them in supervising the various deaneries. They were also to see to it that the pastors were being provided proper maintenance and that the churches and parsonages were provided for. Because of the language differences between the Germans, Prussians, Lithuanians, and Poles, the bishops were to see to it that competent translators were provided for. Every pastor was to have a copy of the Artickel on ceremonies. If he did not have one at present, he was to be given one. He was to be responsible, also, to see that a congregational treasury was established and properly maintained and that the income of churches, guilds, and brotherhoods was properly administered both for the good of the church and for the assistance of the poor.444



A Sudovian pagan priest sacrifices a goat in a pagan Prussian ritual (Hartknoch 1684).

The visitation was to be conducted in both dioceses by their bishops. Bishop von Polentz and Speratus conducted the visitation in Samland and in particular, in Friedland, Barten, Bartenstein, Brandenburg, and Mühlhausen. The visitation, which proceeded slowly, showed that much needed to be done to reform the church, particularly in rural areas. The farther one went from Königsberg and other major cities, the less one saw and heard the positive results of the Reformation of the Church. In some places, the gospel seemed not to have arrived at all and superstitions and paganism still ruled the day among Prussians, Lithuanians, Sudovians, and other Baltic peoples.

The progress of the visitation was halted in 1529 because of an epidemic which took many lives, including that of Bishop von Queiss. Conditions necessitated further visitations in 1531, 1533, 1538, and 1540.⁴⁴⁵

During this period what was regarded as binding among those who now rejected the authority of the Bishop of Rome was the *Landesordnung* and *Artickel der Ceremonien*. Neither of these contained details concerning doctrine and much less did they establish a doctrinal standard for the dioceses. The doctrinal position of the Roman Church itself was still in a state of flux, but opposition to the Reformation was narrowing the focus of Roman theologians so that it was reasonably clear what was regarded as truth and what was regarded as error. As elsewhere, so too in Prussia, the Reformation saw an increase of the number of those who had definite ideas about how the church needed to be reformed. Anabaptists, enthusiasts, and other radicals wanted to reform the church with hammers and axes. Particularly troublesome were such radicals as Schwenckfeld, Knade, Peter Zenker, and others like them. These all threatened the unity of the church.

Paul Speratus, who became bishop of Pomesania in 1529 upon the death of Bishop von Queiss, was particularly concerned with the doctrinal standard which in Lutheran fashion would reflect the catholicity of Lutheranism and be true to the gospel. His Pomesanian diocese was the closest to the German lands which harbored radicals supported by Friedrich von Heydeck, a close associate of Duke Albrecht. Speratus determined to author a doctrinal statement, which would supply what was lacking in the Landesordnung and Artickel, and would serve together with them and a hymnal as a Corpus doctrinae for the Prussian Church. His Constitutiones Synodales Evangelicae (Constitutions of Evangelical Synods) was completed by the beginning of the 1530, and on January 6, 1530, Duke Albrecht provided a preface for it. On January 7, Speratus, together with Bishop von Polentz of the Samland diocese, added an episcopal preface. Publication was postponed until pastors, meeting in provincial synods, could examine and discuss the document. The Samland synod was held in Königsberg on February 2, the Masurian - on February 16 in Rastenburg, and the Pomesanian synod met in Marienwerder on March 7. All three synods approved the manuscript and referred it on to the joined meeting of all provinces, scheduled for May 12 in Königsberg. 446 Constitutiones were written in Latin and included doctrinal articles on the Word of God. the Law and the Gospel, and the fruits of faith. Annexed to it was a Latin revision of the 1525 Artickel der Ceremonien: Articuli ceremoniarum e germanico in latinum versi et nonnihil locupletati (Article of Ceremonies from German into Latin and Somewhat Elaborated).447

The *Articuli* was, substantially, a reproduction of the 1525 *Artickel*, with some amendments necessitated by the *Deutsche Messe* of 1526 and the two catechisms of Luther which had appeared in 1529. The old introductory preface was no longer relevant and was dropped, but the general structure of the *Artickel* remained the same. As in the 1525 book, the first matter to be considered was the public reading of the Word of God. In the 1530 manuscript, this article is entitled: "Concerning the Reading of the Sacred Scriptures in Public" ("*De lectione sacrarum scripturarum in publico*"). Other articles included dealt with Matins, Vespers, collects and common prayers, the sermon, the Mass, Baptism, matrimony, church feasts, and burial. The 1525 section, "On Visitation or Synod," and the "Conclusion," were dropped. Then followed collects, responsories, and benedictions, all from the 1525 supplement.

Most of the 1530 articles were only slightly modified from the earlier document. The article on Matins states that the conduct of this service in the Königsberg Cathedral and the Altstadt Church now applied to other Prussian cities as well. Furthermore, the Polish language was now approved for use in this service. With regard to Vespers, Polish was added to German and Latin as approved languages. The article concerning the collects and common prayers stated, that since the Salve Regina did not have the authority of Scripture behind it, it ought to be omitted altogether. Previously, its use was permitted in an altered form in the Altstadt Church. 448 The section on preaching was almost entirely new. It stated that nothing was to be preached, excepting the Word of God, and sermons were to be doctrinally pure and encompass the Law, repentance, fear of God, the Gospel, faith, the fruits of faith, love and other good works proceeding from faith, the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, obedience to public authorities, and the cross and patience and other fruits of the Spirit. Added as well was the form of the general confession after the sermon which previously had been in the supplement. Another section was added which referred to the brief explanations of the Our Father, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, taken from the catechism for children, which, it was stated, had appeared in a new Wittenberg edition in Latin under the title, Enchiridion, by Martin Luther. A third section dealt with the use of language in preaching and interpretation which people would be able to understand. It directed that interpreters were to be paid from the community chest. Little was changed in the article on the Mass. Now the consecration of the bread and cup were to be followed by Luther's paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer and the admonition to communicants from the German Mass. In the 1525 Artickel, there was only an invitation to pray on the basis of Christ's command and promise, followed by the pastor praying the Our Father in German, with the choir answering: "But deliver us from evil." In 1530, alternatives were offered for the post-communion collect. The first is from the 1525 Artickel and the new alternative collect was from Luther's German Mass.

Also included in the article on the Mass was the brief form and instruction, together with questions for those desiring to receive the Sacrament. Formerly, this section had appeared in the 1525 supplement. The article on Baptism was newly revised. Now it included a prohibition against rebaptism and any use of the conditional formula, "If you are already baptized, I do not rebaptize you." Added, with minor additions, was the fourth chief part from Luther's *Small Catechism*, the section on Holy Baptism. The form of Baptism, which had not been included in 1525, was now given. It corresponded to Luther's *Little Baptismal Booklet* of 1523. The article on the public repentance of a mother who inadvertently caused the death of her child was omitted. The article on marriage was reworded and the article on adultery was dropped. The form for marriage was now added. It was taken from Luther's *Little Marriage Booklet* with only minor changes. The article on church festivals was unchanged and the article on burial was unaltered and the exhortation addressed to surviving friends of the deceased was printed out. 449

The *Articuli ceremoniarum*, along with the *Constitutiones Synodales Evangelicae*, was approved by Duke Albrecht on the day of the Epiphany, January 6, 1530. The territorial synod, which met in Königsberg on May 12, 1530, officially accepted it.⁴⁵⁰

Some later writers came to refer to the 1530 *Articuli* as the second Prussian church order, but it is clear that the Prussian Church itself thought of it simply as an updated edition of the original *Artickel* with such alterations and amendments as time and circumstances required. Until a new church order was adopted in 1544, it was the 1525 *Artickel* which was always referred to as the church's standing order. It is interesting to note that some nineteenth-century German scholars could comment derisively of the 1530 *Articuli* that "the papist leaven" ("papistischer Sauerteig") had not yet been wholly cast out. 452

The Constitutiones Synodales Evangelicae was never printed as an official document because on June 25 the Lutheran theologians and princes at the Imperial Diet in Augsburg officially adopted the Augsburg Confession as their common statement of faith. Albrecht soon officially approved it as the definitive statement of the Church's catholic faith. Henceforth, the Augsburg Confession would be the touchstone of authentic Lutheranism and those who violated its provisions would be subject to excommunication. When the Bohemian Brethren arrived in

⁴⁴⁹ Cosack 1861, 114-117.

⁴⁵⁰ Jacobson 1839, 32.

⁴⁵¹ Sehling IV 1911, 8-9.

⁴⁵² Cosack 1861, 118.

⁴⁵³ There is some question as to whether the 1530 Constitutiones Synodales Evangelicae and Articuli ceremoniarum ever appeared in print. Ludwig Rhesa, writing in the Vita Georgii a

1548 and later were followed by Johannes à Lasco, it was on the basis of the *Augsburg Confession* that their doctrinal positions were examined and judged.

Revisions of the *Territorial Order* (Germ. *Landesrordnung*) were enacted in 1529 and 1540. These were built upon the 1525 *Landesordnung*, and included articles which were meant to conform the outward behavior of the people according to the church's doctrinal articles.

3.1.2 The 1544 Church Order

The Reformation spread slowly through Prussia and even more slowly penetrated the hearts and minds of many of the people, who were far more likely to follow the dictates of religion they were used to than the dictates of the Reformation faith. Church attendance was not high, particularly in rural areas where many of the people knew little or no German. In some places, pastors and their families went hungry because little was done to support them. Duke Albrecht addressed these and other pressing concerns in Artikel von Erwählung und Unterhaltung der Pfarrer, kirchenvisitation und was dem allen zugehörig, im fürstenthum Preussen uf gehaltener tagfahrt Michaelis im jar 1540 einhellig beschlossen (Article on the Selection and Support of the Pastor, the Church Visitation and Everything Pertaining to It in the Principality of Prussia and Clearly Adopted at the Territorial Assembly, Held on St. Michael in 1540), issued on the day of St. Michael, September 29, 1540. The relationship between the pastors and the noble patrons of their parishes needed to be clarified. It needed to be understood that, although the patrons had the right to nominate approved candidates for pastoral positions, they did not have the right to remove them from office. Regular procedures had to be set down to provide a form for this. In rural parishes unable to support a pastor, three or even four parishes would need to be merged into one. Pastors would need to address the problem of low attendance in services. In a friendly and reasonable manner, they would need to admonish their people that to the best of their ability they were to attend church on all Sundays, on Christmas, New Year's Day, Easter, Pentecost, Candlemas, Annunciation, and other days when the Word of God was read and preached so that their souls would be fed and their faith strengthened. Those who refused to heed these admonitions would need to be persistently warned that if they refused to listen, they would be excommunicated as blasphemers against God and for their own welfare would be bodily punished. Those in authority, office holders, and schoolmasters should provide the people with a good example and should not unduly anger them by going directly from church to the tavern. Indeed, their presence should be far more evidont in the abruada them in the tayoung Destans abendaine and aske almost an abruada

hymns. Bishops must recognize their responsibility to examine the doctrine of the pastors and the manner in which they conducted their lives, for they had by oath promised to set a good example of piety, zeal, and honesty in both life and teaching. Pastors needed to contend against the Anabaptists and Sacramentarians and in every visitation they must ferret out those who practiced magic, paganism, and forbidden superstitions and subject them to punishment. The bishops must see to it that in every parish maintenance was provided not only for pastors but also for translators who assisted the pastors by interpreting their words to those who did not understand German. Pastors were not without grave cause to deny Baptism or marriage to any parishioners, but they were to see to it that these were administered in an orderly way. Prelates and preachers must conform themselves to the 1525 *Article of Ceremonies* and see to it that ceremonies were properly observed. Bishops were to continue the visitations of their parishes, but now these visitations were to be conducted annually or at least once every second year. In case of his illness, the bishop might designate a deputy to conduct the visitation on his behalf.⁴⁵⁴

From 1540 onward, ducal court took an increasingly active role in issuing decrees which were meant to enforce conformity with the doctrine and life of the church. On November 24, 1541, Albrecht issued the order, *Verordnung gegen aberglaubische Missbrauche* (*Order Against Idolatrous Abuses*). He listed particularly the offering of "wax images of human beings and dumb animals," the superstitious use of the bridal crown, and the notion that by making offerings to the church one could ensure the healing of the sick and the relief of handicapped. Albrecht declared that the clergy must preach against these and other idolatrous and scandalous abuses, and turn the people's hearts to the teachings of the Scriptures, and particularly those passages which condemn idolatry. Those who refuse to heed and insisted on perpetuating such practices as these would have to be punished by being put in the stocks in the churchyard or other bodily punishment.⁴⁵⁵

The official statement of the relationship of church to the ducal government was set down in the *Regiments-Notel* of November 18, 1542. In it, Albrecht stated that the church should be governed by the eternal, life-giving Word of God. Furthermore, he declared that two God fearing and learned bishops, one in Samland and the other in Pomesania, were to be selected by the duke and the nobility to proclaim this word and take responsibility for its administration. These bishops would be responsible for annual visitation of the parishes in their jurisdiction in which the conditions of both the clergy and the parishioners were to be noted. The decree went on to state the territorial boundaries of each diocese. The churches in the districts of Königsberg, Schaaken, Fischhausen, Lochstädt, Sudauen, Tapiau, Taplacken, Georgenburg, Insterburg, Ragnit, Tilsit, Labiau, Memel, Brandenburg, Balga, Preussisch-Eilau, Bartenstein, Schippenbeil, Gerdauen, and Barten

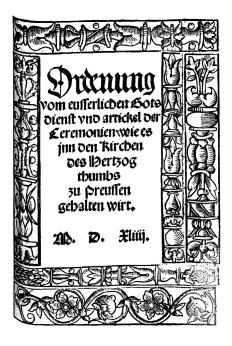
would be under the authority of the bishop of Samland. The diocese of Pomesania would be comprised of the districts of Marienwerder, Riesenburg, Schöneberg, Preussisch-Mark, Holland, Mohrungen, Osterode, Deutsch-Eilau, Liebemühl, Hohenstein, Neidenburg, Gilgenburg, Soldau, Ortelsburg, Johannisburg, Lyck, Stradaunen, Angerburg, Rhein, Rastenburg, Sehesten, and Lötzen. 456

The episcopal visitations began on December 19, 1542, and the duke himself participated in the visitation of parishes in the districts of Barten and Brandenburg in Samland, including also parishes in Pomesania as far west as Rastenburg. It immediately became evident that the peasants – German, Lithuanian, Prussian, and Polish – knew very little of Lutheran doctrine and that their pastors in many cases did not even possess a copy of the 1525 *Artickel der Ceremonien*, so they altered the liturgy as they pleased.⁴⁵⁷

It was also evident that the spiritual condition of the people was very low, therefore the duke could not wait until the visitation was completed to commence his efforts to correct it. On February 1, 1543, he issued an instruction, Fürstlicher Durchleuchtigkeit zu Preussen bevelch, in welchem das volk zu gottesforcht, kirchengang, empfahung der heiligen sacramenten und anderm vermant wirt (An Instruction of the Most Serene Duke of Prussia in which the People Are Admonished to Fear God, to Go to Church, to Receive the Holy Sacraments, and Other Matters), meant to begin the process of correcting the situation. He ordered that in all places the people were to attend church every Sunday and on high feasts, when the Word of God was preached, and to get there by whatever means possible and whatever the weather might be. Those who refused to do so were to receive Christian admonition from the local authorities. Those who refused to hearken to their admonitions were to be punished, and upon a third offence, they were to be fined one mark. Those who continued to be disobedient were to suffer corporal punishment and be put in the stocks in the churchyard. An upstanding member of the parish was to keep track of church attendance and to report to the appropriate authorities and the pastors the names of those who refused to comply with the law. The nobility themselves were not to consider themselves above this law. They also were bound to attend church and give attention to the Word of God. For their part, the clergy were to read from the altar the appropriate epistles and gospels of the day for each Sunday and high feast and to explain their content in an orderly and clear matter. They should preach at least a half an hour on the gospel, giving a simple and complete summary of its teaching, and they should make use of at least two of the postils and sermons of Martin Luther, Urbanus Rhegius, Antonius Corvinus, and others in the preparation of their sermons. In addition, they should preach at least a half an hour on the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Our Father, and the Words of Christ instituting the sacraments of Baptism and the Altar. This should be done in an orderly manner Sunday after Sunday over a period of five or six weeks once each quarter year, and the pastor was to examine his people concerning what they had learned. In accordance with his office, the pastor should with great zeal admonish the people to come to the holy sacraments and to learn the catechism. In short, great emphasis was to be put on the catechism so that even the most simple and dullest of the people could learn it. The pastor was also to see to it that he followed the 1525 *Artickel* and that he properly exercise his office as a preacher and baptize and administer the Sacrament in a worthy manner. He should have at least one white surplice or alb, which would serve to distinguish him both inwardly and outwardly, and show his calling that he was set apart from the worldly men among whom he lived. Where there were a sufficient number of people, the pastors should in Matins and Vespers on Sundays admonish the worshipers to more frequent church attendance. In larger places, Matins or Vespers should be held every day, and in these services Christian psalms should be sung and the text of the Bible or catechism read. 458

Further directives, Rundschreiben zur Vollziehung der vorstehenden Befehls (Encyclical Letter Concerning the Fulfillment of the Standing Order), concerning the proper execution of the terms of this decree were issued by Albrecht on April 8, 1543. Here again primary attention was to be given to the chief parts of Christian doctrine: the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Our Father, and the Sacraments.⁴⁵⁹

It also became clear in the visitations that some clergy were now celebrating Mass, preaching and baptizing in their gowns and had laid aside the alb or surplice. The duke therefore ordered in 1543 that pastors should exalt the ministry of the Word and Sacraments by wearing their albs. This caused some consternation among the clergy in Königsberg, who following the example of Poliander, Nicolaus Coldicius, Michael Meurer, Balthasar Weiland, and others, had for almost twenty years been preaching in their gowns. In a letter, signed by Johannes Briesmann, Christophor Meddigen, Johannes Doetschel, and Jacobus Mueller, they wrote to the duke, probably on June 2, that for many reasons this matter ought to be left free at least in Königsberg. Among their concerns was their perception that some might either hail or bewail this change as a signal of the church's return to the papacy. They noted again that in Wittenberg the preachers had long since adopted the practice of preaching in their gowns. They humbly asked that they might be permitted to continue the practice of preaching in gowns which they had been following for almost two decades. The duke agreed that, at least in Königsberg, this should be regarded as a matter of Christian liberty. There is no indication that this permission extended also to the altar service.⁴⁶⁰



Title page of the 1544 Prussian church order.

Frequent visitations and other reports made it increasingly clear to the duke and the bishops that the Artickel was often ignored. Many parishes no longer possessed a copy of it and many of its provisions needed to be revised in the light of later developments. Furthermore, the Artickel was rather lean in some respects and lacked specific directives and examples, found in other church orders and agendas - such as that of Duke Heinrich of Saxony, that had recently appeared. Johannes Briesmann was assigned the task of preparing a new church order. This occupied his attention during 1543. On January 4, 1544, he sent it to Speratus for examination and approval.461 The document was printed the same year under the title: Ordnung vom ausserlichen Gottesdienst und Artickel der Ceremonien, wie es inn den Kirchen des Hertzogthumbs zu Preussen gehalten wirt (Order of Public

Divine Service and Article on Ceremonies, as Observed in the Churches of the Duchy of Prussia). The Latin edition was titled: Ordinatio de externo Dei cultu deque articulis Caerimoniarum, quemadmodum in Ecclesiis Ducatus Borussiae servantur (Order of Public Divine Service of God and Article on Ceremonies, as They Are Observed in the Churches of the Duchy of Prussia).

The 1544 church order was printed on June 2, together with a mandate of the duke, stating that it provided for sound ceremonies and ecclesiastical usages consonant with a proper Christian faith. Its contents had been determined on the basis of the findings of parish visitations. Albrecht further stated that it had been put into print so each and every parish might have a copy of it and the pastors were to conform their ministry to it. Those who refused to order their way according to it would have to be dealt with by the bishops.

The 1544 church order included directives for the proper celebration of the Mass, Matins, Vespers, preaching, catechization, Communion, confession, the observance of feast days, Baptism, marriage, confession of public sinners and reconciliation, as well as directives concerning graves and the burial of the dead, with special attention to murderers and man-slaughterers.

In his "Mandate Concerning this Church Order" ("Mandat diese Kirchen Ordnung betreffend"), Duke Albrecht noted that many usages and ceremonies had been introduced which were not in conformity with the Article of Ceremonies, 1525, and that indeed, in many parishes no copy of the Artickel was to be found. The proliferation of a wide variety of ceremonies, especially in the Lord's Supper, could not be considered a proper expression of the unity of the church. For there is one Christ, one Spirit, one Baptism, one God and Father of all, one word, and one faith, according to which all are to be bound together in unity of spirit and the bonds of love. Although human orders and outward ceremonies are adiaphora and contribute nothing to the salvation of the souls, still, all in the land should observe the same ceremonies for the sake of the young and the weak. Furthermore, these ceremonies should conform to the practice of other Churches of the Augsburg Confession and especially to that of the Wittenberg Church. Even though there was an essential difference between faith and human regulations, these regulations had been enacted to serve the faith. He noted as well that catechesis was an especially important concern and that pastors must zealously catechize their people. 462

The bishops added a preface, stating that in order to acquaint the people with this new church order, it was to be read clearly to them from the pulpit. They were to be made to understand that these usages, rites, and ceremonies were meant to serve Christians and not the other way around.

Stressed as well was the relationship between this new order and the 1540 Saxon agenda of Duke Heinrich and the 1533 Wittenberg church order. The preface stated that the 1544 church order dealt with matters which in and of themselves would be regarded as *adiaphora*. These were matters which did not ensure holiness, forgiveness, or the salvation of souls – but against opponents and those who erred whether on the left or the right. It needed to be made known that the church could exercise its judgment to ensure that the ceremonies in use reflected pure doctrine and that through them the light of the Word of God still shined. With regard to the institution of Christ's Testament, his Supper, nothing should be altered, for the Sacrament must be kept pure. However, ceremonies, hymns, vestments, and the like were to be used or set aside as needed, even as Christ is the Lord of the Sabbath and is greater than the temple.⁴⁶³

The main body of the work was the draft of the Mass itself: "Form and Manner in which the Mass or Supper of Our Lord Jesus Christ Should Be Observed" ("Form und weyse so in der Mess ader jm Abendmal unsers Herrn Christi sol gehalten werden"). The Chief Divine Service on Sunday and feast days was to begin with a psalm, sung in German. This was to supersede the 1525 provision which allowed for the continued use of the old Latin introits. The new order provided for the use

of several German hymns, based on Old Testament psalms. Included among them were Luther's "May God Bestow on Us His Grace" ("Es woll uns Gott genädig sein"), "From Depths of Woe I Cry to Thee" ("Aus tiefer Noth schrei' ich zu dir"), "O Lord, Look Down from Heaven, Behold" ("Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein"), and others. At Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas, the proper introit was to be retained and sung in German or Latin, if possible, making use of schoolchildren in such places as Königsberg and elsewhere. As in the 1525 Artickel, the Kyrie was to be sung three times in Greek, Latin, and German. Then the pastor, vested in his proper vestments as in Königsberg, was to sing the "Gloria in excelsis" in German with the deepest reverence and the choir was to respond either in German or Latin.

Following the Gloria, the pastor was to turn to the congregation and sing the Salutation. No provision had been made for it in the earlier Artickel. Then facing the altar, he was to pray the collect of the day in German in the usual manner, as in 1525. Then the epistle should be read facing the people. In Königsberg and other cities, it might be read from a lectern (Germ. Catheder) or the pulpit, as in 1525. In any case, it was to be read loudly in understandable German so that the people could understand it. In Königsberg, a chapter or a half chapter from the writings of St. Paul, or another epistle, or the Acts of the Apostles might serve as the epistle. Elsewhere, the proper epistle for the day, as found in the postil. was to be read from the altar. On the high feasts, the proper epistle of the day was always to be read in every church. It was to be followed by the alleluia, together with a German psalm-hymn, such as "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God" ("Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott") or "Our Father, Thou in Heaven Above" ("Vater unser im Himmelreich"), etc. The practice of alternation between choir and congregation could be followed, as in Königsberg. On high feasts, proper hymns befitting the day were designated. At Easter, it was "Christ Jesus Lay in Death's Strong Bands" ("Christ lag in Todesbanden") and "Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior," at Pentecost, "Come, Holy Ghost, Creator Blest" ("Komm, Gott, Schöpfer, heiliger Geist") and "We Now Implore God the Holy Ghost" ("Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist"), and at Christmas, "Praise Be to You, Jesus Christ" ("Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ") and "All Praise to Thee, Eternal God" ("Danksagen wir nun alle"), were selected. Then the gospel was to follow in the same manner as the epistle; after it, the entire congregation was to sing, "We All Believe in One True God" ("Wir glauben all' an einen Gott"). This replaced the 1525 permission for the choir to sing it in place of the congregation.

The 1525 order dealt with the sermon in a separate article. The new order put it after the Creed, excepting that in the Königsberg Cathedral, the sermon might be preached before the service for the sake of people who wanted to go also to the churches in *Altstadt* and *Löbenicht to* hear the sermons there. In the Königsberg

smaller towns, villages, and rural areas, this would prove impossible, and therefore, an exhortation to prayer or intercession for all estates and conditions should be offered in place of the Litany. Where the Litany was not sung, the pulpit office was to end with a hymn, such as "Dear Christians, Let Us Now Rejoice" ("Nun freut euch, lieben Christen gmein") or "Now Praise, My Soul, the Lord" ("Nun lob, mein' Seel', den Herren") or the setting of the Our Father, prepared by Bishop Speratus. During this hymn, the pastor was to return to the altar.



Altstadt Church prior to 1824 (Hubatsch III 1968).

The Eucharistic Preface of 1525 was replaced by Luther's admonition and para-

phrase. It was to be followed by the Words of Christ over the bread and wine, sung according to the melody formerly associated with the Preface. After the consecration, the choir or congregation should sing the German *Sanctus –* "Isaiah, Mighty Seer" ("*Jesaia*, *dem Propheten*"), while the communicants approach the altar. The elevation was dropped. The Sacrament was administered by the pastor, saying to each communicant: "Take and eat, this is the body of the Lord which is given for you," while the congregation sang, "Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior." When all have received the body of Christ, he was to consecrate the cup, using the same tone. Then, while he administered the blood, the *Agnus Dei* was to be sung, together with "Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior" or "O Lord, We Praise Thee."

After all had communed, the pastor was to turn to the people and sing the Salutation, and then turning to the altar, he was to pray the post-communion collect from the *Deutsche Messe* in a common tone. An alternative collect was also provided. After the collect, the pastor was again to say the Salutation and then one of the three following benedictions: "The Lord lift up his countenance upon us and give us his peace," "The Lord make his face shine upon us and be gracious to us," or "The Lord bless and keep you."

If in village or rural congregations when there were no communicants, the paraphrase of the Our Father and the admonition to the communicants and other parts pertaining to Communion were to be dropped. The same practice was to be followed in Königsberg on weekdays when no communicants presented themselves.

General directives for the conduct of Matins and Vespers were also provided. Matins was to begin with the singing of two or three psalms, according to length, by the choir. They were to sing in such a manner that the words were clearly understandable to the congregation. It was not made clear at this point whether the psalms were to be sung in German or in Latin, but later the directives for Matins stated that in accordance with the words of St. Paul, the language understood by the congregation should be employed. Psalms 1-109 were to be sung at Matins, as in 1525. A chapter or half chapter of the Old Testament (Genesis through the Prophets) was to be read by a deacon or chaplain. It was to be read in German and was to be followed by a short exposition or summary of its contents after the manner of Veit Dietrich of Nürnberg. 465

As in 1525, the reading was followed by a general responsory from the book of responsories and readings. As was the practice in Königsberg, special responsories in Latin were to be sung by the schoolchildren. It was here that the words of St. Paul were quoted, stating that the language used should be understood by the people. After the reading, the pastor chanted, "O Lord, show us your mercy" ("Erzeige uns herr deine barmherzigkeit"), and the choir responded. This was followed by a German collect de tempore or the Matins collect from Luther's German Mass. The service concluded with the usual benediction or with the blessing, used at the end of the Mass.

The specific directions concerning Matins in the *Altstadt* congregation and the hours for services were replaced by new directives which stated that the Sunday sermon in the Königsberg Dom was to be held early in the morning. After Matins had been sung, the deacon or chaplain was to deliver an exhortation concerning the Holy Sacrament for the benefit of communicants. This exhortation was to replace the usual reading, and after it, the entire congregation was to sing the "*Te Deum laudamus*." The hymn before the sermon was invariable: "Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior." The exhortation to the communicants was to be done in the same way in the *Altstadt* and *Löbenicht* churches after Matins on Sundays and feast days.

The versicle, "Make haste, O God, to deliver me," and the *Gloria Patri*, both in German, were to be retained at Vespers and to be followed by one, two, or three psalms in German or Latin, beginning with Psalm 110. These directives repeat the 1525 *Artickel*, excepting that the older instruction specified that no antiphons were to be used. The assisting pastor (Germ. *Diacon*) or other minister (Germ. *Kirchendiener*) was then to read a chapter or a half of the chapter of the Old Testament, beginning with the Prophets. As at Matins, this was to be followed by an explanation of what was most important in the text. A note stated that fuller

explanations should be reserved for the sermon. Then the *Magnificat* was sung in German with the usual versicle, and after it, the collect and concluding benediction as at Matins.

Special directives were given concerning the hymns to be used at Vespers. On Saturdays, the schoolchildren in Königsberg should sing, "O Blessed Creator of Light" ("Lucis Creator optime"), and on Sunday, "O Trinity of Blessed Light" ("O lux beata, trinitas"). On high feasts, proper responsories should be sung: at Christmas, "The Word was made flesh" ("Verbum caro factum est"), at Easter, "An Angel Stood at the Altar of the Temple" ("Stetit angelus"), and at Pentecost, "There Appeared unto the Apostles Cloven Tongues" ("Apparuerunt apostolis dispertitae linguae"). The pastor should determine what hymns should otherwise be sung at Matins and Vespers.

In other smaller towns where there were not many worshipers and there were no schoolchildren, the ducal mandate of 1543



Löbenicht Chruch prior to 1944 (Alte Postkarte).

directed that German psalms and hymns should be learned by heart and sung at Matins and Vespers. The simple text of the Bible should be read, or if needed, the catechism.

In larger parishes where there were many worshipers and the parish pastor had assisting pastor (Germ. *Diacon*) or other ministers to assist him, Matins and Vespers should be sung every Sunday and on other high feasts. At Matins, the exhortation to the communicants should be read, and at Vespers, there should be a sermon on the catechism.

In smaller places where daily Matins and Vespers were not practical, there should still be some outward sign, such as the ringing of the bell, to call the people to prayer whether they were out in the fields or at home.

Concerning preaching and the catechism, the 1544 order stated that it would be both practical and useful for the sermon to be on the gospel, read at Mass. It noted that at noon on Sundays, it was the practice in the Königsberg Cathedral and the *Altstadt* Church that the chaplain or deacon should preach for the benefit of the young and ser-

places, this practice ought to be imitated or at least a catechetical sermon should be preached at Vespers before the *Magnificat*. In village churches, a sermon on the gospel, one-half hour in length, should be followed by a half hour of instruction in the catechism. In his 1543 mandate, the duke decreed that the people should be examined about their knowledge of the catechism once every six weeks. In the cities and the places inhabited by Lithuanians and other non-Germans, the chaplain should order his sermon as in Königsberg. Where needed, a translator should be provided. Where there are sermons on Fridays and Wednesdays, it would be useful if a book of a New Testament were read and explained and then one from the Old Testament in alteration.

Specific directives were given concerning Communion and confession. No one was to be communed who had not previously announced his intention to the pastor or designated minister, indicating his repentance and his desire to receive the benefit of the Sacrament. Preaching was for everyone, but the Sacrament was for those who took the faith seriously, who hungered and thirsted spiritually, and indicated their faith to the clergy. Those who received Communion must first have been absolved. If the pastor doubted a person's belief in the articles of faith, he would need to question him concerning them. It was not considered proper to commune people simply because they believed that it was their duty to commune during the Easter season, as in the old days, but who had no intention of improving their life or practicing the faith. Such people should not be communed; they should be warned that their souls are in peril. 466

The pastor needed to give special attention to those who were negligent or for any reason did not commune at least two or three or more times a year. In his sermons, he was to remind them that those who refuse to commune in Christ's remembrance, for their own benefit offend against the fellowship of the congregation in the body and blood of Christ. No distinction was to be made in this matter between those who are poor and those who are high and mighty.

Some alterations were made in the observance of feasts and commemorations. All the feasts of Christ were to be kept: Nativity, Circumcision, Epiphany, Purification, Annunciation, Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension, and Pentecost. Of greatest importance were Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, all of which were to be celebrated for three days. Also to be kept was the day of St. Michael and All Angels which, as in Königsberg, might be celebrated on the Sunday nearest to St. Michael's Day, at which time special thanksgivings were to be offered for a fruitful harvest. It was directed, should the Annunciation fall on Palm Sunday or any day in the week before or after Easter, it was to be transferred to the first Sunday after Easter. This was to be done so that the Annunciation never interfered with the remembrance of the passion and the resurrection of Christ. No mention was made either for or against the observance of the days of the apostles which had been approved in the 1525 *Artickel*.⁴⁶⁷

It was expected that the practice of daily Matins and Vespers be continued, but in smaller places where it was no longer possible to do so, there should be some outward sign, calling the people to prayer whether they were at home or in the fields.

The 1544 church order was far richer than the 1525 Artickel. It gave much attention to the need of catechesis, and like the earlier document, it was very specific in its directives concerning the services, although specific rubrical directions were few. Because much more emphasis was now being put on the use of German, much traditional Latin material fell by the wayside. All of the Latin introits were dropped, excepting those for Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas. Missing as well was the Latin "Gloria in excelsis." The Latin Creed was replaced by "We All Believe in One True God." There was no provision for the recitation of the Nicaeanum. The Sanctus, which in 1525 could be sung in German or Latin, was now only in German. However, Latin had not completely disappeared. It could be used when there were schoolchildren present at Matins and Vespers to encourage them in their study of Latin. Special attention was given to the requirement that the people should know the language of the service and participate in it so far as possible. Worship was seen to have great tutorial value. The illiterate were encouraged to learn their parts by heart. It was assumed that it was quite beyond them to learn anything in Latin. Although the Wittenberg Mass was claimed as a source, the Eucharistic Prefaces completely disappeared. In the 1533 Wittenberg church order and the 1539 church order of Duke Heinrich, 468 which was cited as a source, these Prefaces were to be kept in the city churches on high feasts and in Latin!

The most significant departure from 1525 was the introduction of the separate communion of the body and blood after the manner which Luther had described in his *Deutsche Messe*. Luther himself had never elaborated on this but the practice was introduced in Wittenberg, apparently in St. Mary's Church. The 1544 order stated in the bishops' preface that this practice had recently been adopted in Wittenberg and was in line with the reports of the institution, given by St. Luke and St. Paul. The elevation of the host, which many regarded as offensive, was suppressed, mainly to appease theologians who saw in it some associations with transubstantiation. The explanation given was that the elevation was eliminated to avoid superstition among the simple people.⁴⁶⁹

It appears that Duke Albrecht initially was not opposed to the elevation in the Mass. In 1536, he presented his wife Dorothea, the daughter of Danish Lutheran King Frederik I, with a prayer book which included a miniature which showed the duchess in attendance at a Lutheran Mass in which a pastor at the altar was genuflecting while holding the host above his head. Albrecht considered the elevation to be a suitable feature of the Lutheran Communion service. ⁴⁷⁰

In 1540, Duke Heinrich's church order of Albertine Saxony was designated as the church's



Lutheran pastor genuflects while holding the host. Fragment from the 1536 *Dorothea Prayer Book.*



Kaspar Schwenckfeld.

However, when in 1542 the elevation was eliminated in Saxony, Albrecht began to express his growing uncertainty concerning its propriety. Some regarded it as a return to papist superstition. The Schwenckfeldians derided it as idolatrous. In a letter to Bishop Speratus on October 27, 1542, the duke asked that the bishop write to Luther about the matter. In his reply on November 7, Bishop Speratus advised caution in this matter, suggesting that it did not seem to him expedient to alter this provision at present, especially because of the opposition to it by the enthusiasts. Unsatisfied with this reply, the duke wrote to Speratus once again on November 22, renewing his request that Speratus should write to Luwas addressed to Andreas Aurifaber in Wittenberg and the other to Luther. In the latter, he stated that he was writing at the request of Duke Albrecht concerning the ritual of the elevation of the host. He also wrote to the duke that same day, reminding him that there were still many enthusiasts greatly concerned about the elevation of the host. He reminded the duke that God should be thanked and praised that he had preserved in the church the true doctrine concerning the Sacrament. He reminded him also that his own acquaintance with the enthusiasts and their writings had made him well aware of their position.

Luther wrote to Albrecht on February 17, 1543, stating that he would not object that the elevation of the host be dropped, and one day later, February 18, a letter arrived from Philipp Melanchthon, stating that most definitely the elevation of the host should be eliminated because of its association with idolatrous superstitions which could be traced back to the doctrine of transubstantiation.⁴⁷¹

Luther further clarified his position concerning the elevation after malicious rumor had been spread by Matthias Devai (Hung. *Mátyás Biró Dévay*) who stated that the elevation had been dropped in Wittenberg because of a new agreement on the Lord's Supper between the Lutherans and the Zwinglians.⁴⁷²

of the material and the the theory of the con-

⁴⁷¹ Tschackert I 1890, 214-215; Tschackert III 1890, 24-33; WA Br. 10, 265-266.

History of the Protestant Church in Hungary 1854, 73; WA Br. 10, 555; LW 38, 283.
Responding to Matthias Devai concerning the elevation, in his 1544 Brief Confession Luther wrote as follows:

[&]quot;I hear it said that some persons have been induced to think that we are in agreement with the fanatics because we have permitted the practice of elevation to be dropped in our churches in order that we might acknowledge that Christ's body and blood are not in the Sacrament, and that they are not orally received." LW 38, 313.

In order to clarify his position Luther recalled the situation which had prevailed twenty or more years earlier:

[&]quot;Twenty or twenty-two years ago when I began to condemn the Mass and wrote sharply against the Papists that it was not a sacrifice or our work but a gift and present or a testament from God, which we could not sacrifice to God but which we should and had to receive from God, even as baptism was not a sacrifice but a gracious gift of God, etc., at that time I was indeed inclined to abolish the elevation on account of the Papists who regarded the Mass as a sacrifice and a work by us sacrificed to God, as they still do and have done up until now for over six hundred years. However, because our teaching was at that time new and exceedingly offensive to the entire world, I had to proceed with forbearance and accommodate myself a great deal for the sake of the weak, which I afterward no longer did. Accordingly, let the elevation remain because it could in fact have a valid meaning, as I had written in the treatise, The Babylonian Captivity of the Church, namely, that it was an ancient custom, taken over from Moses' writings and continued among the first Christians uninterruptedly." LW38, 313.

It appears then that while Luther was willing to allow the elevation to be dropped because the Church of Rome looked upon it as a sacrificial element of the Mass, he was willing to see it continued in opposition to those who denied the real presence, and this was the position that he had earlier articulated against Karlstadt. Accordingly, he stated that:

The Königsberg pastors were again reassured that they could go to the pulpit wearing a black gown, leaving their albs and surplices at the altar since the same practice was allowed in Wittenberg.

The composition of the order shows that great attention was given to the problems made evident in the visitations. The order sought to address these directly and bring order where before had been bewildering variety.

On June 2, 1544, the order was officially adopted and instructions were given to the clergy, stating that it was not to be introduced abruptly, but in every parish the pastor was to read it to his people four Sundays in succession.

3.1.3 Polish, Lithuanian, and Old Prussian Liturgical Texts

The Prussian pastors, for whom the 1544 church order would become the law, needed to have its provisions in their native tongue. In Prussia native tongues were many. In Prussian Pomesania, German, Prussian, and Polish were spoken. In the diocese of Samland, one heard German, Lithuanian, Curonian, Prussian, and Sudovian. In Königsberg itself, there were small Polish and Lithuanian-speaking communities. The church order was translated into Polish, probably by Wawrzyniec Vulturnius, in 1544, immediately after its publication in German and Latin. It appeared under the title: *Ustawa o zwierzchniei chwale Bożei o kościelnych Ceremonyach na ten Xtałt, yako się zachowawa w kościelech Xięstwa Pruskiego MDX-LIIII (The Statute Concerning the Chief Divine Worship and Church Ceremonies, as They Are to Be Observed in the Churches of the Duchy of Prussia MDXLIIII)*. 474

No other official translations appeared since Lithuanian, Prussian, Sudovian, and Curonian languages had not yet been reduced to writing. In any case, there were as yet no native pastors to serve these people with gospel preaching and sacraments. There was one Lithuanian-speaking pastor, Jonas Tartilavičius-Batakietis (Pol. *Jan Tortytowicz-Batocki*). He had been a Roman parish priest in Šilalė, Lithuania, but was forced to flee because he was preaching Luther's doctrine. Begin-

symbol of the sacrifice to God (as the Papists foolishly imagine) but an admonition directed toward men, to provoke them to faith, particularly since he immediately elevates the bread right after speaking the words: 'This is my body which is given for you'." LW 38, 314.

Consequently, when asked by Anhalt princes, Johann IV of Zerbst, Georg III of Plötzkau, and Joachim of Dessau, in 1544 whether they should eliminate the elevation in their churches, his answer was straightforward:

[&]quot;Certainly not! For I see how this elimination has lessened the Sacrament's authority and made it more contemptible." WA Tr. 5, 308.

Luther even admitted that now he wondered if Bugenhagen did the right thing when he eliminated the elevation in St. Mary's Church in Wittenberg and noted that he was now

ning in 1537, he served the parish in Engelstein where only Polish speakers and a few Germans resided.475 There were also two Lithuanian-speaking theologians in Königsberg, Stanislovas Rapolionis (Lat. Stanislaus Rapagellanus) and Abraomas Kulvietis (Lat. Abraham Culvensis). They, too, had been forced to flee from Lithuania and were now professors at the duke's newly established university. They had no contact with Prussian Lithuanians, excepting those few who made their home in Königsberg. Bishop Speratus described the lamentable situation among the Lithuanians in letters to Rapolionis and Kulvietis, dated May 1, 1545. To Kulvietis, he lamented that the poor Lithuanians were many in number but were like sheep with no shepherd to lead them in the right path. They lived without teachers, without the Word of God, and without the sacraments.



Title page of the 1544 Polish language agenda.

They needed a "new Abraham" who would guide them. God grant that Abraham Kulvietis would be true to his name and work together with the bishop to see that his Lithuanian people received shepherds to speak to them the saving Word of God. In his letter to Rapolionis, Speratus encouraged him to ask the duke for assistance in bringing the gospel to the Lithuanians.⁴⁷⁶

After the establishment of the University of Königsberg, Duke Albrecht provided scholarships for Lithuanian-speaking theological candidates. Among the recipients were Martynas Mažvydas (Germ. *Martin Mossvidius*), Baltramiejus Vilentas (Germ. *Bartholomäus Willentus*), Augustinas Jomantas (Germ. *Augustin Jamund*), and others. Upon completion of their studies, they were called to serve congregations in the ethnic Lithuanian region of Prussia.

When Mažvydas was called to serve as pastor of the parish of Ragnit (Lith. *Ragainė*) in 1549, he found there a people whose religious persuasion was a mixture of medieval Catholicism and idolatrous superstition. He rightly described them as an "unruly mob" (Lat. "*rudem plebeculam*").⁴⁷⁷ They wanted nothing to do with the gospel or sacraments, but they loved to go on pilgrimages and to fairs

in Lithuania to receive indulgences and promises of forgiveness. Such fairs were held on saints' days in Švėkšna, Batakiai, Tauragė, Šilalė, and elsewhere. Earlier pastors spoke only German and this hampered them in their efforts to shepherd their Lithuanian flocks. The 1548 visitation of the parishes in Tilsit and Kaukehmen (Lith. *Kaukėnai*) revealed the same. Pastors were faced by Lithuanian peasants whose mouths spread superstitions and whose ears were closed to the gospel. Only ten in a thousand would come to the Sacrament. Mažvydas found that many in Ragnit knew nothing of the Decalogue, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer and went for years without the Sacrament of the Altar. It was obvious that there was a strong need for catechesis. 479

The first catechism to appear in the language of the Baltic family was a short catechism in the Prussian language. It was printed in 1545, two years before Mažvydas published a catechism in Lithuanian. The short Prussian catechism was entitled: Catechismus in preüssnischer sprach und dagegen das deüdsche (The Catechism in the Prussian and German Languages Side-by-Side). It consisted in the texts of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Our Father, and the Words of Christ instituting Baptism and the Sacrament of the Altar. Of these, only the Creed, the Our Father, and the Words of Christ could be considered liturgical texts. The pastors who served Prussian-speaking people were themselves Germans for whom Prussian was a very foreign language. It is for this reason that the catechism was made bi-lingual with German and Prussian texts on facing pages. The preface advised pastors to learn how to pronounce Prussian from their servants. They were told to listen carefully as the servants pronounced the words of the Our Father and other texts. It noted also that pronunciation was not everywhere the same. Various Baltic groups in Prussia would pronounce their languages and accent the words differently, but they could still understand each other, and so, this single catechism could also be used among the Natangians and Sudovians. 480

Unfortunately, the Prussian text did not always reproduce the German text. "Thy kingdom come" ("Zukomme dein Reich") was turned into "Let thy wealth come" ("Pergeis twais laeims") in Prussian. This made it necessary to issue a corrected edition later in the year. It too, appeared under the title: Catechismus in preüssnischer sprach, und dagegen das deüdsche (The Catechism in the Prussian and German Languages Side-by-Side). 481

It is unlikely that the spiritual situation among the Prussian-speaking population was any better than that of the Lithuanians. They had no possibility of finding clergy anywhere with whom they could communicate in their own tongue.

⁴⁷⁸ Falkenhahn 1941, 414-417.

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Illiterate Prussians were simple people, unwilling to break with ancient superstitions. In 1531, a village near Pobethen revived the pagan custom of sacrificing a black pig in hope that this would benefit the fisherman. On the basis of the 1525 Artickel, Bishop von Polentz required corporal punishment and the public penance of the guilty parties. 482 The Territorial Order also specifically prohibited magic and witchcraft, such as the ritual slaughtering of goats, "Von zauberey vnd Bockheyliges," as was practiced among the Sudovians. 483

The Sudovians there appear to have had no translation of liturgical or catechetical texts at all. Later, Albrecht would offer scholarships to subsidize Sudovian theological students. Unfortunately, no one was qualified to receive one. The Sudovian people would have to pray in German, or more likely, in Lithuanian.

The need of the Lithuanians for liturgical and catechetical material was addressed by Mažvydas who in 1547 published the first Lutheran catechism in the Lithuanian language: Catechismvsa Prasty Szadei, Makslas skaitima raschta yr giesmes del kriksczianistes bei del berneliu jaunu nauiey sugulditas (The Simple Words of a Catechism, Instruction in Reading Written Words, and Hymns for Christendom and for Young Boys, Newly Assembled). This was, in fact, the first book ever to be written and published in Lithuanian. Its purpose was to meet the pressing need which the duke had addressed in his 1543 directive and which had played a prominent role also in the 1544 church order - the need for catechesis. Mažvydas chose not to simply translate Luther's Small Catechism into Lithuanian. As Bishop Speratus had written to Rapolionis, the people needed the most simple and basic instruction because they lived in such deep darkness and could understand only the most rudimentary instruction.⁴⁸⁴ Even this would be a formidable task. The duke had taken this same position in his February 1, 1543 directive. The people must be taught the chief parts of Christian doctrine in the very simplest form, including the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Our Father, and the Words of Christ concerning Baptism and the Sacrament of the Altar. 485 Luther had said the same in his "Second Preface" to the *Large Catechism* when he stated that the simple people must be taught these chief articles. 486 It was this "Second Preface" which made a deep impression on the Prussian Church. However, not all agreed as to just how simple a "simple catechism" ought to be or in what order the chief parts ought to be taught.

The same problem faced those who set to work to produce a Polish catechism for use in Prussia. Early in 1545, Jan Seklucjan published a catechism, entitled:

⁴⁸² Bagdonavičius 1984, 339-341.

⁴⁸³ *Jacobson* 1839, (Anhang) 12.

Katechismv text prosti dla prostego lvdv (The Simple Text of the Catechism for Simple Folk). His work departed from medieval tradition and the pattern, set and recommended by Luther. It began with the Our Father, followed by the Creed, and the Ten Commandments. After the Decalogue came the Words of Christ concerning Baptism and the Sacrament and brief explanations of them. In 1546, another Polish catechism, Catechismvs to iest. Nauka Krzescianska od Apostołow dla prostich ludzi we trzech cżąstkach zamkniona, y z drugiemi cżąstkami ku teyże nauce krzescianskie przileżącemi, z Łacinskiego ięzika pilnie przełożona (Catechism, that Is, the Christian Doctrine of the Apostles in Three Parts and Other Parts Corresponding to This Teaching, Faithfully Translated from Latin for the Simple People), appeared, prepared by Jan Malecki. Opinion was divided as to which of these two catechisms should



Title page of the *Te Deum Laudamus* in Lithuanian by Martynas Mažvydas, 1549.

be officially adopted, with supporters of Seklucjan and Malecki each contending for their candidate. Malecki criticized Seklucjan not only for changing the structure of the catechism but for adding explanations which rendered it useless as a tool for teaching simple people.⁴⁸⁹ If a catechism were to be published in Lithuanian, it would need to be decided which model should be followed. Mažvydas chose to use Seklucjan's text but to restore Luther's order. He also made use of material from the 1542 Latin catechism, Catechismi Corpus, of Jodocus Willich and Pieśni duchowne a nabożne (Spiritual and Devotional Hymns), the first Polish Lutheran hymnal, published by Seklucjan in 1547.490

In 1549, Mažvydas published in Lithuanian the text of the Latin hymn, "Te Deum laudamus," to be sung in the office of Matins. In his preface, he stated that he had done it at the request of "... those who listen to God's Word," but it is clear that he himself also saw the need to pro-

⁴⁸⁷ *Druki mazurskie* 1948, 15-30.

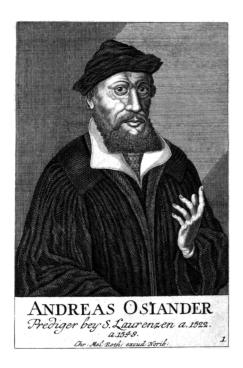
duce it for the use of his choir of schoolchildren. The booklet, which also included some additional hymns, was entitled: *Giesme S. Ambrasseijaus, bey S. Augustina, kure vadin: Te Deum laudamus* (*The Hymn of St. Ambrose and St. Augustine which Is Called the Te Deum laudamus*).⁴⁹¹ This little booklet, together with the catechism, was the only liturgical resources available in the Lithuanian language during this period. Whatever else was needed, it had to be translated from the 1544 church order by pastors of Lithuanian-speaking congregations and put into manuscript form. None of these manuscript materials have survived.

3.1.4 The 1558 Church Order and Agenda

The purpose of the 1544 church order was the maintenance of good order and the imposition of a common, uniform liturgy and ceremony. It did not speak to doctrinal issues. More definite articulation of doctrine was necessitated by the increasing influence of the controversial theologian, Andreas Osiander of Nürnberg, who had come

to Königsberg in 1549 to teach in the theological faculty of the university.

Osiander had become acquainted with the Lutheran Reformation in the 1520s. He came to be closely associated with Luther and was instrumental in the preparation of the 1533 Brandenburg-Nürnberg church order and the establishment of the Smalcald League in 1537. He was also of great influence in the formulation of the Palatinate-Neuburg church order of 1543. Duke Albrecht called him to Königsberg to serve as pastor of the Altstadt Church and professor of theology in the university. In 1550, he made known his defection from the classical Lutheran understanding of justification by grace through faith. He thought that the assurance of salvation is not based on the imputation of Christ's obedience and righteousness but by the indwelling of Christ himself in the believer.



Andreas Osiander. Copper engraving, Nürnberg, 1756 (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek).

After the death of Bishop von Polentz in 1550 and Bishop Speratus in 1551, Duke Albrecht announced his intention to replace the office of bishop with that of ecclesiastical "president," regardless of the commitment he had made to the episcopacy in the *Regiments-Notel* of 1542. He could defend his action by stating that he was doing away with an office which was "papist" and that precedent for his action could be found in the *Consistorial Order* of the Electoral Saxony.⁴⁹² Although controversy had begun to swirl around Osiander, Albrecht appointed him president of the diocese of Samland in 1551. Osiander died in 1552, and in 1554 Johannes Aurifaber was made the president and served until 1565.⁴⁹³

During the short time that he served in the diocese of Samland, Osiander turned his attention to the visitation of the parishes and prepared twenty-three doctrinal articles, based largely upon the Ansbach-Nürnberg visitation articles of 1528 and the Württemberg church order. He indicated that he was not giving much attention to church ceremonies since these had been well covered in the 1544 church order. However, his articles on the Lord's Supper gave evidence of his ideas concerning the indwelling of Christ in believers. To him, the spiritual reception of Christ through faith was more important than the bodily reception of Christ in the Sacrament. He based his understanding on his interpretation of John 6 that Lutheran theologians did not usually refer to in sacramental discussions.

To Osiander, it was this indwelling of Christ, rather than the imputation of the righteousness and obedience of Christ, which was the objective cause of the justification. This position caused great dissension in the Prussian Church, particularly because he was a close associate of Duke Albrecht and was strongly supported by Pastor Johannes Funck, the court preacher, and other prominent clergy. Joachim Mörlin and Philipp Melanchthon, however, strongly opposed him on the basis of the *Augsburg Confession* of 1530 and the *Apology* of 1531. After Osiander's death in 1552, the Prussian Church remained divided between those who supported his position and those who rejected it.

It was clear that the controversy could not be resolved on the basis of the 1544 church order. A new church order would be needed, and in 1556 Matthäus Vogel, pastor of *Kneiphof* parish in Königsberg and from 1557 second professor of theology in the university, and Johannes Aurifaber, professor of theology at the university and president of the Samland diocese, undertook to formulate it. Aurifaber was an expert in the field of church law and had been the author of the Mecklenburg church order of 1552 when he was the professor of theology at Rostock. They formulated a new church order in two parts. The first part ar-

⁴⁹² Constitution und artikel des geistlichen consistorii zu Wittemberg, 1542. Printed in Sehling I/1

ticulated the doctrinal position of the Prussian Church. It was based in part on Melanchthon's Loci Communes of 1535. The second part of the church order was a new updated agenda, based on the church's doctrinal position.

Early in 1558, Albrecht sent copies of the church order to Melanchthon, Johannes Brenz of Württemberg, and to the Strasburg theologians. No objections were received from either. On April 18, 1558, the Königsberg theologians agreed to the doctrinal articles and the document as a whole. On November 25, Albrecht approved its publication. However, he did not submit it for approval to the territorial assembly and this would later cause disputes about its legitimacy. 495

The 1558 document appeared in print late in 1558 under the title: Kirchen Ordnung Wie es im Hertzogthumb Preussen, beydes mit Lehr vnd Ceremonien, sampt andern, so zu Fürderung vnd Erhaltung des Predigampts, Christlicher Zucht, vnd guter Ordnung, von nöten, gehalten wird. Anderweit vbersehen, gemehret, vnd Publicieret (Church Order, as It Is Observed with Doctrine and Ceremonies and Other Matters for the Establishment and Preservation of the Preaching Ministry, Christian Discipline, and Good Order in the Duchy of Prussia, with Notes. Revised, Improved, and Published).

The two-volume work was the first substantial Prussian church order covering the main aspects of liturgical and pastoral ministry in the church. The first volume, entitled Der Erste Theyl dieser Kirchenordnung, begreyfft in sich die summa der waren Christlichen Lehr (The First Part of This Church Order, Comprising the Sum-



Areuffen / bendes mit Cehr vind Ceremothen / fampt andern fo in Autoeung vind Arhalming des Predig-ampts / Christlicher Jucht / vind guter Ordnung von noten/ gehalten wird.

> Anderweit Obersehen/gemehret / bud Dublicieret .

> ANNO CHRISTI M. D. LVIII. zs. Nouembris.

> > Title page of the 1558 Prussian church order.

mary of the True Christian Doctrine), was the church order and the articles of the Christian faith. It included articles on the divine Essence, the Three Persons of the Godhead, the unity of two natures in Christ, the creation, the fall of man, sin, the Law, free will, the Gospel, the distinction between the Old and New Testaments, justification, how one is justified before the face of God, how the faithful are redeemed, made righteous, and made new, good works, the struggle between the spirit and the flesh in the faithful, venial and mortal sins, repentance, the sacraments, Baptism, absolution, excommunication, the Lord's Supper, the Holy Christian Church, cross and suffering, prayer, Christian freedom, obedience to secular rulers, the Apostolic, Nicene, and Athanasian Symbols, and the "*Te Deum laudamus*" – the confession ascribed to St. Ambrose and St. Augustine.

The second volume, *Der ander Theyl dieser Kirchenordnung. Von den Ceremonien, und Kirchengebreuchen (The Second Part of This Church Order: Concerning the Ceremonies and Church Usages)*, was the agenda. The forms included Baptism and what pertains to it, the catechism, confession and absolution, public repentance and reconciliation, the Mass or Supper of the Lord, Matins, Vespers, collects, the order of service for feasts and festivals, how people are to act in church and the importance of church-going, introduction to the order of marriage and its forbidden grades, how one is to instruct the sick and give them the Sacrament, how to comfort condemned prisoners before their execution, ministry to the dying, and burial.

In the preface, Duke Albrecht noted that the estates have been actively involved in the preparation of this church order and that it had been critiqued by Philipp Melanchthon, Johannes Brenz, and other famous theologians, including those of Strasburg. The formulas of ceremonies had been based upon those of Martin Luther and were in conformity with the *Augsburg Confession*. The use of the exorcism in Baptism and the consignation (Lat. *Obsignatio crucis*) had been dropped because they were not required by Scripture and simple people misunderstand them as though they, and not the Baptism itself and the Words of Christ, overcame the devil. The work was commended to the president and consistory of the church in Samland, as well as the Pomesanian president still to be chosen, the visitation committees, and the archdeacons and archpriests of the church. The zealous following of these directives by the pastors and ministers of the church would serve in the upbuilding of the church and as an example to other Christian Churches that believe, teach, and confess according to the *Augsburg Confession*. It would also serve to hinder false doctrine, the unruly mob, and the sects.⁴⁹⁶

Included in the first part were articles concerned with Holy Baptism, absolution, excommunication, and the Supper of the Lord. These followed a short article, entitled "Concerning the Sacraments" ("Von den Sacramenten"), which did not seek to identify the commonality of these means of grace. The article indicated, instead, that the role they play in Lutheranism in the communication of the forgiveness of sins is far greater and more sure than letters of indulgence. The sacraments administered by the ministers of the church communicate the grace of God and serve as seals of eternal salvation, and therefore, they are not to be doubted but are always to be a comfort to the faithful. The sections on Baptism, absolution, et al., did not intend to give an orderly doctrinal exposition of these sacramental

gifts. They were meant, rather, as a polemic against the Roman Church, although with reference to Baptism, the Anabaptists also were criticized.⁴⁹⁷

The article on the Lord's Supper affirmed that this Sacrament was instituted to provide the certainty of forgiveness to those who had in absolution received the forgiveness of their sins. It thereby posited that confession and absolution were absolute prerequisites to the reception of Christ's true body and blood under bread and wine. It stated that the Sacrament stands as the highest pledge and seal by which the forgiveness of sins is conferred and exhibited. The rest of the article consisted of polemics against the practice of the Roman Church that withheld the cup from the laity, as well as the notions concerning the sacrifice of the Mass and the public exhibition of the consecrated body of Christ at the feast of Corpus Christi when it was carried through the city, accompanied to the sounds of cymbals and the like. This, the article stated, was a misuse of the Sacrament which gave rise to idolatry. The proper use of the Sacrament is the thankful remembrance and thanksgiving for the work by which Christ accomplished man's salvation. Furthermore, it serves as the reminder that Christians are branches of Christ, the Vinestock, and the Sacrament is properly received with a repentant heart which heartily trusts the Words of Christ and understands it as his work, and not a work of man. The evangelical position was established with quotations from 1 Corinthians 10, Romans 3, Galatians 3, John 15, the Words of Christ, and the writings of Irenaeus, Cyprian of Cartage, Augustine, Ambrose, and Jerome.⁴⁹⁸

Two forms of the Mass or Chief Divine Service were included. The first was entitled: "Form and Manner in which the Mass, or the Supper of Our Lord Christ, Is to Be Celebrated in Königsberg and Other Leading Cities in which there Are Schools" ("Form vnnd weyse so in der Mess, oder im Abentmal vnsers Herrn Christi zu Königsperg, vnd in andern fürnemlichen Steten, darinnen die Schulen zugenomen haben, soll gehalten werden"). It was for use in churches of Königsberg and other Prussian cities. The other service was entitled: "Form and Manner in which the Mass, or the Supper of Christ, Is to Be celebrated in Small Towns, Settlements, and Villages in which there Are Either no Schools or Only Small Schools" ("Form vnd weyse der Mess oder des Abentmals Christi, so in den kleinen Stetlein, Flecken vnnd Dörffern, da entweder keine, oder gar kleine Schulen seind, soll gehalten werden").

In the city churches, the Chief Divine Service was to begin with the introit, sung by the schoolchildren. The introit, which consisted of texts from the Holy Scriptures, was to be chanted in Latin while the pastor approached the altar in his customary vestments and knelt to pray. Following the introit, the threefold *Kyrie* in Greek, Latin, and German was to be sung as in the 1544 order. Then the pastor was with great reverence to intone the "Gloria in excelsis Deo" with the choir re-

sponding "Et in terra pax." At the completion of the singing, the pastor was to turn to the people for the Salutation and response. Then turning back to the altar, he was to pray the collect or some other common prayer in the usual manner in clear and understandable German. The epistle for the Sunday or feast as designated in the postil was to be read from the altar, facing the congregation in Königsberg. Elsewhere, it was to be read from the lectern or pulpit. At its completion, the choir was to sing the alleluia and the appropriate sequence (prosa de tempore) in Latin if it was doctrinally sound. Following this, on high feasts a German hymn appropriate to the season was to be sung – at Christmas, "Praise Be to You, Jesus Christ" ("Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ"), at Easter, "Christ Is Risen" ("Christ ist erstanden von der Marter alle"), at Pentecost, "We Now Implore God the Holy Ghost," and on Trinity Sunday, "God the Father, Be Our Stay" ("Gott der Vater wohn' uns bei"). Then the appropriate gospel was to be read. Following it, the entire congregation was to sing, "We All Believe in One True God."

The sermon then followed. Special provisions were given for the sermon in the Königsberg Cathedral. The order stated that because some people wanted to hear more than one sermon on Sunday morning, the sermon could be preached at 7 a.m. before Matins and after that in the *Altstadt* and *Löbenicht* churches. In the cathedral, *Altstadt*, and in the Castle Church, the Litany could be sung before or after the sermon and it might also be sung in other cities with schools. When this was not possible, as for example on higher festivals, the sermon was to be followed by a hymn, organ music, and the exhortation to the communicants. On Wednesdays in the three city churches, the Litany was to follow the reading from the catechism. In other cities, there could be sermons on Friday, if desired, or on other days.

The traditional Eucharistic Preface was laid aside in favor of the paraphrase of the Our Father and the admonition, based on Luther's *Deutsche Messe*. The pastor could repeat it word-for-word or put it in his own words. Then he was to turn to the altar and sing the Words of Christ consecrating the bread. After the consecration on high feasts, the choir was to sing the *Sanctus* in Latin or "Isaiah, Mighty Seer" in German, but the pastor was not to elevate the Sacrament as this was said to be completely unnecessary. The communicants were to receive the body of Christ before the consecration of the chalice, and the pastor was to say to each communicant: "Take and eat, this is the body of Christ, given for you." 499 If there were many communicants, "Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior" was to be sung during the communion. After all communicants had received the body of Christ, the pastor was to consecrate the chalice, singing the Words of Christ. Then the *Agnus Dei* was to be sung in Latin and the blood of Christ was to be administered with such words: "Take and drink, this is the blood of the New Testament, shed for your sins." More

stanzas of "Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior" could be sung during communion, together with "O Lord, We Praise Thee" and "I Will Praise the Lord with My Whole Heart" ("Ich danke dem Herrn von ganzem Herzen") (Psalm 111).

After all had communed, the pastor was to turn to the people for the Salutation. Then turning back to the altar, he was to pray one of the post-communion collects, the first of which was from Luther. Then turning back to the congregation, he was to sing the Salutation and conclude the service with the benediction. On Sundays, he might use words from Psalm 67: "God, even our own God, shall bless us," or "The Lord lift up his countenance upon us and give us his peace, and all the ends of the earth shall fear him. Amen." On weekdays, he should say: "The Lord make his face shine upon us and be gracious to us." 500

In the larger cities on the high feasts, such as Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas, the pastor may want to sing the *Verba consecrationis* over the bread and chalice in the traditional manner. Then the people were to approach one side of the altar in an orderly fashion to receive the body of Christ. Men were to come first and women second. An assisting pastor was to administer the blood of Christ at the other side of the altar. All were to approach the altar in a reverent manner. The same practice might be followed also in other city churches. On high feasts, more elaborate music might be sung by the schoolchildren in addition to the usual communion hymns.

A different form was given for use in smaller towns and villages. It began with a German hymn, such as "Come, Holy Ghost, Creator Blest," "Have Mercy on Me, O Lord God" ("Erbarm Dich Mein, O Herre Gott"), "From Depths of Woe I Cry to Thee," "May God Bestow on Us His Grace," "O Lord, Look Down from Heaven, Behold," or "Were God not with Us at This Time" ("Wär Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit"). However, on Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas, a German introit was to be sung instead. Following it, the threefold Kyrie was to be sung, as in 1544. Then the pastor was to reverently intone the "Gloria in excelsis" in German – "Glory to God in the Highest" ("Ehre sey Gott in den aller höchsten"), and the choir was to respond, "And on earth peace" ("Und Friede auf Erden"), in German or the hymn, "All Glory be to God on High" ("Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Her""), might be sung. Then the pastor was to turn to the people for the Salutation and then turn back to the altar for the German collect. The epistle for the day was to be read aloud from the altar in clear and understandable German. After it, the alleluia was to be sung, according to the melody used for German psalms. On the high feasts, a sequence-hymn was to be sung: at Easter, "Christ Jesus Lay in Death's Strong Bands" ("Christ lag in Todes Banden") or "Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior," at Pentecost, "Come, Holy Ghost, Creator Blest," at Christmas, "Praise Be to



A painting of Duke Albrecht of Prussia from the Cranach school at the Mohrungen church in former East Prussia (*Hubatsch III* 1968).

You, Jesus Christ" or "All Praise to Thee, Eternal God" ("Danksagen wir nun alle" / "Grates nunc omnes"). The gospel was to be read in the same manner as the epistle, and after it, the congregation was to sing, "We All Believe in One True God."

Afterwards, the pastor goes to the pulpit and preaches. Immediately after the sermon the Litany is sung or the congregation joins in a Christian hymn, such as "Now Praise, My Soul, the Lord" or "Dear Christians, Let Us Now Rejoice" or the Our Father is sung, according to the melody prepared by Bishop Paul Speratus of blessed memory. During it, the pastor leaves the pulpit and goes to the altar for the public exhortation and the paraphrase of the Our Father. Then follows the consecration and the communion of the people in both kinds as in the first order. During the communion, the congregation sings "Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior" and the pastor concludes, as usual, with one of the designated collects and benediction.

In some places, congregations were unable to sing the hymns, therefore, the pastor, together with the schoolmaster, was given the responsibility of teaching the congregation and especially the schoolchildren to sing. The same arrangement for weekday services was to be followed

as in Königsberg and other larger cities, i. e., there should be services of preaching or readings if people desired to receive the Sacrament. The Sunday epistle and gospel or a chapter or half chapter from the Old and New Testaments should be read from the altar. This was customary also at Matins and Vespers. Where there were no communicants, the same order was to be used, together with its ceremonies and sermon, just as though there were communicants. However, there was to be no

("Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort") or the Our Father, and the pastor should conclude the service with the appropriate collect and benediction. This was similar to the procedure followed in Königsberg, except there a German or Latin hymn was to be sung before the paraphrase when there were communicants.⁵⁰¹

The 1558 church order also provided for the conduct of Matins and Vespers both in the larger churches and in the smaller village congregations. The book also contained a collection of collects to be used at Mass, Matins, and Vespers, ordered according to the seasons of the church year. Versicles to be used with the collects at Matins and Vespers were also included.

Matins was to begin with the intonation of the versicles, "Domine labia mea aperies" and "Deus in adjutorium meum intende," and their responses. Then the choir was to sing two or three psalms in Latin according to their length. The psalms were to be sung in order, except on high feasts when particular psalms appropriate to the occasion were to be sung. After the psalms, the chaplain should read a chapter of the Old Testament "from Moses," together with a short summary. After the reading, the choir was to sing the proper responsory. If the traditional responsory was not appropriate, then a German hymn might be sung. Then followed an admonition to prayer and then the pastor intoned the versicle, "O Lord, show us your mercy" ("Erzeige vns Herr deine Barmhertzigkeit"), and the choir responded. He then was to read a German collect of the day (de tempore) or a common collect and the service concluded with the Benedicamus.

At the cathedral in Königsberg where the sermon was preached early, the congregation gathered for Matins and German hymns, together with spiritual songs and songs of praise, and if there were communicants, the deacon or minister was to give a short exhortation to replace the reading. Then the whole congregation was to sing the "*Te Deum laudamus*." Before the sermon, the congregation was to sing, "Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior" and it was followed by an invitation to common prayer. Then "We Now Implore God the Holy Ghost" was to be sung. In the *Altstadt* and *Löbenicht* churches, Matins was to be held on Sundays, feast days, and also on weekdays. After Matins, an invitation to receive the Sacrament was issued and there was a prayer for all estates of Christendom.

Where Matins was not said, the people were to come together to sing German hymns, German psalms, spiritual hymns, and songs of praise. This was to be followed by an admonition to prayer and the sermon. After the sermon, the service was to conclude as at Matins. This order was also to be followed in towns where it was not possible to hold Matins except on Sunday.

In villages and rural areas, the people were to gather for German psalms appropriate to Matins and an admonition to the Sacrament. In places where it was

not possible to hold the service, some outward sign, such as the ringing of the bell, should call the people to prayer for peace and welfare and give thanks to God. This should be done daily.

Vespers was to be sung in Königsberg on Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday, beginning with the versicle, "Deus in adjutorium meum intende," and its response, followed by the Gloria Patri. Then the choir was to sing one, two, or three psalms as at Matins. This was followed by the responsory and the hymn of the day. If the old hymn of the day was not theologically appropriate, then some other hymn should be used instead. Then the chaplain was to read a chapter from the New Testament, beginning with Matthew through to the end. This was to be followed by a summary, prepared by Veit Dietrich or some other writer. After the chapter, the people were admonished to pray and the service concluded with the Magnificat and its versicle, the collect as at Matins, and the Benedicamus. On Wednesdays, there was a more elaborate Vespers service before which the great bells were sounded. Then the choir sang Vespers as on the other days, excepting that after the hymn, the chaplain read a sermon on the catechism as ordered in the 1543 ducal decree. After it, the Litany and a collect were sung, concluding the service. On Saturdays and Sundays, Vespers was sung with a sermon as on Wednesdays and the chaplain preached a sermon on a Bible text, chosen by the parish pastor. After it, the general intercessions were prayed. The Magnificat was then sung and the service concluded in the usual manner.

In other towns, the Königsberg order was to be followed every day or if this was not possible, at least on Saturdays, Sundays, and feast days. The school-children were to sing the psalms, responsories, hymns, and *Magnificat* in Latin or, if necessary, in German.

In smaller towns, villages, and rural areas, Vespers should be sung every Sunday or at least on the high feasts with German responsories and hymns and the *Magnificat*. If this was not possible, German psalms and hymns were to be sung. The sermon was to be based on the catechism, and the usual ceremonies of the Mass, Matins, and Vespers were to be followed. The service should not be lengthy. It would be commendable if in the smaller villages and countryside congregations the people gathered, as of old, in the morning and the evening even when Matins and Vespers were not sung. ⁵⁰²

In a prefatory note, "Concerning Other Ceremonies" ("Von anderen Ceremonien"), before the daily offices, pastors, assisting pastors, or other ministers (Germ. Kirchendiener) were encouraged to acquaint their people with the contents of the Holy Scriptures by reading through the entire Bible in the daily offices, reading one chapter at a time as had been recommended in the 1544 church order. In order to explain the readings, a summary of each chapter, such as those prepared by Veit Dietrich, should be read so that the people would become acquainted with the contents of the Bible.

Longer explanations should be reserved for the sermon. Where it was possible for schoolchildren to be present, congregations were encouraged to use not only German but also Latin in the services. The rule of St. Paul was to be followed – congregations were not edified by the use of languages they did not understand. ⁵⁰³

Included after the daily offices were a collection of collects to be used at Mass, Matins, and Vespers, ordered according to the seasons of the church year. This was followed also by versicles to be used with the Matins and Vespers collects.

A calendar of feasts and holy days to be celebrated in the Prussian Church was also included. It listed all feasts of Christ Jesus, namely the Nativity of Christ, the Circumcision, the Epiphany, the Purification of Mary and Presentation of Christ, the Annunciation, Maundy Thursday (Lord's Supper), Good Friday, Easter, Ascension, and Pentecost. Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost were to be celebrated for three days, as in 1544, with sermons and hymns. The sermons at Mass were to be on the gospel of that day, be it Sunday or festival. That gospel was to be read at the Mass and explained in the sermon. At Matins or Vespers on Sundays in the cites, the sermon was to be on the epistle. In places where there were simple people, homilies were to be taken from the postils of Luther, Antonius Corvinus, and Veit Dietrich. There should also be sermons on the catechism, treated article by article. If it was not possible to celebrate a feast day on the date appointed, then it should be done on the next available service day such as Wednesday or Friday. Mentioned in this connection are the Conversion of Paul, John the Baptist, the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene, and the Beheading of John the Baptist. It was also deemed proper that the remembrance of the holy angels be observed on Sunday immediately before Michaelmas. If it should happen that the feast of the Annunciation were to fall on Palm Sunday or during Holy Week or Easter Week, its observance was to be transferred to the Sunday after Easter so that nothing might interfere with the commemoration of the passion and resurrection of Christ.

The church order noted that in towns and places inhabited by Poles, Lithuanians, and other non-Germanic peoples, chaplains had been set apart to preach the gospel, as in Königsberg. However, in the countryside and small villages, translators needed to be provided. To prepare for the day when Lithuanians, Sudovians, and Prussians could have preachers who spoke their native languages, the children of these people needed to be instructed and prepared for the holy ministry. Therefore, legal arrangements must be made to support their instruction, and the duke consented to offer twenty-four stipends for worthy young men: six Poles, six Lithuanians, six Prussians, and six Sudovians. These non-Germanic people must not fail to encourage their sons to study diligently to prepare for service in

the holy ministry. Also, parish pastors and local noblemen must encourage parents in this endeavor.⁵⁰⁴

In towns, there was to be preaching on weekdays, especially Wednesdays or Fridays, with special readings as needed, first, from books of the New Testament, and when they had been read, books from the Old Testament. The plan was that in the course of time sermons would be preached from the books of both Testaments, providing necessary instruction and comfort and overcoming indifference toward the Word of God.

The article on confession and absolution stated that the preaching of the gospel was itself a form of absolution for those who believe the gospel message that Christ is a Mediator who offers forgiveness through his blood to all who believe. However, it was stated that a special form of confession and absolution had been provided to aid sinners, in accordance with Christ's words to his apostles that they should forgive the sins of the penitent and retain the sins of those who refuse to repent. Private absolution was to be regarded as a particularly high and strong comfort to those who confess their sins and especially for those who desire to receive the Sacrament. However, it was not meant only for those who desired to go for the Lord's Supper. Holy absolution was not to be likened to confession under the pope. Time was to be given for confession and absolution in the evening either before or after Vespers or on Sunday morning before or during the office of Matins.

The pastor or other minister was to instruct the people to examine themselves according to God's Law and then confess their sins. The articles that followed made it clear that those who come to the Sacrament were to have been examined and absolved. No one was to commune who was living in open sin or living a wanton life. This included blasphemers, adulterers, disobedient workers and servants, harlots, those who practiced usury, or drunkards. The Sacrament was for those who showed remorse and sorrow for their sins and confessed their Christian faith. Young people were to approach the altar only if they had been properly instructed in the chief articles of faith, and those who knew nothing of them should not commune. Those who had not confessed were not to be communed, and the practice of giving a general absolution in the morning of Communion day was to be dropped.

The absolution was to be given personally to each penitent, according to one of four approved forms. The first form was declarative: "... as a called servant of the Christian Church, by the command of our Lord Jesus Christ, I proclaim to you the forgiveness of all your sins in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Amen. Go in peace, be it unto you as you believe." The second states: "... I,

by the command of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the place of Holy Christian Church, say to you that you are free (Germ. "frey, ledig, vnd loss") of all your sins in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Amen. Go forth and sin no more, do not fail to do better. To this end may God assist you with his Holy Spirit. Amen." The third: "... in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, by his command and in the power of his word in which he said, 'Whose sins you forgive, they are forgiven,' I say to you that you are free (Germ. "frey, ledig, vnd loss") of all your sins ... in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Amen. Go in peace." The fourth absolution states: "... and I, by the command of our Lord Jesus Christ and in the power of his word in which he said, 'Whose sins you forgive, they are forgiven, etc.,' announce to you the forgiveness of all your sins in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Amen. Go in peace." No formula indicates that the penitents are to be blessed with the sign of the cross. 505

The new church order was more substantial than the 1544 order. For the first time, there was an extensive section on Christian doctrine because the Prussian Church had seen an influx of enthusiasts and others who claimed the gospel for themselves but whose understanding of it, and in particular, whose understanding of the justification of the sinner was very different from that of the *Augsburg Confession*. A further explication of Christian doctrine had been necessitated also by the fact that the Prussian Church was surrounded by lands in which the Roman Church had official standing. During the Osiandrian controversy, bishop of Warmia, Stanislaus Hosius, who later was made cardinal of Poland-Lithuania, was prompted by the king of Poland to offer his help in the resolution of the doctrinal disputes in the Prussian Church. He met in 1552 with Albrecht who reacted to his insistence on the superiority of the Roman Church and its stability by stating: "It appears to me that you want to make me a papist." To clarify the doctrinal position of the Prussian Church, Aurifaber wrote an extensive section on justification for the 1558 church order.

Provisions for the Mass, the daily offices, and pastoral acts were far more adequate than those earlier provided. More than a single form of Chief Divine Service was provided because of the great difference of the level of learning and understanding in cities and rural areas. An elaborate service complete with Latin introits was furnished for the educated people. For the common folk there was a simpler service with a strong stress on catechesis. In the latter case, a somewhat richer service was provided for Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. The use of the two distinct forms of Divine Service fell into line with Luther's recommendations in *Formula Missae* and *Deutsche Messe* and the provisions of 1540 Duke Heinrich's agenda.

The practice of first consecrating and then serving the body of Christ and then the blood of Christ, first found in the 1544 order, was perpetuated. Unfortunately, no provision was made for the use of Latin or German Prefaces on the high feasts, such as were found in the Duke Heinrich agenda. Following the example of the 1553 Württemberg church order, the exorcism was dropped. Pastors, who wished to move outside the letter of the law and include it, would need to write it in the



toscielun/iatosie w Kiestwie Prustiem snaucdaniem y Coeremoniamiy s inemi rzeczmi/ktore ku pomnosemiu y zachowaniu vrzedu kosnodzieskiego; y porządku dobrego potrzebnezachowawa.

S nowu priepriany / pomnosony

Rotu narodšenia Panotiego M+ D+ L X.

Title page of the 1560 Polish language church order.

margin of their copy of the agenda. Missing also was the consignation – the signing with the cross on the forehead and the heart in Holy Baptism. Indeed, the sign of the cross is nowhere found in any rite in the 1558 book – an unfortunate omission. Albrecht stated that the elimination of the exorcisms and the consignation was justified because the Holy Scriptures testified that it is Baptism itself which casts out Satan and joins one to the crucified Christ. Therefore, these "ceremonies devised by men" were unnecessary.

The only translation of the 1558 church order was published in Polish in 1560. It was printed in Königsberg under the title: Ustawa albo porząd koscielny, iako się w Xięstwie Pruskiem s nauczaniem y Coeremoniami, y s inemi rzeczami, ktore ku pomnoszeniu y zachowaniu urzędu kasnodzieiskiego, y porządku dobrego potrzebne, zachowana. S nowu przeyrzany, pomnossony y na

iawią wydany (The Statute or Church Order, as it Is Observed in the Duchy of Prussia, Together with Doctrine and Ceremonies and Other Matters for the Support and Preservation of the Preaching Ministry and Good Order, Newly Revised and Published). The translator is unknown.⁵⁰⁷

3.1.5 Forms of the 1558 Church Order Put into Lithuanian

It once again fell to Martynas Mažvydas (Lat. *Martinus Masvidius*) to translate the most important parts of the 1558 order into Lithuanian. His translation of the rite of Holy Bantism was published in Königsborg under the title: Forma chrik

stima kaip baszniczas istatimae Hertzikistes Prusu ir kitosu żemesu laikoma ira (The Form of Baptism, as Observed According to Church Law in the Duchy of Prussia and Other Lands). His intention was to bring the rite of Holy Baptism in the Lithuanian-speaking congregations into conformity with the form authorized by the churchat-large. The booklet also included a form for the recognition of the emergency Baptism and a translation of Luther's baptismal hymn, "To Jordan Came the Christ, Our Lord" (Germ./Lith. "Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam" / "Christus Jordanop ateiha"). 509

Mažvydas continued to translate liturgical hymns and forms for use in his Ragnit parish and other parishes. Music needed to be provided for the choirs in the Latin parochial schools for their use in the daily and Sunday services. He chose hymns and liturgical material which he



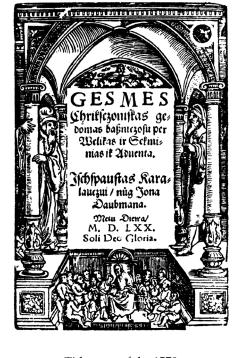
Title page of the 1559 formulary for Holy Baptism in Lithuanian.

thought to be most needed and then gathered this material for publication as a book of hymns. The first volume appeared posthumously in 1566 in Königsberg under the title: Gesmes Chriksczoniskas gedomas Baszniczosu per Aduenta ir Kaledas ik Gramniczu (Christian Hymns, Sung in the Churches During Advent and Christmastide and Until Candlemas). The second volume of his material was published by Mažvydas' cousin, Baltramiejus Vilentas. It included hymns for the Easter and the Pentecost seasons. It was printed in 1570 under the title: Gesmes Chriksczoniskas gedomas baszniczosu per Welikas ir Sekminias ik Aduenta (Christian Hymns Sung in the Churches Through Easter and Pentecosttide and Until Advent). 510

It is evident that Mažvydas made use of the works of other translators in putting German, Polish, and Latin hymns into Lithuanian. In addition to Professors Rapolionis and Kulvietis, several others contributed to this work of translation. Among them were pastors Jurgis Zablockis, Jonas Kirtoforas, Ulrikas Merkuceci-

Mažvydas translated the rite of Holy Baptism from Form der Tauff. Wie die in der Kirchenordnung des Hertzogthumbs Preuffen, vnd andern mehr, verfaffet. Gedruckt zu Königsberg,





Title page of the 1566 Lithuanian hymnbook.

M.D.LXVI.

Title page of the 1570 Lithuanian hymnbook.

jus, Stanislovas Marcijanas-Musa, Augustinas Jomantas, Baltramiejus Vilentas, Tomas Gedkantas, Aleksandras Rodūnionis, Jonas Šeidukonis, and Mikalojus Blotnas. Mažvydas made use of their labors and gave them full credit. In most cases, he did not even identify himself as the translator of the hymns which he had translated.

Pastors, who had in hand the two volumes of *Gesmes Chriksczoniskas*, had everything needed to conduct Matins and Vespers. They had as well almost everything needed for the celebration of the weekly Mass, the Chief Divine Service. They had the necessary introits for the principal seasons of the church year, the *Kyrie fons bonitatis*, *Kyrie paschale*, and *Kyrie qui septiformis*, versicles and collects, sequences, and the Lithuanian setting of the creedal hymn, "We All Believe in One True God," as well as a number of prayers and the Litany to be prayed after the sermon. What was lacking was Luther's paraphrase of the Our Father, the Consecratory Words of Christ, the post-communion collects, and benedictions. Later, Mažvydas' own translation of all these would be printed in the hymnal of

(Paraphrasis, Paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, translated by Martynas Mažvydas).⁵¹¹

Mažvydas also prepared a form to be used by those preparing to come to the Sacrament. It was published posthumously by Baltramiejus Vilentas in his Enchiridion where it followed the baptismal formulary. It was entitled: "A Short Examination and Preparation for Those who Desire to Receive the Holy Sacrament of the Altar" ("Trumpas klausimas ir prieprowimas tu kurie nor prijmti schwentaghi Sacramenta Altoraus"). It consisted in an exhortation and five short questions, the answers to which were considerably longer than the questions. It is reminiscent of Luther's explanations in the sixth chief part of the Small Catechism. The second form, "A Common Form of Confession" ("Paspalitas budas Spawedies"), opened with a formal request that the father confessor should hear the confession and pronounce the absolution. This was followed by thirteen questions and answers, reminiscent of Luther's twenty questions in Christian Questions

PARAPHRASIS, permanicina poteraus malba ver Startina Stofwi ba ilibanibita.

Seli prietelei Christana / ivana pana Pono sussirintome / idant io schwenta Testamenta priesimtumbim / Graudindams todelei isch pradzas ius praschau / idant ius/ Schirdis iusu/ Diewop patiles tumbit / ir drauge su manimi falbestumbit / Malda ponischta/ tu budu taip mus Christus musu Ponas patis ischmotinna / ir titra ischtlaussima apsadeia.

Melstem tapirmiaus / idant Diewas / musu danguiesu Tewas/ K ant

Formulary for the Lord's Supper by Martynas Mažvydas, published by Jonas Bretkūnas in *Giesmes Duchaunas*, 1589.

and Answers. It was the writer's desire that communicants should be quite clear as to who is the Giver of the gift of Communion, in what the gift consists, and what are its benefits. This second form may have been prepared by Mažvydas but no name was attached to it.

Mažvydas produced his work to help pastors in Lithuanian-speaking congregations to fulfill the directives of the 1558 church's official agenda in their special circumstances. In this sense, Mažvydas may be said to have produced a quasiagenda for Lithuanian-speaking congregations, giving what was most needful for them in their own language. By design, it was a work, dealing with those services which the pastors would use most often and copies of which they would need to have readily available. Mažvydas' work served the Lithuanian Church in much the same way as the 1530 Riga hymnal/agenda served the German-speak-

ing congregations in Livonia.⁵¹³ There, too, the church had no complete agenda. The Riga hymnal had to serve the purpose of the agenda, with each successive edition growing in size and scope and adding more and more needed liturgical material. By 1586, Latvian-speaking parishioners in nearby Courland had in hand a hymnal, similar to what Mažvydas had produced for the Lithuanian-speaking congregations many years earlier.

The ethnic Prussians were a second Baltic group that received the liturgical texts in their own language. In 1561, they were given two important liturgical forms in their own tongue: the rite of Baptism and the rite of marriage. The occasion of the preparation and appearance of these forms was the publication of a third Prussian catechism, *Enchiridion*. *Der Kleine Catechismus Doctor Martin Luthers*, *Teutsch und Preussisch* (*The Enchiridion*. *The Small Catechism of Doctor Martin Luther*, *German and Prussian*).

In 1554, Duke Albrecht declared his growing dissatisfaction over the slow rate of progress of catechization among ethnic Prussians. He instructed Johannes Funck, his court preacher, to give the catechization of the Baltic Prussians his immediate attention and to translate Luther's Enchiridion into the Prussian language. Funck had great difficulty finding a pastor with sufficient knowledge of Prussian to assist him in this task. It was more than difficult; it was impossible. He, therefore, turned to his colleague, Pastor Abel Will, who served Prussianspeaking people in the parish of Pobethen, a small village near Königsberg, to help him. It was in Pastor Will's parish that the incident of the offering of the black pig had occurred many years earlier, in 1531.514 He had some knowledge of the language and customs of the Prussian people, however, he did not know the Prussian language well enough to undertake the task of producing a Prussian translation of the catechism. In his parish, Will had as a translator a free Prussian peasant, named Paul Megott, who had been involved in translation work since 1547. Megott undertook the work but he ran into difficulties because a local nobleman, Georg von Eichicht, was pressing him and other free peasants into serfdom. By July 1554, Will found it necessary to call upon Funck to take measures to free Megott from other duties to complete his important translation work. He stated that he himself was not adequate to the task and needed Megott's expertise. Duke Albrecht now took steps to see to it that Megott would be permitted to give more time to the work of translation.⁵¹⁵

⁵¹³ Kurtz Ordnung 1530.

⁵¹⁴ Para Laureni Ying 1004 220 241



Gedruckt fu Königsperg in Dreuffen durch Fohann Saubman. M. D. LXI.

Title page of the 1561 Prussian language *Enchiridion*.

Stas Crirti Lais

Sta Enteitufnatai Drufiftai turri Crixtitwi.

Stas Naps adder Crixtrix bille.

Stwi aft numas ains malnifties perpiffolbe fteffepaggan poquoition / tai tans ftefinu mablin peroniffan Critetaniffun tijrtin enlaipints bhe no enteitafnan/bhe enfabinfnan Jefu Chrifti/Critits poftanai.

poftanai.
Aai mes abber waisnan pogauninai /is kawisdennu gruntan Deiroütiskan peisälinmes mans
schielden malniskkai enimmimatsin/ bbe stanprafammablin Deimas prossan pressantationai/bbe
bet ernnan etnistis bbe Daiai stesse erittiskas
madlit eurrimai / Tieet daiti stumman kirdie / stan
Ebangelion esse stans malnistitans / käng stan
Ebangelion esse stans malnistitans / käng stan
Ewints Mary en Dessinton ast popeisauns.

Enstan Berdan perpidai tennei malnifeikano prei Jesum/kai tänstennans turrilai enkausint/ Noderstai maldaisei drišudai quai tannans perpi Da

Prussian language baptismal formula, included in the 1561 Prussian language *Enchiridion*.

The completed work included two liturgical forms. The first was the form of Baptism, "The Baptismal Booklet" ("Das Tauffbüchlein" / "Stas Crixti Lāiſkas"). The second was the marriage rite, "The Marriage Booklet as It Stands in Our Church Order" ("Ein Trawbüchlein wie das in vnſer Kirchenordnung ſtehet" / "Ains Sallūbs Laiſkas Kai ſtas en noūſon Kīrkis teikūſnan ſtalle"). These two forms were not taken from Luther's Small Catechism but, as indicated, they were translated from the 1558 agenda which was just published. Pastor Will had followed Albrecht's opinion that this was a good opportunity to make baptismal and marriage rites available to the Prussians in an edition officially approved by the Prussian Church. Accordingly, Will asked Megott to translate these forms from the church order, rather than from Luther's Enchiridion.

In his preface to the Prussian catechism, the duke stated that the long history of idolatry and superstition among the Prussians and Sudovians made their proper catechization a matter of utmost importance. He stated that both church and state had endeavored to overcome this old mentality and its practices but more needed to be done. The people needed to be taught from Luther's *Enchiridion* both what is true and what is false. He regretted that there were still so few preachers who had

obstacle to the proper catechization of the people. Unfortunately, the interpreters could not always be depended upon to state correctly in Prussian what the pastors had just said in German. Therefore all the texts in the catechism were now printed in both languages on facing pages. With the help of their translators, the pastors must teach the text of the catechism every Sunday from the pulpit. It was his continuing hope that God would raise up young Prussian men to aid in the catechization of "this barbarous people."

He stated that Prussian school teachers also must diligently teach the ethnic Prussian schoolchildren the text of the *Enchiridion* in both Prussian and German, and on Sundays and feast days they should be examined at Martins and Vespers, one Sunday in German and the next Sunday in Prussian. The examination should take place either before or after the sermon with one pupil asking the questions and another giving the appropriate answers. Thus, the final responsibility for teaching the catechism would not depend on the householders but on the clergy and school teachers. Albrecht stated that he was particularly glad that the command to include the forms of baptism and marriage from the 1558 agenda had been heeded. As a result, these rites would now be performed with greater solemnity and reverence in the ethnic Prussian tongue.⁵¹⁷

3.1.6 The 1568 Church Order

The introduction of the 1558 church order did not go well. At least twenty-five pastors repudiated it almost immediately. Although Melanchthon, Johannes Brenz, and other theologians had found nothing objectionable in the material they had examined, the work came to be labeled "Osiandrian," chiefly because of the involvement of Pastor Johannes Funck and Pastor Matthäus Vogel who had at first strongly supported Osiander's position on justification. The landed gentry complained bitterly that their rights had been violated because the work had been handed down as a *fait accompli*, without their having been given any opportunity to discuss or critique it. It should not have been published, they stated, without the prior approval of the territorial assembly. This only increased the opposition of the clergy to the new order. They objected strongly to the elimination of the exorcism in Baptism and the omission of the consignation. They complained that the new church order introduced foreign crypto-Calvinistic notions.

At the same time, Hosius was trying to press Duke Albrecht to accept the dogmas, established by the Council of Trent. At this time, also Jesuits appeared at Braunsberg in Warmia in 1564 for the expressed purpose of launching the

Counter-Reformation in Prussia. They established there a college for 250 students and a seminary for twenty-four students. Both were meant to counteract the influence of the University of Königsberg. In addition, the Jesuits established an academy in Vilnius in 1578. Henceforth, Lithuanian students avoided Königsberg and enrolled in the Vilnius academy.⁵¹⁹

During this period of time, Calvinism was making headway primarily in Lithuania because marshal and grand chancellor of Lithuania, as well as palatine of Vilnius, Radziwill the Black, declared himself a Calvinist in his *Confessio Fidei* of 1556.⁵²⁰ The majority of Lithuanian nobility obediently followed his lead. Calvinist gains in Poland were less significant, but the Calvinists were still able to wield considerable political influence.

The greatest dangers facing the Lutherans in Prussia, however, were the result of the internal dissensions within the church. Andreas Osiander had died in 1552, but the doctrinal controversy, which arose because of his teachings concerning the doctrine of justification, did not die with him. His theological position was strongly supported by Johannes Funck, the court preacher, and other advisors of Albrecht. Albrecht himself had been converted as a result of Osiander's preaching in Nürnberg. His fondness for his teacher was stronger than his fears concerning his doctrine. The landed gentry, however, took a far different view. They had been provoked by the duke's high-handed action of establishing the 1558 church order without their advice or consent. Even earlier, the decision to move from an episcopal form of church government to the election of a presiding officer had been entirely Albrecht's own decision and was in itself a violation of the terms of the 1542 Regiments-Notel with its definition of the episcopal office and its responsibilities. Tensions were growing, and by 1565 they had reached such a peak that Johannes Aurifaber, the president of the Samland diocese, found it wise to leave Prussia and to return home to Breslau. In 1566, the landed gentry and cities called upon King Sigismund II Augustus to send a commission to deal with the instability caused by the dissensions. As a result, Court Chaplain Funck and two other ducal advisors were condemned and beheaded, chiefly for creating and perpetuating unrest and instability. It was ordered that for the present the church would be governed according to the provisions of the 1544 church order. On October 4, 1566, after consulting the statutes, Duke Albrecht issued a decree reestablishing the episcopate and directing that by St. Michael's Day, 1567, a new church order, articulating clearly the doctrine of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and establishing Christian ceremonies and discipline should be produced.⁵²¹

REPETITIO CORPO-RIS DOCTRINÆ ECCLE.

SIASTICAE

Widerholung der Summa und Inhalt der rechten allgemeinen Christichen Kirchen Letze wie dieselbas aus Gottes Vort, inder Augspurgis khen Consession, Apologia/ vod Schmalkaldischen Artieteln degristen Ond von fürstlicher Burchleudrigsteit ap Deussie etc. Zuch allen derseidigen Gerewen Landssenden von Ons zerthanneschistlichen von Weltichen im Berogathumb Dreussenneschiftlichen in Sergasphumb Dreussenneschiftlich and der die der die der liger von angenomen Karzisch zus sammen verfasset.

Zum Zeugnis eintrechtiger/bestendiger Befennis reiner Lehr/Bider allerlen Corru ptelen/ Notten und Secten / fo fin und wider / unter dem Scheinderfelder Augfpurgischen Confession die Kirchen zurratten.

Pfalm. CXIX.

36 baffe die fladergeifter vnd allen falfden Wegt Lugen bin ich gramt vnd liebe dein Gefene.



Title page of the 1567 Doctrinal Summary.

As a result of the October 4 decree, Joachim Mörlin and Martin Chemnitz of Braunschweig set to work to prepare a document which would meet the duke's specifications and serve to put down the dissensions dividing the church. The Repetitio Corporis Doctrinae Ecclesiasticae (Reiteration of the Body of Ecclesiastical Doctrine) of 1567 was presented to the synod at Königsberg late in May 1567. It was approved and signed by Bishop Georg von Venediger of Pomesania and Joachim Mörlin, who would soon become bishop of Samland, and the pastors who were present. A total of eighty-six members of the synod subscribed to this document, bringing an end to doctrinal dissensions.

The general introduction of the *Repetitio* included a statement concerning the origins of the *Augsburg Confession*. It provided the doctrinal articles and a state-

ment of what is required to ensure Christian peace and harmony in the church in every age. Included among these articles were the doctrine of God, the communion of the two natures of Christ (*Communicatio idiomatum*), the law, original sin and free will or the capacity and powers of man, the justification of man before God, good works, sacraments in general, Baptism, the Lord's Supper, and the office of the holy ministry.

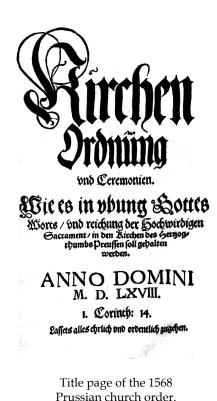
The document stated that the doctrinal foundation, on which the peace and harmony of the church and its teaching must be built, includes the Word of God, the ancient symbols of the church – the Apostles, Nicene, and Athanasian Creeds, as well as "Te Deum laudamus" of St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, the Augsburg Confession and its Apology, the Smalcald Articles, and the writings of Luther, all of which clearly state God's Word. It went on to say that new confessions were neither necessary nor helpful. It specifically rejected the doctrinal basis of the Roman Church because it proceeded without the corrective of God's Word and against the teachings of the fathers. They mixed together God's Word and human thought to give an appearance of wisdom. Rejected also were the doctrinal statements of the Schwenckfeldians and other enthusiasts (Germ. Schwärmer)

directed particularly against the Tridentine Council, the Interims, and Osiander, all of which saw human action as at least partially a cause of man's justification.

The article on the sacraments followed the pattern of the 1558 church order but brought it up-to-date. In Baptism, the position of the Anabaptists, who rejected sacramental character of Baptism, and the teaching of Calvin, according to which converted and believing children were already in the kingdom of God even before their Baptism so that nothing essential was added to them through Baptism, were condemned. Zwinglianism was rejected for removing Christ from the Sacrament of the Altar. The Roman Catholic understanding of the Mass as a sacrifice for sin was rejected. It was stated that the enthusiasts robbed the Supper of its highest, foremost, and most precious treasure – the body and blood of Christ. Against them it noted that Christ said, "Take and eat, this is my body," and not, "Take and eat this bread because it is the power of my body." It also stated emphatically that Christ gave himself for man according to both his divine and human natures, against the contrary Calvinist notion. 522

In the preface to the *Repetitio*, dated June 9, 1567, Albrecht referred to the preparation of a church order which would soon appear and which would specify the church's ceremonies in accordance with the order, set down in the church order of 1544. In the meantime, the counsel of the bishops was to be followed for the good of the church. On December 25, 1567, Bishop Joachim Mörlin of Samland and Georg Venediger of Pomesania were commissioned by the territorial assembly to prepare a new church order. By the time it was published in 1568, Duke Albrecht had died.⁵²³

The 1568 church order was entitled: Kirchen Ordnüng vnd Ceremonien. Wie es in vbung Gottes Worts vnd reichung der Hochwirdigen Sacrament in den Kirchen des Herzogthumbs Preussen soll gehalten werden (Church Order and Ceremonies, According to the Usage of the Word of God and the Ordering of the Venerable Sacrament, as Observed in the Churches of the Duchy of Prussia). It opened with a preface by the bishops and included the orders of Vespers for Saturdays, Sundays, and weekdays, confession and absolution, Matins and early sermon, the day of prayer, Mass or Holy Communion, the afternoon sermon on Sundays, directives concerning catechization, feast days, directives concerning translators (von Tolken), Baptism, emergency Baptism, directives for midwives along with prayers in time of birth, regulations concerning emergency Baptism by midwives, and words of consolation for mothers in labor. Included also were forms for marriage, excommunication and public repentance, the reconciliation of penitents, and directives in cases where a child had been smothered in sleep, manslaughter, the practice of witchcraft, the despising of the preaching of the divine word and the Holy Sacrament, public godless-



ness, adultery and the like, ministry to the sick, and burial. Also provided were collects for the seasons of the church year and special circumstances, versicles to be used with the collects, the Apostolic, Nicene, and Athanasian symbols, as well as the symbol ascribed to St. Ambrose and St. Augustine ("Te Deum laudamus").

The preface supplied by the bishops stated that the solid foundation and form of pure doctrine had already been printed in 1567 in the *Corpore Doctrinae* and *Refutatione corruptelarum*, which had been approved by the territorial assembly, and that the ceremonies were in accord with God's Word and the honor due to the sacraments over against the papists on one side and the Calvinists and enthusiasts on the other. The work was commended to all pious pastors and ministers to assist them in the exercise of their duties for the blessing of the people committed to their care.⁵²⁴

The church order was structured differently from the 1558 church order. In fact, it ought more properly to have been called an agenda rather than a church order since it lacked a section on doctrine. In the 1558 agenda, Baptism came first of all, just as it comes first in the life of Christians. Baptism was followed by the catechism, confession and absolution, excommunication and public repentance and reconciliation. Only then did one come to the appointments for public worship among which the Mass stood in the first place, followed by Matins and Vespers along with brief notes concerning services during the week. The 1568 book began immediately with Vespers on Saturday evening and the eve of church festivals. This was deemed a fitting place to begin because it was here that the congregation made ready for the Sunday Mass. Chronological order would have put Sunday Matins next but, instead, this service of Vespers is followed by Vespers for Sundays and feast days, perhaps because in this order the directives for the Saturday Vespers service are provided with the proper notes for the intonation of the *Magnificat* and its antiphon and the "*Nunc Dimittis.*" Next comes a short

description of Vespers on days of the week and Vespers as it should be prayed both on Sundays and weekdays in smaller parishes and villages.

In cities with Latin schools, most particularly in Königsberg, the Saturday Vespers was to begin with the intonation of the versicle, "Deus in adjutorium meum intende," sung by a deacon. The choir was then to sing the appropriate response, after which two schoolboys were to intone the antiphon for the one or two psalms that were to follow. Where there was a Latin school, the psalms should be sung in Latin. The responsory followed the psalms and the appropriate hymn of the day from medieval times if it was a doctrinally sound hymn in conformity with the Holy Scriptures. A short sermon was to follow the hymn, included in which there was a reminder to the communicants to come for confession that very night. The sermon was to expose the people to the doctrines of the Christian Church. Included were doctrines, such as repentance, which consisted in two parts: the heartfelt sorrow of the sinner, including the proper basis of that sorrow, and an unwavering faith in God through Christ. The sermon was also to remind the importance of private absolution, the special comfort and wholesome effect of the Lord's Supper, and what pertains to man's justification, etc. The preacher was directed to preach about thirty minutes. At festal times, the preacher was to make note of the season, but he was to be brief so that no time was taken away from confession and families could return home to prepare for the festival. After the sermon, the Magnificat with a seasonal antiphon was to be sung. The service closed with collects and the Benedicamus.

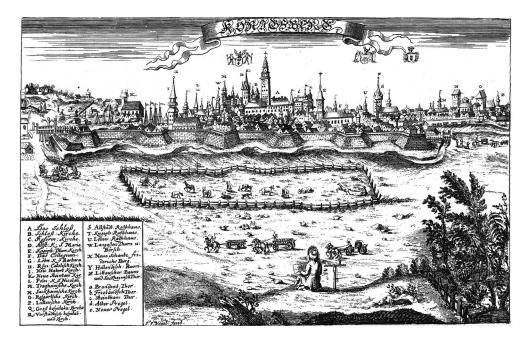
The contents of this service were similar to the 1558 order, except there was now no directive concerning the reading of the New Testament or summaries of the text. Furthermore, the older order had made special provisions for the Wednesday Vespers with the ringing of the great bell and a sermon. The old order had also provided for preaching on Saturdays and Sundays but before the beginning of the office of Vespers.

Vespers for Sunday followed the same form but included a sermon, based on the epistle for the day. After the sermon, two schoolboys from the choir were to recite a part of Luther's *Small Catechism* and its explanation so that in the course of time the whole of Luther's catechism would be recited in an orderly manner. This was the first direct mention of Luther's *Small Catechism* in any Prussian liturgical service, perhaps as a result of the Osiandrian controversy. After it, the German *Magnificat* and its antiphon were to be sung. Where there was an organist, it was suggested that he might take one verse of the *Magnificat* after another, and after each verse the choir would sing the antiphon. The *Magnificat* was followed by the "*Nunc Dimittis*" and the *Pacem* by the organist. Finally, the service closed with a versicle, collect, and the *Benedicamus*. The rubrics stated that on feast days the *Magnificat* might be sung in Latin immediately after the sermon and then a German hymn appropriate to the day.

other prophets, after which another schoolboy was to read the same in German. After the lection, the antiphon and *Magnificat* were to be sung in Latin. This was followed by the collect and the *Benedicamus*.

In smaller parishes and villages, however, where there were no Latin schools, Vespers was to begin with the singing of one or two German psalms. Then the pastor was to read a short section from the Small Catechism and explain it to the people in simple terms. Not only Luther's psalm-hymns but also his hymns on the Ten Commandments, the articles of the Creed, the Our Father, Holy Baptism, and the Lord's Supper were to be used. Of particular importance for their summaries of the faith were the hymns, "Dear Christians, Let Us Now Rejoice" and Speratus' "Salvation Unto Us Has Come" ("Es ist das Heil uns kommen her"). Doctrinal hymns, based on psalms, included: "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God," "Were God not with Us at This Time," "In the Midst of Earthly Life" ("Mitten wir im Leben sind"), "Where God the Lord Stands with Us not" ("Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns hält"), "The Mouth of Fools doth God Confess" ("Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl"), "In Peace and Joy I Now Depart" ("Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin"), and "Now Praise, My Soul, the Lord." Prayer-hymns included: "We Now Implore God the Holy Ghost," "Come, Holy Ghost, Creator Blest," "Come, God Holy Spirit" ("Komm, Gott heiliger Geist"), "Lord God, Thy Praise We Sing" ("Herr Gott, dich loben wir"), "God the Father, Be Our Stay," "O Lord, Look Down from Heaven, Behold," "May God Bestow on Us His Grace," "From Depths of Woe I Cry to Thee," "Have Mercy on Me, O Lord God," "Lord Christ, the Only Son of God" ("Herr Christ, der einig Gotts Sohn"), "Lord, Keep Us Steadfast in Thy Word," etc.

The seasons of the church year also had their proper German hymns: "Savior of the Nations Come" ("Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland") (Advent), "Now Praise We Christ, the Holy One" ("Christum wir sollen loben schon"), "Praise Be to You, Jesus Christ," "From Heaven Above to Earth I Come" ("Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her"), "To Shepherds as They Watched by Night" ("Vom Himmel Kam Der Engelschar"), "A Most Praiseworthy Little Child" ("Ein Kindelein so löbelich"), "O Hail This Brightest Day of Days" ("Der Tag, Der Ist So Freudenreich"), "In Sweet Rejoicing" ("In süßer Freude" / "In dulci jubilo"), etc. (Christmas), "O Christ, Who Art the Light and Day" ("Christe, der du bist Tag und Licht") (Lent), "Christ Is Risen," "Christ Jesus Lay in Death's Strong Bands," "Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior," "This Is Such a Holy Day" ("Also heilig ist der Tag"), etc. (Easter). The corrected Litany, the German "Te Deum laudamus," i. e., Luther's "Lord God, Thy Praise We Sing," and many other hymns. The pastor was to see to it that the schoolmaster taught the people these hymns so that they would sing them in church but also when they were working in the fields or were gathered in the family circle, morning and evening. By this means, the parishioners would learn to sing "like birds praising their dear Creator, just as the birds do as the sun rises." 525



A view of the city of Königsberg, 1684 (Wikimedia Commons).

The placement of confession and absolution immediately after the order for the office of Vespers was deemed appropriate since pastors and chaplains were to hear confessions either before or after Vespers according to local conditions. By this means, those who wished to commune on the following day could make their appropriate preparation, for God had mandated his preachers to edify consciences not only by their preaching but also by confession and absolution so that people might be prepared to receive the most Venerable Sacrament according to the institution of Christ. Those who did not feel the need to confess their sins or felt that they could make themselves right with God without either Word or Sacrament were not to be permitted to commune. It was not the purpose of confession to burden the people with a recital of all their sins or to require that they explain them all to the pastor "as the pope and his herd" did. Instead, the pastor was to lead the people to make a proper distinction between good and evil and prepare them rightly to receive the Sacrament so that the pastor would not be "casting pearls before swine." This section set down the doctrine and the proper form of confession and absolution and stated how the father confessor was to deal with the penitents in differing circumstances. It also stated that the practice by -1.:-1. the manufactor of the Community with and an exercise and are in the contract of the co

order. Indeed, much of the 1558 order was taken over into the new form, but the new order did not include the form of absolution, found in the older agenda.⁵²⁶

Special forms for Matins and the early sermon on Sunday and feast days were provided, first, for the cathedral and the church at *Kneiphof*, and secondly, for the churches at *Altstadt* and *Löbenicht*. In *Kneiphof* and the cathedral, the early sermon was to begin at 5 a.m. This service was especially held for the benefit of household servants. The service began with the singing of "Come, Holy Ghost, Creator Blest." This was followed by one or two psalms during which the chaplain went to the pulpit. The sermon began with a recitation from the catechism, read slowly and distinctly. Beginning with the First Commandment, one commandment was to be read each Sunday with examples provided from the Scripture. After the Ten Commandments had been completed, each article of the Creed and each petition of the Our Father was to be handled in the same manner, then also, the explanations of Baptism and the Sacrament of the Altar, as found in Luther's Small Catechism. After the chief parts had been completed, the preacher was to move on to the Table of Duties. On feast days, the name and history of the day were to be taught. The service ended with prayer. The whole service should not exceed forty-five minutes and it should conclude with the hymn, "Lord, Keep Us Steadfast in Thy Word," or a hymn appropriate to the feast day. Then the household and other servants were to leave the church to go to their duties.

Then the small bell was to be rung to announce the beginning of Matins, as the cantor and schoolchildren entered the church. The chaplain intoned, "Domine, labia mea aperies," and the choir responded, "Et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam." The cantor continued, "Deus in adjutorium meum intende," etc. The schoolchildren were to intone the antiphon for the day, and the Symbolum Athanasii ("Whosoever will be saved" /"Quicumque vult salvus") was to be sung. Then one student was to read a lection, facing the people. Following it, the "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel" ("Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel"), with its antiphon or Luther's German "Te Deum laudamus" ("Lord God, Thy Praise We Sing" / "Herr Gott, dich loben wir") was to be sung. The great bells were then rung, and immediately after the Benedictus or the "Te Deum laudamus" the congregation was to sing the Nicene Creed, "We All Believe in One True God," after which the chaplain chanted the common prayer. After the congregation sang, "We Now Implore God the Holy Ghost," the pastor was to preach on the gospel of the day from the pulpit.

In the cathedral, the second sermon preceded the Mass so that those who wished to hear it might do so and then go to their own churches for the celebration of Mass and to hear their own pastors preached.

At *Altstadt* and *Löbenicht*, Matins began at 6 a.m. with a sermon on the catechism and an appropriate hymn after the sermon and before the *Benedictus* or the "*Te Deum laudamus*." The Mass then followed. This example was to be followed also in other cities with appropriate adjustments being made according to local circumstances. The sermon in the early service was to be on the catechism.

The same order was to be kept on weekdays. When there were schoolchildren present, the chaplain was to preach. The weekday service was to be held at an early hour, at 6 a.m., so that the students would not be kept from their school work. The service was to begin, as usual, with the intonation, "Domine, labia mea aperies," followed by psalm and antiphon in Latin or, if the cantor wished, the congregation and schoolchildren might sing a German psalm.

The chaplain was then to preach on one of the epistles of St. Paul if the pastor allowed him to do so. Following Luther's instruction, the sermon was to be understandable to the common people. After it, the congregation was to sing, "Lord, Keep Us Steadfast in Thy Word." From Christmas until Purification the hymn was "Praise Be to You, Jesus Christ" and from Easter to Pentecost, "Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior," and similar hymns. When the pastor himself was the preacher during the week, the schoolmaster (Germ. *Gesangmeister*), together with the congregation, was to sing, "Come, Holy Ghost, Creator Blest." Then followed a psalm or two, the Creed, "We All Believe in One True God," and during it, the chaplain was to go to the pulpit to read the general prayer. After that, the congregation was to sing, "We Now Implore God the Holy Ghost" or a hymn appropriate to the day. Then came the sermon.

It was understood that preaching and prayer were always appropriate and the people should be taught to pray for all sorts and conditions of men. One day in each week should be observed for the singing of the Litany. When the head of the household was not able to attend this service, he should send one or more of his children and his servants to church to participate. Also prayer days were to be held on Monday in *Altstadt*, Wednesday in the cathedral, Friday at *Löbenicht* with a sermon and the singing of the Litany. This example should be followed also in other cities and a day should be set aside for preaching and prayer. In villages where it was impossible, the Litany should be sung on Sunday.⁵²⁷

These services included a general prayer of the church. The earliest example of such a prayer dates from December 6, 1542. It was printed again sometime around 1550. Another edition of it appeared in 1563.⁵²⁸

The Chief Divine Service was described under the heading: "Concerning the Mass and Lord's Supper" ("Von der Mess vnd heiligem Abendmal"). It was to begin with the introit, sung in Latin. If there were schoolchildren, this could serve as an

exercise for them. The traditional proper introits were to be used if they agreed with the Holy Scriptures. The approved introits were as follows: from Christmas until Candlemas, "Unto Us a Child Is Born" ("Puer natus est nobis"), from Easter until Ascension, "I have risen, I am still with you" ("Resurrexi, et adhuc tecum sum"), from Ascension until Pentecost, "Ye Men of Galilee" ("Viri Galilaei"), on Pentecost, "The Spirit of the Lord filleth the world" ("Spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum"), and from Holy Trinity Sunday until Advent, "Blessed Ever be the Holy Trinity" ("Benedicta sit semper Trinitas"). Two other options were provided. On Sundays and feast days from Advent until Christmas, and until Candlemas and during the Easter Season, the traditional introits could be used or the congregation might sing a German psalm-hymn.

After the introit, the threefold *Kyrie* was to be sung, as in 1558. Then the pastor was to intone "*Gloria in excelsis Deo*" to which the choir might respond "*Et in terra pax*," or the hymn, "All Glory be to God on High," could be sung by the choir and congregation. Then the pastor was to turn to the congregation for the Salutation and then turn back to the altar, as in earlier days, to sing the collect of the day in German. The epistle was to be read as in the old order. In Königsberg, an assisting clergyman was to read it from the pulpit. Elsewhere, it was to be read from the altar. In all cases, it was to be read in clear and understandable German.

On feast days, the proper sequence was to be sung if it was doctrinally sound. At Christmas, "Let Us Now Give Thanks to the Lord God" ("Grates nunc omnes") was to be sung once in Latin, and following it, the congregation was to sing the first stanza of Luther's German paraphrase, "Praise Be to You, Jesus Christ." After the second stanza of the Latin hymn, the congregation was to respond with the second stanza of the German hymn and so on. This practice was to be followed until Candlemas. At Easter, "Christians, to the Paschal Victim" ("Victimae Pascali laudes") and "Christ Jesus Lay in Death's Strong Bands" were to be sung in the same manner, and at Pentecost, "Come Holy Spirit, and Send forth from Heaven the Ray" ("Veni, Sancte Spiritus, et emitte caelitus") and "We Now Implore God the Holy Ghost." On Trinity Sunday, the Latin sequence, "Blessed Ever Be the Holy Trinity" ("Benedicta semper sancta sit Trinitas"), was to be sung, and on the next Sunday, a German hymn was to replace it. From that point, the Latin sequence and a German hymn were to be sung on alternate Sundays until Advent.

The gospel was to be read in the same manner as the epistle. After the gospel, the Nicene Creed was to be sung in Latin in the Königsberg Cathedral. Elsewhere, if desired, the Creed could be sung in Latin on one Sunday and the German "We All Believe in One True God" on the next Sunday. The cathedral sermon was not mentioned at this point because the sermon had been preached before the Mass.

sing, "Lord, Keep Us Steadfast in Thy Word" as a summary of the congregation's prayers, asking for divine protection against all persecutors of faith and enemies of the gospel and that God would graciously preserve the church and send his Holy Spirit to guide his people through death to eternal life.

After the hymn, the pastor was to turn to the people for the paraphrase of the Our Father and admonition that he composed himself or he might use the prescribed form from Luther's *German Mass*. No attempt was made to restore the Eucharistic Preface. In order that the communicants might better hear the paraphrase and admonition, they were to have already assembled at the altar.

After the paraphrase, the pastor was to turn to the altar and sing the Consecratory Words of Christ over the bread and chalice. There was no elevation or use of the sign of the cross and no separation between the consecration of the bread and the chalice. After the consecration, the choir was to sing the *Sanctus* or some familiar hymn, such as "Isaiah, Mighty Seer," "Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior," or "O Lord, We Praise Thee." During communion, "Our Father, Thou in Heaven Above" and other familiar hymns were to be sung. Men were to commune first and then the women. At communion of the body of Christ, the pastor was to say: "Take and eat, this is the body of Jesus Christ, given for you. May this strengthen you to life everlasting," and at the giving of the chalice, he was to say: "Take and drink, this is the blood of Jesus Christ, shed for you, poor sinners. May this strengthen you to life everlasting." ⁵²⁹

After all had communed, he was to introduce a prayer of thanksgiving by turning to the congregation and saying the Salutation. He was to turn back to the altar and pray the post-communion collect. The collects were offered, as in 1558. Then turning to the congregation, he was to say the Salutation and close the service with one of the three benedictions from the 1558 service. However, a new option now provided that the Aaronic Benediction could be used.

Unlike the earlier order of 1558, the new book provided only one form for the celebration of the Mass, but it included directives for the conduct of the service in smaller towns and villages where it was necessary to conduct the service in a simpler manner. Where there was only a small school or no school at all, the pastor and schoolmaster were to gather the young people and children of the village into a choir and the pastor was to admonish them to learn to sing the hymns so that a German psalm-hymn could be sung as the introit. The service then proceeded as usual with the threefold *Kyrie* and the intonation of the "*Gloria in excelsis*." All present were to sing, "All Glory be to God on High." In such parishes, the pastor himself was to read the epistle and gospel from the altar and the Litany was to be sung between the two readings. However, on feast days, the appropriate German hymn for that day was to be used. After the gospel, the congregation was to sing,

"We All Believe in One True God" and "We Now Implore God the Holy Ghost." Then the pastor was to preach his sermon as usual and after the sermon, he was to review the catechism part by part, speaking clearly so that the simple folk could concentrate on the words, as Luther had prescribed in the *Small Catechism*.

After the catechism instruction, the pastor was to admonish the people to prayer for all spiritual and secular estates. The form of the admonition was provided. It spoke in very down-to-earth terms about the dangers which are faced by both church and state. The people were admonished to pray that the church might be protected from the papists, the fanatical spirits, and sects which add to or take from God's Word and in this way transform it into a creature of man's devising. They were admonished to pray for the secular government and the king of Poland, for protection against the Muscovites and all other enemies, and most especially, for the duke and his councilors by name. In this case, no general prayer followed but the whole prayer was summarized in the Our Father which immediately followed. The pastor introduced the Lord's Prayer by saying: "For this and every other necessity and for ourselves let us together say the holy Our Father, etc."

While the congregation sang, "Lord, Keep Us Steadfast in Thy Word," the pastor was to go to the altar for the paraphrase and admonition and the rest of the service. Here the older form of distributing the Sacrament, which separated the distribution of the consecrated bread and cup, was retained, as in 1558. It was specified that this order was to be followed in cases where pastors were by themselves and had none to assist them. ⁵³⁰

An order was provided for a midday sermon on Sundays and feast days for the benefit of simple folk and household servants who were otherwise occupied with their work during the High Mass. They, too, should hear and learn the gospel and the chief parts of Christian doctrine from the catechism. Therefore, they were called upon to gather in the church after the midday meal around 12 noon to hear a sermon on the gospel of the day by the chaplain and be instructed also in a part of the catechism, beginning with each of the Ten Commandments so that they could learn the Law and receive instruction in the Gospel. To this end, they were also to be taught each of the articles of the Creed and the word of God concerning the venerable sacraments, as well as what are the duties and works expected of the various estates of mankind. No detailed form was provided. The order simply stated that before the sermon, the German "Te Deum laudamus" and "We Now Implore God the Holy Ghost" should be sung, as it generally was before all sermons, and at the conclusion of the sermon, all should sing "Lord, Keep Us Steadfast in Thy Word" and leave the church. It also noted that many household servants in Königsberg were not German but Polish and Lithuanian. The

explanation of the gospel and the doctrine of the catechism had long since been provided in their languages and they must be admonished to learn them so that they might be saved and learn to live as Christians.

Catechetical instruction was to be provided for household servants on Sunday mornings, and schoolchildren on Sundays at Vespers after the sermon. The preacher was to provide special readings for the young in Königsberg. This was to be done also on Mondays in *Altstadt*, on Thursdays in the cathedral, and on Fridays at *Löbenicht*. Elsewhere in other towns, the pastor was to do this at Sunday Matins and Vespers and on one designated day during the week so that the children would learn the text of the chief parts of the catechism from the Commandments to the Table of Duties. The Sacrament was not to be given to anyone who had not learned the catechism. The text of the catechism was also to be studied in the schools, and the parish visitations were to determine that this regulation was being followed.

A special form was provided for catechization in villages where it was to take place after the sermon on Sunday morning and also on Wednesday after Vespers. This was to be done week by week for five or six weeks in each quarter of the year so that every person, both men and women, would hear the instruction and the sermons on the catechism. This was to be an important part of the pastor's office. He was to see to it that the people were prepared to receive the Sacrament and that they learn to pray and learn the catechism. Those people who refused to receive such instruction were to be denied the Holy Sacrament and excommunicated.⁵³¹

As in the earlier book, an enumeration of feast and festival days was included. Among the days to be observed were the Nativity of Christ, Circumcision of Christ, Epiphany, Purification, Annunciation, Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension, and Pentecost. The three most important feasts were Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, and they were to be celebrated with preaching and special music for three days. At each service, the people were to be taught the meaning of the day. Short summaries of the significance of each of these festal occasions were included. Also to be observed were the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, Visitation, and the day of St. Michael.

As in the previous orders, it was noted that if the Annunciation fell on Palm Sunday or during Holy Week or Easter Week, its observance was to be transferred to the Sunday after Easter. Special instructions were given for the Seventh Sunday after Trinity when the gospel about Mary Magdalene from Luke 7 was to be read and made the subject for the sermon. This was to take the place of Mark 8, the miracle of the feeding of the five thousand, already the subject of the gospel on mid-Lent. The days of the apostles were also included to provide examples of faith and good works. They could be transferred to the following Sunday when necessary.⁵³²

All this was meant to make clear that the Lutheran Church possessed the true apostolic doctrine, the true old faith, and that it was the true Catholic Church which followed the holy apostles. It should be noted that the observance of other days, such as St. Martin's Day and All Saints Day, were neither mentioned nor proscribed.

It was a continuing problem that most of the pastors were unable to communicate directly with their non-German people in their preaching and instruction. They had to make use of translators. Accordingly, a special article, "Concerning Translators" ("Von Tolcken"), was included concerning the translators and their work. Translators must be provided because in so many parishes the people understood only Polish, Lithuanian, Sudovian, or Prussian and there were so few pastors of Polish or Lithuanian genealogy available to serve them. As in the 1558 order, it was noted that twenty-four stipends were being provided by the duke to further this work. Six students would apply themselves to the study of Polish and six to each of the other Baltic language group. Finally, the pastors themselves were encouraged to give attention to the study of the language of the people among whom they served.⁵³³



The 1568 church order was a church order in name only. It was, in fact, an agenda. It made no radical changes to the order of 1558, but it was more specific in its directives and more substantial in its contents. In place of the sparse directives for Matins and Vespers in the earlier order, the directives in the new order were far more complete. The same was true also of the Sunday Mass. Proper introits were provided for feast days and these introits were to be used throughout the ensuing season. On the feast itself, the Latin sequence and the German hymn associated with it were to be sung by the choir and congregation in alternation. On Trinity Sunday, the sequence was to be in Latin and on the following Sundays, German hymns could be sung. The 1558 order had permitted the use of Latin sequences, but only the singing of German hymns was specifically ordered. A new provision directed that "Lord, Keep Us Steadfast in Thy Word" was to be sung at the conclusion of the Mass every Sunday. Also noteworthy was the return to the older practice by which communicants received the Sacrament only after both bread and chalice had been consecrated. In rural areas where pastors were without assistants, however, the practice of distributing the body immediately after its consecration, and only then consecrating the chalice and distributing the blood of Christ, was to be maintained. The Eucharistic Prefaces were still missing from the Prussian rite, although among the Saxons they were ordered to be used at the high feasts. A new provision of the 1568 rite was the option of the Aaronic Benediction in place of the three alternatives provided in 1558. A complete form for the celebration of the Mass in small towns, villages, and rural areas was not included. In its place was a directive, stating what provisions were to be made for the celebration of the Divine Service in those places. The directive provided for a service, much like the second service in the 1558 book, but the new rite directed that the exhortation to prayer was to be delivered from the pulpit. In summary, the customs set down in 1525, 1544, and 1558 were now well established; little needed to be added beyond the inclusion of a few elements, meant to enrich the order. The principal goal of the order was not to introduce innovations or radically alter the established customs but rather to supply what was deficient. It had been a major criticism of the 1558 book that it had eliminated from Baptism both the exorcism and con-

signation formulas. The 1568 book restored them both. A uniform rite was meant to give outward evidence of the unity of faith, enjoyed by the church.

The new church order was well received by both pastors and parishioners. It signaled the fullest expression of the Prussian liturgical tradition and for almost two centuries it would serve as the church's official agenda, and all pastors were obligated to conduct divine services in their parishes according to its provisions. The book was reprinted in 1583 under the same title: Kirchen Ordnüng vnd Ceremonien. Wie es in vbung Gottes Worts und reichung der Hochwirdigen Sacrament in den Kirchen des Hertzogthumbs Preussen soll gehalten werden (Church Order and Ceremonies, According to the Usage of the Word of God and the Ordering of the Venerable Sacrament, as Observed in the Churches of the



Vices in vbung Sott's

Worte/ und reichung der Hochwirdigen Sacrament: in den Airchen des Gernog, thumbs Preuffen foll gehalten werden.

ANNO DOMINI

1. Corinth: 14. Laffets alles ehrlich und ordentlich zugehen. Mawa / albo No/ rdad Robbielny y Ceremonie.

Yako w Nauczaniu

Słowa Bożego / p podawaniu Swigtości w Kościelech Xiestwa prustiego ma być żąchowany.

P Niemieckiego Bespha na Poloki pilnie przekozony, przes

HIERONYMA MALECKIEgo, Plebaná Leckiego.

> Boku národšenia Páñekiego M. D. LXXI.

> > 1. Corinth: 14.

Myftto pociciwie y porzadnie niech bedzie postanowiono miedzy wami.

Title page of the 1571 Polish language church order.

Ceremonien. Wie es in vbung Gottes Worts vnd reichung der Hochwirdigen Sacrament in den Kirchen des Hertzogthumbs Preussen soll gehalten werden. In 1609, Elector Johann Sigismund officially confirmed it, and it continued in use throughout the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century.⁵³⁴

The preaching of the gospel and the worship of God in the languages of the people was a matter of primary importance in the Prussian Church. The church order specifically stated this, and yet the only translation of the 1568 book to appear was the Polish translation by Jerome Malecki, who shared the pastorate of the Elk parish with his brother Jan. His translation was entitled: Ustawa, albo Porząd Kościelny y Ceremonie. Yako w Nauczaniu Słowa Bożego, y podawaniu Świątości w Kościelech Xięstwa Pruskiego ma być zachowany. Z Niemieckiego Języka na Polski pilnie przełożony, przez Hier-

onyma Maleckiego, Plebana Leckiego (The Statute or Church Order and Ceremonies, as It Should Be followed in the Churches of the Duchy of Prussia in the Doctrine of the Word of God and the Administration of Sacrament, Faithfully Translated into Polish from German by Hieronim Malecki, Pastor of Lec⁵³⁶). It was printed in Königsberg in 1571. The Malecki brothers were responsible also for the translation of other important works into Polish. Jerome translated Luther's postil and cooperated with his brother Jan in the translation of Repetitio Corporis Doctrinae Ecclesiasticae and Luther's Small Catechism. His translation of the church order was reprinted under the same title in 1615: Ustawa albo porząd Kościelny y Ceremonie. Jako w nauczaniu Słowa Bożego, y podawaniu swiątości w Kościelech Xięstwa Pruskiego ma być zachowany. Z niemieckiego Języka na Polski pilnie przełożony, przez Hier. Maleckiego, Plebana Leckiego (The Statute or Church Order and Ceremonies, as It Should Be Followed in the Churches of the Duchy of Prussia in the Doctrine of the Word of God and the Administration of Sacrament, Faithfully Translated into Polish from German by Hieronim Malecki, Pastor of Lec).

3.1.7 Lithuanian Liturgical Materials in Hymnals and Other Publications

No Lithuanian translation of the 1568 church order appeared in print, most likely because there were too few Lithuanian-speaking congregations. As before, pastors of Lithuanian-speaking parishes would have to prepare their own Lithuanian manuscript translation of the forms most needed in their pastoral work. The 1568 church order required that Luther's *Small Catechism* be taught and learned. An official edition of it was translated and published by Baltramiejus Vilentas in 1575. Only the 1579 edition is extant. It was entitled: *Enchiridion. Catechismas maszas, del paspalitu Plebonu ir Koznadiju, Wokischku lieszuwiu paraschits per Daktara Martina Luthera. O isch Wokischka lieszuwia ant Lietuwischka pilnai ir wiernai pergulditas, per Baltramieju Willentha Plebona Karalauczuie ant Schteindama (Enchiridion. The Small Catechism for Common Parish Pastors and Preachers, Written by Dr. Martin Luther in the German Language and Fully and Faithfully Translated from German into Lithuanian by Baltramiejus Vilentas, Parish Pastor of Steindamm in Königsberg). To his translation of Luther's Small Catechism was appended also Luther's marriage rite, Wenczawoghima Knigeles, delei paspalitu Plebonu (Marriage Booklet for Common*



Wentfawoghima Rnigeles/delei pajpalicis Plebonu.

Prakalbeghimas Q.



Nip tulimas fra Hemes/ taipo taipaieg jea tulimipaiumtimai/pagal paiunita prietalbefia. A iog swoods ir Wencziawomste swienickie spowa and wanne Bucharnisma, als

Parish Pastors), and the baptismal rite, Chrikschtima Knigeles (Baptismal Booklet). He also added Trumpas klausimas ir prieprowimas tu kurie nor prijmti schwentąghi Sacramenta Altoraus (Short Examination and Preparation for Those who Desire to Receive the Holy Sacrament of the Altar) which had been prepared by Mažvydas. The author of the second rite, Paspalitas budas Spawedies (A Common Form of Confession), was not identified. It, too, may have been translated by Mažvydas.⁵³⁷



Title page of the 1579 Lithuanian book of pericopes.

In 1579, Vilentas also published another liturgical book: Euangelias bei Epistolas, Nedeliu ir schwentuju dienosu skaitomosias, Baszniszosu Chriksczonischkosu, pilnai ir wiernai pergulditas ant Lietuwischka Szodzia, per Baltramieju Willenta, Plebona Karalauczui ant Schteindama (Gospels and Epistles to Be Read on Sundays and Feast Days in Christian Churches, Fully and Faithfully Translated into Lithuanian Language by Baltramiejus Vilentas, Parish Pastor of Steindamm in Königsberg). This was a book of pericopes which included epistles and gospels for Sundays and the principal feasts of the church year, together with the days of the apostles and saints. This work provides valuable information about the celebration of these minor days, many of which were not specifically mentioned in the 1568 church order. Vilentas gives propers for the days of St. Andrew, St. Thomas, the Holy Innocents, the Conversion of St. Paul, St. Matthias, the

Annunciation, St. Mark, St. Philip and James, St. John the Baptist, St. Peter and Paul, the Visitation, St. Mary Magdalene, St. James, St. Lorenz, the Assumption of Mary, St. Bartholomew, the Beheading of St. John the Baptist, St. Matthew, St. Michael and All Angels, St. Simon and St. Jude, All Saints, St. Martin of Tours, and St. Catherine, as well as the Dedication of the Temple, the Martyrs, the Confessors, and the Virgins. These provisions indicate a far richer liturgical life among the Prussian Lutherans than one would imagine were he to limit his investigation to the church order. Now the Lithuanian pastors would have in hand the epistles and gospels for all Sundays, feast days, and minor celebrations in the church's year of grace.

Significant liturgical material for the Lithuanian Church was published by Jonas Bretkūnas. Bretkūnas, who was thirteen years younger than Mažvydas, produced three important liturgical works: Giesmes Duchaunas, Kancionalas, and Kollectas. All three were published in 1589. These three books of Bretkūnas were meant to supply the needs of three different groups. Giesmes Duchaunas isch Wokischka ing Lietuwischka lieszuwi per nekurius Plebonus Hercegistes Prusu pergulditas (Spiritual Hymns, Translated from German into the Lithuanian Language by Some Parish Pastors of the Duchy of Prussia) was produced for the benefit of the schoolchildren and parishioners. It was inspired by Geistliche Lieder, first published in Wittenberg in 1543. Bretkūnas even gave it the same name: Giesmes Duchaunas (Spiritual Hymns). It included seventy-six hymns, forty-two of which were from Mažvydas' Gesmes Chriksczoniskas. The remaining thirty-four hymns had been translated





Ifpauftas Karaliautzule/per Gurgi Ofterbergera 1589.

Title page of the 1589 Lithuanian cantionale.

by Bretkūnas and other Lithuanian pastors. The Kancionalas served a different purpose and included liturgical elements not found in the Wittenberg Geistliche Lieder. The full title was: Kancionalas nekuru Giesmiu Baszniczioie Diewa ant didziun Schwencziun saenu budu giedamuiu (Cantional of Some Hymns to Be Sung in the Old Manner in the Churches of God). It was to serve as a Lithuanian Psalmodia, containing liturgical parts of the service, sung by cantors, choirs, and liturgists. All seventeen of its liturgical items appeared as they were in the Mažvydas' hymnal but with some minor linguistic adjustments. Included were introits, Antiphons, festal Kyries, sequences, the full Laudamus, and some liturgical hymns. The third book, Kollectas Alba Paspalitas Maldas, prastasu Nedeliasu ir didzosu Schwentesu, per wissus maetus Hercegisteie Prusu giedamas isch Wokischko lieszuwio ing Lietuwischka pergulditas Per Jana Bretkuna (Collects or Common Prayers for Ordinary Sundays and High Feasts to Be Chanted Throughout the Year in Duchy of Prussia, Translated from German into Lithuanian by Jonas Bretkūnas), is the earliest extant Lithuanian prayer

book. Although Bretkūnas consulted the translations prepared by Mažvydas, he chose to produce his own new translations. Mažvydas had put the appropriate versicle before each collect; Bretkūnas chose to collect all the versicles together in a separate section that followed the collects, as in the 1568 church order.

The Prussian Lithuanian Church was still without its own agenda. Pastors were wholly dependant on what Bretkūnas had given them, along with what had survived of the works of Mažvydas and Vilentas. In 1612, twenty-three years after the appearance of Bretkūnas' works, Lazar Sengstak (Lith. Lozorius Zengštokas), who had come to the region from Lübeck, published three books which would be of significant importance to the Lithuanian Church. The first of these was Enchiridion. Catechismas Maszas, dael paspalitu Plebonu ir Koznadiju Wokischku lieszuwiu paraschits per D. Martina Luthera. O isch Wokischka lieszuwia ant Lietuwischka pilnai ir wiernai pergulditas per Baltramieju Willentha Plebona Karalauczuie. A Nu Diewuj ant garbes bei Crikschczonims ant naudos per Lazaru Sengstack Lietuwos Plebona Karaliauczios atnaugintos (Enchiridion. The Small Catechism for Common Parish Pastors and Preachers, Written by Dr. Martin Luther in the German Language and Fully and Faithfully Translated from German into Lithuanian by Baltramiejus Vilentas, Parish Pastor in Königsberg. Revised to the Glory of God and for the Benefit of Christians by Lazar Sengstak, Lithuanian Parish Pastor in Königsberg). This handbook for pastors was, in fact, the third edition of Vilentas' translation of Luther's Small Catechism into Lithuanian. Pastors found it especially helpful because it contained both the baptismal and marriage rites, the Little Baptismal Booklet and Little Marriage Booklet, appended to Luther's Small Catechism. Also included were questions and answers for those preparing for Communion and a form of general confession with short questions and answers. These had earlier been printed by Vilentas in 1579.540 The second volume, Evangelias bei Epistolas Nedeliu ir Schwentuiu dienosu skaitomasias Baszniczosu Criksschezonischkosu pilnai ir wiernai pergulditas ant Lietuwischka szodzia per Baltramieju Willenta Plebona Karalauczui ant Schteindama. Priegtam ant gala priedeta ira Historia apie muka ir smerti Wieschpaties musu Jesaus Christaus pagal kieturiu Evangelistu. A Nu Diewuj ant garbes bei Crikschczonims ant naudos per Lazaru Sengstak Lietuwos Plebona Karaliauczios atnaugintos (Gospels and Epistles to Be Read on Sundays and Feast Days in Christian Churches, Fully and Faithfully Translated into Lithuanian Language by Baltramiejus Vilentas, Parish Pastor of Steindamm in Königsberg. Supplemented with the History of the Sufferings and Death of Our Lord Jesus Christ According to Four Evangelists. Revised to the Glory of God and for the Benefit of Christians by Lazar Sengstak, Lithuanian Parish Pastor in Königsberg), was a collection of epistle and gospel pericopes for the Sundays and other occasions. This, too, was a reprint of Vilentas' 1579 work. Not only were the major feasts and apostles' days included but also many minor saints' days, including the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, indicating that these days were still the occasion of congregational divine services.⁵⁴¹ The third of his 1612 publications was the new hymnal. It was published under the title: Giesmes Chriksczionischkos ir Duchaunischkos Per Wissus mætus Baszniczoie Diewa giedamos isch Wokischkia bei Lenkischkia ingi Lietuwischkia szodi nekuruu Plebonuu perwerstos. A Nu Diewui ant garbes bei Chrikschczianims ant naudos per Lazaru Sengstak Lietuwos Plebona Karaliauczios atnaugintos (Christian and Spiritual Hymns to Be Sung Throughout the Entire Year in the Churches of God, Translated from German and Polish into Lithuanian Language by Various Parish Pastors. Revised to the Glory of God and for the Benefit of Christians by Lazar Sengstak, Lithuanian Parish Pastor in Königsberg). Here two of Bretkūnas' books were drawn together into one. Fifty of the one hundred fifty-two hymns included were from the Bretkūnas books: forty-two from Giesmes Duchaunas (Spiritual Hymns), seven from Kancionalas, and one from the book of collects. Twenty-six valuable hymns from Mažvydas' Gesmes Chriksczoniskas (Christian Hymns), not found in Bretkūnas' volumes, were also included. Sengstak understood that the restoration of these hymns from Gesmes Chriksczoniskas would be beneficial to the congregations. The new title bore witness to the contributions of both Mažvydas and Bretkūnas: Giesmes Chriksczionischkos ir Duchaunischkos (Christian and

sczionischkos ir Duchaunischkos (Christian and Spiritual Hymns).⁵⁴²

The Lithuanian Church still did not have a psalter for use in Matins and Vespers. Mažvydas had included in his hymnal translations twenty-eight psalms, but Bretkūnas did not include them. Sengstak had given only one. It was not until 1625 that the church had a complete Psalter in Lithuanian. It was provided by Pastor Jonas Rhesa in *Der* Psalter Davids Deutsch und Littawisch. Psalteras Dowido Wokischkai bei Lietuwischkai (The Psalms of David in German and Lithuanian). In his preface, Rhesa noted that it was his goal to reproduce Bretkūnas' Psalter and that in the course of doing so he had consulted Luther's German text and made the necessary corrections. He declared that he was now publishing his work in both Lithuanian for the benefit of the church and in German to satisfy the requirements of the ducal court.



PSALTERAS DOWIDO VV O K I S C H K A I BEI LIETUWISCHKAL



Rarallauhole Prussu per Lorinhu Segebadu, Maiosia Chrisaus 1625.

Title page of the 1625 Book of Psalms in German and Lithuanian.

The work was subsequently reprinted in 1728, 1740, and 1749 and served the church for more than one and a quarter centuries.⁵⁴³

Sengstak's hymnal continued to serve the church until 1666 when Danielius Kleinas published his Συν τω Θεω. Neu Littausches verbessert-und mit vielen neuen Liedern vermehretes Gesangbuch Nebst einem sehr nützlichen nie ausgegangenen Gebetbüchlein Auch einer Teutschen hochnötig-unterrichtlicher Vorrede an den Leser. Naujos Giesmju Knygos, Kurrose sénos Giesmes su pritarimu wissu Baźnyczos Mokitoju per musu Lietuwa yra pagérintos O náujos gráźos Giesmes pridėtos. Taipajeg Maldu Knygeles didźausey Báznyczose wartojamos Su labay priwálingu Pirm-pamokinnimu βias Knygeles skaitanczuju Patogiey suguldytos ir iśdůtos (Συν τω Θεω. Improved and with Many New Hymns Enlarged New Lithuanian Hymnal, Along with a Very Beneficial not Previously Released Prayer Book, as well as a Very Much Needed and Instructive



"Bless the Lord, O My Soul." Illustration from the 1666 Lithuanian hymnal (*Naujos Giesmju Knygos* 1666).

Forward for the Reader. / New Hymn Book in which the Old Hymns Are Improved, as Approved by Church Teachers Throughout Our Lithuania, with Added New Beautiful Hymns, Along with a Book of Prayers Much Used in the Churches, Together with a Very Beneficial Forward for Those who Read This Book, Conveniently Composed and Published). This unique title may have been inspired by that of the Königsberg hymnal which had recently been printed by the publishing house of Friedrich Reusner in 1650. This German hymnal went through several editions under the title, New Preussisches vollständiges Gesangbuch (New Prussian Complete Hymnal).544

The contributions of Kleinas to the liturgical life of the Lithuanian Church were only minor. His only purpose was to put the treasures of liturgy and hymnody into the more modern standard language. In 1653, he published the first Lithuanian grammar. In its dedication, he stated that he was at that time also reissuing the hymnal with many linguistic mistakes corrected. Some considered his revisions too radical, and it

was only after another thirteen years that it was published.⁵⁴⁵ The second edition of the Kleinas hymnal was published in 1685 with some additional hymns, edited by Jonas Rikovius (Germ. *Johann Richovius*). The third edition with yet more hymns, added by Frydrichas Zigmantas Šusteris (Germ. *Friedrich Sigismund Schusterus*), appeared in 1705. Neither of these editions added or dropped any liturgical elements.⁵⁴⁶

A new hymnal appeared in 1732, edited by Johannes Behrendt (Lith. Jonas Berentas): Isz naujo pérweizdétos ir pagérintos Giesmû Knygos kurrůse brangiáusios sénos ir naujos Giesmés suraszytos Diewui ant Garbés ir Prusû Karalysteje esantiems Lietuwninkams ant Duszû Iszgánimo podraug su Maldû-Knygomis kurrůse ne tiktai sénos, bet ir naujos Maldos randamos yra (Newly Revised and Improved Book of Hymns in which Are Written the Most Precious Old and New Hymns to the Glory of God and for the Salvation of the Souls of Lithuanians Living in the Kingdom of Prussia, Together with a Prayer Book in which not Only Old but also New Prayers Are to Be Found).

By this time, Pietism was making some inroads among the Lithuanians. The first Lithuanian Pietist hymnal, Kelos nobaznos Giesmes Lietuwininkams ant Duszios Iszganimo iszdůtos, perstatitos per Glaseri, Didlaukiu Pastora ir Behrenta Kaukiemu Pastora, Hallisczkomis Giesmemis wadinnamos (A Few Pious Hymns, Called the Halle Hymns, Given to Lithuanians for the Salvation of Souls, Edited by Glaser, Pastor at Didlacken, and Behrend, Pastor at Kaukehmen),⁵⁴⁷ edited by the Lithuanian Halle Pietist Pastor Fabijonas Ulrichas Glazeris (Germ. Fabian Ulrich Glaser), was published in 1736 in Halle. The hymnal gave evidence of a gradual shift from the old Orthodoxy to a new more man-centered pious expression of Christianity. Thus, one found in it hymns from the era of high Orthodoxy, mixed together with Pietist hymnody. Now for the first time, hymns from the Reformed tradition appeared in a Lithuanian Lutheran hymnbook. The Glaser hymnal achieved great popularity in many places with the result that there were now two hymnals in competition, one the traditional Lithuanian Lutheran hymnal and the other, the Pietist work of Pastor Glaser. An attempt to reconcile the two groups led to the publication in 1750 of a hymnal, Isz naujo pérweizdétos ir pagérintos Giesmjû Knygos, kurrůse brangiáusios senos ir naujos Giesmes suraszytos, Diewui ant Garbês ir Prusû Karalystėje esantiems Lietuwninkams ant Duszû Iszgánimo podraug su Maldû-Knygomis, kurrůse ne tiktai sénos, bet ir naujos Maldos randamos yra (Newly Revised and Improved Book of Hymns in which Are Written the Most Precious Old and New Hymns to the Glory of God and for the Salvation of the Souls of Lithuanians Living in the Kingdom of Prussia, Together with a Prayer Book in which not Only Old but also New Prayers Are to Be Found). It was prepared by Adomas Frydrichas Šimelpenigis (Germ. Adam Friedrich Schimmelpfennig) who joined two books under one cover in the hope that the two groups could use the same book.548

⁵⁴⁵ Grammatica Litvanica 1653, A2; Pirmoji lietuvių kalbos gramatika 1957, 401.

Although they still had no formal and official agenda, Lithuanian-speaking pastors lacked little needed for the proper conduct of reverent public worship in their congregations. The hymnals and other material available to them were sufficient to satisfy their needs in the conduct of the Mass, Matins and Vespers, Baptism, and the solemnization of matrimony. What was lacking they could translate from the 1568 German agenda or its reprints. With the exception of the introits, which had been allowed to fall away and had been replaced with psalm-hymns sung in Lithuanian, liturgical worship in Lithuanian congregations could not be described as impoverished.

The same cannot be said for the Prussian-speaking congregations. Nothing was provided to them beyond the rites of baptism and matrimony. The 1561 translation of the rite of baptism had come to be labeled as "Osiandrian" because it lacked the exorcism and consignation. A new rite, based on the 1568 text, was needed but it was never supplied. Unlike the Lithuanians, the Prussian people never had any native clergy. The children of the poor Prussian families had little opportunity to better themselves educationally to the point where they could undertake advanced theological training. Duke Albrecht offered scholarships but found no takers among them. Among the Lithuanians, the first generation of pastors was from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and majority of them were of noble birth. Their adherence to the Lutheran faith made it necessary for them to take up residence in Prussia. They attended the University of Königsberg and took degrees in theology. They took upon themselves the responsibility of preparing hymns and liturgy for Lithuanian-speaking congregations so that they could worship and pray in their native tongue. The Prussian people, however, had no similar men to undertake such work. Indeed, it is not known whether even a single hymn was ever translated into Prussian. Jonas Bretkūnas was the son of a German father and Prussian mother. He knew both Prussian and Curonian but he never produced any written works in either tongue. There was no liturgy in the Prussian language, and this was a significant reason why the language fell into decline. According to the statement of the 1561 Prussian language catechism, pupils were to learn the catechism not only in Prussian but also in German. The handwriting was on the wall. In the future, this would be a German-speaking region and the name Prussian would loose its Baltic language associations. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Prussian language was dying. In the parish of St. Lorenz, seven kilometers from Pobethen where Pastor Abel Will and translator Paul Megott had prepared the 1561 Prussian language catechism, that catechism was no longer needed by 1602.549 Now all sermons and catechesis were in German. What little is known today about the Prussian language is learned from these few liturgical and catechetical texts and the short German-Prussian dictionary which appeared in the early decades of the sixteenth century. They stand today like ancient Scandinavian runes, like weathered monuments in an old Prussian cemetery.

3.2 Confessional and Liturgical Concerns at the Turn of the Century

The church order of 1568 established procedures by which the Prussian Church would conduct its ministry for more than two centuries. However, it was immediately clear that more was needed than regulations concerning the conduct of church services and related matters. It needed to be stated in clear terms what were the rights, duties, and responsibilities of all church officials, clergy, and laymen alike and what was to be expected of parishioners. Furthermore, it was evident that it was not enough that the office of bishop be restored; it must be made clear how bishops were to be named and what were to be their privileges, duties, and responsibilities as the chief ecclesiastical administrators in their dioceses. To clarify these matters, a supplementary document was prepared and published in Königsberg in 1568 under the title: Von Erwehlung der beyder Bischoff,

Eson Exwehlung der bei, der Bischung der Bei, der Bischung der Bei, der Bischung der Bertaufluch von spren Ampt-Zerordnung der Bisiation vivo anderem se zu stretering von erhaltung des Prediganges von Schular Spriftig der zuchtzen guter Ordenung von nöthen ist.



Gedruckt zu Ronigsperg in Preuffen/ ben Johann Daubman/ 1 5 6 8.

Title page of the 1568 order for election of bishops in Samland and Pomesania.

Samlandt vnnd Pomezan, im Hertzogthumb Preussen, Auch von jhrem Ampt, Verordnung der Visitation vnd anderem so zu fürderung vnd erhaltung des Predigampts vnnd Schulen, Christlicher zucht vnd guter Ordenung von nöthen ist (Concerning the Election of the Bishops of both Samland and Pomesania in the Duchy of Prussia, also Concerning Their Offices, the Ordering of Visitations, and Other Matters for the Establishment and Preservation of Office of the Holy Ministry and Schools, Christian Discipline, and what Is Necessary for Good Order).

According to the terms of this document, the bishop was to be elected by the surviving bishop, all ducal court, and territorial councilors, and besides, eight persons, deputized by the landlords and nobility, and eight representatives of the cities in the diocese. The bishop was to reside in the diocese in which he had jurisdiction. The bishop of Samland was to reside in Königsberg and the bishop of Pomesania in Liebemühl.⁵⁵⁰

The bishop was to assume spiritual leadership and complete jurisdiction in all spiritual and ecclesiastical matters, including the university, the schools, and the book publishers and sellers. He was to ensure that the doctrine, established in the *Augsburg Confession* and set down in the *Repetitio Corporis Doctrinae*, was followed, as well as the articles, set down in the 1568 church order. In fulfillment of his responsibilities, he was to conduct an annual visitation of his parishes and call diocesan synods at least once every three years.

Also included in the document was a supplementary liturgical form to be used for the installation of parish pastors. The bishop was to insist that the clergy preach and teach in accordance with the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures, the Ancient Symbols, and "the doctrine of Luther," that is, the confessional articles of the church. He was further to insist that the clergy diligently examine and exhort their people. Every parish library was to possess a Bible in German, Latin, or Polish, according to the needs of the parish, as well as copies of the Repetitio Corporis Doctrinae, Luther's Small Catechism, the postils of Luther and Veit Dietrich, and such other writings as the bishop may require. Just as the bishop was to visit the parishes, so the parish pastor was to visit the households of his parish. It was to be the responsibility of each householder to insist that the members of his household and his workers attend church regularly and receive the Sacrament and that they live repentant lives, seeking to better themselves in pious living. If any refused to do so, they were to be denied the Sacrament and the right of sponsorship, and if they gave no heed, they were to be reported to higher authorities and the bishop. The singing of hymns was to be encouraged both in church and also at home because as the apostle taught, this builds up the church. The pastor was to encourage young people to join the choir, to give attention to preaching and worship. No one was to wander through the churchyard during Mass and the sermon, nor was there to be any drinking of alcoholic beverages, any fishing, hunting, or other work done during the church services.⁵⁵¹

The pastor was not to restrict his teaching and admonition to his sermons but also find occasion for them in the confessional and when speaking to those who come to announce for the Holy Sacrament that they might not fall short in repentance or prayer or the articles of faith. In those places where there were Sacramentarians, Anabaptists, and other enthusiasts, such dissenters were not to receive the Sacrament or stand as sponsors in Holy Baptism, and the bishop was to be informed of their presence.

During his episcopal visitation of the parishes, the bishop was to examine the clergy, schoolmasters, financial officers, and elders. He was also to inquire among the people. The pastor was to be examined concerning his conduct of Baptism, ab-

solution, the confessional office, his administration of the Sacrament, visitation of the sick, and the use of the appropriate ceremonies in the Divine Service, burial, and marriage services. The people, too, were to be given an opportunity to speak their mind. The bishop was to ask members of the parish about the conduct of the pastoral office and especially about the preaching, the hearing of confessions, the administration of the Sacrament, and the visitation of the sick. The pastor was not to intrude himself into the other parishes by receiving members of other parishes, hearing their confessions, baptizing their children, or giving them the Sacrament.⁵⁵²

Bishop Mörlin and Bishop Venediger reviewed the draft of this document and approved it. It was then approved at the territorial assembly at Rastenburg in February 1568, shortly before the death of Duke Albrecht who provided a brief preface for the document.

The document, *Von Erwehlung*, gave evidence that the bishops and gentry were concerned about conditions of the church and wanted to set them right. Discipline had collapsed during the Osiandrian controversy. There had been few visitations in Bartenstein, Balga, and Langheim. Records of visitations can be found only for the years 1562, 1564, 1565. After the Osiandrian controversy came to an end, and especially after 1568, regular visitations were again conducted.⁵⁵³

The Repetitio, the church order, and the election document consolidated Prussia at a critical time when the Counter-Reformation was beginning to gain momentum. Political changes were an additional factor. The Livonian Wars had brought an end to the power of the Livonian Confederation. Now Swedish power, and even more, the power of Moscow were in a position to threaten Lithuania. Courland had already asked for Lithuanian protection, and negations were under way which would lead to the surrender of Livonia to Poland. In the face of two strong enemies, one in the north, to which Estonia decided to surrender in 1561, and the other in the east, which already had invaded the Livonian territories, it was of paramount importance that the Lithuanian and Polish power be consolidated and centralized. This was accomplished by the Lublin Union of 1569. Roman Catholicism predominated in the union, and the position of Lutheran Courland and Prussia required immediate attention. In addition, a non-Lutheran Reformation had spread through Lithuania, and the Lithuanian landed gentry was now closely identified with it. The majority of these Reformed were Calvinist, but in some cases they were anti-Trinitarian. The king's hands were tied. The Jesuits had arrived in Poland and Lithuania to begin their counter-offensive against the Protestants. On July 19, 1569, King Sigismund II Augustus granted royal privileges to Prussia, conceding that the legal doctrine in Prussia was that of the Augsburg *Confession* and its *Apology*. No other form of Protestantism would be tolerated. The same privilege was extended to Courland.

Bishop Mörlin died on May 23, 1571, but no immediate election was held to name a successor. That naming of a successor proved to be difficult, and to further complicate matters, there were calls for the establishment of a consistory and the consolidation of the two dioceses into a single body under Bishop Venediger of Pomesania. Before his death, Mörlin had indicated his opinion that professor Tilemann Heshusius of Jena would be a suitable candidate. He was nominated, although David Voit, the chaplain of the duke and the university, opposed him, as did also some of the nobility, since it was evident that he was not a compromiser but would insist that the church order and the election document be strictly obeyed. He was finally elected and consecrated on September 21, 1573, in the Königsberg Cathedral by Bishop Venediger of Pomesania. Venediger would die in November 1574 and be succeeded by Johann Wigand, a close friend and former classmate of Heshusius. He was consecrated as bishop of Pomesania by Heshusius on May 2, 1575, in the Königsberg Cathedral.

The selection of Tilemann Heshusius would soon to be the source of many disruptive dissensions in the Prussian Church. It was his stated intention to adhere strictly to the rights, privileges, and responsibilities of the bishops as set down in the document, *Von Erwehlung der beyder Bischoff,* 1568. This in itself should have not created a problem, but the attitude and manner in which Heshusius went about it came to cause major concerns. He insisted not only that the clergy strictly adhere to his regulations but that the University of Königsberg do the same and that there should be no interference with his right to censor all printed materials and direct their distribution. The university protested that what the bishop proposed went far beyond his brief and violated the statutes under which the university operated and its right to govern itself. It complained also that he assumed for himself the powers concerning promotions and internal direction, far beyond what had been granted him.⁵⁵⁴

The nobility also objected to the strict manner in which he interpreted the responsibilities, assigned to them in the 1568 church order and the visitation regulations of 1568. His conduct of the visitations was exact, and the measures he took to enforce its requirements were quite rigid. He was particularly strict in enforcing the regulations concerning patronage, and this earned him the undying animosity of the gentry. They became his most outspoken opponents. 555

Theologically, he aligned himself against Philipp Melanchthon and sided with Matthias Flacius, the strictest of the Gnesio-Lutherans. In his later years, Melanchthon had come to believe that man's will could be so moved by God as to become a factor in one's justification and salvation. Classical Lutheranism held instead to the doctrine of original sin, according to which man could only receive salvation

by the grace of God. Man's fallen will could not be a factor in one's acceptance by God. Flacius took an extreme position, stating that not only was man's will incapable of being instrumental in justification but man's very essential nature was corrupted by sin. This position undercut the church's confession concerning the incarnation since it could not be that Christ could remain without sin if the human nature, he received from the Virgin, was essentially corrupt. Lutheranism now came to be divided between the anti-Melanchthonian Gnesio-Lutherans, including among them Nikolaus von Amsdorf, Joachim Westphal, Matthias Flacius, Matthäus Judex, Nicolaus Gallus, and the two Prussian bishops, Heshusius of Samland and Wigand in Pomesania. On the other side were the Melanchthonians and Crypto-Calvinists, among whom were Paul Eber, Caspar Cruciger, Jr., Joachim Camerarius, Caspar Peucer, Nikolaus Krell, Christoph Pezel, Johann Pfeffinger, Albert Hardenberg, Georg Major, and Justus Menius. 556

The Prussian Church had only a few years earlier come to an agreement in the *Repetitio* of 1567 after long controversy concerning the theology of Osiander. The Osiandrian controversy, however, was not the only problem. Some theologians and pastors, including the court preacher David Voigt, were teaching the Melanchthonian position concerning free will which the stricter Lutherans labeled synergistic. The 1567 synod had not addressed this issue but it was brought out into the open in the synod of 1569.⁵⁵⁷

Even before Heshusius was consecrated in 1573, he was well-known for allowing no deviation from strict Lutheranism. He participated in a theological controversy concerning the doctrine of Christ by insisting that the human nature of Christ had the same innate and essential nature as that of the divine nature and was therefore also fully as all-powerful, all-knowing, and worthy of adoration as the divine nature (Germ. "Allmächtig, allwissend und anzubeten"). He developed this doctrine against Calvin and Crypto-Calvinist theologians who spoke of the human nature of Christ as though it were connected with the divine nature only on the basis of a play of words (praedicatio verbalis). He published his position in 1574 in Adsertio Sancti Testamenti Jesu Christi contra blasphemam Calvinistarum Exegesi primarily against the Calvinists. 558

On January 16, 1577, at the synod in Königsberg, the clergy insisted that Heshusius went too far and unanimously rejected his formula concerning the human nature of Christ and required that he recant. This was the end. Although he had written to Chemnitz in 1576 that he fully supported the *Formula of Concord*, which at that time existed in the form of articles formulated at Torgau, Margrave Georg Friedrich, the Regent of Prussia, had decided that he must be dismissed. On May 5, 1577, Heshusius was removed from his office and expelled. Rather than replace

him by electing a new bishop, it was decided instead that Bishop Wigand of Pomesania should now serve as bishop also in the diocese of Samland.⁵⁵⁹

The internal divisions in Lutheranism came finally to be reconciled in the *Formula of Concord* of 1577. Among the positions, disallowed by Article VIII concerning the person of Christ, was the notion put forward by Heshusius concerning the human nature of Christ. This article rejected the notion that the human nature in Christ came to share in the divine characteristics of omniscience and omnipotence in some essential manner. This was understood to violate the principle of *Communicatio idiomatum*, i.e., the communication of characteristics, agreed on at the Council at Chalcedon 451 AD, according to which the characteristics of the two natures of Christ are maintained and the characteristics of the divine nature are shared with the human nature as a result of mutual participation in the person.

In the Duchy of Prussia, the *Formula* was formally accepted and subscribed to in 1578 by the theologians and pastors of the church, assembled with representatives of the landed gentry and city councils and Margrave Georg Friedrich himself. Thus, it became the doctrinal standard of the Prussian Church. On June 28, 1581, the margrave publicly stated that he would not tolerate any deviation from the doctrinal standard of the Lutheran Confessions. Governmental instructions, issued that year and renewed in 1582, 1584, and 1586, indicated that this doctrinal standard was taken very seriously.⁵⁶⁰

Apart from his unfortunate involvement in the Osiander affair, Duke Albrecht stood as a staunch defender of the Lutheran Reformation until his death in 1568. His son, Albrecht Friedrich, proved incompetent and the regency fell to Georg Friedrich, Margrave of Brandenburg-Ansbach and Bayreuth, a signer of the *Book of Concord*. Georg Friedrich brought with him to Prussia the notion that the episcopal form of church government ought to be replaced with the consistorial system that had been introduced in most German territories. German bishops had usually followed the pope rather than the *Augsburg Confession* and the territorial rulers had asserted their authority over the churches and had chosen superintendents to administer them. Outside of Scandinavia, Prussia was unique in its maintenance of the episcopal government.

Margrave Georg Friedrich's notion concerning the establishment of a consistory in Prussia was not well received, not least because Bishop Johann Wigand was still serving as bishop in both dioceses. Furthermore, the estates argued that in accordance with the privileges of the Treaty of Kraków, what was needed was not a consistory but a new bishop. In the territorial assemblies in 1579 and 1582, they complained about the lack of a resident bishop in the diocese of Samland. Accordingly, Georg Friedrich's overtures of 1580 calling for the introduction of a collegial consistory were rejected. He proposed the institution of consistories

again in 1584. This time his proposal was given more serious considerations and the consistorial order of 1584 was prepared.⁵⁶¹

This order proposed that the church would be ruled by a mixed consistory of clergy and lay members. There would be three lay members. The consistory would be headed by a lay nobleman with the rank of judge who would serve as the president. The ruler would select the other two lay members from among the jurists from the university or elsewhere. The clergy would be represented by three members. First among them would be the general superintendent of the church, second, the chief professor of theology in the university, and third would be a distinguished city pastor, chosen by the ruler. These six consistory members would be assisted in their work by a notary, an assistant, and a procurator (administrative agent). According to the terms of the consistorial order, it would be the duty and responsibility of the consistory to always, and in every way, seek to establish and extend the glory of God and the welfare of the church by maintaining purity and unity in doctrine and ceremony. The consistory was further responsible for all matters pertaining to church administration, the maintenance of Christian discipline, and related matters. Duties and responsibilities previously fulfilled by the bishop would now be assumed by the general superintendent who would be responsible for the examination of theological candidates, ordinations, installations, and the conduct of the pastoral office. ⁵⁶²

In order to become effective, the consistorial order needed to be approved by the territorial assembly. The assembly, however, refused to act because Bishop Wigand was already in charge of both dioceses. Nothing could be changed until he either retired or died.

According to the provisions of the consistorial order, the clergy and lay members of the consistory were to examine and make decisions in matters which the inspectors brought before them concerning the pure doctrine, the proper use of the venerable sacraments, Christian ceremonies, and other matters pertaining to the proper observance of the church order. They were to deal with scandalous schisms and divisions among the clergy, as well as all matters pertaining to the leading members of the parishes, those in official positions, such as patrons, deacons (assistant pastors), and sextons (Germ. *Küster*), proper observance of the Ten Commandments, the violation of the Sabbath, neglect of the Word and Sacraments, idolatry, witchcraft, fortune telling, blasphemy, manslaughter, divorce, prostitution, usury, drunkenness, roguery, insubordination, and other matters relating to improper behavior. They were also to superintend the annual visitation and matters concerning calls, transfers of clergy, suspensions, and dismissals, as well as all matters concerning churches and schools, their regulation, maintenance, and

improvement. Great attention was also given to matrimonial matters, such as engagement, affinity, adultery, divorce, desertion, and personal immorality.⁵⁶³

Bishop Johann Wigand died in 1587 and this made it possible for the regent to push through his proposal. He declared that the adoption of the consistorial form of government would bring the Prussian Church into conformity with other German-speaking Lutheran churches. Accordingly, in 1588 consistories were established in both Pomesania and Samland and were charged with the government of the churches in these dioceses. The Pomesanian consistory was to be seated in Saalfeld and the Samlandian consistory in Königsberg. Both would operate under the terms of the consistorial order of 1584. The implementation of the new arrangement in Pomesania did not take effect until 1602.⁵⁶⁴

Thus, episcopacy in the Prussian Church came to an end and it was replaced by a church administration under the governance of consistories. For the first time, men of secular estates, the nobility, had a voice equal to that of the clergy to discuss and decide spiritual matters.

At the time of the Reformation, the dioceses came under Lutheran control and the churches received pastors who had been instructed in the doctrine of the *Augsburg Confession* and had accepted it. Most of those who were already parish pastors continued in office. It was not until the 1550s that it was found necessary that additional churches should be built. Before his death in 1568, Albrecht ordered the erection of new churches in Willkischken (Lith. *Vilkyškiai*), c. 1554, ⁵⁶⁵ Schirwindt (Lith. *Širvinta*) and Kraupischken (Lith. *Kraupiškiai*), 1554, Pillupönen (Lith. *Pilupėnai*), 1557, Czychen, 1560, Grabnick, Pissanitzen, 1565, and Schimonken, 1566, etc. Nearly all these were in the territory which the Germans called "desolate" (Germ. *Wildnis*), that is, areas deserted by the populace because of the constant warfare between German Order and Lithuanians. These forested areas were now once again inhabited by the Lithuanian-speaking people. ⁵⁶⁶

Margrave Georg Friedrich continued the policy of extending the ministry of the church into these formerly desolate areas and elsewhere in Prussia and insisted on building more churches in areas where it was necessary to establish a closer connection between the people and the pulpit and altar. Parish churches were built at Piktupönen (Lith. *Piktupėnai*), prior to 1574, Kaukehmen, 1549-1576, Coadjuthen, prior to 1574, Lasdehnen (Lith. *Lazdynai*), 1578, Pillkallen (Lith. *Pilkalnis*), 1582, ⁵⁶⁷ Szittkehmen (Lith. *Žydkiemis*), 1579, Inse (Lith. *Įsė*), 1583, Vindenburg, later Kinten (Lith. *Ventė / Kintai*), 1578-1589, Schareyken, 1581, Pillkallen (Lith. *Pilkalnis*), 1582, Grabowen, 1588,

⁵⁶³ *Jacobson* 1839, (Anhang) 61-63; Sehling 1909, 126-128.

⁵⁶⁴ *Hubatsch I* 1968, 119.

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Nemmersdorf and Tollmingkehmen (Lith. *Tolminkiemis*), 1589, Groß Stürlack and Peterswalde, 1590, Herrndorf, Manchenguth and Quednau, 1594, Alt-Pillau, 1598, Ballethen, 1599, and Muldschen (Lith. *Muldžiai*), 1603, etc. ⁵⁶⁸ These churches were mainly in the diocese of Samland, but the same work of establishing parishes went on also in the Pomesanian diocese. Thus, the Prussian Church in this period experienced steady growth both in the number of churches, in catechizations, attendance, and communions. This fortified the church against the attempts of the Counter-Reformation and the Calvinist efforts to make inroads in the population.

In 1611, Johann Sigismund of Brandenburg became the administrator of Prussia. Part of the prize that he paid for this office was an agreement to finance the building of a Roman Catholic Church in Sackheim in Königsberg. This church was consecrated in 1616. In addition, members of the Roman Catholic Church had to be given full rights to governmental positions, a permission which led Otto von der Groeben, the provincial governor of Schaaken, to convert to the Roman Catholic Church and build a pilgrimage shrine on his property in 1619.⁵⁶⁹ Duke Albrecht Friedrich died on August 28, 1618, bringing an end to his family line. Johann Sigismund, his son-in-law, now became the duke of Prussia, joining Prussia in personal union with Brandenburg.



Nineteenth century allegory visualizing the emergence of Brandenburg-Prussia through the marriage of Elector Johann Sigismund to Duchess Anna of Prussia (*Museum Wolmirstedt*).

Personal union of Prussia with Brandenburg had more than mere political significance; it had strong religious ramifications as well. In 1613, Johann Sigismund had renounced Lutheranism by becoming a member of the Reformed communion. This provoked a strong reaction by the Prussian estates almost all of whom were staunch Lutherans.

Now Johann Sigismund intended to do in Prussia what he had done in Brandenburg, that is, to establish the Reformed Church, and hoped that some of the leading gentry would follow his example and convert to Calvinism. He must have been aware, however, that the estates wielded far greater power in Prussia than in Brandenburg. As far back as 1542, they had been able to force Albrecht to concede that the Supreme Council (Germ. Oberrat), which consisted of the four highest officials in the land, must be chosen solely from the country's high nobility, and in 1566 the nobles had been able to require him to favor the appointment of Prussians over foreigners in all administrative and legal appointments. Furthermore, Albrecht had been forced to agree that the estates be given the right to appeal to the king of Poland should they consider that he was violating their rights.⁵⁷⁰ Constitutional changes in 1566 left Albrecht little more than a figurehead and put the real governmental power in the hands of the landed gentry. In this, the Prussian nobles were simply following the example of Polish nobles who had more far-reaching rights and privileges than was the case in German territories. After changes in the law in 1609, any regulations meant to affect the status of Prussia required the ratification of the estates. Henceforth, any decrees or orders of the duke, which violated the rights and freedoms of the nobility, were declared null and void. Not even a church visitation could be announced unless it met with the approval of the estates. Apart from the nobility, only the city of Königsberg was able to wield any degree of power, but it could be effectively countered if the nobles aligned themselves with the Polish king. The result was that by the beginning of the seventeenth century the Prussian nobility was stronger than was the case in any German territories.

Arrogating to himself more power than he really had, Johann Sigismund attempted in the spring of 1614 to appoint non-Lutherans to high posts in Prussia. Among those he appointed was Count Fabian von Dohna, a Calvinist who had been a major promoter of Johann Sigismund's dynastic claims in Prussia. Von Dohna and members of his family had left the Lutheran Church and converted to Calvinism before the end of the sixteenth century. The Lutheran estates responded by informing Johann Sigismund that they had no intention of permitting anyone to make legal claims on behalf of the Reformed in Prussia. They then took their grievances to King Sigismund III Vasa who acted without delay. On

July 6, 1614, he sent a declaration to the Königsberg councilors which stated that under no circumstances would he permit their religious freedoms to be infringed upon, nor would he permit any Calvinist to hold a high position in Prussia. To add insult to injury, he did not even bother to send a copy of his declaration to Johann Sigismund. He left it to the Königsbergers to provide him with a copy. Johann Sigismund, of course, was deeply offended. He claimed that the Prussians were rebellious and perhaps even seditious and that they had misrepresented his motives which, of course, were pure. He also asked them to send him the original of the king's document so that he could make sure that they had not misrepresented the



Court and Castle Church in Königsberg, c. 1900 (*Ansichtskarte um* 1900).

king's declaration. He took the whole matter as a personal insult to be added to all the other insults which he had been suffering at the hands of Prussian Lutheran clergy who preached against the Reformed. He was particularly insulted that Court Preacher Johann Behm had ceased to pray for him in the Sunday services. All of this gained him very little. By the end of October, the Königsbergers had not yet turned over the king's letter and criticisms of Johann Sigismund were increasing. The councilors in Königsberg reminded him that while he was in far-off Berlin, they had to take care of the day-to-day running of the Prussian State. He countered by saying that this did not give them the right to undercut him. They ought to, at least, consult him before making decisions, and they surely should not be running to the Polish court so often. On the religious front, he complained against the increased anti-Reformed statements being made from the pulpits.⁵⁷¹

The Prussians paid this scant attention, and on November 21, 1615, they again brought a long list of complaints to the king's court in Warsaw in which they gave details of the continuing and increasing violation of their rights by the Reformed. They were particularly incensed by the activities of Fabian von Dohna, Heinrich von Halle, Albrecht Finck, and Friedrich Erbtruchess zu Walburg, prominent Calvinists whom Johann Sigismund had promoted.⁵⁷²

Johann Sigismund was determined to plant the seed of the Reformed faith in Prussian soil. When he returned to the duchy in the autumn of 1616, he brought with him a

Reformed minister, Johann Crocius, the Hessian court preacher, to conduct Reformed services and preach in the elector's private chambers in the Königsberg palace. Lutheran Court Preacher Johann Behm complained bitterly. When the estates gathered for a Prussian territorial assembly on November 21, 1616, Behm preached at the opening service and accused the Reformed of attempting to sneak into Prussian schools and churches. Now was the time for all "true" Prussians to rise to the defense of Prussia's *Corpus doctrinae*. The elector tried to defend himself by saying that, like everyone else in Prussia, he simply wanted to practice his faith freely, and not publicly but only in the inner sanctum of his private chambers. He sought to prove it by ordering that the first-ever Reformed Communion service to be held in the ducal court be celebrated on the Easter Sunday, 1617.



Johann Behm (Acta Borussica 1732).

On Easter Monday, Behm answered by preaching on the text, "I will turn your festal days into sadness and transform your songs into lamentations" (Amos 8:10), and he boldly proclaimed "how greatly the minds of men were everywhere inflamed." ⁵⁷³ It was clear that in Königsberg the elector had attended the Reformed Communion service in his castle chapel in the presence of a number of persons who had converted to Calvinism, and Johann Behm was so incensed that in his sermon he preached:

"This threat, concerns us all now at this moment, inasmuch as the Calvinistic rabble held their Calvinistic bread-breaking here yesterday, and people flocked to it from all corners so that they have grown to a great multitude, and they will now proclaim and boast that such and such a number have joined their religion in our land. Anyone who does not see this harm done to Joseph is dishonored and deceived." 574

Behm even courageously chided the elector himself:

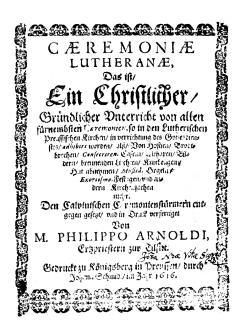
"It is stated in plain words that the grievances in the land are going to be redressed; but how far this is being done the actual proceedings clearly show. More and more fresh grievances are introduced so that misery becomes greater and greater. We shall

be reduced in the end to 'sitting on hard stools.' They promised us that they would maintain the constitution of the land, but the way in which this is done is a sin and a shame. The constitutions of the land require, among other things that no Calvinistic doctrine should be tolerated and propagated in it. This was sworn with a solemn oath under the open heavens. But God has mercy upon us, how has this oath been kept! Consider well, dear Christians, the heavy grievances of your country. It is high time we should pray to God that He would overmaster the devil, and prevent him proceeding any further with the work he has in mind." 575

Behm refused to accede to the elector's demand that he submit a written copy of his sermon because of his expectation that the estates were behind him. In this, he was correct, and he subsequently published *Eine treuherzige Warnung an alle und jede Untersassen des Herzogtums Preußen, sich vor der verdammlichen zwinglianischen Sekte zu hüten (A Heartfelt Warning to Each and All Subjects of Ducal Prussia to Guard Themselves Against the Accursed Zwinglian Sect)*, labeling the Reformed as "Zwinglian sectarians." In this, he had the support of Electress Anna, the wife of Johann Sigismund, who had refused to follow her husband into the Reformed communion. ⁵⁷⁶ There was really very little that the elector could do since whatever action he took

which was disliked by the Lutherans, they could report to King Sigismund III Vasa.

The position taken by the elector had strong repercussions not only politically but theologically and liturgically. Many Lutheran pastors, who had earlier labeled traditional liturgical practices as adiaphora, now began to assert them as a badge of loyalty to the Lutheran Church. In 1616, Philipp Arnoldi, the Lutheran superintendent in Tilsit, wrote a major work, entitled: Caeremoniae Lutheranae, Das ist ein Christlicher Gründlicher Unterricht von allen fürnembsten Caeremonien, so in den Lutherischen Preussischen Kirchen, in verrichtung des Gottesdienstes, adhibirt werden: als, von Hostien, Brodtbrechen, Consecriren, Caseln, Altharen, Bildern, brennenden Liechten, Kniebeugen, Hut abnehmen, Musica, Orgeln, Exorcismo, Festagen, und anderen Kirchensachen mehr; Den Calvinischen Caer-



Title page of the 1616 *Caeremoniae Lutheranae* by Philipp Arnoldi.

monienstürmern entgegen gesetzt (Caeremoniae Lutheranae, that Is, Fundamental Christian Instruction Concerning All Acceptable Ceremonies as Are Employed in the Performance of the Divine Service in the Prussian Lutheran Churches, such as the Use of Hosts, Breaking of the Bread, Consecration, Chasubles, Altars, Images, Lighted Candles, Kneeling, Removing of Hats, Music, Organs, Exorcism, Feast Days, and Many Other Church Practices which the Calvinists anti-Ceremonialists Are Against).

Arnoldi defended Lutheran ceremonies against Calvinists who insisted that Lutheran ceremonies adorned "false doctrines," most especially the doctrine of the real presence of Christ in the Sacrament. He stated that the ceremonies with which the Lutherans give honor to the Lord's Supper and extol it by actions, as well as words, are not to be regarded as a fault by which the Lutherans incur guilt before God but indeed, these ceremonies stand as a public testimony of the truth of God's Word and the errors of Calvinism. These ceremonies must be observed because they are "a public, external witness against Calvinists." 577

The Calvinists objected strongly to the Lutheran use of unleavened hosts (Germ. Oblaten) in the Communion because they said that this was reminiscent of the Roman Catholic Mass and perpetuated "papal idolatry" over against Christ's commandments. They even went further to say that unleavened hosts were not real bread and that the sign of the crucifix on them was misleading and even smelled of like the "idolatrous sacrifice of the Mass," offered by the Romans. Arnoldi protested against this, stating that the hosts with which the Lutherans commune were natural, unleavened bread such as had been used in the celebration of the Lord's Supper for over a millennium. The Calvinists went on to claim that the Lutherans had not only perpetuated idolatrous ceremonies, they had also rejected a most important ceremony which Christ himself had commanded - the breaking of the bread. Arnoldi responded that the Calvinists were simply trying to create a controversy. They built their argument on the notion that when the Lord said, "do this," he was referring specifically to the breaking of the bread, rather than the eating of it. In fact, the Lord broke the bread into smaller pieces simply so that it could be distributed. This practice is not continued today, Arnoldi said, because the hosts are already small and do not need to be broken, nor would it be necessary to break the bread in imitation of the Old Testament practice, as though this were analogous to the cutting apart into pieces of the Old Testament sacrifices. The Lord's Supper is without analogies and the Calvinist breaking of the bread cannot be considered essential to the Lord's Supper, he asserted. The Calvinists also objected strongly to the Lutheran use of Mass vestments. They sought to connect them to the doctrine of the real presence, Lutheranism's affinity toward Rome, and the Roman sacrifice of the Mass. According to the Calvinists, preachers ought to wear simple clothing - a black gown or no vestment at all. Arnoldi replied that the alb or chasuble extols the exalted nature of the Sacrament and sets the church's usage apart from the antisacramental practices of Calvinists and all others who insist that things which are adiaphora are not free but make one a slave to the pope. The use of clerical vestments, albs, chasubles, and other vesture must be understood as evidence of Christian freedom, as Luther himself made it clear in his Large Catechism when he said that images, bells, Mass vestments, other church paraments, altars, candles, and the like are to be matters of freedom. Liturgical vestments should also remind Christian pastors of their high office as preachers, as St. John Chrysostom said when he stated that vesture set him apart. Such matters were not, of course, to be taken as matters of necessity but rather as matters of Christian freedom, and they were meant to extol the venerability of the Supper. The white vestment covers the "black clothing of sin" and marks one as among those who "stand before God and the Lamb in white robes without spot or blemish," as described by St. John the Theologian in the Book of Revelation. The Calvinists also strongly objected against the consecration of the Sacrament, which they claimed, destroyed the gospel message, turned the Sacrament into a miracle, and returned the church toward Roman Catholic notions of transubstantiation and "consecratory magic." Arnoldi responded that the Lutheran manner of the consecration of the Sacrament is as far removed from the papacy "as heaven is from the earth." Concerning the Reformed objection that the Lutheran doctrine of manducatio oralis taught that the pastor put the body and blood of Christ into the mouth of the communicant, Arnoldi replied that this doctrine took seriously Christ's own words about the Sacrament and also stood against the Calvinist practice by which the communicant must take the bread from the plate with his own hand.578

There was very little in the Lutheran liturgical ceremonies that Reformed did not object to. Lighted candles were unnecessary and altars connoted sacrifice and should be replaced by a simple table on which were placed bread and wine in appropriate vessels, they claimed. They complained that Lutherans were burning candles in the daytime and decorating their churches, despite the fact that such practices were "reminiscent" of the Roman Mass and idolatry. Arnoldi responded that the Supper of the Lord is celebrated on an altar which may be constructed of either wood or stone. When he chants the collect, the pastor turns to the altar, and so too, when he celebrates the Lord's Supper. The use of lighted candles on the altar is not forbidden among the Lutherans; it is not a mandatory usage as it is among the papists, nor is it idolatry or witchcraft. It is a practice which goes back to the very beginnings of Christianity. To the Reformed, Lutheran churches were the "idolatrous shrines" in which there were graven images which clearly violated the Law

of Moses, and in any case, the artwork had no real teaching value. In fact, according to the Reformed, religious art could be regarded as an invitation to misuse it since they claimed that pictures and images always encourage superstition and idolatry. Arnoldi replied that the walls and pillars in the temple of the Lord had since ancient times been decorated with Christian images. The Biblical prohibition was not against images as such but rather against the giving of worship to them as though they were divine. Arnoldi also defended the Lutheran numbering of the Ten Commandments according to which the prohibition against idolatry is included in the First Commandment and the prohibition against coveting one's neighbor's house and wife are counted as two separate commandments. Among Lutherans, he stated, it is not required that the Ten Commandments be recited exactly as they recorded in the Old Testament word-for-word.⁵⁷⁹

Another sore spot was music. The Reformed did not approve the use of the organ as a solo instrument which could demonstrate the virtuosity of the musician, and they objected to the use of any music that had not been written expressly for religious use. They rejected the Lutheran chorals and medieval hymns and at most restricted themselves to metrical hymns, based on the psalms and the words of the Scriptures. Arnoldi countered this by stating that music, organs, and other instruments contribute greatly to Christian worship in the churches. In the same way, the singing of chorals and figured music worthily extols the Lord and his gifts. The Reformed also protested against the Lutheran practice of kneeling before the altar, especially at communion, because it connoted the doctrine of the real presence. To show their contrary opinion, they always stood. Arnoldi, however, stated that it was a proper and worthy practice that one should bow the knee before the altar and when the name of Jesus is spoken. He also stated that it was the custom that before one would receive the Lord's Supper, he would bring an honorarium to the minister of the Sacrament, but this was in no way to be understood as a payment for the Mass or an offering for the forgiveness of sins. 580

Further evidence of lingering Romanism in the Lutheran Church, according to Reformed thinking, was the exorcism and the consignation in the baptismal rite. The use of the sign of the cross had caused many dangerous and horrible errors, they stated, and the fact that the exorcism had been used before the Reformation was in itself reason enough to do away with it. Even worse, it gave the impression that Baptism actually accomplished something and was more than a mere symbol that sins are washed by the blood of Christ. Arnoldi responded that it was a worthy practice that exorcism and the consignation should be included in the baptismal rite because they both bear witness to what God does in and through

Baptism. It was also a worthy practice, he stated, that godparents and sponsors should be appointed for the baptismal candidates.⁵⁸¹

Arnoldi chose to single out exorcism for mention because in his *Confessio Sigismundi* of 1614, the elector had pointed to exorcism as one of four points which were unbiblical. He had referred to exorcism as a "superstitious ceremony" which must be abolished among believers because only by fasting and prayer, and not exorcism, evil spirits could be driven out.⁵⁸²

In Königsberg, Johann Bergius, one of the elector's recently appointed Reformed court chaplains, was much criticized by the Lutheran consistory there because he baptized a child without using the customary Lutheran baptismal rite, and of course, without the exorcism. His critics stated that this practice "was contrary to the Prussian church order and the country's constitution." ⁵⁸³

Subsequently, pastors suspected of Calvinist leaning were required to sign a statement which read: "I believe and confess that exorcism in Holy Baptism may be kept as an adiaphoron ... and I contradict the sacramentarians' erroneous opinion that exorcism ... is a magical, blasphemous abomination that must be abolished." 584

Concerning the church calendar, Reformed preachers complained that there were far too many feast days in the Lutheran calendar. They said that God wanted to be worshiped in public on



Johann Bergius. Copper engraving by Heinrich Jakob Otto, 1707 (Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg).

Sunday and that during the rest of the week the people should spend their time doing good, hard, and earnest labor. Arnoldi replied to all these complaints by stating that the Lutherans held services which were in agreement with the Old and New Testaments. In addition, Lutheran churches contained baptismal fonts, pulpits, and altars from which the grace of God poured forth. Furthermore, it was customary that bells be rung when there was a death in the parish and the

⁵⁸¹ Arnoldi 1616, 210-227.

^{58?} D.I. II. (0.16.14, 40.41, D. D. C. G. G. J. 160F, D.

earthly remains of departed Christians were in the Lutheran church buried with appropriate ceremonies.⁵⁸⁵

In all these chapters, Arnoldi sought to emphasize that the Lutheran Reformation was just that – a reformation and not a revolution. By the Word of God, the church is reformed, not overturned, as though it could begin anew on the basis of human preferences and notions. Because of this, ancient ceremonies and practices are retained in the Lutheran church in Christian freedom when and if they do not mitigate against the saving gospel. The Scriptures are not meant to give prescriptions which are to minutely order Christian worship, nor do they provide an order of worship from which one dare not depart. Rather, according to Arnoldi, what is not specifically forbidden by God's Word, is allowable when and where it is appropriate. All these practices and ceremonies became a public external witness against the anti-ceremonialism of the Calvinists in Prussia.

Two years before this, in 1614, in his *Confessio vera & Lutherana* (*Confession True and Lutheran*), written in response to Füssel's anti-Lutheran writings, Arnoldi spoke plainly and perhaps somewhat immoderately. He described the Reformed as "creeping sneaks, sycophants, and parasites ... who have arrogated to themselves the *Augsburg Confession* and who appeal to die writings of blessed Dr. Luther, as if their own opinions agreed with this confession and his faith." ⁵⁸⁶

The Lutherans now raised new calls for the reinstitution of the episcopacy. The Lutheran estates had already raised this matter in the territorial assembly as early as 1605/06. The elector responded by stating that the funds needed for such a reestablishment were now being used to support the university and the schools. The Lutherans continued to insist on, and the new elector was forced to appoint in 1617 two inspectors to plan a visitation of the Königsberg churches. After years of disputes, an electoral commission was established in 1628, to thoroughly examine "all ecclesiastical and educational disorders and excesses." ⁵⁸⁷

No changes would be required in the Pomesanian consistory, but in the Samlandian consistory in Königsberg the chief professor of theology (*primarius*) would serve as head of the consistory and all other members would be appointed by the elector. It was also stipulated that the two consistories would be of equal authority and the Samland consistory would in no way be superior to that of Pomesania. This was officially stated in the rescript on the parity of the consistories in 1643.⁵⁸⁸

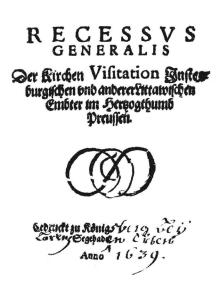
Because Prussia now had a Calvinist ruler, who was sponsoring Calvinist services, it became important that in 1630 the Lutherans should make much of the centenary anniversary of the presentation of the *Augsburg Confession*. Special ser-

⁵⁸⁵ Arnoldi 1616, 228.

vice of worship for the occasion was developed with Psalm 124 and Psalm 128 replacing the epistle and Psalm 44 replacing the gospel. Included also was the reading of Psalm 119:46: "I will speak of your testimonies before kings, and will not be ashamed." These words, inscribed in the opening lines of the Latin text of the *Augsburg Confession*, took on a special meaning for the Prussians in their situation. Among the hymns sung were "Lord, Keep Us Steadfast in Thy Word" and "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God," as well as "Where God the Lord Stands with Us not" and "O God, Our Lord, Your Holy Word" ("O Herre Gott, dein göttlich Wort"). In all Prussian cities, the *Augsburg Confession* was to be read slowly and clearly at Vespers, along with an explanation of it, and in countryside parishes this was to be done at the Sunday Divine Service before or after the sermon. The announcement of the festal celebration of the Lord's Supper on this day was to be made the previous Sunday. Pastors who did not conform with these instructions should know that they were in danger of losing their parishes.⁵⁸⁹

3.3 The Liturgical and Ecclesiastical Situation in Lithuanian-Speaking Parishes

The celebration of the centenary of the presentation of the Augsburg Confession raised Lutheran consciousness among the populace, and this then gave added significance to the preparation in 1632 of the new articles of visitation. A thorough visitation of the parishes followed and was completed in 1638 with the visitation of the Lithuanian parishes in the Insterburg region. As was so often the case, the results of the visitations of the Lithuanian parishes were by no means heartening. The visitation report stated that disorder reigned supreme and measures were needed to restore order. The report of the visitors, together with their recommendations, were turned over to the elector. They led in 1639 to the issuance of the Recessus Generalis Der kirchen Visitation



Title page of the 1639 Recessus Generalis.

Embter in Hertzogthumb Preussen (Recessus Generalis. The Church Visitation of Insterburg and Other Lithuanian Pastoral Stations in the Duchy of Prussia), a prescription or instruction concerning corrective measures to be undertaken, not only in the region of Insterburg but throughout the whole of the Province of Lithuania. Included in the province were the districts of Insterburg, Tilsit, Ragnit, Memel, Labiau, Taplacken, Georgenburg, Saalau, and Schaaken.

The Recessus dealt with many aspects of parish life and the enumerable abuses found by the visitors. It was to serve as a supplement to the 1568 church order and as a kind of secondary church order for the Lithuanian-speaking parishes. It stated that conditions in the Lithuanian-speaking parishes were worse than the visitors had been led to expect and were in fact worse than they had found in the German-speaking regions of Prussia. They spoke of the Lithuanians in terms which could hardly be called complementary. They were described as a barbarian people who were without proper understanding of church doctrine and who seldom went to church. They preferred to spend their time visiting their neighbors or involving themselves in other activities. Whereas negligent German parents of a newborn child might delay a week or two before presenting it for Baptism, it was not uncommon for Lithuanians to delay Baptism for such a long period of time that it was not uncommon that Lithuanian children died unbaptized. Baptism was often delayed until the beer had been brewed. Often the sponsors appeared at the church with the child but the father was nowhere to be seen. Concerning the Venerable Sacrament of the Altar, the visitors found that many older people, and especially the men, did not go to the Sacrament at all and were unwilling to heed admonitions and warnings. They lived a self-indulgent (epicurean) and godless life. They died without receiving the Sacrament and were buried not among the Christians in the churchyard but out in the fields in unconsecrated ground, like dead cows or asses. They were a people who acted like oxen, unconcerned about the salvation of their souls and unwilling to pay heed to admonitions. All the pastors lamented that they were by no means a people of prayer. Many of them knew little or nothing of prayer. The only prayer some knew was the Our Father. They did not sing or pray at Vespers but sang in the taverns instead. 590

Their churches were as disreputable as the people themselves. Since the house of God was to be the place where his word is proclaimed and his sacraments are administered, it was essential that there should be a pulpit, a baptismal font, and an altar. However among the Lithuanians, these were either in very poor shape or they were altogether lacking. The people were more concerned to eat their earthly bread from clean tables and worthy vessels and did not consider that the altar on which rested the sacramental vessels ought to be far more pure. Of course, such matters could be said to be adiaphora, but still, it was a telling comparison. The pulpit, baptismal font, altar,

and chancel ought to be held in high regard and the sacramental vessels ought to be of silver, lined with gold. Many churches, especially the newer ones, lacked bells to call the people to divine services, prayer services, and burials. Consequently, the people did not know when they were to be in church and went instead to the tavern. Many churches had no benches or they had benches that did not match. Some were long, some were short, some were wide, and some were narrow.⁵⁹¹

The document also stated in very explicit terms what remedies needed to be instituted to bring order out of chaos. Because the Lithuanian people knew so little about the fundamentals and principal articles of faith, the pastors would need to give close attention to providing proper instruction concerning them. The people must be taught the doctrine of God, who He is, what He wills, the creation of man in the image of God for eternal life, the fall of man into perdition, the work of salvation in which God graciously sent his only-begotten Son to suffer and die for sinners that they might have eternal salvation, the justification of the sinner before God, the sacraments and their salutary use, death and eternal life, Christian burial, resurrection of the dead, the final judgment, and the life of the world to come.

The pastors needed to be far more zealous in preaching and teaching these "poor, uncomprehending Lithuanians," especially during the period of time from *Quinquagesima* (*Estomihi*) through Palm Sunday, Maundy Thursday, and Good Friday. During these days, they should preach from the gospel about the bitter sufferings and death of Christ, instead of speaking *ex-corde*. On Good Friday, the whole history of the passion of Christ should be read so that the people would come to realize what Christ suffered on their behalf.

The visitors noted in particular that there was no printed translation of the Bible in the Lithuanian language. If Luther's German Bible had not been available or the pastors had not been able to use it, the situation would have been even more serious. Some were apt translators, others were not. It was not always clear to the people what were the words of the Holy Spirit and what were not. It was noted that Jonas Bretkūnas had translated the Bible into Lithuanian, and more recently, Pastor Johann Rhesa had revised his work on the New Testament. This should be printed and widely distributed. In addition, a book of the epistle and gospel pericopes, well translated, should be made available.

Furthermore, since few parents prepared their sons to study for the holy ministry, scholarships should be made available to draw young men to Königsberg for this purpose. In this way, the Lithuanian Church would be supplied with pastors and teachers. At the same time, the fundamentals of the Lithuanian language needed to be set down in order. A grammar and dictionary were urgently needed to assist pastors who were coming from German-speaking areas of Prussia and various parts of the Holy

The practice of Holy Baptism needed to be given far greater attention. Newborn children should be baptized within a few days of birth and surely on, or before, the next Sunday. Those who refused to do so should be punished by the imposition of a fine. Concerning the Lord's Supper, the pastor must give very zealous attention to admonishing his people and reminding them that it was not simply enough to be baptized. If this proved insufficient, he should report twice a year, at Easter and St. Michael's Day, to the bailiff (Germ. Hauptmann), naming those who refused to heed his admonitions. Measures would need to be taken against those who neglected the Sacrament and lived as blasphemers of God. In all churches, pastors were directed to catechize on the chief parts of Christian doctrine every Sunday after the sermon. On Wednesdays, from the beginning of Lent until St. Martin's Day, that is, during that period of time when days are longer than nights, the schoolmaster should hold a hymn service at which he teaches the catechism in clear and understandable terms and then concludes with a hymn. While Vespers was being held, the tavern keepers were to serve no drinks and to allow no one to remain in the taverns. The pastors should hold a prayer service early Monday morning at which the people pray and receive instruction. Included should be prayers for the necessities of all Christendom and of the land. At certain times in the period between Michaelmas and Advent or Christmas, and again, between Septuagesimae and Holy Week, and finally, from Pentecost till the Harvest festival, Mondays should be marked with prayers in church. Also at stated times of the year, the pastor with the help of the schoolmaster should use these Monday hours to examine the people, whether men or women, young and old alike, and he should keep a record of this activity to be submitted to the visitors.⁵⁹²

Instead of the usual Sunday sermon on the gospel on the Sundays in Lent, the pastor should preach and explain the five chief parts of the catechism. Of course, the gospel should not be completely set aside. The pastor should read the epistle and gospel from the altar, and read the gospel again from the pulpit and summarize it briefly before dealing with the part of the catechism which was to be explained in depth.

The church's inventory must be thoroughly examined and recorded. Altars, pulpits, and other church furniture must be of the best sort and kept in good condition. Sacramental vessels must be of noble metals, silver with a lining of gold. The confessional (Germ. *Beichtstuhl*) should be constructed in such a way as to make it comfortable for both the father confessor and those making their confession, especially if either is old and weak. There should be no cobwebs.

Churches should be properly furnished with suitable benches for the congregation and bells in the belfry. The building should be heated during the winter months and proper arrangements should be made also for sufficient airflow in hot weather.⁵⁹³



Prussian Lithuanians (*Lepner* 1744).

Those who serve as church elders must fulfill their duties. They are to be in attendance at Vespers and confession on Saturday evening and the Sunday morning German and Lithuanian services, as well as the Monday morning prayer hours and all other times when the bells need to be rung. On Sundays, Mondays, Fridays, and Saturdays, they are to prepare the church before the pastor arrives for the Divine Service. Their duties include the procurement and preparation of sufficient sacramental bread and wine. They are to see to it that the church, altar, and confessional are kept clean and tidy and there are a corporal and purificators for communion. They are to take note who is not in attendance at church to hear God's Word or receive the Holy Sacrament and who does not attend the prayer services and make a report to the pastor. They are to report the names of the disorderly and disobedi-

drunkards and other rowdies in situations where there is a danger to life and limb. They are to inform the pastors when sick persons desire to receive the Holy Sacrament and see to it that the pastor has the proper vessels and other supplies for his sick calls. They are also to assist the archpriest in visitations, inductions, and other church business and to see to the proper gathering of the tithes.⁵⁹⁴

Other directives were also included concerning the treatment of those who acted improperly, those guilty of manslaughter, marital infidelity, widows and orphans, as well as regulations concerning the burial of the dead and the maintenance of the churchyard. A list of duties was included for the bailiff (Germ. *Hauptman*), archpriest, pastors, schoolmasters in towns and in the countryside, landowners, German churches and hospitals, and other regulations.

The situation among the Lithuanian-speaking Prussians was serious enough that special steps needed to be taken to deal with it. Little was said referring directly to the conduct of the services since these were questions of church order. Reports indicated that in some places the preaching and the sacramental ministry of the church were being neglected or even held in contempt. The situation was even more serious because in many places the Lithuanians had to depend upon German clergy whose knowledge of the Lithuanian language and customs was inadequate. The Bible and particularly the New Testament needed to be printed and distributed, especially the epistle and gospel pericopes. Furthermore, a concise dictionary and grammar must be made available to assist the German-speaking pastors, and finally, more Lithuanian young men were needed to prepare for ordination and service in the church.

The liturgical life of the Prussian Church was stable during much of the seventeenth century. The church had an established church order and liturgy and all parishes and their pastors were expected to conform to both. Supplementary liturgical documents were printed as needed. Among them was Allgemeines Gebet, welche auff Sr. Churfl. Durchl. zu Brandenburg, in Preussen Hertzogs ... Verordnung umb Abwendung gegenwärtiger Noht ... in allen Kirchen des Hertzogthumbs Preussen ... nach der Predigt sol gehalten werden (General Prayer Concerning the Averting of Present Dangers ..., which Has Been Ordered by the Prince-Elector of Brandenburg and the Duke in Prussia..., to Be Used After the Sermon in All Churches of Ducal Prussia), printed in Königsberg in 1655, which addressed trying circumstances caused by the Russo-Polish War, lasted from 1654 until 1667. This was followed in 1656 by the Formular wie in den Kirchen des königlichen theils Preussen, stracks nach verrichtetem vormittagigen Gottesdienste, nechstkommenden Sonntag ... die Danksagunge, vor die jüngst ... durch Jhre Königl. Maytt. von Schweden, und Jhre Churfürstl. Durchlaut wieder den König von Pohlen erhaltene victorie, verrichtet

⁵⁹⁴ Recessus Generalis 1639, Miij.

und nach beschriebenes von den Cantzeln abgelesen werden solle (Formulary which Is to Be Observed in the Churches of the Royal Part of Prussia Immediately After the Morning Divine Services on Next Sunday ... A Thanksgiving for the Recent Victory of His Royal Highness, the King of Sweden, and His Most Serene Highness, the Prince-Elector, Against the King of Poland, to Be Read from the Pulpit, According to Its Written Description), giving thanks on the occasion of victories, won in the continuing conflict between Sweden and Poland.⁵⁹⁷ The spectacular appearance in 1680 of Kirch's Comet, the first comet to be observed by telescope and which appeared so bright that it was clearly visible even during the daylight hours, prompted the appearance of the Algemeines Buß-Gebet In denen Kirchen des Herzogthumbs Preussen zu halten verordnet Auff den 26sten Februarii dieses lauffenden Jahres Als welcher Zu einem Buß- Fast- und Bet-Tag angesetzet Nachdem der erschreckliche Comet zu Außgang des 1680sten und Anfang des 1681sten Jahres sich hatte sehen lassen (The General Prayer of Repentance, Ordered to Be Read in the Churches of the Duchy of Prussia on February 26th of This Year, which Has Been Set Aside as a Day of Repentance, Fasting, and Prayer, Because of the Terrifying Comet which Was Able to Be Seen at the End of 1680 and the Beginning of 1681). Such a celestial event was widely seen as having an eschatological significance which called for humble repentance and readiness to appear before the judgment seat of God.598



Spectacular appearance of Kirch's comet over Nürnberg in 1680, interpreted as a divine call to repentance. Engraving by Johann Jakob von Sandran, Nürnberg 1680 (*Wikimedia Commons*).

3.4 Prussian Agendas in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century

3.4.1 The Liturgical Rite of Confirmation

In the Duchy of Prussia, no special rite of solemn confirmation was ever developed. The earlier practice of admitting young children to the altar after catechetical instruction continued in force until 1718 when Pietists undertook to introduce the rite of confirmation. It was the king himself, rather than the consistory who insisted upon this introduction as a part of the reform of the Prussian educational system which had been undertaken by Heinrich Lysius with his support. Friedrich Wilhelm I made him the court preacher and inspector of Prussian schools, and in 1714 he was promoted to the position of full professor of theology in the University of Königsberg. ⁵⁹⁹

Lysius strongly held that no child should be admitted to first communion who had not been confirmed, and in 1718 he prepared a liturgical order of confirmation which set down specific directives for the rite and for the catechization which led to it. This rite was promoted in Prussia by royal decree on May 2, 1718, under the title: Vorschrifft Und Ordnung, Wie es mit der auff S. Königl. Maj. de dato Königsberg Anno 1718. den 2. May, Christ-löblich verordneten Einseegnung der Kinder, Welche Zum erstenmahl Zum Heiligen Abendmahl kommen, soll gehalten werden (Regulation and Order of His Royal Highness, Given at Königsberg on May 2, 1718, Concerning How the Laudable Christian Confirmation of Children Is to Be Performed when They for the First Time Come to the Lord's Supper).

This regulation decreed that children were, without exception and without regard to social privilege, to be instructed and confirmed. Whatever divisions might be observed elsewhere in matters of confession, in confirmation no distinctions were to be made between rich and poor, male and female. Reference was made to the fact that in some places men confessed before the chief pastor and women before his assistant, the so-called deacon. Great emphasis was made on the rite of confirmation which according to the decree was to be observed without any variation or addition and in every church.

On the day before confirmation, a special service was to take place, following the close of Vespers. During the singing of the hymn, "Come, Holy Ghost, Creator Blest," the confirmands were to present themselves in the chancel before the altar, boys on one side and girls on the other. If the number of confirmands was so large that the entire space before the altar was taken, then a second row should

stating that the children they saw before them were made coheirs with Christ and planted in his Holy Church through Holy Baptism. Now they had come to the knowledge of Christian doctrine and heartily desired to draw more closely to Christ and his Holy Church through the Sacrament of the Altar. They were now prepared to take upon themselves the renunciation of the devil which had been done by their sponsors in their name on their baptismal day. Now, at last, they were finally able to make their own confession of faith in Christ. In order that their whole lives might be blessed in Christ, it was right and proper that the congregation should call upon God the heavenly Father in the name of Christ that he would grant them his grace and the Holy Spirit that they might receive the Lord's Supper to their benefit and that they might grow daily in faith, love, patience, long-suffering, and every other fruit of the Holy Spirit and that they might come to a blessed end. He then led them in praying the Our Father.

Then followed the public examinations of the confirmands as to their know-ledge of the chief parts of Luther's *Small Catechism* and its explanation, what every commandment teaches, requires, and forbids, the right understanding of the articles of the Creed, the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, Christ and his saving work, the Holy Spirit, and the work of justification, sanctification, and the hope of life everlasting, as well as the benefits and power of Holy Baptism, the Lord's Supper and preparation for it through true repentance and Luther's questions and answers to be asked before Communion. Also included in the examination were prayers, psalms of David and other prayers from the catechism and other sources. Perceptive children were to be asked also concerning specific points of doctrine and asked to illustrate them with passages of Scripture and to give examples of virtues, exhibited by the pious in the Holy Scripture.

At the conclusion of the examination, the pastor was to encourage the children to be thankful to God from the bottom of their hearts that he had brought them to the true knowledge of his only-begotten Son and made them members of his Church. They were to pray that the Lord would bless and keep them in the true faith and in true fear of God that they might not lose what they had gained. He reminded them that by the help of the Holy Spirit they should daily grow and increase in faith, works of love, and all Christian virtue and good behavior so that they might show themselves to be God's planting and flourish in the fruits of righteousness to the praise and glory of God.

In this understanding of confirmation, the theology of covenant or pact earlier alluded to by Philipp Spener became evident. Holy Baptism was characterized as a covenant or agreement which in the beginning was made between God and one's godparents. Now that covenant was being renewed as the confirmand took

ways. Now in confirmation, the confirmand took that renunciation upon himself and promised that he would persevere in the true Christian faith and a godly life, that he would be patient in sufferings, and that he would willingly die rather than turn away from the promises which he now made before the face of God and the congregation. Each confirmand was asked to make this pledge personally and to say at its conclusion: "Yes, and to this end may God grant me his grace and the assistance, strength, and help of his Holy Spirit through Jesus Christ. Amen." The pastor was to respond to this Amen with his own Amen.

Then all the confirmands were to kneel on the chancel floor or the lowest altar step and receive the blessing as the pastor laid his hand upon the head of each one of them, saying: "The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ who has begun this good work in you continue it and bring it to completion through the Holy Spirit until the day of Jesus Christ."

He was then to address the congregation, calling upon the people to pray for these "tender branches in the tree of the Christian congregation" that the God who had called them into his kingdom would preserve, rightly prepare, strengthen, empower, and establish them in the same until altogether came into his eternal glory.

The rite ended with a lengthy prayer which spoke of Baptism as effecting rebirth and referred to the present ceremony as a general confession of the grace and goodness of God and of the redemption through Christ which the confirmands had come to know. The pastor prayed that through the gift of the Holy Spirit, God would strengthen the work he had begun in them so that they would continue steadfast in his church and congregation in true faith and obedience to his holy gospel and persevere in it to the end without being led astray by evil or false doctrine. To this end, God was asked also to protect them from bad examples and all the dangers of the world so that the good that had been done in them would not be destroyed and that they would not be beguiled by lust and their hearts would remain unsullied. He prayed that God would grant that they might grow up more and more into the Head - Jesus Christ, in all wisdom, holiness, and righteousness and that through the power of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit they would ever heartily love him and in word, work, and walk confess him, pray to him, and make his name known before their neighbors and all mankind. All of this was asked in the name of Christ. The prayer asked that God would grant that those who had now been brought before him might be forever established in the fellowship of all the faithful, and finally, come to full blessedness and salvation. He concluded his prayer by praying that God's name might ever be hallowed throughout their lives, his kingdom extended, and his will done on earth with the same desire and love as it is done in heaven.

Then the congregation was to join him in praying the Our Father, after which he concluded the service with the Aaronic Benediction. ⁶⁰⁰

In order to ensure that the new rite of confirmation would prevail and with it the new understanding of the assumption of a Christian way of life, the king issued a decree on January 18, 1720 which stated that no young man or maiden would be permitted to get married unless he or she had previously been confirmed and this confirmation would take place only if said person had been diligently instructed in the "five chief articles of Christian doctrine" and had been examined on this material. Only then could marriage be solemnized.⁶⁰¹

3.4.2 The 1730 Lithuanian Agenda

Throughout the entire period, the Lithuanian pastors never had their own single and complete printed agenda in the Lithuanian language. Apart from the hymns and liturgical forms already noted, they had to make use of manuscript editions of liturgical materials translated, from German. These translations were of mixed quality and depended much upon the linguistic abilities of those who prepared them. During this period, there was no commonly accepted standard Lithuanian grammar. In fact, it was not until 1653 that the first Lithuanian grammar, prepared by Pastor Danielius Kleinas, was published. Elector Friedrich Wilhelm was informed about the inconsistent quality of the manuscripts used by the clergy, and he attempted to remedy the situation by means of a rescript, dated July 18, 1673, and addressed to Sebastian Möller, the senior pastor in Insterburg. He stated that it was neither proper nor acceptable that pastors were reading collects and prayers and Biblical texts they had themselves translated from German into Lithuanian. He asked that measures be taken to correct this situation. Not much came of his rescript.⁶⁰² No Lithuanian agenda was prepared and pastors had to continue the practice of providing their own translations.

Finally, at the end of the second decade of the eighteenth century, some liturgical materials were gathered into a manuscript which came to be called the "Lysius Catechism." This document, which appeared in 1719, was given the title: Mážas Katgismas D. Mértino Lutteraus ant Małoningiáusojo Prusû Karálaus isákimo, wissû Wÿskupû ir Klebbonû Lietuwoj' Sutarimù isz naujo Tilźeje [Métė 1719] pérweizdėtas, ir wissiems wartotinay Karaláuczuje iszpáustas (The Small Catechism of Dr. Martin Luther, as Newly Revised in Tilsit in 1719 by the Agreement of All Bishops and Parish Pastors in Lithuania and Printed in Königsberg, to Be Used By All as De-

⁶⁰⁰ Hubatsch III 1968, 203-207.

Communa Constitutions Destantian 1701 104 105

creed by the Most Gracious King of Prussia). The book included Luther's Enchiridion, together with his forms for baptism and matrimony, as well as a short form for confession. The catechism book was never printed but it was available to pastors only in manuscript form.

In 1722, Lysius sponsored the publication in both Lithuanian and German of a version of Luther's Small Catechism: Maźas Katgismas D. Mertino Luteraus Lietuwiszkay ir Wokiszkay Ant Małoningiáusojo Prusû Karálaus Isákimo wissû Wyskupû ir Klebonû Lietuwoj' Sutarimù isz naujo Tilźeje Mete 1722. pérweizdetas (The Small Catechism of Dr. Martin Luther in Lithuanian and German, as Newly Revised in Tilsit in 1722 by the Agreement of All Bishops and Parish Pastors in Lithuania, as Decreed by the Most Gracious King of Prussia). Pastor Gabriel Engel (Lith. Gabrielius Engelis) of Szillen (Lith. Žiliai) served as the Lithuanian editor of the work. It was useful to pastors because it included forms for Baptism and marriage and the form for the administration of the Sacrament of the Altar. It was an important contribution but



Title page of the 1730 Lithuanian agenda.

the pastors needed much more.⁶⁰³

The first official agenda of the Lithuanian Church was published in 1730. It was also the first Prussian agenda to be printed in the eighteenth century. It was published in Königsberg under the title: Dawádnas pamokinnimas kaipo wissi, Lietuwoje, po Maloningiáusio Prusû Karalum essantieji Kunningai, kaip Diewo Tarnai tur elgtis, noredami szwentą Klebonû Urèdą wiernay iszpildit (Thorough Instruction Concerning How All Pastors in Lithuania Under the Most Gracious King of Prussia Should Conduct Themselves as Servants of God in the Proper Fulfillment of Their Pastoral Holy Ministry). The book was prepared by Archpriest Johannes Behrendt of Insterburg (Lith. *Isrutis*), superintendent for the parishes in the Insterburg region.

The book contained forms for Holy Baptism, the Lord's Supper, matrimony, confirmation, the prayer for communicants, including reconciled public penitents, together with an admonition that they be joyfully received back into the fellowship of the church, a form for the reconciliation of public sinners, installation of a parish pastor, general prayers of the church, special prayers for the high feasts, seasonal collects with versicles and responses, and the history of the passion of Christ in six parts.

The form for the celebration of the entire Chief Divine Service was not included nor was any reference made to it. The form for the Lord's Supper included only the exhortation to communicants, loosely based on Luther's paraphrase, as in the 1568 book. Only the preparatory words were included, and in place of the paraphrase, the congregation was to pray the Our Father. The second part of Luther's paraphrase, the admonition to give attention to the words and promises of Christ, followed the 1568 version verbatim. However, none of the rubrical directions of the 1568 church order were included. The officiating pastor was instructed to move directly from the exhortation to the Words of Consecration, and the distribution was to follow immediately. Omitted was the old directive that the Sanctus or "Isaiah, Mighty Seer" should be sung. No directions were given concerning the singing of hymns during communion. The form included the following distribution formula: "Take and eat, this is the body of Christ Jesus, given for you (on the cross). May this strengthen you to the eternal salvation of your soul," and "Take and drink, this is the blood of Jesus Christ, shed for you, a sinner (on the cross). May this strengthen you to the eternal salvation of your soul." The post-communion closely followed the 1568 order: Salutation - Luther's post-communion collect or alternative prayer of thanksgiving - Salutation - Benediction. Two forms of benediction were given. The first followed Luther's form from the Formula Missae: "Lord God, grant us your blessing, Lord God, bless us, and let all the ends of the earth fear the Lord God. Amen." Two translations of the Aaronic Benediction were also included, the first using the form "Lord God" ("Pone Diewe") and the second, "Lord" ("Wieszpats").604

This service followed closely the form of the Lord's Supper which followed the sermon in the 1568 order, but nothing was included of the Service of the Word which preceded it. Although seasonal collects and general prayers were included in the book, no direction concerning their use was given. Indeed nothing at all was said about the altar service which preceded the sermon and nothing was said about what was to be included in the pulpit office. Evidently, pastors were expected to continue to make use of the old order as they had done before and as their forefathers had done ever since the days of Martynas Mažvydas.

The Divine Service was not everywhere the same. City congregations in Memel, Königsberg, Tilsit, Insterburg, Ragnit, Labiau, and others had choirs competent to sing the *Sanctus* and other liturgical music. The old order had provided a richer form of Divine Service for such congregations. Rural congregations had few resources and necessarily had a far simpler service with no special music. No

music was provided in the agenda itself. It is worthy of note that in this agenda the term, "Mass" ("Miszos"), refers to the sermon rather than the whole service. Mažvydas had used the term to refer to the entire service and spoke of the benediction as "locking up the Mass" ("Uszrakinimas Mischos"). 605 The 1730 book refers to the prayers to be said "... after the Mass" ("Po Miszû meldżama"), i. e., after the sermon. 606 Actually throughout Prussia, as the celebration of Communion came to be less frequent, the sermon came more and more to be referred to as the "Mass." This was not a distinctly Lithuanian usage. In many places, the sermon came to occupy the central and most prominent place in the Divine Service and the authentic meaning of the term, "Mass," eventually was lost. 607

It was stipulated that the Lithuanian agenda was to be procured by and made use of by all Lithuanian language Lutheran congregations. On September 11, 1730, an order came from Berlin, stating that in the visitation of parishes the archpriests (Germ. *Erzpriestere*) were to determine that the Lithuanian agenda was possessed and was being used in every parish and that the pastor was using only those formularies which it provided so that throughout the church there would be a common universal practice.⁶⁰⁸

The appearance of a Lithuanian language agenda several years before the publication of a new German book was an exception to the rule. Usually, a liturgical order in a non-German language reproduced a form already available in German. Another such exception could be found in Courland where a Latvian service appeared in 1727, a full decade before the new German agenda was published. The appearance of the new Lithuanian agenda was a valuable addition to the libraries of Lithuanian-speaking pastors. Even though the book lacked the Service of the Word and a proper form for the burial of the dead, they now had for the first time an altar book in their own language with the church's official *imprimatur*. It is likely that the German language services during this period were very similar to those conducted in Lithuanian.

3.4.3 The 1731 Polish Agenda

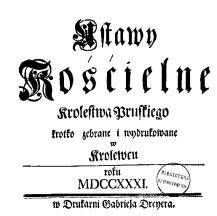
In 1731, one year after the appearance of the Lithuanian agenda, a similar volume was published in Königsberg in Polish under the title: *Ustawy Kościelne Krolestwa Pruskiego krotko zebrane i wydrukowane w Królewcu roku MDCCXXXI* (*The Ecclesiastical Statutes of the Prussian Kingdom Concisely Collected and Published in*

⁶⁰⁵ *Mažvydas* 1993, 650.

⁶⁰⁶ Dawádnas pamokinnimas 1730, 25.

Königsberg in 1731 AD). As the title indicated, the book was not complete. It included forms for Baptism, emergency Baptism, the Lord's Supper, marriage, confirmation, the form for the reconciliation of public sinners, the prayer for communicants, including reconciled public penitents, together with an admonition that they be joyfully received back into the fellowship of the church, the form for the installation of pastors, general and seasonal prayers of the church, seasonal and special collects with versicles and responses, the history of the passion of Christ, and a lection for use at the burial of the dead.

The form of the Communion service in the Polish book followed that found in the Lithuanian agenda, except that Luther's paraphrase of the Our Father was



Title page of the 1731 Polish language agenda.

given in full and no provision was made for the congregation to recite all of the Our Father. In addition, all four forms of benediction from the 1568 book were included and the parenthetical addition, "on the cross," was not included in the distribution formulas. As in the Lithuanian book, no musical notations were given, but it was allowed that the *Verba*, Salutation, and post-communion collect could be chanted. Unlike the 1730 Lithuanian book, the Polish edition did include some rubrical directions, and it was stated that the choir was to sing the *Sanctus* or "Isaiah, Mighty Seer" after the consecration. Again, the Service of the Word was omitted – an indication that it was not thought necessary to include it.⁶¹⁰

3.4.4 The 1734 Directive Concerning Church and School Matters

In the early decades of the eighteenth century, the church in Prussia was still conducting its liturgical services according to the provisions of the old 1568 church order. This agenda included rich and elaborate forms of worship for Vespers on Saturday, Sunday, and weekdays, Sunday Matins with early sermon, Mass or Holy Communion, and the afternoon service. Also included were directives con-

cerning catechization. This order was reprinted in 1583 and again in 1598. Its Polish translation appeared first in 1571 and was reprinted in 1615.

Lutherans always understood that elaborate liturgical services with Latin texts, antiphons, responsories, the chanting of the collect, and other elements were classified as adiaphora. None of these stirred the hearts of the Pietists. According to their way of thinking, such elements could not speak to the heart and did not contribute to the conversion. To them what stood at the center of the liturgy, was the sermon and catechesis.

King Friedrich Wilhelm I was well acquainted with Pietist thinking concerning liturgy and he wholeheartedly supported it. He understood that the proper occasion for the implementation of Pietist liturgical reforms was the preparation of new instructions concerning the church and school matters in Prussia. These instructions were given the status of a royal decree from Berlin which was signed by the king on April 3, 1734. It was entitled: Erneuerte und erweiterte Verordnung über das Kirchen- und Schul-Wesen in Preussen (A Renewed and Enlarged Order Concerning the Church and School System in Prussia). It was published that year in Königsberg.

This newly issued order was prepared by Frantz Albert Schultz, a well-known professor of theology at the University of Königsberg. Schultz had become a zealous adherent to Pietism during his student days in Halle where he studied at the feet of August Hermann Francke. After graduation, he became archpriest in Rastenburg in 1728, and in 1729 he was made provost in Stolp in Farther Pomerania. In order to strengthen the position of the Pietists in Königsberg over against Orthodox Superintendent Johann Jacob Quandt, Georg Friedrich Rogall invited Schultz to Königsberg in 1731. After the death of Heinrich Lysius in that year, Schultz was promoted to professor of theology and became involved in the modernization of the school system in Prussia. He was also called to prepare the directives for the modernization of the church and school system. He did not limit himself to the formulation of regulations pertaining to administrative and educational matters, but he also made changes in the traditional liturgical services, such as the Service of the Word, Matins and Vespers which would be pleasing to the Pietists and the king. Size

The theme of the 1734 order was the intensification of the form of catechization. Pietists saw catechization as a prime opportunity to work for the conversion of the hearts of the young, and the king understood that this would be useful to his plans to create a loyal and socially minded citizenry. In order to achieve this goal, church services would need to be ordered in such a way as to optimize opportunities for catechization. The simplification of the divine services was of little issue to the king who was already well accustomed to the liturgically simple services in his Reformed Church.

Schultz ordered that the Service of the Word should be reconstructed. Changes needed to be made in the directives which had been in effect since 1568. To his mind, there were too many hymns, and some hymns which were being sung were not properly edifying. The time taken for preaching also needed to be more carefully regulated and the elaborate structure of proclamations, intercessions, and thanksgivings which surrounded catechization needed to be streamlined. In the service of Matins, the so-called "early sermon" (Germ. Früh-Predigt), there should be no more than one morning hymn, he determined, and in addition to it, a single sermon hymn, and again, a single hymn after the sermon. Three hymns in all should be enough. He said nothing that could be understood to support the continued use of versicles and antiphons or any other part of the office of Matins.

In the main service, there should be no more than three hymns before the sermon. The service itself should always begin on feast days with Luther's "Te Deum laudamus" ("Herr Gott, dich loben wir") and on other days either "All Glory be to God on High" or the Kyrie. Nothing else of the Service of the Word should remain. The old Latin introit or German psalm should be dropped, along with the Salutation and collect. There should be a hymn of the day, followed by catechization, and this catechization should not be incrusted among a clutter of announcements, intercessions, and thanksgivings, but it should be accompanied only by a simple short prayer. At the conclusion of the catechesis, the pastor should recite the Creed and go to the pulpit to deliver a sermon for no more than forty-five minutes. This sermon should then be followed by a recapitulation of the chief teaching of the day, a general prayer, hymn, and Communion. No special music was to be used in the Communion service because this would only disturb the meditative atmosphere. Only such passion hymns, communion hymns, and other hymns, which the pastor deemed to be properly edifying, should be sung.

The structure of the office of Vespers was also simplified, leaving only a hymn of thanksgiving or some other hymn, and after the sermon, again a single hymn, followed by the catechization, prayer, and benediction. The liturgical services which had adorned the old 1568 church order were effectively banished. What remained was only what a stern Pietist could not label as frivolous, ostentatious, or fussy. 613

Although private confession was not eliminated, a general confession was given far greater prominence and it, too, took on a catechetical character. The confession of sins was added to the confession of faith. Even private confession came to reflect this character since the penitent was expected to recite parts of the catechism at the request of his father confessor. Of greater importance than the examination of one's knowledge in the life of God's commandments was the examination of one's knowledge of the catechism – a not altogether new development. August Herman Francke himself had determined that the confessional was

The recognition of the importance of catechization was by no means new or unprecedented. Duke Albrecht had stressed catechization back in the early days of the Reformation, but now it was given a new purpose. The king had long said that it was his purpose to make Prussia Christian, and to him this meant a state in which the Lutheran subjects were Pietists and worked hard and honestly and followed obediently in the path, marked out for them by their monarch.

Schultz was strongly opposed by General Superintendent Johann Jacob Quandt and the Orthodox Lutherans, but the king and the Königsberg Pietists prevailed. Royally-supported Pietism played a most important role in this. Lysius set down the process of educational reform and the introduction of a confirmation rite which celebrated the fact that the confirmand had now reached a proper level of education and Christian knowledge. Georg Friedrich Rogall had introduced the regulation that all candidates for ordination must be able to bear witness to their having been born again as "real Christians," and Schultz had now taken the final momentous step of authoring a general instruction for churches and schools which backed up this point of view. 615

3.4.5 The 1741 German Agenda



Title page of the 1741 Prussian agenda.

The earliest surviving witness to the divine services in the German language in Prussia in the eighteenth century is found in the official agenda, published in Königsberg in 1741, the Preußische Kirchen-Agenda, Oder Verzeichniß der in der Kirchen öffentlich vorzulesenden Formularien, aus den Agendis Ecclesiasticis, der Preußischen Kirchen-Ordnung, und neuern Königlichen Verordnungen in Kirchen-Sachen zusammen getragen, und auf vieler Begehren dem Druck überlassen (The Prussian Church Agenda or Directory of the Publicly Read Formulas, Compiled Together from the Ecclesiastical Agenda, the Prussian Church Order, and the New Royal Directives in Church Matters, Along with Many Other Desirable Matters, Set Down in Print). In it is found the fundamental pattern of worship which prevailed in Prussia throughout the eighteenth century.

This agenda is remarkably similar to the Lithuanian language agenda of 1730 and the Polish agenda of 1731, although the order of services is somewhat different. The book included formularies for ordination, installation of a pastor, Baptism, attestation to emergency Baptism, confirmation and the blessing of children, public repentance of manifest sinners, the administration of the Lord's Supper, "private Communion," i. e., Communion of the sick, marriage, and selected collects with versicles for various occasions.

The formula for the administration of the Lord's Supper was only six pages long. Three pages of it were given over to the short exhortation, the paraphrase, and admonition, all of which were from the 1568 church order and Luther's *Deutsche Messe*. The Words of Consecration were followed, without the *Sanctus* or "Isaiah, Mighty Seer," by the Our Father, *Pax*, and *Agnus Dei*. No directions were given as to the manner in which communicants were to approach the altar. Only the distribution formulas were given: "Take and eat, this is the body of Christ Jesus, given for you; may it strengthen you to life everlasting. Amen," "Take and drink, this is the blood of Christ Jesus, shed for you, a poor sinner; may it strengthen you to life everlasting. Amen." There is no provision for the singing of "Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior" or "O Lord, We Praise Thee" during or after communion. After communion came the versicle, "O Give thanks to the Lord, for he is good. Alleluia," and its response, "And his mercy endures forever. Alleluia." The pastor then prayed Luther's post-communion collect. This was followed by the Salutation and response, and the service concluded with the Aaronic Benediction. Benediction.

The 1568 service served as the model for this service but all its rubrical directives were omitted. Unlike the 1730 Lithuanian and 1731 Polish editions, which still included some directives the German edition contained no directives whatever. The pastors were left with no guidance as to how to conduct the service. Some may have chosen to continue to follow the old directives, in accordance with the traditions of the congregation, others may have chosen not to do so. Pietism was now firmly established and chose not to concern itself with such details.

A new edition included a form for what was called "Private Communion." It was intended for the administration of the Sacrament to one whose affliction made it impossible for him to attend the Communion service. It contained only the following elements: Our Father – Words of Consecration over the bread – Communion of the body – Words over the cup – Communion of the blood – Closing versicle and collect in the first person singular. No admonition was provided nor was there any reading from Scripture or benediction. No provision was made for members of the family or neighbors to commune with the afflicted. 617

No special form for confession was provided. The 1734 church and school instruction had stated clearly that only those who had made confession were to be communed. Forms for it were found in Luther's *Small Catechism*.

The agenda also included the confirmation order from 1718 with only minor changes in wording. Most of the rubrical directives were dropped.

This agenda furnished pastors only with the barest and most necessary liturgical materials for the conduct of their pastoral ministry.

3.5 Final Expressions of Prussian Liturgical Worship

3.5.1 Lutheran Agendas in the Second Half of the Century

A new Polish agenda appeared in 1755. It was published in Königsberg under the title: *Ustawy Kościelne Które z modlitwami i Hystoryą o męce drogiego zbawiciela przydanymi, Będą w Królestwie Pruskim zwyczaynie używane* (*The Ecclesiastical Acts to Be Used Ordinarily in the Kingdom of Prussia with Prayers and the History of the Passion of Our Dear Savior*). It reproduced the contents of the 1731 book.⁶¹⁸



In 1775, a new Lithuanian edition appeared. It was published in Königsberg under a new title: Agenda tattai esti Surászimas Pagraudinnimû ir Maldû, Lietuwôs Baźnyćiosa skaitomû nůg Kunnigû szwentus sawo Urėdo Darbus pilnawojanćiujû (Agenda, that Is, a Collection of Exhortations and Prayers, Read in the Lithuanian Churches by Parish Pastors in the Exercise of the Holy Duties of Their Ministry). It was edited by Gottfried Ostermeyer (Lith. Gotfrydas Ostermejeris), pastor of Trempen (Lith. Trempai). The book followed the order of contents of the German agenda of 1741, but the offices included followed closely those of the Lithuanian agenda of 1730. Included were the form for installation of pastor into the parochial ministry, formulary for Baptism, the recognition of emergency Baptism, confirmation, reconciliation of manifest sinners, administration of the Lord's Supper, Communion of the infirm, marriage, and selected collects. Included in 1730 but now missing was the history of the passion of Christ.

The service of the Lord's Supper followed very closely the 1730 service, but the rubrical directives were no longer included and the parenthetical, "on the cross" ("ant kryziaus"), in the distribution formulas was now no longer parenthetical. The formula read: "Take and eat, this is the body of Jesus Christ, given for you on the cross; may this strengthen your soul to eternal salvation," and "Take and drink, this is the blood of Jesus Christ, shed for your sins on the cross. May this strengthen your soul to eternal salvation." As in the 1741 German book, the alternative collect was dropped. As in 1730, three alternative benedictions were printed, but in the second one, "Lord God" ("Ponas Diewas") has been replaced by "Lord" ("Wieszpats"). It should be noted that as in 1730, Luther's paraphrase of the Our Father was not found in the 1775 agenda but only the Our Father itself. Apparently, Luther's paraphrase was no longer used among the Lithuanians in the eighteenth century and church officials did not require that the service of the Lord's Supper conform exactly to the German edition. 620

Shortly after this agenda was published, Pastor Ostermeyer became deeply involved in the debate with Pastor Petras Gotlybas Milkus (Germ. *Peter Gottlieb Mielcke*) and his son, Cantor Kristijonas Gotlybas Milkus (Germ. *Christian Gottlieb Mielcke*), concerning the proper Lithuanian terminology to be used in the hymnal. Ostermeyer contended that although the word "body" was usually rendered in Lithuanian as "kūnas," it would be more proper to use the word "mėsa" – a word which most commonly referred to flesh meat. In the Words of Consecration and the distribution formula, he perpetuated the usage of the old 1730 translation, "body" (Lith. "kūnas"), but in the marriage rite description of the creation of Eve, when God removed a rib from Adam and filled up the place with "body," Oster-

meyer parenthetically added "flesh meat" ("... ir atpildė tą Wėtą Kunù (Miesa))."⁶²¹ Thirteen years later, in 1788, Kristijonas Gotlybas Milkus referred to this parenthetical remark by Ostermeyer by saying that it clearly showed his incompetence as a linguistic scholar, for he turned "Adam's body into a carcass." Milkus claimed the support of the avowed literary expert, Pastor Kristijonas Donelaitis (Lat. Christian Donalitius) of Tollmingkehmen (Lith. Tolminkiemis), in support of his contention and went on to say that a number of clergy silently marveled that a man so linguistically incompetent should dare to edit the agenda. By including this parenthetical comment, he had shown that he was unwilling to take advice from others who knew better than he did.⁶²²



Title page of the 1780 Prussian agenda.

A new edition of the German-language agenda appeared in 1780 under the same title: Preußische Kirchen-Agenda, Oder Verzeichniß der in der Kirchen öffentlich vorzulesenden Formularien, aus den Agendis Ecclesiasticis, der Preußischen Kirchen-Ordnung, und neuern Königlichen Verordnungen in Kirchen-Sachen zusammen getragen, und auf vieler Begehren dem Druck überlassen (The Prussian Church Agenda or Directory of the Publicly Read Formulas, Compiled Together from the Ecclesiastical Agenda, the Prussian Church Order, and the New Royal Directives in Church Matters, Along with Many Other Desirable Matters, Set Down in Print). The first 79 pages reproduced the contents of the 1741 book verbatim, and it appears that the same plates may have been used with the exception of page 78 which had a different illustration. Additional supplementary

pages were found under the general title, "Kirchen-Gebete." It included two prayers of the church for Sundays and feast days and a third prayer to be used at prayer services and on days of repentance. Included also were special prayers to be added to the general prayer on Christmas, New Year's Day, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension, and Pentecost. 623

3.5.2 The 1789 Agenda with Its Special Supplements

The Lutheran consistory in Königsberg would not be moved precipitously into the Enlightenment camp. In 1789, it ordered the reprinting of the agenda of 1780, a signal to any and all that the agenda was under the consistory's protection and that the liturgy was meant to protect the church from dangerous innovations. The 1789 East Prussian agenda was given a new title: Preußische Kirchen-Agenda, die liturgischen Formulare der lutherischen Gemeinen in Preußen enthaltend. Nebst einer Abhandlung über liturgische Formulate überhaupt und die preußische besonders, aufs neue herausgegeben (The Prussian Church Agenda, Containing the Liturgical Formulas of the Lutheran Congregations in Prussia. Together with a Treatise Concerning Liturgical Formulas in General and Prussian in Particular,



Title page of the 1789 Prussian agenda.

Newly Published). The services remained as they had been but the table of contents gave new titles to some of the rites. It had two separate sections – one for ordinary "civilian congregations" ("Für die Civil-Gemeinden") and the other for "military congregations" ("Für die Militair-Gemeinden"). Pastor Ludwig Ernst von Borowski of Neuroßgärter Church in Königsberg added an appendix, Ueber die liturgische Formulare, besonders der lutherischen Gemeinen in Preussen (Concerning Liturgical Formulas, Especially Those of the Lutheran Congregations in Prussia), giving a resume of the liturgical rites in the Prussian Church since the Reformation, along with some proposed revised forms.

The formularies for ordinary parish congregations in the main body of the work included the rites for the ordination of pastors and their installation. To the general prayers, found in the 1780 book, an eleventh one was added, commemorating the wars of Bavarian Succession of 1778/79. Then followed the form for Baptism, the attestation of emergency Baptism, the confirmation of children, public reconciliation of manifest sinners, administration of the Lord's Supper, the "private communion" (for the infirm), the solemnization of holy matrimony, and collects and versicles. The forms were virtually identical to those of the 1780 edi-

3.5.3 The 1789 Prayers and Forms for Use in Military Congregations



Title page of the 1750 Prussian agenda for military congregations.

The 1789 agenda also included prayers and forms to be used in military congregations. Under the influence of his Reformed Court Preacher Daniel Ernst Jablonski, Friedrich I had hoped to unite the Lutheran and Reformed congregations in his realm into a single "Evangelical Church," using the liturgy of the Church of England as found in its Book of Common Prayer. It soon became evident that this plan could not be easily or quickly implemented. The king decided that the best way to begin the movement toward union was to unite all Lutheran and Reformed military personnel into a single military church.⁶²⁴ This he accomplished by decree on April 29, 1711.625 Henceforth, soldiers would no longer be members of parochial congregations or subject to their regulation. They would instead be members of special garrison congregations, the mem-

bership of which consisted only of soldiers and their families. For the liturgical use of these congregations, he introduced a very simple liturgical service which consisted of an opening hymn, altar prayer, chief hymn, sermon, and a short closing hymn. Because the majority of military chaplains were former students of the University of Halle, pious in their spirituality and accusatory in their preaching, King Friedrich Wilhelm I issued on July 3, 1719, a special order that they were not to preach in an accusatory manner which would abuse the soldiers or treat them with insufficient dignity. 626

A special agenda for military use was issued in Berlin on July 15, 1750, with royal approval and the agreement of the consistory. It was entitled: *Sr. Königl. Majestät in Preussen und Churfürstl. Durchl. zu Brandenburg, etc. etc. Renovirtes Militair-Consistorial-Reglement und Kirchen-Ordnung des Feld-Ministerii, samt einigen Beylagen derer Bey dem öffentlichen Gottesdienst, Taufe, Beicht, Abendmahl und Trauung, zu gebrauchenden Gebethe und Formularien. de dato Berlin, den 15. Julii 1750 (Revised Military Consistorial Regulations and Church Order of the Field Ministry, Together with Some Supplements to It for the Public*

Divine Service, Baptism, Confession, Lord's Supper, and Marriage with Prayers and Formulas, given at Berlin on July 15, 1750, by His Most Serene Royal Highness in Prussia and Most Serene Prince-Elector of Brandenburg, etc., etc.).

The book included regulations concerning the military consistory and garrison congregations, together with a church order which covered the calling of ministers into the chaplaincy, their duties, and their promotion. Appended to it was a section, entitled: "Supplements to the Military Consistorial Regulations and Church Order, dated July 15, 1750" ("Beylagen des renovirten Militair- Consistorial- Reglements und Kirchen- Ordnung vom 15. Juli 1750"). It included two prayers to be used in the public Divine Service, the baptismal rite, confession and absolution with a prayer of thanksgiving, the Service of the Lord's Supper, and the marriage rite. 627

The 1789 agenda included prayers and forms under the heading, "For Military Congregations" ("Für die Militair-Gemeinden"), giving proper titles for each section. The first prayer was to be said at the beginning of the Divine Service. The second, entitled, "The Prayer of the Church," was, in fact, an announcement before the congregation of those for whom prayers should be offered. At the conclusion of the announcement, all joined in the Lord's Prayer. The forms for Baptism, confession and absolution, the Lord's Supper, and marriage remained unchanged.

The forms provided appeared to be from Lutheran sources, although the congregations which were to use them would include both Lutheran and Reformed members. As in 1750, there was no developed form for the Divine Service provided. A short directory of the elements of the service could be found in the military church order, in the section, entitled: "Concerning the Public Divine Service" ("Von dem öffentlichen Gottesdienst"). The agenda itself directed the use of the two opening prayers and the Our Father.

A form for general confession and absolution was provided. It consisted in a confessional prayer and three questions. The penitents were asked if they acknowledged and confessed that they are sinners who have sinned against God's commandments by thought, word, and deed; were they truly penitent; did they have confidence that God in his goodness and mercy would forgive their sins for the sake of Jesus Christ, and was it their intention to bring forth the fruits of repentance. The absolution stated that the pastor was absolving them by the power of his office as an ordained servant of the Word and by the command of his Lord and Savior. This formula fell short of the "absolvierte" and made the absolution an announcement of forgiveness: "I announce to you the forgiveness of all your sins in the name of God the Father, etc." At the close of the order was a prayer of thanksgiving and the petition that those who had confessed might now commune worthily. This was followed by the Our Father and the benediction.

The order for the Lord's Supper was to be used following the sermon and the singing of the hymn, "Come, Holy Ghost, God and Lord" ("Komm, heiliger Geist, Herre

Gott"), whenever the service was held in church. When it was held in the field, it followed immediately after the confession and absolution. The administration of the Sacrament began with the Pax Domini, "The peace of the Lord be with us all. Amen," and a prayer in the first person singular, asking for a penitent and reconciled heart so that one might receive the Sacrament free of all bitterness and in charity toward one's enemies. This was followed by the Our Father and the Words of Institution and the final stanza, "Jesus, Bread of Life, I pray Thee" ("Jesu, Wahres Brot Des Lebens"), of the communion hymn, "Deck Thyself, My Soul, with Gladness" ("Schmücke dich, o liebe Seele"), by Johann Franck. Then followed the Pax Domini, directed this time toward worthy communion by the addition of the phrase: "To the worthy reception of the Holy Lord's Supper." The distribution formula was the traditional Lutheran formula, which speaks of the gifts as the true body and blood, "Take and eat, this is the true body of your Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, given into death for all your sins; may this strengthen and preserve you in the true faith unto life everlasting. Amen." After communion, the pastor said the versicle and response and prayed Luther's post-communion collect. The service closed with the benediction and the hymn, "O Lord, We Praise Thee."

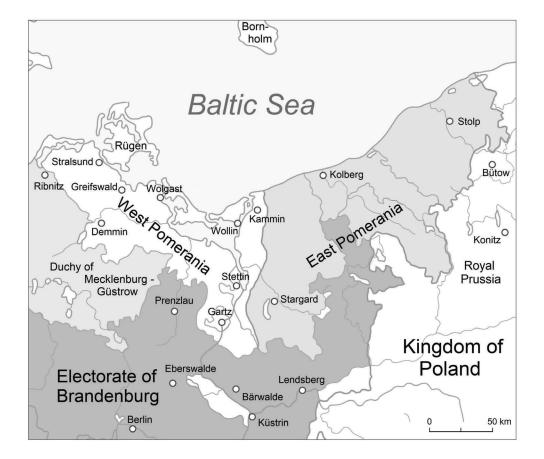
The baptismal rite was based upon Luther's order but without either the exorcism or the Flood Prayer. After the Triune Invocation and the identification of Baptism as a means of grace by which forgiveness of sins, grace, and adoption are mediated, a prayer of thanksgiving spoke of Baptism as washing with the word and release from darkness and a means by which one is redeemed through Christ's blood. The consignation, the pericope of the blessing of children, the *votum Davidicum* from Psalm 121:8, the abnegation of Satan, his works and ways, the confession of the Apostles' Creed, and the desire to be baptized were all included, along with the post-baptismal votum (*votum postbaptismale*). The rite closed with the *Pax*.⁶²⁸

The agenda very clearly revealed its Lutheran roots. In it, one finds no evidence of any influence of Enlightenment thinking.

The 1789 agenda included also a supplementary section, an appendix, entitled: Ueber die liturgische Formulare, besonders der lutherischen Gemeinen in Preussen (Concerning Liturgical Formulas, Especially Those of the Lutheran Congregations in Prussia), provided by Pastor Ludwig Ernst von Borowski of Neuroßgärter Church. In it, he provided five formularies for examination by the pastors, including two forms for Holy Baptism, two forms for the administration of the Lord's Supper, and one form for the marriage service. He also added a portion of a prayer for the Harvest Festival which he himself had written for use in the Schaaken congregation. These forms included materials taken from moderate rationalist sources to be used only experimentally. The Prussian consistory acted to forbid the use of Rationalist liturgies and insisted that only the church's official agenda should be allowed on the altar.

4. LITURGICAL TRADITIONS IN POMERANIA

The *Herzogthum Pommern* was spread along the southern coast of the Baltic Sea from Stralsund almost to Danzig. In 1532, the duchy was divided by Barnim IX of Stettin and Philipp I of Wolgast. The resulting states of Pomerania-Stettin and Pomerania-Wolgast were further partitioned in 1569. The duchy was finally dissolved in the course of the Thirty Years War after the death of its last Duke Bogislaw XIV's in 1637. It was then divided between Sweden and Brandenburg-Prussia. Sweden took the westernmost coastal portion of Pomerania – Swedish Pomerania (Germ. *Schwedisch-Pommern*) or Upper Pomerania (Germ. *Vorpommern*), or Western Pomerania. Eastern Pomerania was joined to Brandenburg-



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Prussia and came to be called Farther Pomerania (Germ. *Hinterpommern*) or Brandenburgian Pomerania. The borderline between these two lands was set down in 1653 in the Treaty of Stettin. During the Great Northern War, the Kingdom of Prussia attacked Swedish Pomerania and took possession of areas of it east of the Oder River, south of the Peene River, and the islands of Wollin and Usedom. According to the terms of the Treaty of Stockholm in 1720, the Kingdom of Prussia paid Sweden 2 million thaler as reparations. These newly acquired territories came to be called Prussian Upper Pomerania (Germ. *Preußische Vorpommern*), and later, Old Pomerania (Germ. *Altvorpommern*). The Congress of Vienna in 1815 formally incorporated all of Swedish Pomerania into Prussia as New Upper Pomerania (Germ. *Neuvorpommern*). In this way, the former Swedish Pomerania (New Upper Pomerania), Prussian Upper Pomerania, and Prussian Farther Pomerania were united into a Prussian Province of Pomerania.

4.1 Bugenhagen's 1535 Treptow Church Order



"Doctor Pomeranus" – Johannes Bugenhagen (*Staatsarchiv Hamburg*).

In 1534, the Duchy of Pomerania had been ripe for the introduction of the Lutheran Reformation. On August 24, 1534, Barnim IX and Philipp I called a territorial assembly to meet in Treptow on December 13, 1534, for the purpose of introducing the Lutheran Reformation. Extensive preparations were made for this day. The establishment of a proper foundation for the Reformation would require for a suitable church order, and Bugenhagen was invited to come from Wittenberg to prepare it. On November 9, Bugenhagen indicated that he would participate, and on December 6 the foundations for the new order were set down at a meeting, attended by Bugenhagen and the leading Lutheran theologians of Pomerania, including Christian Ketelhut of Stralsund, Johannes Knipstro of Stralsund and Gre-

ifswald, Jakob Hogensee of Stolp, Hermann Ricke of Stargard, and Paul Rode of

der for presentation before the territorial assembly on December 13. Although the bishop of Kammin and his cathedral chapter were opposed to it and the nobility and representatives of the burgers had some reservations, the draft, called the *Treptow Ordnung*, was approved.⁶³¹

Steps were taken to print and circulate the document before Bugenhagen would return to Wittenberg since it would be his responsibility to see to its introduction through visitation which was to begin in January 1535. The Treptow Ordnung was printed in Wittenberg in January under the title: Kercken Ordeninge des gantzen Pamerlandes. Dorch de Hochgebaren Försten und Heren, Heren Barnym vnde Philips, beyde geuedderen, vp dem landdage tho Treptow, tho eeren dem hilligen Euangelo, beslaten. Dorch Doc. Joannem Bugenhagen (Church Order of the Entire Land of Pomerania, Agreed upon by the Highborn Princes and Lords, both the Cousins, Sir Barmin and



Title page of the 1535 Treptow church order.

Sir Philipp, at the Territorial Assembly at Treptow to the Glory of the Holy Gospel by Dr. Johannes Bugenhagen, 1535).

The order of the services followed the familiar pattern of St. Mary's Church in Wittenberg where Bugenhagen was a pastor. Saturday Vespers included: Antiphon – One or two psalms – Antiphon, sung by two schoolboys – Seasonally appropriate responsory and hymn – Three short lections, sung in Latin by three schoolboys – Three or four German readings by schoolboys – Luther's Latin Litany, sung by three or four schoolboys and choir – The collect *pro ecclesia* and Amen – *Benedicamus*. Before feast days, the *Magnificat* and its antiphon were to be sung instead of the Litany. This service was to be followed by an admonition to communicants by the pastor and private confessions.

Sunday Matins included: a German psalm – Sermon – Two or more German psalms with antiphon – Four readings from the Bible – "Te Deum laudamus" or Athanasian Creed ("Quicunque Vult") in Latin with antiphon, "Adesto unus Deus" – Collect – Benedicamus.

The order of Mass included: the "Benedictus Dominus Deus" (the Song of Zechariah) in German with antiphon in the seventh tone - German psalm, such as "Have Mercy on Me" ("Erbarm dich meiner") - Latin introit, as desired - Kyrie - "Gloria in excelsis" in Latin or German but not at every service - German collect with short termination - Epistle, sung from altar or said from pulpit - German psalm - Alleluia or Latin Gradual - Sequence in German and then in Latin on Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas - Gospel, sung from the altar or read from the pulpit - Nicene Creed in Latin, sung by the priest and schoolchildren, and Luther's "We All Believe in One True God," in German, sung by all - Sermon - Intercessions and prayer from the pulpit, the Ten Commandments or "Da Pacem" in Latin or German, or some other suitable hymn while the communicants assemble at the altar, men to the right, women to the left - Latin Preface - Latin or German Sanctus - the exhortation to those who would receive the Sacrament - Our Father - Verba - Communion (during communion, Agnus Dei is sung in Latin or German, as well as "Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior," "O Lord, We Praise Thee," penitential psalms, and the Agnus Dei in German) - Collect and Amen - Aaronic Benediction - Amen. When there is no Communion, one or two German hymns are sung after the sermon.

Sunday Vespers: Psalms – Sung readings from the Bible – *Magnificat* or Litany or "*Te Deum laudamus*" by half verses – Collect in German – *Benedicamus*. Also included were directives for weekday services at the beginning and end of the school day and the midweek sermon.

The order of Mass was strongly influenced by both the Wittenberg and Lübeck church orders, both of which had been formulated by Bugenhagen. The church order appended also musical settings of the "Benedictus Dominus Deus," the Agnus Dei, the Magnificat and "Nunc Dimittis," and the antiphon to be used at burial, "Shall we receive good from the hand of the Lord," all in German. 632

To the church order of 1535, Bugenhagen added a short separate edition in Latin which was meant to regulate the liturgical life, as well as the daily routine of those who had chosen to remain in the monasteries and collegiate churches. Barnim IX and Philipp I had indicated that it was not their intention to turn these men out into the world to fend for themselves, but they would be allowed to continue to live in community and carry on as before, excepting only that their worship and daily life must be in accord with the doctrine of the gospel. Bugenhagen's regulations were printed later in 1535 under the title: *Pia et vere catholica et consentiens veteri ecclesiae ordinatio caeremoniarum in ecclesiis Pomeraniae* (*Reverent and True Catholic Ceremonies of the Pomeranian Churches in Accordance with the Ancient Church Order*).⁶³³

The booklet was mostly in Latin with a few sections in low German. Bugenhagen stated that the monks were to refrain from any public activity which would recall the manner in which the Mass had been misused in former days, as well as pilgrimages, the invocation of saints, and other practices, associated with the Bishop of Rome. The outward form of the services was left untouched, excepting that reading of the spurious legends of the saints and associated fables were to be left out. If anybody wanted to continue to read them, he might do so in private. Like Luther before him, Bugenhagen declared his opinion that it would gain more profit from reading Aesop's Fables. Reception of the Blessed Sacrament was not to be determined by external regulations but by the desire of the communicant. Finally, Bugenhagen directed that the use of Luther's Small Catechism and postil were to be introduced and encouraged.

As in the case of Luther's Formula Missae, Bugenhagen nowhere indicated that the old missal was to be entirely set aside since there was much of value in it that could continue to be used. The same was true of the breviary, and accordingly, Bugenhagen provided recommendations for the proper observance of Matins, Prime,



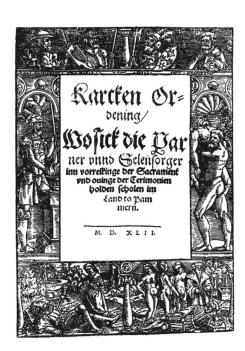
Allegorical depiction of the corporeal presence of Christ in the Eucharistic elements through a medieval "sacramental mill." The four evangelists, represented by their symbols of eagle, angel, bull, and lion, throw banners with prophetic texts of the Old Testament as grain into the funnel above the millstones. The grinder of the sacramental mill is driven with a big crank by five of the twelve apostles on each side. Church fathers, Gregory and Jerome, hold the chalice with Christ the Child, while Ambrose and Augustine kneel next to them. Altar painting at the Holy Cross Lutheran Church in Rostock, c. 1450 (Kloster zum Heiligen Kreuz, Universitätsarchiv Rostock).

Terse, Sext, Nones, Vespers, and *Vigils*. For the most part, these recommendations were concerned with antiphons and responsories, psalm tones and proper canticles and prayers.

Bugenhagen gave particular attention to the *Missa fidelium* in the monasteries. He began with the "*Dominus vobiscum*" and the "*Sursum corda*" and the rest of the traditional Eucharistic Preface. After the *Sanctus*, the consecration was to follow immediately. It consisted of the Our Father and the Words of Institution in German,

he also provided the Our Father and the Words of Christ in the *plat-Deutsch* of the region. Communion was to follow immediately with the administration of both the consecrated bread and cup. He suggested that during the communion, hymns should be sung in Latin or in German. He specifically mentioned only "*Pange Lingua*." After all had communed, the service was to conclude with Luther's post-communion collect and the Aaronic Benediction, both in *plat-Deutsch*. The congregation should respond Amen. This would complete the Lord's Supper, and it was to be followed by either the office of the *Sext* or *Nones*, depending on the time of day. What Bugenhagen had presented here was the evangelical-catholic Mass, patterned like Luther's *Formula Missae* after the traditional Western Mass.⁶³⁴

4.2 The 1542 Pomeranian Agenda



Title page of the 1542 Pomeranian agenda.

As important as it was, the 1535 church order was not sufficient to meet the church's liturgical needs. The pastors still needed to depend upon their own translations of material from the Roman Missal, and there were many prayers and other forms included in that missal which Lutherans no longer used, either because they were superfluous or because they promoted incorrect understanding of the gospel. The task of preparing a full agenda fell to the general superintendents, Paul Rode and Johannes Knipstro, with the assistance of Christian Ketelhut. Their work was reviewed and revised by Bugenhagen and was printed in Wittenberg in 1542 under the title: Karcken Ordening, wo sick die Parner vnnd Selensorger inn vorreikinge der Sacrament und ouinge der Cerimonien holden scholen im Land to Pammern (Church Order, as it Should Be Observed by the Parish Pastors and Chaplains at the Ad-

ministration of the Sacrament and Some Ceremonies in the Land of Pomerania). In 1543 and 1545, first, the Synod of Greifswald, and then, that of Stettin accepted this

must not be encroached, affirming Luther's insistence on freedom in the matter of ceremony.

This agenda was very concise. It consisted primarily of liturgical directives and rubrics necessary for the proper exercise of the liturgical services on Saturdays, Sundays, and feast days, as well as weekday services. Included as well were some prayers and exhortations and the absolution. Most of the actual liturgical material was put in the closing pages of the book. Included here were sixteen forms of the Preface with their proper Gregorian notations, a paraphrase of the Our Father, the Our Father, Words of Institution, and *Agnus Dei –* all with their musical notations, two collects, the "*Benedictus Dominus Deus*," *Magnificat*, and "*Nunc Dimittis*" – all in German and with their Gregorian notation, along with a register of the epistles and gospels for Sundays and holidays. Finally, there was a short calendar, listing the feast days which were to be kept during the year. This order was closely related to Duke Heinrich's 1539 church order as can be seen in the baptismal rite, some parts of which were taken directly from it.

The form for Saturday Vespers or the eve of festivals: Antiphon and two psalms (on festivals three may be used) – Responsory – Hymn – One, two, or three readings from the New Testament – a chief part from the *Small Catechism* – Antiphon – *Magnificat* – Collect or prayer – "Benedicamus Domino" – Da pacem (Latin and German). In Advent and Lent, the Magnificat is replaced by the Latin Litany. In conclusion, the Latin collect, pro ecclesiae, the Benedicamus, and Da Pacem. After Vespers, the pastor was to admonish the people to examine themselves and make confession, especially those preparing to receive the Sacrament. The confession prayer and absolution followed.

Sunday Matins at 5 a.m.: One, two, or three psalms with an antiphon – if a festival, then a Latin lection followed from the Old Testament – Responsory in Latin and German – "Te Deum laudamus" in Latin – Collect – "Benedicamus Domino." The Mass was to begin at 7:30, after the people had prayed the Our Father, sang German psalms, and heard a reading in German from a historical Old Testament Book or Jesus Sirach. Then they were to have sung the German "Te Deum laudamus," that is, Luther's "Lord God, Thy Praise We Sing," and the Benedictus might also be sung in German to the seventh tone or other appropriate psalms might be sung.

The Mass on Sundays and holidays: Introit in Latin or a German psalm – *Kyrie dominicale* or other *Kyrie*, appropriate to the season – "*Gloria in excelsis Deo*" ("*Et in terra pax*" by the choir and "All Glory be to God on High") – Collect of the day or according to need – Epistle in German – Sequence or tract with alleluia – Gospel of the day in appropriate tone – Nicene Creed in Latin, German Creed, "We All Believe in One True God" – Sermon on the gospel (reading of the text, hymn

Two forms for the celebration of the Lord's Supper were given. Short form for villages and towns: Short admonition (perhaps from Luther's paraphrase) – Our Father – *Verba*. The longer form: Hymn – Preface and *Sanctus* in Latin or German – Our Father in German – *Verba* in German – Hymns during communion – Collect – Benediction.

Sunday Vespers followed the pattern of the Saturday service but with a one-half hour long sermon and no reading from the catechism: Antiphon, "Dixit dominus" – one, two, or three psalms – Responsory – Hymn – Antiphon – Magnificat in Latin or German – Benedicamus – "Nunc Dimittis" in German.⁶³⁵

This order shows its indebtedness to the 1535 Pomeranian church order, although the influence of the newer Saxon church order of 1539 is also evident in the inclusion of alternative forms for the celebration of the Lord's Supper. In the rural areas and small towns, the form is very simple and the use of German is emphasized. The more elaborate service was prepared for use in the larger cities and among people more familiar with Latin.



Episcopal seal of Bishop Bartholomäus Suawe of Kammin, 1545 (*Die pommersche Kirchenordnung* 1985).

The 1535 church order had been composed hastily to provide a basis for the spread of the Lutheran Reformation in the area. As time passed, it became evident that much still needed to be done to ensure the smooth administration of the Lutheran Church in Pomerania and to regulate as necessary some aspects of church's life. A complicating factor was the continued occupation of the Bishopric of Kammin by the Roman incumbent. Bishop Erasmus von Manteuffel-Arnhausen died in 1544, and it was thought that perhaps at this point Bugenhagen might be able to move the work of the Reformation forward. However, he was unwilling to do so since that would require a mixing of the spiritual and temporal realms which was not in accord with the principle of the Lutheran Reformation. In April 1545, Suawe was elected bishop, and he was suc-

ceeded in turn by Martin Weiher, a former student at Wittenberg University, whose papal confirmation was published in October 1551. After his death in 1556, a new

arrangement was set in order. Duke Johann Friedrich, the fourteen-year-old son of Philipp I, was elected bishop of Kammin and took office. At the same time, Georg Venediger was made general superintendent in charge of ecclesiastical affairs. This effectively divided the management of temporal and religious affairs in the region and the way was now opened for the uniting of the territorial church. 636

4.3 The 1563 and 1569 Church Orders

Preparatory discussion for the revision of the church order had begun in 1545 at the synod at Stettin, but no actual steps could be taken to effect the union of the church until the death of Bishop Martin Weiher. After his death in 1556, the synod at Greifswald publicly called for the revision of the church order and agenda. Work on preparing a new church order was undertaken by Johannes Knipstro, Paul von Rode, Jacob Runge, Georg Schermerus, and Dionysius Gartzk. The 1556 territorial assembly at Stettin moved to support the resolution of the synod. Shortly after the committee began its work, Knipstro died and Runge was chosen to become the general superintendent of Pomerania-Wolgast. He would prove to be the leading figure on the commission. The actual work of revision fell to him, von Rode, and Venediger. Their work was reviewed in 1559 by the Greifswald synod where it met a mixed reception, particularly from the delegates from Stralsund who appeared to be well satisfied with their own present church order and liturgy. However, the other delegates were determined that the work should go forward, and on January 31, 1560, it was ready for presentation to Duke Barnim IX. The presentation took place at the territorial assembly at Stettin later that year and its provisions were thoroughly discussed. At a September conference of pastors in Stettin, questions concerning the exercise of church discipline, excommunication, and other matters, such as the appointment and ordination of pastors, were hotly debated. Some feared that "papal tyranny" was again being established, but Runge reminded the delegates by letter that there was a great difference between the office of the Sword and the Office of the Keys. One was in the hands of the state and the other was given by God to his church.⁶³⁷

The final version of the church order was sent to the duke's councilors, among whom were several who had participated in its formulation, including Chancellor Valentin von Eickstedt and Count Ludwig von Eberstein. Early in 1563, the territorial assembly at Stettin received from Wittenberg a positive evaluation of the work, and finally, on March 22 of that year, Duke Barnim IX and the five surviving sons of the late Philipp I officially approved its publication at Wittenberg. 638 Its title was:



Sorth de Surchlüchtigen Hochgebornen Förfen und Herren Hern Bammi/und Hern Philipfen Podylöfflicher gedechnis/helve Hertogen ihr Statim Domern der Caffliden und Wenden/Kollen ind Alden/ und Erndun ihr Güstaweie. Anfendick op dem Landage ihr Terptand Anno M. D. XXXV. geschlaten:

Orth de Surchitchtigen Hochgebornen Forien und Derren/Herri Barnin den Idean/Herri Jo dan Fredricha/Herri Banskaffen/Herri Engledwig/ Herri Banskaffen/Herri Engledwig/ Herri Bansin den Jüngen/wid Herri Gafiniten/ Geueddem vid gedreder/Dertogen die Betein Domen etc. pp. Rabelend verniet vid volligung der Landfund verniet vid verniebret. Anno M. D. L. UII.



Title page of the 1563 Pomeranian church order.

Kercken Ordeninge im Lande tho Pamern, Dorch de Dorchlüchtigen Hochgebarnen Försten vnde Herren, Herrn Barnim, vnde Herrn Philipsen, Hochlöffliker gedechtnis, beide Hertogen tho Stettin Pamern, der Cassuben vnde Wenden, Försten tho Rügen, vnde Grauen tho Guzkow etc. Anuenglick vp dem Landdage tho Treptow Anno M. D. XXXV. geslaten: Vnde itzund verner Dorch de Dorchlüchtigen Hochgebarnen Försten vnde Herren, Herrn Barnim den öldern, Herrn Johann Friderichen, Herrn Bugslaffen, Herrn Ernst Ludwig, Herrn Barnim den yüngern, vnde Herrn Casimiren, Geueddern vnde Gebröder, Hertogen tho Stettin Pamern etc. vp radt der Theologen, vnde bewilliginge der Landstende, vornyet vnde vormeret, Anno M.D. LXIII (Church Order in the Land of Pomerania, Through the Most Venerable Princes and Lords, Sir Barnim and Sir Philipp of Estimable Memory, both Dukes of Stettin in Pomerania, the Kashubia in Wenden, the Princes of Rügen and Counts of Guzkow, etc., Completed at the Territorial Assembly in Treptow in 1535 and Renewed

and Enlarged by Princes, the Most Serene, Highborn Princes and Lords, Sir Barnim the Older, Sir Johann Friedrich, Sir Bogislaw, Sir Ernst Ludwig, Sir Barnim the Younger, and Sir Casimir, Cousins and Brothers, the Dukes of Stettin, Pomerania, and Other Places, etc., with the Consultation of the Theologians and Consent of the Estates, A.D. 1563). The edition as it appeared contained many printing errors, and Runge expressed his desire that a proper vernacular edition might be published together with the agenda.⁶³⁹

A significant problem was the continued opposition of Stralsund and Greifswald. The liturgical life at Stralsund was regulated according to its own draft

⁶³⁹ Another edition of the 1563 church order was printed under the following title: Kercken Ordening Jm Lande tho Pomern. Dorch de Dorchlüchtigen Hochgebornen Försten vnd Herren, Herrn Barnim, vnd Herrn Philipsen, Hochlöfflicher gedechtnis, beide Hertogen tho Stettin Pomern der Cassuben vnd Wenden, Försten tho Rügen, vnd Grauen tho Gützkaw etc. Anfenglick vp dem Landage tho Treptaw Anno M. D. XXXV. geschlaten: Vnd jtzo ferner Dorch de Durchlüchtigen Hochgebornen Försten vnd Herren, Herrn Barnim den Oldern, Herrn Johan Frederichen, Herrn Bugslaffen, Herrn

church order of 1555 which gave directives for the liturgical services in the parishes of St. Nicolaus, St. Mary the Virgin, and St. Jacob. According to this draft, Sunday Mass was to begin after Matins at 7:30 with the singing of the Latin introit by the schoolchildren, although it might be replaced by a German psalm-hymn, such as "From Depths of Woe I Cry to Thee," "Have Mercy on Me, O Lord God," or some other suitable hymn. This was to be followed by the threefold Kyrie and the "Gloria in excelsis," together with the hymn, "All Glory be to God on High." The collect and epistle were to be read in German, and the epistle was to be followed by a hymn on the Our Father, the Ten Commandments, or both. At Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, the sequences with the German hymns appropriate for these feasts were to be sung. The gospel was to be read in German and followed by Luther's "We All Believe in One True God," or the Nicene Creed, likely in Latin. Then followed the sermon, and after it, if time permitted, the Eucharistic Preface was to follow and then the Our Father and the Words of Institution in German. On feast days, the Sanctus and Agnus Dei were to be sung in Latin, but on ordinary Sundays, they were to be sung in German, or the Sanctus might be replaced by Luther's "Isaiah, Mighty Seer." During communion, the people were to sing, "Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior," "O Lord, We Praise Thee," and other appropriate hymns in German. The service was to end with the collect and benediction. Directives were also provided for the conduct of Matins and Vespers and the weekday services. 640

The continued opposition of Greifswald and Stralsund to the new order was brought before the territorial assembly at Treptow in 1566. As a result, the churches in both cities accepted the new church order, although with reservations, on October 28 and November 13. The completed church order was published in Pomeranian plat-Deutsch in Wittenberg in 1569 under the usual title: Kercken Ordeninge im Lande tho Pamern; Dorch de Dorchluchtigen Hochgebarnen Försten vnde Herren, Herrn Barnim vnde Herrn Philipsen, Hochlöffliker gedechtnis, beide Hertogen tho Stettin Pamern, der Cassuben vnde Wenden, Försten tho Rügen, vnde Grauen tho Gutzkow etc. Anuenglick vp dem Landdage tho Treptow Anno M. D. XXXV. geslaten: Vnde itzund verner Dorch de Dorchlüchtigen Hochgebarnen Försten vnde Herren, Herrn Barnim den öldern, Herrn Johann Friderichen, Herrn Bugslaffen, Herrn Ernst Ludwig, Herrn Barnim den yüngern, vnde Herrn Casimiren, Geueddern vnde Gebröder, Hertogen tho Stettin Pamern etc. vp radt der Theologen, vnde bewilliginge der Landstende, vornyet vnde vormeret. Anno M.D. LXIII (Church Order in the Land of Pomerania, Through the Most Venerable Princes and Lords, Sir Barnim and Sir Philipp of Estimable Memory, both Dukes of Stettin in Pomerania, the Kashubia in Wenden, the Princes of Rügen and Counts of Guzkow, etc., Completed at the Territorial Assembly in Treptow in 1535 and Renewed and Enlarged by Princes, the Most Serene, Highborn Princes and Lords, Sir



A chasuble from the Jakobshagen Church in Pommerania from the late sixteenth century (*Schatz* 2004).



A chasuble from the Jakobshagen Church in Pomerania, 1592 (Schatz 2004).

Barnim the Older, Sir Johann Friedrich, Sir Bogislaw, Sir Ernst Ludwig, Sir Barnim the Younger, and Sir Casimir, Cousins and Brothers, the Dukes of Stettin, Pomerania, and Other Places, etc., with the Consultation of the Theologians and Consent of the Estates, A.D. 1563 (sic.)).

Major areas of church order were covered under six general headings: (1) doctrine, (2) the pastoral office and pastors, (3) church discipline and ecclesiastical court, (4) examinations, ordinations, and the orderly induction of church ministers, (5) schools, and (6) visitation. The 1535 church order had also included a section on liturgy and canticles with musical notations, but none of this was included in the new church order. The only liturgical forms included in the church order were the forms for the ordination and installation of pastors. These were likely included in the church order because they were liturgical orders unique to superintendents. Other pastors would have no need for them, and therefore it was not necessary that they be included in the agenda.⁶⁴¹

4.4 The 1568 Pomeranian Agenda and Its Subsequent Editions

The 1542 agenda had been shown to be far too unspecific regarding ceremonial. It provided some prayers and other formularies but it consisted primarily in liturgical directives. The result was that pastors felt free to conduct the Divine Service according to their own personal notions of how it ought to be done. Duke Bogislaw XIII wrote to his cousin, Duke Barnim IX, about this matter on December 14, 1566. He stated that Superintendent Runge had expressed concerns about this and suggested that steps be taken to correct the situation. He proposed that three general superintendents, Dr. Venediger, Mag. Fabianus, and Runge meet in Stettin to consider improvements to the agenda. Their completed work should then be presented to the territorial synods for consideration and for their suggestions, and when all these had been taken into account and the theologians were in agreement then the work should be sent to the territorial assembly. 642

As had been the case with the church order, it was Superintendent Runge who took the lead in preparing the agenda. He completed his task on June 17, 1567. His prefatory remarks reveal that he consulted a large number of agendas, among which were the present Pomeranian agenda, the Nürnberg agenda, the Wittenberg church order, the Schwäbisch-Hall church order, the Köln church order, the Palatinate-Neuburg church order of Otto Heinrich, the Mecklenburg church order, the Brandenburg church order, the Mansfeld church order of Erasmus Sarcerius, the visitation instructions of Duke Heinrich of Saxony, the general instructions to the visitors in Electoral Saxony, the Lübeck church order, parts of the church order of Bugenhagen for a place the name of which is illegible, Count Wolfgang's church order of Palatinate-Zweibrücken 1560, the 1555 Stralsund church order, prepared by General Superintendent Johannes Knipstro, the Lüneburg church order, the Livonian church order (Riga liturgy), and the Saxon agenda of Duke Heinrich.⁶⁴³

After thorough discussion in the synods, the agenda was approved and Duke Barnim IX and the five sons of Philipp I approved its publication in Stettin and ordered that all parish pastors, preachers, and other church ministers were to conform their ministry to it. The agenda was published in Stettin in 1568 under the title: Agenda, Dat is, Ordninge der hilligen Kerckenempter un de Ceremonien, wo sick de Parrherren, Seelsorgere un de Kerckendenere in erem Ampte holden schölen. Gestellet vor de Kercken in Pamern up bevel der dorchleuchtigen hochgebarnen Försten un de Herren, Herrn Barnim des öldern, Herrn Johann Friderichen, Herrn Bugslaffen, Herrn Ernst Ludwigen, Herrn Barnim des yüngern, vnde Herrn Casimiren, Geueddern vnde Gebröder, Hertogen tho Stettin Pamern, der Cassuben vnde Wenden, Försten tho Rügen,



The "mill-altar" at St. Thomas Lutheran Church in Tribsees, Vorpommern-Rügen, by an unidentified carver, 1425-50. The "sacramental mill" is powered by the water of the four Paradise Rivers, Pisgon, Gihon, Euphrates, and Tigris, with the twelve apostles directing the course of water supply. Four evangelists pour the Word of God as grain into the funnel. Christ the Child emerges in the chalice held by the church fathers, Pope Gregory the Great and Jerome, flanked by Augustine and Ambrose (© *St. Thomas-Kirche*, Tribsees. Photo: Jenny Heymel).

vnde Grauen tho Gutzkow, etc. Anno M. D. LXVIII (Agenda, that Is, the Order of the Holy Ministry of the Church and the Ceremonies which the Parish Pastors, Chaplains, and Church Ministers in Their Offices Should Hold, Set Down for the Churches in Pomerania by Order of the Most Serene, Highborn Princes and the Lords, Sir Barnim the Older, Sir Johann Friedrich, Sir Bogislaw, Sir Ernst Ludwig, Sir Barnim the Younger, and Sir Casimir, Cousins and Brothers, the Dukes of Stettin in Pomerania, the Kashubia in Wenden, the Princes of Rügen and Counts of Guzkow, etc.).

The Pomeranian agenda ran to 463 pages and included twenty major sections: the ordination of pastors, the installation of pastors in parishes, the catechism, the order of ceremonies, hymns for churches in cities and where there were schools, the admin-

and absolution, Christian excommunication, the public absolution of those who had been under the ban or had fallen into open sin, the exchange of vows and blessing of the bridegroom and bride, the proper marital relations and grades in matrimonial matters, the instruction and comforting of the sick, the instruction and comforting of those sentenced to death, the ministry to the possessed, the burial of the dead, the Litany, various musical settings of the *Gloria*, epistle, gospel, Creed, *Sanctus*, Preface, and various canticles, the exhortation to communicants, solemn days of special celebration (Germ. *Feyertagen*) and feast days (Germ. *Festen*) in the church year, together with their appropriate readings.

The agenda described in detail the manner in which Saturday and Sunday services were to be performed. Saturday Vespers was to begin after the pealing of the afternoon bells: hymn ("Veni Sancte Spiritus" or the first stanza of "Veni Creator Spiritus" or "Adesto Deus unus," or another hymn, appropriate to the season) – antiphon with two or three psalms between Psalm 110 to 150, according to length, sung by two schoolboys - one or two Latin lections from the Old Testament or a part of the catechism with its explanation, as directed by the superintendents and pastors to be read by schoolboys who had been taught by their schoolmaster to sing clearly and distinctly in the proper tones) - Responsory and appropriate hymn to day or season - a German or Latin reading by a schoolboy - Antiphon and Magnificat in Latin (on vigils of feasts, the German Magnificat with its antiphon, "Christ, Our Redeemer," and the Latin Litany instead) - Collect in German or Latin by the pastor, *Benedicamus* and *Da pacem* in Latin or German by the choir. Specific instructions concerning the singing of psalms, canticles, and hymns in Latin and German were provided. Provision was made also for private confession and the admonition to make confession to be read after Vespers. A simpler form of Vespers for use in villages was also provided. 644

Matins on early Sunday morning after the bells: "Veni sancte Spiritus," as at Vespers – Antiphon and two or three psalms from Psalm 1 to 109 (at high feasts the service should begin with the Invitatory and Venite) – Latin lections and responsories, ending with the Gloria, German lections from the Old Testament with special readings, provided for the high feasts – "Te Deum laudamus" (Latin on feast days, Latin and German on Sundays) – Collect, followed by the "Benedicamus Domino" according to the season, sung by the choir. Again, specific instructions concerning the music and ceremonial were included and a simpler form was provided for villages. 645

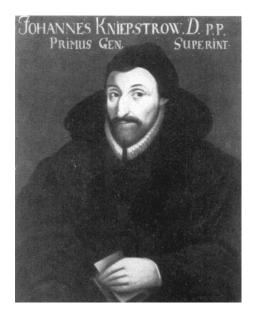
The Chief Divine Service was given under the title: "The office of Mass or Communion." Before the Mass began, the pastor was to vest himself in the chasuble or other Mass vestments and begin by reciting Psalm 51 or the confession of sins

at the altar - Prayer for forgiveness - Introit of the day or feast or "Come, Holy Ghost, God and Lord" or other appropriate German hymn or German psalm -Kyrie - "Gloria in excelsis" in Latin or German, followed by "All Glory be to God on High" - Salutation - Collect of the day - Epistle in the usual tone - Sequence by the choir or tract or alleluia and Gradual, or a German psalm which fits with the gospel (Da pacem may be sung before the sequence) - Salutation - Announcement of the holy gospel, choir response, "Glory to you, O Lord," the gospel, sung in the usual tone - Nicene Creed in Latin or German or the hymn, "We All Believe in One True God" - Pulpit office (admonition to prayer, prayer, appropriate German hymn on high feasts, reading of the text, sermon, admonition to prayer of the church, prayer, Our Father, German psalm according to the season or "Our Father, Thou in Heaven Above," or "These Are the Holy Ten Commands" ("Dies sind die heil'gen Zehn Gebot")) - Preface in German or Latin on feasts when time permits - Sanctus in Latin or German Sanctus, "Isaiah, Mighty Seer," may be sung before the Sanctus by the congregation (if the pastor desires, the children sing the Sanctus and the Choir responds) - Admonition as found in the agenda - the Our Father - Verba (elevation now eliminated everywhere) - Communion (distribution formula: "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, given into death for you, strengthen and preserve you in the faith unto life everlasting," "The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, shed for your sins, strengthen and preserve you in the true faith unto life everlasting. Amen." Communion hymns: "Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior," "O Lord, We Praise Thee," "Lamb of God, Pure and Holy" ("O Lamm Gottes, Unschuldig"), or other hymns, or Agnus Dei, or "O Sacred Banquet!" ("O sacrum convivium!") in Latin. Choir and congregation may sing antiphonally - Salutation and response - Post-communion collect or thanksgiving - Aaronic Benediction - Appropriate closing hymn ("All Praise and Glory," "Lord, Keep Us Steadfast in Thy Word," etc.). When there are no communicants, the service proceeds as usual, but after the Nicene Creed, sermon, and prayers, the Litany or German hymns (psalm-hymns) may be sung and the service closes with the final collect and benediction. However before the final collect, the pastor shall admonish the people concerning their neglect of the Lord's Supper and exhort them to make use of the most Venerable Sacrament. 646

Provision was made for the Sunday midday sermon in the larger cities, called: "The Afternoon Sermon on Sundays and festivals." It was to begin at 12 noon. Also included was Sunday Vespers: Antiphons – Psalms – Lection – Responsories – Hymn – Versicle – *Magnificat* – Collect – *Benedicamus* – German psalm with the people joining in – Sermon. On the third day of the high feasts or at least once in a month, the German psalms from the Psalter were to be sung, along with the

German *Magnificat* or "*Nunc Dimittis*," or Luther's German "*Te Deum laudamus*" ("*Lord Herr Gott, dich loben wir*"). The rubric states that it will benefit the people to have these ceremonies in German from time to time. The sermon on the Sunday epistle or text were to be chosen by the superintendent, and chaplains and pastors were not to depart from it. The service closed with a common prayer, the canticle (*Magnificat*, "*Nunc Dimittis*," or another appropriate psalm by the congregation). When German psalms were sung, the congregation and choir might sing the stanzas in alternation.⁶⁴⁷

A Chief Divine Service was also provided for use in villages. In places where the pastor has no sacristan (Germ. *Küster*), Matins is omitted. Before the introit, the pastor should sing the German "*Te Deum laudamus*" and the collect. Communi-



Johannes Knipstro, Superintendent General of Pomerania-Wolgast (Die pommersche Kirchenordnung 1985).

cants should be admonished to make their confession and the pastor should hear and absolve them. Properly vested, he should go to the altar. The Introit, "Have Mercy upon me, O Lord God," or appropriate psalm in German is followed by the German *Kyrie* and "All Glory be to God on High" – Collect – Epistle – Psalm – Gospel and Creed. Before the Creed, the sacristan (Germ. *Küster*) should read a part of the catechism and its explanation. After the sermon, the pastor leads the people in a text of the catechism or a form of confession. Then follows a psalm. On festivals, the Preface and *Sanctus* in German are sung. The service then continues as above: Exhortation – Our Father – *Verba*, etc. When there are no communicants, the Litany or Our Father is sung after the sermon, and the service closes with the admonition to honor the Sacrament, followed by a collect and benediction. 648

Vespers on Sunday: German psalm, lead by the sacristan and a portion of the catechism, lead by the pastor – chapter of the Bible and summary – German *Magnificat* – Collect – *Benedicamus*. The catechism should be repeated four times a year. The sermon should be one-half hour in length. The service concludes with the "*Nunc Dimittis*" or "Grant Peace, We Pray, in Mercy, Lord."

Provision is also made for daily services of Matins and Vespers in the cities and towns. Certain holy days, which might fall during the week, were also to be observed: Conversion of Saint Paul, St. Mary Magdalene, St. Lawrence, the Beheading of St. John the Baptist, All Saints, St. Martin of Tours, etc. These days should always be announced on Sunday before, and the people should be admonished to come to church to hear the beautiful stories and gospel so that these days may be zealously observed. At least monthly, the Athanasian Creed should be sung in Latin or German in the church on Sunday or at a weekday service. 649

The agenda also gave pastors very specific instructions concerning the communion of the infirm. The 1568 Pomeranian book directed that if at the Communion of the sick the person being communed could not keep the host in his mouth, the pastor was to take it back and give an account of the incident to the superintendent. Then "the clergyman was obligated to bring the interrupted action to conclusion by consecrating more bread and using it with the already consecrated wine." ⁶⁵⁰

At the conclusion of the liturgical forms, the agenda included no less than 206 pages of necessary liturgical materials for use at the altar, including the Litany in Latin and German, collects for the church year, musical settings of the *Gloria*, epistle, gospel, and Nicene Creed in Latin and German, tracts in Latin and German, prayers before and after the sermon, Prefaces in Latin and German, and *Sanctus* in German:

"Holy is God the Father,
Holy is God the Son,
Holy is God the Holy Spirit.
He is the Lord of hosts.
All the world is full of his glory,
Hosanna in the highest.
Exalted is he who comes
In the name of the Lord,
Hosanna in the highest."651

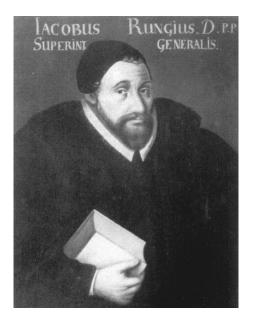
Additional settings of *Sanctus* in German and the German *Sanctus* – "Isaiah, Mighty Seer" were also provided. The rubrics state that when the Latin *Sanctus* is sung, its tone is to be taken from old missals or from the *Psalmodia* of Lucas Losius. Among the richest of these was the *Sanctus* included for use in the Chief Divine Service:

"Holy is God the Father, Holy is God the Son, Holy is God the Holy Spirit, One God in three persons Who is one true God, The Lord and God of Sabaoth To whom we sing Hosanna.

Heaven and all the earth
Are full of his glory,
To him all angels sing praise
And all of the heavens
In one spirit and faith,
Laud, glory, and praise to him are given
And all cry out Hosanna.

Praise be to you, Lord Jesus Christ, You who come in the name of God With mercy and the Spirit. Sin, death, and hell altogether You have mightily overcome And us you have taken into your kingdom, Therefore, all shout Hosanna."652

Following the settings of the *Sanctus* are various forms of exhortation to the communicants who have presented themselves before the altar. There is also a lengthy exhortation to be read when no communicants have presented themselves. Also included are musical settings of the Our Father and the Words of Christ over bread and wine, the *Agnus Dei*, and Psalm 111, all in German. There is also a sung confession of the true presence of the body and blood of Christ on the altar, "O sacrum convivium!," in Latin and the responsory, "Discubuit Jesus," both to be sung during the administration of the Sacrament.⁶⁵³ Then follow five alternative post-communion collects, the Aaronic Benediction in German, collect to be used when there are no communicants and a concluding collect of the word. Also included are music for Vespers and Matins – "Veni, Sancte Spiritus" in German, the German Magnificat, the proper antiphon for the Magnificat, the "Nunc Dimittis," the "Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel" in German and the antiphon, "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel," the "Te Deum laudamus" in German for two choirs, the Kyrie summum, the Gloria sum-



Jakob Runge, Superintendent General of Pomerania-Wolgast (*Die pommersche Kirchenordnung* 1985).

mum, the Kyrie paschale, the Gloria paschale with the "Et in terra pax," all in German. The hymn, "Grates nunc omnes," in German, which according to the rubric may be used not only at Christmas but also on other Sundays and days of thanksgiving before the sequence or introit, the responsory, "O Lord, O King, God of Abraham" ("Domine rex Deus Abraham"), in Latin, the chanting tone for the singing of the gospel in German, the German responsory, the "Veni, Sancte Spiritus" in Latin, as well as other hymns and the listing of the epistles and gospels for Sundays and holy days. 654

This 1568 edition of the Pomeranian agenda established the Pomeranian liturgical tradition and it is the finest expression of that tradition. It is indeed a very rich agenda with ample liturgical material, simple and clear liturgical directives, and numerous examples for the benefit of

clergy and cantors. It provides many options, making it possible for liturgists to make necessary adaptations according to local circumstances. The service clearly stands in the mainstream of the Lutheran liturgy and inclines more toward the tradition of the medieval Mass and the *Formula Missae* than the *Deutsche Messe*. It is noteworthy also that the agenda included a complete liturgical form for the rite of exorcism, a form not usually encountered in the church orders.

The agenda was reprinted in Wittenberg in 1569 under the same title: Agenda dat is, Ordninge der hilligen Kerckenempter vnde Ceremonien, wo sick de Parrherren, Seelsorgere vnde Kerckendenere in ërem Ampte holden schölen, Gestellet vor de Kercken in Pamern, up bevël der Dorchlüchtigen, hochgebarnen Försten vnde Herren, Herrn Barnim des öldern, Herrn Johann Friderichen, Herrn Bugslaffen, Herrn Ernst Ludwigen, Herrn Barnim des yüngern, vnde Herrn Casimiren, Geueddern vnde Gebröder, Hertogen tho Stettin, Pamern, der Cassuben vnde Wenden, Försten tho Rügen, vnde Grauen tho Gutzkow, etc. (Agenda, that Is, the Order of the Holy Ministry of the Church and the Ceremonies which the Parish Pastors, Chaplains, and Church Ministers in Their Offices Should Hold, Set Down for the Churches in Pomerania by Order of the Most Serene, Highborn Princes and the Lords, Sir Barnim the Older, Sir Johann Friedrich, Sir Bogislaw, Sir Ernst Ludwig, Sir Barnim

the Younger, and Sir Casimir, Cousins and Brothers, the Dukes of Stettin in Pomerania, the Kashubia in Wenden, the Princes of Rügen and Counts of Guzkow, etc.). This edition was bound together in a single volume with the Pomeranian church order.

Publication of the new agenda caused some contention in the Pomeranian Church. Runge had to defend the book against the opponents at the 1572 synod in Stettin who characterized it as "papist" because of the use of such terms as Mass, Matins, Vespers, confirmation, etc. Contentions continued until 1578 when at the pastoral convent in Stettin the duke issued an order, calling upon all clergy to discontinue their polemics and conduct liturgical services as they were ordered in the agenda. 655 In 1591, a new reprint edition appeared, published in Old Stettin. Again, the agenda and church order were bound together in a single book.⁶⁵⁶



Title page of the 1569 Pomeranian agenda.

In 1691, fifty-four years after the Swedes took control of Upper Pomerania (Germ. Vorpommern), a new edition of the agenda was published by permission of King Charles XI of Sweden. Although in Sweden and its possessions the churches were ruled by the terms of the new church order of 1686 and it was required that the handbook of 1693 would be put to use, the Pomeranians were permitted to continue to use their more than a century old rites. This was clearly to their advantage, for the Pomeranian agenda was far richer in its provisions than was the Swedish handbook. This new edition featured an important improvement. Now, in addition to the Pomeranian plat-Deutsch, a version in high German is given in parallel columns, an indication that here as elsewhere the use of modern high German was quickly replacing the dialects, especially in more highly populated areas. This edition of the agenda was published by itself. The church order was not appended to it. It had been published already three decades earlier in a separate volume, printed in Stettin in 1661. In Old Stettin, a high German edition of the church order had appeared in 1690. The book included a commendatory preface, dated June 28, 1688, in which King Charles XI stated that the church order played an important role in the life of the church. He went on to note



Title page of the 1691 Pomeranian agenda.

that no pastor or congregation was permitted to depart from the provisions in the church order, and that accordingly, he had affixed to it his royal seal. Both the church order and the agenda appeared in a single volume in 1731. It was printed in Stralsund and Greifswald. Both sections reproduced the 1690 and 1691 editions of the church order and agenda.⁶⁵⁷

In 1702, a book with the misleading title, Die Von Jhr. Königl. Majest. Von Schweden Hoch-betrauten Ober-Kirchen-Rath und General-Superintendenten in Pommern, Herrn Dr. Joh: Friderich Mayern Neu-verbesserte Kirchen-Ordnung, Wornach sich die Herrn Prediger im Hertzogthumb Pommern hinführo zu verhalten. In Stettin vorgetragen den 17 May 1702. (The Newly Improved Church Order, According to which Pastors in the Duchy of Pomerania Are to Conduct Themselves, Prepared by High Church Councilor and General Superintendent, Dr. Johann Friedrich Meyer, by Decree of His Royal Highness in Sweden), was printed. The book advertised its author as Johann Friedrich Meyer who had been called from

Hamburg in 1701 to serve as general superintendent, president of the consistory, and professor at the University of Greifswald. Actually, the book was not a church order in the usual sense and cannot be regarded as a replacement for the official order. It was, instead, a fifteen-page supplement to the official order, meant to improve some of the provisions of the larger work.⁶⁵⁸

From time to time the ecclesiastical formularies from the 1568 agenda were reprinted in individual liturgical handbooks. These handbooks were only wordfor-word extracts, printed together with references to where the forms were found in the complete agenda.

Among the first of such supplements was a collection of formularies which appeared in 1718 under the title: *Neu zugerichtetes Kirchenbuch oder Kurtzer Auszug der Pommerschen Kirchen-Agende, nebst einigen andern Formularen ...* (*Newly Furnished Church Book or Short Excerpts from the Pomeranian Church Agenda, Together with Some Other Formularies*). It was prepared and published in Greifswald by Balßer Johann Flottmann.⁶⁵⁹

Kercken-Ordeninge im Lande tho Pamern 1661; Kercken Ordeninge Im Lande tho Pamern 1690;

In 1734, another such supplementary volume appeared in Stargard, entitled: Pommersches Prediger-Handbuch zum bequemen Gebrauch bey allerley AmtsFällen und Verrichtungen aus der Pommerschen Kirchen-Agende hierbei zusammengetragen und anjetzo aufs neue übersehen, und an vielen Orten vermehrt von Einem Ehrwürdigen Ministerio der Stadt Stargard (Pomeranian Handbook for Preachers for Convenient Use for All Occasions and Ministrations, Taken from the Pomeranian Church Agenda, Collected and Reviewed Once Again and in Many Places Enlarged by the Reverend Clergy in the City of Stargard). A new edition under the same title appeared in 1748.660

Another manual was prepared by Benjamin Printz, Pastor at Richtenberg. His work was approved by the Greifswald theological faculty and the General Superintendent Albrecht Joachim von Krakewitz who had encouraged the author to prepare it. The book appeared in 1737 in Greifswald under the title: Compendiöses Priester-Buch bey priesterlichen Amts-Verrichtungen, Inhalts der Pommerischen Kirchen-Ordnung zu gebrauchen von Predigern aufm Lande ..., nach Fürschrifft und Approbatioon der Theologischen Facultät in Grypswalde, verfertiget und mitgetheilet von Benjamin Printz (Compendious Book for Priests, Including Priestly Ministrations from the Pomeranian Church Order, for use by Preachers in the Territory ..., in Accordance with the Proceedings and Approbation of the Greifswald Theological Faculty, Prepared and Edited by Benjamin Printz.)

Two years later, in 1737, Printz published in Greifswald yet another liturgical handbook: *Manvale Ecclesiasticum. Bey Priesterlichen Amts-Verrichtungen zu gebra-*

MANVALE ECCLESIASTICVM Den Briesterlichen Ants. Berrichtungen Bu gebrauchen, Muf vielfältiges Begehren mit sorgfältigem Sleiß, nach Fürschrift und Approbation ber Theologischen Facultät in Grypswalde, versertiget und mitgetheilet M. Benjamin Bring, Past. Richtenberg. & Synodi Bardensis Seniore.

Title page of the 1737 *Ecclesiastical Handbook.*

Grypswalde,

Berlegts Jacob Loffer, 1737.

uchen, Auf vielfältiges Begehren mit sorgfältigem Fleiß, nach Fürschrifft und Approbation der Theologischen Facultät in Grypswalde, verfertiget und mitgetheilet von M. Benjamin Printz, Past. Richtenberg. & Synodi Bardensis Seniore (Ecclesiastical Handbook, to Be Used in Priestly Ministrations, Prepared According to the Many Requests and with the Careful Diligence, and Approved at the Theological Faculty in Greifswald, by M.



Title page of the 1757 Little Book for Priests.

Benjamin Printz, Pastor at Richtenberg and Senior of the Synod of Barth).⁶⁶¹

Twenty years later, in 1757, yet another book appeared in Greifswald, prepared by Jacob Heinrich von Balthasar, the General-Superintendent of Swedish Pomerania and Rügen. It was entitled: Kleines Priester-Buch. Nach Fürschrift der Pommerschen Kirchen-Ordnung und Agenda bey Priesterlichen Amtsverrichtungen zu gebrauchen. Aufs neue durchgesehen und zum Druck befördert von Jacob Henr. von Balthasar General-Superintendenten über Pommern und Rügen (Little Book for Priests. According to the Usage of the Pomeranian Church Order and Agenda, for Use in Priestly Ministrations. Newly Examined and Put into Print by Jacob Heinrich von Balthasar, General Superintendent of Pomerania and Rügen).662

An examination of the contents of the 1737 and 1757 books indicates that they reproduce many of the forms found in the 1568 agenda and are similar to each other. Missing in these volumes are the sections

on catechization and ceremonies. By the time of the publication of the manuals, a 1734 special instruction for catechization, entitled, *Erneuerte und erweiterte Verordnung über das Kirchen- und Schul-Wesen in Preussen* (A Renewed and Enlarged Order Concerning the Church and School System in Prussia),⁶⁶³ had been delivered to the clergy, making the article on catechesis unnecessary. The Latin Litany was not included because by 1737, it probably was no longer in use in the congregations since King Friedrich Wilhelm I had discouraged the use of Latin in congregational services. The section on liturgical hymns was not included because this music was sung by the choir and congregation, rather than the officiant. The lectionary order by this time could probably also be found in other publications.

One additional liturgical handbook appeared in 1769. It was published in Stettin under the title: *Neu eingerichtetes Pommersches Prediger-Hand-Buch zum bequemen Gebrauch bey allerley ordentlichen und außerordentlichen Amtsverrichtungen aus*

der Pommerschen Kirchen-Agende ehedem zusammengetragen und an vielen Orten mit Auszügen aus Königlichen neuerlichst allergnädigst ausgegebenen Verordnungen in Kirchen-Sachen vermehret ... (A newly Furnished Pomeranian Preacher's Handbook with Comfortable Usages for All Ordinary and Extraordinary Ministrations from the Pomeranian Church Agenda, Assembled Earlier and in Many Places Enlarged with Extracts from the Royal Newly Formulated *Prescriptions in Church Matters*). The book of 348 pages was published by Gottfried Christian Roth who made extensive use of the works of Flottmann, Printz, and Balthasar.664

It was with this abundance of rich liturgical tradition in their hands that the Pomeranians came under Prussian domination, first in 1637, when Farther Pomerania (Germ. *Hinterpommern*) came under the control of Brandenburg-Prussia. The Swedes lost parts of Upper Pomerania (Germ. *Vorpommern*) in the Treaty of Stockholm 1720, and the rest of Swedish Pomerania (Germ. *Schwedisch-Pommern*) was joined to Prussia in 1815 in the Congress of Vienna.



Title page of the 1769 *Preacher's Handbook*, the last Pomeranian Orthodox Lutheran agenda from the eighteenth century.

The Pomeranian church order and agenda would appear in print once again in 1854 in a high German edition, published together with the visitation order of 1756 by Karl Wilhelm Otto, the superintendent of Naugard and a leader of the confessional Lutheran Association (Germ. *Lutherische Verein*) in Pomerania. It was his hope that this would move pastors and congregations to lay aside the Prussian Union agenda and return to the far richer provisions of the old Pomeranian rites. Unfortunately, his careful and painstaking work did little to affect the course of church order and liturgy in Pomerania.

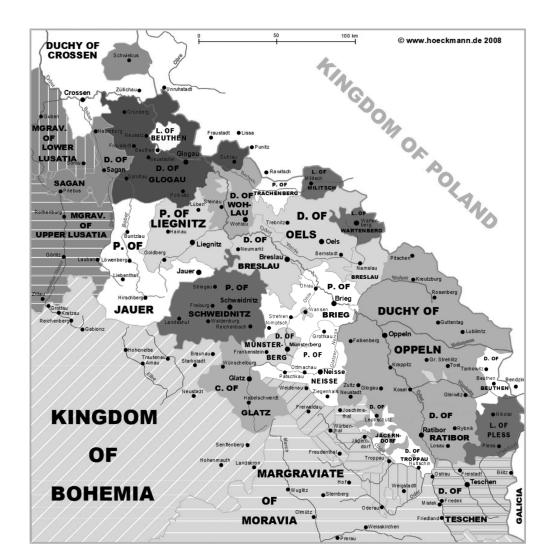
Several attempts were made to satisfy the needs of "progressive pastors" in Pomerania. In 1795, the first of these appeared under the title: *Anreden und Gebete*

zum Gebrauch bey dem öffentlichen Gottesdienst und den dahin gehörigen Handlungen, nebst einer Nachricht von der Ordnung desselben (Addresses and Prayers for Use in Public Divine Service and Ministrations belonging to It, Together with a Report on the Order Itself), prepared by Superintendent Colberg, approved by the city council, and published in Stralsund.666 Superintendent Gottlieb Schlegel, who under the influence of Georg Friedrich Seiler, become an advocate of the Enlightenment, published his Kleines Liturgisches Handbuch in Anreden und Gebeten bey der Ordination und Institution der Prediger, der Taufe, Confirmation der Kinder, Beichte, Communion und Trauung, nach den Einsichten und Beyspielen verständiger Gottesgelehrter eingerichtet (Little Liturgical Handbook of Addresses and Prayers for Use at the Ordination and Installation of Preachers, Baptism, Confirmation of Children, Confession, Communion, and Marriage, Set Down on the Basis of the Insights and Examples of Prudent Teachers of Divinity). It was printed in Leipzig in 1796 and clearly showed the influences of Rationalism.⁶⁶⁷ In 1800, he published his Sammlung von Formularen und Gebeten bey kirchlichen und außerkirchlichen Geschäften des Predigtamts, zum Gebrauch in dem Herzogthum Schwedisch-Pommern und dem Fürstenthum Rügen (Collection of Formularies and Prayers for Use in the Ministerial Acts in the Church and Outside the Church in the Duchy of Swedish Pomerania and the Grand Principality of Rügen). Schlegel made the claim that he had carefully compared many church orders of recent times and had constructed worship offices which in his opinion were appropriate for use in the church at the present time. A new edition under the same title appeared in 1804, even though some pastors stood solidly against his clearly Enlightenment views.668

5. LITURGICAL TRADITIONS IN SILESIA

No church-wide native Silesian worship forms developed in the Reformation era because there was no single Silesian reformer and no unified ecclesiastical administration to create or sponsor it.

By the middle of the fourteenth century, several dozen separate territories could be identified within Upper and Lower Silesia, each one of which ruled by



the territorial lords. In order to keep the region from falling under Polish domination, the rulers of these territories joined together in suzerainty to Bohemia. In 1526, King Ludwig II of Hungary, Croatia, and Bohemia fell to the advancing Ottoman armies in the Battle of Mohács. In 1558, Ferdinand I, the Habsburg King of Bohemia and Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, asserted control over Silesia. The Habsburgs would rule there until 1742.

5.1 Silesian Lutheranism from the Reformation until the 1742 Annexation to Prussia

There was no united effort in any Silesian territory to introduce the Reformation. Each territorial ruler pursued his own independent course. Consequently, Silesian Lutherans could never look to any single individual as the reformer of the Silesian Church.

The Reformation was first preached in Silesia in 1523 in the capital city of Breslau. Influential in spreading the Reformation were Breslau pastors, Johann Hess and Ambrosius Moibanus, who affirmed the theology of the Lutheran Reformation in 1524 after correspondence with Luther and Melanchthon. Before long, the Reformation was planted also in the territories of Liegnitz, Brieg, Wohlau, Crossen, Jägerndorf, Beuthen, Leobschütz, Oppeln, Ratibor, Militsch, Münsterberg, Oels, Glatz, Sagan, Teschen, and Troppau. The influence of the papal church might in the course of time have been completely silenced, had not King Ferdinand I intervened in 1542 and insisted that the *status quo* be maintained. The terms of Peace of Augsburg, 1555, which were supposed to establish the principle cuius regio, eius religio - that the ruler of each territory would determine its religion, was taken by the Habsburgs to mean that their intention to reestablish papal rule overrode any contrary intentions of the territorial lords. Although Lutheranism continued to expand in Trachenberg, 1577, Teschen, 1584, Pless, 1592, and elsewhere, the Roman Catholics quickly moved to regain control, first in Troppau in 1560, then in Groß-Glogau, 1579, Polish Wartenberg, 1593, and through the influence of the Jesuits, first in 1562 and later in 1581, Breslau itself became a center of Roman Catholic activity. In order to ensure the security of their freedom to exercise their faith and worship according to the Augsburg Confession, Bohemian and Silesian Lutherans formed on June 25, 1609, in Prague a union of the Protestant estates. On August 20, Emperor Rudolf II sent them a royal charter agreeing to their terms. However, Archduke Carl, who had been appointed as the bishop of Breslau, protested and refused to honor its terms.⁶⁶⁹

The fortunes of Lutheranism throughout Bohemia and Silesia changed dramatically in the first half of the seventeenth century. After years of suppression, Protestant nobles in Bohemia and Silesia openly rebelled against Emperor King Ferdinand II. They invited Friedrich V, the Calvinist elector of the Electoral Palatinate, to become their king. He had recently agreed to become the leader of the Protestant Union which his father had established on May 14, 1608 in Prague as a military alliance. Friedrich V accepted the crown and his coronation took place on November 4, 1619. Angered by this, Ferdinand II sent his ministers, Vilem Slavata and Jaroslav Borzita, to take control of the government. They received a hostile reception when they arrived in Prague. Bohemian Hussites threw them out of the windows of the Hradčany Castle in Prague on May 15, 1618. This event was an immediate cause of the outbreak of the Thirty Years War. Friedrich V, now also known as King Friedrich I of Bohemia, was defeated by the forces of Ferdinand II in the Battle of White Mountain on November 8, 1620. He was forced to abdicate after a reign of only one year and the few days. This gained him the popular title, the "Winter King." 670

On February 18, 1621, the Silesian dukes and nobility appealed to the Saxon Elector Johann Georg for support and he came to their aid. His help was not enough to prevent the further spread of the Counter-Reformation. Repeated attempts to negotiate the settlement were unsuccessful. The Peace of Prague, concluded on May 30, 1635, returned several territories to Roman Catholic control. Only in Liegnitz, Brieg, Münsterberg, Oels, and the city of Breslau were Lutherans able to freely practice their faith according to the terms of the Augsburg Confession. All other Protestant groups were forced to leave Silesia. The 1648 Peace of Westphalia reaffirmed the stipulation of the Peace of Augsburg of 1555 that each prince had the right to determine the religion of his state, and that Christians living in places where their confession was not established were to be permitted to practice their faith in public during stated hours and in private in accordance with their own wishes. The pope characterized the peace of Westphalia as "null, void, invalid, iniquitous, unjust, damnable, reprobate, inane, empty of meaning and effect for all time." The Habsburgs, of course, agreed and refused to abide by its terms in Bohemia and Silesia. The Lutherans in Silesia were permitted to build only three so-called "Peace Churches" - in Schweidnitz, Jauer, and Glogau. At the same time, the emperor issued on December 16, 1652, an edict, proclaiming that the Lutheran churches in all duchies throughout Silesia were to be confiscated and their clergy were to be forced to leave the country. A commission was established to carry out the edict. In the course of 1653-1654, 129 churches were confiscated in the Duchy of Breslau, 165 in Schweidnitz, 134 in Jauer, 195 in Glogau, 45 in Sagan, 36 in Münsterberg, 35 in Pless, 24 in Polish Wartenberg, 11 in Trachenberg, 8 in Militsch, and numerous others in Beuthen and other locations. It was further declared that no one was permitted to visit any church of foreigners or to participate in a divine service in a household or a private home nor was anyone to be coerced to convert. In Oels and the city of Breslau, and until 1675, in Liegnitz, Brieg, and Wohlau, no restrictions were placed on congregational worship. In all, more than 780 Lutheran churches were closed and confiscated by the Roman bishop.⁶⁷¹

The forces of the Roman Church were clearly in control of Silesia, but they were not able to extinguish Lutheranism. During the course of the Great Northern War, King Charles XII of Sweden was able in 1707 to gain the return to the Lutherans 122 of their churches and he secured permission to build six additional "Grace Churches," as well as some Lutheran schools. 672 Lutheranism was still weak but it was gaining strength once again. Friedrich II's ascension to the throne of Prussia in 1740 appeared to work in the Lutheran favor. He declared that the Habsburgs had deprived his Hohenzollern ancestors of their ancestral lands in Silesia, and he went to war with Austria-Hungary to regain them. As a result of his two-month campaign, he regained major portions of Silesia, with the exception of the southernmost part, including Jägerndorf, Troppau, and Teschen, known as Bohemian Silesia and later as Austrian Silesia. The gains of Prussia were ratified in the Peace of Breslau of 1742. The second war in 1744-1745 also resulted in Prussian victory. The Treaty of Dresden, signed on December 25, 1745, reaffirmed Prussian control of Silesia. Austria once again tried to take Silesia in the Seven Years' War which involved major European powers, but the Treaty of Hubertusburg in February 1763, once again confirmed Prussian control over the Silesian territories and added the County of Glatz.⁶⁷³

The newly acquired territories were now collectively organized as the Prussian Silesia. On January 15, 1742, consistories were established in Breslau and Glogau. This enabled the congregations to raise their eyes above purely parochial concerns to a vision of Silesian Lutheranism as a single common group. Although Pietism elsewhere in Prussia had taken root in the early decades of the eighteenth century through administrative pressure, exerted during the reign of Friedrich Wilhelm I, the Silesian Lutherans during this period had been under the thumb of Hapsburgs and had retained their Lutheran Orthodox theology and worship according to a tradition which was predominantly Saxon. Friedrich the Great, who was famously disinterested in religious matters, left his Lutheran subjects in Silesia alone. As a result, they largely retained their Orthodox character.

⁶⁷¹ *Iacobson* 1866, 45.

⁶⁷² DL:11:--- 1921 251 255



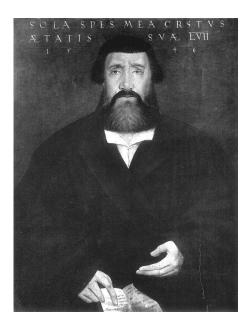
Holy Trinity Grace Church in Sagan (Wikimedia Commons).

However, sometime between 1780-1790 liturgical Rationalism came to be planted in some of the Silesian towns and larger cities where a number of Rationalist liturgies were being circulated.⁶⁷⁵ This liturgical Rationalism also made inroads into the faculty of theology in Breslau which was organized in 1811.

5.2 The Liturgies of the City of Breslau

5.2.1 The Initial Reforms of Ceremonies

The beginnings of the Reformation in the Silesian capital Breslau can be traced to October 25, 1523, when Dr. Johann Hess of Nürnberg, who had been invited by the city council to become pastor of the parish church of St. Mary Magdalene, preached his inaugural sermon there. The call of the city council immediately



Johannes Hess (Förster 1909, Tafel VII).

caused tension with the Bohemian crown and the cathedral canons who objected that the council was overstepping its authority by issuing this call and thus interfering with ecclesiastical procedures. An example of the numerous confrontations between the city council and the cathedral chapter took place on April 11, 1524.676 Such confrontations made it clear to Hess and the council that the implementation of the Lutheran Reformation would need to move ahead slowly and avoid manifest outward changes. For his part, Hess made it clear in a public disputation in the St. Dorothea Church on April 20-21, 1524, that the reformation of the church had primarily to do with faith in the heart rather than outward ceremonies. He did stress, however, that the Mass recalls the sacrifice of Christ and does not reenact it.

The cathedral chapter, meeting on January 23-25, 1525, sought to press the city council to force Hess "to restore what he had rashly taken away in the church." The city council, however, decided to continue its support of Hess. By April 1525, the reading of Masses for the dead by the so-called "altarists" ("Mass priests," Germ. Altaristen) was eliminated in the parish churches of St. Mary Magdalene and St. Elisabeth. The priests in question complained to the cathedral chapter on August 31, 1525, that they were now authorized only to pray the private hour of the Blessed Virgin at St. Mary Magdalene Church. A later commentator, Nikolaus Pol, stated that on April 23, Septuagesimae Sunday, without any agitation or tumult, in the two parish churches the devotion to sacred images, processions of the Sacrament, vigils, Masses for the dead, requiems, anniversaries, the consecration of holy places, water, seasonings, salt, and herbs were all abolished, and it was announced that henceforth baptisms would be conducted in German. Furthermore, priests were now permitted to marry and continue in the clerical office, and it was permitted to eat meat on Friday and during Lent. On the same day, a first short Lutheran hymnal was introduced.⁶⁷⁷

On May 18, 1525, Dr. Ambrosius Moibanus, a native of Breslau, was called by the city council to become pastor of St. Elisabeth Church. Moibanus, who was origin-

ally a humanist, studied briefly in Wittenberg under Philipp Melanchthon in 1520 in order to become an expert in pedagogical issues. On April 16, 1523, he enrolled in Wittenberg as a student of theology under Martin Luther, Caspar Cruciger, Johannes Bugenhagen, and Justus Jonas. Among his friends and classmates were Paul Eber and Veit Dietrich. It was Johannes Hess who recommended to the city council of Breslau that he be called to St. Elisabeth's Church. Under Hess and Moibanus, the slow and steady reformation of the churches in Breslau continued. Whatever was not directly offensive to the gospel was allowed to remain. Moibanus and Hess prepared a new order for the Mass and began to use it in the churches of St. Elisabeth and St. Mary Magdalene in 1526. When on June 16, 1526, the cathedral chapter complained to the Bohemian crown that the pastors and council had instituted an unauthorized reform of worship in the Breslau churches, the chief governor, Duke Karl I of Münsterberg-Oels, sought clarification from the city council. The reply he received from the council stated that the appropriate ceremonies and high festivals were being celebrated with appropriate preaching and the celebration of the Sacrament, and indeed, Mass was being held daily and no one was complaining excepting the Mass-priests since the people were no longer buying Masses from them.⁶⁷⁸

The cathedral chapter then turned to King Ferdinand I who had arrived in Breslau on May 1, 1527. On May 17, after receiving the complaints of those priests who had lost their places and their benefices because of the Reformation, he issued an order stating that the "errant Lutheran heretics" should be rooted out and the old religion reestablished. Furthermore, all the churches which the Lutherans had taken were to be returned to the Roman Church, and those unfaithful priests who "had drunk the Lutheran poison and married wives" were to be expelled from the land, and those who had financial complaints to issue against the clergy were to submit them in writing. Duke Friedrich II of Liegnitz issued a strong protest against this order and the council was able to successfully offset the mandate by emphasizing that the Sacrament of Baptism was being used unchanged and that all the offices of the church, together with Mass, Compline, Vespers, Matins, and other services, along with the usual chants and ceremonies, were being used just they had been in the past and that the crucifixes, baptismal fonts, altars, bells, "sacrament houses," and other images of God and the saints had not been altered. It appears that Hess and Moibanus considered that satisfactory progress in the advance of the Reformation was proceeding well under the circumstances. In answer to complaints from those not on the scene and unaware of the local situation, Hess is said to have stated that the preachers were like men driving a wagon with horses who did not want to go where they wanted to go. Eventually, both horse and carriage would arrive at their destination unharmed. 679

To meet the need for the proper regulation of the parish churches in their charge, Hess and Moibanus prepared the first church order for these Breslau parishes and their schools. The city council approved the work in 1528. It supervised ecclesiastical activity in St. Elisabeth and St. Mary Magdalene churches. The order concerned the operation of the parish schools and other related matters pertaining to the parish ministry, but it made no mention of the Sunday Mass other than to simply state that Mass, Matins, and Vespers were to be on Sundays and feast days and during the week. The services were to include antiphons, responsories, and appropriate hymns in German, and schoolchildren were to participate in the choir and assist in singing the services.⁶⁸⁰

The liturgical changes in the Breslau churches provoked Bishop Jakob von Salza, the Roman Catholic ordinary in Breslau, to react by seeking to intervene in the local congregations. In 1539, he insisted that Moibanus should give him a satisfactory explanation for the form of the Mass and the ceremonial and liturgical changes in St. Elisabeth Church. Moibanus replied that no more private Masses were being celebrated since it was incorrect to celebrate a Mass when there were no communicants. Therefore, when there were no communicants, he was within his rights to replace the Mass with a prayer service and reserve the celebration of Communion for services in which communicants were present.⁶⁸¹

5.2.2 Ambrosius Moibanus' Canon of the Mass

As an important feature of the Reformation in Breslau in 1540, Ambrosius Moibanus prepared a new Canon to replace the traditional Roman Canon. This Canon was unique in Lutheran liturgical history in that it went beyond Luther's suggestions concerning the Words of Consecration which he set down in the *Formula Missae* and the *Deutsche Messe*. Moibanus even provided a new wording for the *Verba* and prayers to accompany their recitation.⁶⁸²

⁶⁸⁰ Sehling III 1909, 396.

⁶⁸¹ Sander 1937, 5-6.

⁶⁸² "Novus Canon D. Ambr. Moibani.

Canon ut vocant Missae ex Evangelistis, et Paulo Apostolo Esaia et Daniele Prophetis. Christiano fratri. Tales velim omnes Christi discipulos esse, ut crebrius cogitent, Quid in Cruce actum sit, quam Crucem inventum figant, fidem Crucis maximam esse oportet. Crucibus Pictis opus non habent qui Christum vivunt.

Textus I ex Luca.

Venit dies azymorum, in qua necesse erat immolari Pascha et misit Jesus Petrum ac Joannem dicens, Euntes parate nobis Pascha, ut edamus. At illi dixerunt. Ubi vis paremus? Et dixit ad eos. Ecce introeuntibus vobis in civitatem occurret homo quidam, vas at testaceum

The Canon which Moibanus prepared was meant to occupy the place previously held by the Roman Canon and thus dispel any fears of the people that the Sacrament of the Altar was now something less than a Sacrament. The new Canon consisted of seven parts, the first of which was the recitation of Luke 22:7-18, which

quemadmodum dixerat illis, et paraverunt Pascha. Et cum vesperia, iam esset, venit Jesus et accubuit ac duodecim apostoli cum eo. Et ait illis. Desiderio desideravi hoc pascha comedere vobiscum antequam patiar. Dico enim vobis posthac non edam ultra ex eo, donec compleatur in regno dei. Et accepto poculo, gratias egit ac dixit. Accipite hoc et dividite inter vos. Dico enim vobis quod non bibam posthac ex hoc fructu vitis usque in diem illum, cum illud bibam vobiscum, novum in regno patris mei.

Text. II. Vescentibus autem eis, in ea nocte in qua Jesus traditus est, accepit Jesus panem, et cum gratias egisset, fregit deditque discipulis suis, et ait.

Accipite, comedite. Hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis datur, hoc facite in mei recordationem.

Text. III. Similiter et poculum, postquam cenavit cum gratias egisset, dedit illis dicens, bibite, ex hoc omnes, Hic est enim sanguis meus, qui est novi et aeterni testamenti qui pro vobis et pro multis effunditur in remissionem peccatorum. Hoc facite quotiescunque biberitis in mei commemorationem. Quotiescunque enim comederitis panem hunc, et de poculo hoc biberitis, mortem domini annuntiate, donec venerit.

Text. IV. Domine Deus pater noster. Attende de coelo et de solio gloriae tuae nos respice, qui facti sumus ut immundi omnes, et quasi pannus me(n)struatae universae iustitiae nostrae. Et cecidimus quasi folium universi et iniquitatis nostrae quasi ventus abstulerunt nos. Errare enim nos fecisti de viis tuis, indurasti cor nostrum, ne timeremus te. Convertere propter multitudinem viscerum tuorum ac miserationum tuarum. Ecce tu iratus es et non est qui consurgat et teneat te, quia tibi peccavimus et in ipsis peccatis sumus semper. Et nunc domine pater noster es tu, nos vero lutum. Et fictor noster tu, et oppera manuum tuarum omnes nos. Ne irascaris domine satis, et ne ultra memineris iniquitatis nostrae. Ecce respice nos, populus tuus omnes nos, et templum sanctificationis glorieque tuae, Per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum. Amen.

Per omnia secul. Oremus. Preceptis salut.

Pater noster.

Text. V. Dan. 9b. Domine deus custodiens pactum et misericordiam diligentibus te. Avertatur obsecro ira tua a nobis quia tibi peccavimus. Et exaudi orationem servi tui. Aperi oculos tuos et vide desolationem nostram. Neque enim in iustificationibus nostris prosternimus preces nostras ante faciem tuam, sed in miserationibus tuis multis, Placare domine. Attende et fac ne moreris temetipsum. Deus meus, quia nomen tuum invocatum est super populum tuum, cui tu dabis pacem, ne timeat sed confortetur usque in sempiternum, Per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Amen.

Per omnia secula secul. Pax Domini.

Agnus dei.

Ad Communionem.

Text. VI. Domine meus et deus meus Jesu Christi dixisti Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis et ego requiem vobis prestabo. Ecce ego pauper ad dives Testamentum accedo o domine, adauge mihi fidem, et adiuva incredulitatem meam. Corpus domini nostri Jesu Christi est victima et oblatio pro omnibus peccatis meis Sanguis domini nostri Jesu Christi est emundatio omnium peccatorum meorum.

Benedictio.

Text. VII. Benedicat nobis dominus et custodiat nos, ostendat nobis faciem suam et



Ambrosius Moibanus (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek).

clearly set the Supper in the context of the Passover Meal, which Jesus held with his disciples in the upper room in the night of his betrayal. The second and third parts give the Words of Institution in a version which is built upon the accounts found in Matthew, Mark, Luke, and St. Paul but which depart markedly from Luther's German Bible, the *Formula Missae*, the *Deutsche Messe*, and the *Small* and *Large Catechisms*. It would seem that Moibanus may have himself constructed this harmonized account of the Words of Institution, using Luther as the touchstone:

"And while they were eating in that same night in which Jesus was betrayed, Jesus took bread, and when he had given thanks, he broke it and gave it to his disciples and said, 'Take, eat. This is my body, given for you. This do in remembrance of me'.

In the same way, also the cup after Supper when he had given thanks, he

gave it to them, saying, 'Drink of it all of you. This is my blood, which is the new and eternal testament, shed for you and for many for the remission of sins. This do, as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me'. As often as you eat this bread and drink from this cup, you proclaim the death of the Lord until he comes."

The Words of Institution were followed by a prayer which asks that God look mercifully upon his people, for they are weak and sinful and have hardened their hearts against him, and do not properly fear him but also prays that God should turn aside his anger against those who have sinned, and since he is their father and the potter who has made them of clay. May he look down upon them for they are his people and temples sanctified to his glory. Then follows the prayer termination, "world without end," and the invitation to join in the Our Father. The Lord's Prayer is then prayed, and following it, a second prayer, asking that God would turn away his anger and listen to the prayers of his servants, open his eyes to their desolation and needs, and mercifully receive their supplications.

Then, after the Pax Domini and the Agnus Dei, a prayer for worthy communion

would increase their faith and help them when faith falls short. "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ is the victim and offering for all my sins, and his blood is for the cleansing of all my sins."

The final text is the benediction which combines the Aaronic Benediction and words from Psalm 67, which Luther gave as alternative blessing at the end of the *Formula Missae*. Moibanus joined them together to make a single blessing of them to be accompanied by the sign of the cross, made over the people three times:

"The Lord bless us and keep us. He make his face shine on us and be gracious to us. The Lord lift up his countenance on us and give us peace. God, even our own God, shall bless us +, God shall bless us +, and all the ends of the earth shall fear him +."

Moibanus' Canon was not only a radical departure from Luther's recommendations. It also represented a marked departure from the Canon of the Roman Church, a fact which did not go unnoticed by Dr. Johannes Cochläus, a Roman Canon in Breslau. A further cause of offense was the publication by Moibanus in 1541 of his, De consecratione Palmarum (The Consecration of Palms) and Epistola gratulatoria (Congratulatory Letter). These were addressed to auxiliary bishop, Heinrich von Füllstein, who had been offended by a remark that Moibanus had made in a Palm Sunday sermon that it was contrary to Scripture to consecrate palm trees and the like. He stated that since he was taking his position on this matter on the basis of God's Word, the bishop should take his complaint against it to the Lord, rather than directing it to him. In 1544, Johannes Cochläus published in Ingolstadt his strong criticisms of Moibanus major

NOVVS CANON
D. Ambro. Moibani.

CANON
VT VOCANT MIS
sæ ex Euangelistis, & Paulo Apoflolo Esaia & Daniele Prophetis. Christiano fratri.

TALES VELIM
omnes Christi discipulos esse, ut crebrius cogitent. Quid in Cruce actum sit,
quam Crucem in uentum sigant,
fidem Crucis maximam
esse oportet.

CRVCIBVS PICTIS
opus non babent qui Christum
uiuunt.

Title page of the *New Canon by Ambrosius Moibanus* (Cochlaeus 1544).

writings, including his so-called Canon. He complained that by encouraging the people to accept this Canon, Moibanus was perpetrating a fraud on them since it was so markedly different from the old Roman Canon. 683

The Canon was also translated into German for use in the early Sunday service which was held for the benefit of members of household staff who would then return home before families for which they worked came to their Latin service. Some researches suggest that only the German version of this Canon was used in the third Lutheran chief parish church of Breslau, the church of St. Bernhard.⁶⁸⁴

It would appear that at least the recitation of the Lucan account of the Institution continued in use long after the days of Moibanus. Evidence of this can be found in the so-called "Breslau agenda" which, according to Johann Gottfried Scheibel, was used in Breslau well into the nineteenth century. After the establishment of the Old Lutheran Church in Prussia, many of its congregations in Silesia elected to perpetuate its use. In these congregations, the Lord's Supper began with the recitation of Luke 22:7-18, as in Moibanus original Canon.⁶⁸⁵

It is unclear how long the use of the Moibanus Canon as a whole continued in Breslau. Some posit that it fell out of use after Moibanus death in 1544. However, its appearance in the *Missale secundum Rubricam Wratislaviensis Dioecesis: noviter impressum: sumoque studio ac diligentia correctum et emendatum: cum Registro: necnon Remissionum quotis superadditis. In inclyta Basilaea Anno MD XIX,* held in the city library of Breslau, raises some questions about judgment. This missal appears to have been in use in St. Mary Magdalene Church until some time in the eighteenth century and included in it were many paper and parchment pages of Lutheran material, such as Eucharistic Prefaces, collects, epistles, gospels, and antiphons, together with *de tempore* chant tones, *Pax Domini*, the intonation formulas for the *Kyrie* and "Gloria in excelsis," several settings of the Benedicamus, two intonations of the Creed, and a setting of the *Ite missa est*, together with and intonation of the "Exaudi nos Domine," etc. The missal also included the Canon of Moibanus in German and Latin which provides some support to the suggestion that the Moibanus Canon continued in use at least in part long after his death.⁶⁸⁶

⁶⁸⁴ Sander 1937, 70.

There is an extant manuscript copy of a brief agenda for use among the confessional Lutherans in Prussia in the 1830s. The document is cataloged by Fürstenauer Kirchenbibliothek of the SELK (Independent Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Germany) Lutherische Theologische Hochschule in Oberursel under the catalogue title: Kirchen-Ordnung der Separirten lutherischen Gemeinden in Prussia (Church Order of Separated Lutheran Congregations in Prussia), dated c. 1835. It is known that in the September 1835 meeting of the synod, Johann Gottfried Scheibel sent from Saxony a copy of the so-called "Breslau Agenda" which he had updated. It consists of a total of 113 sheets (226 pages). The Breslau Communion service, which was put into print in 1816 in a somewhat abbreviated form in Johann Christian Daniel Geiser's Gebet-, Beicht- und Communionbuch, also includes history of the institution of the Lord's Supper from Luke 22:7-18, as found in the Moibanus Cannon. Gebet-, Beicht- und Communionbuch 1822, 207-208. The recitation of the Lucan account of the Institution is also

5.2.3 The 1557 Breslau Church Order

After Moibanus death on January 16, 1544, the city council was no longer willing to make any significant changes in the divine services and church order. Attempts to make changes by Dr. Simon Musaeus, successor of Moibanus in St. Elisabeth Church, and later by St. Elisabeth Church inspector, Maternus Eckel, caused both of them their positions in Breslau. In the January 30, 1557, dismissal letter to Musaeus, the city council stated that for over 30 years the church of the city had been governed under the church order prepared by Johann Hess and Ambrosius Moibanus who had watched over the churches and preserved peace and unity in usages. The city council stated that it simply would not tolerate any departure from this norm.⁶⁸⁷

As early as 1540, the city council had determined which church festivals were to be observed in the Lutheran parishes of Breslau, and in 1550, an additional document was published in two editions, first in Wittenberg and then in Breslau, to supply needed supplementary material for the pulpit office, including announcements, thanksgivings, intercessions, forms for inclusion in the prayer of the church, and the Aaronic Benediction.⁶⁸⁸

Additional information concerning the liturgical services in the Lutheran congregations at Breslau can be found in the 1557 church order of that city. In that year, a copy was made of the church order at the request of the reformers in Danzig, Thorn, and Elbing where the privilege had been received to legally worship according to the terms, set down in the *Augsburg Confession*. Because the copy was made and sent in 1557, the church order came to be known as the 1557 church order, although its origin may have been somewhat earlier.⁶⁸⁹

The church order, entitled, *Ordnung der kirchen zu Breslawe* (*Order of the Churches in Breslau*), put in the first place some general directives concerning liturgical customs in the Breslau parishes of St. Mary Magdalene and St. Elisabeth. Early on Sunday morning, a preaching service was to be held in German for the benefit of household servants. It was to be followed by an early Communion service, apparently in Latin. Matins was to follow in Latin, concluding with the "*Te Deum laudamus*," or at the appropriate time of year, a portion of the history of passion of Christ. Then the choir was to sing the introit of the day, while the vested chaplain entered and approached the altar. As in earlier times, the High Mass was to be sung in Latin, and after the gospel, the Nicene Creed was to be chanted. After the Creed, the pastor or other preacher was to go to the pulpit, wearing a surplice to preach the sermon. At its conclusion, the chaplain was to sing the Preface and the *Verba*. After the consecration, the consecrated Sacrament was to be elevated. Then during



A view of the city of Breslau. Copper engraving by Matthäus Merian, 1642 (*Topographia Bohemiae Moraviae et Silesiae* 1650).

communion, the *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* were to be sung, and after communion, the service was to close with the *Benedicamus* or *Ite missa est*, as in the medieval rite. No one was to commune who had not been first to private confession.

Sunday Vespers included the singing of five psalms, a responsory, a hymn, the *Magnificat*, a chapter from the Bible, and collects, such as had always been in use. After the collects and the *Benedicamus*, Vespers ended with a prayer for protection against the Turks, the "*Da pacem Domine*," and the "*Contere Domine*."

The order just described was used in both St Elisabeth's and St. Mary Magdalene's churches.

At St. Bernarhd's, the third principal church in the city, there was an early sermon on Sunday morning, followed by a Mass and Communion for household staff. This was a clear indication that these services were to be in German. An added note stated that on days when High Mass was celebrated, in all three principal parish churches, a sermon was to be preached, a clear advance over the medieval practice.

So too at St. Barbara Church, a congregation affiliated with St. Elisabeth's parish, a sermon was to be preached, together with a hymn after the early service. It is noted that this was for the benefit of the city folk who came there. So too at St. Christopher's Church, which was affiliated with St. Mary Magdalene parish, a sermon was to be preached in Polish, together with the Mass, and after the noon

A morning sermon was to be preached and Vespers was to be prayed also at St. Jerome's Church. In the church of the Holy Spirit as well, a sermon was to be preached after Vespers.

There were no less than fifteen sermons preached every Sunday and this gave everyone in the city an opportunity for all to hear a sermon.

The same schedule was followed also on festal days. On the high feasts, there were to be additional sermons "with music and the pipes," i. e., with special music and organ accompaniment.

At weekday services, the hours of the passion of Christ were to be sung, followed by Mass and communion, and the choristers who sang in the daily services were to wear their surplices, as usual.

On Tuesdays, there was to be an early sermon in St. Bernhard's Church, followed by the Litany.

On Wednesdays, an early sermon was to be preached at St. Elisabeth's Church with the singing of the Litany, the hours of the passion of Christ, and if requested for, Mass and communion.

On Fridays, there was to be an early sermon at St. Mary Magdalene Church, with the singing of the Litany, the hours of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, followed by high Mass and communion, as needed. The noon meal was followed in both principal churches by the "Tenebrae factae sunt," the "Ingressus Pilatus," together with the various hymns (Lat. "cantiones") and collects against the Turks.

Every Friday, a service was to be held for the benefit of the "poor prisoners" and they were given an opportunity to make confession and receive Communion. Vespers was to be sung daily with five psalms, a hymn, the *Magnificat*, and after Vespers, baptisms were to be administered.

At all times, pastors, chaplains, and deacons were to wear their appropriate liturgical vestments and to conduct themselves appropriately as men of God so that no one could make spot of them or accuse them of inappropriate behavior. The clergy were to admonish the people to come to church faithfully, regularly make confession, and obey the civil authorities.⁶⁹⁰

The church order makes it clear that in Breslau divine services were held in three languages: Latin, German, and Polish. In St. Mary Magdalene and St. Elisabeth Church, it was the Latin language which predominated. It was used in Matins, High Mass, and Vespers, and it is evident that the appropriate forms were written in the Latin language. In both of these churches, early sermon, Mass, and communion were held in German for the benefit of household staff who did not know Latin. This indicates that forms were available in German for use in

these "early" services. One would expect that German forms for the offices of Matins and Vespers were also made available. In addition, liturgical forms for the celebration of Mass in Polish, along with Matins and Vespers, would require copies of both the *ordinarium* and *proprium* of these services in the Polish language. It could be expected that the Latin service would be richer in content and structure than those in German or Polish. The 1557 church order laid the foundation upon which succeeding generations would build the Breslau liturgical life in its rich variety of forms.

The earliest extant examples of liturgical music in Breslau is found in a manuscript edition of the 1558 *Orgelbuch* of the church of St. Elisabeth. The book contained 63 different introits and their musical notations. ⁶⁹¹

5.2.4 Liturgical Life in Seventeenth-Century Breslau

The first evidence of a Mass, together with all the details of its celebration, is found in manuscript form in the *Kirchenbuch* (*Church Book*) of the congregation of St. Mary Magdalene, dated 1603. This *Ordo* provides the Mass for the First Sunday of Advent.

The Divine Service began with the antiphon, "This is the day which the Lord has made" ("Haec est dies quam fecit Dominus"). This was followed immediately by the introit, "Drop down ye heavens from above" ("Rorate coeli desuper"). Then the Kyrie dominicale for Advent, as found in the Liber Graduale, and the "Gloria in excelsis Deo" with the "Et in terra pax" followed. The inclusion of the Gloria on Advent Sunday is noteworthy. The Salutation, though not mentioned, probably followed the Gloria. Later Breslau books made mention of it. Then followed the collect, the epistle, alleluia, and Gradual, "The Holy Prophets Predicted" ("Prophetae sancti praedicaverunt"), together with the sequence (Lat. "prosa"), "To the Virgin He sends no inferior Angel" ("Mittit ad virginem"). At its conclusion, the gospel of the day was read, and the Nicene Creed, "Credo in unum Deum, Patrem omnipotentem...," was chanted in Latin, followed by the German Patrem.

After the sermon was concluded, the proper Preface was chanted, and following it, the Canon (Words of Institution). Then the minor *Sanctus* of the Blessed Virgin was sung ("*Sanctus Minus de Beata Virgine*"), and after it, the Our Father was prayed. During communion, the *Agnus Dei* was sung to the same tune as the *Sanctus*, followed by German Lord's Supper hymns.

After communion, the service concluded with the so-called "Collecta Germanica" – Luther's post-communion thanksgiving. Then the Benedicamus for Adventor for the Sunday, and the Agranic Benediction brought the service to an and

The same order was followed every Sunday and on *feriis Sextis* (Friday), excepting that on Fridays, a minor *Kyrie* was used in place of *Kyrie dominicale*.⁶⁹²

The description of the 1603 service indicates that it was predominantly in the Latin language, an indication that a High Mass was being described. German was restricted to the Creed, the communion hymns, the post-communion collect, and of course, the sermon. The introit to be used on the First Sunday in Advent was, in fact, the traditional introit for Advent IV, indicating that the same introit was probably used throughout Adventide. It is likely that the chants between the epistle and the gospel were also used at all the Advent Masses. The so-called Canon, mentioned in the *Ordo*, by this time probably consisted only of St. Luke's report of the Institution of the Lord's Supper (Luke 22:7-18) in the upper room, as given by Moibanus, and the Words of Institution. No mention is made of any of the additional prayers which Moibanus had included in his Canon. Clearly, many of the propers were taken from pre-Reformation missals, and the mention of the *Liber Graduale* may well refer to the *Gradual Book* of the medieval church, indicating that these books were still in use, at least in part, with any objectionable contents, such as the secrets and other prayers, struck out.

Further evidence concerning of the Breslau Mass in the seventeenth century are found in a handwritten manuscript agenda from 1632 which was used in the church of St. Mary Magdalene. It throws additional light on the liturgical *ordo* and ceremonies in that parish.

This manuscript reveals that the Mass began with the deacon approaching the altar, after the singing of the antiphon. While the introit was being sung, he brought to the altar the sacred vessels for the Lord's Supper in a linen covered container (Lat. Capsula), placed them on the altar, and then knelt before the altar and prayed the Our Father. After the prayer, he was to rise and arrange the vessels on the altar in full view of the congregation. The service then proceeded as in earlier times, although note was taken that the gospel was to be read from a lectern on the left (gospel) side of the altar. The introductory formula for the introduction of the collect, epistle, and gospel were to be used as in earlier times. They included the phrases, "Dominus vobiscum," and its traditional response, and "The continuation of the holy gospel according to, etc." ("Sequentia sancti Evangelii secundum, etc."), and its response, "Glory to you, O Lord" ("Gloria tibi Domine"). The responses were in both cases to be sung by the choir. It appears that as in 1603, the "Credo in unum Deum" was to be intoned by the liturgist, and the congregation was to sing Luther's "We All Believe in One True God," after it. It is unclear whether it was only the introductory words of the Latin Creed which were chanted or whether the whole Creed was chanted in Latin before the singing of Luther's hymn.

The Preface was to follow the sermon. At the conclusion of the *Vere dignum*, after the words "evermore praising you and saying (singing)," a bell (Lat. "campana") was to be rung as a sign that the Canon, that is, the report of the Institution of the Lord's Supper (Luke 22:7-18) and the Words of Institution would now follow. These were read in German, and at the conclusion of the *Verba*, the bells were to be rung and the choir was to sing the *Sanctus* ("Sanctus Minus de Beata Virgine"). This was followed by the Lord's Prayer in Latin, the *Pax Domini*, and the communion. During the communion, the *Agnus Dei* and German communion hymns were to be sung.

When all had communed, the Latin Salutation was to be followed by Luther's post-communion collect in German, the "Benedicamus Domino," and the Aaronic Benediction.

In many respects, the 1632 service mirrored the 1603 provisions, however, the report of the Institution of the Lord's Supper and the Words of Institution were now in German. It is noteworthy that the liturgist is referred to as "diaconus," a term which by this time no longer indicated a minor ministerial grade in the Lutheran Church but rather a fully ordained minister of the Word and Sacrament. Clear evidence of this can be seen in the fact that the diaconus imparts the Salutation, a privilege not extended to pre-Reformation deacons. Again, Latin predominated in the liturgical services, and the active participation of worshipers was mainly restricted to the singing of hymns and in giving close attention to the ministry, provided by the liturgist and choir.

The 1632 agenda of the St. Mary Magdalene Church provided a formula for the entire early Divine Service on Sundays, giving as an example the appointments for the First Sunday in Advent. In conformity with the 1557 church order, the early Divine Service was to include a sermon in German, the consecration, the administration of the Sacrament, and conclusion from the Matins office, thanksgiving, and the benediction.⁶⁹³

Details provided for the First Sunday in Advent indicate that the service was to begin at 15 minutes after the fourth hour, with the singing of three hymns by the congregation, likely in German, to which the creedal hymn (Lat. *Cantionem Symboli*) was added. Then the deacon was to read a part from the catechism and supply a succinct gospel-centered explanation. Then followed the general prayer of the church for all sorts and conditions of mankind. This was followed by special intercessions for the afflicted and those in need and those commended to the prayers of the Church of God. Then there was an announcement of deaths and marriages.

Then the deacon kneeling prayed silently the Our Father while the congregation sang, "Sing Praise to God, the Highest Good" ("Sei Lob und Ehr dem höchsten Gut"). The holy office of the Supper began with the deacon, carrying the paten

and chalice in a linen covered container (Lat. *Capsula*), placed them on the altar, and genuflected together with the sacristan. Then the people, preacher, and deacon prayed silently the Our Father, after which the deacon ascended the altar steps to prepare the hosts and wine and cover the mouth of the chalice.

Then after the sacristan had rung the bell, the deacon read clearly the Lucan report of the upper room (Luke 22:7-18) and the Words of Consecration in German, taking the paten and chalice in his right hand as the words pertaining to each of them were spoken.

After the consecration, the deacon, who would administer the chalice, went to the pulpit to recite quietly the opening verses of the office of Matins, "O Lord, open my lips," to which the choir responded, "And my mouth will declare your praise." He then distinctly said, "My help is in the name of the Lord, etc.," in Latin.

He then ascended the altar steps to administer the chalice in the usual manner. No specific reference is made to the clergyman who administered the body of Christ nor was a distribution formula provided.

During communion, the choir was to sing in Latin the *Invitatorium* from Psalm 95 (94), usually associated with the office of Matins, "O come, let us sing to the Lord" ("Venite exultemus Domino"), with its response, "Behold, the king comes" ("Ecce venit Rex occuramus obviam salvatorem"). Then the other morning psalms followed: Psalm 1 with the antiphon, "This is now the hour for us to rise from sleep" ("Hora est nos de somno surgere"), Psalm 15 with the antiphon, "The night is far spent, the day is at hand" ("Nox praecessit, dies autem appropinquabit)," Psalm 16 with the antiphon, "Be ready, for the Christ for whom we wait is coming" ("Estote parati Christus venit, quem expectabamus"). This was then followed by the versicle, "There shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse: And a branch shall grow out of his roots" ("Egredietur virga de radice Jesse: et flos de radice eius ascendet"). Then the choir was to quietly pray the Our Father, while the deacon ascended to the left side of the altar to conclude the Lord's Prayer, saying aloud the petition, "And lead us not into temptation" ("Et ne nos inducas in tentationem"), to which the choir was to respond aloud, "But deliver us, etc." ("Sed libera, etc.").

Three Latin communion blessings were provided. First, a member of the choir, standing by the pulpit and facing the altar, was to say, "May the Lord bless us" ("Jube, Domine, benedicere"), to which the deacon at the left side of the altar, facing the choir, was to say, "May the Eternal Father bless us with an everlasting blessing" ("Benedictione perpetua benedicat nos pater aeternus"). At this point, a choir member at the pulpit was to read from the Bible, after which the choir was to sing, "Thanks be to God" ("Deo gratias"), followed by the chanted responsory, "Look from afar, etc." ("Aspiciens a longe, etc."). The second blessing began as the first

accendat Deus in cordibus nostris"). Then a choir member was to read the epistle of the day, after which the choir responded, "Thanks be to God," followed by the second responsory, "I saw a night-vision, etc." ("Aspiciebam in visu noctis, etc."). The third communion blessing began as usual with the bid, "May the Lord bless us," to which the deacon responded, "May the divine assistance remain always with us" ("Divinum auxilium maneat semper nobiscum"). Then a chorister was to read the gospel of the day, after which was sung the third responsory, "Let the heavens be glad, etc." ("Laetentur coeli, etc."), in the usual manner. The communion benedictions were followed by the singing of the "Te Deum laudamus."

After communion, the deacon, turning to the sacristan, chanted the Salutation in Latin and the sacristan responded as usual, "And with your spirit" ("Et cum spiritu tuo"). Then the deacon introduced the post-communion collect, saying, "Let us give thanks, etc.," in German. At the close of the prayer, the sacristan said Amen. Then the Salutation and response were repeated in Latin, along with the "Benedicamus Domino" and response, "Let us give thanks to God" ("Deo dicamus gratias"), by the sacristan. Then turning toward the baptistery (narthex), the deacon said in German, "God the Father +, God the Son +, and God the Holy Spirit + ever grant you his blessing. Amen." 694

It appears that in 1632 the early sermon and Communion, provided for the benefit of household staff, continued according to the rubrics, set down in the 1557 order. Since the majority of those in attendance were not conversant in Latin, more German was introduced, as can be seen from the fact that now the report of the upper room (Luke 22, 7-18), post-communion collect, and benediction were all in German. The dialogue between the deacon and the choir and sacristan were still in Latin, as these dialogues were now traditional and even the unlearned were familiar with them. According to the church order, Matins was set within the framework of the Mass and was sung during the communion of the people. It is noteworthy that the traditional opening verses of Matins, "O Lord, open my lips" ("Domine labia mea aperies") should come just at the time when the people were opening their lips to receive the Sacrament. This may have been a local tradition unique to St. Mary Magdalene Church, but in any case, it could hardly be judged inappropriate. The service was designed so that the close of Matins came at the conclusion of the Divine Service and with a benediction which by that time was associated with the close of the Roman Mass.⁶⁹⁵ This was used in place of the traditional Aaronic Benediction which would be used later in the morning at the High Mass.

One more example of the early Communion service is recorded in the 1650 *Directorium chori* of St. Elisabeth Church. It does not describe the entire service but only that part which pertained directly to the choir. It may be supposed that the

Directorium described the practice of the early Communion service as it was held also in the church of St. Mary Magdalene. There it was stated that the abbreviated Matins service was to be sung during communion. In both cases, the office did not begin with the traditional verse, "O Lord, open my lips," and its response, "And my mouth will declare your praise," both because that verse and response were meant to come first of all in the daily office and because they had already been used to introduce the administration of the Sacrament.

The 1650 *Directorium* provided the form to be used on the first Sunday after Easter. It began with a verse, sung by the liturgist, "In your resurrection, O Christ. Alleluia" ("In resurrectione tua Christe. Alleluia."), to which the choir responded, "Let heaven and earth rejoice. Alleluia" ("Coelum et terra laetentur. Alleluia."). The dialogue then continued with the versicle, "Make haste, O God, to deliver me," and its response, "Make haste to help me, O Lord." Then the Venite Exultemus (Psalm 95) was introduced by the Invitatorium – a threefold alleluia. Then followed the psalm antiphon, "I am who I am" ("Ego sum qui sum"), and Psalms 1 and 2. The verse was "The Lord is risen indeed. Alleluia: And has appeared to Simon Peter. Alleluia" ("Surrexit Dominus vere Alleluia: Et apparuit Simoni Petro. Alleluia."). Given next was the conclusion of the Our Father, most of which had been prayed by the choir in a quiet voice:

Liturgist: "And Lead us not into temptation" ("Et ne nos inducas").

Choir: "But deliver us from evil" ("Sed libera nos a malo").

Designated chorister: "May the Lord bless us" ("Jube, Domine, benedicere").

Liturgist: "May the divine assistance remain always with us" ("Divinum auxilium sit et maneat semper nobiscum").

Choir: Amen.

The chorister was then to read the epistle.

Choir: "Thanks be to God" ("Deo gratias").

Choir responsory: "With great power, [the apostles bore witness to the resurrection]" ("Virtute magna reddebant").

Chorister: "May the Lord bless us."

L: "May the grace and power of the Holy Spirit open to us the understanding of the Holy Gospel" ("Intellectum Sancti Evangelii adaperiat nobis gratia et Spiritus Sancti virtus").

Choir: Amen.

Chorister was then to read the gospel.

Choir: "Thanks be to God."

Choir Responsory: "When the Sabbath was past" ("Dum transisset Sabbatum").

Chorister: "May the Lord bless us."

Choir: Amen.

The chorister was then to read a short explanation of the gospel, and after the usual "Thanks be to God," the choir was to sing the "*Te Deum laudamus*." After it, the liturgist was to pray the collect and the choir was to sing the Benedicamus, "Bless we the Lord. Alleluia: Let us give thanks to God. Alleluia" ("*Benedicamus Domino*. *Alleluia*: *Deo dicamus gratias*. *Alleluia*.").⁶⁹⁶

Nothing specific was included concerning the early Communion service or the administration of the Sacrament, but it would appear that the form indicated is analogous to that found in St. Magdalene agenda of 1632.

Further information concerning the early Communion service is found in the *Orgelbuch* (*Organ Book*) of 1653 of St. Mary Magdalene Church. It indicates that on 20 occasions during the year, the early Communion was to be a festal celebration. Included among these festal days were the day of St. Andrew the Apostle, Christmas I-III, Circumcision, Epiphany, the Purification of Mary, Annunciation, Easter I-III, Ascension, Pentecost I-III, Holy Trinity, John the Baptist, the Visitation, the day of St. Mary Magdalene, the day of St. Michael the Archangel. These services were provided so that household servants would be able to participate in especially festal services on these important occasions.⁶⁹⁷

The 1650 *Directorium chori* of St. Elisabeth Church also included the form of Vespers, as sung on Monday after Quinquagesimae (Estomihi) Sunday and the First Sunday after Trinity. The directives are in Latin, and it is reasonable to assume that the office was to be sung in Latin.

Vespers on Quinquagesimae Monday:

Liturgist: "Make haste, O God, to deliver me, etc." ("Deus in adiutorium, etc.").

Choir: "Make haste to help me, O Lord" ("Domine ad adiuvandum").

Choir: Psalm 122 (121) and its antiphon, "I have lifted up my eyes to you, who dwells in

the heavens" ("Qui habitas").

Choir: Psalm 123 (122) and its antiphon, "Our help is in the name of the Lord, who made

heaven and earth." ("Adiutorium").

Choir: Psalm 124 (123) and its antiphon, "Do good, O Lord, to the good and to the upright

of heart." ("Benefac Domine").

Choir: Psalm 125 (124) and its antiphon, "The Lord has done great things for us. We have

become joyful" ("Facti sumus").

Choir: Psalm 126 (125) and its antiphon.

Lit.: Collect.

[Lection.]

Choir: "Thanks be to God."

Choir hymn: "Earth's Mighty Maker, Whose Command" ("Telluris ingens Conditor").

Choir versicle: "Let my prayer be set forth: before you as incense" ("Dirigatur ad te Domine Oratio mea: Sicut incensum in conspectu tuo").

Choir: Magnificat and its antiphon ("My soul magnifies the Lord").

Lit.: Collect.

[Lection.]

Lit.: "Bless we the Lord" ("Benedicamus Domino").

Choir: "Let us give thanks to God" ("Deo dicamus").

Vespers for the First Sunday after Trinity assumes a somewhat richer form. In addition to the liturgist and choir, the use of the organ was included. Added as well was a German hymn, honoring the blessed Trinity.

Lit.: "Make haste, O God, to deliver me" ("Deus in adiutorium").

Choir: "Make haste to help me, O Lord" ("Domine ad adiuvandum").

Choir: Psalm 109 with its antiphon, "Sit at my right hand, until I make your enemies your footstool" ("Sede ad dexteris meis").

Choir: Psalm 110 with its antiphon, "All his commands are faithful" ("Fidelia").

Organist was then to play a motet.

Lit.: Collect.

[Lection.]

Choir: Thanks be to God.

Organist then was to play the first stanza of the hymn, "Come, Holy Ghost, Creator Blest" ("Veni Creator Spiritus"), and a motet.

Choir versicle: "Send forth Thy Spirit and they shall be created: and you shall renew the face of the earth" ("Emitte Spiritum ...: Et renovabis faciem").

Choir: Magnificat and its antiphon: "I pray you, Father, send him forth ..." ("Rogo te pater ut mittas eum").

Organist was to follow this with a motet.

Lit.: "The Lord be with you."

Choir: "And with your spirit."

Lit.: Collect of the day.

Choir: Amen.

Lit.: "The Lord be with you."

Choir: "And with your spirit."

Organist: Prelude to the hymn, "All Glory Be to God on High."

Lit.: "Bless we the Lord."

The Vespers formula for St. Mary Magdalene Church was described in the 1653 *Orgelbuch*. According to this source, all choral Vespers services were to follow the same order:

Deacon: "Make haste, O God, to deliver me." Choir: "Make haste to help me, O Lord."

Choir: *Gloria Patri*. Choir: Five psalms.

Organ: Motet.

Deacon: Scripture Lection. Choir: "Thanks be to God."

Organ: Responsory. Choir: Responsory verse.

Organ: Repetition of the responsory verse.

Choir: *Gloria Patri* and repetition of the responsory verse. The hymn with organ and choir taking alternative stanzas.

Choir: Versicle and Magnificat antiphon.

The stanzas of the *Magnificat* were to be taken in alteration by the organ and choir, beginning with the organ and ending with the *Gloria Patri*, sung by the choir.

Organ: Motet.

Deacon: "The Lord be with you." Choir: "And with your spirit." Deacon: Collect of the day.

Choir: Amen.

Deacon: "The Lord be with you." Choir: "And with your spirit."

The organ concluded the service with the *Benedicamus* or at Christmastide, "Unto Us a Child Is Born" ("*Puer natus in Bethlehem*"), Eastertide, "Jesus Christ Is Risen Today" ("*Surrexit Christus hodie*"), on Exaudi Sunday, "Today Has Christ Ascended" ("*Ascendit Christus hodie*"), and on Michaelmas, "There Stands Before God's Throne" ("*Es stehen für Gottes Throne*").⁶⁹⁸

5.2.5 The Mass in the 1692 Agenda

An important witness to the Breslau services is found in the Mass formula of 1692 which was used in the churches of St. Elisabeth, St. Mary Magdalena, and St. Bernhard. The form indicates that on June 24 of that year, on the feast of John the Baptist, a new form for the celebration of the Lord's Supper was introduced in those churches to be used beneaforth on all Sundays and feast days.

The service began at 7 a.m. with the passage, "This is the day the Lord has made, etc." ("Haec est Dies, etc."), sung by the choir. Then the organ was to play the preamble, and after it, the choir was to sing the first verse of the introit. The organ then again played the preamble, and following it, the choir sang the second verse of the introit. This was followed once again by the organ. Then the choir sang the Kyrie, and after it, the "Gloria in Excelsis Deo" was intoned, along with the "Et in terra pax." The collect and the epistle of the day followed. After the epistle, an organ motet was played, and after it, a German hymn, played on the main organ and the choir organ (Germ. Positif). This was followed once again by an organ motet. The gospel then followed, and after it, another German hymn, played by the main organ and choir organ. The Creed was then sung to the accompaniment of the organ and choir organ. Then after the sermon, some stanzas of a German hymn were sung, concluding with "Take from us, dear Lord" and "Grant peace, O Lord, graciously." Then the officiant was to intone, "Per omnia secula seculorum," and the choir responded Amen. This phrase concluded the offertory prayers in the medieval missal, and unlike those prayers, it had always been sung aloud by the priest and choir. The Lutherans in Breslau retained the phrase, perhaps under the impression that it was the opening phrase of the Eucharistic Dialogue, although the dialogue actually began with the "Dominus vobiscum."

The liturgist then began the Eucharistic Preface, with the choir responding in the usual manner in Latin. After the proper Preface for the day or season, the *Sanctus* was sung in German with organ accompaniment. The *Verba* in German were followed by the German Our Father and a German communion prayer, such as found in the "household Communion services:"

"Hereby God also desires to make you worthy to receive the Lord's Supper to your benefit, so let us now therefore heartily call upon him and pray thus:

O Lord, although I am surely not worthy that you should enter under the roof of my heart, I am in need of your help and desire your grace that I may be pious and blessed. Now I come to your table with no other confidence than in your word, for you yourself invite me and say to me, who am unworthy, that I shall have forgiveness of sins through your body and blood which I eat and drink in this Sacrament. O dear Lord, I doubt not that your divine promise and word are true, and as I eat and drink with you, let it be to me according to your word. Amen.

O Lord Jesus, unite yourself with me that I may abide in you and you in me, and that I may not be separated from you here in time and hereafter in eternity. Lord Jesus Christ, may your holy body feed me; may your rosy-red blood be my drink; may your bitter sufferings and death strengthen me; in your holy wounds hide me; let me nevermore be separated from you; from evil foes deliver me that

The *Agnus Dei* was then to be sung three times in German and the service was to continue and conclude as usual.⁶⁹⁹

The form of the 1692 Mass, as used in the three principal churches, maintained the Mass form of earlier times with only minor changes. Added to the service were two prayers to be prayed after the consecration in preparation for the reception of the Sacrament. Much of the service was still in Latin, including among other elements the collect, epistle, gospel, and prayer of the church. German was slowly replacing Latin in some parts of the Mass. On June 8, 1692, the Our Father was chanted in German in St. Elisabeth Church for the first time, and on the same day, German hymn stanzas were introduced to be sung at the close of the sermon. The Latin *Sanctus*, which in the 1650 *Directorium chori* had followed the German *Verba*, was now itself put into German and sung before the *Verba*. In fact, everything from the *Sanctus* to the close of the distribution was now put into German. Luther's post-communion collect was in German as well.⁷⁰⁰

With the passing of time, some changes were made in the Mass and ceremonies. At St. Mary Magdalene Church, the ringing of a bell between the Our Father and the communion prayers was introduced on September 26, 1703, and on June 22, 1708, the epistle and gospel were for the first time read from the altar in German in all Breslau churches. The custom of ringing the sacring bells survived in the church of St. Mary Magdalene at least until 1786. In that year, high consistory member and church visitor, David Gottfried Gerhard, sought to have the practice of ringing of what he described as the "transubstantiation bells" (Germ. *Transsubstantiations-glöcken*) abolished because to him it brought transubstantiation to mind. Although his first attempt to eliminate the bells did not succeed, he eventually prevailed and the use of the sacring bells was discontinued. The sacring bells was discontinued.

5.2.6 The 1791 Manuscript Agenda of the Church of St. Mary Magdalene and Carl Friedrich Zastrau's Liber Rituum

Further evidence concerning the services in Breslau appear in a manuscript agenda, used in St. Mary Magdalene Church, entitled: Agende für einen Diakonus an der Haupt- und Pfarrkirche zu St. Maria Magdalena in Breslau 1791 (Agenda for a Deacon in the Chief and Parish Church of St. Mary Magdalene in Breslau, 1791) and in the 1801-1804 report of Carl Friedrich Zastrau, deacon in St. Mary Magdalene Church. His report was entitled: Liber rituum Tempil Mariae Magdalenaei, das ist Nachricht wie es bey der Kirche zu St. Maria Magdalena mit allen kirchlichen zum öffent-

⁶⁹⁹ Sander 1937, 91-93, 95.

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lichen Gottesdienst gehörigen Gebräuchen auch nach mancherley, jedesmal nachzutragenden, Veränderungen bisher gehalten worden ist, zur leichten Übersicht und genauen Beobachtung abgefaßt (Book of the Rites of the Church of Mary Magdalene, that Is, Report of All of the Ecclesiastical Public Divine Service Usages in the Church of St. Mary Magdalene, Together with a Simple Overview and Detailed Observations About Various Supplements and Changes).

Zastrau's Liber rituum provides a description of the celebration of the Lord's Supper in the church of St. Mary Magdalene at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The office of Communion began after the conclusion of the singing of "Grant peace, O Lord." During the final verse of the hymn, the deacon, followed by his assistant, approached the altar "with empty hands," indicating that the sacred vessels had already been placed on the altar. The service began with the Preface which since June 25, 1795, was to be sung in German. This was followed by the Sanctus in German and the singing of a short history of the Passover observance from Luke 22:7-18, concluding with the words "...in the kingdom of God." The Words of Institution were then sung in German in a slow and solemn manner. Immediately following the Consecration, the deacon chanted the Our Father and the choir responded Amen. The deacon then turned to the congregation to introduce the communion prayer, "O Lord, although I am not worthy...," slightly altered from 1692. At its conclusion, the deacon, who was to administer the chalice, approached the altar from the Sacristy and received the chalice, together with a blessing from his colleague. Meanwhile, the celebrant's assistant laid approximately 25 hosts on the paten or enough for all the communicants. Then one, two, or three stanzas of "Lamb of God, Pure and Holy" were to be sung, depending upon the number of communicants. If there were many communicants, a stanza of another communion hymn might also be sung, and on feast days, "Lord God, We Praise Thee" ("Dich, Herr Gott, loben wir"), was added. When all had communed, the deacon, who administered the chalice, was to return it to the altar and kneel at the right side of the altar on the lowest step to the left of the church minister (Germ. Kirchendiener). The celebrant was then to sing the concluding part of the service, beginning with the Salutation, to which the choir responded with "And with his (!) spirit" ("Und mit seinem (!) Geist"). He was then to turn to the altar and sing the post-communion collect from Luther's Deutsche Messe. After the choir Amen, a concluding hymn stanza was to be sung.⁷⁰³

A somewhat more elaborate musical ending was provided for Fridays, beginning in 1703. The deacon, who had administered the bread, was then to lead the procession back to the sacristy, followed by the deacon who administered the chalice and the sacristan carrying the sacred vessels.

The 1791 manuscript agenda of St. Mary Magdalene Church included also a medieval prayer to be said at the close of Mass:

"Soul of Christ, sanctify me!

Body of Christ, save me!

Blood of Christ, inebriate me!

Passion of Christ, strengthen me!

O good Jesus, hear me!

Within your wounds hide me!

Suffer me not to be separated from you!

From the malicious enemy defend me!

In the hour of my death call me!

And bid me come unto you!

That I may praise you with thy saints!

Forever and ever. Amen."704

This prayer, once mistakenly attributed to St. Ignatius of Loyola, who included it in his *Exercitia spiritualia* (*Spiritual Exercises*), is found also in other contemporary sources, including the Polish book of pericopes of St. Christophorus Church, prepared by Pastor Georg Muraveus, Polish/German pastor of that church in 1695. Forms of the same prayer appeared in the 1692 and 1791 manuscript agendas, as well as in the five editions of Geiser's *Gebet-, Beicht- und Communionbuch*. There the abridged form of the "*Anima Christi*" was incorporated in the second communion prayer, "*O Herr Jesu, vereinige dich mit mir, etc.*" ("O Lord Jesus, unite yourself with me").⁷⁰⁵

Zastrau's report provides valuable information concerning the liturgical customs in St. Mary Magdalene Church. Zastrau noted incidentally that it was the practice at St. Mary Magdalene that the sign of the cross be made over the bread both at the words, "he took the bread, gave thanks and broke it," and at the words, "this is my body." Two crosses were also made over the chalice – first at the words, "in the same way also he took the cup," and again at the words, "this

[&]quot;Ardens suspirium post missam:
Anima Christi sanctifica me!
Corpus Christi salva me!
Sanguis Christi inebria me!
Passio Christi confortä me!
O bone Jesu! exaudi me!
Intra vulnera tua absconde me!
Ne permittas, me separari a te!
Ab hoste maligno defende me!
In hora mortis meae voca me!
Et iube me, venire ad te!

is my blood of the New Testament." Alongside the unusual response, "And with his spirit," this double signing may be regarded as noteworthy practice at St. Mary Magdalene Church and perhaps also in other Breslau churches.

5.2.7 The Survival of Old Liturgical Forms in the Nineteenth-Century Breslau

The Breslau Communion service was put into print for the first time in a somewhat abbreviated form in Johann Christian Daniel Geiser's *Gebet-, Beicht- und Communionbuch für die häusliche und kirchliche Andacht. Zum Gebrauche für Confirmanden, aber auch für Personen von jedem Lebensalter und für Kranke* (*Prayer, Confession, and Communion Book for Household and Church Devotions. For the Use of Confirmands and Also for the Elderly and the Infirmed*). Geiser was archdeacon and senior pastor in the church of St. Bernhard in Breslau. The first edition of his book was printed in Breslau in 1816. The work went through five editions between 1816 and 1844. All editions included a section, entitled, "The Celebration of the Lord's Supper According to the Old Breslau Church Order" ("*Abendmahlsfeyer nach der bisherigen alten Breslauischen Kirchenordnung*"). It set down the following order:

Lit: "The Lord be with you."

Choir: "And with his (!) spirit."

(The Preface continues but is not printed.)

Choir: "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Sabaoth. All the earth is filled with his glory. Hosanna in the highest. Blessed is he who comes in the name of Lord. Hosanna in the highest."

Lit: History of the Institution of the Lord's Supper from Luke 22:7-18.

Lit: The *Verba* and the Our Father, sung or said, with the sign of the cross made over the bread and wine at the words, "this is my body" and "this is my blood."

Lit: "With this God also desires to make you worthy to receive the Lord's Supper to your benefit, so let us now, therefore, call upon him with mouth and heart and pray thus:

O Lord, although I am surely not worthy that you should enter into my heart, I am still in need of your help and desire your grace that I may be pious and blessed. Now I come to your table with no other confidence than in your word, for you yourself invite me and say to me, who am unworthy, that I shall have forgiveness of sins through your body and blood which I eat and drink in this Sacrament. O dear Lord, I know that your divine promise and word are true; I do not doubt, and therefore, I eat and drink with you; let it be to me according to your word. Amen.

O Lord Jesus, unite yourself with me that I may abide in you and you in me and

Christ, may your holy body feed me; may your precious shed blood be my drink; may your bitter sufferings and death strengthen me. Lord Jesus Christ, hear me. Let me hide myself in your holy wounds; let me nevermore be separated from you; from the evil foes deliver me; preserve me in the true faith that together with all your elect I may praise and glorify you here in time and hereafter in eternity. Amen."⁷⁰⁶

Geiser did not provide the entire Communion service and said nothing about the use of the *Agnus Dei*, the *Pax*, or the post-communion.

Some information concerning the Breslau liturgy in the early decades of the nineteenth century is provided by Silesian High-President, Friedrich Theodor von Merkel, in response to a February 16, 1817 request from king's privy cabinet councillor, Daniel Ludwig Albrecht, who informed Silesian High-President that King Friedrich Wilhelm III required detailed information concerning worship practices in Silesia. The king was astonished to learn that worship practices among the Lutherans in Breslau had been virtually untouched by the spirit of the age and still to that day remained as they had been in times long past.

As in earlier times, the first service on Sundays began at 5 a.m. and ran for at least three hours. The Chief Divine Service began at 9 a.m. and lasted until noon. The Sunday afternoon service, Vespers, began at 1 p.m. in the afternoon and continued for about two hours.

In the Chief Divine Service, the pastor still chanted his parts, and the choral responses and special music were provided by the choir. It was everywhere the practice that city parishes should have capable choirs and pastors able to intone their parts of the liturgy. After the opening hymn, the choir sang the Kyrie, the pastor intoned the "Gloria in excelsis," and the choir responded by singing, "All Glory be to God on High," in German. This was followed by the Salutation and the collect of the day with the choir responding in both cases. The epistle was then sung and was followed by a major musical work of perhaps some twenty minutes in length. At its conclusion, the pastor again intoned the Salutation, the choir responded, and the gospel and the hymn of the day followed. After the hymn, the congregation sang the confession of faith - the Creed. The sermon was followed by a general confession and the prayer of the church. Also included in the pulpit office were the announcement of deaths, important orders, a free prayer, the Our Father, and the pulpit blessing. The service was to conclude with a hymn, a sung collect, and the benediction, followed by a final hymn stanza. In city churches at least, Vespers was to include intonations, responsories, the Gloria Patri, the Salutation, and collect, all in Latin (!).

Merkel stated his observation that the Breslau service, which he had described, was much the same as one would find in other Silesian towns.⁷⁰⁷

Merkel's testimony about worship in Breslau came within a year of the king's introduction of his own liturgical product, the 1816 Liturgie für die Hof- und Garnison-Gemeinde zu Potsdam und für die Garnison-Kirche in Berlin (The Liturgy for the Court and Garrison Church in Potsdam and Garrison Church in Berlin). The king claimed that the churches in his realm sorely needed to have their divine services improved. He provided his garrison liturgy as the model of what the Service of the Word ought to include. What was being practiced in Breslau at that time as the Service of the Word, was far richer and far more historic than anything that the king had to offer. The Breslau order was in no need of improvement, but it was most assuredly going to be improved! It would be in Breslau that the king would meet the most stubborn and determined resistance to his liturgical novelties.

The king was not completely unfamiliar with the liturgy and liturgical traditions of the Breslau churches. He had been to Breslau and had been present at divine services there. He had expressed his great displeasure when on an official visit in Breslau in 1813 he had observed that the chasuble was still being worn in Lutheran Communion services. In reaction to it, the pastors in Breslau temporarily left their chasubles and other Eucharistic vestments in the sacristy until they were reintroduced in 1822.708

In addition to the liturgical forms already mentioned, a so-called "Wittenberg agenda" was also used in Breslau. The "Wittenberg agenda," known to the nineteenth century Breslau Lutherans, was not, however, necessarily the 1559, 1565, or 1566 Wittenberg agendas of Philipp Melanchthon. By that time, the term, "Wittenberg agenda," was being used more comprehensively to include also the agendas of the Saxon family which had flowed forth from Luther's liturgical works and the 1539/1540 agenda of Duke Heinrich. 709 By the seventeenth century, Duke Heinrich's agenda had grown into the Complete Church Book (Vollständiges Kirchenbuch) which was first printed in 1668 and reprinted again in 1681, 1692, 1697, 1707, 1718, 1731, 1743, 1748, and 1771. The continued use of this book was indicative of the determination of the Breslau churches to continue the use of Duke Heinrich's Saxon rite in Silesian congregations. Yet another Complete Church Book was made use of in St. Elisabeth's Church. This book, too, was Saxon in origin, but it followed the tradition of the Saxe-Coburg agenda of 1626.711 It was prepared by Erdmann Rudolf Fischer, senior pastor and archivist at Coburg, and was published in 1747 by the St. Moritz printing concern in Coburg and Leipzig.⁷¹² Johann Gottfried Scheibel, pastor secundarius of St. Elisabeth's Church, identified three

⁷⁰⁸ Hoffmann 1911, 239; Graff II 1994, 70.

⁷⁰⁹ Kirchen-ordnunge 1539; Agenda 1540.

books, found in the parish library, as representatives of the "Wittenberg agenda." They were the 1681 and 1718 editions of the Leipzig *Complete Church Book* and the 1747 Coburg edition of *Complete Church Book*.⁷¹³

By the end of the eighteenth-century, Rationalism had been able only with great difficulty to enact changes in the Breslau churches. Both the consistory and the congregations held the liturgy in reverent awe and little reason was seen to change it, excepting to eliminate archaic words and expressions. By 1780-1790, congregations were worshiping with the same forms and ceremonies as in earlier times. Traditional Matins and Vespers were still prayed in the churches; the formulary for private confession and the prayer of the church, as well as the traditional forms for Sunday and weekday services, continued to be used. Some looked askance of the exorcism and called for its elimination as a relic of Catholicism. The consistory decided that congregations which wished to eliminate it and had received permission from the consistory to do so, could eliminate it. However, the use of other traditional baptismal customs, such as the baptismal gown, the candle, and the pinch of salt continued in use. It was understood by all that the traditional prayers in the baptismal service were to remain as was also the essential content of Baptism itself, that is, it was to be confessed to bring deliverance from the power of sin, participation in the grace of Christ, and reception into his kingdom. Worship life continued much as in the past, excepting in some congregations new forms of devotion, such as general confession and confirmation, were introduced. At the same time, in the last decade of the eighteenth century, Johann Wilhelm Fischer, subsenior of St. Elisabeth Church, and Deacon Zastrau of St. Mary Magdalene introduced new collections of collects with the understanding that the directives of the city consistory were to be followed and that only truly Christian writings were to be allowed as the source for such prayers.⁷¹⁴

5.3 The Rites in the Duchies of Liegnitz, Brieg, and Wohlau

The territory of Liegnitz, Brieg, and Wohlau was also with its own independent liturgical tradition, dating from the Reformation era. Duke Friedrich II of Liegnitz received the territory of Brieg after the death of his brother Georg I in 1521, and in 1523, he assumed authority also in Wohlau which had formerly been held by Baron Hans Thurzo.

5.3.1 The Introduction of Early Liturgical Reforms

Duke Friedrich II of Liegnitz was an early supporter of Lutheranism. In 1523, he issued a mandate introducing the Reformation into his lands. Four years later, he issued a lengthy apology, defending the faith and the preaching of the gospel. This apology did not concern itself with liturgical details but did state that ceremonies, which were not contrary to the Word of God and were beneficial, were to be retained while those, which were contrary to the faith, must be removed.

More specific directions were formulated early in the 1530s when Schwenckfeldians, Anabaptists, and other radical groups entered the region and caused disputes and divisions among the clergy and people. They denied the efficacy of infant Baptism and insisted on their own unique way of celebrating Communion. In response, Friedrich II called together the clergy of the Duchy of Brieg on September 15, 1534, for discussions concerning a new formulation of the order for the administration of the sacraments. No final action was taken that year. In 1535, he called a meeting of pastors from both Liegnitz and Brieg at Liegnitz for further discussions. At this meeting, it was



Friedrich II of Liegnitz. Engraving by Bartholomäus Strachowsky, 1733 (*Thebesius* 1733).

decided to form committees of clergy in both duchies to collect the results of their deliberations in a document concerning the proper teaching and use of the holy sacraments in the face of the present situation. On November 12, 1535, Friedrich II issued a mandate to the clergy in the Duchy of Liegnitz, pointing out the errors of the Schwenckfeldians and directing how Baptism and the Lord's Supper were to be administered in Liegnitz and Brieg and what constituted the proper preaching of the Word of God. This final document was entitled, *Vergleichung des ausschusses und folgend aller diener des hl. Evangelii dero Liegnitz- und Brigischen fürstentümer und derselben zugethanen weich-*

mittee and of All of the Ministers of the Holy Gospel of Principalities of Liegnitz and Brieg and Their Vicinity, Concerning the Divisive Doctrine and Usage of the Venerable Sacrament).⁷¹⁵

After dealing at great length with the doctrine of Holy Baptism and its proper administration, the church order went on to describe the correct understanding concerning the Sacrament of the Altar which all Christian people should be expected to learn and know. Also included were eleven directives concerning the proper celebration and administration of the Sacrament in the parish churches and a short description of the form and the order of the Mass.

The Mass took the following form: Introit of the day – *Kyrie – "Gloria in excelsis"* – German collect to the day – Epistle in German – Gradual and the Ten Commandments or alleluia and sequence – Gospel in German – Hymn, "Come, Holy Ghost, God and Lord," – Sermon on the gospel – Our Father – Text of the Lord's Supper from 1 Corinthians 11 or John 6 – Nicene Creed – Admonition to confession and proper use of the sacraments and the present needs of Christendom – Preface – *Verba – Sanctus – "Discubuit"* or "*Homo quidam fecit"* ("Then one shall sing the Preface in which are enclosed the Lord's Words concerning the Supper, followed by the *Sanctus*, "*Discubuit"* or "*Homo quidam fecit"*") – Communion – Post-communion hymn ("O Lord, We Praise Thee") – Prayer of thanksgiving – Hymn, "May God Bestow on Us His Grace," or one chosen by the pastor.⁷¹⁶

In general, this follows the pattern of the *Formula Missae* with amendments considered appropriate in the region. The document does not give the entire service and pastors would need to consult other books for the pericopes and the specific prayers and Prefaces. This work was meant simply to provide the clergy a general outline. The directions are sketchy and incomplete as can be seen from the fact that the Our Father is not mentioned in connection with the *Verba* and no mention is made of the versicles, Salutations and responses, or the benediction. It cannot be assumed that these were dropped.

The presence of the Schwenckfeldian and Anabaptist sacramentarians and their preaching were a major cause of contention and disharmony concerning the Sacrament, its celebration, and its use in the churches in Liegnitz and Brieg. These provided the occasion for the publication in 1542 of the official church order. It was introduced in the Duchy of Liegnitz on April 26, 1542, and in the Duchy of Brieg on October 7. In it Duke Friedrich II stated that he found himself under the same obligation as pious kings and rulers in past ages, such as Josiah, Hezekiah, and Theodosius, who had zealously sought to stamp out false worship and idolatry. He declared that the old Mass was without foundation in the Scriptures and was contrary to the holy gospel and must, therefore, be replaced with the true Mass which Christ himself instituted and in which his Supper is rightly used. This Mass alone had the attestation of the Scriptures

and all teaching contrary to it and deceitful speech concerning it must be renounced. The celebration and administration of the sacraments, and indeed all religious matters, must conform to the church's confession, made before the emperor at Augsburg and it must also be in accord with the *Apology* of that confession. This church order was clearly more concerned with purity of doctrine than with the enumeration of ceremonies, retained or dropped.⁷¹⁷

When Duke Friedrich II died in 1547, his lands were divided between his sons according to the terms of his last will and testament. The Duchy of Liegnitz was bequeathed to Friedrich III and Georg II received Brieg and Wohlau. Friedrich III died in 1570, but control there was taken by his son Heinrich XI in 1559. He ruled from 1559 until 1576 when the rule went to his brother Friedrich IV who reigned until 1596. Georg II, Duke of Brieg and Wohlau, died in 1586, and his sons Joachim Friedrich and Johann Georg assumed joint control. Johann Georg died without an heir in 1592, and from then until his death in 1596, Joachim Friedrich ruled alone. After his death, all three duchies were reunited.⁷¹⁸

5.3.2 The Adoption of the Mecklenburg Church Order

In Brieg, it soon became evident that a more comprehensive order than the 1535 order of Friedrich II was needed. Many of the clergy in Brieg turned to the church order of Mecklenburg as a suitable guide for church administration and the exercise of the ministry of the gospel and the sacraments. They petitioned Duke Georg II to officially authorize the use of the Mecklenburg church order in Brieg, and they asked for the introduction of the office of superintendent and the scheduling of general pastoral synods and district synods on a regular basis. In his 1557 mandate, Georg II responded by allowing the establishment of regular conferences of the clergy. With regard to the church order, he noted that because of the local circumstances, there were some matters in which the Mecklenburg church order would need to be altered. The clergy of the duchies of Brieg and Wohlau would need to assemble in separate conferences to discuss these matters in a friendly and brotherly manner. The pastors did meet and after thorough discussion they determined that the form for the Baptism of infants from Luther's Little Baptismal Booklet as printed in the Mecklenburg agenda was appropriate, but the words "...and himself has added thereto" should be dropped from the prayer before Baptism and used only at the Baptism of more mature persons. Georg II also asked for an opinion from the Wittenberg theologians, and in a letter to the duke, Philipp Melanchthon himself recommended the introduction of the



Witteberg. Gedruckeburch Hans Luk. 1552.

Title page of the 1552 Mecklenburg church order.

Mecklenburg order. On December 20, the duke announced that with minor changes the Mecklenburg order would now be the official church order in Brieg. ⁷¹⁹ Extant documents do not indicate whether or not the Mecklenburg achieved official status also in Wohlau. One may assume that it was used there since both duchies were ruled by the same ruler and the duke had included the clergy of Wohlau in his mandate.

Within a few years, the Mecklenburg church order would prove to be of great influence not only in Brieg but throughout the northern German territories.

The first beginnings of a church order for Mecklenburg can be traced back to Johann Albrecht I, the nephew of Duke Heinrich V. In 1551, he established with the agreement of his uncle a commission, charged with the preparation of a comprehensive church order. This commission first met in Rostock and later in

Schwerin, and before the end of the year it was able to produce a draft outline, based on the model of the 1539 church order of Duke Heinrich of Saxony. The principal architect of the draft was Dr. Johannes Aurifaber, professor at the University of Rostock. His co-workers included superintendents Johann Riebling and Gerhard Omeke. Later, Schwerin pastors, Nossiophagus, Joachim (Kükenbieter) and Ernst Rothmann, also participated in the project. After the death of Duke Heinrich, Johann Albrecht I and his brother Ulrich assumed the rule. Duke Johann Albrecht I approved the draft, and Professor Aurifaber carried it personally to Wittenberg to obtain a critique from Melanchthon. Melanchthon made some improvements to the first part and suggested some other changes. It was in this completed document that Melanchthon's Examen der Ordinanden would make its first appearance. The order was printed in Wittenberg in 1552 by Hans Lufft under the title: Kirchenordnung: Wie es mit Christlicher Lere, reichung der Sacrament, Ordination der Diener des Euangelij, ordenlichen Ceremonien, in den Kirchen, Visitation, Consistorio vnd Schulen, Jm Hertzogthumb zu Meckelnburg etc.

gehalten wird (Church Order, as It Should Be Observed with Christian Doctrine, the Administration of the Sacrament, the Ordination of Ministers of the Gospel, Orderly Ceremonies in the Churches, Visitation, Consistory, and Schools in the Duchy of Mecklenburg, etc.).⁷²¹

The order consisted in five major parts: I – Christian doctrine, II – the exercise of the office of preaching or the ministry of the gospel, III – the agenda, IV – Christian schools and studies, V – the maintenance and support of pastors, preachers, and lectors in the university and other schools.

The orders for the celebration of Mass and the offices of Matins and Vespers follow closely the provisions in Duke Heinrich's Saxon agenda. A singular feature which distinguishes the Mecklenburg church order is the inclusion before the introit at the beginning of the Mass of a form of general confession and absolution. The pastor, standing before the altar and turning toward the people, says:

"My dearly beloved in God, open your hearts. Let us confess our sins to God and ask for his forgiveness in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. Together with me, let us implore God from the heart, trusting in the Lord Jesus Christ through the Holy Spirit."

Then, kneeling before the altar, the pastor says with aloud voice:

"Our help is in the name of the Lord."

The choir replies:

"Who made heaven and earth."

The pastor then says:

"O Almightily God, my Maker and Redeemer, I, a poor, sinful man, confess before you, that I have sinned not only in thought, word, and deed, but I also am by nature sinful and unclean, conceived and born in sin. But I seek refuge in your infinite mercy and implore your grace for the sake of the Lord Jesus Christ. Lord, be merciful to me, a sinner."

Another pastor is to answer with this prayer:

"O almighty, merciful God who has given your only-begotten Son to die for us, it is your desire to be merciful to us and for the sake of your beloved Son you forgive us all our sins. Grant us also your Holy Spirit that there may be in us a true awareness of your divine nature and will, and true obedience toward you may be awakened and increased in us, and that through your grace we come to life everlasting for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen."

The pastor is then to pronounce absolution which is, in fact, a declaration of God's grace:

"The almighty, merciful God has had mercy on us and forgives us all our sins for the sake of his dear Son whom he gave into death for our sake, and he makes to be children of God all who believe in his name and gives us his Holy Spirit. He who believes and is baptized shall be saved. Grant this, O Lord, to us all."

The agenda rubrics instruct that the people should quietly listen to this confession, prayer, and absolution, take it to heart and learn it, and before God frequently pray in a similar manner.⁷²²

The Mass proceeds with the following order: Introit – *Kyrie* – "*Gloria in excelsis Deo*" ("*Et in terra pax*" or "All Glory be to God on High") – Salutation in Latin or German – Collect in German – Epistle in German – Sequence or hymn – Gospel in German – Nicene Creed in Latin and "We All Believe in One True God" – Sermon on the gospel – Intercessions and prayer of the church – Hymn during the gathering of the communicants in the choir – Preface and *Sanctus* in German or Latin or "Isaiah, Mighty Seer" – Admonition concerning the Venerable Sacrament – Our Father – *Verba* without elevation – Communion (hymns, "Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior," "O Lord, We Praise Thee," *Agnus Dei*, "Isaiah, Mighty Seer," Psalm 111, "O Christ, Thou Lamb of God" ("*Christe, du Lamm Gottes*"), and others; distribution formula not printed) – Post-communion collect – Aaronic Benediction – Hymn, "Lord, Keep Us Steadfast in Thy Word," and "Grant Peace, We Pray, in Mercy, Lord."

When there are no communicants: Confession and absolution – German psalm or "All Glory be to God on High" or another hymn – Collect – Epistle – Psalm – Gospel – Nicene Creed and "We All Believe in One True God" – Sermon and prayer – Admonition on the importance of frequent communion – Intercessions and prayer of the church – Exhortation to turn away from sin and come often to the Sacrament – Litany or psalms and German hymn – Collect – Aaronic Benediction – Closing hymns as at Mass.⁷²³

A reprint edition of this church order appeared later in 1552. In 1554, a third edition appeared with a few revisions, mostly in the section on the examination of the ordinands where the section on the divinity of Christ was strengthened, and some revisions were made in the section on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. The title of the book was virtually left unchanged.⁷²⁴ In 1555, Hans Lufft in Wittenberg published the first part of the church order as a separate volume: *Der Ordinanden Examen wie es in der Meckelburgischen Kirchenordnung gefasset ist (The Examination of Ordinands, as Set Down in the Mecklenburg Church Order)*.⁷²⁵ A low German translation edition was printed in Rostock in 1557 under the title: *Kerckenordeninge: Wo*

⁷²² *Kirchenordnung* 1552, 80-81.

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ydt mit Christlyker Lere, vorrekinge der Sacramente, Ordination der Denere des Euangelij ordentlyken Ceremonien in den Kercken, Visitation, Consistorio vnde Scholen, Im Hertochdome tho Meckelenborch, etc. geholden werdt (Church Order, as It Should Be Observed with Christian Doctrine, the Administration of the Sacrament, the Ordination of Ministers of the Gospel, Orderly Ceremonies in the Churches, Visitation, Consistory, and Schools in the Duchy of Mecklenburg, etc.). 726 A Latin translation of the church order appeared in 1562 under the title: Liber, continens doctrinam, administrationem sacramentorum, ritus ecclesiasticos, formam ordinationis, Consistorij, Visitationis, & Scholarum ... à Iohanne Fredero in latinam linguam conuersus (Book Containing Doctrine, the Administration of the Sacraments, Ecclesiastical Rites, Form for Ordination, Consistories, Visitations, and Schools ..., translated into Latin by Johann Freder).727



Title page of the 1554 Mecklenburg church order.

5.3.3 The 1592 Church Order for the Duchy of Brieg

In the course of time, concerns were raised about the adequacy of the church order, and shortly before his death, the duke began to formulate plans for a new one which would more adequately address the special circumstances of the churches of his lands. Care would need to be taken to make as few changes as possible since the order for the Mass, as found in the Mecklenburg church order, was now firmly established in Brieg and elsewhere. Georg II died before the work was undertaken and the task fell to his brother Joachim Friedrich who soon announced the preparation of a new church order. The church order, *Hertzog Joachim Friedrichs zur Liegnitz und Brieg etc. Briegsche Kirchenordnung (The Church Order for Brieg of Duke Joachim Friedrich of Liegnitz and Brieg, etc.)*, was published in 1592.

Its first article recalled that the church's faith is built upon the foundation of the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures and the church's official symbols, together with the *Augsburg Confession* and its *Apology*, the writings of Luther, the *Corpus* *Doctrinae*, prepared by Philipp Melanchthon, the Mecklenburg agenda, and what has been stated, approved, and introduced from time to time by power of the old ducal order and later decisions, arrived at in Strehlen on January 15, 1573.

Included in the order were several articles concerning the divine services. The description of the Mass was placed in the article, entitled: "Concerning High Feasts." Three divine services for Sundays and festivals are provided. The first of these is the early Matins service: "Venite exultemus" with two psalms – Responsory – Sermon – German hymn – "Te Deum laudamus" – Salutation and response – Collect of the day – "Benedicamus Domino."

The order for the Mass: Introit – *Kyrie* – *Gloria* and "*Et in terra pax*" – Collect – Epistle in Latin – Alleluia and sequence (Lat. "*prosa*") – Gospel in Latin (in small villages the pericopes may be read in German) – Nicene Creed in Latin by the choir and "We All Believe in One True God" by the congregation – Hymn – Sermon – Hymn – Latin Preface – Our Father – *Verba* – Communion with appropriate hymns ("*figuriret die cantorei*"). The concluding note states that high feasts are to be celebrated in the cities for three days and in villages for two days with the third day celebrated as the feast of an apostle.

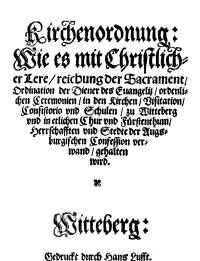
The office of Vespers on the three chief feasts, with Christmas Vespers provided as an example: Verse, "Verbum caro factum est" ("The Word Was Made Flesh") - Choral response by the choir, "And dwelt among us, etc." - Psalm - Responsory - Hymn - Sermon - Magnificat - "Let the Voice of Praise Resound" ("Resonet in laudibus") - Benedicamus.

On ordinary Sundays, Mass is as usual, but after the epistle, a German hymn from Luther's hymnal is sung and after the gospel, the Nicene or Athanasian Creed follow. The Athanasian Symbol is sung one Sunday in Latin and the next Sunday in German. The sermon begins with a hymn and the Our Father. A hymn follows the sermon while the communicants approach the altar. On one Sunday, the Latin Preface is used in the cities with the cantor and choir responding. The next Sunday it is in German. The Our Father and the Words of Christ follow. During distribution, communion hymns are sung: "Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior," "O Lord, We Praise Thee," "Isaiah, Mighty Seer," and other suitable hymns. After communion, there follows the benediction, after which the cantor sings, "Grant Peace, We Pray, in Mercy, Lord." This is followed by the collect for peace. On ordinary Sundays, Vespers begins with the Latin psalm and hymn. Then follows the German "Te Deum laudamus" and the sermon. The sermon begins with the German Magnificat, and following the sermon, the "Nunc Dimittis" is sung. This is followed by the collect and Benedicamus. On the next Sunday, a psalm and hymn open the service and the Magnificat, collect, and Benedicamus follow the sermon.⁷²⁸

The provisions of the 1592 church order indicate that the influence of the Mecklenburg order was still strong and the Mass in the new order closely followed the 1557 order.

5.3.4 The 1594 Liegnitz Church Order

Pastors in the Duchy of Liegnitz considered the 1557 Mecklenburg order, used in neighboring Brieg, to be more substantial than their own 1535 and 1542 church orders. They sought permission to use it but it was not granted. A new church order did appear during the reign of Duke Joachim Friedrich in 1594. It reproduced the so-called "Wittenberg agenda" which Melanchthon had published as private work in 1559. The original title of Melanchthon's edition was: Kirchenordnung: Wie es mit Christlicher Lere, reichung der Sacrament, Ordination der Diener des Euangelij, ordenlichen Ceremonien, in den Kirchen, Visitation, Consistorio, vnd Schulen, zu Witteberg vnd in etlichen Chur vnd Fürstenthum, Herrschafften vnd Stedte der Augsburgischen Confession verwand, gehalten wird (Church Order, as It Should Be Observed with Christian Doctrine,

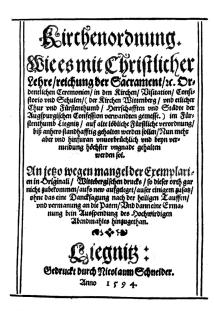


Title page of Philipp Melanchthon's 1559 "Wittenberg Agenda."

1559.

the Administration of the Sacrament, the Ordination of Ministers of the Gospel, Orderly Ceremonies in the Churches, Visitation, Consistory, and Schools in Wittenberg and Several Other Electorates and Principalities, Lordships and Cities Related to the Augsburg Confession).⁷²⁹

This 1559 "Wittenberg agenda" actually reproduced the 1554 Mecklenburg church order. Hans Lufft, who had published the original Melanchthonian edition, also published two further editions in Wittenberg in 1565 and 1566, and yet another edition was published in Frankfurt (Main) in 1565.⁷³⁰



Title page of the 1594 Liegnitz church order.

Duke Joachim Friedrich had determined that it was the "Wittenberg" church order which best met the needs of the churches of the Duchy of Liegnitz. It was properly authorized by the territorial assembly and published in Liegnitz in 1594 under the title: Kirchenordnung. Wie es mit Christlicher Lehre, reichung der Sacrament, etc. Ordentlichen Ceremonien, in den Kirchen, Visitation, Consistorio und Schulen, (der Kirchen Wittenberg, und etlicher Chur und Fürstenthumb, Herrschafften vnd Städte der Augspurgischen Confession verwandten gemesse.) im Fürstenthumb Liegnitz, auf alte löbliche Fürstliche verordnung, biss anhero standhafftig gehalten werden sollen, Nun mehr aber vnd hinfuran vnuorbrüchlich vnd beyn vermeidung höchster vngnade gehalten werden sol. An jetzo wegen mangel der Exemplarien in Originali, Witterbergischen drucks, so dieser orth gar nicht zubekommen,

aufs new aufgeleget, auser einigem zusatz, ohne das eine Dancksagung nach der heiligen Tauffen, vnd vermanung an die Paten, Und dann eine Ermanung bein Ausspendung des Hochwirdigen Abendmahles hinzugethan (Church Order with Christian Doctrine, the Administration of the Sacrament, etc., Orderly Ceremonies in the Churches, Visitation, Consistory, and Schools (in the Churches in Wittenberg and Several Other Electorates and Principalities, Lordships and Cities, Related to the Augsburg Confession), as It Should Be Steadfastly Observed Now and Henceforth, and Without Abridgement, in Order to Avoid the Displeasure of Higher Authorities, by to the Old Laudable, Princely Decree in the Principality of Liegnitz. Because of the Lack of Copies of the Original, Wittenberg Printing Available in This Land, Now Issued Anew with a Few Additions, such as the Thanksgiving After Holy Baptism and an Admonition to the Sponsors, as well as an Admonition at the Administration of the Venerable Sacrament of the Altar). The form of the Mass was unchanged from the 1554 Mecklenburg book and the "Wittenberg agenda." The text was altered only in so far as necessary to indicate that this form of the Mass and its wording were now being used in many lands. In addition, the full text of the admonition before the Communion was printed in situ.⁷³¹

After the Peace of Westphalia, Lutheran worship continued as before in the duchies of Liegnitz and Brieg. However, it is not known whether the 1592 Brieg and 1594 Liegnitz agendas were ever republished. Another book, *Briegis*che Kirchen- und Schlossgebete (Church and Castle Prayer of Brieg), edited by Superintendent Nikolaus Blume, was published in 1595.732 It is reported that a church order for Wohlau was published in 1655.733

5.3.5 Calvinist Influences in the Duchies of Liegnitz, Brieg, and Wohlau

In the Silesian duchies of Wohlau, Liegnitz, and Brieg, Philippism had gained a strong foothold by the middle of the sixteenth century with the result that in Breslau, Brieg, and Liegnitz it was Melanchthon's "Corpus Philippicum" ⁷³⁴ which served as the authorized theological textbook. Although genuine Lutheranism did make some progress, the Philippists also increased in numbers and moved more and more toward Calvinist teaching.⁷³⁵ Foremost among those who led the movement toward Calvinism were Rector Laurentius Circlerus, head of the Brieg gymnasium, and Rector Melchior Laubanus of the Goldberg Gymnasium in Liegnitz. These and many of their colleagues were Crypto-Calvinists who no longer held traditional Lutheran teachings on the Lord's Supper, Christology, exorcism, and Lutheran ceremonies. Although they claimed that they strictly adhered to the Augsburg Confession, they could not and would not approve the Formula of Concord.736

In the political sphere, Duke Joachim Friedrich of Liegnitz and Brieg married Anna Maria, the daughter of Duke Joachim Ernst of Anhalt who was already turning more and more toward Calvinism. Among the six children born to them, two came under Calvinist influence, Johann Christian of Brieg and Georg Rudolf of Liegnitz and Wohlau.737

On December 19, 1601, one year before his death, Joachim Friedrich issued regulations concerning the theological standards to be followed by the clergy in his domains. Preaching should continue as in the past from the divine word of the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures on the basis of the old Symbols, the *Augs*burg Confession and its Apology, along with the orthodox writings of Luther and Melanchthon, most especially the Corpus Doctrinae. These were to be taught in

⁷³² Sehling III 1909, 427-428.

⁷³³ Eberlein 1905; Graff I 1994, 26.

⁷³⁴ Corpus Doctrinae Christianae 1560.



Duke Johann Christian of Brieg (*Dewerdeck* 1711).

a pure and unaltered manner. However, the "new, controverted articles" concerning the person of Christ and his properties, particularly ubiquity and the Lord's Supper as propounded in Saxony and over which there were many contentions, were not to be considered among these articles. These doctrines contained many subtleties and should be avoided "in accordance with the Word of God" which says that one should not delight in quarreling. Anyone who refused to follow that path should eschew the church services because in the congregation of God there should be no desire to quarrel (1 Corinthians 11:16) and one should not "bite and

devour" one another (Galatians 5:15). These same instructions from 1601 were repeated in 1614 by Johann Christian and Georg Rudolf. 738

In 1610, Johann Christian married Dorothea Sibylle, the daughter of Elector Johann Georg of Brandenburg, and came into the orbit of the elector's court. When Johann Sigismund declared on Christmas Day of 1613 that he had become a Calvinist, Johann Christian quickly followed suit. His younger brother Georg Rudolf also became a Calvinist, and as an outward sign of conversion, in 1614 he married Sophie Elisabeth, the daughter of Prince Johann Georg I of Anhalt-Dessau, a Calvinist.⁷³⁹

Johann Christian began to openly espouse the doctrines of the Reformed Church in 1611 by participating in a celebration of the Lord's Supper, conducted by Johann Neomenius according to Reformed custom in his Castle Church in Brieg. Subsequently, Neomenius was named his court chaplain and superintendent of the church in Brieg.⁷⁴⁰

In 1614, his brother Georg Rudolf called two Reformed clergy – Georg Buläum to serve as his court chaplain at the court church of St. Johann and Elias Hofmann to administer the Liegnitz ecclesiastical district. Some Lutheran pastors were willing to make accommodations and introduce Reformed doctrine and customs, but the city dwellers and members of the nobility remained steadfastly Lutheran with the result that the influence of Reformed theology and practice never spread

⁷³⁸ Hensel 1768, 209.

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far beyond the court church where the closest associates of the duke worshiped. As a result, between 1614 and 1619 the dukes were able to introduce very few Calvinist innovations in the churches of their domains.

Upon his election, Ferdinand II of Habsburg, who was raised by the Jesuits and became king of Bohemia in 1617, began the implementation of the Counter-Reformation. This resulted in a civil war between the Bohemians and the Habsburgs. Johann Christian and his Brother Georg Rudolf, along with some other Silesian dukes, formed an army under the leadership of Margrave Johann Georg of Jägerndorf to defend against the



Duke Georg Rudolf of Liegnitz-Wohlau (*Dewerdeck* 1711).

inroads of the Habsburgs. In 1619, the Bohemian estates formally announced that Ferdinand II was deposed, and on July 26 Elector Friedrich V of the Palatinate and a staunch Calvinist was elected the new king of Bohemia.

This greatly strengthened the position of the Calvinist dukes in Silesia. In 1619, Silesian dukes, Johann Christian of Brieg and Georg Rudolf of Liegnitz, publicly swore their adherence to Reformed doctrine and publicly affirmed that they would remove from the churches all vestiges of "popish dregs and idolatrous rubbish" which Lutherans had allowed to remain. On Christmas Day, 1619, Johann Christian of Brieg and eighty-five of his close associates from Breslau and Neisse participated in a Reformed Communion service in the court church. At about the same time, Reformed influence was becoming very strong in neighboring Bohemia and the dukes were now bold enough to publicly introduce Reformed customs into the churches of their lands.

During the following year, 1620, Friedrich V, elector of the Palatinate and now also king of Bohemia, implemented the introduction of the Reformed faith into Breslau. Scultetus, the court preacher, came to Breslau to preach, and he implemented the swift introduction of Reformed theology and practice in his Silesian birthplace. Public authorization "to practice the Reformed religion freely" in Breslau was obtained from the elector on March 5, 1620.⁷⁴⁴ Although the court and the duke's gymnasium were now thoroughly Reformed, the great majority of the

people steadfastly remained loyal to the Lutheran faith. To their minds, the Lutheran Reformation was the complete Reformation and needed to go no further.

On November 8, 1620, after the Battle of White Mountain had been lost, "King" Friedrich V and his wife Elisabeth were forced to flee the country and the advancement of Calvinism grounded to a halt. It should be noted that in contrast to his brother Johann Christian, Georg Rudolf returned to Lutheranism in 1621.⁷⁴⁵

By the 1790s, calls were being heard for the preparation of services of worship in Brieg which would be more accommodating to modern, thoughtful people. Court Councilor Ernst Gottlieb Glawning stated that in the name of all men capable of rational thought a new liturgy was needed. The results of such calls appeared in print in 1796 in a work entitled: *Auszug der Kirchenagende bei der Stadt-Pfarrkirche ad S. Nic. in Brieg (gedruckt mit Trampischen Schriften)* (Extract of the Church Agenda of the City-Parish Church of St. Nicolaus in Brieg (Printed with the Writings of [Johann Gottfried] Trampe)). Much of its material was traditional and showed little inclination toward Rationalistic thinking, although one prayer in the examination of the catechumens gave some evidence of the influence of modern thought.⁷⁴⁶

More attuned to the progressive thinking was the work of Archdeacon Ernst Klose of Brieg, who in 1797 prepared a handbook, *Die Abendmahlsfeyer ein Erbauungsbuch für gebildetete Christen (The Celebration of the Lord's Supper. A Book of Edification for Educated Christians*), which included numerous formularies for the celebration of the Lord's Supper, some of which appeared to show some indication of the influence of the Glogau liturgy and the work of the well-known Rationalist, Wilhelm Friedrich Hufnagel.⁷⁴⁷ The second and third editions came off the presses in Leipzig in 1803 and 1810.⁷⁴⁸

In the Duchy of Liegnitz, August Wilhelm Ludwig Vangerow attempted to bring worship into closer conformity with modern thinking. In 1804 he published a handbook, entitled: *Die allgemeine Menschenreligion. Versuch einer Entwickelung derselben aus den ältesten christlichen Urkunden. Ein Buch für gebildete Leser aus allen Religionspartheien (The Universal Religion on Mankind. The Quest for a Development of the Same from the Oldest Christian Sources. A Book for Educated Readers of All Religious Persuasions*). Unlike other Rationalist writers, Vangerow did not reject the use of traditional Christian material, although, as a Rationalist, he would of course deny its revelatory significance.⁷⁴⁹

⁷⁴⁵ Wallmann 2010, 157; Schott 2015, 84.

⁷⁴⁶ Aust 1910, 21-22.

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5.4 The Liturgical Traditions of the Duchy of Oels

An independent liturgical tradition developed in the Duchy of Oels which rested on the Polish border, north of the Duchy of Breslau.

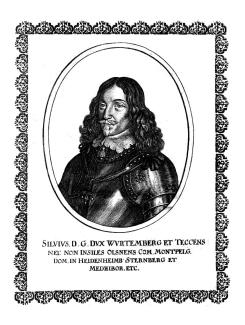
In the sixteenth century, the ruling family in Oels was the Münsterberg branch of the Bohemian Poděbrady family. When Duke Karl I of Münsterberg-Oels died in 1536, he left the Duchy of Münsterberg to his son Heinrich II and the Duchy of Oels to another son, Johann. A third son, Georg II, also lived in Oels, and a fourth son, Joachim, was a clergyman who, until he resigned in 1560, was bishop of Lebus. Neither of them received any land in their father's will.

Heinrich II put up the indebted Duchy of Münsterberg as a pledge to Duke Friedrich II of Liegnitz in 1542. In 1550, King Ferdinand I of Bohemia and Hungary redeemed that pledge from Friedrich III, the son of Duke Friedrich II, and turned Münsterberg over to Queen Isabella Jagiellon of Hungary. In 1559, Heinrich II's brother, Johann, brought Münsterberg back into the family possessions by buying it back and thus the duchy returned to the house of Poděbrady. In 1568, Johann's son, Karl Christoph, who was apparently in urgent need of funds, sold it to Emperor Maximilian II. From that year on, the Duchy of Münsterberg would remain firmly in the hands of the Habsburgs. In the same year, 1568, Karl Christoph sold the Duchy Oels to his two cousins, Karl II and Heinrich III, the sons of his uncle Heinrich II.⁷⁵⁰

5.4.1 Sixteenth-Century Oels Liturgical Orders

Heinrich II and Johann had introduced the Reformation into their territories in 1537, within a year of their father's death. In Oels, Johann established the office of superintendent in 1561. It has been noted that Oels came under the control of Heinrich III and Karl II in 1568. Heinrich died in 1587 and from that point on Karl II ruled alone. It was during this period that the practice of holding two annual general synods was established. In addition, there were frequent pastoral conferences, such as those which had been introduced in Liegnitz. Later in his reign, in 1608, Duke Karl published a consistorial order, and the consistory began its work in 1609.

It is not known precisely what liturgy was used in the duchy from the time of the Reformation until the end of the sixteenth century, but it is generally supposed that it was the widely influential Saxon 1539 church order. After the Mecklenburg church order was published and circulated and the subsequent "Wittenberg



Duke Silvius I Nimrod of Württemberg. Copper engraving (*Theatrum Europäum*, 1652).

burg order came to bear in the congregations in Oels. In 1592, Superintendent Melchior Eccard announced the formulation of a new liturgy for the duchy. It was published with the approval of the duke on May 3, 1593. It was this liturgy which would be the unifying liturgical document for the church of Oels in the entire seventeenth century.⁷⁵¹

The Münsterberg branch of the Poděbrady dynasty came to an end in 1647 with the death of Duke Karl Friedrich I, the son of Karl II. He died leaving no heir to perpetuate his line. In 1649, Emperor Ferdinand III named Duke Silvius I Nimrod of Württemberg, the husband of the daughter of Karl Friedrich I, as ruler. He inaugurated a new dynasty, the house of Württemberg-Weiltingen which would rule Oels until 1792.

5.4.2 The 1664 Oels Church Constitution and Agenda

In 1662-1663, Duke Silvius I undertook a thorough visitation of the parishes in the Duchy of Oels. It caused him great concern that the visitation demonstrated that in many places the church's prescribed liturgy of 1593 had been laid aside or only parts of it were used and in some cases material from foreign agendas had been introduced. As a partial remedy, he published in 1664 a church constitution, entitled: Nothwendige Kirchen-Constitution, Welche für die sämtlichen Evangelischen Gemeinden Oelssnischen Fürstenthums, Auf die in selbigem Anno 1662 und 63 gehaltene und glücklich verbrachte Visitation, Der Durchlauchtige, Hochgebohrne Fürst und Herr, Herr Sylvius, Hertzog zu Würtemberg und Teck, auch in Schlesien zur Oelssen, Graff zu Montbelgart, Herr zu Heidenheim, Sternberg und Medzibohr, etc. Durch gewisse darzu deputirte und beschriebene S. Fürstl. Gn. Consistorial- und Land- Räthe, auch Pfarrer und Seniores, in unterschiedenen Puncten und Articuln verfassen lassen (Necessary Church Constitution for All Evangelical Congregations in the Principality of Oels on the Basis of the Results of the Visitation, Held and Successfully Concluded in the Years



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Title page of the 1664 Oels *Church Constitution*.

Title page of the 1664 Oels agenda.

Silvius, Duke of Württemberg and Teck, also of Oels in Silesia, Count of Montbelgart, Lord of Heidenheim, Sternberg, and Medzibor, etc. Through Certain Ones Deputized and Subscribed by His Ducal Highness, the General, Consistorial, and Territorial Councils, and the Clergy and Seniors who Have Been Given Leave to Author Various Points and Articles).

Silvius I died in 1664, so the preface appeared under the name of his widow Elisabeth Maria. Her certification was dated December 20, 1664. The document described the results of the visitation and made necessary prescriptions concerning various aspects of church life, such as catechesis, preaching, etc. Also included was an article, "On church agendas and ceremonies," which stated that every pastor was to be furnished at the expense of the parish a copy of the church order of 1593 and he was to follow its prescriptions in every respect. For this purpose, a new edition of the 1593 agenda was printed in 1664. The book was entitled: Agenda Oder Ordnung Derer Evangelischen Kirchen im Oelßnischen Fürstenthum und zugehörigen Weichbildern, Auff gnädigen Befehl I. F. G. Hertzog Carls zu Münsterberg, dieses Nahmens des Anderen, erstlich gestellt und zusammenbracht, und der Ehrwürdigen Priesterschafft übergeben Ao. 1593: Numehro aber auff gnädige Verordnung I. F. G. Hertzog Sylvii zu Würtenberg und Teck, auch in Schlesien zur Oelssen, etc. revidiret und

zum Druck befördert (Agenda or Order of the Evangelical Churches in the Principality of Oels and the Territories Belonging to It, by the Gracious Command of His Princely Grace, Duke Carl of Münsterberg, the Second to Bear This Name, First Set Down and Assembled and Handed Over to the Reverend Priesthood in 1593, but Now by the Gracious Order of His Princely Grace, Duke Silvius of Württemberg and Teck, and also Oels in Silesia, etc., Revised and Set in Print in the Year 1664).

In the preface, signed on September 15, 1592, by Superintendent Melchior Eccard, the principal author of the work, the pastors were reminded of the admonition of the Apostle Paul that they should be zealous to maintain the unity of the spirit in the bonds of peace. After quoting a number of Bible passages, the writer noted that the unity of the church does not depend on uniformity in outward ceremonies and church customs. That was rather founded upon pure doctrine in all articles of faith and also in the living of lives in agreement with that faith. However, uniformity in ceremonies was of no little importance to the edification and upbuilding of the faith and the right understanding and use of the venerable sacraments.⁷⁵³

The agenda contained specific forms for the consecration and administration of the Sacrament of the Altar, Holy Baptism, emergency Baptism, confession and absolution, marriage, burial, and ordination. One looks in vain in the book for the general public divine services of the church, such as the Mass, Matins, or Vespers. It is evident that these were to be found in other books or consistorial orders.

The first and second chapters of the agenda provided a form for the consecration and administration of the Sacrament of the Altar. It directed that immediately after the sermon and the usual intercessions, the pastor was to invite the people to make their confession and then lead them in the prayer for the confession of sins and announce the absolution, both of which were Saxon in origin. This was followed by a warning that the sins of the impenitent were retained. Then followed the prayer of the church with a special intercession, naming the ruler and his wife and the princes by name. Rubrics indicate also that other appropriate announcements were to be made, together with prayers for the sick, dying, mothers who had recently given birth, etc., as well as a prayer for protection against the Turks and other dangers. Then followed a particular admonition to those about to receive the body and blood of the Lord. This admonition was from the 1533 Brandenburg-Nürnberg church order. At its conclusion, the pastor was to invite the congregation to pray and intoned the Our Father and Words of Consecration. Then followed a communion prayer, based upon a prayer included in Luther's 1521 Maundy Thursday sermon.⁷⁵⁴ The same prayer was later included in the Oels 1664 agenda and the Breslau 1692 church order:

"Lord Jesus Christ, I am not worthy that you should enter under my roof and yet I am still in great need and eager, and I hunger and thirst for your mercy, refreshment, comfort, and strength through the Venerable Sacrament of your true body and true blood. Therefore I implore you, my only Redeemer and Savior, grant me your tender mercy that I may receive the Venerable Sacrament with a repentant, believing, and God-fearing heart for the strengthening of my faith, the forgiveness of all my sins, and life everlasting, you who with the Father and the Holy Spirit live and reign in eternity. Amen."

Communion was distributed with the traditional formula: "Take and eat, this is the very body of our Lord Jesus Christ, given into death for your sins. May this strengthen and preserve your body and soul in the true faith to life everlasting." "Take and drink, this is the very blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, shed for your sins. May this strengthen and preserve your body and soul to life everlasting." "756

After all have communed, the pastor was to pray Luther's post-communion prayer and bless the people with the Aaronic Benediction. Nothing is said about the *Sanctus*, the *Pax Domini*, the *Agnus Dei*, or hymns during communion.

Additional directives, found in the Article X of the 1664 *Church Constitution*, state that before the consecration no other preface is to be used but that which is found in the agenda. The reference to the "preface" would appear to refer to the exhortation before communion, found under the heading: "How Men Shall Administer the Holy Sacrament and Distribute it in the Churches in a Public Christian Congregation." At the words, "he took the bread" and "he took the cup," the pastor is to take in his hands first the paten with the hosts and then the chalice without elevating them. While he says the words, "this is my body" and "this is my blood," it is customary to make the sign of the cross. Directives are also included concerning appropriate hymns to be sung during the distribution and the setting apart of additional elements. Communion is to be celebrated on every Sunday that communicants present themselves or at least once every two or three weeks.⁷⁵⁷

The inclusion of the confession and absolution after the sermon was a common practice in German territorial churches. The particular form of the confession and absolution in this agenda is clearly Saxon. The exhortation appears to have come from the 1533 Brandenburg-Nürnberg rite. The form for marriage derives from the Breslau 1550 church order. The sources of this agenda can be described as eclectic since it shows the influence of several important Lutheran agendas.

Both the church constitution and the agenda were reprinted under their original titles in 1686 by the printing house of Gottfried Güntzel in Oels. The last edition of the traditional Oels agenda was printed in Oels in 1750 with the usual title:



Title page of the 1686 Oels agenda.

Agenda Oder Ordnung, Derer evangelischen Kirchen im Oelßnischen Fürstenthum und zugehörigen Weichbildern, Auf gnädigen Befehl Ihro Fürstl. Gnaden Hertzog Carls zu Münsterberg, dieses Nahmens des Andern, erstlich gestellt und zusammen bracht, und der Ehrwürdigen Priesterschafft übergeben Anno 1593. Nunmehro aber auff gnädigste Verordnung Ihro Fürstl. Gnaden Hertzog Sylvii zu Würtemberg und Teck, auch in Schlesien zur Oelßen etc. revidiret und zum Druck befördert Anno 1664. (Agenda or Order of the Evangelical Churches in the Principality of Oels and the Territories Belonging to *It, by the Gracious Command of His Princely* Grace, Duke Carl of Münsterberg, the Second to Bear This Name, First Set Down and Assembled and Handed Over to the Reverend *Priesthood in 1593, but Now by the Gracious*

Order of His Princely Grace, Duke Silvius of Württemberg and Teck and also Oels in Silesia, etc., Revised and Set in Print in the Year 1664).⁷⁵⁸

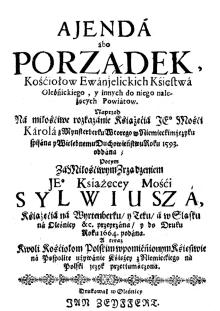
The agenda of 1750 continued in use until the opening years of the nineteenth century, when progressive Rationalist philosophies gained a foothold. A leader among the progressive pastors was Superintendent and Court Preacher Elias Gottlieb Dominici, who took it upon himself to prepare an agenda which in his estimation would appeal to modern sensibilities. His agenda appeared in 1804 under the title: Agenda, oder: Ordnung der evangelischen Kirchen im Oelsnischen Fürstenthum und zugehörigen Weichbildern; auf gnädigen Befehl Ihro Fürstl. Gnaden Herzog Carls zu Münsterberg, dieses Nahmens des Andern, erstlich gestellt und zusammenbracht, und der ehrwürdigen Priesterschaft übergeben Anno 1593. Nunmehro aber auf gnädigste Verordnung Ihro Fürstl. Gnaden Herzog Sylvii zu Würtemberg und Teck, auch in Schlesien zur Oelssen etc. revidiret und zum Druck befördert Anno 1664 (Agenda or the Order of the Evangelical Churches in the Principality of Oels and Dependent Territories, by the Gracious Command of His Princely Grace, Duke Carl of Münsterberg, the Second to Bear This Name, First Set Down and Assembled and Published for the Reverend Priesthood in the Year 1593, but Now by the Gracious Order of His Princely Grace, Duke Silvius of Württemberg and Teck and also Oels in Silesia, etc., Revised and Set in Print in the Year 1664). Dominici did not cast aside the old, familiar forms but put them always in first place, at the head of a list of alternatives. Those who were traditional in

their thinking would need go no further than the first order where changes were kept to a minimum. Those who were progressive could easily move beyond that first form to chose from a number of alternatives, each with its own particular emphasis.⁷⁵⁹

5.4.3 Liturgical Texts in the Polish Language

The Duchy of Oels was situated on the Polish border and among its inhabitants were a significant number of Polish-speaking people. No particular mention

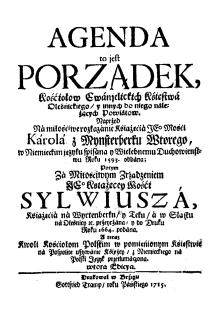
was made of them until it was noted in the church constitution of 1664 that the Poles ought to have pastors who preached in Polish. So too, the consecration heard by Polish ears should be in Polish, just as the consecration of the Sacrament heard by Germans would be in their native tongue. It was suggested further that the Sacrament of the Altar in places inhabited by both Poles and Germans should be celebrated on one Sunday in Polish and on the next in German. To facilitate this, the agenda was published in 1668 in a Polish edition and given the title: Ajendá ábo Porządek, Kościołow Ewánjelickich Kśięstwá Oleśńickiego, y innych do niego należących Powiátow. Naprzod Ná miłośćiwe rozkazánie Kśiążęćią IGo Mośći Károlá z Mynsterberku Wtorego w Niemieckim jezyku spisána y Wielebnemu Duchowieństwu Roku 1593. oddána; Potym Zá Miłośćiwym Zrządzeniem IGo Książęcey Mośći SYLWIUSZÁ, Kśiążęćiá



Title page of the 1668 Polish language Oels agenda (*Nienałtowski* 2019).

ná Wyrtenberku, y Teku, á w Sląsku ná Oleśnicy etc. przeyrzána, y do Druku Roku 1664. podána. A teraz Kwoli Kościołom Polskim w pomięńionym Kśięstwie na Pospolite używánie Kśiężey z Niemieckiego ná Polski język przetłumáczona. The work of translation was done by Pastor Jerzy Bock who was installed as the Polish pastor in Oels in 1650 and in 1651 was elevated to the rank of archdeacon. His work was reprinted in Brieg in 1715 as Agenda to jest Porządek Kościołów Ewánjelickich Kśięstwá Oleśnickiego, y innych do niego należących Powiátów. Naprzod Ná milościwe rozkazánie

Kśiążęćią JGo Mośći Károla z Mynsterberku Wtorego, w Niemieckim języku spisána y Wielebnemu Duchowienstwu Roku 1593. oddána; Potym Zá Miłośćiwym Zrżądzeniem JGo Książęcey Mośći SYLWIUSZÁ, Książęćiá ná Wyrtenberku, y Teku, á w Śląsku ná Oleśnicy etc. przeyrżána, y do Druku Roku 1664. podána. A teraz Kwoli Kośćiołom Polskim w pomięńionym Kśięstwie ná Pospolite używánie Kśiężey, z Niemieckiego ná Polski Język przetłumáczona. wtóra Edicya.⁷⁶¹



Title page of the 1715 Polish language Oels agenda.

The appearance of the 1804 German language agenda led to plans for the preparation of its Polish translation by Pastor Johann Christian Bockshammer in Festenberg.⁷⁶² However, he died in 1804 before he could complete the work. The 1715 reprint edition of Bock's translation would continue to serve the church until a Polish translation of the 1804 book appeared in 1819. This translation was prepared by Chrystyan Boguchwał Auersbach. It was printed in Oels under the title: Agenda lub porządek kościołów ewanielickich Księstwa Oleśnickiego i do niego należących powiatów, na miłościwe rozkazanie Książęcia Jego Mości Karola z Mynsterberku wtórego naprzód złożona i spisana, a wielebnemu Duchowieiistwu r. 1593 oddana; potem za najmiłościwszem zrządzeniem Jego Książęcej Mości Sylwiusza Książęcia na Wyrtenbergu i Teku i też w Śląsku na Oleśnicy i t. d. przejrzana i do druku r. 1664 podana, kwoli kościołom pol-

skim w polski język przetłumaczona. Nowa edycya. 763

⁷⁶¹ Agenda 1715.

Agenda, oder: Ordnung der evangelischen Kirchen im Oelsnischen Fürstenthum und zugehörigen Weichbildern; auf gnädigen Befehl Ihro Fürstl. Gnaden Herzog Carls zu Münsterberg, dieses Nahmens des Andern, erstlich gestellt und zusammenbracht, und der ehrwürdigen Priesterschaft übergeben Anno 1593. Nunmehro aber auf gnädigste Verordnung Ihro Fürstl. Gnaden Herzog Sylvii zu Würtemberg und Teck, auch in Schlesien zur Oelssen etc. revidiret und zum Druck befördert Anno 1664 (Agenda or the Order of the Evangelical Churches in the Principality of Oels and Dependent Territories, by the Gracious Command of His Princely Grace, Duke Carl of Münsterberg, the Second to Bear This Name, First Set Down and Assembed and Published for the Reverend Priesthode in the Year 1593, but Now

5.5 Liturgical Developments in the Duchies of Schweidnitz and Jauer

Lutheranism came to be firmly established in the Duchies of Schweidnitz and Jauer during the sixteenth century. It was planted as early as 1523 in the cities of Hirschberg, Jauer, Bunzlau, Löwenberg, Schweidnitz, Bolkenhain, Reichenbach, and elsewhere. From these places it spread to the adjoining regions.

There was no common church order uniting the congregations in these cities. Each parish seems to have had its own order, formulated locally and approved for use by the local city council. In Löwenberg, the church order was printed in 1614. According to the archival sources, this order was based on orders printed earlier in 1608 and 1609. In Bolkenhain, reference is made to a church order in a letter, written by the local Lutheran Pastor Christoph Brzisk in 1548. A church order for the city of Jauer appeared in 1655. It would serve also as a model for the church order in the city of Schweidnitz. It was published by the authority of the city council. Some church regulations can be found in the discipline and police order of 1592 for the city of Hirschberg.⁷⁶⁴

The Counter-Reformation in these duchies led to the confiscation of Lutheran churches, beginning in 1654. The Lutherans lost 134 churches in Jauer and 165 in Schweidnitz. According to the decisions of reduction commission, the citizenry were not permitted to visit so-called foreign churches or to engage in divine services in private dwellings.⁷⁶⁵

The rights and privileges of the Lutherans in these duchies were restored by the Peace of Breslau in 1742 when these areas came under Prussian control. As elsewhere, the restored congregations worshiped according to the Saxon agenda, but here too, the spirit of the age would inevitably take its toll. The push for progressive thinking and the rejection of traditional doctrines led in 1818 to the publication of a moderate Rationalist hymnal, edited by Johann Wilhelm August Scherer in Jauer.⁷⁶⁶

The liturgy was not immune from attempts to advance the Rationalist agenda. In 1810, Pastor Johann Friedrich Wollgast in Schweidnitz produced the first volume of his three volume liturgical work under the title: Versuch einer möglichst vollständigen Kirchenagende für Stadt-und Landprediger. Theils aus den neuesten und besten liturgischen Werken sorgfältig gesammelt, theils selbst ausgearbeitet von Johann Friedrich Wollgast (Quest for a Possible Complete Church Agenda for City and Countryside Preacher. Drawn in Part from the Newest and Best Liturgical Works and in Part





Chasuble from the Peace Church in Schweidnitz from time of its construction in 1652 (Photo: Dr. Ulrich Schaaf).

Prepared Personally by Johann Friedrich Wollgast). The second and third volumes of work appeared in Schweidnitz one year later, in 1811, under a slightly revised title: Kirchenagende für Stadt- und Land Prediger. Theils aus den neuesten und besten liturgischen Werken sorgfältig gesammelt, theils selbst ausgearbeitet von Johann Friedrich Wollgast (Church Agenda for City and Countryside Pastor. Drawn in Part from the Newest and Best Liturgical Works and in Part Prepared Personally by Johann Friedrich Wollgast). Wollgast sought to provide city and rural pastors with material to cover every conceivable pastoral situation, excepting only those services restricted to superintendents. Wollgast appears to have thought that the structure of the Sunday preaching service should be left entirely in the hands of the local clergy, and that a standard and uniform order was neither necessary nor even advisable. Apart from this, he offered his readers a virtual festal table of options to satisfy every need and meet every conceivable situation.

In Landeshut, the Duke Heinrich agenda had been in use but the end of the

tion of more modern baptismal and Lord's Supper formularies. One such modern work introduced in Landeshut was assembled by Dr. Christian Gottfried Junge of St. Sebald's Church in 1799 in Nürnberg: *Versuch einer neuen Liturgie oder Sammlung von Gebeten und Anreden bei dem öffentlichen Gottesdienst und andern feyerlichen Religionshandlungen zum Gebrauch evangelischer Gemeinen (Quest for a New Liturgy or Collection of Prayers and Addresses for Public Divine Service and Other Solemn Religious Ministrations for Use in Evangelical Congregations*). Junge, like many of his contemporaries, offered a variety of forms for the celebration of the Supper, expressing various levels of accommodation to the spirit of Rationalism.⁷⁶⁸

5.6 The 1533 Brandenburg-Nürnberg Church Order in the Duchies of Jägerndorf and Leobschütz

The Lutheran Reformation had made some inroads in the Duchies of Jägerndorf and Leobschütz which had come into the possession of Margrave Georg of Brandenburg-Ansbach, the brother of Albrecht of Prussia. Georg purchased the region in 1523 from Georg von Schellenberg and began to plant the Lutheran faith in his newly acquired territory. From 1533, church life in the duchy was ordered according to the 1533 church order of Brandenburg-Nürnberg which was used in all ministrations.

The territory was lost to the Brandenburg-Ansbach line in the Thirty Years War. Johann Georg, the last Hohenzollern to rule in the region, was supreme commander of the troops of Friedrich V of Electoral Palatinate in the Winter War in which the Hapsburgs were victorious. Jägerndorf was taken by the Hapsburgs as a prize. Johann Georg was anathematized and the land was given to Charles of Liechtenstein. Later, Prussian King Friedrich II would reclaim much of Silesia after defeating the troops of Maria Theresa. However, according to the terms of the Breslau Peace Treaty of 1742, Jägerndorf remained under the control of the Habsburgs. By that time, Lutheranism in that region had long been suppressed.⁷⁶⁹

5.7 Church Orders of the Duchy of Teschen

South of Jägerndorf was the independent Duchy of Teschen. The Lutheran Reformation came to this region early, during the reign of Duke Kasimir IV. It was his successor, Duke Adam Wenzel, who officially declared the territory to be Lutheran. He established the office of superintendent and introduced clergy conferences. Church

teaching and life were organized around the *Augsburg Confession*. It appears that few outward changes were made in the form of worship in congregations in the early decades. It is probable that initially the old Mass and office books continued in use along with the ceremonies, associated with them. In 1578, Adam Wenzel authored a church order which is no longer extant. He died in 1579 and was succeeded by his widow, Sidonie Katharina of Saxe-Lauenburg. In 1584, she approved a church order for Teschen, based upon the earlier work of Adam Wenzel. Although compendious, this order covered many important aspects of church life.⁷⁷⁰

This church order stated that "many idolatrous practices" were still common in the duchy and needed to be eliminated. Among these were the blessing of lights, crosses, water, salt, and other materials, as well as not acceptable ceremonies, such as the "adoration of the Sacrament, enclosing the Sacrament in a ciborium," and processions with flags and other "idolatrous" images, the misuse of Holy Week "with the marking of graves and singing before them." From all this, it can easily be concluded that even after forty years of the Reformation in this territory, the Lutheran church was still very medieval in its outlook and practice.

All of these were now to be forbidden and done away with. The passion of Christ, as set down by the four evangelists, should be read from the pulpit and the people were to be moved to zealous devotion not only during Holy Week but on one or two days every week throughout the whole time of Lent. Also to be eliminated were the elevation of the Sacrament and its display in the monstrance. In place of this, the Words of Christ were to be said or sung loudly over the bread and wine. The making of the sign of the cross over the host and cup and other "papist ceremonies" were also to be dropped. Two candles on the altar should be sufficient whether or not there were communicants. Chasubles and other Mass vestments were allowed but there was to be no "idolatry" attached to them.

The 1584 order of the Mass was basically similar to that of Duke Heinrich's agenda. The service on high feasts on Sundays: Proper introit, if pure, or hymn or psalm in German or "Bohemian" in villages – *Kyrie* according to season – *Gloria* and "Et in terra pax" in German or Latin – Proper collect of the day in German – Epistle, sung or read in German – Hymn in German or Latin – Gospel, sung in German – Nicene Creed in German or Latin – Sermon – German or Latin hymn (in villages German or "Bohemian") – Latin Preface on high fests – Our Father in German or Latin, together with the *Verba*, sung aloud – Short admonition to the communicants – Communion with hymns, German or Bohemian – Post-communion collect – Aaronic Benediction in German (plural form: "Der Herr segne euch..."). Matins and Vespers were to be kept as in earlier times if the antiphons, responsories, and collects were sound. Catechization should be included for the sake of the youth.⁷⁷²

Although Counter-Reformation activity began in Teschen in 1617, the decisive moves against Lutheranism in this region came as a result of the Thirty Years War and the Peace of Westphalia. In 1654, the Lutherans lost the last of their more than four dozen churches. Through the efforts of King Charles XII of Sweden, the emperor in Vienna permitted the opening of a so-called "Peace Church" in Höheren Tor in 1709.⁷⁷³ Under the terms of the *Patent of Toleration*, Emperor Josef II granted Lutherans the right to establish new congregations and build prayer houses without towers, as long as their entrance did not face the main street. At this time, church administration was once again established. Unlike other regions, Teschen did not come under Prussian control in 1742.



Gnaden Kirch vor der Stackt Teschen in Ober Schlesien.

Grace Church of Jesus Christ in Teschen. Copper engraving, c. 1750 (Wikimedia Commons).

5.8 Liturgical Forms in the Duchy of Pless

The Reformation was also planted in the territory of Pless in the extreme southeastern section of Silesia, bordering on Galicia. The only extant church order is from 1592; it did not specify the form of the liturgical services. This order referred in general terms to the preaching of the holy word, the administration of the venerable sacraments, and the preservation of church ceremonies in common use in the churches.⁷⁷⁴ Other documents from that period indicate that the doctrine and life of the church were ordered according to the *Augsburg Confession*. This opens the possibility that any one of the number of liturgies consonant with that confession may have been used. It is more than likely that the Lutherans in Pless followed the example of the majority of Lutheran churches in the various duchies and lands of Silesia in which liturgical life was ordered according to the Saxon agenda of Duke Heinrich.⁷⁷⁵

The Counter-Reformation in this region was first set in motion in 1609. In 1654, the Lutherans had lost all twenty-seven of their parish churches and six affiliated congregations. In 1742, the Prussians took control of this region, opening the door to the restoration of Lutheran worship.⁷⁷⁶

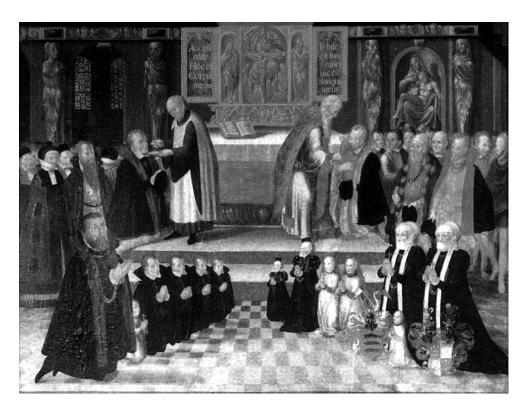
5.9 Agendas in Use in Upper Lusatia

In the year 1815, yet one more liturgical tradition would be drawn into association with the Silesian Lutherans. As a result of its unfortunate decision to follow Napoleon, the Vienna Congress of 1815 took Upper Lusatia (Germ. *Oberlausitz*) from the Saxons and put in under the control of Prussia. This brought Upper Lusatia into the Province of Silesia.

The region had until 1635 been a part of the kingdom of Bohemia, but according to the terms of the Peace of Prague, the region was then transferred to Saxony and thus became a province of the electorate.

The Reformation in Upper Lusatia had been planted as early as 1528 and spread so rapidly that at the council of Bautzen in 1528 King Ferdinand granted freedom of Lutheran worship. Lutheranism was chiefly centered in Bautzen, Görlitz, Zittau, Lauban, Kamenz, and Löbau which together were called the "six principal cities" of the province. The congregations in each city assumed the responsibility for establishing church order in the parishes of that city. There was no comprehensive church order covering the whole territory. In 1551, a territorial order was established. Its principal purpose was political and administrative, but it dealt also with spiritual matters, in that it established punishments for blasphemy, cursing, and swearing. The order also established what festal days were to be observed in the churches. They included, in addition to Sunday, the festivals of Christ and of the Virgin Mary, of the twelve apostles and other holy days, "such as could be established on the basis of Holy Scriptures."

⁷⁷⁴ The 1592 church order is printed in *Fortgesetzte Materialien* 1774, 16-17.



Lutheran pastors in surplices and chasuble administer the Sacrament. Epitaph for Abraham von Nostiz, formerly at the church in Rengersdorf am Queis, 1572 (© *Kulturhistorisches Museum*, Görlitz).

Few documents from this period are extant. In 1530, a general instruction concerning the ministry of Mass-priests ("Altaristen") was issued by the city council of Görlitz. The instruction stated that such Masses were contrary to the Scriptures and the sacrifice and testament of Christ and represented a blatant misuse of the Sacrament of his body and blood. The document went on to state that sooner or later such Masses would have to be done away with. As a further testimony to this, it also stated that many priests declared that they could not celebrate such Masses with a good conscience. Mass priests could be better occupied, were they to assist the parochial clergy by singing, hearing confession, baptizing, administering the Sacrament, and doing such good works as the church has been given to do. ⁷⁷⁸

Most of the orders from this period are general in nature and speak only in passing of liturgical worship in the church. Such is the case in the city order of Görlitz of 1565 which spoke about the sanctification of the holy day. More details

concerning worship are found in the church order of 1607 in which are found the directives concerning engagement, marriage, the Baptism of infants, and burials. The same ground is covered in the order, issued in Görlitz in 1679. In Löbau, church order dates from 1581; its revised edition appeared in 1616 and a newly printed edition came off the press in 1657. Regulations concerning the introduction of Christian education of children in the city of Zittau appeared in 1564, and in 1584 an order concerning the gathering together of a synod with a superintendent from Friedland was published. A church order for Herwigsdorf in Zittau dates from 1595. It delineates some pastoral responsibilities, among which is the responsibility to preach at Vespers during the warmer months with special emphasis on the catechesis of young people.⁷⁷⁹



Eighteenth century chasubles from the church of SS. Peter and Paul in Görlitz (© *Kulturhistorisches Museum*, Görlitz).

During this entire period, little or nothing was said about the liturgy in the directives governing church life in city parishes. It appears that directives concerning the liturgy were not needed since the agenda of Duke Heinrich of 1540 was the agenda of choice throughout Upper Lusatia. Freedom of worship and

religious expression were granted throughout the region by royal decrees issued in 1609 and subsequent statements of 1611, 1620, *et al.*, and finally, by the Peace of Prague in 1635. The accession of Upper Lusatia by Saxony meant that the Saxon liturgy, which had voluntarily been made the standard throughout the region, was now the obligatory standard. So too, the church order, promulgated by Elector Augustus in 1580, was now applicable everywhere.⁷⁸⁰

An important additional resource for pastors in Upper Lusatia was the comprehensive three-volume work of Johannes Schrader, entitled: Formular-Buch allerhand christlicher Wort und Ceremonien, deren ein Prediger in Verrichtung seines Ampts und der Seelsorge kan gebrauchen, Johannes Schraderus Aegelensis (Formulary Book of a Large Number of Christian Words and Ceremonies which a Pastor Can Use in the Administration of His Office and His Work of Pastoral Care, by Johannes Schrader Aegelensis). It was printed by Ambrosius Kirchner in Magdeburg in 1621. Here the pastor would find a rich treasury of material to supplement the ordinarium of the Saxon agenda. The use of Schrader's material was permitted but it was in no way obligatory. It appears to have been very popular with the clergy both in Upper

Lusatia and the Duchy of Magdeburg. Evidence of this is the fact that the book went through numerous editions. A new edition of all three volumes appeared in 1628. This edition was then republished in 1636, 1646, 1649, 1660, and 1670.⁷⁸¹

There was a large concentration of Wendish-speaking Lutherans in Upper Lusatia. To satisfy their needs, an agenda in their own tongue was prepared and published in Bautzen (Upper Sorbian: Budyšin) in 1696 under the title: Die Evangelische Kirchen-Agenda Auff sonderbahre Verordnung Der gesambten Stände des Marggraffthumbs Ober-Lausitz von Land und Städten in Die Wendische Sprache übersetzet und nunmehr zum gemeinen Gebrauch Der Evangelischen Ober-Lausitzschen Kirchen in offentlichen Druck gegeben (The Evangelical Church Agenda, Assembled by a Special Order of All Estates of the Land and Cities of the Margraviate of Upper Lusatia,



Title page of the 1696 Upper Sorbian Wendish language agenda.

Translated into the Wendish Language and Henceforth Publicly Printed for the General Use in the Evangelical Churches of Upper Lusatia).

As was often the case with such translated orders, this book reprinted a compendium of necessary forms for use in Wendish congregations. The authors were Archdeacon Paulus Praetorius, Pastors Tobias Zschuderly, Johann Christoph Crüger, Georgius Matthaei, and Michaël Rätze. They stated in their preface, dated November 1, 1695, that they had made use of materials included in the previously printed agendas used in Upper Lusatia, including the 1540 Saxon agenda of Duke Heinrich, the 1580 church order of Augustus and the formularies of Johannes Schrader. The German and Wendish language texts of Baptism, marriage, consecration of the Sacrament, and other pastoral acts were given on facing pages. This volume would serve alongside the German language Saxon agenda on the altar.

When Upper Lusatia came under Prussian control in 1815, Rationalism had long since settled in the region. However, it is unknown to what extent it had permeated the churches. In any case, an agenda was published for Saxon Churches and approved by the consistory to serve the needs of pastors and parishes in Saxony. Published in Dresden in 1812, it was entitled: *Kirchenbuch für den evangelischen Gottesdienst der Königlich Sächischen Lande, auf allerhöchsten Befehl herausgegeben (Church Book for the Evangelical Divine Service in Royal Saxon Lands, Issued by the Order of Highest Authority)*. The editors were unable to come to an agreement concerning the Chief Divine Service, its structure, and contents. They chose to omit the *Missa Catechumenorum* and print only the Lord's Supper part of the service. Pastors could innovate by creating their own Service of the Word as they saw fit.⁷⁸³

5.10 The Survival of Reformation Liturgical Traditions in Silesia

At the end of the eighteenth century, the Silesian Church was still maintaining its liturgical tradition which had been established in the sixteenth century. Although some new trial liturgies appeared from time to time, most of them did not wander far from the tradition. Otherwise some Rationalist agendas still provided conservative and traditional alternatives for pastors and congregations which wanted to move ahead only tentatively.

An example of a Silesian Chief Divine Service from the later eighteenth century is found in the essay, *Einige Bemerkungen über schlesische Liturgie* (*Some Remarks Concerning Silesian Liturgy*), published by Pastor Christian Gottlieb Schwarzer

in the 1794 edition of *Die schlesischen Provinzialblätter*. Literarische Beilage (Silesian Provincial Journal. Literary Supplement). In it, he described the service "which is commonly found in Silesia:"

- 1. Morning hymn.
- 2. "Kyrie, God, Father into Eternity."
- 3. Liturgist: "Gloria in excelsis" in Latin.
- 4. Congregation: "All Glory Be to God on High" in German.
- 5. Dialogue between liturgist and choir (Salutation and response).
- 6. Prayer (Collect) and Amen.
- 7. Epistle.
- 8. Chief hymn.
- 9. Liturgist at the altar: "The Lord be with you" with response by the choir.
- 10. Gospel.
- 11. "We All Believe in One True God" (In the Duchy of Wohlau, this was followed by "Dearest Jesus We Are Here" ("Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier"). In the cities before the chief hymn or the creedal hymn, there was to be one-half hour of church music, such as arias, recitatives, and the like).
- 12. Sermon (Hymn after the introduction).
- 13. Confession.
- 14. Prayer of the church.
- 15. Intercessions, thanksgivings, and announcements.
- 16. In most places a versified prayer.
- 17. Lord's Prayer.
- 18. "Israelitic Blessing" (Aaronic Benediction).

If Communion was celebrated, a hymn and the Lord's Supper followed. Otherwise, the service was to end with a collect, the "Israelitic Blessing," and the final hymn.⁷⁸⁴

Pastor Schwarzer's report was supported by the evidence of printed orders of service from that period. Included among them were special festal services (Germ. *Jubelgottesdiensten*) from a number of Silesian parishes. These reports provide only short sketches of the services but still give a clear picture of the richness of the traditional liturgy in that period.

In the Arnsdorf parish in Schweidnitz, the report of a 1792 festal service described the service as including: *Intrada* – "The offering" (Germ. *Opfergang*) – "All Glory Be to God on High" – Collect – Prayer of thanksgiving from the altar – Special music – Altar discourse – Luther's German "*Te Deum laudamus*" – Sermon – Hymn – *Sanctus* – Collect – Benediction.

In Conradswaldau in Schweidnitz, 1792, the special festal service included Luther's German "Te Deum laudamus," sung in procession, a special musical setting

of the *Kyrie*, the *Gloria* in Latin, "All Glory Be to God on High" in German – Collect and prayer – Hymn, "Sing Praise to God, the Highest Good" ("Sei Lob und Her' dem höchsten Gut") – Psalm 84 – "Now let all praise God's mercy" ("Nun preiset alle Gottes Barmherzigkeit") – Sermon – Hymn, "One Praises You in Stillness" ("Man lobt dich in der Stille") – Preface – Sanctus. Last of all, "Now Thank We All Our God" ("Nun danket alle Gott").

In Giersdorf in Schweidnitz, 1792, the liturgist knelt at the altar. Then: Hymn – *Kyrie* – Intonation of the *Gloria* in Latin and "All Glory Be to God on High" in German – Collect – Psalm 84 – Special music and hymn – Congratulatory speech in place of the gospel reading – Hymn – Sermon – Preface – Collect – Benediction.

In Michelsdorf in Liegnitz, 1792: Procession into the church – Prayer at the altar – Special musical setting of the *Kyrie – Gloria* in Latin – Hymn – Psalm – Hymn of the day – Address from the altar – Music – Hymn – Sermon – *Sanctus* ("Heilig mit Vorgesang").

At Neukirch in Oppeln, 1793, the directions stated that the service was to begin when all were quiet. The choir without the organ was to sing the hymn, "Lord, Before Your Countenance" ("Herr! vor deinem Angesicht") – Hymn, "Sing Praise Unto God" ("Lobsinget Gott!"), in place of the Gloria – Hymn of the day, "O Jesus, Light and Salvation" ("O Jesu, licht und heil der welt") – "As Long as I Have Breath, O God" ("So lang ich atme, Gott") in place of the Creed – Selected stanzas of "Thou, who Through Thy Almighty Hand" ("Der du durch deine Allmachthand") – Sermon – Luther's German Te Deum – Special music, including choir, recitative, aria, congregational singing, and alternation between soloist and choir. Weather permitting, an afternoon celebration was to follow in the "temple of nature" (open-air service).

At Striegau in 1791: *Intrada* – Prayer – *Gloria*, sung by a solo voice – Hymn – Reading of the afternoon festal text – Special festal music – Hymn – Reading of the morning festal text – Hymn – Sermon – Pulpit verse – Luther's German "*Te Deum laudamus*" – *Intrada* – Collect and Benediction – *Intrada*.

Sketch of the service at Seitendorf-Altenberg, 1793, mentioned the *Kyrie* and *Gloria* and stated that instead of the gospel there would be a special discourse read from the altar. The sketch of the special service at Schreiberhau, 1793, mentioned the use of the Preface and the *Sanctus*, as also was the case in Spiller-Johnsdorf, 1793.⁷⁸⁵

These reports indicate that in most places the structure of the liturgy remained intact and festal celebrations often included the Preface and *Sanctus*, indicating that the Sacrament of the Altar was celebrated in a traditional way. Even in the midst of the heyday of the Enlightenment, the Silesian churches sought to maintain their tradition and covered their altars and pulpits with liturgical paraments,

lighted candles, and the crucifixes remained in their accustomed places behind and above the altar. As in the Schweidnitz jubilee celebration in 1802, in many places the clergy still wore their Mass vestments and expressed no fear that they might be accused of "sacramental magic."⁷⁸⁶

High-President Friedrich Theodor von Merkel was able to see with his own shocked eyes the richness of the Silesian liturgy as it was performed in Breslau in 1817. Even then the pastors retained their traditional vestments and maintained the centuries-old schedule of Saturday and Sunday services, including liberal doses of Latin chant.⁷⁸⁷

It appears that Silesia entered the nineteenth century with much of its liturgical tradition still intact. When King Friedrich Wilhelm III suggested in 1822 that his "evangelical" clergy might gladly want to improve their liturgy by making use of his recently prepared 1822 Berlin agenda,⁷⁸⁸ the Silesian clergy were not much impressed. They much preferred their richer, undistorted Lutheran liturgy to the king's interesting but eclectic liturgical contributions. By the end of 1826, 509 out of 744 pastors in Silesia, more than two thirds, indicated that they had no interest in the abolition of their traditional forms in favor of those prepared by the king, a far greater percentage of clergy than in other eastern provinces.⁷⁸⁹

High President Merkel struggled to explain this in 1825 when he stated that the Evangelical Church in Silesia was after all under the thumb of a Catholic sovereign who did not allow them to deviate "one jot" from the *Unaltered Augsburg Confession* of 1530. These congregations remained faithful to the old Saxon agenda of Duke Heinrich and held it precious. Only in Lausitz had the new rationalist 1812 Saxon agenda gained a foothold.⁷⁹⁰

Merkel pointed to the Catholic monarchy as the principal cause of liturgical conservativism in the Silesian Lutheran Church. He should perhaps have given some credit to the Silesians' determination to be Lutheran and that they had for this reason resisted the inroads of anti-liturgical Pietism.

Silesia had come late under Prussian control and had escaped the overtures of state-supported Prussian Pietism, characteristic of the reign of Friedrich Wilhelm I, who had placed Pietists in high church positions and forced students of theology in Orthodox Lutheran Universities to spend several years at Halle to receive correction and to be revived from their "dead Orthodoxy." Silesia came under Prussian control during the reign Friedrich II who made no attempts to spread Pietism and Pietist views and who expressed little interest in religion.

⁷⁸⁶ Aust 1910, 57.

⁷⁸⁷ Foerster 1905, 246-247.

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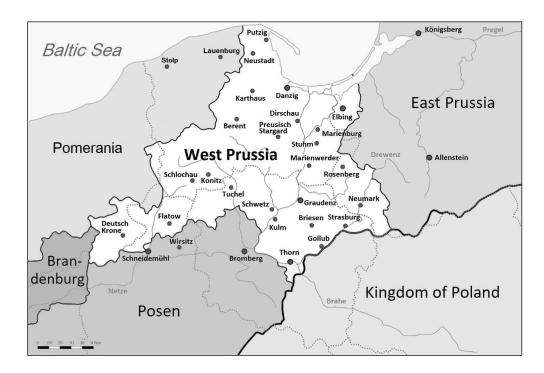
There were, in fact, Pietist attempts to plant and nurture Pietism in Silesia and some gains were made in Teschen, Sorau, and Züllichau.⁷⁹¹ However, these gains were short-lived. Lutheran pastors reacted immediately when Pastor Voigt, a young graduate from Halle, was sent to Grace Church in Teschen and began to teach "new and strange doctrines." Pastor Erdmann Neumeister examined the views of Pastor Christoph Nikolaus Voigt and sent a number of manuscripts to Orthodox theologian Valentine Löscher in Wittenberg for his evaluation. Neumeister described Voigt as "the devil's claws" and as a "red dragon concocting amazing public wickedness." On May 1, 1708, after Voigt had left the city, Neumeister referred to some of the Pietists as "new heavenly prophets," recalling Luther's description of clandestine preachers. Concerning Voigt, Neumeister wrote that if he returned to Teschen, he would thoroughly investigate his positions. Voigt himself was expelled by Teschen authorities later in 1708.⁷⁹²

Erdmann Neumeister was very critical of the outward piety of the Pietists which he understood could in many cases delude even the Pietists themselves and create a false confidence in sham virtue. He wrote a number of hymns which appeared in Evangelischer Nachklang (Evangelical Distant Echo), 1718, to provide a more proper gospel influence. In this hymnal, he made the statement that these hymns were built upon "the sweet kernel of the powerful Gospel of Mark... in contrast to the new hymns of the fanatical enthusiasts (Germ. Schwärmer) in which they subtly hide the poison of their new teaching." 793 One of the most popular of the new hymns in his book was "Jesus Sinners Doth Receive" ("Jesus nimmt die Sünder an") which he wrote to be sung after his sermon on Luke 15:1-10 on the Third Sunday after Trinity, 1718. Neumeister was concerned that the Pietists believed that God would provide revelations of himself and his will apart from his inspired word, and they looked upon repentance as a law, rather than as a response to the "sweet kernel of the powerful gospel." He referred to the Pietists as "enthusiasts." The theme of his hymns was that Christ would accept all those who come to him for the forgiveness of sins, even those who are outwardly despised by the Pharisees, such as the lowly tax collector in the Gospel of Luke. He directed this hymn against those who despised sinners, thinking that they themselves were much closer to God than others. He exposed this self-righteous delusion as a sham, and made it clear that the only righteousness which can abide is that which is freely given to sinners.

The Lutherans cooperated with the Roman Catholic authorities because of their concern to protect their church from false doctrine and false worship. An important result was the 1712 decree, upholding the Orthodox understating of Lutheran doctrine and practice over against Pietism. The charges made against the Pietists were that they were convinced that they had direct inspiration from God (Germ. "unmittelbare Eingebung") and that those who perfected themselves had no need for the Sacrament of the Altar (Germ. Stillestand), that the true worshipers met together in private and secret gatherings, free from the "polluting influence of outsiders" (Germ. "heimliche Winkelversammlungen"), and that Christ would come again to establish a new kingdom on earth (Germ. Chiliasmus).⁷⁹⁴ All this made it difficult for Pietists to succeed in making inroads into Silesian Lutheranism.

6. LITURGICAL TRADITIONS IN WEST PRUSSIA

The geographical territory of West Prussia was formed out of what had earlier been the Polish province of Royal Prussia. This territory had come under Prussian control late in the eighteenth century. Much of this territory was lost by Poland in the First Partition of Poland-Lithuania in 1772. In the Second Partition of 1793, the rest of the region, including the cities of Danzig and Thorn, was annexed. At the same time, some areas of Major Poland, which had comprised the so-called the Netz District (Germ. *Netzdistricte*), were also annexed in 1772. The region was divided into the three districts of Pomerelia, Marienburg, and Culm. Before the annexation of this territory by Prussia, there was no common church administration for Lutheran congregations here and no common single agenda was in use throughout the region.



Province of West Prussia after the Congress of Vienna in 1815.

6.1 The Lutheran Reformation in West Prussia and Its Early Liturgies

Although there was a large German population in Royal Prussia, the Reformation was unable to make significant headway in the area excepting in the larger cities. The whole region was under very firm Roman Catholic control and all attempts to propagate the Reformation were met by stiff resistance and retaliation by the authorities. Consequently, it was only where large numbers of German people resided that there was much possibility of establishing and maintaining Lutheran congregations.

When the Reformation in Wittenberg began in earnest in the 1520s, it found some fertile soil in the region of Pomerelia (Germ. *Pommerellen*; Pol. *Pomorze Gdańskie*) and its principal city Danzig. From there it spread to other Germanspeaking cities in Kulm (Pol. *Chełmno*) and Marienburg (Pol. *Malbork*).

Within a year of the 1518 posting of the *Ninety-Five Theses*, monk Jacob Knade, preacher in the church of St. Peter and St. Paul in Danzig, was preaching the Reformation there. Before long, he left his Order and married. Maciej Drzewicki, bishop of Kujawy (Germ. *Kujawien*; Lat. *Cuiavia*) and Pomerelia, ordered that he be arrested. He was tried, found guilty, and sent to prison. After a short time, he was released and ordered to leave Danzig. He found a place of refuge in the country estate near Thorn.⁷⁹⁶

The Reformation in Danzig was suppressed for four years, but by the end of that time, the majority of people in Danzig had decided for the Reformation. Preachers in favor of the Lutheran Reformation were appointed to serve in the most prominent churches. In 1521, Dr. Alexander Svenichen, a Franciscan friar, was named to serve in St. Trinity Church. He was followed by Jacob Hegge who was called to Corpus Christi Church in 1522. In 1523, Paulus Cörlin was appointed to serve in St. John's Church, and that same year, Johannes Bonhold was called to St. Barbara's. Archbishop Jan Łaski of Gniezno tried in vain in 1524 to initiate an inquisition to halt the spread of the Reformation. The populace strongly resisted his efforts and he was unable to accomplish his objective.⁷⁹⁷

Soon disagreements developed between those who preached Luther's doctrine and let the Word of God reform the church and those who were convinced that the Word of God needed the help of man to accomplish its purposes. Dr. Alexander was the head of the conservatives and he had the backing of the city council. Jacob Hegge led the radicals who in 1525 began their iconoclastic activity of demolishing sacred pictures, statues, and altars. Bending to the will of the radicals, the city council issued a proclamation freeing all monks and nuns from

their vows, forbidding any monastic order to accept novices, and restricting the activity of monks and nuns. Conscious of its growing power, the radical party now demanded a voice in the city government. Four thousand of its supporters besieged the city hall and demanded that the city council resign. The result was the replacement of the conservative council with a new council which demanded further radical actions, including the closing of the monasteries, the abolition of the Mass, the confiscation of the church's treasury, and the conversion of cloisters to schools and hospitals. At the same time, the new council sought to assure the king of Poland that they were interested only in religious reform and had no intention of exciting disobedience against the Polish monarchy.⁷⁹⁸ Members of the original council approached the king calling upon him to save the city from heresy and physical violence. They assured him that the majority of the citizens wanted the old order to be restored. In response, the king issued a mandate calling upon the people of Danzig to restore religious and civil order and renounce all innovations. The members of the new city council were summoned to appear before the tribunal but refused to do so, and as a result, in February 1525 the Piotrków Diet declared Danzig to be an outlaw city. All its privileges were withdrawn until such time as the king's decree was accepted. When the king came personally in April, he was able by force to reestablish civil and religious order. Several of the leaders of the insurrection were put to death.⁷⁹⁹ On July 8, 1525, the king issued a mandate of Thirty-Five Articles, called "Statuta Sigismundi," banning evangelical divine services and the proliferation of Luther's writings. The mandate was repeated again on July 21.800

The Roman Mass was restored but it was too late. By this time, the people had learned Luther's doctrines and were not of a mind to abandon them. The city council was aware of this and decided that only pastors who adhered to Lutheran teaching should be appointed to serve in the major city churches. In 1537, a Dominican preacher, Ponkratius Klein, who had left his order earlier that year, was nominated by the city council to become a preacher in St. Mary's Church. He introduced changes congenial to the Lutheran Reformation in the Mass. In the course of time, King Sigismund I appointed a commission to examine the situation in Danzig. This commission immediately arrested Klein, but public reaction so opposed this action that it was necessary that he be released and returned to his position. He continued to serve at St. Mary's until his death in 1546.⁸⁰¹

Reformation doctrine spread quickly to other cities of Royal Prussia. It came to Thorn in Kulm in the early 1520s and was received with great enthusiasm. When

⁷⁹⁸ Krasinski 1838, 115; Fox 1924, 23-24.

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papal legate Zacharias Fereira (Ferrei) arrived in 1520 and attempted to counter enthusiasm for the Reformation by burning Luther's writings and portrait in front of St. John's Church, the citizens drove him and his assistants with stones. Roll The king responded by issuing the Edict of Thorn on July 24, 1520. It forbade the importation of all Luther's writings under penalty of confiscation of all property and banishment from the country. This edict was only partially successful in quieting Lutheran voices. Jacob Swoger (Senner), pastor of St. John's Church from 1530, was a strong advocate of Lutheran doctrine as was also Bartholomäus, minorit of St. Mary's. The doctrines of the Lutheran Reformation also spread quickly in the cities of Kulm and Graudenz. In Graudenz, the council authorized the celebration of the Divine Service "in the Lutheran manner." In both places, the bishop of Kulm secured a mandate from the king in an attempt to counter efforts to spread the Reformation.

For a time, Lutheran doctrine gained a hearing in Elbing. Bishop Fabian von Lusian of Ermland (Lat. *Warmia*), ordinary of the diocese until 1523, was neither a determined friend nor foe of the Lutheran Reformation, but he allowed Lutheranism to spread unhindered in the cities of his diocese. It was during this period that Lutheran doctrine reached the city of Elbing. In 1524, the new bishop, Mauritius Ferber, issued an edict against Luther's doctrine and its adherents, but by this time, there were enough Lutherans in Elbing to warrant the calling of a Lutheran pastor. In 1525, Ambrosius Güttfeld of Danzig was called. In his place, Matthias Bienwald was invested with the office. He was forced to leave in 1526. Although bereft of a pastor, the German-speaking citizens of Elbing appear to have remained inclined toward the Reformation.⁸⁰⁴

In the city and territory of Marienburg, Jacob Knade was called in 1526 to serve as the first Lutheran pastor in the city. Elsewhere in the province, Lutheranism was unable to take root.⁸⁰⁵

Everywhere in Poland, Lutheranism was met with strong resistance from both the Roman hierarchy and the monarchy. Consequently, it was only in the major German-speaking cities of Royal Prussia that the Lutheran Reformation was able to take root and even there it was hindered by royal edicts and mandates. No city council was in a position to openly declare in favor of the Lutheran Reformation. The most that could be done was to support the appointment of Lutheran pastors on an individual basis, as long as there were no obvious changes in the liturgy.

King Sigismund II Augustus who succeeded to the throne in 1548 reacted differently to the Reformation. He did not seek to impede its forward progress in

⁸⁰² Sehling IV 1911, 225; Fox 1924, 24.

the German-speaking cities of Royal Prussia. Lutheran pastors were now openly preaching Reformation doctrine, even though they were not yet able to administer the cup to the laity. On July 28, 1552, the king arrived in Danzig and was presented with the *Forty-Nine Articles*. Because of the strong resistance of Stanislaus Hosius (Pol. *Stanisław Hozjusz*), the influential bishop of Ermland, the king was not willing to act upon these articles which called for Lutheran doctrine and appropriate divine services. However, he was unwilling to do anything to impede the forward progress of the Reformation. Circumstances were much the same in Thorn and Elbing.⁸⁰⁶

In the opening days of 1557, the principal cities of Danzig, Thorn, and Elbing entered into a lively correspondence about the needs of the church. All there were concerned about church order and the adoption of appropriate liturgical order and ceremonies. Thorn suggested that the church order of the city of Breslau might be a worthy candidate. Danzig seemed not to have favored that proposal and diplomatically stated that it wanted more time to study the matter. It appeared that their real interest was to formulate a church order of their own. It was finally decided that the preparation of a church order for the Reformation of the church should be prepared by Danzig and that Thorn and Elbing would follow its example. The first specifically Lutheran Mass was celebrated in Danzig on Easter morning in 1557 in one or more of the smaller churches. Consequently, as the result of a petition directed to the king and supported by Duke Albrecht of Prussia and Palatine Achatius von Zehmen of Marienburg, a royal privilege was granted on July 4, 1557, allowing that the Lutheran Mass be celebrated in Danzig with the Sacrament administered in both kinds, subject to ratification at the next diet. The so-called "Danzig Privilege" was renewed by King Stephan Bathory on December 16, 1577, King Sigismund III Vasa on January 11, 1588, and Władysław IV Vasa on December 10, 1633. Privileges were granted also to other Pomerelian cities, including Dirschau and Mewe on June 27, 1570, and July 9, 1570.807

In the palatinate of Marienburg, the privilege was granted to the city of Marienburg on April 14, 1569. In the same month, privilege was also given to Neuteich and in 1570 to the city of Stuhm. On December 22, 1558, the privilege was granted also to the city of Elbing. 808

In the palatinate of Kulm, the long desired religious privilege was finally granted on December 23, 1558, to the city of Thorn and on April 15, 1569, to Graudenz as well. It was not until January 4, 1646, that Władysław IV Vasa granted a similar privilege to Strasburg.⁸⁰⁹

⁸⁰⁶ Sehling IV 1911, 162.

6.2 Liturgical Life in the City of Danzig

6.2.1 Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth-Century Danzig Church Orders

The Danzig church order was formulated and approved by the city council in 1557. It was written in concise Latin and it dealt with the services to be held on Sundays and days of the apostles, including Matins, Mass, and Vespers. The directives were very general in nature and outlined the main liturgical services. Matins was given in a very traditional form, beginning with the invitatory hymn, psalms with antiphons before and after, as well as the German hymn by the people, serial explanation of the catechism with another German hymn, "Benedictus Dominus Deus," preceded and followed by antiphon, or in place of the Benedictus, the "Te Deum laudamus." The service was to close with the chanting of the collects and the benediction and a German hymn appropriate to the season. Mass was to be celebrated in Latin, excepting that the Lord's Prayer, Preface, and the Words of Consecration were to be in German. Vespers was to follow an order similar to Matins with the singing of the evening canticle, the Magnificat in place of the Benedictus. On Mondays, a special order was to be observed in Matins with readings from the Old Testament, beginning with Genesis, with a short summary recapitulation by Veit Dietrich of Nürnberg. The same pattern was to follow on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays. On Friday, the Litany was added. At Vespers on Mondays and Fridays, a chapter from the New Testament, beginning with the Gospel according to St. Matthew was to be read, along with a summary explanation from the "Summaria"810 of Veit Dietrich. The Magnificat, preceded and followed by an antiphon and collects and the choral Benedicamus, would close the service.811

The service was entirely liturgical in nature but the agenda to be used was not specified. It is likely that the old Roman missals were still in place on the altars. Luther's German Our Father and Words of Institution in German were available in Luther's *Small Catechism* and the Latin texts of the Prefaces could be translated into German by the pastors themselves. The Reformation of the church moved slowly and cautiously.

On October 31, 1557, a Lutheran Mass was celebrated in the church of St. Mary for the first time. The Roman priests used the high altar and the Lutherans used the altar of St. Nicolaus from which they distributed both the body and blood of Christ.⁸¹²

On July 23, 1567, the city council approved a church order for use in the church of St. Mary, the most prominent of all Danzig churches. It was called *Verzeichnis und ordnung, wie es mit predigt und anderem in der pfarrkirche zu St. Marien zu halten* (*Directory and Order, as how Sermons and Other Matters Are to Be Observed in the Parish Church of St. Mary*). The order included a listing of feast days to be celebrated in the church with Matins, Mass, and Vespers and called for hymns, organ music, and other ceremonies to be included. It noted also that on Sundays the German Litany was to be sung between the epistle and the gospel. No specific directions concerning the order of the Mass and its ceremonies were included. This indicates that unidentified Mass forms from other sources were also being used. Matins and Vespers were to be held on weekdays. The continued use of the Scripture summaries of Veit Dietrich was once again noted.⁸¹³

The 1567 church order did not include sufficiently clear information about doctrine, ceremony, and other matters. Because of this lack of clarity, disagreements arose among the clergy, and in order to control the situation, the pastors asked the city council to appoint a commission of clergy and individual councilors to formulate a more comprehensive church order. Senior Pastor Johann Kittel of St. Mary's Church took the lead in the preparation of the draft. The city council approved it in 1570. Even though it was only provisional, it proved to be of great value to the church because it provided a standard to be followed. The document stated that the doctrinal basis of the church was God's Word as it is plainly exposed in the *Augsburg Confession* and its *Apology*. Included was a lengthy section, entitled, "On Hymns and Ceremonies" ("Von Gesengen und ceremoniis"), which covered liturgical questions concerning the services of Matins, Mass, and Vespers and the festival and other days to be observed. Again, no specific form for the celebration of the Mass was included. No statements were given which would indicate what agendas were being used.⁸¹⁴

Although some secondary sources have claimed that the Pomeranian Church was the mother church in Danzig and that the churches used the Pomeranian agenda of 1569, other writers have stated that there is insufficient evidence to corroborate this.⁸¹⁵

An eighteenth-century handwritten document in the Danzig city archives provides some evidence which may indicate the form of the service used in Danzig in an early period, however, no date is provided. It appears in a manuscript, titled: Ordnung, wie es in der christlichen Kirchen zu Danzig mit Predigen, Sacramentreichen und ublichen christichen Ceremonien gehalten würd (Order, as how Preaching, Sacramental Administration, and the Usual Christian Ceremonies Are to Be Observed in the

Christian Churches at Danzig). This document includes an order for the celebration of the Mass and makes frequent reference to the "Wittenberg church order," an apparent reference to Melanchthon's church order of 1559.816 The document can most likely be assigned to the late sixteenth century.

Sunday observance began with the early morning catechesis and the Divine Service followed. Instead of a Latin introit, the Mass began with a German psalm proper to the day or season. It was followed by the German *Kyrie* and the intonation of the "Gloria in excelsis" in German. The choir and congregation responded with the *Et in terra* and the hymn, "All Glory be to God on High." Then the pastor turned to the congregation and intoned the Salutation, followed by the collect or prayer proper to the day or season, as indicated in the "Wittenberg church order." The epistle was then sung or said and was followed by an alleluia and two or three psalms which had been learned by the entire congregation and which they sang in alternation. The gospel was then sung or said, and after it, the German *Patrem* – "We All Believe in One True God." The sermon on the gospel of the day then followed; it was to be no more than three-quarters of an hour in length.

After the sermon, the Lord's Supper ordinarily followed. First of all, the pastor spoke the admonition, based on Luther's paraphrase. This was followed by the singing of the Words of Institution. At the consecration of the bread and wine, the pastor took the elements into his hands but did not adorn the consecration with "papal crossings or other gestures." He then sang the Salutation to which the choir responded as usual. The men then communed first and after them the women. Nothing of the consecrated Sacrament was to remain after communion. No distribution formula was included. During communion, the choir or congregation was to sing, "Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior" or "O Lord, We Praise Thee." The Salutation and response were again sung after communion, followed by Luther's post-communion collect. The service closed with the benediction. So concluded the earliest extant description of the celebration of the Lutheran Mass in Danzig. 817

In 1612, a church order was prepared for the exclusive use of the parish of St. Mary. It remained in manuscript form and a copy from late in the seventeenth century is still extant. It is entitled: Alte kirchenordnung der kirchen Sanct Marien, in der rechten stadt Dantzig, nach itzigen zustande, und wie es mit allen derselben kirchenofficianten, nach dem gefallenen babstthumb biss dahero gehalten worden und noch gehalten wird. Item schuLordnung der schulen daselbst, wie sie die itzige kirchenväter vor sich gefunden, und in etzlichen puncten verbessert. Durch die dahie bestellten kirchenväter oder vorsteher aufs neue revidiret

[&]quot;Melanchthon's church order" was, in fact, the Mecklenburg church order of 1554, together with provisions for examination and ordination of candidates provided by Melanchthon.



A view of the city of Danzig from the Bishop Hills. Copper engraving (Zeiller 1652).

und artickelweise in eine gewisse ordnung gebracht. Im jahre 1612. (Old Church Order of the Church of St. Mary in the Praiseworthy City of Danzig, According to Present Usage and as It Was and Is Still Observed by All Its Church Officiants Since the Fall of the Papacy Down to the Present. Also the Order for the School, as Approved by the Present Church Fathers and Improved in Several Points. Newly Revised and Set in Order Article by Article in the Year 1612 by the Designated Church Fathers or Elders). The document dealt almost exclusively with administrative matters of concern to parish elders, along with some incidental mentions about the observance of particular feast days and responsibilities of the clergy. In addition to the usual feast days on which either full services or partial services were to be held, there is included a notation that the days of St. Dominic and St. Lorenz were to be observed, not with a Divine Service but by the ringing of a bell. Study of the document indicates a notation that during the seventeenth century the psalms were sung in Latin and in German. It is also noted that the congregation's doctrinal foundation is the Augsburg Confession in its unaltered edition of 1530 and the Formula of Concord. The preaching and the administration of the sacraments must conform to this standard. Standard.

Throughout northeastern Germany controversies continued especially in towns of the Hanseatic League concerning the elevation and its significance. The elevation had in earlier times been linked to the question of adoration of the consecrated elements, but now it had become associated with questions concerning the *reliquiae* – the consecrated elements left after all had communed.

An argument raged within the Lutheran Church concerning the duration and extension of Christ's sacramental presence in the consecrated bread and wine

and the question of the proper disposition of unused elements after communion. Disagreements concerning this raged between the Philippists and the Gnesio-Lutherans. The followers of Philipp Melanchthon insisted that hosts, which were consecrated but unused, were not and never had been the body of Christ, while other Lutherans maintained that these hosts had been consecrated as the body of Christ and should not only be elevated and treated with great reverence but should also be consumed before the end of the Mass. Once again, it was the real presence itself which was the point in contention. The controversy erupted in the cities along the Baltic coast which had large Calvinist minorities in them consisting of Reformed from Scotland, England, and the Low Countries. The controversy had profound implications for the ongoing debates between the Lutherans and the Reformed.

The controversy first came to light in Königsberg in Ducal Prussia in 1560 when Pastor Erhard Sperber accused his fellow Pastor Veit Neuber of being a Crypto-Calvinist. As the conflict between them heated up, the Königsberg magistrates, who were eager to avoid a confusing confessional controversy which would alienate foreign merchants and traders, ordered both men to leave the city. Both of them left for Danzig and took their conflict with them. By the late summer of 1561, Sperber had made public his accusations against Neuber that he was a Sacramentarian, Enthusiast, and Calvinist who should be banned from the pulpit. Neuber responded by referring to Sperber as "a papist who believes in transubstantiation." The people of Danzig were generally supportive of Sperber's position, and Neuber would later recall that on at least two occasions people had almost stormed his house. They had thrown rocks into his house and had written hostile lampoons and committed other outrages against him. The Danzig magistrates met with both pastors in an attempt to bring calm to the situation and they established a committee which drew up a confessional statement, the Danziger Notula (Notel), which dealt with their conflict. When the formula was presented to them on September 17, 1562, for signature, Neuber and his followers signed it, but Sperber and his backers refused to do so.819

The thirteen-point *Notula* looked to be Lutheran. ⁸²⁰ It condemned adoration during the elevation, but Sperber and the Gnesio-Lutherans suspected that this condemnation inclined toward a Philippist position and a Crypto-Calvinist understanding of the Sacrament. To defend his position, Sperber wrote a pamphlet, entitled: *Christliche und nothwendige Verantwortung Erhardi Sperbers, wider die grewliche bezichtigung und beschwerliche aufflag der Sacramentirer und Rottengeister zu Dantzig (Christian and Necessary Response by Erhard Sperber Against the Detestable Accusation and Accursed Publication of the Sacramentarian and Divisive Spirits in Dan-*

zig), in which he stated that Veit Neuber had no doubt been sent by the devil himself, for it seemed clear that he denied Christ's real presence in the Sacrament.⁸²¹

Some other distinguished Lutherans strongly supported Sperber. Among them were Johann Hachenburg of Erfurt, Superintendent Johann Wigand of Wismar in Mecklenburg, and Benedikt Morgenstern of Thorn in Royal Prussia. Wigand warned the city officials against the "blasphemous sacramentarians" who secretly crept in and "spread like an aggressive cancer," and Morgenstern warned them not to receive Communion from heretics. They stated emphatically that the consecrated Sacrament may be adored at the elevation and that everything consecrated must be consumed during Mass so that nothing was left over.⁸²²

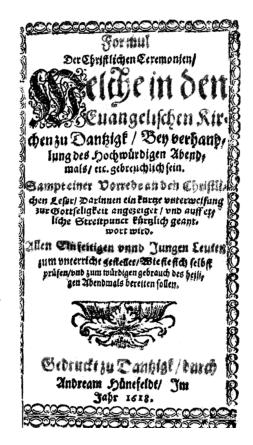
By the end of the sixteenth century, the Reformed were attempting to established a new Calvinist Reformation in the Lutheran congregations in Danzig. They were determined to eliminate "papal practices" and introduce the fractio panis - the breaking of the bread. Citizens of the city reacted against both of the elimination of the traditions and the elimination of the fractio. The Reformed were able to introduce the breaking of the bread at Holy Trinity Church in 1593, although some parishioners throw the objections. However, the Reformed were not successful in doing so in other congregations which were more strongly committed to the Augsburg Confession. When the Calvinists removed the altar dedicated to St. Mary in St Peter's Church, stating that it was rotten, worm-eaten, dilapidated, and unsafe, several parishioners demonstrated their displeasure by storming the church and hacking apart this new "Calvinist table" with axes, hatchets, and hammers. In the Holy Trinity Church, the Calvinists nailed shut the altar triptych, and a number of parishioners responded by breaking into the church, climbing upon the altar and prying open the triptych with axes. The Calvinist reforms were argued against by "the common burgher often so impassionedly that words led to fistfights." Even a decade later when the Calvinists were gaining influence in Danzig, they did not dare to make any changes to Lutheran ceremonies because, as Johann Walther observed, "what they really bring us is nothing more than a cobbled together, embellished, painted, varnished, sickeningly sweet, [yet] abominable, loathsome, corrupt and depraved untruth."823

Elsewhere in Royal Prussia in Thorn, the pastor of the local church was forced to take early retirement because he tried unsuccessfully to convince the city magistrates that the fraction of the bread should be introduced in the Lutheran church. So too, when their pastor abolished many ceremonies and replaced them with Reformed customs, the people of Elbing rebelled. When Joachim Wendland, the Lutheran pastor at Marienburg, laid aside his surplice and chasuble and removed

pictures from the church and told the people that they should sing Lobwasser's psalms, use ordinary bread in Communion, eliminate the altar, and reorder the Ten Commandments according to the Reformed usage, and in addition, introduced other Reformed practices, the people rebelled.⁸²⁴

6.2.2 Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Danzig Agendas

The first printed agenda for the churches in Danzig appeared in 1618. It was entitled: Formul Der Christlichen Ceremonien, Welche in den Evangelischen Kirchen zu Dantzigk, Bey verhandlung des Hochwürdigen Abendmals, etc. gebreuchlich sein. Sampt einer Vorrede an den Christlichen Leser, Darinnen ein kurze unterweisung zur Gottseligkeit angezeiget, und auff etliche Streitpunct kürtzlich geantwort wird. Allen Einfeltigen unnd Jungen Leuten zum unterricht gestellet, Wie sie sich selbst prüfen, und zum würdigen gebrauch des Heiligen Abendmahls bereiten sollen (Formula of Christian Ceremonies which Are Used in the Evangelical Churches of Danzig in the Celebration of the Venerable Lord's Supper, etc. Together with a Preface to the Christian Reader in which There Is a Short Instruction in Godliness and Some Controversial Points Are Answered in Short Form. Set Down for the Instruction of Simple and Young People how to Examine Themselves and to Prepare for the Worthy Reception of the Lord's Supper. The book was printed by Andreas Hünefeldt in Danzig. The author of the preface is identified as Pastor Johann Walther of St.



Title page of the 1618 Danzig Formula of Christian Ceremonies.

John's Church. It is dated February 14, 1618.825 Much attention is given to the proper manner of self-examination, preparation for private confession and absolution, and questions and answers concerning the Sacrament of the Altar.

A sketch of the Lord's Supper is included. Given first is a much-abbreviated form of Luther's paraphrase which concludes with the singing of the Our Father according to the intonation, found in the church order of Johann Albrecht I of Mecklenburg. See The admonition then continues and concludes with a prayer for worthy communion, taken from the 1571 Austrian agenda of David Chyträus. See It is followed by the chanting of the Words of Consecration according to the intonation in the Mecklenburg agenda. After communion, the pastor sings the Salutation and the choir responds. He then sings Luther's post-communion collect. The service closes with the Salutation and abbreviated Aaronic Benediction: "The Lord lift up his countenance upon you and give you his peace." At the private Communion of the sick, the pastor ends the service with the entire Aaronic Benediction.

The provisions of the 1618 Danzig formulary indicate that the church order of Mecklenburg was well-known and might well have been used in Danzig Lutheran congregations. The sixteenth-century Danzig liturgy also made reference to the "Wittenberg agenda" of Melanchthon, the second part of which reproduced

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DANEZZGI./ Gedruckt und verlegt durch E. Edl. Hochw. Nahts und des Gymnafii Buchdruckern/ Johann Zacharias Stollen.

Title page of the 1708 Danzig church order.

the 1554 Mecklenburg church order.829

In 1708, under the auspices of the city council, a new official agenda appeared under the title: Verordnung E. E. Rahts Die Einrichtung Der geistlichen Ampts-Geschäffte und Kirchen-Gebethe Bey der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeine der Stadt Dantzig belangend publicirt Mense Mart (Ordinance by the Praiseworthy Council Concerning the Constitution of the Ministerial Office and Church Prayers for the Evangelical Lutheran Congregation in the City of Danzig, Published in the Month of March). According to the introduction, this book would henceforth serve as the single standard and norm for all clergy and congregations adhering to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession. No longer would it be necessary to refer to agendas of other churches to find suitable prayers and other liturgical materials.

⁸²⁶ Kirchenordnung 1554.

⁸²⁷ Claricalista Vindens A . . . 1 - 1575

The agenda included a formula for the absolution of penitents to be held at an evening service, usually on the evening before the celebration of the Lord's Supper. This form was in basic agreement with the form in the Dazing agenda of 1618. The service in that agenda was in the form of questions and answers and was divided into three parts. The first part dealt with the Law as the revealer of sin and death and as the revealer of man's sorry plight as a sinner. The second part, again in the form of questions and answers, spoke of the saving work of Christ through whom the sinner receives forgiveness and grace. In these two forms, each of the penitents could hear both the Law and Gospel and be made ready to go to the confessional to make his confession before his father confessor, using a form of confession similar to that found in Luther's Small Catechism. If the penitent has particular sins on his conscience, he could add these to this prayer. Then followed a form of absolution spoken by the father confessor, and added to it was an admonition that the penitent should humbly thank God and endeavor to live a Christian life. In response, the penitents would then pray together a prayer of thanksgiving and ask for a true faith in which, having now received forgiveness, they would henceforth live in obedience to God.830

The 1708 form dropped the question and answer format but still reproduced the same material, starting with the Triune Invocation and an admonition on the distinction between Law and Gospel, as in the earlier Danzig agenda. This was then followed by a form of private confession and the absolution as before. As in the earlier agendas, the pastor then earnestly admonished the penitents to receive the absolution with thanksgiving and live a Christian life, and in response, the penitents were to pray a prayer of thanksgiving, asking that they might henceforth live in obedience to God in the forgiveness they had received. The service then concluded with the Our Father and the benediction.⁸³¹

The Chief Divine Service was divided into two parts: the Service of the Word and the Service of the Lord's Supper. These two services were not printed side-by-side – a possible indication that the practice of not celebrating the Sacrament every Sunday was now beginning to spread. The Liturgy of the Word was entitled: "Collects or prayers to be sung from the altar before and after the sermon" ("Collecten oder Gebethe, welche vor und nach den Predigten vor dem Altar abgesungen werden"). It followed the traditional order. After the opening hymn, the Kyrie and "Gloria in excelsis" were sung, then the Salutation, response, and the common collect were chanted. The epistle and gospel were separated by a hymn, and following the gospel, the pastor intoned the Nicene Creed, chanting: "I believe in one God..."

The form of the Lord's Supper was similar to the service in the 1618 book. It was entitled: "Admonition to those who would receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper" ("Vermahnung an die, so das Sacrament des Abendmahls empfangen

wollen"). It began with a short admonition, based on Luther's paraphrase, followed by the singing of the Our Father by the pastor. The admonition then continued as in 1618 with only minor alterations. Then followed a prayer for worthy communion as in 1618, after which the pastor sang the Words of Institution. He then sang the *Pax Domini* which was not found in the 1618 rite. Also newly included was the introduction of the versicles before collect after communion, "O give thanks to the Lord, for he is good. Alleluia," and its choral response, "And his mercy endures forever. Alleluia." The collect was as in 1618. It was followed by the Salutation and newly included was the choir's response. The final benediction was as in the previous order. The earlier note about using the entire Aaronic Benediction at sick communions was omitted. Included were the German Litany, several general prayers, as well as versicles, responses, and proper collects for the major seasons, festival days of the church year, and special necessities and times of need.⁸³²



Title page of the 1753 Danzig church order.

Unique to the Danzig formularies was the inclusion of a prayer for worthy communion before the consecration of the Sacrament:

"Almighty God, heavenly Father, we implore you that you would grant us your Holy Spirit that we might worthily and with repentant hearts receive the most Venerable Sacrament of the true body and blood of your dear Son, our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, for the strengthening of our faith, and that we might grow in faith, hope, and all patience and daily until our end abide in your praise and obedience through the same your dear Son, our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen."833

Nineteenth-century liturgical scholars came to be quite fond of this prayer and suggested that it ought to be included in contemporary agendas. In his 1855 and 1859 works, Ludwig Schöberlein edited this prayer, making of it a full Eucharistic Prayer.⁸³⁴

The 1708 agenda was republished in 1753 under its original title: *Verordnung E. E. Rahts Die Einrichtung Der geistlichen Ampts-Geschäffte und Kirchen-Gebethe Bey der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeine der Stadt Dantzig belangend, etc.* The new edition added as an appendix a form for ordination to be used in the city churches.⁸³⁵

The Lutheran congregations in Pomerelia existed and were maintained by royal privilege. There was no consistory to which Pomerelians could look for order, protection, or liturgical direction until the area was annexed by Prussia. Earlier, a number of liturgies had been used in the congregations. Among them were the already mentioned Danzig orders of 1618, 1708, and 1753. Also used in some places were the Ducal Prussian agenda of 1741 and the orders of the churches of Schleswig-Holstein, Pomerania, Brandenburg, and Saxony. The congregation in Praust had its own church order, dated 1736, and based on the Danzig church order. 836

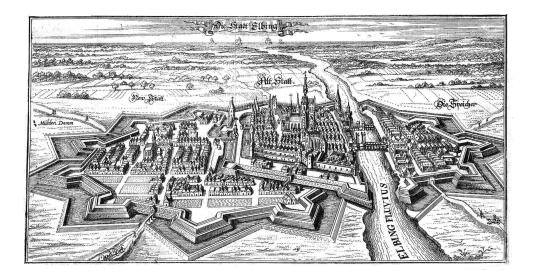
Danzing was not immune from attempts to introduce progressive, enlightened liturgy. Such Rationalist agenda appeared in 1811 under the title: *Gebete und Formulare für die öffentliche Gottesverehrung und andre feierliche Religionshandlungen, auf Anordnung E. E. Rathes, zum allgemeinen Gebrauch für die Evangel. Lutherischen Gemeinen des Danziger Freistaates, gesammelt und bearbeitet vom geistlichen Ministerium in Danzig (Prayers and Formularies for the Public Divine Worship and Other Solemn Religious Ministrations, as Prescribed by the Praiseworthy Council for Common Use in the Evangelical Lutheran Congregations in the Free City of Danzig, Assembled and Edited by the Clergy in Danzig). 837 The book demonstrated the spirit of the age by providing a variety of forms which would appeal to man's Rationalistic spirit and his desire to translate what is above nature and reason in terms both natural and reasonable to intelligent men and women, in order that this rationally expressed Christianity might be seen to be the perfectly reasonable expression of one's view of both of the present world and of eternity.*

6.3 Liturgical Orders in the City of Elbing

The Reformation of the liturgy in Elbing can be said to have begun on Oculi Sunday 1558. It was on this day that the decision of the city council that the celebration of Mass in St. Mary's Church should include the administration to the communicants of both kinds came into effect. The religious privilege, granting the church permission to teach and order its life in all respects according to the terms of the *Augsburg Confession*, was granted by King Sigismund II Augustus on December 23,

⁸³⁵ *Verordnung* 1753, A-B3.

^{226 1 1 1 1000}



Elbing from bird's eye view. Copper engraving by Eberhard Werner Happel, published by Thomas von Wiering in Hamburg, 1698 (*Wikimedia Commons*).

1558. Permission was extended only to St. Mary's Church and it was renewed on April 4, 1567. When King Stephan Bathory again renewed it on November 26, 1576, he extended this privilege in all the churches in Elbing and the surrounding region. The privilege was renewed again on January 11, 1588, and thereafter.⁸³⁹

In 1558, Elbing had expressed its intention to work together with the churches in Danzig and Thorn to create a common church order. This resolution never came to fruition. The churches in Thorn expressed their desire to adopt the Breslau church order and the churches in Danzig stated that they intended to formulate their own church order. It is unclear what measures were taken by the Elbing church to provide itself with a church order since no such order from the sixteenth century is extant. According to the 1570 memoirs of city councilor Michael Helwing, church life at that time was ordered and worship hours were set for Mass, Matins, and Vespers on Sundays and during the week. He noted that in no case were sermons to be more than one hour in length. No information about the agenda used is available today.⁸⁴⁰

The first extant church order of Elbing was published in 1612. It was entitled: Kirchenordnung: wie es mit den gemeinen Gebeten, Handlung der hochwürdigen Sacrament und trawung der Eheleute zu Elbing in der Pfarr- unnd andern in der Stadt unnd auff dem Lande einverleibeten Kirchen gehalten wird (Church Order: How the Most Venerable Sacrament Is to Be Observed, Together with the Common Prayers and the

Airchenordnung:

ie es mit den gemeinen

Gebeten / handlung der hochwürdien Sarament/ond trawung der Seletente zu Elbing in der Pfarr- onnd andern in der Stadt vnnd auff dem Lande einverleibeten Rirchen/ gebalten wird.

1. Cor. 14 Lassets alles Ehrlich vnd Ordentlich zugehen.



ELBING Gedruckt durch Wendel Bodenhausen ANNO 1612.

Title page of the 1612 Elbing church order.

Pirden-Ordnung:

Gebeten/ Sandlung der Sochwurdigen Sacran menten/ und Tawung der Bestent zu Albing in der Muchaund andern in der Stadt und auffdem Lande einverleiben Kirchen/ gehalten wird.

> 1. Cor. 14. Laffets alles Ehrlich und Ordentlich tugeben.



Elbing/ Gedruckt und verlegt von Achak Corellens Im Jahr Chrifti 1682.

Title page of the 1682 Elbing church order.

Marriage of Couples, in Elbing in the Parishes and Elsewhere in the City and the Nearby Churches in the Countryside).

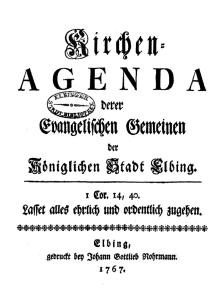
Although called a church order, the book was, in fact, an agenda which contained collects and prayers for Sundays and other occasions. Only the form for the administration of the Sacrament of the Altar was provided. It was in most respects identical to the form which would appear in the Danzig 1618 agenda, an indication that there must have been some liturgical cooperation between the Danzig and Elbing pastors. All that was lacking was the prayer before the *Verba* which made the Danzig order unique.

The liturgy of the Lord's Supper began with the admonition to the communicants which included portions from Luther's paraphrase. After an introductory admonition, the liturgist sang the Our Father, and this was followed by part two of the admonition, after which the pastor sang the *Verba* to consecrate the Sacrament. The musical notations for both the Our Father and the *Verba* were provided. The distribution was followed by the Salutation, response, and Luther's post-communion collect. The Salutation and response were repeated again and the service concluded with the Aaronic Benediction. On feast days, the pastor blessed the people with a portion of Psalm 67, following the suggestion in Lu-

noteworthy that the agenda speaks not of three but of four symbols of the holy faith: the Apostolic Symbol, the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, the Athanasian Creed, and the "*Te Deum laudamus*" which is identified as having been written by Ambrose and Augustine. 841

The Elbing agenda was reprinted without change in 1682 under the same title: Kirchen-Ordnung: Wie es mit den gemeinen Gebeten, Handlung der Hochwürdigen Sacramenten und Trawung der Ehe-leute zu Elbing in der Münch- und andern in der Stadt und auff dem Lande einverleibten Kirchen gehalten wird.⁸⁴²

A third agenda appeared in 1767. It abandoned the title "Kirchenordnung" in fa-



Title page of the 1767 Elbing agenda.

vor of the title: Kirchen-Agenda derer evangelischen Gemeinen der Königlichen Stadt Elbing (Church Agenda of the Evangelical Congregations in the Royal City of Elbing). Once again, a section of collects slightly rearranged is included. For the first time, there is also a form for the confirmation of children for use in connection with the catechetical examination. In it, a blessing is imparted but there is no laying-on-ofhands. The blessing is based on the words of Paul to Timothy: "May the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ who has begun this good work in you continue by his Holy Spirit to bring it to fulfillment in the day of Our Lord Jesus Christ." The liturgy of the Lord's Supper reproduces the seventeenth century Elbing agendas word-for-word, but no musical notations are provided nor are there any directives

stating that the Our Father, *Verba*, and blessing may be sung. Perhaps this, along with the inclusion of the confirmation service, are early indications of Pietist influences. Also missing in the Elbing agendas is any form of a confessional service and any provision for the Service of the Word, Matins, or Vespers.⁸⁴³

A second book, published in 1767, was entitled: Kirchen-Gebete, die sowohl an Fest- als gemeinen Sonntagen wie auch bey den Wöchentlichen Andachten in denen evangelischen Gemeinen der Königlichen Stadt Elbing gebraucht werden (Church Prayers for Festivals and Ordinary Sundays and also for Weekday Devotional Services, Used in

the Evangelical Congregations in the Royal City of Elbing). It included prayers of the church for both general and special occasions.844

As was the case also in other places, the 1569 religious privilege granted to Marienburg was renewed by King Stephan Bathory and his successors. The church in Marienburg did not prepare its own agenda but made use of liturgical materials from the Danzig and Pomeranian church orders.845

6.4 Public Worship Forms in Use in the City of Thorn

It was only after the death of Sigismund the Old that Lutheranism began to grow and prosper in the region of Culm and in the city of Thorn (Pol. *Toruń*). In 1551, Pastor Anton Bodenstein from Marienwerder was called to serve in Thorn, and although in 1554 the city council still outwardly maintained obedience to Rome, the majority of the citizens were by this time Lutherans. Internally, the Lutherans had to fight the influence of the Bohemian Brethren and Zwinglians, as well as that of the Schwenckfeldians who had been in the area since 1540.846

The turning point for the Lutherans in Thorn was their public acceptance by King Sigismund II Augustus on March 25, 1557. On that date, he officially approved the practice of religion according to the terms of the *Augsburg Confession*. The official privilege granted by Sigismund II Augustus to Thorn was dated December 23, 1558. It called for the preaching of the gospel in accordance with the Augsburg Confession and the administration of the Sacrament under both kinds according to the practice of the ancient church. The privilege was renewed by Stephan Bathory in 1576 and by Sigismund III Vasa in 1588.847

In 1557, the Lutherans in Thorn began to organize themselves around an appropriate church order. They expressed their preference for the Breslau church order. 848

The first church order for Thorn was composed and approved by the city council between 1560 and 1570. The title of the document was: Kirchenordnung von den itzigen dienern der gemeine gottes zu Thorn emtrechtig geschlossen und in folgende artickel vorfasset (Church Order, Unanimously Concluded by the Present Ministers of God's Church in Thorn and Written in the Following Articles). It noted that before this time no definite church order and agenda had been subscribed. The document was signed by pastors Simon Musaeus, Franciscus Burchhardus, Erazm Gliczner, Johann Wenzel, and Stanislaus Swyeskowski. It was formulated after one of the annual meetings of the clergy during the period noted. A major concern of

⁸⁴⁴ Kirchen-Gebete 1767.

⁸⁴⁵ Sehling IV 1911, 158; Graff I 1994, 25.

the pastors was the presence in the community of many sectarians who denied the necessity and power of the Sacrament of Holy Baptism and other traditional teachings of the church. For this reason, special articles were included concerning Holy Baptism and its ceremonies and the Lord's Supper, as well as confession and absolution. The latter article stated that baptized Christians were regularly to confess their sins in accordance with the words of St. Paul in 1 Corinthians 11 and of their own free will they were gladly to come to the altar to receive the body and blood. Those who refused to do so were said to be dishonoring Baptism and leaving its blessings behind. Those who did not receive the sacraments, as Luther had said expressly in the *Small Catechism* at least once or four times a year, were despising the Sacrament and were no longer to be considered Christians. Those who despised the Sacrament were no better than the Sacramentarians or the Schwenckfeldians. Upon their death, their remains would not be permitted a resting place in the parish cemetery.⁸⁴⁹

This church order was a temporary measure and lacked necessary directives concerning the conduct of public worship in the churches. A more comprehensive church order was formulated in 1575 by Senior Pastor Sigismund Suevus (Schwabe), together with pastors Abraham Sbasinio, Johann Wenzel, and Martin Murinius. 850 The work was entitled: Kirchenordnung, wie es zu Thorn in Preussen beide in der alten als neuen stadt mit lehr und ceremonien, samt andern ding, so zu förderung und erhaltung des lehr- und predigtambts christlicher zucht und guter ordnung von neuen gehalten wird, aus der wittenbergischen, nürnbergischen, breslauischen, mecklenburgischen, preussischen und andern guten kirchenordnungen treu und fleissig zusammengetragen (Church Order, as It Should be Observed Anew at Thorn in Prussia both in the Old and New City, Together with Doctrine and Ceremonies and Other Matters for the Promotion and Preservation of the Doctrine and Preaching Office, Christian Discipline, and Good Order, Faithfully and Diligently Gathered from the Church Orders of Wittenberg, Nürnberg, Breslau, Mecklenburg, Prussia, and Other Solid Church Orders). The 1575 church order was far more comprehensive that the earlier one, but it did not include an agenda. It did make frequent references to the agendas of Mecklenburg, Prussia, and other churches. It is evident that these agendas were in use in the churches of Thorn as was noted in the article, "Concerning the Holy Baptism," which mentioned that "the form and manner of Baptism was to be taken from Luther's Small Catechism, the Mecklenburg church order, and the newly published Prussian church order."851

Specific directions for the celebration of the Lord's Supper and the singing of Matins and Vespers were given in detail. Article V was entitled: "Concerning the

Mass or the Supper of the Lord." The service included the proper hymns, Gloria, collects, epistles and gospels chanted with the traditional melodies. Before the sermon, the pastor always sang the *Pacem* in German, Polish, or Latin. When he had gone to the pulpit, he admonished the people to prayer and a German hymn appropriate to the day or the pericopes or the needs of the people was sung. Then the Our Father was prayed and the pastor preached his sermon which concluded with a general prayer. Then followed a German hymn, after which on high feasts the pastor chanted the proper Preface. On ordinary Sundays and feast days which had no proper Preface, a German hymn was sung and then the pastor admonished the communicants in a short message, such as was found in the Prussian church order. Then the pastor turned to the altar and chanted the Our Father with the usual melody. After that, he encouraged the communicants in their faith and Christian devotion as in the Prussian agenda. Having done this, he then turned again to the altar and chanted "the Words of the Lord's Supper" without elevating the Sacrament because "the elevation is unnecessary and has led to many horrible abuses." Then the choir sang the Sanctus in Latin or German, and so too, the Agnus Dei, "Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior," and other designated hymns were sung according to the number of communicants. The whole time the pastor wore his customary vestments, the chasuble and surplice (Germ. Chorrock), and in distributing the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, boys knelt on both sides of the altar holding a linen cloth, according to the custom of the church for protection in case it any of the sacred species were dropped or spilled. Weak and sickly communicants were communed last. After communion, the usual thanksgiving was chanted together with the benediction to conclude the service.852

According to this order in both the old and the new cities, the Lord's Prayer and the Words of Consecration were to be sung one Sunday in German and the next Sunday in Polish. Apart from that, the hymns, collects, and lections before the sermon were always to be in Latin. On apostles' days or other minor festivals in both cities, a so-called "half celebration" was to be observed in German. In the suburban church of St. Georg, the service and the sermon were to be in Polish and on high feasts the Preface also should be chanted in Polish. On high feasts, in the new city where many Polish-speaking people came to confession, the office was to be held immediately after the early service in the Polish language. When, however, there were no communicants, the service ended with the sermon and a short hymn and collects in German or Polish, depending on where and when the service was being held and other circumstances.

According to the church order, Matins was to be prayed daily in St. John's Church with selected choral music and proper psalms, hymns, and collects, all

in Latin. On Sundays and feast days, Matins was at 5 a.m. and on weekdays at 7 a.m. When, however, there was a sermon, Matins was to follow immediately after the first bell before the sermon, and in summer, it was to follow immediately after the sermon. At 6 a.m. on Sunday morning in St. Johns parish church, two or three German psalms were to be sung with organ accompaniment. Then the epistle was to be read and explained for no more than forty-five minutes. It was followed by a German hymn. At the same hour in the collegiate church of Our Lady and the parish church in the new city, Matins was sung and there was a sermon in Polish. On Monday, Thursday, and Saturday, Matins was held in the same manner in both the old and new cities at 6 a.m. in summer and 7 a.m. in winter in the parish churches of both cities and in the collegiate church. A German hymn was sung first of all, then a psalm, preceded and followed by antiphons, again all in German. After that, a schoolboy was to read a chapter from the Old Testament, followed by a German hymn and a designated prayer, sung in a quiet voice. Then a schoolboy was to read a chapter of the Small Catechism, and following it, the explanation. This was followed by a hymn appropriate to the season or as necessity demanded. After this, the pastor turned to the people to read the "prayer of heaven" (Germ. "Das coeli gebet") and the service concluded with appropriate collects. On Tuesday, Wednesday, and Friday, there was a sermon at Matins in the summertime at 6 a.m., however in the winter, the bell was rung at 6 a.m. when the choir sang Matins in Latin and in 6:30 a.m. the bell again rang to summon the schoolchildren and to announce the beginning of the sermon. On Tuesdays in the old city collegiate church, the service was in Polish and in the new city it was in German. In the collegiate church, the Wednesday service was in German, and on Friday there was a German service in St. John's Church with three psalms and hymns, a sermon no longer than one-half hour and concluding with a hymn and collects. From Easter to St. Michael's Day, the bells were rung at the end of the service. When a feast or holy day fell on a weekday, its observance took precedence over the usual order. However, when a feast day fell during the week, for example on a Monday or Tuesday, the festal sermon was not to be dropped in St. John's Church.853

According to the church order, Vespers was to be prayed in the same manner as Matins. In the parish church of St. John, Vespers was to be sung in Latin every weekday afternoon: on Mondays at 2 p.m. and the rest of the week at 3 p.m. On Mondays, Vespers was to be followed by a 3 p.m. examination of the catechumens. On Sundays in the old city church of St. John's, as well as the new city parish church, Vespers was to be sung in Latin, and between the office hymn and the *Magnificat*, there was to be a one-half hour sermon on the catechism. Vespers

was to conclude with a collect. On Monday in the collegiate church, Vespers was to be sung in German and after it would follow the catechetical hour. However in the new city, Vespers was to be sung at that hour. On Tuesday in the old city collegiate church and the new city parish church, similar Vespers services were to be sung in German at 2 p.m. in the new city and 3 p.m. in the old city. The service was to begin with an antiphon and psalm, after which a schoolboy was to read a chapter of the New Testament. This was followed by the hymn and chapter of the catechism as in the morning, and after it, the choir was to sing the Pro Pace according to the season, as well as prayers for good weather, for good health, or the needs of the time. After this, a minister was to read a paraphrase of the Our Father from the Prussian church order and conclude with a simple collect. On Wednesday in both the old city collegiate church and the new city parish church, quiet service of Vespers was to be held. On Thursday in both places, German Vespers was to be sung as above, and after the New Testament reading, the Litany was to be sung to the usual German melody and the service was then to conclude with a collect. On Friday in the old city church of St. John as in the new city church at 2 p.m., a special service was to be held in place of Vespers. One week the passion of Christ was to be sung, followed by a collect, the next week a piece appropriate to the season or figured music was to be sung, followed by the Latin Litany and a simple collect. On Saturday at 2 p.m. in the old city collegiate church and the new city parish church, Vespers was to be sung in Latin in the following manner: the usual antiphon and psalm were followed by the reading or singing of the gospel for the following Sunday, after which a hymn was to be sung. For the benefit of the penitents, a schoolboy was then to read 1 Corinthians 11. After the reading, the Magnificat was to be sung, and following it, a collect, all in Latin, although perhaps 1 Corinthians 11 might be read in German. In such manner, one was to observe the vigil of the coming Sunday or feast day. It was noted that at Matins and Vespers the Old and New Testaments were to be read in German as lectio continua, so also the chapters of Luther's Small Catechism with explanations should be read through and repeated weekly.854

The church order also listed all major and minor feasts of the Lord, the apostles and evangelists, as well as the days of Mary Magdalene, St. Lorenz, the Beheading of John the Baptist, and All Saints Day. The article stated that this list was not exhaustive.

The church order sought to maintain a high theological and liturgical Lutheran standard. It made no concessions to sectarians or other dissidents who rejected the *Augsburg Confession* or abominated Christian ceremonies. The order maintained the traditional ceremonies and specified customs, and along with the use of German, the prominence of liturgical Latin, especially in the daily offices. It is noteworthy that in Thorn the Lutheran Reformation spread not only among the German-speaking population but also among the Poles, and provision was made for Polish language services and sermons.⁸⁵⁵

Unlike Danzig and Elbing, Thorn seems never to have published its own agenda. Specific directives for the services could be found in the church order. Service materials could be gotten from existing agendas, all of which contained much the same material, including prayers and chant tones. It is not clear whether or not the clergy in Thorn ever settled on a single sourcebook for liturgical propers. In the eighteenth century, the city council published additional regulations concerning engagements, marriages, baptisms, and burials but no agenda was published.

The Lutheran Church in Culm was also granted royal privilege, but it is not known whether this church ever had its own agenda. It is more likely that congregations made use of the church orders and agendas of neighboring territories.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the clergy of Culm had come under the influence of the spirit of the age and were no longer satisfied with the liturgical services in the older traditional books. They began to make use of the unofficial private agendas, published by Pastor Heinrich Wilhelm Frosch. The first volume of his Rationalist *Allgemeine Liturgie* appeared in 1802 and the subsequent volumes were published in 1805 and 1809. Pastors who decided to make use of his materials did so by their own decision.⁸⁵⁶

The annexation of Royal Prussia to the Prussian Kingdom revitalized the Lutheran Church in the region. There was an influx of some 300,000 German colonists at the invitation of Friedrich the Great. Parish rolls swelled and many new parishes were established. No attempt was made to formulate an official agenda for use in West Prussia, nor was there any pressure put on such cities as Danzig and Elbing to abandon their traditional agendas. The newer parishes were obliged to use the 1741 Ducal Prussian agenda and later its reprint additions of 1780 and 1789. The Ducal Prussian agenda became the official agenda in all parishes which did not already have their own official agendas.

⁸⁵⁵ Sehling IV 1911, 239.

⁹⁵⁶ E 400**F** 400

7. LITURGICAL TRADITIONS IN THE PROVINCE OF POSEN

The Second Partition of Poland-Lithuania in 1793 put large territories of Major Poland and its major city of Posen under Prussian control, creating the province of South Prussia (Germ. Südpreußen; Pol. Prusy Południowe). Following the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, the Grand Duchy of Posen (Germ. Großherzogtum Posen; Pol. Wielkie Księstwo Poznańskie) was created from territories of Napoleon's satellite state, the Duchy of Warsaw (Pol. Księstwo Warszawskie). The Congress of Vienna gave the Grand Duchy of Posen some measure of autonomy, but the rights promised to Polish residents were never fully implemented. The Grand Duchy lost most of its exceptional status after 1830 and, finally, was renamed to the Province of Posen by the Prussian Constitution on December 5, 1848. The Lutheran population in this new province was diverse and its liturgical services and customs were varied, although in most cases they represented derivatives of the Duke Heinrich 1540 agenda.



7.1 Posen as the Center of Major Polish Lutheranism

Lutheran Reformation could not take root in Poland until the death of King Sigismund I the Old who had enacted very stringent laws, severally penalizing anyone who left the Roman Church, and had forbad young people to attend any Lutheran university on pain of losing of all temporal possessions and holdings. Although his son Sigismund II Augustus remained a life-long communicant of the Roman Church, he took a far more lenient attitude toward his Protestant subjects.

Under these circumstances, Lutheranism took root and grew chiefly in Major Poland which was bordered by Silesia, Brandenburg, and Pomerania. Here Lutheranism spread not only among the German residents but also among the Poles themselves, chiefly through the efforts of the representatives of two major Polish magnate families – the family of Andrzej Górka, starosta general of Major Poland and castellan of Posen, and Stanisław Ostroróg, castellan of Międzyrzecz. Magnate Jan Tomicki, castellan of Rogoźno, and the Krotoski, Zborowski, Orzelski, Ossowski, and Ujejski families were also instrumental in spreading Lutheranism throughout the province.⁸⁵⁹

The center of Lutheran activity in Major Poland was in the city of Posen itself. From the start it suffered from the lack of strong leadership which a trained and committed theologian could have provided. Although Eustachius Trepka, who had studied under Luther and Melanchthon, was not without significant influence, it was the magnates themselves who determined ecclesiastical matters according to their own limited theological understanding.

7.1.1 Early Lutheran Liturgical Worship in Posen

The key figure among the nobility was Stanislaw Ostroróg. Together with the Górka family, he called a synod of the church to meet in February 1555 to establish an ecclesiastical administration and agree on a liturgy. The proceedings of this synod are known only through a letter which Trepka sent to Duke Albrecht on February 13, 1555. The synod had been unable to formulate any resolution concerning the church's constitution and order.⁸⁶⁰

A second synod was called in July 1556 in Posen. It coincided with the visit of the former papal nuncio, Pier Paolo Vergerio, who was on route from Wittenberg to Königsberg. He was invited to participate in the synod. The meeting was not able to come to any conclusion. Vergerio wrote to Melanchthon to acquaint him with the situation of the Lutheran Church in Major Poland and to inquire

concerning the church order currently being used in Wittenberg so that it might be introduced also in the churches of Major Polish. Vergerio was present at a subsequent synod at Grätz in March 1557 when he was on his way home from Königsberg and Kraków. Questions arose once again concerning the adoption of a single order of ceremonies. At the conclusion of the synod, Trepka accompanied Vergerio to Wittenberg and met with Melanchthon.861 After three days of meetings in the middle of March, Melanchthon composed a letter of advice, addressed to Ostroróg. In it, he detailed what steps ought to be taken to establish a church administration and assure uniformity in worship and ceremonies. The letter is no longer extant. On March 20, 1557, Trepka, acting in the name of Melanchthon, handed over to the Gorka family a report of Melanchthon's advice. It stated that a consistory (iudicia ecclesiae) should be established to superintend doctrine and church life, to administer church discipline, and as a last resort, to institute the ban. The letter also contained advice about the building of schools and the establishment of a uniform order of Divine Services with uniform ceremonies and rites. The letter also indicated what governing documents should be subscribed and stated that they should include the Augsburg Confession, the Saxon church order, and Melanchthon's examine ordinandorum.862 Melanchthon had already made this examination part one of the Mecklenburg church order of 1552. Later in 1559, it would be included in the so-called Melanchthon's "Wittenberg agenda." The Saxon church order referred to was that of Duke Heinrich of Saxony, his Saxon agenda of 1540.863 The authenticity of this letter has been disputed since it includes no form of address and the date of it is clearly incorrect. It is unclear whether or not the Saxon agenda was introduced in Major Poland at that time, or if it was, to what extent its use was widespread. Ostroróg seems to have concentrated his attention more on outward changes and the elimination of the last vestiges of medieval vestments and ceremonial from the churches in Grätz, Birnbaum, Tirschtiegel, Neustadt, and elsewhere. He directed that the old vestments should be cast aside and only the surplice should continue to be used.864

In synod, gathered in Posen on September 12-14, 1558, the delegates decided unanimously in favor of the *Augsburg Confession*. At the suggestion of Trepka, the delegates now turned their attention to the church order recently adopted in Ducal Prussia.⁸⁶⁵ The 1558 Prussian church order was built on the foundation of

⁸⁶¹ Wotschke 1907, 69-74; Wotschke 1911, 230.

⁸⁶² Corpus Reformatorum IX 1842, 781; Wotschke 1907, 78-79; Smend 1930, 10-11. In 1555, Hans Lufft in Wittenberg published the examine ordinandorum as a separate volume: Der Ordinanden Examen wie es in der Meckelburgischen Kirchenordnung gefasset ist (The Examination of Ordinands as Set Down in the Mecklenburg church order) – Der Ordinanden Examen 1555.

the 1544 order. It was a two-volume work covering both doctrine and ceremony and many important areas of church life. In June 1559, Ostroróg traveled to Königsberg to meet with Duke Albrecht. As a result of their conversations, he decided that since the churches were united in faith, teaching, and confession, and the Major Poles were now considering the adoption of the Ducal Prussian church order, the closest possible connections between the churches in Major Poland and Prussia should be established and maintained. In order to accomplish this, a joint synod was planned.⁸⁶⁶

After the September 12, 1558, Major Polish synod, Ostroróg requested that twenty copies of a Polish edition of the Prussian church order be sent from Königsberg since there was at that time no Polish translation of the work. It was not until 1560 that the translation was completed, approved, and printed. It was entitled: Ustawa albo porząd Kościelny, iako się w Xięstwie Pruskim s nauczaniem y ceremoniami, y s innemi rzeczami ktore ku pomnoszeniu y zachowaniu urzędu Kasnodzieyskiego, y porządku dobrego potrzebe zachowana snowu przeyrzany y na iawią wydany (The Statute or Church Order, as It Should Be followed in the Duchy of Prussia, Together with Doctrine and Ceremonies and Other Matters for the Support and Preservation of the Preaching Ministry and Good Order, Newly Revised and Published). Ostroróg received the church order on August 14, 1560, at his castle at Krylów on the River Bug. He was not much satisfied with it. The Prussian church order allowed for traditional ceremonies and the retention of vestments both of which Ostroróg had repudiated three years earlier. He wrote to Albrecht on December 21, 1560, quoting Exodus 20:4: "You shall not make for yourself a carved image - any likeness of anything that it is heaven above, what is on the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth..."867 Albrecht was indignant, and it was only later that he responded to Ostroróg's letter to remind him that images and vestments were adiaphora and could be used, as long as there was no superstition involved. He noted also that Martin Luther had been quite explicit in maintaining this position. Ostroróg responded on June 3, 1561, that he would be willing to reconsider these matters and renege on his previous decision to cast the Prussian church order aside. However, it soon became clear that the Major Polish Church would not accept this church order. It was evident that neither the Prussian nor the Saxon church order was satisfactory to the Poles. The introduction of a single common church order would have to wait.868

7.1.2 Reformed and Bohemian Brethren Worship Rites in Major Poland

So it was in the earliest years, the Lutheran Reformation in Poland did not have a strong foundation. The Reformation in Poland can be described as a reaction against the medieval church in which theology initially played only a minor role. In the first synod of the Minor Poles, held at Pińczów in October 1550, the leaders, who included Francesco Stancaro and Felix Cruciger, expressed no interest in formulating a common theological position. Their chief interest was to establish a form of worship and ecclesiastical administration which was different from that of the medieval church. The closest that anyone came to recommending Lutheran worship and ceremony was Francesco Stancaro who advised the adoption of the 1543 church order of Archbishop Hermann von Wied of Cologne (Köln) of 1543.869 The nobility present in the synod were willing to follow his recommendation, but Stancaro decided instead to publish a work which was less depended on von Wied. It was published in Frankfurt (Oder) under the title: Canones Reformationis Ecclesiarum Polonicarum (Canons of the Reformation of the Church of Poland).870 The Polish language edition, Porządek naprawienia w koscielech nassych: z pisma swiętego y z pisma Doktorow swiętych oycow starych (Order of Remedy in Our Churches: from the Holy Scriptures and Writings of the Doctors, Ancient Holy Fathers), was published in Kraków in 1553.871 At the synod in Słomniki on November 25, 1554, dissatisfaction was voiced concerning Stancaro's work. Complaints were heard that it was still too Roman and that more attention should be paid to the forms of worship of the Bohemian Brethren who had recently come to Major Poland from Bohemia. 872 The synod at Koźminek on August 24 – September 2, 1555, brought together the Minor Polish Protestants and the Bohemian Brethren and resulted in a union of the two groups, the so-called Koźminek Union, and the acceptance of the 1527 church order and agenda of Lukas of Prague: W těchto polozeny gsau knihach popořadku zprawy při sluzbach vrzadu Knězskeeho w Gednotie: Bratrskee: (Zprawy tyto wsseho vřadu knězskeho spolu y po mocnikuo k Imprimowani dane Leta. M. CCCCC. rrvij Skrz Giřika Sstyrsu w Boleslawi nad gizerau wčtyr mezcytmu hodinu na den. S. Martina wytisknutim dokonany gsu).873

The church order for the Reformation of Cologne, *Von Gottes genaden vnser Hermans ... einfaltigs bedencken*, published in 1543, met with strong criticism from Luther. Both Melanchthon and Bucer had participated in its preparation but Luther objected that its doctrine of the Lord's Supper appeared somewhat unclear. He justly complained: "It carries out a laborious jabbering about the usefulness, fruit, and glory of the Sacrament, but concerning its substance it mumbles uncertainly..." *WA* Br. 10, 618; *Green* 1970, 93.

⁸⁷⁰ Stancaro 1552; Akta synodów I 1966, 2.

⁷¹ Porządek naprawienia 1553; Wotschke 1910, 475; Akta synodów I 1966, 3 fn. 1; Lubieniecki 1995,

CANONES

ECCLESIAR VM POLONICAR VM
PER FRANCISCVM STANCARVM MANTVANVM
CONSCRIPTI.

QVIBVS ADIVNCTI SVNT

Contra inuocationem fanctorum. De Ecclesia & fignis etus & c. Quod tora doctrina trinitatis in facris literis sit relata.

Eodem autore.

EXCVDEBAT
Iohannes Eichorn Francofordij
ad Viadrum, Anno
M. D. LII.

Title page of the 1552 *Canones Reformationis* by Francesco Stancaro.

Dorzadek naprawie. włościel. nastych. List i

Porsadek naprawienia

w Foscielech nassych: 3 pisina swietego / y 3 pisina Doftorow (wietych oycow starych/Dises, Francista Stantara 3 Mantuy Doftoro pisinaswietego spisany.

Pirwsy porsadek.

Maufa ffezyra a prawdziwa aby była vezona ochedozona od fatffu i odffezepienstwa.

By nauka wsflystka pana Krystusowa/w-koscielech nastych wiernie weolug prawosi wego wykładu była nauczana/w ktorey iżeby neiebyło przymiesjania sastiu Papieskiego/ani oskonych nauk nastycioną mamy opisaną wrych ksiegach porządku nastęgo.

Mtory.

Swiatosci ochevojone od plugawych vstaw ludikich bee

By swigtosci tym sposobem byty stassowa ne iatochur tu napisali wtsiegach o stassow

Title page of the 1553 *Porządek naprawienia* by Francesco Stancaro.



FORMA

AC RATIO TOTA ECCLEfiastici Ministerij, in peregrinorum, potifimim uero Germanorum Ecclefia:infituta Londini in Anglia, per Pientifitmum Principem Anglia etc. Regem EDV ARDV M, cius nominis Sextü:An
no post Christum natum 1550. Addito
adcaleem libeli Pruilego
[uæ Maisstatis.]

AVTORE IOANNE À LAfco Polonie Barone.

Cum breuietiam(in Epiftola nuncupatoria) calumni rum quarundam refutatio o ne: que falfò aduerfus ipfum, in Martiniani cuiuldam apud Brenuñ. Pastoris farragne infperfe babentur.

Pfalm.140. Vir linguax, non dirigetur interra : Vir tum iniquum,malum uenabitur ad præcipitium.

Up to this point, the Minor Polish Protestants, like the Lutherans in Major Poland, had no eminent theologian to lead them. This changed with the arrival from Western Europe of the eminent Polish Calvinist, Johannes à Lasco (Pol. Jan Łaski). He had authored a well-known liturgy, Forma Ac Ratio Tota Ecclesiastici Ministerij, in peregrinorum, potißimum uerò Germanorum Ecclesia: instituta a Londini in Anglia (The Form and Complete System of the Ecclesiastical Ministry in the Church for Foreigners, Especially Germans, Established in London, England), in 1550. It was published in 1555 in Frankfurt (Main).874 A Dutch version, De Christlicke ordinancien der Nederlander Ghemeyntein Christi (Christian Ordinances of the Dutch Congregation in London), had been prepared by Martin Micron in 1554.875 At the synod at Iwanowice on January 1, 1557, the delegates turned to Lasco. He diplomatically suggested that the Minor Poles should make revisions in the ceremonies, rites, and observances of the Bohemian liturgy they were currently using. By this means, he was obliquely recommending that they should adopt his Forma ac Ratio which was strongly influenced by the theological understanding of the Lord's Supper espoused by John Calvin. Lasco's liturgy was, however, no mere duplication of Calvin's Geneva liturgy of 1542 and Strasburg of 1545. It was the fruit of his own labors. A unique feature of it was the directive that the communicants should be seated around a table and receive communion in imitation of the events in the upper room.⁸⁷⁶

The influence of the Reformed and the Bohemian Brethren soon came to bear on the Lutherans in Major Poland. Like other Protestants, some of them found Rome and all things Roman to be abhorrent, and since they had no eminent theologian of their own to lead them and had been unable to agree on a church order, some of them now began to reform their churches according to the model provided by the Reformed. In 1560, Ostroróg sent as delegates to the Minor Polish Reformed and Major Polish Bohemian general synod at Xions (Pol. Książ), Johann Caper, pastor of Meseritz and superintendent of Major Polish Lutheran Church, and Pastor Laurentius of Grätz (Pol. Grodzisk).877 They returned home breathing the spirit of the synod. They were convinced that they had found a truly biblical way to celebrate the Lord's Supper in accordance with the New Testament. They immediately adopted this new liturgical custom, according to which communicants were no longer to kneel to receive the consecrated Sacrament. They were instead to sit around the table and take for themselves the broken bread and drink from the cup. Ostroróg asked them to provide a clear scriptural foundation for this innovation and asked for a theological opinion from the Königsberg theologians. On September 30-31, 1566, the synod at Posen deposed Caper and gave the office of superintendent to Erasm Gliczner.878

⁸⁷⁴ Forma ac ratio 1555.

⁸⁷⁵ Pahl 1983, 431.

POLITIA ECCLESIASTICA, QVAM VVLGO AGENDAM VOCANT, FORMA REGIMINIS EXTERIORIS ECCLESIARYM CHRISTIANARVM IN POLONIA, QVAE VNVM DEVM PATREM PER FILIVM EIVS VNIGENITVM IESVM CHRISTVM IN SPIRITV SANCTO CONPITENTVE, TRIBYS LIBRIS EXPLICATA PETRO MORSCOVIO, E CODICE MANVSCRIPTO RECENSVIT, NOTAS ATQUE DISSERTAT. PRAELIMINAREM AGENDIS ECCLESIASTICIS ET SPECIATIM DE HIS, GEORGIVS LVDOVICUS OEDERUS, E, THEOL BOCTOR, BECANTS ET ANTISTES FRANCOFVRTI ET LIPSIAE ANNO 1745.

Title page of the 1745 edition of Piotr Morzkowski's Socinian *Politia ecclesiastica*.

In the 1550s and 1560s, three Protestant groups emerged in Poland. The Reformed were the largest group, second were the immigrant Bohemian Brethren who had settled in Major Poland, and third were the Lutherans. In addition to these, there were numerous small groups which were radical Protestants in their mentality and opposed to all creeds and confessions.879 They rejected them all as the doctrinal creation of the decadent Roman Church. Under the leadership of Italian Protestants, these groups disassociated themselves from the Reformed Church in the 1560s and created a new group which in terms of its numerical strength was in some regions larger than the Reformed Church. Later, under the leadership of Faustus Socinus, they would establish themselves as the Polish - Lithuanian Brethren, the anti-Trinitarian Socinians. This group continued

to use the liturgy prepared by Johannes à Lasco, although their understanding of *Sola Scriptura* made it necessary for them to make modifications to his work. The only extant witness to their liturgy is found in Piotr Morzkowski's (*Petrus Morscovius*) 1646 agenda: *Politia ecclesiastica, quam vulgo Agendam vocant, sive forma regiminis exterioris ecclesiarum Christianarum in Polonia, quæ unum Deum Patrem per filium ejus unigenitum Jesum Christum in Spritu Sancto confitentur, tribus libris explicata, a P. Morscovio (<i>The Ecclesiastical Polity which They Commonly Call the Agenda or the Form of the Exterior Government of the Christian Churches of Poland, which Confess One God the Father Through His Only-begotten Jesus Christ in the Holy Spirit*). The Reformed were scandalized, and in order to disassociate themselves from the anti-Trinitarians, they now abandoned the practice of sitting at tables for communion, leaving the Socinians the only group to continue this Zwinglian practice. 880

All three mainline Protestant Churches wished to be recognized as legal church bodies in Poland-Lithuania. From the standpoint of the Polish monarchy, three Protestant groups were too many. In the closing hours of the 1569 diet, King Sigis-

mund II Augustus expressed his desire that there should be in his realm only one church. 881 The Protestants interpreted this to mean that the king really meant that there should be one Protestant Church in Poland-Lithuania. They reckoned that if they united under a single banner and a single confession, they would receive royal acceptance. 882 At a meeting in Vilnius (Pol. Wilno) in March 1570, the Lithuanian Lutherans and Reformed formulated a number of theses concerning the Lord's Supper which were worded in such a way as to be agreeable to both parties.⁸⁸³

7.1.3 The Consensus Sandomiriensis and Its Liturgical Ramifications

At a general synod at Sandomierz on April 9-14, 1570, the Polish and Lithuanian Reformed and Lutherans, together with the Bohemian Brethren, met in a common general synod. Each group pressed for the acceptance of its own confession as the confession of all. This proved unworkable, but the delegates were willing to make the Vilnius theses, along with some statements of Melanchthon's Confessio Saxonica of 1551, their consensus statement. This agreement came to be known as the Consensus Sandomiriensis. According to it, each group was free to use whatever agenda, church order, and ceremonies it saw fit, as long as they fit into the general pattern of the equivocating Consensus. Also included was a statement that the future goal was the coming together of all three groups into a single group with a common rite and common ceremonies and perpetuation of traditions acceptable to all three parties.⁸⁸⁴

The king, the parliament, and the Roman Catholic bishops were not much impressed by the Consensus and the fictitious unity which it professed. The only unity which interested them was a unity of obedience to the Roman Catholic Church. No legal status for the Polish-Lithuanian Protestants was forthcoming.⁸⁸⁵

The thinking of the three churches which had participated in the Consensus Sandomiriensis was that they had done something important to defend themselves and had proclaimed to the monarch and multitude that the Protestants were one body and could stand against the Counter-Reformation which was now in full swing.

The general synods of the three churches continued to consider the matter of liturgies, ceremonies, and customs. At the general synod in Kraków on September 29 - October 1, debates centered around the question of whether communicants were to kneel or stand at communion. The only general agreement that could be reached was that communicants must not sit because that was what the anti-

⁸⁸¹ Wotschke 1911, 244; Halecki 1915, 145-146; Pelikan 1947, 833.

⁸⁸² Wotschke 1908, 315 (No. 407a).; Halecki 1915, 169.

Trinitarians did. At Piotrków, a general synod was held on June 1-3, 1578, and Communion practices were once again an issue. Lutherans received Communion on their death beds but Reformed did not. At this synod, it was determined that those who were so weak in their faith, as to desire Communion at the point of death, should be permitted to do so at the discretion of their pastor. 886

Some Lithuanian Lutherans had never been enthusiastic about either the Vilnius theses or the *Consensus Sandomiriensis*. On June 25, 1578, the forty-eight anniversary of the presentation of the *Augsburg Confession*, they disassociated themselves from the *Consensus*.⁸⁸⁷

The Polish Lutherans, however, did not express the same confessional consciousness until the opening years of the seventeenth century. Until then, they continued to meet with the Reformed and the Bohemian Brethren in general synods and these synods continued to discuss ceremonies. At the general synod at Włodzisław on June 19-20, 1583, it was insisted that the participants restrict themselves to the use of terminology agreed upon in the *Consensus Sandomiriensis* and limit their discussions to the question whether communicants should kneel or stand.⁸⁸⁸

The year 1580 saw the publication of the Lutheran *Book of Concord* which bore witness to the unity of German Lutheranism. Its appearance made some Polish Lutherans a bit uneasy. Already in 1582, Paweł Gericius (Gericke), Lutheran pastor at Posen, and Jan Enoch had repudiated the *Consensus Sandomiriensis* as representing something far less than the church's proper confession of the Sacrament of the Altar as drawn from the Holy Scriptures and affirmed by the church. There was increasing unrest among the Lutherans in Major Poland, far more serious than could be conveniently overlooked or explained away. When the general synod convened at Thorn on August 21-26, 1595, there was tension in the air. Lutheran leader, Superintendent Gliczner, insisted that in view of the militant nature of the Roman Catholic opposition the unity of Polish Protestants must move forward. So it was that somewhat reluctantly the Lutherans affirmed the *Consensus Sandomiriensis* as a document uniting three Protestant confessions in Poland one last time.

On this basis, the Reformed were eager to move ahead and establish a concrete union. The first step would be the institution of a uniform form of worship and commonly agreed ceremonies to which all churches would necessarily conform. In 1599, Krzysztof Kraiński produced his comprehensive *Porządek nabożeństwá Kośćiołá powszechnego Apostolskiego* (*Order of Worship of the Universal, Apostolic Church*) which the Reformed congregations of the district of Lublin and

⁸⁸⁶ Akta synodów III 1983, 33-34, 40-41.

⁸⁸⁷ Jablonski 1731, 81-86.

Krylów took as their own.891 In 1602, a new edition appeared and was accepted by the Reformed Church and designated to be the official form of worship for all Reformed congregations in Minor Poland. 892 Inspired by this accomplishment, the Reformed invited the Lutherans and Bohemian Brethren to meet with them in a convocation at Bełżyce on October 18, 1603. It was the aim of the Reformed to establish a common rite for all Protestants, based chiefly on the 1602 work. The Lutherans did not come.893 They were invited to a second conference, this time at Baranów on May 1, 1604. The purpose was again to establish a common rite. Again, the response by the Lutherans was less than enthusiastic.894 A third edition of the Minor Polish Reformed agenda appeared in 1614,895 and two years later at a conference at Bełżyce on September 22, 1616, the Reformed and the Bohemian



Title page of the 1637 Calvinist and Bohemian Brethren "Great Danzig Agenda."

Brethren announced that they understood that they and the Lutherans shared the same faith despite the difference in their rituals. 896 Only the Reformed and the Bohemians were willing to move ahead to formulate and establish a common liturgy and agenda. It took two decades of negotiations and common work to accomplish it. The monumental achievement of their endeavors was the so-called "Great Danzig Agenda" of 1637, Agenda álbo forma porzadku (Agenda or Form of Worship).897

7.1.4 Polish Language Liturgical Practices

The best years for Polish Protestants came during the reign of Sigismund II Augustus. His death in 1573 was a matter of great concern to the Protestants. The

⁸⁹¹ Porządek nabożeństwa 1599.

Porządek nabozenstwa 1602.

Akta synodów IV 1997, 257.

Akta synodów IV 1997, 261-263.

Council of Trent, which had concluded in 1563, had defined Roman Catholicism according to a pattern which now excluded even the most theologically and liturgically conservative of them. Further, the Jesuits had come in 1564, and now there was nothing to restrain them from attacking the Protestants by whatever means they deemed necessary. The Protestants had not been able to achieve legal status. They were tolerated only because a large number of them were wealthy and influential noblemen and magnates.

In 1573, before a new king was elected, the members of the Protestant nobility formulated and signed a confederation document, called the Warsaw Confederation. Those who signed it pledged to continue the tradition of religious tolerance which had marked the reign of Sigismund II Augustus. In the end, the document had little effect. It was strongly opposed by the Roman bishops and clergy led by Cardinal Stanislaw Hosius.

It was Hosius who introduced the Jesuit Order into Poland and supported its rapid spread throughout the land and the intolerance toward all Protestants which soon ensued. What began as a war of words, soon became physical with mobs incited by the Jesuits invading and destroying Protestant churches and defacing Protestant cemeteries. These incidents, which began during the reign of Stephan Bathory and continued despite his opposition, only increased during the reign of his successor, Sigismund III Vasa. In addition, the nobles were becoming increasingly concerned about the autocratic nature of the king's rule. They determined to depose him by means of an armed uprising led by Mikołaj Zebrzydowski. The rebellion of 1606-1607 took its name from him. Although the rebellion was chiefly political in nature, Protestants supported it because the aim of their rebellion was to maintain the well established independent status of the nobles over against the monarchy, and they were still hoping that the Protestants would be given equality of status with the Roman Catholic Church. The failure of the rebellion sealed the fate of Polish-Lithuanian Protestantism for the next 150 years. This period would be a time of rapid decline and increasing hardships. In 1658, the diet announced that anti-Trinitarian Socinians must either convert to Roman Catholicism or leave the country before July 10, 1660.898 Even earlier, the constitution of 1632 forbad the building of any Protestant Churches and ordered the destruction of any church built in contravention of the law. It also proscribed any Protestant preaching or singing outside of any remaining regular church services and ordered that no religious gatherings were to be permitted in private dwellings under severe penalty. These regulations were reaffirmed in later constitutions in 1648, 1668, and 1674. As the situation deteriorated, many of the nobility decided to return to the Roman Catholic fold and Protestantism continued to decline rapidly. 899

No direct evidence has survived indicating the origin or form of the liturgical services in Major Polish Lutheran congregations in the sixteenth century. It may be that Duke Heinrich's Saxon agenda was circulated in manuscript copies translated from German into Polish. This agenda was widely used in Silesia. Only 1560, 1571, and 1615 translations of the Prussian agendas were available in the Polish language during that period, but no evidence has been found indicating how widely these Polish editions were circulated outside Ducal Prussia. In any case, it is evident that every congregation went its own way liturgically, and even if there was a common standard, that standard was observed more in the breach than in the observance.

Superintendent Erazm Gliczner died in 1603 and his elected successor Stanislaus Gronitius lived only until 1606. His successor, Samuel Dambrowski, was elected to office by the 1607 Major Polish

B. Samuel Dambrowski, Ecclesiae Sutheranae apud Vilnenses Paston, Ecclesiarum Invar August Confess ver Litthva. Tumas as Samogitiam Supera thendens.

Superintendent Samuel Dambrowski of the Major Polish Lutheran Church. Copper engraving by Bartłomiej Strachowski (*Dambrowski* 1772).

elected to office by the 1607 Major Polish synod, held at Miloslaw (Pol. $\it{Miloslaw}$) on July 12. 900

The 1607 synod would prove important to the Major Polish-speaking Lutheran Church for several reasons. It enacted stronger doctrinal articles, stating that the church bound herself to the *Unaltered Augsburg Confession* of 1530, thus tacitly leaving the *Consensus Sandomiriensis* in the dust. Henceforth, when referring to the *Consensus Sandomiriensis*, Polish Lutherans would always insist that it was merely a political document and was never meant to influence the church's Lutheran theology in any way.

The synod also closely delineated the responsibilities of the superintendent, the co-seniors, pastors, catechists, auditors, patrons, lay seniors, parish administration, German language ministry, church discipline, ceremonies and customs, confession and absolution, cantors and ecclesiastical coadjutors, and other matters. The Major Polish Church was divided into three geographical districts: Posen, Fraustadt, and Meseritz. Four co-seniors were elected. It was their task to conduct visitations, to

preserve good order in the church, and see to the maintenance of the church's doctrine and proper fraternal spirit. In all these matters, they served as adjuncts to the superintendent who bore the primary responsibility in these matters and served as overseer of the church. It was the responsibility of the patrons to improve the physical conditions of the congregations and their buildings, to call faithful ministers of the word, and see to their suitable support. The lay seniors in each district were to be four in number. They were to regularly attend the synodical sessions, to see to the repair of parsonages and parish structures which have been deteriorated or destroyed, and see that in all matters proper order was maintained. The synod also dealt with relationships with independent German-speaking congregations in Major Poland along the border with Silesia. Special inspectors were appointed, Valerius Herberger in Fraustadt and Michael Gerstenmeyer in Meseritz, to represent the German congregations in the Polish language synod. As such, they would need to recognize the authority of the superintendent, subscribe to the synod's articles, and attend future synodical sessions.

In a separate article, the synod noted that still no common agreement concerning liturgy and ceremonies had been reached. It recognized that church ceremonies did not confer salvation, but it stated that they were necessary for the sake of good order and it was desirable that the Major Polish congregations of the *Augsburg Confession* should be in harmony concerning ceremonies. It was suggested that the congregations should acquiesce to the ceremonial measures as practiced in the Posen congregation and that no congregation ought to exempt itself from this requirement. Nothing was said of the origin of these rites or the history of their usages in the Polish congregations in Posen or elsewhere. The importance of private confession and absolution was recognized, and it was resolved that all pastors should observe them since they had been instituted to strengthen the weak, to quicken those who were dead in sin, and to console and cleanse terrified consciences. Seventeen pastors signed the articles of the synod.⁹⁰²

The situation of the Polish-speaking Lutheran Church in Major Poland was by this time becoming increasingly problematic. In Posen, after the death of Stanisław Górka, the congregation was no longer permitted to worship in the city but was ordered to move outside the city. In 1603, students were incited by the Jesuits to riot the church and vandalize it. In 1605, they unsuccessfully attempted to burn the church down. The 1606 attempt was successful. The congregation rebuilt it, but its rebuilt church was again reduced to ashes in 1614. Finally in 1616, the bishop ordered the Lutheran clergy to leave the city. At Easter 1617, the Lutheran nobility attempted to gather for a service, but they were prevented from doing so. Finally in 1619, a royal mandate reinforced the earlier decision of the Posen magistrate which outlawed all religious

activity excepting that of the Roman Catholics. Some Lutherans converted, some left the area, others went underground. The situation elsewhere in Major Poland was no better. One by one the Polish-speaking Lutheran churches were attacked, pastors were banished or by other means removed, the congregations were forced to disperse. By 1620, Polish-speaking Lutheranism in Major Poland laid in ruins and Superintendent Dambrowski moved to Vilnius where he became superintendent of the Lutheran congregations in Lithuania and Samogitia. 903

7.1.5 The Liturgical Observances in the German-Speaking Congregations

If it had not been for the German-speaking Lutheran congregations and their pastors, Lutheranism in Major Poland would have been completely eradicated. These congregations were located mainly in towns and villages situated along the borders of Silesia and Brandenburg. Some of these congregations sprang up between 1550 and 1570. The parish congregations kept to themselves. They lived, worshiped, and prayed in German and in this way they remained mainly undisturbed under Polish radar. They looked for fellowship and mutual support to sister congregations in Silesia and Brandenburg. It was from there that their pastors came, just as it was from there that they themselves had come. They had no interest in ecumenical discussions with the Polish Reformed and the Bohemian Brethren and had nothing to do with the Consensus Sandomiriensis which they saw to be defective. 904 With the systematic eradication of Polish-speaking Lutheranism, it was only the Germans who kept the flame of the Lutheran Reformation alive. The German-speaking church grew, and its congregations became home to many thousand Silesian German-speaking immigrants, fleeing Counter-Reformation measures in their homeland. New towns and villages were built, the populations of which were almost exclusively Lutheran. The Germans were, as always, industrious, hardworking, and exact in fulfilling their responsibilities and the Polish Roman Catholic nobility quickly saw that their presence in the region was to their economic advantage. When he came to the throne in 1632, King Władysław IV Vasa confirmed privileges to these ethnic German congregations, granting them freedom to worship and to live according to the terms of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession. Congregations flourished in Lissa, Fraustadt, Schmiegel, Storchnest, Zaborowo, Bojanowo, Rawitsch, Görchen, Sarne, Schlichtingsheim, Krotoschin, Kobylin, Zduny, Grätz, Meseritz, Schwerin, Prittisch, Chlastawe, Czarnikau, Schönlanke, and the lands of the Goltz family. The congregations in these cities were not formally bound together and did not establish any central authority such as a consistory. The names of prominent Lutheran families now sounded not Slavic but Germanic – Unruh, Schlichting, Seydlitz, Kallreuth, Nostiz, Seeher, *et al.* ⁹⁰⁵

Here and there Roman Catholic bishops would cast their eyes on growing Lutheran parishes and react with alarm. At Meseritz, Polish Lutheranism had given way to German Lutheranism, and the alarmed Roman Catholic bishop attempted to forbid the construction of a church large enough to accommodate the German-speaking congregation. Sixty-four prominent nobles protested and in the end the church was built. 906

Extant documents from the sixteenth century say little or nothing about the liturgies used in the congregations. A 1564 handwritten document by Andreas Knoblauch of Fraustadt on the border of Silesia and Poland says in typical Lutheran terms that the congregation gathered around the word and its calendar included special festal celebrations on the three days of Christmas - the feast of the Nativity and the days of St. Stephen and St. John the Evangelist, New Year's Day, Epiphany, Easter Day, Easter Monday, Easter Tuesday, the Lord's Ascension, the day of Pentecost, Pentecost Monday, Pentecost Tuesday, and Corpus Christi. In addition to this, the three chief Marian festivals were kept, that is, those which had a clear foundation in the New Testament, including Annunciation, Visitation, and Purification. Also the following festal days were observed: the Conversion of St. Paul the Apostle and the days of St. Matthias the Apostle, St. Philip an St. James the Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul the Apostles, and the days of St. James, Bartholomew, St. Matthew, St. Simon and Jude, St. Andrew, and St. Thomas. Also kept were the days of St. John the Baptist and St. Michael and All Angels. These days were kept annually with preaching on the gospel and the history of these important personages. In addition, sermons were preached on weekdays as well as Sundays in proper Christian order.907

Knoblauch emphasized that *Corpus Christi* Day was observed in a pure evangelical manner. The Lutherans held no procession with the consecrated Sacrament, but they observed the day with a sermon on the Sacrament of the Altar. This was done voluntarily, and it was done in an irenic manner to make it more meaningful "for the sake of neighbors to avoid giving offense," Knoblauch explained. "For if we do not carry around the Sacrament since that is contrary to the Lord's institution, one can still preach and teach in the church about the Sacrament to the great benefit of the common folk." A later note, added to the church book at this point, stated that many years later the keeping of this feast day was eliminated "because it is market day and [because] the doctrine of the Sacrament is treated with greater benefit on Palm Sunday, it was not reestablished." 909

⁹⁰⁵ Smend 1930, 24-25.

⁹⁰⁶ Dworzaczkowa 1995, 41.

^{007 6 11: 11/1011 200}

The Fraustadt church order from 1576 also speaks of the proper observance of Sundays, not with "idolatrous practices" but with three proper divine services and appropriate ceremonies. Weekday services were to be held on Mondays and Fridays and days of repentance and prayer were to be observed for repentance and reconciliation. These services were to be held four times a year. The Sacrament of Holy Baptism was to be properly observed, as well as liturgies of Christian marriage and Christian burial. Nowhere is anything said of an agenda in the Fraustadt documents. 910 Secondary sources indicate that it was the Saxon agenda and its liturgies which were used predominantly. 911 So too, when a Lutheran congregation was established in Wengrów in Mazovia in 1650, the enabling privilege stated that it was the Saxon agenda which was to be used there. 912

It appears that other liturgies and agendas were also used in these independent congregations in Major Poland, and for that reason, there was a great deal of variety in usages and ceremonies. This problem was addressed a number of times, and even as late as the conference in Bojanowo on November 20, 1663, no common agreement could be reached because attempts to establish conformity in liturgy and ceremonies and agreement of a single agenda provoked disputes and dissensions among the delegates. All agreed that uniformity was desirable, but more important was each congregation's attachment to its own liturgical forms. The congregations were, however, united in their affirmation of the *Augsburg Confession*. At the Synod in Lissa on March 5, 1675, they further agreed that in addition to their mutual subscription to the *Unaltered Augsburg Confession*, their confession also included the articles of the *Formula of Concord* and the confessional statement which the Polish Lutherans had presented at the Colloquium at Thorn. 913

7.1.6 The Restoration of Rights and Privileges in 1768 and 1775

A new day for Polish Lutherans dawned, beginning in 1768, with the restoration of their rights and privileges by the Polish parliament. This was the result of pressure exerted by the Empress Catherine of Russia, together with support from the kings of Prussia, Denmark, England, and Sweden. The 1768 *Tractat* spelled out the rights and privileges which were to be accorded to non-Uniate Orthodox Christians and Lutherans and Reformed. These churches were now permitted to openly practice their faith, build new churches and schools, conduct liturgical services without disturbance, and preach and worship in any language they

⁹¹⁰ Sehling IV 1911, 294.

JURA DISSIDENTIUM

IN POLONIA, LITHUANIA ET
ANNEXIS PROVINCIIS,
TAM SPIRITUALIA, QVAM SÆCULARIA,

IN COMITIIS REGNI VARSAVIENSIBUS

ANNO 1767.
IN ACTU PRIMO SEPARATO
TRACTATUS VARSAVIENSIS
RESTITUTA IN PERPETUUM SUNT,
POLONICE ET LATINE EDITA.

1768.

Title page of the 1768 Warsaw Tractate in Latin and Polish.

wished. They were also given the authority to establish governing bodies, such as consistories, to call synods and to formulate a body of church law to regulate church affairs according to the teachings of their faith.⁹¹⁴

Almost immediately that same year, 1768, Lutherans and Reformed in Major and Minor Poland, Lithuania, and Royal Prussia agreed to meet in a general synod, the purpose of which would be to reaffirm the old *Consensus Sandomiriensis* and establish a political union between their churches. Some also looked forward to the establishment of a single general Protestant consistory. 915 The synod never took place because in 1772 both Thorn and the Royal Prussia, with the exception of the city of Danzig, were ceded to the Kingdom of Prussia to form the new province of West Prussia. The king of

Prussia, Friedrich II, declared that this annexation simply restored to Prussia land which had been taken from it in the Second Peace of Thorn in 1466.

Under pressure from Roman Catholic leaders and several magnates, the Bar Confederation had been formed which stood against the king and the reformers and also the conferral of any rights whatsoever upon the non-Uniate and dissident Christians. The confederation raised the cry that Polish-Lithuanian sovereignty was now being trodden under foot because of Russian interference. Although the confederates won some battles against the Russian army, they were defeated in 1772. The defeat of the confederates did not immediately bring the restoration rights and privileges to the dissident Christians which the 1668 *Tractate* had promised, but it did help to precipitate the First Partitioning of Poland and Lithuania in 1772. The affirmation of the rights and freedoms of the Protestants and Eastern Orthodox came by the act of parliament in Warsaw three years later, in 1775. 916

⁹¹⁴ Jura Dissidentium 1768; Tractat zwischen Jhro Majestät 1768; Tractat zwischen Jhro Majestät / Traité entre Sa Majesté 1768; Friese III 1786, 329 ff.

^{1704, 1705, 1716,}

7.2 Liturgical Life After the Restoration of Rights and Privileges

At the time of 1775 reaffirmation, Lutheranism in Major Poland was largely German. Forty-eight German-speaking congregations had survived the time of intolerance, ⁹¹⁷ but only one Polish-speaking congregation at Kargowo, and perhaps one in Bojanowo, were still open. ⁹¹⁸ If for no other reason, the continued survival and expansion of the church in Major Poland depended upon the formation of a general church organization. Here the German nobility and pastors would take leading roles. On September 4, 1775, thirty-three nobles, twenty-three pastors, and twenty-nine leading city dwellers met together in the general synod at Lissa to establish the first Lutheran consistory in Lissa to see to the administration and discipline of the congregations. ⁹¹⁹ General orderliness called also for a common liturgy to be used in all the parishes.

The Warsaw congregation in Mazovia, the largest in all Poland, stated firmly that it intended to continue to use the Saxon liturgy. This declaration did not state which Saxon liturgy was being identified. It is likely that in the earliest period when the Warsaw Lutherans were worshiping in Wengrów, they used Duke Heinrich's Saxon agenda of 1540, but in the course of time, they may have introduced the Saxe-Coburg liturgy. When the daughter congregation in Warsaw was established in 1775, it was the Saxe-Coburg order of 1747 that it chose to use. It is not clear how widespread was the use of the Saxe-Coburg agenda in Poland outside of the Warsaw parish church. In more common use in Polish Lutheran congregations, however, was Duke Heinrich's Saxon agenda of 1540.

7.2.1 Polish-Lithuanian Efforts Toward Unionism and Their Liturgical Expression

Despite the fact that in Major Poland Lutheranism was the predominant non-Roman Catholic confession, the perceived need for a Protestantism united against its Roman Catholic opponents led Major Polish Lutherans to look for the creation of a political union with the Reformed. The Reformed viewed matters differently. To them, the *Consensus Sandomiriensis* was a document which proclaimed a unity of doctrine between the churches which now needed only to be made complete by the formal establishment of a united Protestant Church. The Lutherans and the Re-

⁹¹⁷ Smend 1930, 37, 43.

⁹¹⁸ Merczyng 1905, 139.

¹⁹ C...... 11020 07 076 147-1-11-1004 4

formed together met in a Major Polish general synod on January 15, 1776, in Lissa. After ten days of debate, it was decided that the relationship between the churches allowed only a political union. Accordingly, they signed an act of a political union as a witness before their opponents that they would not tolerate any disturbances or violation of their rights and privileges. At this same synod, the Lutherans met separately to address liturgical questions. Although the liturgy most commonly used was that of Duke Heinrich, it was deemed necessary that all parishes should agree on a uniform rite and use a single agenda. To facilitate this, the regional seniors were requested to inquire during their parish visitations as to what liturgies and liturgical customs were being used. Their findings would be collected and examined prior to the next synod. The results of this survey concerning the liturgy are unknown and minutes of subsequent synods are silent on the matter.⁹²²

Minor Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania must also be considered. In Minor Poland, it was the Reformed Church which predominated. There were in this region only a few Lutheran congregations. The Reformed in this province insisted that there must be a closer administrative union, uniting both groups under a single consistory and synod. They were able to attract the Warsaw congregation to this proposal, by promising that the city dwellers would be permitted to have their own lay senior. The Major Poles had denied them this privilege, stating that such an action was unconstitutional. At the synod of Sielec on May 2, 1777, the union between the Reformed and Lutheran Churches in Minor Poland and Mazovia was declared and a united consistory was established. This consistory would sit in Warsaw and would consist of two nobles, two city dwellers, and two clergy representing the two confessions. It was further stipulated that the senior pastor of the Warsaw Lutheran congregation would be a member of the consistory *ex-officio*. In the future, all synods were to be joint synods and all questions pertaining to both confessions or only one would be decided by the majority vote of all the estates. 923

Attempts were made to effect a similar union in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, but these efforts were thwarted by the Vilnius congregation which, together with the congregations in Kaunas and Sluck, established an independent Lutheran consistory on February 14-25, 1780. This thwarted early union attempts.⁹²⁴

In order to establish a common body of church law and to delineate other pressing matters of the Protestants, Lutherans and Reformed of Poland and Lithuania were invited to meet in a general synod at Wengrów from August 28 until September 8, 1780. Under discussion at this meeting was a church constitution, called Allgemeines Kirchenrecht beyder Evangelischen Confessionen in Polen und Litthauen, die Kirchen-Verfassung, gute Ordnung, Policey und rechtliche Thätigkeit der Consis-

torien betreffend (The General Church Law of Both Evangelical Confessions in Poland and Lithuania Concerning the Constitution of the Churches, Good Order, Policy, and Legal Activity of the Consistories). This document had been prepared by Heinrich Gottfried Scheidemantel, professor of the church law at Jena, who composed it at the request of August Stanislaus von der Goltz, starosta of Graudenz and the lay leader of the Major Polish Lutherans. It was proposed that this law should regulate both churches, however, because the Reformed already had a body of canonical legislation and the Lithuanian Reformed wanted to retain their independence from the Poles and the Lithuanian Lutherans had not participated in the synod, it was decided that the churches in the three provinces - Major Poland, Minor Poland, and Lithuania - should make use of this new Allgemeines Kirchenrecht as they saw fit. In other words, no one was obligated to do anything with it, and each provin-



Title page of the 1780 General Church Law.

cial church could decide for itself whether and to what extent to make use of it.

According to the 1780 church law, the same liturgical principles were to be operative in both Lutheran and Reformed Churches. Since ceremonies must be regarded as outward acts, and outward acts are adiaphora, they may not be permitted to create divisions. Through synods and consistories, the church could exercise its authority to add, remove, or change outward ceremonies. Two sacraments were recognized by both churches – Holy Baptism and the Lord's Supper. These acts were said to be in some sense "infused with inner power." The Lord's Supper was referred to as a "meal of blessed bread and wine" in which communicants receive the true body and blood of Christ in a "sacramental manner" under the forms of bread and wine. Here primary attention must be given to the worthiness of the communicants and the circumstances under which one who has fallen away might on his deathbed be permitted to commune. It was to be understood by all that confession and absolution have no sacramental value

and indicated their sincere desire for God's forgiveness. Nothing was said in the church law about agendas and other worship materials. These were regarded as ceremonial matters to be determined by synods or consistories. The church law was meant for use in both churches and therefore this liturgical section had to be rather vague and general. It must be said, however, that it was, in general, more Reformed than Lutheran.⁹²⁵

The 1780 general synod at Wengrów reaffirmed a union, based upon the *Consensus Sandomiriensis*. Nothing more was said about this union since Lutherans and Reformed shared no common understanding of what it meant. To the Major Polish Lutherans, the union was strictly political and nothing more. To the Minor Polish and Mazovian Lutherans and the Reformed, the union was more comprehensive and included matters which might pertain only to one confession or the other. ⁹²⁶ In Lithuania, the union document between Reformed and several Lutheran congregations was signed in Kédainiai in 1781. It was generally understood to be something more than merely political but something less than a union which could affect the internal operations of either church. It was agreed that Lithuanian provincial synods of both confessions would continue to be held and a united consistory for both churches was established. However, the continued operation of the strictly Lutheran Vilnius consistory betrayed any notion that the Lutherans were united. ⁹²⁷

Dissension began to develop among Polish Lutherans even as the closing gavel of the 1780 general synod was being sounded. Von der Goltz wanted to promote the acceptance of the *General Church Law*, but the Lutherans made it clear that this was not to their liking. In retaliation, in November 1781 von der Goltz and his group moved the consistory from Lissa to Fraustadt.⁹²⁸

A more immediate cause of dissension and schism within the ranks was the liturgy. In 1778, members of the Warsaw parish council undertook to formulate a church law to govern the internal life of this congregation. The assistant Pastor Cerulli influenced the church council to accept as a part of this new church law a liturgy which he had formulated on the basis of the 1777 Rationalistic liturgy of Leipzig Reformed minister, Georg Joachim Zollikofer. Although a few of the more progressives in the congregation delighted in this modern service and its innovative views, at least 279 members of the congregation signed a petition rejecting it and demanding the restoration of the old liturgy. They stated that theirs was a congregation of the *Unaltered Augsburg Confession* and they wanted a liturgy which was appropriate to their faith, their old Saxon agenda. They also

⁹²⁵ Allgemeines Kirchenrecht 1780, 14-24.

⁹²⁶ Kirchen-Gesezbuch 1783, 483-496; Büsching 1784, 97-105.

Acta et conclusiones Synodu Prowincyalnego Roku 1781 Dnia 24 Iuniii, 1. 340-356; Büsching

insisted that the pastor should wear appropriate vestments, including the surplice, and there should be lighted candles on the altar. At Communion, the pastor should sing the Our Father and the Words of Institution and the choir should sing the Minor *Sanctus* after the Lord's Prayer, after the bread-words and again after the cup-words. Every service should conclude with the pastor singing the Aaronic Benediction. The church council agreed, but on the day of the dedication of the new church, the congregation's first permanent house of worship, Pastor Cerulli paid no attention to this agreement and threw down the gauntlet.⁹³⁰

Complaints to the consistory in Warsaw poured in, but as might be expected, the united consistory supported Friedrich Cerulli and went so far as to depose Pastor Gottlieb Ringeltaube, who was a member of the consistory ex-officio, from his position and gave it to Cerulli. Even King Stanisław August Poniatowski was displeased by this action and declared that the Lutherans now had his support in their decision to hold a separate Lutheran synod in Warsaw beginning with April 22, 1781. The Mazovian Lutheran synod decided to change the terms of the 1777 Sielec Union. The union might continue in force only as a political union, and under no circumstances was it to discuss any internal business of one church or the other. Joint synods were to limit their discussions to external matters of concern to both churches. Lutherans would conduct their own internal business at their own synods and would establish their own consistory in Warsaw.931 Less than a year later, in February 1782, the Lithuanian Lutherans met at Biržai and there they rejected the terms of the Kėdainiai Union and recognized the Vilnius consistory as the only legal Lutheran governing body. Matters of concern to Lutherans were to be discussed only in Lutheran synods convened for that purpose in Biržai. 932

The relationship between the Reformed and the Lutherans was now falling apart. There were no less than five consistories, three Lutheran (Warsaw, Fraustadt, Vilnius) and two united (Warsaw, Vilnius/Kaunas). Von der Goltz called a general synod to meet on September 6, 1782, at Wengrów to discuss matters of common concern to the Reformed and the Lutherans, to clarify the status of the *Consensus Sandomiriensis*, and to patch up the differences which had developed within the churches and between the churches.

As early as the first session, it became evident that this meeting was going to accomplish nothing. Arguments over credentials and the seating of delegates from the independent Mazovian Lutheran Synod and the Union Synod on the Minor Poles and Mazovians broke out. The delegates could agree only on one canon; it concerned the voting rights of the Mazovian Lutherans and the representatives of the Sielec Union. The Reformed could see that the handwriting was on the wall.

The Sielec Union was dissolving. However, they continued to insist that the *Consensus Sandomiriensis* had created a union which was comprehensive and which must be maintained. The Lutherans declared that the *Consensus* was political in nature and that the churches needed to conduct their own affairs in private. Joint synods must restrict themselves to political matters of joint interest. Seeing that no progress could be made, von der Goltz closed the meeting on September 17.933

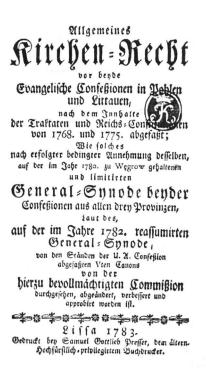
The Lutherans stayed in Wengrów and convened their own meeting three days later to discuss matters pertaining to the Polish and Lithuanian Lutheran churches. In their canons, they stated that the *Consensus Sandomiriensis* was only political; it could not be considered doctrinal because it was not representative of the faith and confession of the Church of the *Unaltered Augsburg Confession*. They stated that a Lutheran commission would need to be established to determine what changes were needed to make the *General Church Law* of 1780 workable. This, of course, applied only to the Poles. Lithuanian Lutherans would need to examine the decisions of this commission to see how some or all of its provisions might be helpful to them.

The Lutheran synod also addressed questions of liturgical forms and usages in the Polish and Lithuanian congregations. It was noted that most of the congregations used the Saxon agenda but had eliminated the exorcism from the baptismal rite. It was suggested that where this agenda was not already in use, it should be introduced in a friendly and cautious manner to the glory of God, the edification of the congregation, and to show consideration for the "weak."⁹³⁴

An important decision of the 1782 Lutheran synod was to amend the 1780 church law to make it clear that the two major Protestant confessions were ecclesiastically and theologically separate. The revised document was published in 1783 as *Allgemeines Kirchen-Recht, vor beyde Evangelische Confessionen in Pohlen und Littauen, nach dem Innhalte der Traktaten und Reichs-Constitutionen von 1768. und 1775. abgefasst; Wie solches nach erfolgter bedingter Annehmung desselben auf der im Jahr 1780. zu Wegrow gehaltenen und limitirten General-Synode beyder Confessionen aus allen drey Provinzen, Laut des, auf der im Jahre 1782. reassumirten General-Synode von den Städten der U. A. Confession abgefassten Vten Canons, von der hierzu bevollmächtigten Commission durchgesehen, abgeändert, verbessert und approbirt worden ist (General Church Law of Both Evangelical Confessions in Poland and Lithuania, Compiled According to the Content of the Tractates and the 1768 and 1775 Constitutions of the Kingdom; as Such Conditionally Accepted at the Limited General Synod of Both Confessions of the Three Provinces, Held in 1780 at Wengrów, Compiled According to the Fifth Canon of the Estates of Unaltered Augsburg Confession in the 1782 Resumed General Synod, Examined, Altered, Improved, and*

Approved by the Authorized Commission). 935 This title was misleading since it still identified the document as applicable to both confessions. In point of fact, the Reformed had disassociated themselves from it and declared that they would rather follow their own canonical tradition. The Lutherans had kept the reference to both confessions in the title simply to indicate that there was a continuing political union between the two confessions that both groups should honor.

Lithuanian Lutherans, meeting in Biržai in 1783, carefully examined the new document and found that it lacked any particular relevance to their situation. The king had clearly stated that he would not approve any church law unless it was equally acceptable to all parties in all three provinces, so the Lithuanian Lutherans petitioned him that the document be appropriately amended. The amended church law was published in Lissa in 1784 under the title: *Allgemeines Dissidentisches*



Title page of the 1783 General Church Law.

Kirchen-Recht, laut den Tractaten und Reichs-Constitutionen von 1768 und 1775 abgefasst, von der General-Synode abgefasst, von allen Provinzen synodalisch angenommen, und sämtlichen Gliedern der Evangelischen Kirche U. A. C. in der Crone Pohlen und dem Großherzogthume Litthauen, zur gemeinschaftlichen Befolgung bekannt gemacht (General Church Law of the Dissidents, Composed According to the Tractates and Constitutions of the Kingdom of 1768 and 1775, Composed by the General Synod, Accepted by the Synods of All Provinces and the Assembled Members of the Evangelical Church of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession in the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Made Known for General Compliance). The title made it clear that this was a Lutheran document for Lutheran parishes. Although it still included some references to the Reformed, it was made clear that the Lutherans and the Reformed were entirely separate churches. Included in the document were regulations concerning the disposition of matters involving both churches, such as intermarriage, the sharing of a single church building by both confessions, and disputes between members of the



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Großherzogthume Litthauen, zur gemeinschaftlichen Befolgung bekannt

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Title page of the 1784 General Church Law of the Dissidents.

two churches. Directives concerning the liturgy were also included. According to these, divine services were congregational activities and were not to be conducted in private, either in church or elsewhere. However, baptisms, marriages, and other pastoral acts could be conducted in private. All liturgical services were to be conducted by ordained pastors using the church's official forms and formularies. No specific agenda was referred to as the touchstone for the church's liturgical worship. This indicated that the Polish and Lithuanian churches could use their accustomed forms.⁹³⁷

Although it was expected that the parliament in Grodno of 1784 would approve this church law, this did not happen. Lutheran city dwellers bitterly complained to the crown that the law did not give them an adequate voice in church affairs. This effectively killed any possibility that the 1784 law would be approved. 938

Meanwhile, yet another church law had appeared in Poland in 1783. It was a

reprint of Scheidemantel's 1780 church law to which had been added the canons of the 1780 and 1782 Wengrów general synods and a new preface by Scheidemantel. It was published under the familiar title: *Kirchen-Gesezbuch für die beiden evangelischen Confessionen in Pohlen und Lithuauen auf ausdrükliches Verlagen der Dissidentischen Generalsynode entworfen neuerlich aber von Drukfehlern gereiniget und mit Anmerkungen begleitet vov D. Heinrich Gottfried Scheidemantel, ordentlichen Lehrer des Lehnrechts in Jena (The Book of Church Law for Both Evangelical Confessions in Poland and Lithuania, Expressly Published by Direction of the Dissident General Synod, Newly Cleansed of Printing Errors and Accompanied by Remarks by Dr. Heinrich Gottfried Scheidemantel, Regular Teacher of Church Law at Jena). Scheidemantel explained that he published it to provide a model constitution for foreign Protestant Churches, rather than as a concrete proposal for the Polish and Lithuanian churches.⁹³⁹*

The political situation of the city dwellers in Poland and Lithuania changed dramatically when a new constitution was passed on May 1, 1791. The new constitution contained articles, setting down general principles by which Polish and Lithuanian life and legislation were to be governed. It was decreed that the Roman Catholic faith was and would continue to be the dominant religion in these lands for time and eternity and that this provision could never be modified or overthrown. Apostasy to some other religion would be punished appropriately. Members of other faiths were granted the right to live in peace and enjoy the protections afforded by the constitution and laws of Poland-Lithuania. The new constitution required that the churches amend their own church laws to conform to the new constitution and its provisions. City dwellers were to be given an equal voice with the nobility and the clergy in the determination of the church's affairs. The rights of city dwellers were approved by parliament on May 21, 1792, in a document, entitled: Kirchliche Einrichtung für die Dissidenten beyder Confessionen in Pohlen genehmigt von den Ständen des Reichstags den 21sten May 1792. Warschau (Ecclesiastical Establishment for the Dissidents of Both Confessions in Poland, Approved by the Estates in the Parliament on May 21, 1792, in Warsaw). For Protestants, this would stand alongside the 1768 and 1775 tractates as documents confirming their legal status. It stated that in all church affairs the nobility, clergy, and city dwellers would be given an equal voice, and no resolutions were to be passed nor legislation enacted without the approval of all three groups. Furthermore, no synod, consistory, or church court was to be constituted unless all three estates were actively and equally represented. 940

Polish and Lithuanian Lutherans used the 1784 church law only as a provisional document to govern its internal, administrative affairs and conduct. In order for the 1784 church law to achieve full legal recognition by the state, it would be necessary to amend it to conform to the terms of the twenty points enacted in 1792. Before this could happen, however, a political upheaval would dramatically change all internal and external political affairs in both Poland and Lithuania. In 1795, both countries were erased from the map of Europe.

7.2.2 Enlightenment Influences on Major Polish Liturgical Worship

Although the 1782 Wengrów Lutheran synod affirmed the position of the Saxon agenda as the liturgical standard for all congregations in Poland and Lithuania, by 1784 it was becoming increasingly evident that Rationalism was making some inroads, and the effects of this new thinking were appearing in prayers and liturgical formulas. At the Major Polish synod at Fraustadt on September

14-16, 1784, it was announced that although the old liturgy might continue in use for the time being with, of course, the elimination of exorcism in Baptism, work was being done to prepare a new liturgy. Von Der Goltz suggested that General Senior Kopp should correspond with Superintendent Dr. Johann Friedrich Rehkopf in Dresden to become acquainted with what Rehkopf was proposing in the liturgical project he was currently preparing. 941 Then he should meet with Pastor Ringeltaube in Warsaw to ensure that the Mazovians and the Minor Polish Lutherans agreed with the Major Polish proposals. Work proceeded slowly and it was not until the synod of 1786, held in Fraustadt from August 30 to September 1, that a report could be made. It simply stated that all districts of the church had not yet reported. It was therefore decided that the general senior and district seniors should meet one day before the next synod to prepare a report. 942 It is not known whether that meeting was ever held. At the Fraustadt Synod, held on September 2-4, 1788, it was evident that Rationalist views were making inroads and questions were being raised about the use of Latin hymns and Latin liturgical texts, including doxologies, the salutation, versicles and responses. 943 Concerns were also raised about the propriety of elevating the consecrated bread and wine, the chanting of the Sunday readings and the Benediction, and the traditional reading of the history of the destruction of Jerusalem on the tenth Sunday after Trinity. The general senior went so far as to suggest that some parts of the Saxon liturgy should now be replaced by sections taken from the 1783 Rationalist agenda of Electoral Palatinate. He also suggested that perhaps the traditional marriage vows should be replaced by questions and answers, that the traditional bridal wreath should be eliminated, and also the houseling cloth used in the Lord's Supper. All these he described as Roman Catholic practices. He indicated that private communion ought to be allowed only in exceptional cases. The general discussion which followed, included the question whether church services ought to be held on two weekdays, and if so, whether or not these days should be the same as the days observed by Roman Catholics. The synod decided that the general senior should send to each district senior a draft to be studied and discussed by the pastors. The results of those discussions would then be examined by the general seniors of all estates and a final proposal would then be brought to the synod. Since the agenda of the meeting also called for discussions of the rights of city dwellers, liturgical questions were soon laid aside.944

⁹⁴¹ Smend 1930, 541; Wotschke 1934, 30.

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7.2.3 Ecclesiastical Concerns in the Newly Established Province of Posen

In the Second Partition of Poland and Lithuania in 1793, the area formerly known as Major Poland was ceded to Prussia and became the major constitutive element of the new province of South Prussia (Germ. Südpreußen; Pol. Prusy Południowe). The government of the region was centralized in Posen and a consistory was established there. Now for the first time the church in this region would be governed by the provisions of the Prussian Law Code – Allgemeines Landrecht für die Preussischen Staaten, which included ecclesiastical statutes. The newly organized church in this region was divided into nine districts with a total of seventy-nine parishes, served by fifty-eight ordained pastors. The church districts were: Birnbaum – eight congregations, Bojanowo – eight congregations, Fraustadt – seven congregations, Gnesen – six congregations, Karge – fourteen congregations, Kalisch – ten congregations, Lissa – six congregations, Meseritz – eighteen congregations, and Posen – six congregations.

The Third Partition of Poland and Lithuania in 1795 would bring further sweeping changes to the political map. The Kingdom of Poland and the Grand-Duchy of Lithuania disappeared entirely, carved up by Russia, Prussia, and Austria. Much of Southern Poland and parts of Mazovia were now absorbed into the Province of South Prussia, along with the city of Warsaw, the former Polish-Lithuanian capital. A new province, New East Prussia, appeared for the first time on the map. It was comprised of parts of Mazovia east of Warsaw and Podlasia, as well as the Lithuanian region of Suvalkia. Within a decade, the maps would change again as the result of Napoleon's conquests, his defeat, and the decisions of the 1815 Congress of Vienna.

The Grand Duchy of Posen (German: *Großherzogtum Posen*; Polish: *Wielkie Księstwo Poznańskie*), now a part of the Kingdom of Prussia, was created from territories of the Duchy of Warsaw (Pol. *Księstwo Warszawskie*) following the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815. The Congress of Vienna decided that the Grand Duchy should be given some measure of autonomy, but in fact, it came to be subordinated to Prussia and the rights promised to Polish residents were never fully implemented. The Grand Duchy finally was renamed to the Province of Posen by the Prussian constitution on December 5, 1848.

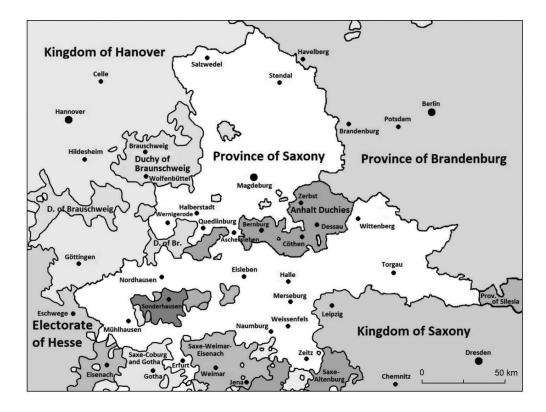
The Saxon agenda continued to be the standard liturgy in the region of Posen, but Rationalism was continuing to gain ground not only in secular matters but also in sermons and in liturgical formularies. Pastors continued to make whatever changes in the liturgy they deemed appropriate. By 1797, the consistory in

Darius Petkūnas

Posen decided that this situation must be brought under control. Henceforth, no pastor was permitted to make any changes in the liturgy on his own initiative. If he thought it was necessary to make changes, he must first inform his district senior, and the distinct senior must present the request to the consistory along with his own opinion about the worthiness of the request.⁹⁴⁶

8. LITURGICAL TRADITIONS IN THE PROVINCE OF SAXONY

In the Congress of Vienna, a large part of the Kingdom of Saxony, which had supported Napoleon, was given to the Kingdom of Prussia. The territory came to be named the Province of Saxony. It included many cities which had important ties to the Lutheran Reformation. It was also the home of important Lutheran church orders and agendas. At the time of the congress, two principal Saxon agendas were still in use in the province. The first was the 1771 edition of the monumental Duke Heinrich's Saxon agenda of 1540. The second was the so-called "improved" edition of the Saxon agenda of 1812 which breathed the spirit of late eighteenth-century Rationalism. In addition, some cities still followed their own liturgical derivatives of Saxon origin.



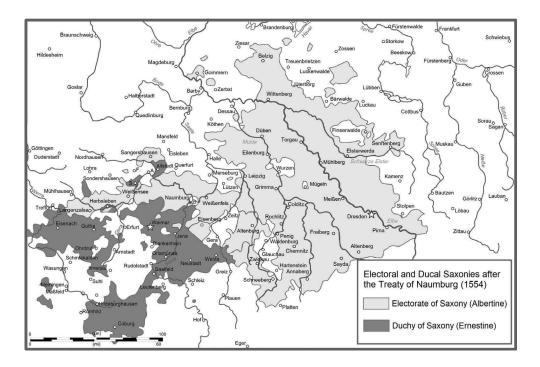
Province of Saxony after the Congress of Vienna in 1815.

In 1356, the Duchy of Saxony was made an electorate by Emperor Charles IV in his Golden Bull. Henceforth the elector of Saxony would be one of seven men responsible for choosing the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. This made the elector of Saxony a man of great importance, even though his Duchy, Saxe-Wittenberg, was relatively small. The last elector of Saxe-Wittenberg died in 1422, and on January 6, 1423, Emperor Sigismund named Friedrich IV of the House of Wettin and Margrave of Meissen as Elector Friedrich I of Saxony. Much new territory was added to the electorate because Friedrich I possessed not only the castle of Wettin, but he also was the margrave of Meissen and the landgrave of Thuringia. The designation "Saxon" thus came to be applied to all of the Wettin holdings. When his son, Friedrich II, died in 1464, the electorship passed to his eldest son, Ernst. Ernst shared the rule of the Wettin lands with his brother, Albrecht. As the result of the Leipzig Division of 1485, Ernst took possession of the territories assigned to Electoral Saxony and Thuringia with its capital in Wittenberg, properly called "Ernestine Saxony," and his brother, Albrecht, became duke of Saxony, ruling his "Albertine" territories from Dresden, the capital of Ducal Saxony. 947

In the Schmalkaldic War of 1547, Electoral (Ernestine) Saxony took a leading role in the Schmalkaldic League. Moritz of Albertine Saxony, the cousin of the elector, threw his support behind the forces of the emperor. As a result of the emperor's victory, Elector Johann Friedrich was forced in the Wittenberg capitulation of 1547 to resign his electorship in favor of the Albertine branch. Johann Friedrich also lost old Saxe-Wittenberg and the Electoral territories, retaining only his lands in Thuringia. As a result, the capital of Electoral Saxony moved from Wittenberg to Dresden, and Weimar was made the capital of Ernestine Saxony.

In accordance with the law of primogeniture, the electoral lands always fell to the eldest son and could not be divided. Consequently, Albertine Saxony was able to maintain its territorial integrity, while Ernestian Saxony would be increasingly subdivided with each passing generation. Since the title, "Saxon," was higher and more venerable than the strictly geographical designation, "Thuringia," succeeding generations of the Ernestine line would continue to use it to identify themselves and their territorial holdings. Thus, there came into being smaller divisions in Thuringia with names like Saxe-Coburg, Saxe-Weimar, Saxe-Gotha, Saxe-Jena, and other territories which were often little more than towns and the areas immediately surrounding them.⁹⁴⁸

In the Napoleonic Wars, Albertine Saxony threw its support behind Napoleon and was rewarded by being given the exalted title, Kingdom of Saxony. After Napoleon's defeat, the Congress of Vienna gave a large portion of the Kingdom of Saxony to Prussia and designated it the Prussian Province of Saxony. Included



Electoral and Ducal Saxonies after the Treaty of Naumburg in 1554.

within this Province of Saxony were the Duchy of Magdeburg and the principality of Halberstadt, which from 1807 to 1813 had been given to the newly created Kingdom of Westphalia, along with parts of the Margraviate of Brandenburg west of the Elbe, including Altmark. The Province of Saxony also included towns of Wittenberg, Merseburg, Naumburg, Mansfeld, Querfurt, Henneberg, and their environs. Other lands ceded to the province included the territories surrounding Erfurt, Eichsfeld, and the formerly free imperial cities of Mühlhausen and Nordhausen. 949

The Kingdom of Saxony survived mainly in the south and included the important cities of Chemnitz, Dresden, and Leipzig.

8.1 The "Wittenberg Mass"

The so-called "Wittenberg Mass" may be described as the fountainhead of the Saxon liturgical tradition and practices and the standard or the touchstone used by almost all Lutheran liturgies.

8.1.1 Luther's Formula Missae and Deutsche Messe



Castle Church in Wittenberg. Woodcut by Lucas Cranach the Elder, 1509.

Little is known of particular liturgical practices in Wittenberg before 1523. On Christmas Day, 1521, Andreas Karlstadt had introduced his own newly created German service, but it was in no way a source which later Lutheran theologians and liturgists would follow. When Luther returned to Wittenberg at the beginning of Lent in 1522, he restored the medieval Mass in Latin as the standard form, although as he indicated in his liturgical writings, he eliminated what he later described as accessions which had turned Christ's Supper into a "dragon's tail" - the sacrifice of the Mass.950 The offering of the Mass as a pure sacrifice and the Canon of the Mass, the prayers surrounding the consecration of the bread and wine, were eliminated. Luther declared that they were written in a different vein and represented a theology which gave no honor to the person and work of Christ.

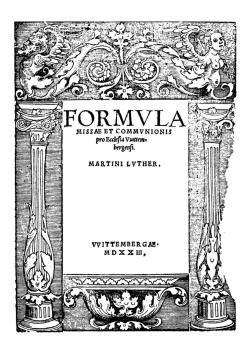
After sending initial suggestions in answer to inquiries to the Leisnig congregation, Luther exceeded to the request of his friend, Nikolaus Hausmann, and published a description of the Mass as it was being celebrated in Wittenberg, the Formula Missae Et Communionis pro Ecclesia Vuittembergensi (The Order of Mass and Communion for the Church at Wittenberg), 1523.⁹⁵¹

The *Formula Missae* was descriptive, not directive. It is not a liturgy which the priest could use in place of the missal. Luther was content simply to offer suggestions for a proper evangelical adaptation of the medieval Mass. He did not provide propers or described in detail the manner in which the Mass was to be conducted. The only agenda or service book about which he speaks in the *Formula* was in fact the medieval missal. He stated what he found to be of value in it and what needed to be cast aside as unevangelical.

The Formula outlined the Mass as follows: Introit with Gregorian tones – Ninefold Kyrie – "Gloria in excelsis" – Collect – Epistle – Gradual and alleluia or tract if not too

long, sequence at Easter and Pentecost – Gospel – Sung Nicene Creed – Sermon here or before the Mass – Preparation of the Bread and Wine without Offertory prayers – Preface – *Verba* in tone of the Our Father – *Sanctus – "Benedictus qui venit"* with elevation – *Pater Noster – Pax Domini* – Communion of priest and people (*Agnus Dei* during communion, communion verse if suitable) – One or two collects – Salutation – *Benedicamus* – Benediction. 952

Luther clearly stated that the service he was describing was the Mass as it was being commonly celebrated in Wittenberg, without stating when or under what circumstances the modifications of the Mass there were adopted. It was clear, however, that what he described were modifications already introduced. Accordingly, it would be quite inaccurate to say that Luther alone introduced his modified

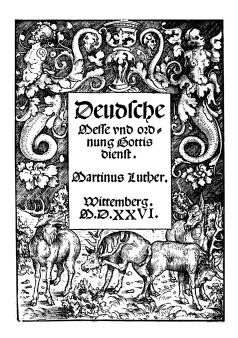


Title page of Martin Luther's *Formula Missae*, 1523.

Latin Mass in 1523; by that time it was already in use.

The same is true of Luther's *German Mass* which he described in his 1526 *Deudsche Messe und ordnung Gottis diensts* (*The German Mass and Order of Divine Service*). This German Mass was not meant to be a step forward from the *Latin Mass* or to supersede it. Luther prepared it with quite distinct group of worshipers in mind. The *Latin Mass* was for the educated who were conversant in the Latin language and for the young who were studying Latin. In the *Deutsche Messe*, he describes the morning and evening services held for these groups on weekdays. The services were to be in Latin but if uneducated laymen were present, he suggested that the chapter of the Bible, which had already been read in Latin, should for their benefit be repeated in German. He stated that this practice would also be of benefit to the younger pupils who were still learning Latin.

He described the second group as the common or "plain people" (Germ. deutlich), the "Deutsch," whom he did not hold in high regard. He said that many among them were unlearned unbelievers who were not yet Christians, who



Title page of Martin Luther's *German Mass*, 1526.

stood around gazing in the hope that they would see something new. He went on to say that holding a service among them could be likened to holding a service for a group of Turks or heathens in a public square. Here the chief thing must be catechesis. These people spoke the plain vernacular of the market place, the "Deutsch" language. Luther had not much interest in translating Latin service into this "plain speech" because, as he said, it would sound foreign to their ears, and in any case, the beauty of the Latin original texts would translate awkwardly into the vernacular. "The German service needs to be a plain and simple, fair and square catechism."953 By means of it, those who desired to be Christians would be guided as to what "they should believe, know, do, and leave undone according to the Christian faith." Such people he called "catechumens." The German service

must be adapted to meet their needs for thorough catechization in the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer.

The German Mass he described was for use on Sundays, the one day of the week when this group was free to come to church, and he entitled the service: "On Sunday for the laity" ("Des Sontags fur die leyen"). He stated that in Wittenberg the following order was used for the "plain-speaking" people: A hymn or psalm in the first tone – Simple threefold *Kyrie* – Chanted collect – Epistle in the eighth tone – German hymn, "We Now Implore God the Holy Ghost," or some other – Gospel in the fifth tone – German Creed, "We All Believe in One True God" – Sermon of the gospel – Paraphrase of the Our Father and admonition – Consecration of bread with elevation – Communion of the host, German Sanctus ("Isaiah, Mighty Seer") – Consecration of the cup with elevation – Communion of the of cup (German hymns during distribution or Agnus Dei; no distribution formula is provided) – Post-communion collect – Benediction. Luther describes the celebration of this Mass as a service in which the priests continue to wear their customary Mass vestments, use the altar, and lighted candles. 954

8.1.2 Bugenhagen's 1528 Braunschweig Mass and Its Influence on the 1533 Wittenberg Church Order

The so-called "Wittenberg Mass" is properly the Wittenberg church order of 1533. The original title, according to the manuscript in the city archives in Halle, was: Registration der Stat Wittenberg, durch die verordenten Visitatores beder Visitacion gemacht vnd auffgericht (Registration of the City of Wittenberg by the Designated Visitors who both Supervised and Performed the Visitation).

According to the manuscript title, those who acted as visitors were also primarily responsible for the preparation of the church order. Their names are not identified, however, a comparison of the Wittenberg church order with that of Braunschweig 1528, prepared by Johannes Bugenhagen, indicates that *Doctor Pomeranus* was strongly influential in the preparation and formulation of the Wittenberg service. He was the chief pastor of the St. Mary's parish in Wittenberg and was also experienced in the preparation of appropriate liturgical services built upon the church's liturgical traditions and the criteria of the Lutheran Reformation. 955

In many congregations, it might be impractical to hold separate Latin and German services. A town might have a single church and a congregation in which highly educated and simple folk worshiped together. Even at St. Mary's in Wittenberg, it was not entirely practical to separate the congregation and rend asunder those whom God had joined together in a common assembly, the mystical body of Christ in that place. Therefore, a service needed to include elements of the Latin tradition as well as elements in common speech.

The 1528 Braunschweig Church order was entitled: Der Erbarn Stadt Brunswig Christlike ordeninge, to denste dem hilgen Euangelio, Christliker leue, tucht, freede vnde eynicheit. Ock dar vnder veele Christlike lere vor de borgere. Dorch Joannem Bugenhagen Pomern bescreuen. It was also printed in High German under the title: Der Erbarn Stadt Braunschweig Christliche Ordenung zu dienst dem heiligen Evangelio Christlicher lieb zucht friede und einigkeit Auch darunter viel Christlicher lehre fuer die Buerger, Durch Johan. Bugenhagen Pomer beschrieben (The Christian Order of the Praiseworthy City of Braunschweig for the Service of the Holy Gospel, Christian Discipline, Beloved Peace and Unity Among the Citizens Through Ample Christian Doctrine, by Johannes Bugenhagen, Called Pomeranus). The Mass which Bugenhagen's prepared provided an early example of the joining together in one Mass of Latin and German elements. It would prove to be of great influence, an exemplar which would almost immediately serve as the model for a host of other orders, not the least of which was the Wittenberg 1533 Mass.

The Braunschweig service began with a German psalm which replaced the Latin introit. The whole congregation joined in singing a German hymn based upon a



Title page of the 1528 Braunschweig church order by Johannes Bugenhagen.

psalm. Then the *Kyrie* was sung in Greek and after it the "Gloria in excelsis Deo" in Latin by those who were able to sing it, most likely the schoolchildren. Then the priest (Germ. Priester) said a German collect and the people answered Amen. The priest then read the epistle in German, facing the people. Then the schoolchildren sang the alleluia and the congregation sang an appropriate German hymn. If there were no schoolchildren present, the alleluia was omitted. On high feasts, a Latin sequence was joined to the alleluia and then the German version of it was sung by the whole congregation. Then the priest again turned to the people for the gospel. After it, he turned back to the altar and sang Nicene Creed, "I believe in one God," in German and the people took up the chant with the "Patrem omnipotentem." In place of it, however, the

people might sing, "We All Believe in One True God." Then followed the sermon on the gospel in German. After it, there were appropriate announcements and admonitions to prayer, supplication, and intercession.

Then, while the congregation was singing a German psalm or hymn, the communicants gathered in the choir – the women and young women to the left and the men and boys to the right – while the priest prepared as much bread and wine as would be needed. Then the priest would turn to the communicants and read the exhortation. On high feasts, he would then sing the appropriate Preface, or on ordinary Sundays, the Preface for Trinity Sunday, all in Latin. However, if there were no Latin pupils present to sing, the Preface and *Sanctus* could be dropped, in which case the exhortation to the Sacrament served as the "Preface." Then the priest sang the Our Father without the doxology and the congregation responded by singing Amen. He then took the bread into his hands and sang the Words of Christ by which the bread was consecrated. Then the communicants would step forward, men and boys first and then women and young women, to receive the body of the Lord. During the distribution, the congregation was to sing in German "Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior" or "O Lord, We Praise Thee." Then the

and returned to their places, the German *Agnus Dei*, "O Christ, Thou Lamb of God," was to be sung. Then, after praying Luther's post-communion collect, the priest was to turn to the congregation and dismiss both the communicants and the rest of the congregation with the Aaronic Benediction.⁹⁵⁶

The Braunschweig Mass, prepared two years after Luther had published his *Deutsche Messe*, very likely provides a picture of how Mass was being celebrated in 1528 by Bugenhagen and other priests who officiated at the altar in St. Mary's Church in Wittenberg. It is likely that in consultation with Luther, Bugenhagen prepared this service for use in a mixed congregation of educated and "simple" Christians. Of interest, is the separate consecration and distribution of the body and blood which Luther had spoken in the *Deutsche Messe* and the lack of any formula of distribution. At that time, Bugenhagen held the opinion that a formula of distribution was really unnecessary since the Words of Christ sung over the bread and wine were still ringing in the ears of the communicants. This was the first tentative

step toward the development of a service which could be used in a congregation which included both Latin speakers and simple Germans who talked "plain talk."

By 1528, the time was ripe for the introduction of the Reformation throughout Ernestine Saxony. For this purpose, Visitation Articles - Vnterricht der Visitatorn an die Pfarhern ym Kurfürstenthum zu Sachssen (Instructions for the Visitors of Parish Pastors in Electoral Saxony), were drawn up which centered their attention on the reformation of Mass and other aspects of parish life. Although no prescriptions were given concerning the precise form or the order of the Mass, the articles stated that on all feast days it would be appropriate that the Introit, "Gloria in excelsis," alleluia, a suitable sequence, the Sanctus, and the Agnus Dei be sung in Latin. Even in parishes where Sunday Mass would ordinarily be in German,



Title page of the 1528 Visitation Articles.

it was strongly recommended that feast day services should include introits in Latin, even though Bugenhagen's 1528 Mass had dropped them in favor of Ger-

man psalms and hymns. So too on feast days, the old Prefaces and *Vere dignum* together with the *Sanctus* should be sung in Latin.⁹⁵⁷

The close connection between the 1533 Wittenberg church order, *Registration der Stat Wittenberg*, and Bugenhagen's Braunschweig Mass is evident. The 1533 order also shows the influence of the Saxon *Visitation Articles* and its liturgical recommendations. The 1533 "Wittenberg Mass" can be described as a richer order in which the learned and Latin pupils play important roles but in which the plain-speaking among the parishioners also play their part.

On Sunday morning, the whole congregation, people of all stations in life, were to gather in one place as one congregation and church. At the early service on Sundays and feast days, the schoolboys, sitting on both sides in the choir, were to read the catechism in Latin back and forth verse by verse. This was followed by two or three psalms and an antiphon in Latin. After the psalms, there were to be four readings from the New Testament, read in order. At the vigil on feast days and at Matins, the readings from historical and prophetical books of the Old and New Testaments were to be read. Then the children were to sing a German hymn together with the congregation, and during it, the pupils were to take their seats in the midst of the church in preparation for the sermon. After the sermon, another German hymn was to be sung by the people, and following it, "Te Deum laudamus" was to be sung by those who knew Latin. On alternating Sundays, the Athanasian Creed was sung in Latin with the antiphon "Adesto Deus." This was followed by a versicle, collects, and the "Benedicamus Domino." The language of the versicle and collects is not specified.

Before everything else in the Mass, the Song of Zechariah, "Benedictus Dominus Deus," was to be sung by all present in German with a short antiphon. This was then to be followed by an introit, sometimes in Latin, and at other times a psalm in German. Then the threefold Kyrie, or occasionally on festivals, a ninefold Kyrie was to be sung. When the simple Kyrie was used, some other hymn might be used in place of the "Gloria in excelsis." Then the priest (Germ. Priester) prayed a collect in German. This was to be followed by the epistle and after it the common alleluia, and if appropriate, also a Gradual sung by the children in Latin. It was to be followed by a German hymn, however, at Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, and during their seasons, the Latin sequences should be sung and after them the German hymns based on them. Then turning to the congregation, the priest was to sing the gospel and turning again to the altar, he should intone "Credo in Unum Deum." Then the Latin students were to sing the Patrem in Latin, followed by "We All Believe in One True God," sung by the people. From time to time, the epistle, gospel, and collect might also be read in Latin from the altar since Wittenberg was a university town and there were people present who understood Latin. After the Creed, the pastor was to preach on the gospel. This was followed by the Latin *Da pacem* which was then also to be repeated in German. Afterward, the priest was to intone a German versicle and collect, or the German hymn of the festival might be sung before the collect.

During the hymn, the priest was to prepare the bread and wine for communion and the communicants were to enter the choir, men on the right and women on the left. On feast days, the Salutation and Preface should be in Latin, otherwise the Preface for Holy Trinity was to be used or the priest might instead read the admonition to the Lord's Supper, as found in Bugenhagen's Braunschweig order. Then the priest was to pray the Our Father with no congregational Amen, and taking the bread in his hands, he was to speak the Words of Consecration and elevate the host. He was then to do the same with the chalice. While the people communed, the congregation was to sing the Sanctus and Agnus Dei in Latin, as well as the hymn "Pane lingua," the German hymns, "Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior," "O Lord, We Praise Thee," and the Psalm 111, "Confitebur tibi," in German. If there was a large number of communicants, additional appropriate hymns should be sung. After all had communed, the Agnus Dei was to be sung, as in Bugenhagen's 1528 church order. It had been sung during communion in Latin; now it was sung in German, and then to end the Mass, followed Luther's post-communion collect and the Aaronic Benediction.

Saturday and Sunday Vespers were also described with indications as to what should be sung in Latin and what should be sung in German. In the weekday services, Latin was to predominate since most of those participating would be schoolchildren. However, German elements might also be included when German-speaking persons were present.⁹⁵⁸

Here one sees elements of both the *Formula Missae* and the *Deutsche Messe* woven together to form a single Divine Service, somewhat richer than that found in the Bugenhagen 1528 order. Some parts of the service are sung or said first in Latin and then repeated in German. The Latin students lead in the singing in both the Latin antiphons, hymns, versicles, etc., and also in the German parts of the service. Those who formulated the Wittenberg service followed the form of Communion, as found in the Latin *Formula Missae*, rather than the form described in the *Deutsche Messe*. Separate communion appears to have proved impractical when there were many communicants. In addition, it added materially to the length of the service which was already quite long. Notably lacking is any directive indicating how Mass was to be celebrated in congregations with no Latin school. The lack of such a directive probably indicates that this church order was meant for the churches in the city of Wittenberg and the congregations immedi-

ately connected to them. These congregations were listed. Indeed, Luther himself had said much the same in his *German Mass*: "... it would be well if the service in every principality would be held in the same manner and if the order observed in a given city would also be followed by the surrounding towns and villages; whether those in other principalities hold the same order or add to it ought to be a matter of free choice and not of constraint."⁹⁵⁹

8.1.4 Wolfgang Musculus' Witness Concerning the "Wittenberg Mass"

Another available witness to worship in Wittenberg is the testimony of the Wolfgang Musculus of Augsburg who wrote of his visit to Wittenberg in 1536, describing the Mass celebrated in St. Mary's Church on May 28, Exaudi Sunday. Concerning the Mass which he attended he described it as follows:

"At the sixth hour a sermon was held in the castle [church].

At the seventh hour we returned to the city church and observed by which rite they celebrated the liturgy; namely thus: First, the introit was played on the organ, accompanied by the choir in Latin, as in the Mass offering. Indeed, the minister meanwhile proceeded from the sacristy dressed sacrificially, and kneeling before the altar, made his confession, together with the assisting sacristan. After the confession, he ascended to the altar to the book that was located on the right side, according to papist custom.

After the introit, the organ was played and the *Kyrie eleison* sung in alternation by the schoolboys. When it was done the minister sang 'Gloria in excelsis,' which hymn was completed in alternation by the organ and choir. Thereafter the minister at the altar sang 'Dominus vobiscum,' the choir responding 'Et cum spiritu tuo'. The collect for that day followed in Latin, then he sang the epistle in Latin, after which the organ was played, the choir following with 'Herr Gott Vater, wohn uns bei'. When it was done, the gospel for that Sunday was sung by the minister in Latin on the left side of the altar, as is the custom of the adherents of the pope. After this, the organ played, and the choir followed with 'Wir glauben all an einen Gott'. After this hymn came the sermon, which Bucer delivered on the gospel for that Sunday in the presence of Luther and Philipp [Melanchthon]. After the sermon, the choir sang 'Da pacem,' followed by the prayer for peace by the minister at the altar, this in Latin as well.

The Communion.

The Communion followed, which the minister began with the Lord's Prayer sung in German. Then he sang the Words of the Supper, and these in German with his back turned toward the people first those of the bread, which when the words

had been offered, he then elevated to the sounding of the sacring bells; likewise with the chalice, which he also elevated to the sounding of the sacring bells.

Immediately communion was held. Pomeranus [Johannes Bugenhagen] went first, then Wolfgang Fabricius Capito, and after him Bucer. During the communion, the *Agnus Dei* was sung in Latin. The minister served the bread in common dress but the chalice dressed sacrificially [*i.e.*, in Mass vestments].

They followed the singing of the *Agnus Dei* with a German hymn: '*Jesus Christus* [unser Heiland]' and 'Gott sei gelobet'.

After the sermon, the majority of the people departed.

Even Luther himself, because he felt dizzy during the communion, had to leave attended by Philipp.

The minister ended the Communion with a certain thanksgiving sung in German. He followed this, facing the people, with the benediction, singing 'The Lord make his face to shine on you, etc'. And thus was the Mass ended."⁹⁶⁰

The next day, May 29, 1536, Martin Bucer, Wolfgang Fabricius Capito, Matthäus Alber, Martin Frecht, Jakob Otter, together with Wolfgang Musculus, had signed the *Wittenberg Concord*, which was drawn up at a meeting held with Martin Luther, Philipp Melanchthon, Johannes Bugenhagen, Justus Jonas, Caspar Cruciger, Justus Menius, Friedrich Myconius, Urbanus Rhegius, and Georg Spalatin to define properly the nature of the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacramental union and the doctrine of the *manducatio indignorum*. This explains why south German theologians who formulated *Confessio Tetrapolitana* were present and participated in the Mass on Exaudi Sunday, and it explains also why Bucer was invited to preach the sermon and he and Fabricius Capito were able to receive the Sacrament in the Lutheran manner.

Unlike the 1533 Wittenberg Mass, the service just described included much more Latin, and only the hymns, the sermon, the Our Father, the *Verba*, the post-communion, and the benediction were in German. Everything else was in Latin, perhaps because of the presence of foreign theologians. To Musculus, the service looked like a return to pre-Reformation days. He described the celebrant as "dressed sacrificially," by which he meant that he was wearing Eucharistic vestments as Lutherans characteristically did but the Reformed never did. He noted also that a distinction was still made between the epistle and gospel sides of the altar, "as is the custom of the adherents of the pope," and that the Lutherans still used pre-Reformation ceremonies. The Reformed and some south German reformers, had neither altars nor ceremonies, apart from the *Fractio panis*. He also remarked that the celebrant had "his back toward the people" when he prayed the Our Father and sang the *Verba*. The elevation of the Sacrament and the sound-



Wolfgang Musculus. Engraving by Johann Theodor de Bry, 1597 / 1599 (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek).

ing of the bells must have seemed equally disconcerting to him. It might well have reminded him of the Roman sacrifice of the Mass. He remarked that although the "bread" was delivered by a clergyman "in common dress," i. e., in black *talar*, the pastor who administered the chalice was "dressed sacrificially."

Musculus offered yet another description of the Mass as celebrated in Ernestine Saxony in the church at Eisenach on May 14, 1536. He described it from the point of view of a critique of any elements in the service which might remind one of the medieval Mass of which he so strongly disapproved.

"At 7:00 we entered the church where the office of the Mass, as they call it, was held in the following manner:

First the schoolboys and the headmaster sang the introit for Cantate Sunday – in Latin, set apart in the chancel in an entirely papistical fashion. Then came the *Kyrie eleison* with the organ being

played in alternation. Thirdly a deacon, dressed entirely according to the papistical fashion and standing by the altar, which was likewise adorned with candles and other things, sang in Latin 'Gloria in excelsis Deo;' this canticle the choir and organist again completed. When this was finished the deacon sang a collect, as they call it in German, facing the altar with his back turned toward the congregation, and appended a reading from the Epistle of James, facing the congregation, also in German.

Again the organ was played while the choir sang, 'Victimae paschali' and the congregation sang responsively, 'Christ ist erstanded!'

Upon this, the deacon sang a portion of the gospel in German, 'But now I am going to Him who sent Me,' etc. (John 16:5), while facing the congregation. After this reading, the organ was played as the congregation sang, 'We All Believe in One True God'.

When this was finished Justus Menius preached, dressed in the usual manner

After the sermon, the deacon, standing at the altar in priestly garb, exhorted the people to prayer for some particularly enumerated concerns and closed with Christ's promise: 'Whatever you ask the Father'. etc. (John 15:16, 16:23). Next he briefly recalled the institution of the Lord's Supper, then he sang the Words of Institution first over the bread, whereby he elevated it entirely according to the papistical fashion while genuflecting away from the people; then over the chalice, which he likewise elevated after finishing the Words of Institution. When this was over the organ played and the choir sang the *Agnus Dei* (Lamb of God). Meanwhile, communion began. A deacon dressed in the usual manner administered the chalice. Not a single man was seen going to Communion, but a few little women were communed. Following this, the deacon communed himself at the altar, after having first adored the bread [by genuflecting], although he did not do so with the chalice. This he carefully emptied and then washed with newly poured wine so that nothing of the blood remained.

After communion, he sang a prayer while facing the altar. When this was finished he dismissed the people with a benediction that he sang while facing them.

Finally, as the congregation left the church the choir sang 'Da pacem, Domine' in German. And with that this celebration was ended."961

The southern German Protestants also found this Lutheran Divine Service unsettling since it included such "papal" features as the elevation of the host and chalice, the ringing of sacring bells at consecration, the kneeling of the worshipers at the altar rail to receive the Sacrament, and every instance of veneration of the Sacrament. To them, all these things "smacked of idolatry" and were indications that the Lutherans believed and confessed that Christ is truly and corporeally present in the Sacrament. Nevertheless, these Lutheran practices reflected Luther's word that the "est" in the Verba meant what it said and that the ceremonies bore witness to this.

The matter of ceremonies was also in contention at negotiations between the Lutherans and South German Protestants in Wittenberg. The Lutherans were not willing to surrender the elevation, the use of Mass vestments, or lighted candles, or any other ceremonies which, according to them, extolled the Sacrament.

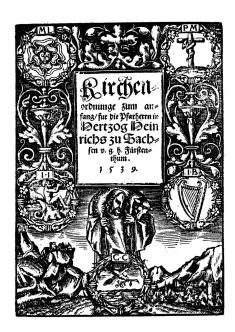
8.2 Liturgical Reforms in Albertine Saxony

Momentous changes came to neighboring Albertine Saxony after the death of Duke Georg who had been an outspoken opponent of the Lutheran Reformation. He was succeeded by his brother Heinrich who was a faithful Lutheran. Much

tion of the parishes, using the *Visitation Articles* which had been prepared on July 10, 1539, by the members of the Wittenberg faculty. Based upon the results of the visitation, Heinrich determined that it was necessary to introduce a common church order for use in all parishes. Actively involved in the preparation of this church order, which was completed on September 19, 1539, were Justus Jonas, Georg Spalatin, Caspar Creutziger, Friedrich Myconius, Justus Menius, and Johannes Weber. It was Justus Jonas and Caspar Creutziger who bore the primary responsibility for the work. In November, the territorial assembly gathered in Chemnitz declared that this order was to be followed in so far as possible.

8.2.1 Duke Heinrich's 1539 Church Order

The order was printed in 1539 in Wittenberg by Hans Lufft under the title: *Kirchen-ordnunge zum anfang, fur die Pfarherrn in Hertzog Heinrichs zu Sachsen v. g. h. Fürstenthum (Introductory Church Order for the Parish Pastors in the Principality of Duke Heinrich of Saxony).*



Title page of the 1539 Duke Heinrich church order.

The opening pages of the order consist in a preface. Orders include Holy Baptism, emergency Baptism (Luther's 1526 Little Baptismal Booklet), the form for confession and absolution, ministry to the sick, Communion of the sick, instructions for cities and towns with schools, first Vespers for Sundays and feast days, the Mass, Sunday Vespers and weekday services with or without Communion, the instructions for places without schools, including Saturday Vespers, the Sunday Mass, Sunday Vespers, Luther's corrected Litany, marriage (based upon Luther's Little Marriage Booklet), calendar for feasts and holy days, the music for Mass on Sundays and feast days: Kyrie, epistle, gospel, Preface and proper Prefaces for Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, and Trinity to be sung before the Sanctus, two forms of the Words of

Christ's Testament, *Agnus Dei*. Also found are general and feast day collects, the order for burial, prayers for Saturday evening Vespers, Matins prayers, prayers for Sunday Vespers and all the days of the week, seasonal and feast day collects, and collects for special necessities.

Vespers was sung on Saturday afternoon and on the eve of feast days: Two or three psalms with proper antiphons – Responsory or hymn – New Testament reading – *Magnificat* with proper antiphon – Collect – *Benedicamus*. Confession and absolution followed after Vespers. In parishes without schools, Vespers could be held in the village church as convenient with a German psalm or hymn and prayer, followed by confession and absolution.

Sunday morning Matins: Two or three psalms by the schoolboys with a proper antiphon – Old Testament reading – The Song of Zechariah, "Benedictus Dominus Deus," with proper antiphon – Collect. The people might also sing the German "Te Deum laudamus." No provision was made for Matins in parishes without schools.

The church order included two Masses – one for city parishes and parishes with schools and the other for village parishes and those without schools. Sunday Mass in city churches: Introit (language not specified) – *Kyrie* – "*Gloria in excelsis*" in Latin – Collect in German or Latin – Epistle in German – Sequence or German psalm or other German hymn – Gospel in German – Nicene Creed ("*Credo in unum Deum*" and *Patrem* and after that "We All Believe in One True God") – Sermon on the gospel – Paraphrase of the Our Father with admonition concerning the Sacrament (on feast days Latin Prefaces and *Sanctus* instead of the paraphrase and the admonition) – *Verba* in German – Communion (during communion: *Agnus Dei* in Latin, along with the German hymns, "Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior," "I thank You, Lord, with All My Heart" (Psalm 111), and others) – Post-communion collect – Benediction.

In the unlikely event that there were no communicants at the Sunday morning Mass in city parishes and those with schools, the provisions for Sunday Mass were to be dropped. In place of it, the following short order was to be used: *Responsorium* instead of Introit – One or two German psalms or hymns – Creed – Sermon – German psalm or hymn – Collect – Benediction.

The Mass on Sunday in villages without Latin schools: Psalm or hymn in place of Introit – German collect – Epistle in German – German psalm or hymn – Gospel in German – Nicene Creed ("We All Believe in One True God") – Sermon – Paraphrase of the Our Father and admonition to the Sacrament – *Verba* – Communion (during communion German hymns, "Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior," "O Lord, We Praise Thee," the German *Sanctus* – "Isaiah, Mighty Seer," are sung) – Post-communion collect – Benediction.

or twice during the week. It was Luther's *Small Catechism* which was to be used. In village churches without schools, Sunday Vespers should include one or two German or Latin psalms, followed by a reading from the Scriptures, the German *Magnificat*, collect, and benediction.⁹⁶⁴

Although Duke Heinrich's church order was not identical to the form used in the Wittenberg churches, their common ancestry is evident. As early as his 1528 Braunschweig order, Bugenhagen had sought to combine in one service elements of Latin and common speech in order to accommodate the different intellectual levels of the academics and other educated people and students in Latin schools on the one hand, and the unlettered folk on the other. The 1533 Wittenberg church order followed the same pattern in a richer and more elaborate form. In several parts of the service, Latin texts were read or sung and then the same was repeated or a paraphrase was provided in German. Not dealt with was the fact that in many places congregations, particularly in villages, were made up almost entirely of unlettered men, women, and children. Furthermore, in such places there would ordinarily be no Latin school in which the children were being trained in Latin grammar. The use of any Latin in those parishes would reach ears which would make little or no sense of it. Therefore, Latin elements were neither needed nor appropriate in such places. Justus Jonas and his colleagues who prepared the 1539 church order decided that, in addition to a service with both Latin and German elements, they would need to provide as well a service for use in villages and places without schools where Latin was known little or not at all. The result was the inclusion of an order in which Latin clearly predominated and in which there was somewhat less German than in the 1533 Wittenberg Mass, and also a service in which Latin was little sung or said. Some Latin elements, however, were never completely eliminated in the village churches. Provisions were made for the singing of psalms in Latin, especially at Vespers on Sundays. However, the Wittenberg reformers appear not to have held out much hope that country folk would ever achieve any high degree of liturgical sophistication.

An unfortunate impoverishment in the 1539 church order was the decision that the Latin Preface and *Sanctus* should be used only on feast days. In the 1533 Wittenberg order, it had been allowed that the pastor might use the Latin Preface on other Sundays as well, if he wished, using the form of the *Vere dignum* provided for Holy Trinity Sunday. The 1539 church order did not provide that option. Now less account would be given to the preferences of the pastor and the congregations under his care.

In addition, the 1539 church order made no mention of the elevation, and this ceremony was eliminated in Wittenberg in 1542. On December 4, 1539, Luther wrote to Georg Buchholzer:

"As concerns the elevation of the Sacrament in the Mass, this is an optional ceremony and no danger can come to the Christian faith as a result of it, provided nothing else is added. Accordingly, you may lift up the Sacrament in God's name, as long as it is desired. We had ample cause to abolish the elevation here in Wittenberg, and perhaps you do not have such cause in Berlin. Nor shall we restore the ceremony unless some urgent reason requires us to do so, for it is an optional thing and a human exercise rather than a divine commandment. Only what God commands is necessary; the rest is free." ⁹⁶⁵

The "special circumstances" to which Luther referred were unquestionably related to the teachings of Karlstadt and other radical reformers who denied Christ's real presence in Sacrament. He kept the elevation "for the sake of sundry heretics." Karlstadt continued his battles against the real presence even after he left Saxony in 1529.

On Trinity Sunday 1542, Bugenhagen eliminated the elevation in St. Mary's Church without any complaint from Luther. At about the same time, Naumburg bishop, Nikolaus von Amsdorf, also dropped the elevation, apparently for the sake of uniformity.⁹⁶⁶

Not everyone was pleased with the elimination of the elevation. According to a December 18, 1542, letter of Pastor Paul Rebhun in Oelsnitz to Saxon Secretary Anton Pestel, many in Wittenberg and Naumburg were disturbed and were now grumbling about the matter. Pastors in smaller parishes, who went along with the decision to eliminate the elevation, had to face the anger of patrons who were still strongly in favor of its retention. Luther himself expressed the fear that the elimination of the elevation might cause some lack of respect for the Sacrament among the people. Accordingly, when asked whether he too should abolish the elevation in his territories, Luther responded in 1544 to the Anhalt prince: "Certainly not! For I see how this elimination has lessened the Sacrament's authority and made it more contemptible." ⁹⁶⁷

He now questioned whether Bugenhagen might have made mistake by abolishing the elevation in Wittenberg, but in his 1544 *Brief Confession Concerning the Holy Sacrament*, he refuted the charge "that we are in agreement with the fanatics because we have permitted the practice of elevation to be dropped in our churches in order that we might acknowledge that Christ's body and blood are not in the Sacrament, and that they are not orally received." ⁹⁶⁸

He clarified his position on the elevation looking into the past, stating that the matter stood thus:

⁹⁶⁵ WA Br. 8, 624-626; Tappert 2006, 306-07.

"Twenty or twenty-two years ago when I began to condemn the Mass and wrote sharply against the papists that it was not a sacrifice or our work but a gift and present or a testament from God, which we could not sacrifice to God but which we should and had to receive from God, even as Baptism was not a sacrifice but a gracious gift of God, etc., at that time I was indeed inclined to abolish the elevation on account of the papists who regarded the Mass as a sacrifice and a work by us sacrificed to God, as they still do and have done up until now for over six hundred years. However, because our teaching was at that time new and exceedingly offensive to the entire world, I had to proceed with forbearance and accommodate myself a great deal for the sake of the weak, which I afterward no longer did. Accordingly, I let the elevation remain because it could, in fact, have a valid meaning, as I had written in the treatise, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, namely, that it was an ancient custom, taken over from Moses' writings and continued among the first Christians uninterruptedly." 969

It appears that while Luther was willing to eliminate the elevation because of the papists, who looked upon it as a sacrificial element of the Mass, he was willing to keep it in opposition to those who denied the real presence, the position he had earlier articulated against Karlstadt and Zwingli. Accordingly, he stated that:

"...if the priest would with the elevation of the Sacrament do nothing other than illustrate the words, 'This is my body,' as if he wished to express by means of his action: Look, dear Christians, this is the body which is given for you. Thus the elevation would not be a symbol of the sacrifice to God (as the papists foolishly imagine) but an admonition directed toward men, to provoke them to faith, particularly since he immediately elevates the bread right after speaking the words: 'This is my body which is given for you'." ⁹⁷⁰

Luther intended this *Brief Confession* to be a full and complete statement of his position, and he once again insisted that this rite was an adiaphora. The best reason for discontinuing it was liturgical uniformity, "because nearly all of the churches have given it up for a long time already," but if one were to find the church where it was still practiced, he should not be offended or condemnatory but willingly accept it. This was his last word on the subject. ⁹⁷¹

In order to introduce the new liturgy and church order, a second visitation was held in 1539. It was soon evident that more copies of the book would be needed. When the visitation in Dresden was completed, a second printing of the church order was deemed necessary. This order came off the press in 1539/1540.⁹⁷²

⁹⁶⁹ LW 38, 313-314.

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8.2.2 The 1540 Saxon Agenda and Its Descendents



Gedruckt zu Leipzig/ durch Nicolaum Bolrab.

Title page of the 1540 Duke Heinrich agenda.



Title page of the 1672 edition of Duke Heinrich's agenda.

In 1540, a third, enlarged edition of the church order was published in Leipzig and Erfurt. Now for the first time it was designated as the "Agenda:" Agenda. Das ist, Kyrchenordnung, wie sich die Pfarrherrn vnd Seelsorger in jren Ampten vnd diensten halten sollen, fur die Diener der Kyrchen in Hertzog Heinrichen zu Sachssen V. G. H. Fürstenthumb gestellet (Agenda. That Is, the Church Order, as it Should Be Observed by Parish Pastors and Chaplains in Their Offices and Ministries, Set Down for the Ministers of the Church in the Principality of Duke Heinrich of Saxony). 973

A new edition was published in Frankfurt (Oder) and Wittenberg in 1548. Another new edition with additional materials was published in Leipzig in 1555 and to the original title was added: *Aufs neu gebessert mit etzlichen Collecten der superintendenten (Newly Improved with Several Collects of the Superintendents*). Included were twenty-nine new collects for Sundays and weekday liturgical services, twenty collects for festivals, three burial collects, and four collects for various necessities. Reprints appeared in 1558 – Dresden, 1564 – Leipzig, 1580, 1584, 1600 – Jena, and 1616 – Wittenberg.

A new edition appeared in Leipzig in 1624: Agenda. Das ist, Kirchenordnung, Wie sich die Pfarrherrn und Seelsorger in ihren Ampten und Diensten halten sollen. Für

die Diener der Kirchen in Hertzog Heinrichen zu Sachsen, V.G.H. Fürstenthumb gestellet. Jetzo auffs new aus Churfürst Augusti Kirchenordnung gebessert, auch mit etzlichen Collecten der Superintendenten vermehret (Agenda. That Is, the Church Order, as it Should Be Observed by Parish Pastors and Chaplains in Their Offices and Ministries. Set Down For the Ministers of the Church in the Principality of Duke Heinrich of Saxony. Now Newly Improved on the Basis of the Church Order of Prince-Elector Augustus and Enlarged with Several Collects of the Superintendents). The improvement referred specifically to the rites of baptism and marriage. Apart from that the agenda reprinted the earlier order of Duke Heinrich, and the reference to Elector Augustus should not be taken as referring to his 1580 Saxon church order which largely reproduced Duke Heinrich's agenda. Saxon church order which largely reproduced Duke Heinrich's agenda. Later editions reproduced the 1624 book. They appeared in 1646, 1647, 1651, 1672, 1681, 1691, and 1702.

In 1712, the printer rearranged the order of services, putting marriage immediately after Baptism and emergency Baptism and retitling the rites of confession and the Communion of the sick, grouping them together under the title: "Confes-

Darinnen

The Command Apostel Age nebst date gu gehörigen Collecten durche gange Jahr.

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Die erbärmliche Zerstörung der Stadt Jerusalenn Der Satechissinus mit der Luslegung und Fragstücken Der Satechissinus mit der Luslegung und Fragstücken De Lucheriziet auch ohne demenstüben.

Die gewöhnlichen Krichen Leider ab auf die allgemeine Beiche Stantage Bestellunden mit Lücken-Sedere.

VI.

Die gewöhnlichen Krichen Leider Sedere.

VI.

Die Agenda und Krichen-Dronung. Ind

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Sachlichen Krichen gebräuchlichzund sier ein Pulderauf den Sandlund für der mit der mit der Mitter der Beiter der Sedere.

Leiderigt.

In Verlegung Friedrich Ländssicher sel. Erbein.

Gebruckt im Jahr 1 637-

Title page of the 1697 *Complete Church Book.*

sion and Private Communion" ("Beichte und private communion"). The rites themselves were not altered. The designation, "Private Communion," still referred to the Communion of the sick and not a special order for those who might prefer to receive Communion at home in the bosom of their families. In this new dress, the agenda was reprinted in 1746, 1771, and 1861.975

The desire to put absolutely everything that might ever be needed for public worship between two covers led to the publication in 1668 of the so-called Vollständiges Kirchen-Buch (Complete Church Book) in Leipzig. The book came to be known as: Vollständiges Kirchen-Buch, Darinnen I. Die Evangelia und Episteln auf alle Fest- Sonn- und Apostel-Tage nebst darzu gehörigen Collecten durchs gantze Jahr. II. Die Historia von dem schmertzlichen Leiden, siegreichen Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt unsersHerrn Jesu Christi, nach den

4 Evangelisten. III. Die erbärmliche Zerstörung der Stadt Jerusalem IV. Der Catechismus mit der Auslegung und Fragstücken D. Lutheri, wie auch ohne denenselben. V. Die gewöhnlichen Kirchen-Gebete als da ist die allgemeine Beichte, Sonntags Betstunden-Türcken-Gebete. VI. Die Agenda und Kirchen-Ordnung. Und VII. Die Chur- und Fürstl. Sächsische Ehe-Ordnung; In richtiger Ordnung, wie alles dieses in Chur- und Fürstl. Sächsischen Kirchen gebräuchlich, und für dem Pulde, auf der Cantzel, und für dem Altar verlesen wird (Complete Church Book in which in a Correct Order to Be Used in All the Churches in This Princely Electorate of Saxony and Read at the Lectern, in Pulpit, and at the Altar: 1. The Gospels and Epistles for All Feast Days, Sundays, and Apostles' Days, Together with Ascribed Collects for the Entire Year; 2. The History of the Bitter Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of Our Lord Jesus Christ According to the Four Evangelists; 3. The Wretched Destruction of the City of Jerusalem; 4. The Catechism, Together with the Explanation and the Questions of Dr. Martin Luther, as well as Without the Same 5. The Customary Church Prayers as for General Confession, Sundays, Prayer Services, and Prayers Against the Turks; 6. The Agenda and Church Order; 7. The Form for Marriage in the Princely Electorate of Saxony). 976 The agenda included in it was that of Duke Heinrich. The 1668 Complete Church Book appeared in new printings in 1681, 1692, 1697, 1707, 1718, 1731, 1743, 1748, and 1771.

The agenda of Duke Heinrich was of such immense significance that when the general term, "Saxon agenda," is used, it is almost invariably Heinrich's order that is being referred to. This agenda stands as the most complete witness to the Wittenberg tradition. It should not, however, be confused with the so-called "Wittenberg agenda" of Melanchthon, printed in Wittenberg in 1559, and again in 1565 and 1566.

The immense influence of Duke Heinrich's agenda is evident not only by the large number of reprint and derivative editions which appeared but also by its influence on agendas produced elsewhere: the Reformation of Cologne, 1543, the Prussian church order, 1544, Bergedorf, 1544, Mecklenburg, 1552, Pfälz, 1554, 1563, Waldeck, 1556, the Saxon church order of Elector Augustus of 1580, the Saxe-Coburg agenda of 1626, which influenced all subsequent Ernestine Saxon agendas, and others.⁹⁷⁷

More would be required to meet the needs of church life in Albertine Saxony. What was most needed was a more complete work which would codify and regulate church life throughout the electorate. This task would not be undertaken until later. On February 19, 1579, Elector Augustus issued a rescript concerning it. The draft for the work was prepared by Jakob Andreae, and the church order appeared in 1580 in Leipzig under the title: Des Durchlauchtigsten, Hochgebornen Fürsten vnd Herrn, Herrn Augusten, Hertzogen zu Sachsen, des heiligen Römischen Reichs Ertzmarschalln, vnd Churfuersten, Landgraffen in Düringen, Marggraffen zu



Title page of the 1580 Elector Augustus church order.

Meissen, vnd Burggraffen zu Magdeburg, Ordnung, Wie es in seiner Churf. G. Landen, bey den Kirchen, mit der lehr vnd Ceremonien, deßgleichen in derselben beiden Vniuersiteten, Consistorien, Fuersten vnd Particular Schulen, Visitation, Synodis, vnd was solchem allem mehr anhanget, gehalten werden sol. Den innhalt dieser ordnung, wird der Chrisliche Leser gleich nach der Vorrede verzeichnet finden (Order of the Most Serene, Highborn Prince and Lord, Sir Augustus, Duke of Saxony, Arch-Marshal and Prince-Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave in Thuringia, Margrave at Meissen, and Burgrave at Magdeburg, as It Should Be Observed with Doctrine and Ceremonies in the Churches of His Princely Electoral Lands, as well as in both Universities, Consistories, the Princely and Particular Schools, Visitation, Synods, and the Like. The Contents of This Order the Christian Reader Will Find *Listed Immediately After the Preface*).

The church order consisted in seven-

teen chapters, beginning with articles on the doctrine and confession of the faith as established and observed in universities, churches, and schools. After the agenda, directives are given concerning the calling and reception of pastors, preachers, deacons, and subdeacons, as well as the examination of candidates and their ordination, the general form for the ordination and investiture of the clergy, the immunities and freedoms of those who serve in schools and churches, matrimonial regulations, particular schools and schools in the principalities of Pfort, Meissen, and Grimm. Also covered were the German schools in villages and outlying areas, orders for the stipendiary in high schools of Leipzig and Wittenberg, the office of superintendent and visitation of churches, directives concerning the Leipzig and Wittenberg consistories and the high consistory in Dresden, the annual synods, general matters and regulations concerning teaching, discipline, and order in the universities of Wittenberg and Leipzig. 978

The agenda included was entitled: Agenda, Das ist, Kirchenordnung, Wie sich in vnser von Gottes gnaden Augusten, Hertzogen zu Sachsen, Churfürsten, etc. vnd Burg-

graffen zu Magdeburg, Churfürstenthumb vnd Landen, die Pfarrer und Seelsorger, in jhren Amptern vnd diensten verhalten sollen (Agenda, that Is, the Church Order, as It Should Be Observed by the Parish Pastors and Chaplains in Their Offices and Ministries, in the Princely Electorate and Lands of Augustus, by the Grace of God Duke of Saxony, Prince-Elector, etc., and Burgrave at Magdeburg). The introduction is taken verbatim from the agenda of Duke Heinrich, but the work does not simply reproduce his agenda. There are significant amendments. Duke Heinrich's agenda had directed that Luther's paraphrase of the Our Father and its accompanying admonition should be read. The 1580 order prints them out in full. The directives concerning the distribution of Communion state that if the pastor in a village church has no one to assist him in the distribution, the communicants are to receive the body of Christ immediately after its consecration and before the consecration of the cup. No such provision is made for city churches, probably because assistant pastors were always readily available. Formula for distribution is also provided: "Take and eat, this is the body of Christ, given for you. May it strengthen and preserve you in the faith to life everlasting," "Take and drink, this is the blood of Christ, shed your sins. May it strengthen and preserve you in the faith to life everlasting." A short form of general prayer with a short admonition takes the place of the longer admonition spoken from the pulpit. The 1540 agenda provided the pastor with several collects for various needs. Unfortunately omitted is the provision allowing for the use of various Latin proper Prefaces and the Sanctus on feast days. Now the short form with Luther's paraphrase, admonition, and the Verba becomes the norm. 979 In the future, this provision would become the norm also in the Ernestine duchies which followed the 1580 order of Augustus. Also omitted are the musical notations, although it is stated that musical settings for the epistles, gospels, Our Father, and Christ's Testament can be found in the "small agenda," an obvious reference to Duke Heinrich's agenda. The 1580 book also made changes in the forms for baptism and marriage.

Although the church order specified that this agenda was to be the norm in Albertine Saxony, congregations there preferred to continue to use the 1540 agenda of Duke Heinrich. In 1624, a new Leipzig edition of Duke Heinrich's order incorporated the changes in the baptismal and marriage services, found in Augustus' 1580 book. 980

The Albertine 1580 order was adopted in the Ernestian lands in Thuringia, regulating church services there for the first time. The first unique Ernestian agenda was the agenda of Saxe-Coburg which appeared in 1626. A reprint of it appeared in 1713, and following the lead of Albertines in Leipzig, the Coburg church order next appeared in *Vollständiges Kirchen-Buch* (*Complete Church Book*), printed in Coburg 1743. The enlarged edition of this *Vollständiges Kirchen-Buch*,



Title page of the 1626 Saxe-Coburg church order.

prepared by Erdmann Rudolf Fischer, senior minister and archivist at Coburg, was published in 1747 by St. Moritz printing concern in Coburg and Leipzig. 981

Territorial agendas which appeared in the Ernestine lands in the seventeenth century all bore the fingerprints of the liturgy of Saxe-Coburg agenda. Following the lead of Coburg, one such agenda appeared in Saxe-Weimar in 1634 and was republished in 1654. A new Weimar agenda came off the press in 1664. Later Weimar agendas were published in Weimar in 1707 and 1752. The Saxe-Gotha agenda was published in 1747 and Saxe-Meiningen received its agenda, published in Meiningen in 1682. Saxe-Altenburg got its agenda in 1705. All of them were referred to as "Saxon," since this was the highest and most exalted title that any agendas of the Ernestine line could claim. In point of fact, however, these agendas were Thuringian since, after the Capitulation of Wittenberg in 1547, the Ernestine

lands were reduced to Thuringian holdings.

The influence of Rationalist thought was especially strong in Saxony. Most of the progressive liturgies were imports from other territories and had only quasi-official status. The official territorial agenda remained the agenda of Duke Heinrich. Its last edition was reprinted in 1771, and initially, pastors were reluctant to produce alternatives to it.

Among the alternative liturgies in use in some places was the pioneering Rationalist liturgy of Georg Joachim Zollikofer, 1777,982 and the handbook of Georg Friedrich Seiler, 1782. Seiler's liturgy became popular enough to warrant a new edition in 1785, and it soon became the most influential new liturgical work of the period.983 It was superseded in 1787 by *Allgemeine Sammlung liturgischer Formulare* which appeared in several fascicles.984 Seiler added new sections to his work

⁹⁸¹ Vollständiges Kirchen-Buch 1747.

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and it went through several editions between 1787-1804. The 1783 agenda of the Electoral Palatinate was also used in some parishes. A second edition came off the press in Heidelberg in 1786.985 Another agenda used in some parishes was Jacob Georg Christian Adler's 1797 Schleswig-Holstein agenda. 986 His work was reprinted by Cnobloch in Leipzig in 1817, and a third edition appeared in 1824. Another agenda in use was Heinrich Wilhelm Frosch's Allgemeine Liturgie, 1802, 1805, and 1809.987 A Livonian liturgical contribution to this collection of formularies was the work of Carl Gottlieb Sonntag, General Superintendent of the Livonian Church, a prominent member of the Livonian High Consistory and chief pastor of St. James in Riga. His Formulare, Reden und Ansichten appeared in Riga in 1802. A second part, also published in Riga, appeared later that same year, 1802, and a third volume appeared in 1807. All three volumes were collected into a two volume collection, published in Riga in 1818. 988 Also popular was the Agende für evangelische Kirchen of Gabriel Christoph Benjamin Busch, superintendent of the Lutheran Church in Schwarzburg and member of the territorial consistory at Arnstadt. It was published in 1818; a second edition appeared in 1821, entitled: Agende für evangelische Kirchen. 989

The official response of the Saxon Church to this proliferation of Rationalist orders came in 1812 in the two volume *Kirchenbuch für den evangelischen Gottesdienst der Königlich Sächischen Lande, auf allerhöchsten Befehl herausgegeben* (*Church Book for Evangelical Divine Services in the Territory of the Kingdom of Saxony, Issued by the Order of Highest Authority*). ⁹⁹⁰ It contained no Chief Divine Service; apparently, pastors were expected to use Duke Heinrich's agenda. The omission of any order for the Chief Divine Service was corrected by the issuance in 1842 an agenda for the church in the Kingdom of Saxony. ⁹⁹¹

8.3 Liturgical Rites in the Duchy of Magdeburg and Principality of Halberstadt

The terms of the Peace of Westphalia required that the Bishopric of Halberstadt be secularized into the Principality of Halberstadt. This new duchy was then ceded to Brandenburg. The peace treaty also stipulated that the Archbishopric of

⁹⁸⁵ Ordnung Gebete und Handlungen 1786; Foerster 1907, 123.

⁹⁸⁶ Schleswig-Holsteinische Kirchen-Agende 1797; Foerster 1907, 123.

⁹⁸⁷ Allgemeine Liturgie I 1805; Allgemeine Liturgie II/1 1805; Allgemeine Liturgie II/2 1809; Foerster 1907, 123.

⁹⁸⁸ Sonntag I 1802; Sonntag II 1802; Sonntag 1807; Sonntag I 1818; Sonntag II 1818; Foerster 1907, 123.

Magdeburg must also be secularized upon the death of the present administrator, Duke Augustus of Saxe-Weissenfels, who would continue to rule the duchy for another thirty-two years. When he died in 1680, the provisions agreed in the Peace of Westphalia were finally enacted and the Duchy of Magdeburg became a province of Brandenburg. They would be lost to the Kingdom of Prussia in 1806 under the terms of the Treaty of Tilsit and would then be once returned to Prussian control by the Congress of Vienna in 1815. At that time, church life in Magdeburg was ordered according to the church order of 1739 and the agenda of 1740. Some cities in the region continued to maintain their own local agendas. Such was the case in Halberstadt which had its own 1741 agenda. So too, the city of Halle had its own agenda from 1641.

In the early years of the sixteenth century, the Archbishopric of Magdeburg and the Bishopric of Halberstadt were under the control of Margrave Albrecht



Sigismund of Brandenburg, Prince-Archbishop of Magdeburg.
Copper engraving (*Rentsch* 1682).

of Brandenburg, the brother of Elector Joachim I Nestor. He assumed administration of the churches in these dioceses in 1513 as both archbishop of Magdeburg and bishop of Halberstadt. In 1514, he also assumed the archiepiscopacy of Mainz, and in 1518 he was made a cardinal. He died in 1545. His successor was his nephew, Johann Albrecht, who ruled from 1547 until his death in 1550. He, in turn, was succeeded by Friedrich, the son of the Elector Joachim II of Brandenburg, and after his death in 1552, his brother Sigismund was elected and confirmed by Rome in 1553. He would be the last archbishop of Magdeburg and bishop of Halberstadt. After his death in 1566, the office of "administrator" was established to replace it.992

Despite the intense efforts of Cardinal Albrecht to prevent it, the Reformation spread during his years quickly through Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Halle, and other cities. With the approval of the city council, Luther was invited to visit Mag-

deburg, and on July 25, 1524, the first Lutheran Divine Service and sermon were held in St. Johannes Church. Three days later, a Lutheran service was held in the church of the Holy Spirit. In the same year, Lutheran city dwellers petitioned the city council for permission to introduce the Reformation in all the city parishes. In their Articuli quos plebs Magdeburgensis suo senatui obtulit (Articles of the Citizens of Magdeburg to the Senate), they stated that they wanted Mass to be held in accordance with the evangelical doctrine as Christ had instituted it and as his apostles and saints had for so a long time observed it under rectors, chaplains, and pastors who would administer the Sacrament under both kinds and deal with them in accordance with the Holy Scriptures. They stated that it was clear to them from the Testament of Christ that the Mass was not a sacrifice and was not be offered as memorial for the souls of the departed and nor were other strange teachings to be perpetuated. The city council did not give the document any publicity, but they did allow the establishment of the Reformation in the city. Therefore Luther sent Nicolaus von Amsdorf to Magdeburg to supervise the establishment of the Lutheran Mass and Reformation doctrine. Amsdorf chose to inaugurate the use of a Mass which was patterned after that of Wittenberg.993

The Reformation spread quickly. At the territorial assembly at Calbe in 1541, it was made clear to the Cardinal Albrecht that the nobility both in the Archbishopric of Magdeburg and the Bishopric of Halberstadt demanded religious freedom and required assent to it. When Albrecht died in 1545, the cathedral chapter found itself to be in a hostile environment, and in 1546 its members decided to seek a more congenial environment in Egeln.⁹⁹⁴

In 1547, an imperial ban was issued against Magdeburg because the city had refused to accept the emperor's edict which rejected reformers and halted the spread of the Reformation. In 1548, Magdeburg refused to accept the Interim declared by the Diet of Augsburg. It became a center of resistance against the Interim and a place of refuge for Lutherans who opposed it. It was the only city to take such a bold step.⁹⁹⁵

Sigismund of Brandenburg assumed his activity as archbishop of Magdeburg and bishop Halberstadt in 1552. In what may perhaps be best described as a diplomatic gesture, he permitted the cathedral chapter to return to Magdeburg in 1558 and to celebrate in the cathedral the Mass according to the Roman Rite. In addition to the cathedral, four other churches in the city were permitted to celebrate the Roman Mass; in all cases, they were churches under the control of monastic orders obedient to Rome. This seeming proliferation of Roman Masses was greeted by the nobility with consternation. On April 1, Judica Friday, 1558, they



"Packe di Sathan du Interim" – Spott-thaler against the Interims. The 1549 thaler shows a fight of a three-headed monster against Christ. The dragon symbolizes the Bishop of Rome, emperor, and devil. The back of the coin shows the baptism of Jesus. With such means magdeburgians protested against the ban imposed on the city by Emperor Charles V (Kulturhistorisches Museum Magdeburg).

wrote to Archbishop Sigismund expressing their concern that what would inevitably result of this decision would be the reintroduction of "papal idolatry" in the very places where it had previously been cast out. They stated that it was against the will of the people that what had been rejected when they confessed the *Augsburg Confession* was now being readmitted. In the post-script, they added that the teaching of God's true word should be fortified by the institution of visitations and the establishment of consistories for the good of the churches both in the cities and in the countryside.⁹⁹⁶

By the decision of the territorial assembly, meeting at Calbe on December 5, 1561, the Lutheran Reformation was introduced into the Archbishopric of Magdeburg and Bishopric of Halberstadt. As a result, Archbishop Sigismund ruled that a church visitation in both Magdeburg and Halberstadt dioceses should effect this introduction.⁹⁹⁷

8.3.1 The 1562 Visitation Articles and Its Liturgical Directives

In the visitation articles, which Sigismund provided the visitors, he stated that it was of first importance that the Word of God be taught purely in all the churches in accordance with the *Augsburg Confession* and that the sacraments of Christ be administered according to the Lord's institution. He further specified that the *Small Catechism* of Martin Luther in a uniform text was to be used zealously in the instruction of the young. Concerning ceremonies, the articles stated that all things were to be done decently and in good order in accordance with the words of the Apostle Paul and that this was to be understood to mean that the use of Mass vestments and the choir vestments (surplice), lighted candles on the altar,

altar cloths, and Latin and German chants were to continue to be used. However, ceremonies which "smacked of idolatry" as noted in the *Augsburg Confession* were not to continue. This included the worship of "idolatrous images," the so-called "sacrament houses" for sacred vessels (Germ. *Sakramentshaus*), the monstrance, the elevation, the blessing of the baptismal waters, etc. Concerning the agenda, all pastors were to use the "Wittenberg agenda." This was a reference to Melanchthon's Wittenberg agenda of 1559. If there were any questions concerning the legitimacy of the Reformation in the Magdeburg and Halberstadt dioceses before this time, the visitation articles clearly settled the matter.⁹⁹⁸

The visitation would lead to uniform procedures and practices. Little is known of the precise liturgical situation or the particular liturgical practices in the region before the issuance of the articles. The results of the visitation indicated that some parishes were using their own church orders with many traditional liturgical elements intact. It is known that in Magdeburg in 1524 Nicolaus von Amsdorf had introduced a Mass and associated liturgies modeled after those of the city of Wittenberg. In Halle, Justus Jonas introduced the use of the Wittenberg church order of 1533 when he reformed the city churches in 1541. In the town of Burg, the churches were reformed in 1542, and a church order was issued which spoke of services on Sundays and certain weekdays but did not make clear what particular agenda was to serve as the model. 999

The visitation in the archdiocese of Magdeburg took place in 1563 and 1564. The visitors reported that in the cathedral and in several other places Mass was still being celebrated in the Roman Catholic manner. In some towns, local councils of the clergy had taken it upon themselves to introduce various church orders or to create their own. One such order, the Divine Service order for Hadmersleben, was found by the visitors to be in use in 1563. It called for Saturday evening Vespers with Latin antiphons and psalms sung by one or two schoolboys, followed by the signing of a hymn. Then a schoolboy was to sing the Sunday epistle in Latin and to intone the antiphon before the Magnificat. After the canticle, the pastor was to sing the collects, and at the conclusion, the schoolboys were to join in singing the Benedicamus. Confession followed Vespers. Sunday morning Mass began at 7 a.m. with the introit, Kyrie, "Gloria in excelsis," proper sequence, collects, epistle and gospel, the German Creed, a hymn followed by the Preface or immediately by the Our Father, the Words of Christ's Testament, the administration of the Sacrament according with Christ's institution, a sung benediction and the hymn, and finally, hymn, "O Lord, We Praise Thee," sung by the schoolboys. After lunch, at around 2 p.m., the afternoon service began with two schoolboys singing Latin antiphons and psalms, the German "Quicunque vult," i. e., Athanasian Creed with an antiphon, and a timely hymn. Then the pastor catechized the people. After it, the German *Magnificat* was sung with the antiphon, "Christ, Our Savior, Eternal God, Son of Mary, We Praise You Eternally" ("*Christum unsern heiland*"), and then the German "*Nunc Dimittis*." The service concluded with the collects and the singing of the *Benedicamus* by the children. The title above this description ("*Bericht des rathes*") may mean that this was a report, sent by the town's council to the visitors. ¹⁰⁰⁰

Another order of ceremonies, this one for the church in Haldensleben, was included in the 1564 visitation report under the heading: Ordo caeremoniarum ecclesiae Haldenslebensis (The Order of Ceremonies of the Church in Haldensleben). It included an absolution, hours for daily services, and the order for the Mass, as well as instructions concerning baptisms, burials, marriages, and visitations in the parish. The Mass was observed as in Saxony, according to the report, with a single Mass on the Lord's Day and with the usual liturgical vestments. The Mass began with a Latin introit, sung in a figured version. This was followed by the *Kyrie* and the Latin "Gloria in excelsis Deo" and "Et in terra pax." However on occasion, the German "All Glory be to God on High" was sung instead. Then followed the epistle of the day, read to the whole assembly in German. After it, a Latin canon (hymn) in figured style or a psalm in German was sung. Then the celebrant sang the gospel in German and then the people sang, "We All Believe in One True God," as soon as the gospel was over. After the hymn, the communicants gathered at the altar and the celebrant read Luther's paraphrase of the Our Father and the admonition. Immediately after this, he recited the Words of Institution in German and then as quickly as possible he distributed the body and the blood of the Lord, while the people sang, "Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior," etc. After the post-communion thanksgiving, the pastor said the benediction and the people were dismissed. 1001

Yet another church order was also found in Stassfurt in 1564. It shed no light on liturgical practices and services there. In such cases, the visitors did not object if orders other than the officially approved Wittenberg 1559 agenda were being used. They simply informed the territorial council and asked that the continued use of these orders be allowed. 1002

The same 1562 visitation articles were also applied to Bishopric Halberstadt with the result that the liturgical life there was to be regulated according to the "Wittenberg agenda" of 1559. The visitation in Halberstadt region was undertaken somewhat later than in Magdeburg. It began on June 6, 1564. 1003

¹⁰⁰⁰ Sehling I/2 1904, 428-429.

As in the Archbishopric of Magdeburg, the parish visitors discovered that in some parishes other church orders and liturgies from the stipulated "Wittenberg agenda" were being used. Such was the case in Ermsleben where the local pastor, Johann Senger, had been a Lutheran since 1535. In his parish, an order of services had long been in use which described the prescribed services on Saturdays and vigils, as well as Sunday Matins and the Mass in Ermsleben and its affiliated congregation in Sinsleben. No details are extant. The only descriptive statements concerning it are those which state that the services were held, the Sacrament was treated with great reverence, and both Latin and German hymns were sung. The parish bells announced the beginning of Mass at 7 a.m. on Sunday morning. The propers for Holy Trinity or some other appropriate festal celebration were used in a Chief Divine Service which included the "Gloria in excelsis," collect, epistle, gospel, sermon, confession of sins, prayer of the church, and the Lord's Supper. The prayer of the church included supplications for divine protection against the Turks and the Muscovites and other evil foes. The report also noted that at Sunday Vespers catechization was conducted. In addition, sermons were preached on all apostles' days in the morning Divine Service. High festal days were celebrated all day along and included two sermons. Every Friday there was a preaching service with the Litany. 1004

Cochstedt also had its own church order, dating from 1556. Here too, Mass began at 7 a.m. and included "Veni Sancte Spiritus," "Benedictus Dominus Deus" with an antiphon, introit, Kyrie, Gloria and "Et in terra pax" in Latin, "All Glory be to God on High" in German, German collect, epistle, sequence or a psalm from Luther's Bible, Nicene Creed, sermon, "Isaiah, Mighty Seer," and communion. Festal services featured figured music. Vespers was somewhat elaborate and included figured music, or on ordinary Sundays, three German psalms. After the sermon, there was catechization, using Luther's Small Catechism. On Friday, the subject of the service was a general thanksgiving for the sufferings of Christ with the singing of the responsory "Darkness descended" ("Tenebrae factae sunt") in Latin and the "Abroad the regal banners fly" ("Vexilla regis prodeunt") in German, the "Lamb of God, Pure and Holy" in German, the Litany, and after a sermon on the seven words of Christ, the collect, "Respice quis," in German. At baptisms, the schoolchildren sang, "To Jordan Came the Christ, Our Lord." The burial service included the responsory, "Shall we accept good from the Lord" ("Si bona suscepimus"), or the responsory, "If we believe" ("Si credimus"), as well as the hymn, "Now Let Us Bury the Body" ("Nun last uns den Leib begraben"). In the church, "Despair not, O Heart, in Thy Sorrow" ("Jam moesta quiesce querela"), was sung with the collect. 1005

Archbishop Sigismund died in 1566 and was succeeded by Joachim Friedrich of Brandenburg who was designated "administrator" of Archbishopric of Magdeburg. Ecclesiastical affairs were put in the hands of the superintendent. The first such superintendent was Nicolaus von Amsdorf whose regulatory activities were restricted to the city of Magdeburg. The decision in 1561 to introduce the Reformation throughout the diocese made it necessary that a document be issued concerning the regulatory activities of the office of the superintendent throughout the archdiocese. By then, Tilemann Heshusius was the superintendent. According to the instructions, issued on March 24, 1561, the superintendent was to oversee the teaching and confession of the pure faith and the proper administration of the holy sacraments in the church's liturgical services. ¹⁰⁰⁶

There were particular areas of the city which remained under the control of the archdiocese. They included the cathedral and the four collegiate churches operated by the monastic orders. These all remained Roman Catholic, however, on the first Sunday in Advent in 1567 the Lutheran Mass was celebrated for the first time in the cathedral, and by the end of the sixteenth century, only the collegiate church of Our Lady was still celebrating Mass according to the Roman Rite. 1007

Joachim Friedrich ordered a new visitation of the archdiocese of Magdeburg on June 10, 1581, for the purpose of improving church life. Detailed instructions were issued on May 25, 1583. For the first time, a great deal of attention was given to particular doctrinal concerns, such as the person and work of Christ. Pastors were expected to continue their studies to ensure that the teachings proclaimed in church and school were in accordance with the Word of God and the church's faith. Particular attention was given to Luther's catechisms and the Formula of Concord, as well as Luther's postil and the complete writings of Luther, Augustine, and "other worthy Christian theologians." The document stated nothing specific concerning particulars of the celebration of the Mass and the daily office. Concerning outward ceremonies, it simply said that, although desirable, neither God's glory and service nor the Christian faith and comfort of man were in any way dependant upon the uniformity of ceremonies in the churches. However, it was still the church's stated norm that the ecclesiastical offices were to be read and sung and the sacraments were to be properly administered, along with marriages and burials, conducted in a proper manner by a pastor vested in Mass vestments or a surplice, standing before an altar with lighted candles, altar clothes, etc. In this regard, the wording of the 1562 visitation articles was reproduced. 1008

In 1580, a consistory was established fulfilling an expectation that had been raised nineteen years earlier. Henceforth there would be two consistories in the

region, one sitting in Halle and the other in Magdeburg. Each region would have its own superintendent and would be administered independently.¹⁰⁰⁹

The creation of a church order remained a project yet to be completed for a number of years. It was not until 1585 that the draft of a church order, which set down authoritatively the form and ceremonies to be used by pastors, ministers, schoolmasters, and assistants to the pastors (Germ. *Küster*) in the administration of their offices, finally appeared. This church order would remain in draft form, and it is assumed that either it or the consistorial order of 1580 was among the documents which influenced the 1634 church order of King Gustavus Adolphus for Magdeburg and Halberstadt.¹⁰¹⁰

8.3.2 The Worship Program in the Magdeburg Cathedral

The 1559 Wittenberg church order was made the official agenda by Archbishop Sigismund and the estates in 1561. It regulated the liturgical and sacramental life in the parishes. ¹⁰¹¹ The liturgical program in the cathedral at Magdeburg was somewhat richer. The Roman Catholic Mass and office had been restored in the cathedral in 1558 and continued until 1567 when it was modified to meet Lutheran standards. The singing of the daily office continued as before and Mass was celebrated on Sundays and Tuesdays and Thursdays, and on the days of the apostles and evangelists, the Marian feasts and the festivals commemorating John the Baptist and St. Mary Magdalene, as well as a few other days of commemoration. ¹⁰¹² The office and the Mass were mainly in Latin with some German until a cantional for use in the cathedral appeared in 1613. This made available to ministers and choirs suitable materials for the *propria* of Matins, Vespers, and the Mass from the many volumes of material already in their possession.

In 1613, Andreas Basel published two books in one volume under the Latin title: Cantica sacra, quo ordine et melodiis, per totius anni curriculum, in matutinis et vespertnis, itemque intermediis precibus cantari solent, una cum lectionibus et precationibus in unum volumen congesta pro s. metropolitana Magdeburgensi Ecclesia, excusa Magdeburgi Sumtibus praedictae Ecclesiae, etc. Tipis Andreae Bezeli, AnnO Christi M. DC. XIII (Sacred Chants, Along with Order and Melodies to Be Used Through the Course of the Entire Year in Matins and Vespers and the Intervening Prayers which Are Accustomed to Be Sung, Combined with the Readings and Prayers in One Volume for the Cathedral Church in Magdeburg). The first book consisted of music and liturgical directions, along with the wording of the collects for all services on Sundays and

 $^{^{1009}}$ Sehling I/2 1904, 405, 414-417.



Title page of the 1613 Cantica Sacra.

weekdays, including the high festivals and the days surrounding them.

The second book contained the propers for days of the apostles and Blessed Virgin Mary, including the Presentation, Annunciation, Visitation, and Assumption, as well as the days of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, the day of his beheading, the day of St. Mary Magdalene, the day of the division of the apostles, the day of St. Moritz, the day of St. Michael the Archangel, and All Saints Day. As one would expect, the days of St. Stephen, St. John, and the Holy Innocents were put in connection with the celebration of Christmas in the first book. Also are included votive Masses in times of special need, such as a Mass for peace, for good weather, for rain, for the remission of sins, in time of pestilence, and the Gloria Patri in the Gregorian tones. Its title page read: Liber secundus continens cantica sacra, quae in praecipuis B. Mariae virginis, & aliorum Sanctorumfestis in S. Metro-

politana Magdeburgensi Ecclesia santari solent (Book Two, Containing Sacred Chants, which Are Accustomed to Be Sung on the Particular Days of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Festivals of Other Saints in the Cathedral Church of Magdeburg, Set Down by the Highest Magdeburg Church Authorities and Set in Type by Andreas Basel).

Bound together, the cantional over twelve hundred pages in length was able to serve as a veritable *Liber usualis* in the cathedral. Like the *Liber*, its indices listed separately various liturgical materials. Included in it were no less than 52 settings of the alleluia, 1009 antiphons, 51 graduals, 45 hymns, 75 introits, 47 invitatories, 480 responsories, 21 sequences, 12 tracts, and 44 diverse pieces, including Eucharistic Prefaces, Kyries, settings of the *Sanctus*, etc.¹⁰¹³ It is perhaps the richest storehouse of Lutheran liturgical material of that period to be found in a single volume.

The conservative character of the service is evident both by the collection of material included and the continued use of such traditional practices as the censing of the altar with a silver thurible and glowing coals before the celebration of the Lord's Supper.¹⁰¹⁴

The volume was meant chiefly for the use by the choir and those leading the liturgy. It contained much but not all of the ordinary needed for the services. Thus, it was not meant to substitute for the church's agenda but was to be a supplement to it. The book itself does not indicate what agenda was used together with it.

The supplementary material was meant to enrich worship in the cathedral. One may see examples of this in the very opening pages in the propers for the first Sunday in Advent. The first service is Vespers on Saturday evening. The book provided the antiphon which was to be used with the Saturday evening psalms and the responsory to follow the reading. The table of psalms was not included. The office hymn to be used at Vespers, "Conditor alme siderum" by St. Ambrose, was included, and it was noted that this hymn should be sung at Vespers every day throughout Advent. The antiphon for the Magnificat was also given, as well as the Compline hymn, "Veni, redemptor gentium," which was also to be sung throughout the season. A note was taken that Jeremiah 23 should be read in Latin at Vespers and in German at Compline. An Advent antiphon for the "Nunc Dimittis" was given, as well as Preces which were to precede the Advent collect in Latin, which also was to be used through the season.

At Matins, there was proper Invitatory and Advent setting of the "Venite, exultemus," as well as an antiphon to be used before the psalms which again were not listed. The reading from Isaiah 1 was to be read in Latin and was divided into two sections each of which was followed by its own responsory. This was followed by the reading of the gospel of the day in Latin and it, too, was followed by a proper responsory and the singing of the "Te Deum laudamus." Five antiphons for use with the psalms at Lauds were included, as well as the hymn, "Vox ecce clara personat," to be used throughout the season. All this material was to be used throughout the season, excepting on the day of St. Thomas. A proper antiphon for use with the Benedictus was included, as well as notations about hymns and responsories to be sung at the little hours: Prime, Terce, Sext, and None. An antiphon was included to be used with the suffrages at Lauds.

Listed under "at Mass" were a proper introit to be used throughout the season, a proper *Kyrie*, and "Gloria in excelsis." A single German collect was provided for use throughout the season. The epistle was followed by alleluia and verse, as well as a Sequence, "Mittit ad virginem non quemvis angelum," before the gospel in Latin. After the gospel, the Nicene Creed was to be sung in Latin and then the congregation was to sing, "We All Believe in One True God" in German. After the sermon, the German "Te Deum laudamus" – "Herr Gott, dich loben wir" was sung. Then followed the Advent Preface and Sanctus. Then the pastor prayed the Our Father and consecrated the Sacrament with the Words of Christ's Testament. Dur-

Luther's post-communion collect in German and blessed the congregation with the Aaronic Benediction. Last of all, the choir sang, "O Lord, We Praise Thee."

Sunday Vespers followed the order from Saturday evening but with its own antiphon for the *Magnificat* and the festal "Benedicamus Domino" and "Deo Gratias" to close the office.

Propers were provided also for services on the ferial days. The daily office, that is to say, the traditional canonical hours of Matins, *Lauds*, the minor hours, Vespers, and *Compline* were to be prayed daily, and weekday Mass was celebrated on Tuesdays and Thursdays.¹⁰¹⁵

The material in the book was taken from sources long in use in the Magdeburg Cathedral. Most of it was in Latin, but there were twenty-three German collects, twenty-two of which were from the 1555 edition of Duke Heinrich's agenda. Four of the Latin collects were by Paul Eber. Also included were Luther's German Litany and a German hymn, "Take from Us, Dear Lord" ("Nimm von uns, lieber Herr").

The book bears witness to the survival of high liturgical worship to match the theology which prevailed in the Reformation and the Orthodox periods. It attests that the adoption of Reformation theology did not mean that the church's liturgical treasures must be cast aside. This is a particularly rich witness to a high liturgical worship in the Lutheran Church.

The voluminous *Cantica Sacra* of the Magdeburg Cathedral gave clear instructions and musical settings for the *propria* to be used in the cathedral services throughout the year, including both the Masses and the daily offices. It was, however, a book of music, not a service book, and therefore it did not provide any detailed directives about the ordinary of the services. These details would be addressed in other books.

In 1615, Pastor Philipp Hahn, cathedral chaplain in Magdeburg, published a very complete church book giving agenda forms, together with numerous tractates concerning the liturgical services and their ceremonies. His book was entitled: KirchenBuch D. Philip. Hanen, DomPredigers zu Magdeburgk, Darinnen die gewöhnliche Ceremonien, neben etlichen kurtzen Sermonen auß Gottes Wort, heilsamen Consilijs, Bedencken vnd Erinnerungen Herrn D. Lutheri, vnd anderer fürnemer, reinen Theologen, auch gemeine Gebet vnd Collecten verfasset sind: Welche bey Christlichen Kindtäuffen, Einsegnung der Sechswöchnerin, Ehelicher Copulation Braut und Brautigam, Vocation, Ordination vnd Introduction newer Prediger, Beicht, Absolution vnd Communion gesunder vnd Krancken, auch handlungen mit Gefangenen, Besessenen, vnd endlich verstorbenen Begrebnissen; In den Kirchen dess Ertzstiffts Magdeburgk, vnd andern Christlichen versamlungen üblichen sein, vnd von Predigern, in allerhand fällen, nützlich zu gebrauchen. In Neun vnterschiedliche Tractätlein abgetheilet, deren Regis-

ter, oder Summa vnd inhalt, zu ende dess Buchs zu finden (Church Book of Dr. Philipp Hahn, Cathedral Preacher at Magdeburg, Consisting of Ordinary Ceremonies, in Addition to Several Short Sermons from the Word of God, Wholesome Advice, Thoughts, and Reminiscences of Dr. Martin Luther and Other Preeminent, Genuine Theologians, as well as Prayers and Collects, Common in the Churches of the Archdiocese of Magdeburg and other Christian Assemblies, and Beneficially Used by the Clergy in All Sorts of Circumstances, Including the Baptism of Children, the Churching of Women, the Marriage of Bride and Bridegroom, the Call, Ordination, and Installation of a Pastor, Confession, Absolution, and Communion of both the Sick and the Healthy, Ministry to Prisoners, Conforming of the Dying, and Finally, the Burial of the Dead. Assorted in Nine Different Tractates with their Registry, or Summary and Contents, to Be Found at the End of the Book).



Title page of the 1615 *Church Book* by Philipp Hahn.

The book was divided into nine sections, called tractates, each of which consisted in the liturgical forms preceded with a theological discussion of the rite and its ceremonies: Baptism, churching of women, marriage, call and ordination of a pastor, installation of a pastor, confession, absolution, and Communion in the church, visitation and Communion of the sick and prisoners, the burial of the dead, prayers, litanies, and collects.

Included with the sixth tractate was a short directory giving the typical order for the celebration of the Mass, together with the chant tones, some in Latin and some in German, for the parts of the ordinary usually chanted.

As might be expected, Hahn presented the form of the Christian Mass and its ceremonies as used in the cathedral church. His description of it is the first reasonably full description still extant: Introit in Latin – *Kyrie – "Gloria in excelsis"* in Latin – Collect in German – Epistle in Latin – Choir – Epistle in German – Alleluia, sequence, or tract – Gospel in Latin – Choir – Gospel in German – Nicene Symbol in Latin and "We All Believe in One True God" in German – Seasonally appropriate hymn – Pulpit office (Gospel text – Hymn – Sermon – Prayer of the

man – Communion with the parish pastor administering the body and assistant pastor administering the blood. The standard distribution formula: "Take and eat, this is the very body of our Lord Jesus Christ, given into death for you. May this strengthen and preserve you in the true faith to life everlasting." "Take and drink, this is the very blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, shed for your sins. May this strengthen and preserve you in the true faith to life everlasting." Communion hymns: "Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior," the Latin or German *Agnus Dei* – Luther's post-communion collect – Benediction in German – "O Lord, We Praise Thee," sung by the choir.¹⁰¹⁷

The service is very traditional and the clergy wear the appropriate Mass vestments, such as chasuble, etc. As was typical of many church orders, the service included a mixture of Latin and German elements. Readings, first sung in Latin, were then repeated in German. The *Kyrie* and "*Gloria in excelsis*" were not translated. The collects, the Our Father, the *Verba*, and the benediction were sung in German. The writer notes that it was the custom in the Magdeburg Cathedral that no pictures be placed behind the high altar, excepting the crucifix and that no books were to be placed on the altar, excepting the altar lectionary and the "breviary," a volume which is not further identified. 1018



Philipp Hahn. Engraving by Jan Diricks van Campen, 1617 (*Röber* 1617).

Hahn provided numerous musical settings appropriate for high feasts and ordinary use. Eight alternative intonations for the "Gloria in excelsis" were provided. Tones for the singing of the epistle and gospel, as practiced in Latin in the Magdeburg Cathedral, were included, along with tones for the chanting of the same in German as it was done in Halle. One form was given for the intonation of the Symbolum Nicaenum. Latin Prefaces were given for Advent, Nativity, Annunciation, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, Holy Trinity Sunday, and ordinary days. Included also were German Prefaces from the Mansfeld agenda, used at Halle. These included Nativity, Resurrection, and Pentecost. Hahn also included admonitions to

the communicants from the Brandenburg-Nürnberg agenda and the agenda of Duke Heinrich of Saxony, together with the paraphrase of the Our Father from Duke Heinrich's agenda. However, he made no mention of the paraphrase in his directory of the service, an indication that his may have been an optional usage since it was the practice in the Magdeburg city churches that the Preface should be followed by the Our Father and the Words of Consecration, sung according to the notation, provided by Goltz in his 1613 agenda for Frankfurt (Oder). An alternative tone for singing the Verba was appended to the service which concluded with the post-communion collect and benediction. The source of this alternative was not identified. This was followed by an anthology of extended quotations from Luther, Melanchthon, the Wittenberg theologians, and others concerning the Lord's Supper and its celebration in the Lutheran Church. This was provided to answer the questions of the clergy concerning whether a pastor was to give Communion to those who were not of his parish, what should be done when a person was not able to drink wine, how one was to administer the Sacrament to the dumb or blind, directives concerning house communions, and other matters. 1019

In speaking of the Divine Service, Hahn made no mention of the 1559 "Wittenberg agenda." This must be taken as an indication that the 1559 order no longer served as the basis for the liturgical usages of the archdiocese or its cathedral. He introduced material from other church orders rather freely so that the reader quickly gains the impression that a great deal of latitude was evident in services in Magdeburg and elsewhere in the archdiocese. This book would be of great value to pastors in city, town, or rural congregations of the archdiocese and Hahn indicated as much in the title he gave to his work.

Hahn's book appears to have been used in the archdiocese for many years. It was published as volume one of the four-volume series in Magdeburg and Braunschweig in 1647 under the general title: *Consilia, sive Judicia Theologica & Requisita Ministerii, totius Ecclesiæ. New verbessert vnd vollständig KirchenBuch D. Philip. Hanen, DomPredigers zu Magdeburgk.* In 1692 it was republished in Leipzig, Magdeburg, and Zerbst under the same title.¹⁰²⁰

8.3.3 Johannes Schrader's Private Agendas

Another indication of liturgical diversity in the Magdeburg region was the appearance there of a private agenda, prepared by Johannes Schrader. He published his three-volume work under the title: Formular-Buch allerhand christlicher Wort und Ceremonien, deren ein Prediger in Verrichtung seines Ampts und der Seelsorge



Title page of the 1636 edition of Johannes Schrader's Formulary Book.

kan gebrauchen (Formulary Book of a Large Number of Christian Words and Ceremonies which the Pastor Can Use in the Administration of His Office and Pastoral Care). 1021 This comprehensive book was printed by Ambrosius Kirchner in Magdeburg in 1621. Schrader himself was a parish pastor in Alvensleben in the Archdiocese of Magdeburg. His purpose in assembling and publishing his work was to provide for the clergy a rich source of liturgical material of high value and proven quality to supplement his agenda. The first volume dealt with the work of the pastor as father confessor of his people and shepherd of their souls. It included various formularies, including admonitions and invitations to confession, as well as forms of confession and absolution. Volume three was devoted to aspects of the pastoral

ministry with special attention to words of comfort, prayer, consolation for the sick, the dying, the troubled, and the tempted, for women in childbirth, for those who had suffered miscarriages, for widows and orphans, for the impoverished, for use in time of fire and flood, for the melancholic and depressed, etc.

The second volume provides supplementary material for the Mass, the administration of the sacraments, and other liturgical acts. The author divided the Divine Service into thirteen divisions or "classes." First, he provided formulas for preparation for worship, that is, pastoral prayers before the service. The first division included intonations for the "Gloria in excelsis" which followed the opening hymn, "Veni, Sancte Spiritus," the introit, and the Kyrie. The second division gave forms for the Salutation and response, and the third provided versicles and collects according to the season. Division four gave two alternative intonations for the Nicene Creed and instructions concerning the singing of the Latin Patrem and the German "We All Believe in One True God." Division five provided exhortations and alternative general prayers. Division six gave Latin Prefaces for use with the Sanctus on ordinary days and festivals, and in addition, forms partly in Latin and partly in German for Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. Division seven gave various admonitions for use before Communion, and division eight

included the music for the singing of the Our Father and the *Verba*. Division nine provided alternative distribution formulas and division ten gave two alternative post-communion collects. Division eleven covered the conclusion of the service: the Aaronic Benediction and the closing hymn and directions for concluding the service when there were no communicants. Division twelve consisted in a lengthy series of formulas, including versicles and collects for various special occasions. Finally, division thirteen suggested formulas to be used before and after the prayer of the church when there were no communicants. In his book, Schrader indicated the sources on which he had relied, stating that he had taken forms from the church orders and agendas of Saxony, Brandenburg, Braunschweig, Waldeck, Brandenburg-Nürnberg, Wittenberg, Spangenberg, Schwäbisch-Hall, Mansfeld, *et al.*¹⁰²²

Schrader's book appears to have been very popular with the clergy not only in Magdeburg but also in Upper Lusatia and even beyond. The book went through several editions, the first of which appeared in 1628. The 1636 edition was given a new title: New verbessere vnd vollstendig Gantz außführlich FormularBuch, Allerhand Christlicher Wort, vnd Ceremonien, deren ein Prediger in Verrichtung seines Ampts, vnd der Seelsorge kan gebrauchen. (Newly Improved and Complete, and Comprehensive Formulary Book of a Large Number of Christian Words and Ceremonies which a Pastor Can Use in the Administration of His Office and Pastoral Care). This improved edition was republished in 1646, 1649, 1660, and 1670.

The agendas of Hahn and Schrader had contributed much to the rich liturgical life of the Magdeburg and Halberstadt dioceses, but there had never been a single uniform agenda or church order in these dioceses.

8.3.4 The 1632 Agenda for the Territories of Magdeburg and Halberstadt

The Thirty Years' War was devastating to the city of Magdeburg and its surrounding territories. It was unable to resist the Roman Catholic armies of Count of Tilly (Johann Tserclaes), and when it refused to surrender to his forces, the door was opened for the devastation of the city. A countless number of men, women, and children lost their lives. King Gustavus Adolphus was unable to send aid to assist the besieged city, and on September 8, 1631, he designated Halle as the new seat of the Magdeburg consistory. One week later, on September 15, he named Prince Ludwig I of Anhalt-Köthen to be governor of the entire region which included the dioceses of Magdeburg and Halberstadt. 1023

The well-being of the church depended upon its being constituted under a common church order which included both dioceses, as governor, Prince Ludwig I of Anhalt-Köthen, stated to the Magdeburg-Halberstadt territorial assembly on November 15, 1631. He would assign this task to a number of learned theologians and pastors. The king appointed as a chief theologian Dr. Johannes Botvidi (Bodwedsson) who had been his court chaplain, later, the leader of his royal field consistory, and most recently, bishop of the diocese of Linköping in Sweden. 1024

On April 19, 1632, Botvidi met with Ludwig I in Moritzburg and presented his plan for reorganizing the church and establishing a constitution on the basis of the *Unaltered Augsburg Confession* and the Saxon church order. On April 26, 1632, he declared to the assembled gentry in the territorial assembly that what was needed was a church order which would correspond to that of the Saxon Church. To assist him in the preparation were the syndic jurist, Dr. Georg Adam Brunner, the Swedish councillor, Dr. Adolf Marcus, and Notary Zacharias Faber. This committee informed the bishop that it would not be enough to simply import the Saxon order for use in Magdeburg-Halberstadt, but an order more specifically patterned to meet local needs would be required. They may have been thinking of some of the provisions of the so-called "Magdeburg manuscript," which included a vague description of the organization of the church. The committee planned to proceed in an orderly fashion, first preparing an agenda, then a church order, and finally, articles constituting the consistory, organizing visitations, and providing for the administration of the schools.

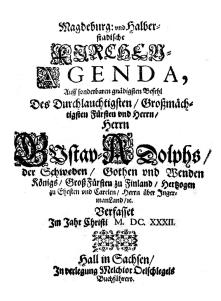
Bishop Botvidi assigned the task of preparing the agenda to three Halle pastors – Senior Pastor Dr. Andreas Merk, Pastor Martin Röber of St. Ulrich's, and Pastor Lucas Rudolphi of St. Moritz. Work on the church order proceeded under the direction of Dr. Brunner. Merk directed his attention to the consistorial and visitation orders and Andres Schultz prepared the order for the administration of schools.

The Halle pastors hastily prepared the agenda, making use not only of the so-called "Magdeburg manuscript" but also the Saxon church order of 1580 and the Coburg order of 1626. From these, they imported sections verbatim. On June 7, 1632, the bishop presented the completed agenda to the territorial assembly which accepted it and ordered its immediate introduction into both dioceses. ¹⁰²⁵

The agenda was printed in Halle by Melchior Oelschlegel in 1632 under the title: Magdeburg und Halberstadische Kirchen-Agenda, Auff sonderbaren gnädigsten Befehl Des Durchlauchtigsten, Großmächtigsten Fürsten und Herrn, Herrn Gustav-Adolphs, der Schweden, Gothen und Wenden Königs, GroßFürsten zu Finland, Herzogen zu Ehesten und Carelen, Herrn über Jngermanland, &c. Verfasset Jm Jahr Christi M. DC. XXXII. (Church Agenda of Magdeburg and Halberstadt, by the Especially Gra-

cious Order of the Most Serene and Mightiest Prince and Lord, Sir Gustav Adolf, King of Sweden, Gotha, and Wenden, Crown Prince at Finland, Duke at Estonia and Karelia, Lord at Ingria, etc. Constituted in the Year of Christ 1632).

The introductory preface rehearsed the church's present situation. There had never before been a single uniform agenda in use in these dioceses, and therefore, error had not been effectively checked since the pastors introduced agendas without critically evaluating their contents. There had never been the necessary uniformity in ceremony which was needed not only for the well-being of the church but also for the sake of love among those who share one Baptism and one Sacrament given by God. Accordingly, the clergy must simply follow the clear directives of the agenda and make no arbitrary changes.



Title page of the 1632 Magdeburg and Halberstadt agenda.

The influence of the Saxon agenda was evident in both the form and content of the book. As in the Saxon tradition first established in Duke Heinrich's agenda, a distinction was made between divine services in cities and those held in villages and rural areas. The influence of the 1580 church order of Elector Augustus and 1626 Saxe-Coburg book was also evident. Eucharistic Prefaces were included, but they were not the Latin Prefaces found in 1540 Duke Heinrich's agenda but rather German language Prefaces as were used in Halle.

The rubrics for services held in cities and parishes with schools provided for the office of Vespers on Saturday afternoon and the eve of the feast days: Two or three psalms with an antiphon from the Sunday or feast – A responsory or hymn in Latin or German – A Lection from the New Testament or a prescribed reading – The *Magnificat* with an antiphon for Sunday or the feast in Latin or German – Collect – Benediction. Confession and absolution were to follow Vespers.

Sundays and feast days began with Matins: Two or three psalms in German – Collect proper to the day or feast – A lection from the Old Testament or gospel of the day or some other book of the Bible but not the sermon text – The "Benedictus Dominus Deus" in German or an appropriate German hymn – Collect – Optional

The Mass was called "The Office of Sermon and Communion" ("Von Ambts Predigt vnd Communion"): Introit in Latin or a German psalm or "Benedictus Dominus Deus" - Kyrie - "Gloria in excelsis Deo" and "Et in terra pax" in Latin or "All Glory be to God on High" by the congregation - Salutation and response in German - Collect in German - Epistle in German - De tempore hymn - Gospel, chanted in German - Creed and Patrem in Latin and "We All Believe in One True God" in German - Seasonal sequence hymn - Sermon - General confession and absolution - Prayer of the church - Our Father - Blessing - Paraphrase of the Our Father and admonition to the communicants or Our Father chanted in German (On feast days, the Preface and Sanctus, followed by the Our Father; the paraphrase and admonition may replace the Our Father) - Verba in German - Communion (communion hymns: "Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior," "Isaiah, Mighty Seer," "O Lord, We Praise Thee," Psalm 111, "I Will Praise the Lord with My Whole Heart," "Lamb of God, Pure and Holy," and other hymns) - Distribution ("Take and eat, this is the true body of Jesus Christ, given into death for you. May this strengthen and preserve you in the true faith to life everlasting." "Take and drink, this is the very blood of Jesus Christ, shed for your sins. May this strengthen and preserve you in the true faith to life everlasting.") - Salutation and response in German - Post-communion collect - Benediction.

Sunday Vespers was to follow the same order as Saturday Vespers but was to include a reading from the catechism and, perhaps, also Luther's *Christian Questions and Answers*. According to custom, the sermon was to be based on the chief parts of the *Small Catechism* or the epistle.¹⁰²⁶

In villages without schools, the services were mainly in German. The Saturday evening service consisted in a German psalm or hymn and prayer. Then the pastor was to hear confessions. There was one Sunday morning Divine Service in such congregations: Psalm or German hymn in place of the introit – Collect in German – Epistle in German – German psalm or hymn – Gospel in German – Creedal hymn, "We All Believe in One True God" – Sermon – The paraphrase of the Our Father and admonition, read from the altar – *Verba* in German – Communion (during communion the usual hymns were to be sung) – Post-communion collect in German – Benediction. Sunday Vespers consisted in one or two German psalms, a reading, the *Magnificat* in German, collect, and benediction. ¹⁰²⁷

Despite its obvious Saxon roots, the 1632 agenda was popularly called "Swedish," doubtless because of the pivotal role of King Gustavus Adolphus and Bishop Botvidi in establishing it. Now for the first time, a single Magdeburg-Halberstadt liturgical rite had the force of law.

Work on the church order proceeded but was not completed until 1634. On February 15 of that year, it was completed and circulated in handwritten copies. Also completed that year were orders for visitations, for the consistory, and for schools.

In 1634, eight-page booklet was printed in Halle, giving the formula of prayers to be used after the sermon in the early service. It was entitled: Formul des Gebets, Wie solches in beyden Ertz- und Stifftern Magdeburg und Halberstad, Nach den FrüPredigten Von den Cantzeln zuverlesen. Sambt Erinnerung Bey der Litaney und dem Gebet pro Pace (Prayer Formula, to Be Read from the Pulpit After the Early Sermon in both the Archbishopric of Magdeburg and Bishopric of Halberstadt. Together with Recollections in the Litany and the Prayer Pro Pace). A general confession, absolution, and retention of sins of the impenitent was included as was also a prayer of the church. Also included was a form of invitation before the prayer of the church and some alterations in the Litany and the prayer for peace. 1028

8.3.5 Worship Life in the Duchy of Magdeburg after the Peace of Westphalia

In 1638, Swedish troops expelled the army of the emperor and installed Duke Augustus of Saxe-Weissenfels as ruler. The Peace of Westphalia in 1648 stipulated that the archbishopric must be secularized. Magdeburg was made a duchy and was given the house of Hohenzollerns, effective at the death of the present Duke Augustus who would continue to rule for another thirty-two years.

Augustus saw the necessity of authorizing and publishing the church order. It finally appeared in print on July 6, 1652, under the title: Kirchen-policey- und procesz Ordnungen Deß Hochwürdigsten, Durchläuchtigsten, Hochgebornen Fürsten und Herrn Herrn, Augusti, Postulirten Administratoris des Primats und Ertz-Stiffts Magdeburg, Hertzogens zu Sachsen, Jülich, Cleve und Berg, Landgraffens in Düringen, Marcggraffens zu Meissen, Ober: und Nieder Lausitz, Graffens zu der Marck, Ravenssbergk, Herrns zu Ravenstein, Darnach in J. Fürstl. Durchl. ErtzStifft Magdeburg sich männiglich zu achten. Publicirt auff dem allgemeinen Land-Tage zu Hall. Den 6. Julii, 1652. Mit Fürstl. Magdeburg Privilegio nicht nach zudrucken. (Church Policy and Process Order of the Venerable, Most Serene, Highborn Prince and Lord, Sir Augustus, Postulated Administrator of the Primate and Archbishopric of Magdeburg, Duke at Saxony, Jülich, Cleve, and Berg, Landgrave in Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen, Upper and Lower Lusatia, Count at the Mark and Ravensberg, and Lord at Ravenstein, to Be Observed by One and All in the Principalities of the Illustrious Archbishopric of Magdeburg. Published by the General Territorial Assembly at Halle on July 6, 1652. With the Unprinted



Title page of the 1652 Magdeburg *Church Policy and Process Order.*

Princely Privilege of Magdeburg). Here, in a single volume, were bound together the three books. The first was the church order, the second contained regulations concerning the church policies and their enforcement, and third concerned the operation of the courts, the so-called "Process Order." The church order contained twenty-eight articles which covered such matters as the church's stated confession, the approved ceremonies, and general regulations concerning the administering of pastoral acts and the divine services, as well as the examination and setting-in-order of the clergy, church discipline, the role of church elders, custodians, helpers, administrators of the poor chest, and other related matters. Detailed material concerning the ordinary and the propers of the divine services were not included here, but some general directives concerning the conduct of the services were given. 1029

Duke Augustus ordered that the 1632 Magdeburg-Halberstadt agenda be published in a new edition in 1653. This new edition was identified only as the Magdeburg book and the agenda and church order appeared in a single volume for the first time. It was published in Halle and given the name: Ertz-Stifftische Magdeburgische Kirchen Agenda, Auff gnädigste Anordnung Des Hochwürdigsten, Durchl., Hochgebohrnen Fürsten und Herrn, Herrn Augusti Postulirten Administratoris des Primats und Ertz-Stiffts Magdeburg, Hertzogens zu Sachsen, Jülich, Cleve und Berg, Landgrafens in Düringen, Marggrafens zu Meissen, Ober- und Nieder Lausitz, Graffens zu der Marck und Ravensberg, Herrns zu Ravenstein etc. publiciret Anno 1653 (Church Agenda of the Archbishopric of Magdeburg, Published by the Gracious Order of the Venerable, Most Serene, Highborn Prince and Lord, Sir Augustus, Postulated Administrator of the Primate and Archbishopric of Magdeburg, Duke at Saxony, Jülich, Cleve, and Berg, Landgrave in Thuringia, Margrave at Meissen, Upper and Lower Lusatia, Count at the Mark and Ravensberg, and Lord at Ravenstein, etc., in the Year 1653). There was some rearrangement in the order of the articles of the church order and some material previously grouped together was now separately dealt with, as for example, in the case of Baptism which now gave separate space to Baptism, emergency Baptism, and the blessing of a new mother. In the 1653 document, visitation and consistorial orders were treated under a separate heading, published in a separate section, thus reducing the number of articles in the church order itself. Because the church agenda was printed immediately after the church order, the pagination simply continued. Up to chapter seven the changes were mostly superficial. More substantive changes could be found beginning with the seventh chapter where the "Gloria in excelsis" and its special music, together with the chant tones for the epistle and the gospel, eliminated. Indeed, no lines of chant could



Title page of the 1653 Magdeburg agenda.

be found anywhere in the second edition nor were there notations concerning "Melodia versiculorum" or "Melodia collectorum" to guide the pastor in chanting the versicles and collects. Apart from this, the provisions of the two agendas were much the same. 1030

A third edition of the Magdeburg territorial agenda appeared in 1663. According to the preface, this edition was to be printed to correct deficiencies. It was published in Halle and given virtually the same title as the 1653 edition: ErtzStifftische Magdeburgische Kirchen Agenda Auff gnädigste Anordnung Des Hochwürdigsten, Durchlauchtigsten Hochgebohrnen Fürsten und Herrn, Herrn Augusti, Postulirten Administratoris des Primat- und ErtzStiffts Magdeburg, Hertzogens zu Sachsen, Jülich, Cleve und Berg, Landgraffens in Düringen, Marggraffens zu Meissen, Ober und Nieder Lausitz, Graffens zu der Marck, Ravensberg und Barby, Herrn zu Ravenstein, etc. Publiciret Anno 1663 (Church Agenda of the Archbishopric of Magdeburg, Published by the Gracious Order of the Venerable, Most Serene, Highborn Prince and Lord, Sir Augustus, Postulated Administrator of the Primate and Archbishopric of Magdeburg, Duke at Saxony, Jülich, Cleve, and Berg, Landgrave in Thuringia, Margrave at Meisen, and Upper and Lower Lusatia, Count at the Mark, Ravensberg, and Barby, and Lord at Ravenstein, etc., in the Year 1653). As in the second edition, no musical additions were included. Several changes were made and the book was not without its own deficiencies. No longer did the pastor ask the name of the child in the Baptism, an obvious



Title page of the 1663 Magdeburg agenda.

printer's error. Dropped was the lengthy homily on Mark 10 which was meant to introduce the praying of the Our Father by the pastor, as he laid his hand on the candidate's head. Added was a note that the godparents were not only to kneel but that it was customary to do so. In the churching of women, Psalm 6 was written out, so that the pastor no longer needed to make use of a separate Psalter or Bible. Now several collects in Latin were added with the notation that they were not to be used in villages but only in towns where their use had hitherto been customary. "Marital Copulation" ("Von Copulation") was now "Marital Vows" ("Von Ehelicher Trauung"), and together with it, a lengthy admonition concerning the vows had been added to the service. In the ministry to and Communion of the sick, reference is made as before to the

works of Dr. Hahn and Dr. Felix Bidembach, and the form for confession and absolution recommended by Bidembach was provided for optional use.¹⁰³¹

Ten years after the 1663 edition of the Magdeburg territorial agenda, Augustus decided that it should be reprinted in a single volume, together with the 1652 church order and the various mandates concerning special observances, visitations, stipends, etc., which he had issued during his administration. It was published in Leipzig by the book concern of Johann and Friedrich Lüderwalt and printed in Magdeburg and Helmstedt by the firm of Johann Erich Hahn in 1673. The title was: Sämptliche Fürstliche Magdeburgische Ordnungen, und vornehmsten Mandata, Welche Der Hochwürdigste, Durchlauchtigste Fürst und Herr, Herr Augustus, Postulirter Administrator deß Primat- und Ertz-Stiffts Magdeburg, Herzog zu Sachsen, Jülich, Cleve und Berg, Landgraff in Thüringen, Marckgraff zu Meissen, Ober- und Nieder-Lausitz, Graff zu der Marck, Ravensberg und Barby, Herr zu Ravenstein, ec. Zeit seiner Ertz-Stifftischen Magdeburgischen Landes-Regierung, in Kirchen- Policey-Gerichts- und Justitien- auch Hällischen Thals- und Pfannenwercks- Sachen, von Zeiten zu Zeiten publiciren, und in öffentlichen Druck geben lassen. Nunmehro aber, zu dess gantzen Landes Besten, wieder auffgeleget, und in ein Corpus zusammen gedruckt wor-

den. Mit Fürstlichen Magdeburgischen privilegio nicht nach zu drucken (All Princely Magdeburgian Orders and the Most Distinguished Mandates by the Venerable, Most Serene Prince and Lord, Sir Augustus, Postulated Administrator of the Primate and Archbishopric of Magdeburg, Duke at Saxony, Jülich, Cleve, and Berg, Landgrave in Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen, Upper and Lower Lusatia, Count at the Mark and Ravensberg and Barby, and Lord at Ravenstein, etc., Published from Time to Time and Put into Public Print by His Magdeburgian Territorial Government Concerning Church Policy, Judicature, and Justice, also in Matters Concerning the Valley of Halle and Salt Works. Now Once Again Set Down for the Benefit of the Entire Land and Printed Together in a Single Volume. With the Unprinted Princely Privilege of Magdeburg). The agenda included was a reprint of the 1663 edition. 1032



Title page of the 1673 *Princely Magdeburgian Orders and Mandates.*

8.3.6 The 1667 Agenda for the Magdeburg Cathedral

Through the years the Magdeburg Cathedral had remained the scene of more elaborate liturgical services. Services there continued to make use of the *Cantica sacra*, the cathedral's choral book, and the liturgical writings of Pastor Hahn who printed out the divine services as used in the archcathedral. In 1667, a special printed edition of the agenda was published giving the liturgical usages of the cathedral. It was printed in Magdeburg by the printing concern of Johann Müller under the title: *Agenda So, Zu behueff der Primat-Ertzbischöfflichen Kirchen zu Magdeburg, Vff Verordnung Eines HochEhrwürdigen DomCapituls hochgedachter Kirchen in Druck gegeben worden (Agenda for the Primate-Archiepiscopal Churches in Magdeburg, Set in Print by Order of the Venerable Cathedral Chapter of the Renowned Churches)*. The book included those forms which would ordinarily be needed in the cathedral. Notably absent was the form for the churching of women. In addition, no special instructions were provided differentiating city and village churches since this book would be used only in the city of Magdeburg.

AGENDA

Pu behueff der Primat-Ertzbischöflichen Kirchenzu Magdeburg/
The Berordnung
Eines Hoff Ehrwurdigen
Dom Capitule hochgebachter Kirchen in Drud gegeben worden.

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Title page of the 1667 Magdeburg cathedral agenda.

A festal form of the Divine Service was provided which stated that preparations for the morning service were to begin at 7:30 with a prelude by the organ. The Mass followed: Introit in Latin - Kyrie - Gloria and "Et in terra pax" in Latin and "All Glory be to God on High" in German - Salutation, versicle - Collect in German - Epistle in Latin - Choral work in Latin - Epistle in German – Alleluia – German hymn – Gospel in Latin - Choral work in Latin - Gospel in German - Nicene Creed in Latin and "We All Believe in One True God" in German - Seasonal sequence-hymn on feast days - Our Father - Sermon - Confession, absolution, and retention - Prayer of the church - Prayer for communicants - Intercessions, thanksgivings, and supplica-

tions – *Da pacem* – German hymn (on high feasts German hymn was dropped and a festal hymn was substituted) – Proper Preface in Latin and *Sanctus* (on ordinary Sundays admonition to the communicants) – Our Father – *Verba* – *Tersanctus* by children and congregation – Communion (during communion, figured and choral music and hymns, such as "Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior," etc.) – Versicle and response – Luther's post-communion collect – Benediction – Hymn, "O Lord, We Praise Thee" – Organ music, excepting in Lent.

Services for Matins and Vespers were also provided for Sundays and week-days, and Saturday Vespers was no longer singled out as a distinctive office. All collects in the book were in German since the Latin collects were already available in the *Cantica Sacra* and Hahn's book.¹⁰³³

The Mass in Magdeburg Cathedral was more elaborate and had more Latin than was ordinarily the case in other churches. Thus, no provision was made for a German psalm to substitute for the Latin introit in the cathedral service. The Prefaces were in Latin whereas other parishes used German, as in the Magdeburg territorial agenda. So too, provision was made for epistles and gospels in Latin as well as in German. A calendar of feasts was provided which included *Corpus Christi* and St. Moritz Day. The calendar may or may not have been complete. There was no mention of the Assumption of Mary and All Saints. It is an interesting feature that the celebrant of the Mass is referred to as the "deacon."

It is he who sings the Latin *Gloria*, Credo, and Preface, as well as the collects and the Aaronic Benediction. Although terminology differed somewhat from place to place, the designation "deacon" among Lutherans in the post-Reformation period ordinarily referred to an ordained minister of the gospel and sacraments.

8.3.7 Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth-Century Church Orders and Agendas in the Duchy of Magdeburg

When Augustus died in 1680, the provisions agreed at the Peace of Westphalia were invoked and the Duchy of Magdeburg became a province of Brandenburg. In the course of time, Magdeburg and Halle served capitals of the territory. In 1685, Elector Friedrich Wilhelm decided to publish a revised version of the church order. It was printed in Halle by the printing firm of Christoph Salfeld under the title: ChurFürstliche Brandenburgische jm Hertzogthum Magdeburg Publicirte KirchenOrdnung (Church Order for the Duchy of Magdeburg, Published by the Princely Electorate of Brandenburg).

An examination of its contents shows that Calvinist Elector Friedrich Wilhelm's

Chur Fürstliche Brandenburgische Am Bergogthum Magdeburg Publicitte

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> Title page of the 1685 Magdeburg church order.

anti-ceremonial religious policies influenced the revision of the book, bringing it into closer conformity with mainline Protestantism. An oblique reference is made to the accepted symbolical books, but nothing is mentioned concerning them beyond references to the old and New Testament, the three chief symbols, and the confession put before Charles V at Augsburg. The reference in the old statutes to the necessary and pure doctrine concerning the Venerable Sacrament of the Altar had now been changed to speak instead to the correct usage of the Holy Sacrament. The reference to the permitted use of Latin, found in chapter six of the old statutes, was dropped. Nothing was said forbidding the use of Latin; indeed nothing was said about the use of Latin at all. The old regulation allowing for the use of figural music was in the new regulations expanded to indicate that no other than known and biblical texts with which the congregation was well familiar were to be used. Also missing was the regulations which obliged the pastor to



Title page of the 1739 Magdeburg church order.

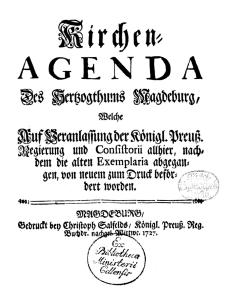
sing as well was the regulation, stating that according to established tradition, the pastor could wear his accustomed vesture, and at Communion he could wear the chasuble, alb, and surplice. 1034 The old regulations allowed also for altar paraments and lighted candles on the altar. The existence of these was not acknowledged in the new regulations. They were not proscribed, but neither was anything said permitting their use. 1035

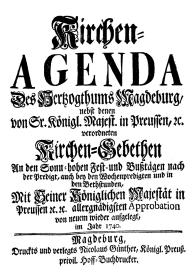
The 1685 church order was again published in 1708 in Halle by the printing concern of Christoph Salfeld under the title: Chur-Fürstliche Brandenburgische Jm Hertzogthum Magdeburg publicirte Kirchenordnung. Anno 1685 (Church Order for the Duchy of Magdeburg, Published by the Princely Electorate of Brandenburg in the Year 1685). 1036 It was again reprinted 1739 in Magdeburg as Re-

vidirte und nach denen neuern Königlichen Edicten, Mandaten und Rescripten eingerichtete und vermehrte Kirchen-Ordnung im Hertzogthum Magdeburg, wie auch in der Graffchafft Manssfeld Magdeburgischer Hoheit, sammt einem vollständigen Anhange derer von Anno 1680. bis 1739. publicirten Ordnungen, Edicten, Mandaten und Rescripten, von Consistorial-Kirch-Stiffter-Universität-Schul-Hospitalien-und Ehe-auch anderer Geistlichen Sachen, auf erfolgte allergnädigste Königl. Approbation zum Druck befördert (Revised and According to the Recent Royal Edicts, Mandates, and Rescripts Arranged and Enlarged Church Order in the Duchy of Magdeburg, as well as the County of Mansfeld of the Magdeburg Realm, Together with a Complete Appendix of the Ordinances, Edicts, Mandates, and Rescripts Concerning Consistorial, Church, Diocesan, University, School, Hospital, Matrimonial, and Other Spiritual Matters, Promulgated Between 1680 and 1739, Set into Print with the All-Gracious Royal Approbation). As stated in the title, changes had been made in some articles as a result of decrees and mandates and these were duly noted in each instance. 1037

A new edition of the agenda for the Duchy of Magdeburg was published in 1727 in Magdeburg by the Christoph Salfeld printing concern under the title: *Kirchen-Agenda Des Hertzogthums Magdeburg, Welche Auf Veranlassung der Königl.*

¹⁰³⁴ Ertz-stifftische magdeburgische Kirchen Agenda 1653, 20.





Title page of the 1727 Magdeburg agenda.

Title page of the 1740 Magdeburg agenda.

Preuß. Regierung und Consistorii allhier, nachdem die alten Exemplaria abgegangen, von neuem zum Druck befördert worden (Church Agenda for the Duchy of Magdeburg by Arrangement of the Royal Prussian Government and Consistory, Newly Reprinted when the Old Copies Had Been Worn Off). 1038

Again in 1740, an edition of the church's agenda appeared with the gracious approbation of the king, published in Magdeburg. It had the title: *Kirchen-Agenda Des Hertzogthums Magdeburg, nebst denen von Sr. Königl. Majest. in Preußen, verordneten Kirchen-Gebethen An den Sonn-hohen Fest- und Bußtagen nach der Predigt, auch bey den Wochenpredigten und in den Bethstunden, Mit Seiner Königlichen Majestät in Preussen etc. etc. allergnädigsten Approbation von neuem wieder aufgelegt im Jahr 1740 (Church Agenda for the Duchy of Magdeburg, Together with the Church Prayers, Ordered by His Royal Majesty in Prussia, [to Be Used] on Sundays, High Feasts, and Days of Repentance After the Sermon, and also at the Weekday Services and Prayer Hours, with the Gracious Approbation of His Royal Majesty in Prussia, etc., etc., Again Issued Anew in the Year 1740). Apart from the fact that exorcism had disappeared from the baptismal rite due to the Pietist influence, this order appears to have faithfully reproduced the old Magdeburg agenda. 1039*

Little is known of the inroads of Rationalism in the parishes of the Duchy of Magdeburg and the liturgical expression of Rationalist influences there. It is known,

however, that a book of altar prayers appeared in 1800 to be used in churches of the city of Magdeburg in the new formularies - a reference to orders altered to suit the worldview of that time. 1040

8.3.8 Worship in the Bishopric of Halberstadt After the Death of Bishop Sigismund in 1566

Religious activity in the Bishopric of Halberstadt appears to have run in a parallel to the activity of Magdeburg until the death of Bishop Sigismund in 1566 when a new bishop was elected. At this point, Halberstadt and Magdeburg decided that they would each act independently and elect separate bishops. Magdeburg elected as administrator Joachim Friedrich, the son of Elector Johann Georg of Brandenburg, but Halberstadt took the unusual step by electing as bishop Heinrich Julius of Braunschweig, the son of Duke Julius of Braunschweig. Heinrich Julius was at that time two years old. He had been born on October 15, 1564, and would not be in a position to exercise his episcopal office until the closing days of 1578. In a very controversial move, which caused a rupture in the formerly close relationship between Duke Julius and Martin Chemnitz, the ordinarius and chief theologian of the Braunschweig Church, Julius submitted his son for tonsuring on November 27, 1578. His excuse for doing so was that this was a purely liturgical act which was theologically neutral and an adiaphora. When on December 8 Heinrich Julius assumed the episcopal throne, his father declared that his son, the new bishop, was a staunch advocate of the confessional position of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession. 1041

An episcopal visitation of the Halberstadt diocese began with the approval of the territorial assembly immediately after the enthronement of Bishop Heinrich Julius. The bishop issued visitation instructions naming the visitors on August 8, 1588. The instructions make reference to the "Wittenberg agenda," as having been established by Archbishop Sigismund, as the standard for ceremonial observances in the churches. 1042 In the section on sacraments, the instructions noted that in addition to the Holy Scriptures, the Augsburg Confession, the Apology, Smalcald Articles, and Luther's catechisms, the pastors were expected not only to read and keep firmly in mind these documents but also the corpore doctrinae¹⁰⁴³ of the Braunschweig church order, and use it as the standard and norm of all of their teaching and preaching to ensure that they would remain free from corrupt and false doctrine. 1044

¹⁰⁴⁰ Graff II 1994, 7.

¹⁰⁴¹ Sehling I/2 1904, 464.

It was revealed in the course of visitation that the instructions, issued previously by Archbishop Sigismund that all clergy and parishes should conform to the "Wittenberg agenda," had not been universally followed. Some of the congregations, mostly in larger towns, did not want to be bound by a foreign document but insisted on their own. Such was the case in Aschersleben, where a rather complete manuscript agenda, Kirchen-Agenda, derer sich der rath mit dem ministerio verglichen (Church Agenda, as Agreed upon by the Council and the Clergy), was adopted in 1575. It gave directives for Saturday evening Vespers, Sunday Matins, the hospital service, the Mass, the midday service, Vespers, special instructions for Mass and other services on the chief festivals, the services to be held on the days of the apostles, Vespers on Tuesdays and Thursdays, the Friday prayer service, Matins on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays, and Vespers on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. Included, also, were instructions concerning baptisms, weddings, burials, and the operation of the parish hospital. Since neither the ordinarium nor the propria of the services were included, it might be more correct to describe this as a church order rather than agenda.

Sunday Mass on ordinary Sundays was as follows. During the singing of German hymns, the sacristan rang the bells. The ringing of the small bell was a signal that the schoolboys and their precentor would now enter the church. The service began with the introit of the day or that of Trinity Sunday. This was followed by a Kyrie, proper to the season, and the "Gloria in excelsis." Then followed the collect of the day and the Sunday epistle. After the epistle, the proper sequence or the sequence of the Trinity season was sung. Then the gospel followed. At its conclusion, the organist signaled the cantor to intone "We All Believe in One True God." One Sunday he was to sing it in German and the next in Latin, together with the Patrem. On a third Sunday, a figural setting was to be sung and on the fourth Sunday the Litany. Then the sermon and a short general confession followed. Before the Our Father and the consecration, the pastor was to read an admonition to the communicants, and communion was followed by the usual collects and the people were dismissed with a benediction. Last of all, the cantor led the singing appropriate to the season. Then the smallest children in the sexta year were to be dismissed and preparations were to be made for the midday sermon which began at Noon. This service included catechization. On high festivals, the services were enriched by having the lection in both German and Latin, and the Latin Preface was sung at Communion. 1045

At Kroppenstedt, a somewhat shorter church order was enacted. As described by the visitors in 1589, it included brief instructions for ceremonies and music,

including the Saturday evening Vespers, Sunday morning Matins and Mass, the midday sermon, and weekday services.

In this order, the Sunday morning Matins was to begin at 5 a.m. the year around, with the pastor or deacon singing the opening versicle, "Deus in adjutorium," and the choir responding. This was followed by a psalm and its antiphon, a responsory with the organ and choir, and the "Te Deum laudamus." The pastor or deacon was to read a chapter from the Bible and then instruct and comfort the people with a short summary of it. The service was dismissed with the versicle, "Deo dicamus," and the versicle, "The name of the Lord is to be Praised" ("Est nomen domini benedictum"), and the response, "From this time forth and even forever" ("Ex hoc nunc").

The Mass began with the introit for the feast or season, *Kyrie*, the "Gloria in excelsis Deo" and "Et in terra pax" in Latin or "All Glory be to God on High" in German. The collect followed. Then the epistle was sung in German, and after it, a sequence or German psalm. Then the pastor or deacon was to sing the gospel from the altar. This was followed by the Creed. The sermon was followed by an admonition to prayer and thanksgiving for the church, for pure doctrine, for faithful teachers, for authorities, and for all necessities. This was followed by an exhortation to the communicants. On high feasts, the pastor was to sing the Preface. On Sundays, the German Sanctus was to be sung, together with a short admonition concerning the Venerable Sacrament. After all had communed under both kinds, the choir sang and the organist played. The service concluded with a collect and short psalm, and at 12 noon, the midday service began. 1046

The services in both Aschersleben and Kroppenstedt are reminiscent of the Saxon tradition and the "Wittenberg agenda."

As had been the case in Magdeburg, Halberstadt suffered greatly during the Thirty Years' War. In his 1629 Edict of Restitution (Germ. *Restitutionsedikt*), Emperor Ferdinand II outlawed the practice of Lutheranism, and in a decree in April 1629, he forbad Lutheran pastors from exercising their ministry anywhere in the Bishopric of Halberstadt, excepting only in the city church of St. Martin and the small hospital chapel of the Holy Spirit. Two years later, in 1631, King Gustavus Adolphus and his Swedish army took possession of the Halberstadt region and Lutheranism again was legalized.¹⁰⁴⁷

Gustavus Adolphus looked upon the dioceses of Magdeburg and Halberstadt as a single entity, and on September 15, 1631, he named Prince Ludwig I of Anhalt-Köthen to be governor of the entire region, and he appointed Dr. Johannes Botvidi (Bodwedsson) to be bishop.¹⁰⁴⁸ Botvidi arrived in Halberstadt on May 7,

1632. He immediately sought to ascertain what agenda was being used in the churches. He received the response that no single agenda predominated. Some clergy were using the "Wittenberg agenda," others the Saxon agenda, and still others the Braunschweig book. A new agenda was then prepared for Magdeburg and Halberstadt. It was presented to the territorial assembly of Magdeburg-Halberstadt on June 7, 1632. The estates ordered its immediate implementation. 1049

According to the terms of the Peace of Westphalia, the Bishopric of Halberstadt was secularized and became the Principality of Halberstadt. It was ceded to Brandenburg. The 1632 agenda was used in the Principality of Halberstadt until a new agenda, published in Halberstadt, was prepared especially for this duchy in 1725. It was entitled: Ein Kurtzer Extract Einer Kirchen-Agende Welcher Alle Actus des Ministerii in sich fasset, Alten Predigern zum Nutz und Seegen, in diesem Format mit grössern Buchstaben in Druck gegeben Von Des Halberstädtischen Ministerii Seniore (A Short Extract of a Church Agenda, Which Consists of All Ministerial Acts Are Assembled in Order that Old Preachers May Have Them for Benefit and Blessing, Printed in this Format with Large Type by the Halberstadt Senior Clergy).



Title page of the 1725 Halberstadt agenda.

The book was advertised as an extract of an agenda. No preface was included nor was the origin of the forms anywhere noted. It appears, however, that it was not a copy of the Magdeburg-Halberstadt 1632 book, although some forms found in that book were similar in contents to forms in the older 1632 book. Such was the case with the form for Holy Baptism. A new prayer for confession and repentance for use before the service of confession and absolution was included in the book. It was followed by a traditional form of confession and absolution. The confessional prayer itself was a prayer which had not previously been used in Halberstadt, but the absolution and retention were as in the 1632 book. Also included was a new general prayer which the Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm I had directed to be used in all Prussian churches in 1713 and again in 1717. The form for the Lord's Supper included neither the Eucharistic Prefaces nor the

chant tones for the Our Father or the *Verba*. The 1632 book had included all chant tones and Prefaces necessary. Also missing from the newer form were the rubrical directives concerning the celebration of liturgical services both the Mass and offices. Missing also from the new work was Luther's paraphrase of the Our Father. For the celebration of the Sacrament, only the Our Father and the *Verba*, together with post-communion versicles, Luther's post-communion collect, and the Aaronic Benediction were provided. Included was a new section with prayers for the prayer services on various days of the week and on festal days. Many of the collects from the older book were retained, but the collects for the apostles' days were not among them. A prayer was included to be said annually on the anniversary of the king's coronation. The volume also included a marriage service which differed from that found in the 1632 book, together with a new confirmation service and two services for the churching of women both of which differed from the old 1632 book.

It is evident that the 1725 book had been influenced by the Pietists who considered such practices as chanting and directives for the performance of liturgical services to be quite unnecessary.

The 1725 Short Extract was, however, replaced in 1743 by a new agenda, entitled: Kirchen-Agenda Welche zum Gebrauch in den Kirchen, des Fürstenthums Halberstadt, und dazu gehörigen Graf- und Herrschaften, Unter Approbation Eines Hochwürdigen Consistorii, wieder aufgelegt. Halberstadt, Zufinden bey N. M. Langen, Regierungs-Buchdrucker. 1743 (Church Agenda, Once Again Issued for Use in the Churches of the Principality of Halberstadt and the Counties and Lordships Belonging to It, by Approbation of the Venerable Consistory). It was published by Nikolaus Martin Lange in Halberstadt.

8.3.9 Liturgical Rites in the City of Halle

An agenda tradition different from that of Magdeburg and Halberstadt was found in Halle. Although it was able to maintain a certain measure of independence, Halle was located within the boundaries of the Archbishopric of Magdeburg. It achieved fame early because of its stalwart support of the Reformation against Archbishop Albrecht. The leader of the Reformation in Halle was Justus Jonas who on April 15, 1541, preached in the church of Our Lady. On Christmas Day, Benedictus Schumann preached at a Lutheran service in the church of St. Ulrich. Jonas again appeared in August of 1542 to preach at St. Moritz, and in that same year, he was named superintendent. 1051

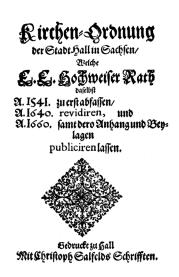
Halle accepted the Lutheran Reformation and this acceptance made it necessary that divine services conforming to the gospel would need to be introduced. Jonas decided to introduce the Wittenberg Mass, as found in the Wittenberg church order of 1533, and to make whatever alterations seemed advisable in the church order. The result was a church order peculiar to Halle but patterned after that of Wittenberg. The section on the Mass was, in fact, directly copied from the 1533 Wittenberg order. The *Kirchen-Ordnung der christlichen Gemein zu Halle* (*Church Order of the Christian Congregation at Halle*) was dated 1541.¹⁰⁵²

About thirty years later, sometime around 1573, a new church order was prepared under the title: Kirchen-Ordnung der christlichen Gemein zu Hall in Sachsen (Church Order of the Christian Congregation at Halle in Saxony). It borrowed its opening lines from the earlier 1541 order but then proceeded to deal individually with some general directives concerning the observance of Sunday, the Mass, midday services, Vespers on Sunday, daily Matins, the weekday sermons at midday, the daily Vespers, Saturday Vespers and confession, catechism sermons, Holy Baptism, emergency Baptism, marriage, the visitation and Communion of the sick, Christian burial, the daily activity of the clergy, the call and installation of ministers and pastors, provisions concerning sacristan and church workers, and music in the church. All these directives were general in nature and were not meant to duplicate or supersede any directives found in the church's agenda. The section on the Mass noted that ceremonies, vestments, candles, and like matters were to continue as before. 1053 The exact date of the composition of the agenda is not known, but it is evident that Philipp Hahn, cathedral chaplain in Magdeburg, knew and made use of it in the preparation of his Magdeburg agenda of 1615. He included in his agenda three German Prefaces which had appeared in the Halle agenda. 1054

A new revision of the Halle church order was undertaken in 1640¹⁰⁵⁵ and reprinted in 1660 in an enlarged edition, entitled: *Kirchen-Ordnung der Stadt Hall in Sachsen: Welche E.E. Hochweiser Rath daselbst A.* 1541. zu erst abfassen, A. 1640. revidiren, und A. 1660. samt dero Anhang und Beylagen publiciren lassen (Church Order of the City of Halle in Saxony, which the Prudent Council First Drafted in the Year 1541, Revised in the Year 1640, and Permitted to Be Published in the Year 1660, Together with an Appendix and Supplements).

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Richter 1871, 339-342. There is some question as to whether or not the 1541 order actually appeared in 1541. On the basis research available and found in the work of Carl Christian Leberecht Franke (Franke 1841, 295 ff.), Sehling was of the opinion that the order did not appear until 1543, as he writes in Sehling I/2 1904, 430, 434-436. The form and ceremonies of the Mass had already been thoroughly described in the chapter on the Wittenberg church order of 1533.



Title page of the 1660 Halle agenda.

The new church order reprinted verbatim some parts of the 1573 order, but there were also numerous additions, the most important of which were changes to the form of the Mass, Matins, and Vespers, the seasons of the church year, the chief feasts, the Marian Days and the apostles' days, as well as the days of Mary Magdalene, John the Baptist, and the Archangel St. Michael, and other special occasions, such as the history of the destruction of Jerusalem, remembered on the Tenth Sunday after Trinity. All this indicates that the liturgy in the Halle church was indeed rich. All the forms were found under the general heading: "Choir Order of the Church in Halle" ("Chor-Ordnung: Der Kirchen in Halla"). 1056

On Christmas Day, the Mass in Halle

began with the Introit, "Puer natus est nobis." This was followed by the Kyrie summum, the "Gloria in excelsis Deo," the "Et in terra pax," and the Collect, "Quae sumus Omnipotens Deus," all in Latin. The text indicates that if no one was able to sing the Latin, these parts should be sung in German. The epistle was from Isaiah 9 and the gospel from Luke 2. The alleluia and Gradual verse, "Lord Hath Said to Me: Thou Art My Son" ("Dominus dixit ad me: Filius meus es tu"), was followed by the Sequence, "Grates nunc omnes," and the German hymn, "Praise Be to You, Jesus Christ." The gospel was preceded by the Salutation and response, and after its announcement, the congregation responded, "Gloria tibi Domine." Luther's "We All Believe in One True God," was sung in German. The text of the sermon from Luke 2 was repeated and the hymn, "A Most Praiseworthy Little Child," introduced the sermon. The Nativity Preface and Sanctus were in Latin. This was followed by the Our Father and the Words of Consecration in German. The communion hymn was "From Heaven Above to Earth I Come." Apart from this, it was noted that the Mass was to be celebrated as on other days.

Directions were also provided for Christmas Matins and Vespers. The Matins was to begin with the Invitatory, "Christus natus est nobis," and the "Venite, exultemus." The gospel was from Luke 2 in German. It was followed by the hymn, "Now Praise We Christ, the Holy One" ("A solis ortus Cardine"), or "From Heaven

Above to Earth I Come" or some other familiar Christmas hymn. The sermon on the gospel followed after the singing of "A Most Praiseworthy Little Child." The collect was in German and the service concluded with the "Benedicamus Domino" or the hymn, "All Glory be to God on High."

Vespers on Christmas Day began with the antiphon, "Tecum principium," and Psalm 110. After it, the responsory, "Verbum Caro factum est," was sung and the hymn, "Now Praise We Christ, the Holy One" ("Christum wir sollen loben schon"). So far everything was in Latin. Now the people sang in German "Now Praise We Christ, the Holy One" and the sermon was preached on Isaiah 9. The service concluded with the German Magnificat, German collect, and the "Benedicamus Domino" or "In Joy of This Birth" ("In hoc natali gaudio").

At Vespers on Christmas Eve, the service began with the antiphon, "Judea & Hierusalem," and the psalm, "Laudate pueri Dominum," or "Laudate Dominum omnes gentes." The responsory was "Verbum caro factum est." Then followed a reading from the Bible in German and the hymn, "A solis ortus cardine." The sermon was from Matthew 1:18 and following. First the congregation sang, "We Now Implore God the Holy Ghost," and after the sermon, the Magnificat in Latin with the antiphon, "Cum esset desponsata," and the service closed with the versicle, "Benedicamus Domino," and response, "Deo Dicamus Gratias." ¹⁰⁵⁷

After the death of Duke Augustus in 1680, the city of Halle, like the whole Duchy of Magdeburg, came under the control of Brandenburg-Prussia. However, Halle was able to maintain a strong and vibrant liturgical tradition until the closing years of the seventeenth century when Augustus Hermann Francke cast its long and somber shadow over the city and its churches. The liturgy retained its official position, but some of its provisions, such as Latin chants and hymns and Exorcism, were considered to be of no value from the Pietist point of view.

In the early years, Halle became a stronghold of Pietism from its earliest beginnings in 1691. By the end of the eighteen century, Rationalism had come to reign supreme in the university. Whatever liturgical treasures had been left unaltered by the Pietists were almost certainly plundered by the Rationalists who succeeded them.

8.4 Worship Forms in the County of Mansfeld

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the County of Mansfeld comprised three sections which were called the Front-area (*Mansfeld-Vorderort*), the Middlearea (*Mansfeld-Mittelort*), and the Hinterland (*Mansfeld-Hinterort*). The Middle and Hinter areas received the Referentian as early as 1525. The Front area as

mained in communion with Rome until the death of Count Hoier VI in 1540. He died without heir, and his brother Ernst I introduced the Reformation by means of visitation in 1542. 1058

The first agenda in the County of Mansfeld was prepared in draft form by Caspar Güttel and examined by Luther in Eisleben shortly before his death. 1059 He suggested a few additions and clarifications concerning liturgical practices and the weekday services for schoolchildren. Luther also suggested that a superintendent be named to administer ecclesiastical affairs. The first to occupy this position was Johannes Spangenberg who continued in office until he was replaced by Georg Major in 1552. Major was forced to leave office in 1553 and was succeeded by Erasmus Sarcerius, who served until Hieronymus Mencel was named general superintendent in 1560. He served for thirty years, until 1590. 1060

The voluminous literary output of Sarcerius included a form for ordination, entitled: Einer Christlichen Ordination form vnd weise (A Christian Ordination Form and Manner), and a booklet on excommunication, Ein Büchlein, von dem Banne. In 1556, he presented his Vorschlag einer kirchenagende oder processbüchlein, die kirchenstraf zu üben (Proposal for a Church Agenda or Little Process Booklet to Practice the Church Discipline). These writings would strongly influence later liturgical rites. 1061

Most significant in the liturgical history of this territory was the synod in Eisleben which reorganized the church on February 24, 1562. 116 pastors were in attendance at the meeting which was led by Superintended Hieronymus Mencel and Deacon Cyriacus Spangenberg. The themes for discussion led by Sarcerius were doctrine, sacraments, Divine Service, Christian way of life, and spiritual life. The fruits of these presentations and discussions were the compilation of an official church agenda or manual for the County of Mansfeld. 1062 It was published in Eisleben in 1563 under the general title: MANVALE Aus der Kirchen Agenda. Darinnen Tauff, Einsegen, vnd Trawbüchlein, sampt etlichen teglichen Collecten, besonders zusammen gedruckt sind (Handbook from the Church Agenda in which Are Printed Together the Forms for Baptism, Confirmation, and Little Marriage Booklet, Along with Several Daily Collects). This agenda booklet included a preface prepared by Superintendent Hieronymus Mencel, dated in Eisleben in 1562, along with forms for Baptism, the churching of women, marriage, the Lord's Supper, including Luther's paraphrase and admonition, the Our Father and Verba, and the collects for use at the conclusion of the Communion service, together with the benediction. This was followed by a collection of collects for the holy ministry and for festal

¹⁰⁵⁸ *Jacobson* 1866, 55-56.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Manvale Aus der Kirchen Agenda 1563, A2, Kirchen-Agenda 1718, "Vorrede."

days and the seasons of the church year, as well as general collects for all sorts and conditions of men. The manual quoted parts of the 1540 Saxon agenda of Duke Heinrich liberally, and indeed, some were copied verbatim from that agenda. Accordingly, it may be assumed that the pastors were very familiar with Duke Heinrich's agenda. ¹⁰⁶³

In this context, some ceremonial aspects of worship may be mentioned. Four schoolboys were to genuflect before the altar in the Castle Church of Mansfeld during the creedal words "and was made man" ("Et incarnatus est") in order to refute the Flacian error, according to which original sin was supposed to be of the essence (substantia) instead of simply a quality (accidens) of human nature. Matthias Flacius had expressed his erroneous view in the 1560 Weimar Disputation in

MANVALEAnd der
Eirhen Physinsegen/ ond
Erawdücklein/ sampt etlichen
teglieden Collecten/besons
dere glammen
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Schrickthu Civle
ben/durch Orban
Eaubisch.

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Title page of the 1563 Mansfeld agenda.

opposition to the contention of Philippist Victorin Strigel concerning original \sin and man's free will. 1064

The synod of 1580 decided to build upon the foundation which Mencel had laid in his 1562 manual and to publish a complete church agenda, based on the earlier work. The new document was published in Eisleben in 1580 by Urban Gaubisch under the title: Kirchen-Agenda, darinnen Tauff, einsegen, und Trawbüchlein, Communion, sampt den teglichen Collecten, welche in der Kirchen gebraucht werden. Für die Prediger in der Graff, und Herrschafft Mansfeld (Church Agenda, Which Includes Baptism, Confirmation, Little Marriage Booklet, and Communion, Along with Daily Collects, which Are Used in the Churches. For the Pastors in the County and Lordship of Mansfeld). Included along with the original preface of Mencel were twenty-five chapters covering various aspects of the worship of the Christian congregation, including articles on proper hymnody, church discipline, the manner of administering public repentance, ordination, the German Litany, and other pastoral acts. What Superintendent Mencel had written with reference to the Mass in 1562 was simply repeated. Again, all that was given was the paraphrase of the Our Father and actio sacramentalis. After communion, the pastor was instructed to read one



Title page of the 1580 Mansfeld agenda.

of the two collects provided, one from Luther and one from Thomas Aquinas, modified by Luther, and to conclude the service with the Aaronic Benediction. The shape of the ordinary was not given nor were there any other particulars about the celebration of Communion, the distribution formula, or the daily services included. Since a separate chapter gives the Prefaces for use on high feasts, it may be assumed that as in Saxony, the service on these occasions was far richer and included the traditional Preface, beginning with the Salutation and "Sursum corda" and included also the Vere dignum and Sanctus, most likely in Latin. 1065

A noteworthy feature of the Mansfeld orders was the inclusion of a blessing (Germ. *Einsegen*) of children about to receive the Sacrament for the first time. This act was called "confirmation" ("Von der Confirmation der kinder"). The directive

states that the pastor should put his hand on the child and pray:

"Because you have learned the catechism and openly confessed your faith before this Christian congregation and have promised to ever remain faithful to it, and have desired to receive the absolution and the Venerable Sacrament, may God grant you the Holy Spirit to lead you, protect you in the true faith to life everlasting, and to abide in godly obedience through Christ, his Son. Amen.

The blessing of God, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, come upon you and remain with you forever."

This blessing could be given either individually or to the group as a whole. 1066 Nothing can be seen here of later notions that the child is in some manner ratifying his "baptismal covenant" or achieving status as a full member of the church.

The third and final edition of the Mansfeld agenda appeared in 1718. It was published in Eisleben by Christian Hüllmann and bore the title: *Kirchen-Agenda, Darinnen enthalten sind Tauff-Einsegungngs-Trau-Communion- und andre Büchlein, samt den täglichen Collecten, welche in der Kirchen gebraucht werden, Für die Prediger der Graffschafft Mannssfeld Jezund zum drittenmahl gedruckt, aufs neue übersehen,*

und mit vielen Collecten, auf allerhand Fälle gerichtet, Vermehret (Church Agenda Wherein Are Included the Forms for Baptism, Confirmation, Marriage, Communion, and Other Booklets, Along with the Daily Collects which Are Used in the Churches, for Preachers in the County of Mansfeld, Now Printed for the Third Time, Newly Edited, and Enlarged with Many Collects for All Sorts of Occasions).

The 1718 edition shared a similar title and contents as its predecessor, the 1580 book. A new preface, prepared in Eisleben on May 14, 1718, by Superintendent Salomon Deyling was included. ¹⁰⁶⁷ In the Lord's Supper Service, it was now directed that after the Aaronic Benediction the first stanza of the hymn, "O Lord, We Praise Thee," was to be sung and after that the preacher was to intone, "The name of the



Title page of the 1718 Mansfeld agenda.

Lord Be Praised and Blessed," to which the choir was to respond, "Now and henceforth and forever. Amen." This was then to be followed by a new communion collect to be used at the communion of the infirm. The section on collects was supplemented with special collects for use in time of plague, pestilence, death, famine and hunger, general praise and thanksgiving, authorities, preachers, marriages, and Christian households. The calendar of apostles' and saints' days was trimmed with the elimination of St. Lorenz Day. A new form for the investiture or installation of a pastor had been included. Also included was a form for the visitation of the sick and important articles from the church agenda concerning discipline in the congregations, including attendance at services and the Lord's Supper, the study of the catechism, and related matters. 1068 This material was published in a separate edition in Eisleben in 1621 under the title: Extract, Oder Verzeichnuß, Etlicher Nothwendiger Artickel, der Gräfflichen, Manßfeldischen Kirchen Agendt, Und wohlhergebrachten Kirchen-Disciplin; So Jährlich auff den Andern Sontag nach Epiphanias, nach der Amts-Predigt frühe, und Dominica 2. Trinit. zur Vesper, In den Kirchen der gantzen Graffschafft Manßfeld, von offener Cantzel abzulesen (Extract or Directory of Several Necessary Articles from the Church Agenda of the County of Mansfeld and Established Church Discipline; To be Read Every Year from the Pulpit on the Second Sunday After Epiphany After the Early Office Sermon and on the Second

Sunday after Trinity at Vespers in all the Churches of the County of Mansfeld). The extract was printed again in Eisleben in 1647 under the similar title. 1070

The Mansfeld Middle-area and Mansfeld Hinterland family branches died out in 1602 and 1666. With the death of Josef Wenzel Nepomuk in 1780, the male line of Mansfeld Front-area also became extinct and the county was divided between Prussia and Electoral Saxony. Both regions adopted the church orders of the houses which ruled them, however, the Mansfeld agenda was not suppressed and continued in use until the early decades of the nineteenth century. The Congress of Vienna incorporated all parts of the former county into the Kingdom of Prussia.

8.5 The Anti-Ceremonial Agendas of the County of Henneberg-Schleusingen

A small county nestled between Franconia and Thuringia also had its own unique liturgical tradition and agenda. This was the County of Henneberg-Schleusingen which maintained the use of its own 1713 agenda.

The Reformation was introduced into this county during the years of Count Wilhelm VI. Wilhelm lived from 1495 until 1559, but his son Georg Ernst was co-ruler with him during the last sixteen years of his reign. Georg Ernst came to power in 1543 and in that same year appointed Johann Forster of Nürnberg to be the reformer of Henneberg-Schleusingen and superintendent of the church. Instructions for visitors were immediately drawn up, and in 1544 the Reformation was introduced on the basis of this 1543 instruction. A second visitation was conducted in 1546 in an attempt to establish a regular liturgy for the church on the basis of the Nürnberg agenda of Veit Dietrich which had been published in 1543 under the title: *Agend Büchlein für die Pfar-Herren auff dem Land (Agenda Booklet for Parish Pastors in the Countryside*). It was printed in 1546 at Frankfurt (Main) by Hermann Gülfferich. It was this order which would regulate liturgical life in Henneberg. Otherwise church life was regulated according to the Brandenburg-Nürnberg church order of 1533.¹⁰⁷²

The 1543 agenda of Veit Dietrich directed that on Sundays and feast days in the countryside parishes with schools, while the pastor came to the altar for his preparatory prayers, the schoolchildren were to sing the introit from the Scriptures in Latin or a German psalm according to the common usage. The *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, and *Et in terra* then followed in Latin and in German. Then the pastor turned to the

¹⁰⁶⁹ Extract, Oder Verzeichnuß 1621.

people and sang the Salutation to which the choir responded Amen. One or more collects followed in German. Then a chapter from an epistle was read and after it the students might sing an alleluia and Gradual or a German psalm. This was followed by a chapter from the gospel or the Acts of the Apostles. The Creed was then to be sung by the students in Latin if that was the custom or the people could sing it in German. In smaller places after the epistle, two or three students were to stand in the midst of the altar and sing the Litany in German while the rest of the choir and the people sang the responses. Then "Da pacem" was sung and the collect "Da pacem" was prayed. If the gospel was to be the text of the sermon, it was read from the pulpit, and at this place it should be replaced by a text concerning Christian faith, such as the Ten Commandants, the Creed, the Our Father, the institution of Baptism, the Office of the Keys, or the Lord's Supper. Then the Creed was said in Latin or German. Ordinarily the sermon was to come next. When there were communicants, the pastor was to speak and admonish the people following the sermon, and then he was to sing the Words of Institution, and after that the Sanctus would be sung in Latin or German and then the Our Father in German. After the Pax Domini, the communicants were to receive the Sacrament with the words: "Take and eat, this is the body of Christ, given for you," "Take and drink, this is the blood of the New Testament, shed for your sins." During communion, the hymn, "Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior," and other hymns were to be sung. After communion, the prayer of thanksgiving should be prayed in German and following it, "Benedicamus Domino," and its response, "Deo Gratias." Finally, the pastor was to bless the people with one of four benedictions, the first of which was the Aaronic Benediction. The agenda also included a form of admonition to intercessory prayer, together with the so-called "Christian articles," which could be read in the place of the gospel. Also included were the Litany and instructions for Matins during the week and Vespers on Sundays or festival days. 1073

Veit Dietrich prepared this service for use in rural parishes with a population largely uneducated. He tried to make the service simple, yet dignified and complete. It is likely that Count Georg Ernst was initially attracted to this service because of its simplicity, but in the course of time, he came to regard even its simple directives as something far too dated and ceremonial. He wanted an agenda which stripped of all outward pomp and ceremonies and in a statement, issued on August 1, 1556, he declared that he wished to move ahead with all haste. Superintendent Christoph Fischer and pastors, Mauricius Carolus and Basilius Unger von Freitag, announced to him that work was already on the way, but that they had not yet received the reports from the clergy to whom the work had been submitted. The document to which they were referring is no longer

extant and its contents are not clear. However, it seems likely that the work was based upon the church order of Veit Dietrich.

It appears that the count was not pleased with what had been prepared and decided to write his own agenda, as he indicated in his letter to Maximilian Mörlin in Coburg on January 6, 1558. Finally, he informed Superintendent Fisher and others that they would be asked to give advice concerning the church order at a synod to be held in Schmalkald on June 5, 1560. He himself did not attend this meeting but sent his brother Poppo XII. Again, the count was not pleased with the outcome of the meeting in Schmalkald. He rejected the draft, based on his general displeasure with religious ceremonial. He wanted a liturgy as free as possible from external signs and ceremonies as he indicated to his brother.¹⁰⁷⁴

The theologians who had been assigned the task of preparing the agenda now decided that they needed to set down in writing their opinion concerning the prince's dislike for ceremony and its possible ramifications. They stated in their letter, addressed to him on July 4, 1560, that this matter was important enough that it should be brought before the entire church in a synod where all could express their opinions. They also shared their thoughts about what the agenda ought to include. Along with the letter, they sent their draft agenda. Among those signing the draft were Superintendent Fisher, Pastors Mauricius Carolus, Basilius Unger, Hieronymus Pfnorus, Martinus Keyser (Caesar), Hieronymus Steiger, Wilhelm Usleuber, and Wolfgang Prasius.¹⁰⁷⁵

The count was not pleased with the agenda proposed by his clergy. He wanted to ruthlessly root out the "last vestiges of Papacy." He wanted Vespers to be eliminated, along with the singing of the Words of Institution "since Christ did not sing them." The exorcism and the surplice must also be eliminated, and the ceremonies and the service itself must be simplified. Altars must be moved so that the pastor never had his back to the people. All "pagan" and "papist" images must be destroyed and only Biblical images allowed. Furthermore, he stated that it was clear to him that Superintendent Fisher intended to thwart his plans.

In 1562, the count inaugurated a general visitation to determine what, where, when, why, and how divine services were being conducted in the parish churches in his realm. This was disguised under seemingly innocuous questions about the preaching of the pastors on Sundays and during the week. By preaching, he meant the conduct of divine services. It was his intention that this visitation should supply him with a vast reservoir of information about his clergy and their parishes and their worship practices. Some pastors appear to have failed to provide him with the details he wanted, and so in 1566 he ordered that every pastor should

provide him with an accurate description of his divine services, along with an accurate description of all ceremonies used. 1076

The results of the survey showed that, although the work of Veit Dietrich had provided the liturgical foundation upon which the parishes had built, each parish had built differently. Some pastors still continued to make use of provisions from Veit Dietrich's 1543 order which had been introduced in the general visitation of 1546. Others thought Dietrich's provisions to be inadequate and had supplemented them. The general structure of the Mass was still discernable in most places whether the services themselves were elaborate or impoverished. The services in all churches almost invariably included a hymn, psalm, Kyrie, Gloria, collect, usually preceded by the Salutation, an epistle or Old Testament reading or both, a second psalm, a second reading from Scriptures or one of the six chief parts as in Veit Dietrich, Creed, hymn, gospel, sermon, intercessions, admonition to communicants, Our Father, Verba, or vice versa as in Dietrich, communion hymns, prayer of thanksgiving, and benediction. In most places, the service was entirely in the vernacular, although here and there pastors might leave some elements in Latin, especially if they had a school. Few of the pastors retained the introit. The Preface had almost entirely disappeared, excepting only in the parish at Suhl, where it was sung in German from the agenda. The agenda referred to could not be that of Veit Dietrich because it had no Prefaces. The service at Suhl was richer than ordinary: "Come, Holy Ghost, God and Lord" in German - Introit in Latin - Kyrie in German - Gloria and Et in terra in Latin - Salutation and collect in German - Epistle according to the common order - Psalm or other hymn congenial to the gospel theme - Gospel from the common order - German Creed - "We Now Implore God the Holy Ghost" or seasonal hymn - Sermon and prayers - "Lord, Keep Us Steadfast in Thy Word" or seasonal hymn - Preface in German - Our Father - Verba - Communion and communion hymns, including "O Christ, Thou Lamb of God" - Salutation - Postcommunion collect - Benedicamus - Aaronic Benediction. Dietrich's directives that the schoolchildren might sing the alleluia and Gradual after the epistle seem not to have been followed. Replacing it was the practice of singing by a German psalm or hymn. No parishes seem to have taken advantage of permission to include the Patrem in Latin. In a few places, the Creed replaced the psalm between readings. At Queienfeld, the Divine Service appeared to have almost completely disappeared. In place of it was a barebones service: Psalm or hymn - New Testament reading -Psalm - Second half of the chapter, began earlier - Creedal hymn - Gospel - Sermon - Hymn - Verba - Communion hymns - Collect - Benediction - Hymn, "Lord, Keep Us Steadfast in Thy Word."1077

The superintendent and Count Georg Ernst doubtless reviewed these results from different perspectives. Superintendent Fisher would have seen the need for pastors to be encouraged to use the church's approved liturgy without innovating. The count would have viewed the matter very differently. He would have seen here a need to strip these services of all outward pomp and ceremonies, useless chanting, and other ecclesiastical inventions of which "Christ and his apostles had known nothing." He would have seen the need to call the church back to "apostolic simplicity."

It was on his own initiative that the count decided to move ahead with the preparation of an agenda which would suit his particular notions of a truly "evangelical service," freed from "papal rot" and inappropriate ostentation. Of contemporary agendas, he decided that it was those of Württemberg and Hesse that best suited his purposes. Although both followed the traditional pattern, they lacked the elaborate directives which were characteristic of the Brandenburg and Saxon agendas. In the course of time, he came to regard the Württemberg rite as best of all, but he was determined to create a rite for Henneberg which would be unique. In a letter to his brother Poppo, dated March 1, 1568, he indicated that he already had his project and his parameters clearly in mind. However, it was not until 1578 that he was ready to present his agenda for examination. 1078

The first examination copy was sent to the Wittenberg faculty. It issued its opinion on April 25, 1579. It saw the need for improvement in several areas. The faculty opinion, which appeared under the signatures of Polycarp Leiser, Johannes Bugenhagius, Johannes Schutz, Martinus Henricus, and Jakob Andreae, ventured the opinion that he should have stayed a bit closer to Luther in his baptismal rite. They found his article on confession and absolution capable of misunderstanding. The formula for the Communion of the sick should be made stronger. The distribution formula, "The body of Jesus Christ, given for your sins, strengthen you in the true faith to live everlasting," ought better state: "Take and eat, this is the very body of Jesus Christ given for your sins, strengthen and preserve you in the true and steadfast faith to life everlasting," giving greater attention to the Sacrament as *viaticum*. They stated also that in the daily services more attention should be given to prayers for special needs. 1079

Other critics were not as gentle, particularly since the count wanted to eliminate unessential ceremonial but still conveyed important aspects of the blessings of the gospel and the sacraments. The Wittenbergers had failed to mention that the count had stricken from his baptismal order any references to the exorcism and nowhere in the entire agenda was any mention made in any service of the sign of the cross. Peter Streck, pastor of Suhl and member of the consistory, along

with Dr. Johann Streitberger and other critics in Mark-Brandenburg, Dresden, and superintendent of Bischofswerda, were outspoken in their criticism. ¹⁰⁸⁰

The count now turned to his own pastors assembled in synod. His church order was read to the assembly and they were asked to give their written opinions. The opinions were then gathered, mostly in May 1580. More than half the pastors approved of the new agenda but others asked for corrections. It is unclear to what extent improvements or changes were made as a result of this, but the count decided to hold a second synod to present the work again and once more to ask for opinions. This time the pastors requested still more changes, leading the count to realize that he was not going to be able to satisfy everyone. The majority of the assembled clergy subscribed to the new liturgy.

On August 30, 1580, Georg Ernst issued a circular which took a defensive tone, doubtless because of the accusations which had been leveled against him by Pastor Streck and others. Georg Ernst defended himself by stating that the "idolatry and other errors of the papacy" had been zealously rooted out and that the "pure doctrine of the Word of God" alone had been planted, free from the influence of the mobs and sects of the Zwinglians and other false teachers. Furthermore, the Sacrament-denying errors of the Calvinists had been carefully avoided. Indeed, his church was free of the errors of these false reformers and their sects and held only to the Word of God, the three chief symbols of the church, and the true *Augsburg Confession* of 1530, together with its *Apology*, the *Smalcald Articles*, and the *Large* and *Small Catechisms* of Luther. What was not tolerated was empty ceremony and empty ceremonial displays.¹⁰⁸¹

Superintendent Streck took exception to this defense, stating that this agenda had been the work of a single man who was a layman and had no authority to produce such a work. He stated that an agenda must be properly prepared and approved in an orderly manner. On December 18, 1580, he published a 134-page document to support his position.

On February 5, 1582, a colloquium was held between Superintendent Peter Streck, Caspar Scherdinger, Thomas Schaller, and other eminent and notable men. Attempts to reach agreement were in vain. Streck's criticism was thought to go beyond a critique of the agenda and was seen *as ad hominum* attack against the count. Streck declared that Georg Ernst was influenced by Calvinism. The count responded in writing that ceremonies were not as important as pure doctrine, that he was a Lutheran, and that he was not and never had been a Calvinist. ¹⁰⁸² For his part, the count had never been a Crypto-Calvinist. It was he who warned Elector Augustus of Saxony in 1574 that theologians in his realm had been concealing from him their true Calvinist spirit but had openly declared their views

after the 1574 *Exegesis perspicua* by Joachim Curaeus was published. He, along with many private individuals and theologians, revealed to Augustus that the Wittenbergers had been misleading him, and that they and the theologians of Leipzig were in fact Crypto-Calvinists.¹⁰⁸³

Now Georg Ernst turned to Elector Augustus of Saxony to ask for the opinion of his genuine Lutheran theologians. The opinion of the High Consistory in Saxony came on May 25, 1582, and a personal letter from the elector arrived two days later, on May 27.

At this point, the count decided to make a more thorough revision, using as his touchstone the Württemberg agenda. He also took into consideration some opinions offered by Lucas Osiander and Jakob Andreae, dated June 7, 1581, which stated that, unfortunately, this order was too original and departed far from the church orders of Brandenburg, Nürnberg, Saxony, Württemberg, Mecklenburg, and other places. The opinion also noted that, of course, ceremonies were not of the essence and it was not absolutely necessary that there be an exorcism in Baptism. It also observed that the emergency Baptism formula was too long, that the



Title page of the 1582 Henneberg-Schleusingen agenda.

section on private confession was subject to misunderstanding, and that the special section of the marriage services for the nobility ought to be dropped.¹⁰⁸⁴

Finally, in 1582, in Schmalkalden the work went to the presses, and on April 8 it was for the first time introduced in Henneberg-Schleusingen. The title page read: Des Durchlauchtigen Hochgebornen Fürsten vnd Herrn, Herrn Georg Ernsten, Grauen vnd Herrn zu Hennenberg, etc. Kirchen Ordnung, wie es in S.F.G. Fürstlicher Graff vnd Herrschafft, beide mit Lehr vnd Ceremonien, Christlich, vnd Gottes wort ebenmessig, gehalten werden soll (Church Order, as It Should Be Observed together with Christian Doctrine and Ceremonies in Conformity with the Word of God in the Princely County and Lordship of the Most Serene, Highborn Prince and Lord, Sir Georg Ernst, Count and Lord of Henneberg, etc.)

The preface, which was signed by Georg Ernst, was followed by an article on the ministerial work of the clergy, parish pastors, and chaplains. Then followed an article on appropriate solemn and churchly ceremonies used in the divine services and especially preaching and the proper administration of the Most Holy and Venerable Sacrament of the Altar. 1085 This was followed by an article on Holy Baptism and the proper performance of this rite, along with a special article giving attention to the use of the ceremony of exorcism in the baptismal Service. Then came an article on emergency Baptism, an article on confession, and Vespers on the eve of Sundays and high feasts, together with the proper form of the absolution. Included also was an article on the proper administration and performance of the Sacrament of the Altar, including a form for the prayer of the church and the ordinary of the Communion service which included the admonition to communicants, the Verba, etc. Then followed an article on the midday service as it was to be held on the four chief feasts and on Sundays, together with the form for the general prayer to be used at this midday service. This was followed by an article on weekday services and the early service, together with the form of the general prayer to be used on these occasions. Then came an article on the festal days to be observed in parish churches annually and an article on the division of the text of the passion of Christ into six parts for preaching. Included also were forms for marriage, the visitation and comforting of the sick, the visitation and instruction of prisoners, the preparation of prisoners under sentence of death, and the order for Christian burial. Also included were collects to be used in the divine services according to the church season, an article on calls, ordination, and installation of clergy, and a concluding word.

In fact, ceremonies were such a matter of great concern to Georg Ernst that he included a special section, entitled, "Concerning Ceremonies," in which he inveighed against them as appealing to the ignorance and wanton desires of simple folk for outward display of pomp and ceremony. It was reminiscent of the papacy and drew attention away from the preaching of the divine word and the administration of the Holy Sacrament as had been done in the "days of the papacy" when it led "Christian churches and Christian religion into great darkness." Ceremonies, he stated emphatically, should be few and far between and the church's agenda should not be burdened with them. 1086

According to the terms of the new church order, the evening service before Communion was to be given over to confession and absolution. A sort of service was offered in the agenda in that it informed the clergy that on Saturday evening or the evening before the high feasts, at 3 p.m. a service should be held which consisted in a psalm, a well-known German hymn, a reading and its *summa* from

Veit Dietrich, a portion of the catechism to be used the following day for the examination, an admonition, the hymn, "Grant Peace, We Pray, in Mercy, Lord," or "Lord, Keep Us Steadfast in Thy Word," together with a collect, followed by confession and absolution. In affiliated congregations under the same pastor, a time for confession would need to be arranged.

On the day of Communion, the bell was to be rung three times and the people were to gather in the church, the men on the one side and the women on the other, seated in an orderly manner. After a motet or other piece of appropriate figured music, a German hymn or psalm suitable for the season should be sung. In villages where lacking a cantor or schoolchildren, the schoolmaster or pastor shall lead in the singing of a German psalm. This was to be followed by the designated epistle and a short summary, after which the cantor should lead the congregation in the creedal hymn, "We All Believe in One True God." Then the preacher was to go to the pulpit and announce his sermon, beginning with the Our Father and the reading of the text of the gospel. In the sermon, the preacher should explain the text "after the manner of Luther." Then an offering should be taken for the poor and the pastor should offer prayer for all sorts of conditions in the church. A form for this general prayer was provided. The prayer closed with intercessions as announced and the votum from Philippians 4:7 (Germ. Friedenswunsch). Then, while the cantor or others sang, the minister prepared the altar for Communion. He was then to read the admonition from Luther, that is, the second part of the paraphrase. After it, he was to pray the Our Father and speak the Words of Institution over the bread and cup while holding each in turn in his hand. Then he was to commune the people, saying: "Take and eat, this is the body of Jesus Christ which is given for you," and "Take and drink, this is the blood of Jesus Christ, shed for your sins." The Wittenberg suggestion that the adjective "very" be added, was disregarded. During the communion, the people were to sing, "Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior," "O Lord, We Praise Thee," "Isaiah, Mighty Seer," and other hymns. After all had communed, the minister was to say: "O Give thanks to the Lord, for he is good. Let us pray." Then followed Luther's post-communion collect and the blessing of the people with the Aaronic Benediction or the Pax Domini, "The peace of the Lord be with you all. Amen." A service and sermon were also provided for the noon hour on Sundays and for the four chief feasts. This contained some elements of the old Vespers, such as the old seasonal hymns and the Magnificat. Provision was also made for sermons to be preached during the week, but no provision was made for Sunday Matins. 1087

Some features of the Henneberg-Schleusingen church order were somewhat reminiscent of the Württemberg agenda which had been prepared by Johannes

Brenz, although this liturgy provided for manual acts in addition to the recitation of the *Verba*, whereas the Württemberg 1533 order had only the simple recitation of the *Verba*. Not much was left of the *Missa catechumenorum*. The *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, collect, alleluia, sequence, and Gradual had all disappeared, along with the use of Latin titles. Baptism was now missing the exorcism and the consignation of the candidate. Indeed, the sign of the cross was nowhere to be found in the agenda. Also missing was the laying-on-of-hands at the Our Father and the *votum Davidicum*, "The Lord bless your going out and your coming in." Also the third day of the high festivals had been dropped and no musical notations were included in the book, an unusual omission. As was the case with the Württemberg agenda, it must be said also of the Henneberg-Schleusingen book that not much was left of the traditional liturgy and ceremonial.

The Henneberg-Schleusingen agenda was republished in 1713 under much the same title: Des Durchlauchtigen, Hochgebohrnen Fürsten und Herrn, Herrn Georg Ernsten, Grafen und Herrn zu Hennenberg, etc. Kirchen-Ordnung, Wie es in S.F.G. Fürstlicher Graf- und Herrschafft, beyde mit Lehr und Ceremonien, Christlich, und GOttes Wort ebenmäßig, gehalten werden soll (Church Order, as It Should Be Observed together with Christian Doctrine and Ceremonies in Conformity with the Word of God in the Princely County and Lordship of the Most Serene, Highborn Prince and Lord, Sir Georg Ernst, Count and Lord of Henneberg, etc.) The book was published by the printing house of Georg Wilhelm Göbel in Schleusingen in an edition which included also the 1579 opinion of the Wittenberg faculty to which Count Georg Ernst had paid so little attention.



Title page of the 1713 Henneberg-Schleusingen agenda.

Not many changes had been made from the earlier edition, although a new form for the administration of Holy Baptism for children born outside of wedlock or before the solemnization of marriage of the parents was included, along with a reworked admonition to the godparents of children born under these circumstances. Also included were five

short extracts from the count's mandates concerning marriage, and a form for the marriage of those who had anticipated the benefits of matrimony before the ceremony had been performed, including the form of the absolution to be used in such cases, and a formula to be read to the congregation concerning the couple which had now been absolved and properly wed. Also included was the mandate of Duke Moritz Wilhelm of Saxe-Zeitz, dated May 17, 1704, concerning the proper punishment of harlots. This was followed by an order to use this service in cases when an offender had repented of this sin but had now fallen back into her sinful ways. Appearing now for the first time was a form for the investiture or installation of a pastor. Also included was the July 30, 1709 mandate of Moritz Wilhelm concerning those who were no longer attending divine services regularly, together with an earnest but gracious admonition addressed to them. The section on prayers was entitled: "Church Prayers to Be Used on Sundays and feast days, at Weekday services, in Vespers, and also on Other Occasions." It included also the general confession and absolution under the title: "General Prayer." Other prayers and the Litany were also included, as well as the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, the history of the passion of Christ, along with the history of the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple. Last of all were several empty staffs into which the pastor might insert musical notations for the "Gloria in Excelsis" for different seasons of the church year. 1089

Count Georg Ernst died childless in 1583. In a treaty of inheritance, signed in 1554, it had been agreed that upon his death Henneberg-Schleusingen would go to the Saxon Ernestine line. However, now the Albertine line decided to make claims to these territories. The result was that both the Ernestine and Albertine lines shared the rule of the Henneberg until 1660 when Henneberg-Schleusingen was divided between the Ernestine duchies of Saxe-Weimar and Saxe-Gotha and the Albertine Duchy of Saxe-Zeitz which had been created according to the provisions of the will of Elector Johann Georg in 1652. In 1657, Moritz became the duke of Saxe-Zeitz and he was succeeded in 1681 by Moritz Wilhelm. After his death in 1718, the land reverted to Electoral Saxony and the duchy ceased to exist. According to the terms of the Congress of Vienna, this territory, together with a large portion of the of Saxony, was given to Prussia, making the history of Henneberg a part of the history of Prussia. 1090

8.6 The Duke Heinrich Saxon Agenda in the Duchy of Querfurt and the Region of Quedlinburg

A number of other small territories came to be joined to Prussia in the course of time. Each of them had their own impendent church administrations.

The Duchy of Querfurt was ceded to Prussia in 1746 when the Saxe-Weissenfels line produced no heirs. The church in that duchy was administered by a local consistory, but in general, the 1580 church order of Electoral Saxony was in force. ¹⁰⁹¹

Another such region was Quedlinburg which consisted of the town, the Quedlinburg Abbey, and surrounding territories. The Reformation was introduced in the town in 1521 and was firmly established by 1539. The ruling family issued its own church order in 1540. It stated that in accordance with *Augsburg Confession*, the gospel was to be preached purely and the Venerable Sacrament was to be administered according to Christ's institution and ordered that all other Christian services and ceremonies were to be administered according to it. The usual feast days and other festal occasions were to be observed as indicated in the Saxon agenda of Duke Heinrich. Additional church orders were published in 1565, 1602, 1614, 1627, 1672, and 1674. None of them included directives or provisions concerning the divine services or ministrations since the Saxon agenda covered these matters. Elector Friedrich Augustus I of Saxony sold his Quedlinburg rights to Elector Friedrich III of Brandenburg in 1697 and the duchy came under Brandenburg rule. The Abbey which continued to assert its independence was secularized in 1802 and in 1803 the entire territory came under Prussian control. 1092

8.7 The Agenda of Duke Heinrich in Nordhausen and Mühlhausen

The cities of Nordhausen and Mühlhausen came under Prussian control as a result of the 1802 military campaign. Both had been free imperial cities. They were taken by the French in 1806 and after the war were given again to Prussia to be made a part of the Prussian province of Saxony.

The Reformation came to these towns in 1522 and 1523. They were early centers of Anabaptist activity, but Lutheranism eventually came to be established as the religion of both cities and their environs.

Nordhausen made Duke Heinrich's 1540 Saxon agenda its worship standard, but the date of its acceptance is not known. In 1556, the city council deposed

two pastors for eliminating the elevation, an act not included in Duke Heinrich's agenda. Acting on an opinion sent by Melanchthon, the clergy of the city petitioned for their reinstatement and it was granted, but the city council stated emphatically that in the future neither rectors nor ministers were to make any changes in ceremony without the prior knowledge of the council.

Nordhausen was one of the very few Lutheran regions in which provisions were issued concerning the discipline of fasting, probably in connection with the Interim. A law concerning fasting, that is, the prohibition of the consumption of meat within a police order was issued in Nordhausen in 1549.¹⁰⁹³ This order did not expressly prohibit the eating of meat but said instead:

"We want everyone also to refrain from eating meat two times a week during Lent, Fridays and Saturdays, except for old, sick people, hard laborers, young children, women who just gave birth, or people permitted by doctor's order, yet no one should seek in this any wantonness or abuse." 1094

In the seventeenth century, Duke Heinrich's agenda was made a part of the Leipzig *Vollständiges Kirchen-Buch* (*Complete Church Book*), published first in 1668 and reprinted in 1681, 1692, 1697, 1707, 1718, 1731, 1743, 1748, and 1771. The *Complete Church Book* thus became the standard for use in Nordhausen.



Title page of the 1647 Saxe-Gotha agenda.

There is some evidence that some parishes also made use of the 1647 Saxe-Gotha agenda. This agenda, which was the descendant of the Coburg 1626 agenda, was published by Johann Michael Schall as Kirchen-Agenda, Das ist Ordnung, Wie es von Pfarrern und Seel-Sorgern, beym oeffentlichen Gottes-Dienst, und sonsten, gehalten werden sol; Fuer die Kirchen im Fuerstenthumb Gotha (Church Agenda, that Is, the Order, as It Should Be Observed by Parish Pastors and Chaplains in Public Divine Services and Otherwise; for the Churches of the Principality of Gotha). 1095

It was not until the death of Duke Georg of Saxony that the Reformation could be introduced into Mühlhausen and its vicinity in an orderly fashion. Visitations in 1541 and 1542 established Reformation doctrine

and ceremonies in the villages surrounding the city and it was on the basis of these visitations that the new church order was formulated. The 1541 order obligated pastors to preach the gospel and administer the sacraments in accordance with the Augsburg Confession and to regulate their ceremonial activities according to that standard. The 1542 addition dealt primarily with spiritual conditions and activities in the villages. Neither document gave specific instructions concerning the Mass or agenda or their ceremonies. The visitation in the city of Mühlhausen was held in September 1542 and a church order was prepared to facilitate it. It stated specifically that pastors were to teach proper and true Christian doctrine according to the holy evangelists, prophets, and apostles, and that they were to administer the holy venerable sacraments as Christ had instituted them, and to observe other ceremonies in a manner conforming to the gospel. It drew particular attention to the divine services, sermons, the administration of the sacraments, and other ceremonies or practices in the churches of the Blessed Virgin and St. Blasii (Saint Blaise). Concerning the form of the Mass and daily office and their ceremonies or what agenda was used, no instructions were provided. The first mention of specific agendas in Mühlhausen is found in an article addressed to the clergy by the pastors of Leipzig. Written in response to a request for additional clergy, Artikel der Leipziger Prädikanten (The Article of the Leipzig Preachers) of 1557, speaks specifically of the agenda in use in Saxony, i. e., the agenda of Duke Heinrich. Concerning marriage services it mentions also the Wittenberg and Leipzig church orders. 1096

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, Pietism was already intruding itself into worship life in Mühlhausen. Johann Sebastian Bach, who was organist at St. Blaze church, resigned his position on June 25, 1708, because Pietism was becoming more and more intrusive and was causing confusion in the congregation. He regretted that in Mühlhausen he would not be able to pursue his stated goal of establishing regulated church music to the glory of God. He subsequently went to Weimar and from there to Leipzig where he was finally able to achieve his goal. 1097

The clergy in Mühlhausen found the views of Georg Friedrich Seiler congenial¹⁰⁹⁸ and laid Duke Heinrich's agenda on the sacristy shelf and replaced on the altar with the newer "improved" and enlightened services provided by Seiler in his *Allgemeine Sammlung* of 1787.¹⁰⁹⁹ Subsequently, the clergy went beyond Seiler himself by creating their own improved liturgical forms and by rewriting old hymns, and encouraging the congregations to add new hymns which reflected the spirit of the age. A report of these efforts appeared in volume I of Henke's *Annals of Religion*, published in 1802.¹¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁹⁶ Jacobson 1866, 62; Sehling I/2 1904, 384, 394; Graff I 1994, 29.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Stiller 1984, 180-181.

⁸ Pagananiillan 1700, 122, Panarnaki 1700, **25**, Litungiaakaa Januari VII 1907, 417, Cuaff II 1004, 6

8.8 Duke Heinrich's Agenda in the City of Erfurt

Erfurt came under Prussian control in 1802 as a result of the wars between Prussia and the forces of Napoleon. It had been under the domination of the Electorate of Mainz since 1664 when its largely autonomous existence came to an end. In 1806, the armies of Napoleon captured the city and held it until 1814. The



A miniature representing the "sacramental mill" in the Gradual-book from the Ursuline Monastery (*Augustiner-Chorfrauenstift*) in Erfurt, first half of the fourteenth century. The "host mill" is a widespread allegorical representation of the corporeal presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar. The grain is equated with the Word of God, which in the "sacramental mill" is converted into the host which is the body of Christ (*Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Cod. St. Peter perg.* 44, fol. 9r).

Congress of Vienna made Erfurt a part of the Prussian Province of Saxony.

The Reformation began in Erfurt as early as 1521, not least because of Luther's personal association with the University of Erfurt. A unique evidence of early attempts to reform the Mass is seen in the Mass prepared by Johann Lang for use at Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, and Trinity Sunday. It appeared in 1525 but never came into public use. Some students of liturgy have claimed that Lang was too much influenced by the Mass which had been prepared earlier by Thomas Müntzer, but others have disputed this claim. Lang's Mass can be described as traditional. It maintained the structure of the medieval Mass but left nothing of the Offertory, excepting the "offertory verse," and eliminated the Roman Canon, substituting instead with the recital of the Words of Christ, modeled after the form found in the medieval Mass, rather than the Institution as found in Matthew, Mark, Luke, and Paul. It appears that he sent a copy of his work or at least a description of it to Luther. 1101

The 1557 visitation articles for the city of Erfurt indicate that liturgical ceremonies were to conform to the pattern found in the agenda and hymnals of the churches in that region. The agenda is not fur-

ther specified, but that of Duke Heinrich's best fits the description provided. Also extant is the *Formula of Pacification* (Lat. *Formula pacificationis*) of 1580 which was meant to settle disputes between the clergy of the city. In it, no agenda is mentioned by name, but secondary sources point to the agenda of Duke Heinrich as normative. ¹¹⁰²

No Rationalist agendas for the church in Erfurt were printed, but in 1796 a book of prayers appeared under the title: Gebete für den öffentlichen Gottesdienst sowohl, als für die häusliche Andacht, gesammelt auf Befehl eines Hochedlen und Hochweisen Stadtraths Evangelischen Theils zu Erfurt (Prayers for Public Divine Service and also for Household Devotions, Gathered by Order of a Very Noble and Prudent Evangelical Division of the City Council of Erfurt). It was reprinted in 1797, 1800, and 1830.¹¹⁰³

8.9 Liturgical Rites in the County of Stolberg and Other Domains

The counties of Stolberg-Wernigerode and Stolberg-Stolberg-Rossla came into Prussia as a result of the decisions of the Congress of Vienna. These Saxon counties had been administered by their own consistories. In 1592, the draft of a church order was produced, but it was never published, and as a result, nothing is known of the church orders in use in either of these counties. These territories did not produce their own unique liturgies. The testimony concerning the weekly schedule of services in Stolberg dates from 1703. The document does not deal with the Sunday Mass itself but with weekday services, times for confession and absolution, preaching, and its proper sources during the various parts of the church year. It is noteworthy that not only the Old and New Testaments are included as the preaching texts but also the Apocrypha is to be explained to the worshipers. 1105

A few other small duchies or domains claimed their own administrations. Among them were the region of Eichsfeld and the domains of Treffurt and Dorla. Little is known of the liturgy used in Eichsfeld. Treffurt, which is northwest of Eisenach, and Dorla in Hesse used the Saxon agenda of Duke Heinrich or the Thuringian church orders which were derived from the Saxe-Coburg agenda of 1626. 1106

¹¹⁰² Sehling I/2 1904, 362-366; Martens 1896, 132.

¹¹⁰³ Gebete für den öffentlichen Gottesdienst 1800.

⁴ I ... 1 ... 1066 FO FO C. 11 ... 1/2 1004 240 C... (11004 20

8.10 Non-Saxonian Agendas in Saxony

Many of the agendas mentioned above were territorial, that is, they were prepared and authorized for use in particular territories. Some smaller domains preferred not to prepare their own liturgical materials but rather to adopt the more widely used agendas of larger churches. Among these agendas were Duke Heinrich's Saxon agenda, the Saxe-Coburg agenda of 1626 and its lineal descendants, and other agendas, such as that of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel and Schwarzburg.

8.10.1 The Schwarzburg Agenda in the City of Kelbra



Title page of the 1605 Schwarzburg agenda.

In the town of Kelbra near Mansfeld, the agenda of Schwarzburg was used. 1107

In 1553, the County of Schwarzburg with its capital Rudolstadt in Thuringia adopted the Duke Heinrich 1540 agenda¹¹⁰⁸ and continued to use it until 1605 when a local agenda was assembled by Superintendent Johannes Schuccelius and was printed in Erfurt under the title: Manval. Darinnen Tauff- Einsegen- Trawbüchlein, beneben etlichen Gebeten unnd Collecten, bey dem Gottesdienst zugebrauchen, besonders zusammen gedruckt seind (Handbook, Wherein Are the Services of Baptism, Blessing [of an Emergency Baptism], Marriage, Together with Various Prayers and Collects for Use in Divine Service, Now Especially Printed Together). 1109 A complete edition of the Schwarzburg agenda appeared in 1650 under the title: Agenda Schwartzburgica, das ist Verzeichnuß der Ceremonien, wie solche in ihren Kirchen wollen gehalten

haben die hochwolgebornen Graffen und Herren, H. Christian Günther, H. Antonius Günther, und H. Ludwig Günther, Gebrüder, der vier Graffen des Reichs, Graffen zu Schwarzburg und Honstein, Herren zu Arnstadt, Sondershausen, Leutenberg, Lora und

Klettenbergk (Schwarzburg Agenda, that Is, the Listing of Ceremonies as They Are Observed in the Churches of the High Well-Born Counts and Lords, Sir Christian Günther, Sir Antonius Günther, and Sir Ludowig Günther, Brothers, Four Imperial Counts, Counts of Schwarzburg and Honstein, Lords at Arnstadt, Sondershausen, Leutenberg, Lora, and Klettenbergk). 1110

Another edition appeared in 1675. It bore the title: Agenda Schwartzburgica Das ist Verzeichniß der Ceremonien, Wie solche Die jetzo regierende Gräfliche Schwartzburgisch und Honsteinische sämptliche Herrschaft Beyder, Der Sondershäusischer und Rudolstätischen Linien, in ihren Kirchen wollen gehalten haben (Schwarzburg Agenda, that Is, the Listing of Ceremonies, as They Are All Observed in the Churches of Both the Presently Reigning Counts of the Sondershäus and Rudolstadt Lines in the Lordships of Schwarzburg and Honstein), printed in Rudolstadt by Kaspar Freyschmidt and Christoph Fleischer.



Title page of the 1675 Schwarzburg agenda.

In accordance with the Schwarzburg agenda, the observance of the Lord's Day at Kelbra began with the confessional Vespers which included two hymns in choral settings or on feast days special figured music. Between the two hymns, the gospel or a penitential psalm or the questions concerning the Lord's Supper might be rehearsed. A collect and an admonition to the penitents and other ceremonial acts followed.

On Sunday morning, the Divine Service began with the verse, "Come Holy Spirit, fill the hearts of your faithful and kindle in them the fire of your love," followed by the collect for the assistance of the Holy Spirit (Pentecost collect) and the versicle, "Create in me a clean heart, O God. Alleluia," with its response, "And put a new and right spirit within me. Alleluia," or a collect for help and guidance might be prayed instead. This was followed by a *Kyrie* according to the season and the seasonal *Gloria* in Latin or German. The collect of the day followed, and after it, the epistle, a German hymn, and the gospel. Then the Nicene Creed was

intoned in Latin, along with a musical setting of the *Patrem*. The sermon was preceded by a seasonal hymn and the Our Father and followed by a general confession, prayer, and intercession for the communicants, together with the usual collect of thanksgiving and the benediction. On the high feasts, the proper Prefaces in German with responses were then sung by the choir. At all Communion services, an admonition to the communicants from Luther's paraphrase followed with the sung Our Father and *Verba* with the sign of the cross made over the elements. The distribution formula was: "Take and eat, this is the very body of your Lord Jesus Christ, given into death for your sins. May this strengthen and preserve you in true faith to life everlasting [+] Amen!" "Take and drink, this is the very blood of your Lord Jesus Christ, shed for your sins. May this strengthen and preserve you in the true faith to life everlasting [+] Amen!"1111 After communion, Luther's collect of thanksgiving was preceded by the versicle, "O give thanks to the Lord, for he is good," and response, "And his mercy endures forever," or the collect, modified by Luther after the post-communion prayer of Thomas Aquinas, might be used after the versicle, "As often as you eat of this bread and drink of this cup," and response, "You show the Lord's death until he comes." This was followed by the Aaronic Benediction with the sign of the cross. 1112

At Sunday Vespers, the service began with a congregational hymn. This was followed by a psalm or the gospel. Before the sermon, there was a second hymn or figural music. The hymn might be chosen according to the season. After the sermon and prayer, the catechism hymn was sung, followed by the collect and benediction. The service on feast days was made more elaborate by the inclusion of versicles and prayers in Latin.¹¹¹³

8.10.2 The Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel Church Order in the County of Hohenstein

The small County of Hohenstein came under Prussian control in 1802. In 1806, it, together with many other Prussian territories, came to be annexed to the new Kingdom of Westphalia as a result of Napoleon's victorious campaign. At the Congress of Vienna, the Prussians regained control of Hohenstein. Rites from both the Saxon and Braunschweig agendas could be found in the churches of Hohenstein. The "Braunschweig agenda" was, in fact, the Braunschweig-Lüneburg-Calenberg agenda of 1739. The small state of the Braunschweig agenda" was, in fact, the Braunschweig-Lüneburg-Calenberg agenda of 1739.

¹¹¹¹ The distribution formula at the sickbed includes the sign of the cross.

¹¹¹² Agenda 1675, 1-5, 43, 102-120.

^{113 4 1 4 675 4 0}

Count Ernst V of Hohenstein remained in communion with Rome until his death in 1552. According to the report of the Saxon visitors in 1542, there were at that time only two churches in the county that were not in communion with Rome. Ernst VI, together with his brothers Eberwein and Volkmar, met with the nobility and pastors on March 27, 1556, in a special synod which concluded that henceforth churches in the region would confess the *Augsburg Confession*. Ernst VII called a synod in Walkenried in 1583 at which the consistory was established. He died in 1593 bringing an end to his line. Upon his death, the counts of Stolberg and Schwarzburg both claimed jurisdiction, but Heinrich Julius of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel was successful in taking control of the region, establishing a connection which would be both political and ecclesiastical.¹¹¹⁶

It appears that the church order of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel had already been introduced in Hohenstein parishes in earlier years of the Reformation and was used along with the Duke Heinrich agenda to regulate church life. The Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel church order was prepared by Martin Chemnitz and Jakob Andreae and printed in Wolfenbüttel in 1569 under the title: Kirchenordnung Vnnser, von Gottes Genaden, Julij Hertzogen zu Braunschweig vnd Lueneburg, etc. Wie es mit Lehr vnd Ceremonien vnsers Fuerstenthumbs Braunschweig, Wulffenbuetlischen Theils, Auch derselben Kirchen anhangenden sachen vnd verrichtungen, hinfurt, (vermittelst Göttlicher Gnaden) gehalten werden sol (Church Order of Julius, by the Grace of God Our Duke of Braunschweig and Lüneburg, etc., How Doctrine and Ceremonies, as well as Ecclesiastical Matters and



Title page of the 1569 Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel church order.

Duties Shall (by the Grace of God) Be Observed Henceforth in the Wolfenbüttelian Part of Our Principality of Braunschweig). The agenda¹¹¹⁷ comprised the second part of the work and was in large measure taken from the Braunschweig-Lüneburg church

order of 1564.¹¹¹⁸ The twenty-five collects included in the book were taken from the 1555 edition of the agenda of Duke Heinrich.¹¹¹⁹

According to the Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel agenda, the first Sunday morning service was called Matins or early sermon. It was to begin at 5 a.m. with schoolchildren singing one, two, or three psalms with antiphons appropriate to the Sunday or feast. Then a schoolboy was to read the Sunday epistle in Latin or German. Then the "Te Deum laudamus" was sung, one Sunday in Latin and the next in German, and so too, the "Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel." Finally, the pastor or deacon was to conclude the service with a collect. Immediately at 6 a.m. the sermon began and lasted for one hour. First, a German psalm was sung from Luther's collection. In cities and places with schools, this early sermon was to deal with the catechism ad seriatum (part by part). After the early sermon, the people were to sing the Ten Commandments or the Our Father. A simpler form with one or two German psalms was to be used when there were no pupils.

The Lord's Day was to begin with Saturday Vespers which began with the schoolchildren singing one, two, or three psalms with the antiphon of the day or feast. Then a schoolboy was to read a lesson from the New Testament or the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Our Father, sometimes in Latin and sometimes in German. This was followed by a responsory or the hymn of the day and the *Magnificat*, sometimes in German and sometimes in Latin. One or more verses of these might be taken by the organ. At the conclusion of the service, the pastor was to pray a collect and sing the "*Benedicamus Domino*." Afterwards, the pastor was to hear the confessions and grant absolution to those intending to commune the following day. If there were many who intended to commune, an opportunity to confess might also be offered on Sunday morning after the early sermon.

Mass was to begin at 7 a.m. The order reminded the clergy that it was the practice that they should wear the traditional Mass vestments – chasuble, alb, and other vestments. It was noted that it had been reported that some clergy had now initiated the strange practice of officiating in their ordinary dress. This was to cease immediately. When there were communicants present, Mass was to be celebrated by the clergy in traditional vestments, calling upon the Son of God before his altar with earnest devotion and using the approved order of service. In every case, the altar was to be properly adorned with appropriate paraments and candles were to be lighted as in other territorial churches.

The service was to begin with the introit of the day, followed by the *Kyrie*, the "Gloria in excelsis Deo," and "Et in terra pax," sometimes in Latin and sometimes in German. Then the Salutation and collect were to be sung in German. The epistle was to be read or sung in German, and after it, a sequence, alleluia, or tract in Latin, sung

by the pupils, or a German psalm from Luther's collection, sung by the congregation. Then the pastor was to sing or read the gospel in German. At its conclusion, the *Patrem* was to be said or sung in Latin or the congregation should sing "We All Believe in One True God" in German. Then a sermon on the gospel of the day, and no more than one hour in length, was to follow. At the conclusion of the sermon, the pastor was to exhort the people to hearty prayer that God would grant his Holy Spirit to make his holy word fruitful and make their hearts steadfast that their lives may be made better and their faith might be comforted and strengthened. Then the Our Father or the singing of "We Now Implore God the Holy Ghost" or the hymn of the feast should follow. After this, the pastor was to lead the people in the following general confession:

"I, a poor sinner, confess to God, my heavenly Father, that I have, alas, sinned grievously and in various ways, not only by outward, gross sins but also much more by inward, innate blindness, unbelief, doubt, despondency, impatience, pride, evil lusts, avarice, secret envy, hatred, and malice; that in many ways by thoughts, gestures, words, and deeds I have transgressed the most holy Commandments of God, as my Lord and God perceives, and I, alas, cannot so fully discern. But I repent and am sorry for them and heartily desire the grace of God, through His beloved Son, Jesus Christ, and I pray that He would impart to me His Holy Spirit for the amendment of my life." 1120

Thereupon immediately followed the absolution and retention – "proclamation of God's earnest wrath upon the impenitents:"

"The Almighty God has had mercy on you and by the merit of the most holy suffering, death, and resurrection of His beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, forgives you all your sins; and I, as an ordained minister of the Christian Church, announce to all who truly repent and who, by faith, place all their trust in the sole merit of Jesus Christ and who intend to conform their lives according to the command and will of God the forgiveness of all your sins, in the name of God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Amen. But to all who are impenitent and unbelieving, I say, on the basis of God's Word and in the name of Jesus Christ, that God has retained their sins and will certainly punish them." 121

Then the prayer of the church was to be prayed and the pastor was to admonish the people to stay until the end of the Divine Service. Then the communicants were to come forward and kneel in the choir. On feast days in city churches, the Preface of the festival was then sung. It was followed by the formula of exhortation addressed to the communicants, the Our Father, and the Words of Institution. No provision was made for the elevation. As the communicants received the Sacrament, a houseling cloth was to be held beneath the paten and chalice to make sure that nothing of the body and blood fell to the floor. The order included the following distribution formula: "Take

and eat, this is the body of Christ, given for you," "Take and drink, this is the blood of the New Testament, shed for your sins." During communion, the congregation was to sing, "Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior," "O Lord, We Praise Thee," the *Sanctus*, *Agnus Dei*, "Isaiah, Mighty Seer," "Lamb of God, Pure and Holy," or other appropriate hymns. Luther's post-communion collect was prayed at the conclusion of communion, and the service concluded with the Aaronic Benediction.

At 1 p.m. on Sunday afternoon, a small bell was to be sounded, calling the school-children to come to a service which included a reading from the catechism, one or two German psalms or a catechism hymn on the Ten Commandments, the Our Father, Baptism ("To Jordan Came the Christ, Our Lord"), etc., so that they, and indeed all present, might learn by singing. Then the pastor or deacon was to question the children concerning their memory work, for they were expected to memorize the *Small Catechism* of Luther word-for-word and to answer questions concerning Luther's explanation. Over a longer period of time the whole catechism should be covered. Then the process was to begin again. If the pastor or deacon was not free to hold this service on Sunday afternoon, it should be done on a weekday.



Title page of the 1657 Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel agenda.

Vespers was to follow at 2 p.m. with the pupils singing one or two Latin psalms in order from the Psalter. Then followed the lection, the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Our Father in German. Following this, a hymn appropriate to the day should be sung, sometimes in German and sometimes in Latin. Then the pastor was to preach on the Sunday epistle or a sermon series on the Pauline corpus or other epistles. After the sermon, the German or Latin Magnificat should be sung and then a collect and the "Benedicamus Domino." In villages and rural congregations, Vespers should be held at 1 p.m. with the singing of one or two psalms in German and the catechesis of the children. Then the pastor should explain the catechism, one part at a time for the older folk. The service was to conclude with the Magnificat or the "Nunc Dimittis" in German and a collect. 1122

At a later date, the so-called "Calenberg agenda" came into use in Hohen-

stein. Because of its use in Calenberg-Göttingen, the 1569 Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel agenda came to be popularly called the "Calenberg agenda." After the death in 1584 of Erich II, Calenberg-Göttingen came under the control of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel. Subsequently, the Gandersheim territorial assembly in 1601 introduced the use of the 1569 church order of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel. This order was reprinted under the same title in 1649 and again in 1651. 1123

In 1657, some modifications were made to the Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel church order in an edition, entitled: Agenda Oder: Erster Teyl der Kirchen-Ordnung, unser von Gottes Gnaden Augusti, Herzogen zu Bruns-Wyk und Lunä-Burg. Wy es mit denen Ceremonien, auch andern nootwendigen Sachen und Verrichtungen in denen Kirchen Unserer Fürstentume Graf-, Herrschaften und Landen zu halten (Agenda or the First Part of the Church Order of Augustus, by the Grace of God Our Duke of Braunschweig-Lüneburg. How Ceremonies and also Other Necessary Matters and Duties, be Observed in the Churches of Our Principalities, Counties, Lordships, and Lands). The 1709 edition was given the title Erneuerte Kirchen-Ordnung Unser Von Gottes Gnaden Anthon Ulrichs Hertzogen zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg (Renewed Church Order of Anthon Ulrich, by the Grace of God Our Duke of Braunschweig and Lüneburg). The edition was printed in two parts. The first part covered doctrine, the second, "Ander Theil oder Agenda," was the agenda. 1124



Title page of the 1709 Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel agenda.

Title page of the 1739 Braunschweig-Lüneburg-Calenberg church order. Calenberg-Göttingen continued the use of the old agenda. It was printed in Göttingen in 1739 under the title: *Braunschweig-Lüneburgische Kirchen-Ordnung Zum Gebrauch der Fürstenthümer, Graff- und Herrschafften Calenbergischen Theils* (*Braunschweig-Lüneburg Church Order for Use in the Principalities, Counties, and Lordships of the Calenberg Part*).¹¹²⁵ It was with this church order that Hohenstein entered the nineteenth century and came into the Prussian Province of Saxony.

9. LITURGICAL TRADITIONS IN THE PROVINCE OF WESTPHALIA

Substantial western territories were added to Prussian holdings as a result of the decisions of the Congress of Vienna. The territories of Cleve, Mark, and Ravensberg were ceded to Brandenburg-Prussia in 1609-1614. In the course of time, adjacent territories were added. All of them were lost to Napoleon in 1807 when he incorporated them into a client state which came to be known as the Kingdom of Westphalia with his brother Jérôme Bonaparte as king. This kingdom comprised mostly of the Electorate of Hesse, the Braunschweig-Lüneburgian ter-



ritories of Hanover and Wolfenbüttel, and the territories ceded by the Kingdom of Prussia in the Peace of Tilsit of 1807. France lost control of this entire region in 1813, and in the Congress of Vienna 1815 the region was divided with parts of it going to Hanover and Oldenburg. Much of the territory, however, came to be incorporated into the Kingdom of Prussia as the new Province of Westphalia with Münster as its provincial capital. Included within the new province were those regions which had formerly belonged to Prussia, namely Minden, Mark, and Ravensberg, as well as Tecklenburg, the old Bishoprics of Paderborn and Münster, which had been taken by Prussia in 1802-1803, the County of Limburg, all of the Duchy of Westphalia, excepting the northernmost part which included the city of Osnabrück, the Sayn-Wittgenstein principalities of Hohenstein and Berleburg, and the principality of Nassau-Siegen which was added in 1817.

The province was mixed in its geography, culture, and religious complexion. Roman Catholicism, Lutheranism, and Calvinism were all represented, although one or another might predominate in particular cities or regions. The province was bound together into a single political organism more because of its participation in the Kingdom of Prussia as such, rather than by any other particular hereditary or religious factors.

9.1 Liturgical Rites in the Duchy of Cleve and the Counties of Mark and Ravensberg

In 1614, three small territories in the far western regions of the German-speaking lands, and all of them far from Brandenburg, came under the control of Johann Sigismund and the Brandenburgian Hohenzollerns. These were the territories of the Duchy of Cleve and the Counties of Mark and Ravensberg.

In the earliest decades of the sixteenth century, several formerly independent territories in the western-most regions of the German-speaking lands came to be united under a single ruler, Johann III, the hereditary ruler of the Mark. He married Maria, daughter of Wilhelm of Jülich and Berg. When Wilhelm died in 1511, Johann III came into possession of these lands, together with the County of Ravensberg. When his own father Johann II died in 1521, Johann III became also the ruler of Cleve. From this point forward, he was the ruler of the Duchies of Jülich, Cleve, Berg, and the counties of Mark and Ravensberg.

In the early years of his reign, Johann III took a non-committal attitude toward the Reformation, but with the passing of time, he saw the necessity of introducing Lutheranism in his realms. The Reformation had already taken root in Cleve as

in Herford in the territory of Ravensberg, and in 1534 it came to Dorberg in the same county. These early appearances of Reformation preaching were probably not directly connected with Duke Johann III. It was rather the engagement of his daughter Sibylle to the staunchly Lutheran elector, Johann Friedrich of Saxony, which was the occasion of his finally declaring for the Reformation.¹¹²⁶



The Jülich-Cleve succession, 1609-1614.

9.1.1 Early Liturgical Provisions in the Duchy of Cleve

Johann III was still very conservative, as can be seen in the brief church order

typical church order. Nowhere in it is the *Augsburg Confession* mentioned, and nothing is said about the conduct and the specific form of the Mass and its proper celebration. The order simply states that the gospel and the word of God are to be preached clearly for the salvation of souls, improvement of life, and the establishment of peace and good order and the holy sacraments must be properly administered as well. Johann III calls for "good order" in the congregations, but he nowhere defines with any precision what this phrase might mean. He goes on, however, to declare that the Word of God must be preached purely. Concerning the Sacrament, the document leaves no doubt concerning its Lutheran nature. Baptism is described as a washing of regeneration and entrance into the Christian congregation and church. It is to be administrated to children who are then to be instructed in the catechism. Mass is to be held and the people are to be instructed zealously as to its proper use, and it is clearly stated that the Venerable Sacrament of the Altar is the true body and blood of Christ, and that through the Sacrament



An Sots genaden.
Wir Johan Gernog zu Cleeff.
Gulich vund Berg Graff zuder
Unarch vund Rauenstberg etc.
Doinkunde. Wiewal wir hiebenom allen predigern wu underdanen in wusern furstendom-

Title page of the 1533 Cleve church order.

one receives grace and the forgiveness of sins as Jesus promised. So too, private confession is to be kept in the church and people are to be taught the knowledge of their sins so that they may bewail them and improve their sinful lives and come to the Sacrament with true faith and hope in God.¹¹²⁷

Johann III did not feel that it was his responsibility to provide specific directives since in the course of time the church would provide these for itself. In this regard, nothing was said in the church order concerning Communion in both kinds, nor was there any approval expressed toward the notion that the Mass or Supper could be counted a sacrifice offered to God.

The year 1533 saw the publication of a new and larger edition of the church order. Only a little new material was introduced, but what had been included in the

earlier church order was now greatly expanded. Principles were set down and doctrine was defined in general terms, but no detailed descriptions of the cele-

bration of the Mass were included. Ceremonies were still to be kept and misuses were to be corrected but there were few specific details. 1128

When Johann III died in 1539, he was succeeded by his son, Wilhelm. He was an enthusiastic supporter of the *Augsburg Confession*. At the Treaty of Venlo in 1543, Emperor Charles V forced him to allow the reestablishment of Catholic dominion, and in 1548 he was forced to accept the terms of the Augsburg Interim. After the Peace of Augsburg in 1555, he had more freedom to allow the spread of Lutheranism in his territories, although he himself remained officially a member of the Roman Church. By this time, he was already beginning to show signs of illness, and from 1568, his Roman Catholic councilors took effective control of his territories. In that they were assisted by his son Johann Wilhelm who from 1571 to 1574 served as coadjutor to the bishop of Münster and from 1574 until his marriage in 1585 was bishop of Münster. The councilors proscribed the 1533 church order, but their attempts to ban the use of the *Augsburg Confession* were unsuccessful because of the strong opposition to their attempts by the members of the nobility. 1129

In the absence of any official directives concerning such matters, it was necessary for Lutheran parishes to establish their own regulations concerning self-government, education, the conduct of the Mass, and other aspects of the church's ministry. The nature of these statutes and regulations is not well-known since few of them have survived.

In addition to the Lutherans, there were established in the course of time a few Reformed parishes, consisting of Walloons who had fled to Cleve. The possibility of peaceful existence there attracted other members of the Reformed Churches from the Netherlands and France. Synods were held in Wesel in 1568 and Emden in 1571. These provided the groundwork for the later establishment of the Rhine-Westphalian Reformed Church. Elsewhere, as for example in Mark and Ravensberg, they were not welcomed.

Wilhelm's realms were free of religious oppression. The situation, however, would change during the reign of his son Johann Wilhelm who assumed power in 1592. Like his father, he was mentally challenged and the effective rule was put into the hands of his Roman Catholic councilors, and they took steps to make the life of Protestants intolerable. 1130

9.1.2 The Secession of Cleve, Mark, and Ravensberg to Brandenburg

Johann Wilhelm died in 1609 without an heir. His sister Anna had married Count Philipp Ludwig of Palatinate-Neuburg and this provided their son, Count Wolfgang Wilhelm of Palatinate-Neuburg, with a legitimate claim to succession. Marie Eleonore, Johann Wilhelm's other sister, had married Albrecht Friedrich of Prussia was himself mentally incompetent, and although he and his wife had seven children, effective control of his realms was taken in 1578 by his cousin, Georg Friedrich of Brandenburg-Ansbach. Albrecht Friedrich's daughter Anna, who was heir to Prussia and expected heir to Johann Wilhelm's domains, was married to Margrave Johann Sigismund, and he used this fact as the basis of his claim to Johann Wilhelm's territories. In opposition to both Johann Wilhelm and Johann Sigismund, both of whom were Lutheran at that time, the Roman Catholic Emperor Rudolf II of the Holy Roman Empire seemed poised to invade and conquer the region. Indeed, his forces took control of Jülich in 1609. Henry IV, King of France, and representatives of the Dutch recognized Rudolf II as a real threat to their own realms. Henry IV suggested that the lands of Johann Wilhelm be partitioned between Wolfgang Wilhelm and Johann Sigismund. Landgrave Moritz of Hesse-Kassel suggested that they should rule jointly, and at Dortmund a recess was negotiated on June 10, 1609, making them joint rulers and promising freedom of religion to the region. Troops from the Low Lands, Brandenburg, and the Electoral Palatinate joined to drive the imperial forces out of Jülich and in September 1610 they succeeded. The Dortmund Recess, however, did not hold because the cities of Cleve, Mark, Jülich, and territories of Berg and Ravensberg had never unanimously agreed to the recess. They wanted a single ruler. As the result of the Treaty of Xanten in 1614, Jülich and Berg came under the control of Palatinate-Neuburg and Cleve, Mark, and Ravensberg came under Brandenburg control. Neither Johann Sigismund nor Wolfgang Wilhelm remained Lutherans. Johann Sigismund announced his conversion to the Reformed religion in 1613, and in 1614 Wolfgang Wilhelm announced that he was obedient to Rome. This greatly diminished Lutheran influence in these regions. The decision of the Treaty of Xanten was regarded as a temporary division of the hereditary lands of Johann Wilhelm for several decades until 1666. 1131

Although all the three territories of Cleve, Mark, and Ravensberg were now under Brandenburgian rule, Lutheran churches in these territories remained independent of each other. The Dortmund Recess, opened the possibility to organize these congregations as territorial churches and this led to the establishment of a rudimentary church organization.

A general synod at the territory of Cleve was held at Dinslaken on September 8, 1612, under the leadership of Pastor Johann Heselbein of Wesel, city preacher Justus Weyer of Düsseldorf, and Secretary Paul Faber. The delegates, which included pastors, vicars, and schoolmasters representing twelve congregations, declared their adherence to the *Unaltered Augsburg Confession* and expressed their desire for a suitable church order to regulate the clergy and church life in Cleve. This task would prove difficult to achieve. For many years, the church in Cleve would continue to operate under a presbyterial system in which each congregation could take independent action concerning its internal affairs and determine its own liturgical forms. All these congregations were long established and had long since developed their individual patterns of administration and worship. Whatever small measure of unity developed, came as a result of the appointment of Paul Faber as inspector (visitor) of the Lutheran congregations. It was his responsibility to gather the clergy, address grievances, and aid in the solution of controverted issues. In the course of time, the church in Cleve would be divided into three classes: Cleve, Weisel, and Dinslaken, altogether totaling fifteen parishes. 1132

In the course of time, Lutherans would come to see that the decision to open the borders to Reformed refugees from other lands would have dire consequences. The influx of Reformed led to the establishment of congregations which soon cast their eyes on Lutheran churches. The Reformed were able to take full advantage of their ruler's inclination toward their cause. In some places, Lutheran churches became Reformed church buildings. Such was the case in Hamminkeln, Hiesfeld, and Werdohl. Lutheran attempts to regain control were denied by Friedrich Wilhelm, although some years later in some parishes the contested church buildings were officially designated for simultaneous use by the Reformed and Lutherans. At Wesel, when the Lutherans who had lost their church proposed to build another, the Reformed saw to it that this proposal was blocked. The only possibility for the survival of Lutheran worship was the use of Reformed facilities. The Lutheran Church in Crudeburg was turned over completely to the Reformed in 1662. The religious recesses declared in 1666 and 1672 did little to improve relations between the Lutherans and the Reformed. In many cases, confrontations between the two confessions led to courtroom battles. 1133

The formation of the church in the Mark took place at the general synod at Unna on October 2-3, 1612. No report of the meeting has survived. As in Cleve, the congregations were loosely joined in a presbyterial system but retained their separate independence. Each congregation had its own constitution and its own chosen form of worship, as before, and as a result, liturgical standards and practices differed widely from place to place. What little measure of unity prevailed, came

through the office of inspector general who was chosen for life by the clergy. It was his responsibility to convoke an annual general synod, and in league with it, to make decisions in controverted matters and provide discipline. In 1612, the church was divided into fourteen classes or divisions: Unna City, Unna vicinity, Iserlohn, Neurodt, Altena, Wetter, Schwerte, Bochum, Hörde, Lünen, Herbede-Witten-Stiepel, Blankenstein, Neustadt, and Hamm, in total some four dozen or more congregations. Each of these divisions was responsible to send its official delegate to the general synod and to meet together in local conventions, as for example in Unna 1642, Iserlohn 1644, Unna 1644, Bochum 1649, Unna 1652, and others. 1134

9.1.3 The Variety of Church Orders in Lutheran Congregations

Little is known of the church orders produced during this period. Some congregations chose to follow the provisions of the Zweibrücken church order which had been composed in 1556 by theologians under the supervision of Count Wolfgang of Palatinate-Zweibrücken. 1135 This church order was examined by Melanchthon and Brenz and both of them approved the work in general, although both offered suggestions for improvements. The suggestions of Melanchthon were preferred. The church order was printed in 1557 under the title: Kirchenordnung Wie es mit der Christenlichen Leer, Raithunge der heiligen Sacramenten, Ordination der diener des Euangelij vnd ordenlichen Ceremonien, Erhaltung Christlicher Schulen und Studien, auch anderer der Kirchen notwendigen Stücken etc. In Vnser Wolffgangs von Gottes Genaden, Pfaltzgrauens bey Rhein, Hertzogens in Bayern, vnd Grauens zu Veldentz Fürstenthumb gehalten werden soll (Church Order, as It Should Be Observed with Christian Doctrine, the Administration of the Holy Sacraments, the Ordination of Ministers of the Gospel, and Orderly Ceremonies, the Maintenance of Christian Schools and Studies, as well as Other Necessary Matters Pertaining to the Churches, etc., in the Principality of Our Wolfgang, by the Grace of God Count Palatine by the Rhine, Duke in Bavaria, Count at Veldenz). 1136

The Palatinate-Zweibrücken church order consisted in five parts, the third of which dealt with the liturgy and ceremonies. The Mass was composed of elements from the 1554 Mecklenburg and 1553 Württemberg church orders. The form of the Mass and the admonition before the Lord's Supper were taken from Mecklenburg, while the administration of Communion was from Württemberg and the thanksgiving from Mecklenburg. It was introduced in the Duchy of Pal-

¹¹³⁴ Jacobson 1844, 123-124.

atine-Neuburg in 1560 and reconfirmed in 1570 by Philipp Ludwig and Johann I. It was adopted also in Düsseldorf by the decision of Wolfgang Wilhelm in 1612. In the course of time, congregations in the Mark came to know this order and decided to adopt it as their own.¹¹³⁸

On the day of St. Catharine in November 1626, the Lutheran congregation in Altena also established a church order. It included a section on confessional subscription which was binding not only on the clergy but also the members of the city council, congregational leaders, vicars, and the schoolmasters. Articles were included concerning preaching, the conduct of the Divine Service, church discipline, congregational officers, the administration of the sacraments, the blessing of marriage, ministry to the sick, burial, and other matters. The order stated that great care was to be exercised when it came to the introduction or abolition of particular ceremonies. Ceremonies were to be introduced or eliminated only in extraordinary circumstances so that no one would be forced to act against his conscience. Such actions required the consensus of the congregations, and in either the introduction or elimination of ceremonies, it must be made clear that what was being done would contribute to the edification of the mystical body of Jesus Christ. Church ceremonies should not be an offence to others, and although the church must, of course, be one in the substance of its faith, this does not require that all ceremonies must be identical in every place, especially when and where the ceremonies involved were adiaphora. 1139

During this same period, the congregation at Meinerzhagen was also involved in preparing its own parochial agenda. The city of Hagen did not produce its own church order, but chose instead to use the 1580 Saxon church order of Elector Augustus which had been prepared by Jakob Andreae. This order, which contained the agenda of Duke Heinrich, included important provisions over and above those in the original agenda and touched on all aspects of the life of the church and its parishes, universities, and schools. It also included Luther's paraphrase of the Our Father and directives for the distribution of Communion. According to it, communicants in the rural congregations were to receive the body of Christ immediately after its consecration and before the consecration of the cup, as Luther had suggested in his *Deutsche Messe*. Also included was a short form of the prayer of the church, together with a short admonition to replace the longer admonition to communicants, spoken from the pulpit in the Duke Heinrich 1539 church order.

Until the Dortmund Recess of 1609, the Reformed living in the Mark had no legal status. The recess resulted in a great influx of Reformed in the Mark. They

¹¹³⁸ *Jacobson* 1844, 115 fn. 46-47, 125.

²⁰ I 1 4044 405 III 1 6 1 4044 400 40

had no churches of their own, and as they would also do later in Cleve, they looked to the Lutherans for hospitality and in the course of time managed to take control of some Lutheran church buildings. Such was the case in Bladenrhorst and Bönen 1611, Westhofen and Rhynern c. 1624, Herringen 1625, Drechen and Flirich in 1641. When the Lutheran pastor at Westhofen concluded his ministry in that parish, his place was taken by a Reformed preacher. Similar situations developed in Uentrop, Lütgendortr, Oestrich, and Freiheit Wetter. In Werdohl, Peter Oesterich managed to replace Luther's Small Catechism with that of Heidelberg. In some places, churches formerly solely Lutheran were made simultaneous churches. Such was the case at Plettenberg in 1660. At Wellinghofen in 1637, the Reformed sought to install one of their ministers. In Gevelsberg, a Reformed minister was installed in 1646 as an adjunct pastor. In some places, such as Wickede and Hedfeld, the Lutherans lost out completely. They had invited the Reformed to make use of their churches and now they found themselves on the outside looking in, hoping that they at least might be permitted to hold services in properties which formerly had been entirely theirs. 1142

9.1.4 The 1687 Cleve-Mark Lutheran Church Order

During this entire period, Lutherans in Cleve and Mark were unsuccessful in their efforts to establish a common church order and an agenda with a common form of liturgical worship. The Reformed, however, with the full support of Elector Friedrich Wilhelm, were able to organize and establish a single church order to govern all Reformed Churches in Cleve and Mark. This was accomplished on the basis of decisions made in the Reformed general and provincial synods. A single document was agreed in 1654 and approved by Friedrich Wilhelm on May 20, 1662. It was published under the title: Clevische Und Märckische Kirchen Ordnung (The Church Order of the Cleve and Mark). 1143 The order was updated in 1666, 1672, and again in 1754. The new 1754 edition, published at Duisburg, was given the title: Kirchen-Ordnung, Der Christlich Reformirten Gemeinden in den Ländern, Cleve und Marck; Wie auch Religions-Vergleiche, Und Neben-Recessen, Nebst andern dazu dienlichen Stücken, Welche zwischen Dem Durchl. Fürsten und Herrn, Herrn Friederich Wilhelmen, Marggrafen zu Brandenburg, des Heil. Röm. Reichs Ertz-Cämmerern und Churfürsten, etc. etc. Und Dem Durchl. Fürsten und Herrn, Herrn Philipp Wilhelmen, Pfaltzgrafen bey Rhein, etc. etc. Ueber das Religions- und Kirchen-Wesen in obbemeldeten Ländern, etc. etc. In den Jahren 1666, 1672 und 1673 aufgerichtet worden (Church

Order of the Christian Reformed Congregations in the Lands of Cleve and Mark, Along with Equalization of Religions, Together with Recesses, and Other Subsidiary Documents, Negotiated by the Most Serene Prince and Lord, Sir Friedrich Wilhelm, Margrave of Brandenburg, Arch-Chamberlain and Prince-Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, etc., etc., and the Most Serene Prince and Lord, Sir Philipp Wilhelm, Count Palatine by the Rhine, etc., etc., Concerning Religious and Ecclesiastical Matters in the Above Mentioned Lands, etc., etc., Assembled in the years 1666, 1672, and 1673).

At the general synod of Unna on July 9, 1659, the Lutheran delegates from the Mark determined to take action to establish a basis for a workable common church order. Their confederate in this plan was the church in Cleve. Articles were drawn up at the synod pertaining to the state of the church, the call and ordination of pastors, church services on Sundays, days of repentance and prayer, high feasts, weekday services, catechetical instruction of the young, Holy Baptism, the Lord's Supper, church discipline and repentance, the transfer of feast days and other church observances, the regulation of banquets and other festivities connected with Sunday services, days of repentance and prayer, and other festal occasions, marriages, the life of the pastor, the relief of the poor and needy, and the schools. Pastors were required to inform the appropriate authorities if the congregation they were serving was not already regulated according to a Saxon or other Lutheran church order. The articles dealt only in general with the conduct of liturgical services and included no directives.¹¹⁴⁴

After several years of study and discussion, and having given special attention to the Reformed church order of 1662, the Lutheran churches of Cleve and the Mark set to work to prepare their own order. It was approved by Friedrich Wilhelm at Potsdam on August 6, 1687, and was published in Cleve that same year under the title: Clev- und Märckische Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchen-Ordnung (The Evangelical Lutheran Church Order of Cleve and Mark).¹¹⁴⁵

This order consisted in twenty-one chapters with a total of 169 articles, covering such aspects of church life as the call of the clergy, the office of the preacher and his confessional subscription, the catechism, prayer services and days of repentance, church music, including the chanting of the Litany on days of repentance and prayer, regulations concerning Holy Baptism and candidature, directives concerning the Lord's Supper, the proper celebration of Sundays, feast days, days of repentance and prayer, requirements concerning the life of the clergy and their proper behavior, the maintenance of the clergy and their widows and orphans, the responsibilities of hearers to their preachers, the censuring of the clergy, school regulations, the presbytery and church councilors, instructions concerning meet-



and Mark church order.

ings of the clergy, the synod or provincial ecclesiastical meeting, the ministry of the deacon or welfare worker, concerning the work of the sacristan/sexton, matters concerning the dead and their burial, church discipline and excommunication, and marital matters.

The section on the Lord's Supper gave only directives concerning its celebration and made no mention of the liturgical order to be used. No liturgical matters were alluded to at all. The pastor was, of course, to earnestly admonish the communicants before the Lord's Supper, and the Lord's Prayer was to accompany the Words of Institution, along with other customary prayers. During communion, one or another communion hymn was to be sung, and a proper prayer of thanksgiving was to be said at the conclusion of the Supper. As in the past, Communion

was to be celebrated every Sunday in large congregations with numerous communicants. However, smaller congregations with fewer communicants were to celebrate only four times a year in connection with the quarterly days of repentance and prayer. Those who were communing infrequently were to be admonished by the pastor that they should come to the Sacrament more than only once a year. Preparation for Communion in congregations which observed general confession was to continue that practice, and those which practiced private confession and absolution in accordance with the instructions given in the *Augsburg* Confession were to continue that practice. In the case of the elderly and feeble, they were to make their preparation on Sunday morning before the service (Germ. *Predigt*). Children were not to be admitted to the Supper until they could examine themselves and speak knowledgeably about the death of the Lord Jesus Christ. In order to prepare them for First Communion, the pastor should twice a year set aside a particular Sunday or the day of repentance and prayer at which he would question them concerning their knowledge of the catechism, the remembrance of their Baptism and baptismal vows, the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and then on the following Sunday or day of repentance and prayer or feast day, he was to

their behavior. Those who were afflicted with bodily weakness, who could not come to church were to be communed at home. Those admitted to the Sacrament were to be in a state of peace and charity with their neighbors and were to have laid aside all public animosity, ranker, and bitterness. Those who were born deaf and dumb, who were unable to hear with their ears concerning the doctrine of the Lord's Supper and the bitter sufferings and death of the Lord Christ and were unable to confess their faith aloud but who had received Holy Baptism and came regularly to the divine services as well as to the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and who were able to indicate a certain hunger and thirst for it as well as the fear of God, were to be admitted to the table of the Lord. Those who were preparing for worthy reception were to attend services not only on the preceding two or three Sundays but also the weekday services and the prayer and repentance services, and they were also to fortify their home devotions during this period. During the short period before absolution and the Lord's Supper, those who intended to confess and be absolved and receive the Sacrament were to avoid inns and taverns where they might sully their preparation by improper behavior. So too, the practice still common in rural areas of going to the tavern after receiving the Sacrament was condemned. Those who did not go to the Sacrament for several years were to be admonished by the pastor or local minister to turn away from their unworthy, godless life and come to the Sacrament. If they refused to listen and repent, they should be excommunicated by the parish council.

The identity of the church as Lutheran was spoken of in the article which identified the church's confessional writings. All the writings of the Lutheran *Book of Concord* were enumerated with the exception of the *Formula of Concord*, perhaps in imitation of the Brandenburgians who had omitted it by command of Elector Friedrich Wilhelm.¹¹⁴⁶

In comparison to the church orders of the Lutheran churches in eastern regions, such as in Prussia, Saxony, and Brandenburg, the Cleve and Mark order was quite short and seem to give evidence of the influence of the Reformed neighbors. The order gave close attention to the behavior of the clergyman and the prohibitions under which he was to do his work. Lutheran pastor was beginning to look more and more like a Reformed minister, or like the later Lutheran Pietists, who put great emphasis on the Law. Pastors were to be abstentious; they must not go to taverns or inns; they were not to play cards, dance, smoke tobacco, or engage in any activity which might be regarded as frivolous or unseemly. Nowhere in the document is the altar mentioned. Where one would expect to find such mention, one finds in every case, "table of the Lord" ("Tisch des Herren") – another Reformed influence.¹¹⁴⁷

Matters discussed in the 1659 synod at Unna proved highly valuable and many of them were incorporated in the new order. In the same, the Altena church order of 1626 also proved to be a valuable resource. With regard to some administrative directives and procedural matters, the Reformed church order of 1662 was also useful, but none of the material taken over from the Reformed church order was doctrinal in nature. ¹¹⁴⁸

During the period before the onslaughts of Rationalism, Lutheran congregations still made use of the white surplice of the pastor, altar candles, and private confession. However in 1738, under the pressure of King Friedrich Wilhelm I, the general synod in the Mark issued a declaration forbidding the continuing use of the altar candles and the white surplices. In 1740, this order was extended also to Lennep. 1149

In the Mark as elsewhere, the long shadows of Georg Joachim Zollikofer and Georg Friedrich Seiler had now fallen upon the church and its worship. Prayers from Zollikofer's famous *Anreden und Gebete*, published in Leipzig in 1777, came to be used as an interpretive tool through which the faith of the old church was filtered. Similar prayers in the "spirit of Seiler" also came to be prayed at altars in the Mark. Some pastors saw fit not to simply repeat the written prayers of Zollikofer and others, but according to their own light, they interpreted the meaning of the liturgical phrases according to their understanding of the spirit of the age. They were quick to defend themselves, saying that they were simply bringing the church's public speech up-to-date by providing not only the modern version of the ancient words but also the correct interpretation of the meaning of the words in a manner appropriate to the modern mind and the temperament of the age in which one preferred poetic, religious expression over against dogmatic expressions which were so limited in nature.¹¹⁵⁰

9.1.5 Liturgical Directives in the City of Soest and Vicinity

Both the city of Soest and its vicinity, although they were included within the territory of Mark, were not bound to the Cleve-Mark church order of 1687 but developed their own independent tradition.

Soest gained its independence from the Archbishopric of Köln (Cologne) in the middle of the fifteenth century, and although made a part of the Mark ruled by the duke of Cleve, it enjoyed many freedoms. Lutheranism could be found in this region as early as 1526. It increased rapidly because of the vigorous activity

 $^{^{1148}\} Urkunden$ -Sammlung 1844, 242-249.

of Georg Spalatin and Friedrich Myconius who spent 1527 in the city, and by 1530 Luther's hymns were being sung in the schools.

The first church order for the city of Soest, which was dated Easter Thursday 1532, was prepared by Gerd Omeken (Lat. *Gerardo Oemeken*) who had come from Lippstadt. He shared this church order with other pastors who accepted it. The work was presented to the city council which confirmed it on Tuesday after *Misericordias Domini* Sunday. It was subsequently printed with approbation from Urbanus Rhegius, superintendent of the churches at Lüneburg, dated on June 12, 1532.

The short document, entitled: Der Erbaren, Erenriker Stadt Sost Christlike Ordenunge, tho denste dem hilgen Euangelio, Gemenem vreede vnd eindracht, ouergesen dorch D. Urbanum Regium, vnd mit ener des suelfftigen latinschen Commendation (The Christian Order of the Honorable, Prominent City of Soest for the Service of the Holy Gospel...), showed the strong influence of Bugenhagen's 1528 Braunschweig church order. It included sections dealing with the Anabaptists, Baptism, schools, the ministry of preachers, marriage, and other important matters. Concerning the Mass, it simply stated that both Latin and German were to be used according to the circumstances, using the forms found in Bugenhagen's Braunschweig church order. It was supposed that pastors either had it or could easily obtain it.¹¹⁵¹



Title page of the 1532 Soest church order.

A critical shortcoming of the 1532 church order was its brevity. It simply did not cover many important details concerning church life and liturgy. Later in the sixteenth century, two important church orders would be published for use in the territory of Braunschweig. They were the 1564 church order for Braunschweig-Lüneburg¹¹⁵² and the 1569 order for Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, prepared by Martin Chemnitz and Jakob Andreae. In a letter to Superintendent Simon Musaeus, Martin Chemnitz declared in the strongest tones that the time had now come to replace the 1532 order with the

new one. On March 16, 1574, Duke Julius recommended that the city adopt the 1569 church order for Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel. 1153 It was clear that the city needed a more substantial church order and agenda, but it is unclear to what extent the city was willing to use the Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel agenda. Still, Musaeus saw the necessity of updating the 1532 church order and prepared an updated and improved edition of it which he published in 1575. This update was quite brief. Whereas the 1532 order had spoken in brief terms concerning the Mass, and had directed its readers to the Braunschweig church order, the newer document said nothing at all about the Mass, excepting that it should be celebrated. As to what agenda should be followed, Musaeus gave no advice. 1154

In 1609, Duke Johann Wilhelm died without issue, and on June 10 of that year, the Dortmund Recess was negotiated and it led to a period of joint rule with Palatinate-Neuburg and Brandenburg. None of the territories had much enthusiasm for this arrangement, and because of the conflicts which ensued, the Treaty of Xanten of 1614 put Jülich and Berg under Palatinate-Neuburg while Cleve, Mark, and Ravensberg became Brandenburg domains. The city of Soest in the Mark, however, refused to accept this arrangement and insisted on its own independence. This led to the siege of the city by the Brandenburgians and the final capitulation of Soest in 1616.

Because of many tensions, ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Soest and its region came to be divided between an urban division for city pastors and a suburban division for clergy in outlying areas. As a result of the 1608 visitation of the suburban churches, it was decided that a church order specifically for these pastors and their congregations should be developed. The order was written, approved by the city council and the college of twelve of Soest, and put into effect on May 19, 1609. It was ratified once again on November 20, 1619. This church order covered many important matters, such as the celebration of divine services on Sundays and feast days, but nowhere in it is anything said about the order of Divine Service to be used. It concerned itself mainly with such matters as the schedule of services, the conduct of the church's educational program, baptisms, marriages, the collection of offerings and fees, and related matters. Nothing is said about which agenda was to be used. 1155

Ecclesiastical procedures in the churches of the city of Soest were formulated in a document later referred to as *Kirchen-Agenda oder Ordnung der Stadt Soest. c. a.* 1619 (*Church Agenda or Order of the City of Soest. c. a.* 1619). This document provides a first view of specific regulations and procedures in these churches in such matters as doctrine, the observance of particular holy days, service times, the use

of the catechism, ceremonies, the manner in which Baptism and emergency Baptism are to be administered, the administration of the Sacrament of the Altar, confession, and absolution. It deals also with meetings of the synod and the monthly clergy conferences, the calling and ordination of the pastors, and the manner in which they are to be superintended. It also deals somewhat briefly with matters pertaining to marriages, burials, schools, and church and school libraries. Again, no order for the Mass or other divine services is provided, although the order states that the Lord's Supper is to be administered according to the Wittenberg church order and in Baptism the pastor is free to either use or leave aside the exorcism. The "Wittenberg agenda" referred to is Melanchthon's 1559 order which was derived from the Mecklenburg church order of 1552. The Soest church order concludes with the statement that all matters not covered are to be dealt with in accordance with the Wittenberg and Saxon church orders, a reference to the 1540 agenda of Duke Heinrich and the 1580 order Elector Augustus. 1156

On October 22, 1628, a revised church order for the city of Soest was published. It covered much the same ground as the earlier document but established the positions it took by providing references to works of Luther.¹¹⁵⁷

Despite the 1619 regulations concerning the use of the "Wittenberg agenda," the clergy in some parishes chose to introduce other agendas. Among these was the Braunschweig-Lüneburg agenda of 1643. The story of this liturgy goes back to 1564 when the complete Braunschweig-Lüneburg church order was first published. It was republished again in 1598 and 1619. The new 1643 edition was authorized in that year but did not come off the presses until 1644. The 1564 liturgy of Braunschweig-Lüneburg was the basis upon which the 1569 Mass in the Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel order was built. Of special importance was the presence in the Lüneburg order of special prayers for repentance and the forgiveness of sins and divine protection, placed between the epistle and the gospel. In place of this, the Wolfenbüttel agenda put a form of general confession and absolution after the sermon. Furthermore, unlike Lüneburg, the Wolfenbüttel included a distribution formula. With these exceptions, the provisions in the Lüneburg order were repeated almost verbatim in the Wolfenbüttel service.

Other parishes in Soest and vicinity chose to use the 1681 edition of Duke Heinrich's agenda, and still others the Soest agenda of 1738. Some pastors, who adopted the 1738 order freely, omitted parts of it and added their own emenda-

¹¹⁵⁶ Urkunden-Sammlung 1844, 150-154

¹¹⁵⁷ *Urkunden-Sammlung* 1844, 154-155.

^{1150 17: 1 1 4550 11.1 1 0 1 4044 450}

tions. It is noteworthy that, although Soest was in the Mark, it never adopted the Cleve-Mark church order of 1687. 1161

Sources indicate that by 1609 it was being suggested to pastors that rather than singing the collect they ought to speak it facing the congregation so that the people could look upon his facial expressions as he brought their prayers before the heavenly throne. Whether or not the pastor should say or sing the Words of Institution was made a matter of personal choice in 1628. In 1729, King Friedrich Wilhelm I ordered that it was no longer permitted that a funeral procession should follow a crucifer and crucifix. The city council, however, stood against this change. In 1737, the use of lighted candles on the altar was forbidden; this prohibition was lifted by Friedrich the Great.¹¹⁶²

Pietism passed into Rationalism and new ways of thinking. To accommodate this, a new church order was developed for Soest and its region. Following the provisions of the 1773 royal *Edict wegen Einschränckung der Feyertage, in den Evangelisch-Reformirten und Lutherischen Kirchen (Edict Concerning Restriction of Festal Days in the Evangelical Reformed and Lutheran Churches)*, the new order eliminated the observance of some feast days which formerly were kept as the days of rest, such as those of the apostles, Maundy Thursday, the third day of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, and some other special observances. Also abolished was private confession and absolution. This new church order was ratified in 1784. 1163

9.1.6 Worship Practices in the County of Ravensberg

The 1609 Dortmund Recess opened the door to the possibility of the development of an ecclesiastical structure for the Lutherans in Ravensberg. A synod at Bielefeld on November 4, 1612, was held by invitation of Count Wolfgang Wilhelm under the direction of inspector Georg Heilbrunner and Justus Weyer, Lutheran pastor in Düsseldorf, to pass resolutions and to regulate church life, similar to the regulations enforced by the synods in Dinslaken and Unna. Over the course of the next several decades, the Ravensberg church moved in a direction quite distinct from their direction taken by Cleve and Mark. It moved toward increasing centralization. With the approval of Elector Friedrich Wilhelm, a special consistory was established at Bielefeld on October 4, 1652, to work toward common agreement in matters concerning the church and to ensure a uniform and respectful observance of church ceremonies. Superintendent Hildebrand Frohne

¹¹⁶¹ Oven 1828, 75; Dresbach 1909, 479; Graff I 1994, 39.

¹¹⁶² Rothert 1905, 162.

was chosen to lead the consistory. Among his duties were the examination and ordination of candidates to the ministry of the church, the administration of ecclesiastical visitations, and the implementation of all ecclesiastical regulations and resolutions.¹¹⁶⁵

Herford church life was regulated from 1532 by the church order. The task of preparing it was given by the city magistrates to Johann Dreyer who prepared it and presented it to the council. The council approved it on Quasimodogeniti, the Sunday after Easter, 1532, and it was introduced to for parish use. After it was reviewed by Johannes Bugenhagen, the Herford order was printed in Wittenberg in 1534 under the title: Ordinantie kerken ampte der ehrlicken Stadt Hervorde. Durch D. Johan Dreyer, Sampt Predicanten und Verordten (The Ordering of the Church's Ministry for the Honorable City of Herford. Through Dr. Johann Dreyer, Together with Preachers and Officials). 1166 This order may also have been used in the territories adjacent to that city. 1167

The 1532 order finally proved to be inadequate to satisfy the needs of the church and it was eventually replaced by the introduction of the order produced for the bishopric of Verden in 1606 in Lemgo under the title: Kirchenordnung, Wie es mit Christlicher Lehr und Ceremonien, verreichung der H. Hoch: Sacramenten, und andern Kirchensachen, im Stifft Verden, hinfort, durch Gottes gnad und beystandt, Ordentlich gehalten werden soll (Church Order, as It Should Be Properly Observed by the Grace and Help of God with Christian Doctrine and Ceremonies, the Administration of the Venerable Sacraments, and Other Ecclesiastical Matters in the Bishopric of Verden). 1168 The basis of the Verden church order was the first church order, prepared in 1567 by Bishop Eberhard von Holle who had introduced the Lutheran Reformation to the region.¹¹⁶⁹ He chose to

Kirchenordnung/

Te es mit Christie dung der From Sacramonian der der der sachen im Seiffe Berden hinfort / durch Gottes guad vnd beystande/Srdentlich gehalten

guad und benftande/Ordentlich gehalten werden foll.

Plalm 24. verl. 11. Die den h ERRR filten baben feinen mangelan jrgent einem gut.

1. Corinth 14 Veri 40 Sebendia ingehen.

Laffet bas Ware Chilff briter file et elle Webpen i in aller wellsbeit. Leftete und vermachtet euch febei mit Pfalmen und Lobgefengen i von Bestillichen liebilden Liebern i und finget bem 34 K. N. N. in erwern Deten.

E

Sedruckt zu Lemao Zburch Conrad

M. DC. VL

Title page of the 1606 Verden church order.

¹¹⁶⁵ *Jacobson* 1844, 127-129.

¹¹⁶⁶ *Jacobson* 1844, 52; printed in *Hölscher* 1888, 44 ff.

¹¹⁶⁷ Ordinantie kerken ampte der ehrlicken Stadt Hervorde. Durch D. Johan Dreyer, Sampt Predicanten

confess the Lutheran faith and from that point on the bishopric was Lutheran. Although Article XXVIII of the *Augsburg Confession* had spoken against the practice by which bishops became temporal rulers, in Verden the episcopal form of government under a prince-bishop was retained. Eberhard was succeeded in office by Philipp Sigismund von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel who again in 1586 reconfirmed the provisions of Eberhard's church order. Two decades later, in 1604, changing conditions made the revision of the church order necessary. The 1567 church order served as the primary text with some materials taken also from the church orders of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, 1569, Braunschweig-Lüneburg, 1564, and Braunschweig-Grubenhagen, 1581, Mecklenburg, 1552, and Hoya and Bruchhausen, 1581. The completed Verden order was printed in 1606.¹¹⁷⁰



Title page of the 1643 Braunschweig-Lüneburg church order.

In 1658, the clergy found that the 1643 edition of the church order of Braunschweig-Lüneburg would also prove helpful to them in their Herford churches. This church order could trace its history back to the Artikelbuch of 1527 of Heinrich and Wilhelm the Younger, the sons of Duke Ernst I of Braunschweig-Lüneburg. Duke Wilhelm had in 1562 updated its provisions in order to provide for greater uniformity in ceremonies in the churches. On the basis of this updating, a new church order was approved by the territorial assembly on August 13, 1563, and published in 1564.1171 A second edition appeared in 1598 with no changes, excepting the inclusion of a statement in the preface that both the Smalcald Articles and the Formula of Concord were included among the church's confessional writings.1172 This preface had been written in the form of a mandate from the duke and

was to be regarded as official. Another edition of the church order appeared in 1619.¹¹⁷³ In 1643, the church order was revised according to terms set down by General Superintendent Johann Arndt, but it did not come off the presses until

¹¹⁷⁰ Theologische Realenzyklopädie Bd. 18 1989, 684.

1644.1174 It was entitled: Kirchen-Ordnung Des Durchleuchtigen, Hochwürdigen, und Hochgebornen Fürsten und Herrn, Herrn Friederichen, Hertzogen zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg, Postulirten Coadiutorn des Stiffts Ratzeburg, Erwehlten Thumb Probsten des Ertzstiffts Bremen, etc. Wie es mit Lehr und Ceremonien, auch andern geistlichen Sachen und Verrichtungen in beyden Sr. Fürstl. Gn. Fürstenthümen Braunschweig: Lüneburg, Cellischen und Grubenhagischen Theils, auch angehörigen Graff: und Herrschafften gehalten werden sol. Auff S. F. Gn. Befehl und Anordnung wiederumb in Druck gegeben (Church Order of Most Serene, Venerable, Highborn Prince and Lord, Sir Friedrich, Duke of Braunschweig and Lüneburg, Postulated Coadjutor of the Bishopric of Ratzeburg, Elected Cathedral Provost of the Archbishopric of Bremen, etc., as It Should Be Observed with Doctrine and Ceremonies and Other Spiritual Matters and Regulations in Both Principalities of Braunschweig: Lüneburg, Parts of Celle and Grubenhagen, as well as the Adjacent Counties and Lordships. By Command and Order of His Princely Highness Once Again Put into Print). 1175 It was by means of these church orders and consistorial decrees that the churches sought to achieve a greater measure of conformity in liturgical and administrative matters throughout the County of Ravensberg.

Rationalistic influences became evident in Ravensberg through the agendas imported from Oldenburg and Schleswig-Holstein. The Oldenburg agenda appeared in 1795 and was given the title: Sammlung von Gebeten und Formularen für gottesdienstliche Handlungen. Mit besondrer Rücksicht auf das Herzogthum Oldenburg herausgegeben von E. H. Mutzenbecher (Collection of Prayers and Formularies for Divine Service Ministrations. With Special Consideration to the Duchy of Oldenburg, Edited by E. H. Mutzenbecher). A second edition appeared in 1801 under the same title. The Schleswig-Holstein agenda, which was written by Jacob Georg Christian Adler, was entitled: Schleswig-Holsteinische Kirchen-Agende. Auf Allerhöchsten Königlichen Befehl zum allgemeinen Gebrauch in den Herzogthümern Schleswig und Holstein, der Herrschaft Pinneberg, der Grafschaft Ranzau und der Stadt Altona verordnet (Schleswig-Holstein Church Agenda. For Common Use in the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, the Lordship of Pinneberg, the County of Ranzau, and the City of Altona by Supreme Royal Command). It was published first in 1797 and went through two subsequent editions in 1817 and in 1824.

9.2 Liturgies in the County and City of Dortmund

The Reformation was introduced into the free imperial city of Dortmund and its county gradually over several decades and developed its own distinctive li-

¹¹⁷⁴ Jacobson 1844, 131 fn. 94; Graff I 1994, 38.

¹¹⁷⁵ Kirchen-Ordnung 1643.

turgical customs and ceremonial. No Lutheran consistory was permitted to be organized, and the city council itself exercised all episcopal authority and certain aspects of ecclesiastical jurisdiction (*jura circa sacra*).

Lutheranism was first established in Dortmund in 1526 in St. Reinoldi Church, but the city council took immediate steps to prevent its spread in the city and its surrounding region. 1179 It was not until 1561 that the council was willing to accede to the popular demand that all communicants receive both the body and the blood in the Sacrament. Their edict, issued on March 19, 1562, acceded to this request but tried to hold the line by insisting that the ceremonies and hymns of the Roman Catholic Church be maintained and that those who desired to receive only the host would be permitted to do so. It also ordered that *reliquiae* be retained for sick communions. In 1564, the citizens made further demands, asking that German psalms or hymns be permitted to be sung before and after sermons and that an admonition concerning the Sacrament be read before Communion. After discussion by the city council and two collegiums consisting of twelve and twenty-four members, this was agreed on Judica Sunday, March 29. Permission was granted for priests to celebrate the Mass entirely in German rather than half in German and half in Latin. 1180

Throughout the sixteenth and entire seventeenth centuries, the Dortmund church never had its own complete church order, but it did have a book of collects which it could call its own. A new edition of these collects appeared in the 1585 Dortmund hymnal, Geistlike Leder unde Psalmen D. Martini Lutheri, und anderer fromen Christen, na Ordeninge der Jartyde uud Feste, uppet nye thogerichtet (Spiritual Hymns and Psalms of Dr. Martin Luther and Other Pious Christians, Newly Ordered According to the Order of the Year and Feasts). The Divine Service included in the hymnal was entitled: "The German Mass." The pastor read the Confiteor and the choir sang the introit. This was followed by the Kyrie, the "Gloria in excelsis Deo" and "Et in terra pax" by the pastor and choir. In addition, the congregation could also sing "All Glory be to God on High." Then followed the Salutation, the collect, the epistle, and the choral response which might be the hymn, "These Are the Holy Ten Commands," or a psalm, together with the alleluia. Then the gospel was read, and after it, the people sang, "We All Believe in One True God," or the pastor spoke the Creed. This was followed by the sermon, the Preface, Sanctus, and exhortation. Luther's paraphrase and an admonition concerning Communion followed the exhortation and then, after the praying of the Our Father, the Words of Consecration with the manual acts. During communion, the choir sang, "Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior," or "O Lord, We Praise Thee," or "Lamb of God, Pure and Holy," or "O Christ, Thou Lamb of God." The post-communion collect was preceded and followed by the Salutation. The service closed with the "Benedicamus Domino" and the benediction. The benediction was introduced with the words: "Bend down your hearts before God and I will give you the blessing." The service was very liturgical, and a notable feature of it was that it was entirely in the vernacular. 1181

It is not possible to determine specifically the agenda form used as the basis for this Divine Service, for whatever agenda it may have been, it is no longer available. What is available is a manuscript witness from Pastor Zacharias Vogt who was born in 1697. The agenda which he used bore the title Ordo canendi ante altare (The Order for Chanting at the Altar). 1182 The full Mass was included. On Sundays, it began with the choir, singing, "Come, Holy Ghost, God and Lord." This was followed by the service of confession which began with the versicle, "Create in us a clean heart," to which the congregation responded, "And grant us a new and right spirit." Then the pastor prayed the prayer of confession. The choir responded with a choral Amen and then it sang, "Kyrie, God Father in Heaven Above" ("Kyrie, Gott Vater in Ewigkeit"), following which the minister intoned "Gloria in excelsis" and the choir sang, "All Glory be to God on High." The pastor then turned to the congregation and intoned the Salutation. After the customary response, he turned back to the altar for the collect which he introduced with the invitation to pray. Turning again to the congregation he read the epistle. After it, the choir sang a hymn related to the gospel and the pastor read the gospel of the day. Turning to the altar he intoned, "Credo in unum Deum," and the choir responded by singing, "We All Believe in One True God." The sermon followed, and after it, the pastor at the altar intoned the Preface, beginning with the Salutation. After the Vere dignum, the choir sang the Sanctus without the "Benedictus qui venit." While the choir was singing, the pastor prepared the elements. After the Words of Consecration, he invited the people to join him in prayer, saying: "Let us pray as our Lord Jesus Christ has granted us that we should pray in confidence, saying ..." Then the choir sang the Our Father. After communion, the prayer of thanksgiving was preceded by the Salutation and response. The service closed with the Aaronic Benediction. The sign of the cross was not prescribed.

When there was no Communion, the pastor was to return to the altar after the sermon, and after the Salutation, response, and a prayer, the choir sang a psalm. The pastor introduced the Our Father as in the Mass and the choir sang it. Then the Salutation, response, and closing prayer followed with the choral response, "Grant Us Peace in Mercy Lord" ("Da pacem, Domine, in diebus nostris), or antiphon, "O God, Grant Peace in Your Land, Glory and Salvation to Each Estate" ("Gott, gieb Fried' in Deinem Lande, Glück und Heil zu jedem Stande"). The service closed with the Aaronic Benediction. 1183

In most respects, these directives parallel the directives in the Dortmund 1585 hymnal. However, there is no introit, the *Kyrie* is dropped in favor of the *Kyrie* hymn, the "Et in terra pax" and Laudamus are missing, as is also the "Benedictus qui venit" in the Sanctus. No mention is made of communion hymns, and the benediction is not proceeded by introductory words.

An attempt was made to create and enforce the use of a Dortmund church order early in the seventeenth century. The directive to create such an order was passed by the city council on September 2, 1613, and three years later, on September 24, 1615, its provisional use was ordered. This order was a source of constant contention until it was finally admitted in 1637 that there was no possibility that it would ever be officially approved. 1184

The traditional Lutheran liturgy was forced to give way to a more properly Protestant form of worship when on February 2, 1769, the council ordered that the white surplices (*Röcheln oder Chorhemd*) of the clergy must now give way to the black *talar*, the fluted collar, and the barret. The order, entitled, *Erneuerte Edict wegen der Feier der Son- und Busstage* (*Renewed Edict Concerning the Celebration of Sundays and Days of Repentance*), also abolished the eight monthly days of repentance, daily Matins and Vespers, pastoral chants, and the chanting of the *Magnificat* to the accompaniment of bells. Also forbidden were the chanting of the Apostles' Creed, "Kyrie, God Father in Heaven Above," and "All Glory be to God on High," together with many other long-established liturgical usages. Earlier, on September 23, 1756, private confession had been abolished and a new form of general confession substituted for it. In the eyes of the council, this was the dawning of a new day and a new spiritual age – one in which some elements of the traditional liturgy could be little more than a museum exhibit of fossils of no practical value.¹¹⁸⁵

In the Napoleonic campaigns of 1802, Dortmund lost its status as an imperial free city, and in 1806 it was annexed to the French Grand Duchy of Berg in the prefecture of Ruhr. In 1815, it was made a part of the Prussian Province of Westphalia.

9.3 The Braunschweig-Lüneburg Church Order in the Duchy of Minden

Also annexed to Prussia as a result of the decisions of the Congress of Vienna was the Principality of Minden. This area was among those ceded to Brandenburg by the Peace of Westphalia, but it had been lost to the French as a result of Napo-

leon's triumphant eastward march in the early days of the nineteenth century.

The death of Bishop Franz of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, who had ruled the Bishopric of Minden since 1508, brought with it the possibility to plant the Lutheran Church in Minden. Adalbert Nys, who had been preaching Lutheran doctrine since 1526 in St. Mary's Church, found many allies among the clergy and this made an organized Lutheran movement possible.1186 The work of preparing a church order was undertaken by Nicolaus Krage, and as a result of his effort, the city council accepted a church order on Septuagesimae Sunday 1530. It was entitled: Christlike Ordeninge der Erlyken Stadt Mynden tho denste dem hilgen Euangelio, Ock denn Christliken frede vnd enicheit belangende, mit sampt ytliker vormaninge vor der gemeine Dorch Nico-



Title page of the 1530 Minden church order.

laum Kragen erwelten vnd geescheden predicantenn tho Minden (Christian Order of the Honorable City of Minden in the Service of the Holy Gospel and Matters Concerning Christian Freedom and Unity, Together with Various Admonitions for the Community by Nicolaus Krage, Elected and Installed Preacher at Minden). The church order was in large measure based upon Bugenhagen's Braunschweig 1528 church order and reproduced many of its provisions. The section on the Mass was similar to the Braunschweig order as was also the section on the German Mass.

The Minden church order of 1530 included some unique features which were not found in other orders of that time. Included were an unusual collection of Prefaces and the consecration. The formula for the Easter Preface was divided. The officiant was to sing the Preface until he had concluded the phrase "... is raised and has brought us life again." Then followed immediately the consecration which included the Words of Institution and the elevation. After the elevation and the words, "this do in remembrance of me," the officiant returned to the Preface, singing: "Therefore we sing with all angels, etc.," after which the *Sanctus* and "*Benedictus qui venit*" were sung in a choral setting. 1188

Kirdenordnung:

Bie es mit Christlicher Lere/reichung der Sacrament/Ordination der Diener des Euangelis/Ordentlichen Ceremos nien/Visitation/Consistos rio und Schulen/ Im Herthogsthund Länenburg gehalten wird.



Wittemberg. 1564.

Title page of the 1564 Braunschweig-Lüneburg church order.

The Reformation soon spread to Lübbecke, Rahden, Buchholz, Hemenhusen, Windheim, Weidensahl, Frille, Petershagen, Lütkenbremen, and Holzhausen. After several decades of conflict between the city, the cathedral chapter, and the bishop, the Lutherans finally gained control with the election of Christian of Braunschweig-Lüneburg as bishop-coadjutor in 1597. It soon became evident that the provisions of the Braunschweig 1528 church order were no longer adequate and needed to be supplemented. That need was satisfied in 1619, when Bishop Christian and city clergy adopted as the new church order for Minden the 1564 Braunschweig-Lüneburg church order.1189 This church order had already been used in the parishes of Behlenbeck and Schnadhorst for over twenty years, as was noted in a memoir from 1685 which indicated that this church order had been used there since 1597.1190

Christian served as bishop in Minden until 1633. The forward march of the Counter-Reformation, which succeeded in retaking some parish churches in the bishopric, was finally thwarted by the advances of the Swedish army which took control of the region in the Thirty Years' War. According to the terms of the Peace of Westphalia, the bishopric was secularized and became the principality of Minden ceded to Brandenburg. Brandenburgian rule ensured the Lutherans that they could continue to worship according to their Confessions. During the reign of Elector Friedrich Wilhelm, a quasi-consistory was established in Petershagen, consisting of laymen charged to make decisions in consultation with the Lutheran superintendent. The Brandenburg connection meant that soon the Reformed were introduced into the community, and in February 1681 Reformed Preacher Johann Heuckerod arrived to establish a Reformed congregation at Petershagen which met in the chapel of the episcopal castle. In 1689, he was made a member of what until that time had been a wholly Lutheran consistory.¹¹⁹¹

Because of the influences of Pietism, tensions developed in the Lutheran community concerning the continued use of liturgical chanting. This became a matter of concern to the consistory and the city council. The matter came to a head on August 28, 1696, when the council proposed to the consistory a revision of the church laws and statutes to the effect that the clergy should no longer chant at the altar and that under no circumstances should the Words of Institution or the benediction be chanted since "this was causing great disharmony and confusion in the community." It was noted that this suggestion was being brought to the consistory with the unanimous approval of the city council. The consistory considered the matter, and on December 20, 1696, it resolved that the Latin words of the "Gloria in excelsis Deo" should no longer be chanted and that instead of the usual Salutation before the collect the pastor should say, "The Lord be with you and with his Holy Spirit," while facing the congregation. 1193

Apart from these changes, the 1564 Braunschweig-Lüneburg church order and its later editions continued to be used in the principality of Minden. As elsewhere, the dawning of the Enlightenment caused some clergy and laity to insist that the church's liturgy must be brought up-to-date with new ways of thinking. It was no longer a question of minor adjustments to the Braunschweig-Lüneburg church order but more fundamental changes were required. The pastors were pointed to two new and innovative agendas for guidance. The first was Mutzenbecher's *Collection of Prayers and Formularies for Use in the Divine Service* for the Duchy of Oldenburg, published in Oldenburg by Gerhard Stalling in 1795, and the other was the Rationalist *Schleswig-Holstein Church Agenda*, edited by Jacob Georg Christian Adler and published in Schleswig by Johann Gottlieb Röhß in 1797. Neither of these agendas had official sanction nor did their use become widespread.¹¹⁹⁴

9.4 The Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel Church Order in the Abbey of Corvey

Lutheranism also appeared in the small territory of the former imperial Abbey of Corvey through the efforts of Abbot Franz von Kettler in Höxter. Lutheranism maintained its presence in this area until and during the advance of the Counter-Reformation in the region and the devastations of the Thirty Years' War. ¹¹⁹⁵ After the Peace of Westphalia, the Lutheran dominance was diminished and Lutheran-

Evidence of the Pietist influence in the region is also indicated in the 1691 Essen consistorial order. *Oven* 1828, 80-81; *Urkunden-Sammlung* 1844, 159-162;

¹¹⁹³ Jacobson 1844, 562 fn. 49; Urkunden-Sammlung 1844, 509.

judoson 1044, 302 III. 43, Arkanaen-Sammung 1044, 303.

ism and Roman Catholicism co-existed throughout the region to the point that some parish churches were used by both Lutheran and Roman Catholic congregations. In 1802, Corvey was annexed to Nassau-Oranien and it was secularized the following year. In 1807, it became part of the newly inaugurated Kingdom of Westphalia. As a result of the Congress of Vienna in 1815, Corvey was among the territories given to Prussia and made a part of its Province of Westphalia.

Little information concerning the conduct of worship and ceremonies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Corvey is available. Still, extant are the so-called church orders for congregations of the *Augsburg Confession*, dated July 4, 1666, and October 30, 1690. Both were concerned with church discipline, such as the fines to be levied against those who failed to observe Sabbath and feast day regulations, that is, those who neglected to attend divine services, those who kept taverns open during divine services, those who neglected to have their children baptized, and many other such matters. The 1690 order dealt with relations between Lutherans and Roman Catholics with special consideration given to baptisms and marriages. Neither of these church orders dealt with the conduct of the divine services nor did they indicate what agenda or agendas were being used. 1196



Title page of the 1709 Braunschweig-Lüneburg church order.

The earliest information concerning liturgical worship in this region is found in an annotation which states that the Lutheran parishes of Corvey used the Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel church order of 1709. Erneuerte Kirchen-Ordnung Unser Von Gottes Gnaden Anthon Ulrichs Hertzogen zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg (Renewed Church Order of Anthon Ulrich, by the Grace of God Our Duke of Braunschweig and Lüneburg) was derived from the old church order of Braunschweig-Lüneburg of 1569 as revised and updated in the edition of 1657.1197 The 1709 agenda was the second part of the renewed church order which was ratified on May 1, 1709, in Braunschweig. 1198

This revised and renewed agenda made the following provisions for divine services on Sundays and feast days. The service began with the assembling of the cantor and schoolboys in the choir for the singing of the first hymn: "O Father, almighty God" ("O Vater allmächtiger Gott"). Then the pastor at the altar intoned the "Gloria in excelsis," after which the congregation sang, "All Glory be to God on High," or the full Laudamus, beginning with "And on earth peace to people of good will." After the Salutation and response, he sang the collect of the day or some other appropriate collect. Then facing the congregation, he read the epistle. After the reading, a German hymn was sung appropriate to the sermon text.

The liturgist then was to intone or say, "I believe in one God alone," and the congregation to sing Luther's "We All Believe in One True God." Also, one of two other hymns could be sung before the sermon: "Lord Jesus Christ, Be Present Now" ("Herr Jesu Christ, dich zu uns wend") or "Dearest Jesus We Are Here" ("Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier"). Then the preacher went to the pulpit to read the gospel of the day and preach his sermon. The sermon was to be forty-five minutes long at the most. Then the pastor was to lead the congregation in the prayer of confession and pronounced the absolution and retention. This was followed by the prayer of the church and intercessions and the Our Father. Then appropriate announcements could be made and the pulpit blessing closed the pulpit office.

When there were no communicants, the pastor intoned: "Create in me a clean heart, O God" or some other "offertory verse" appropriate to the day, followed by a collect. Finally, he intoned: "The name of the Lord is to be praised and blessed from now on and forever," and a short hymn of praise ended the service.

At Communion, the pastor left the pulpit during the singing of "To You Alone, Lord Jesus Christ" ("Allein zu dir Herr Jesu Christ") or "O Lord, Look not upon Our Many Sins" ("Sieh nich an unser Sünde groß"). Then from the altar he sang the Preface. At its conclusion, the entire congregation sang a version of the Sanctus: "Holy is God, the Lord of Sabaoth, holy is God, the Lord of Sabaoth, holy is God, the Lord of Sabaoth, all the earth is filled with his glory." Then after a short admonition, the pastor prayed a prayer of thanksgiving. The central theme of the prayer is thankful remembrance of the sacrifice of Christ and the fellowship which was created by the Sacrament and its worthy reception. It concluded with a hymn stanza about right Christian living and action: "Let Us in Your Love" ("Lass uns in deiner Liebe"). This was followed by the Our Father and the Words of Consecration, accompanied by the manual acts. The distribution formula referred to the sacramental species as the very body and the very blood of Christ: "Take and eat, this is the very body of Jesus Christ, given into death for your sins. May it strengthen and preserve you in the true faith to life everlasting. Amen," "Take and drink, this is the very blood of Jesus Christ, shed for your sins. May it strengthen the pastor read Psalm 23 and intoned the versicle, "O Give thanks to the Lord, for he is good," to which the congregation responded, "And his mercy endures forever," or "Bless the Lord, O my soul," to which the congregation responded, "And forget not all his benefits." Then followed Luther's post-communion collect and the Aaronic Benediction. To close the service, the congregation sang the "Nunc Dimittis" or "O Lord, We Praise Thee." Curiously lacking in this service were the introit and *Kyrie* which might be expected to begin the rite. Apart from these omissions the service was traditional. Saturday and Sunday Vespers and provisions for a Sunday early service were also provided.

As expected, this rite still bore a strong resemblance to the Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel liturgy of 1569.¹¹⁹⁹

9.5 Worship Forms in Other Regions of Westphalia

There were many former bishoprics, counties, and principalities, free imperial cities, and other domains which came to be joined to the Province of Westphalia by the Congress of Vienna. In many of these regions, the Reformation had been introduced by Lutherans. Included among them were the territories of Wittgenstein, Tecklenburg, Steinfurt, Siegen, and others. The church life in these lands were regulated according to their own church orders. The church life in these lands were regulated according to their own church orders. In the latter part of the sixteenth century, some of these regions came under allegiance to Reformed confessions either as the result of the introduction of Reformed immigrants or through the defection of princely rulers from Lutheranism to Calvinism. The conversion of the rulers in Nassau and Wittgenstein brought Lutheran influence to an end there. In some cases, new Reformed church orders were written, in other cases, existing Reformed orders and liturgies from other territories were adopted. Lutheranism survived in these territories only in individual congregations or when population movements justified the establishment of new congregations.

The religious situation was further complicated in the seventeenth century by the advances made in some territories by the Counter-Reformation. As a result, some territories which had formerly been Lutheran came under the control of the Roman Catholic Church. Such was the case in Paderborn and elsewhere.

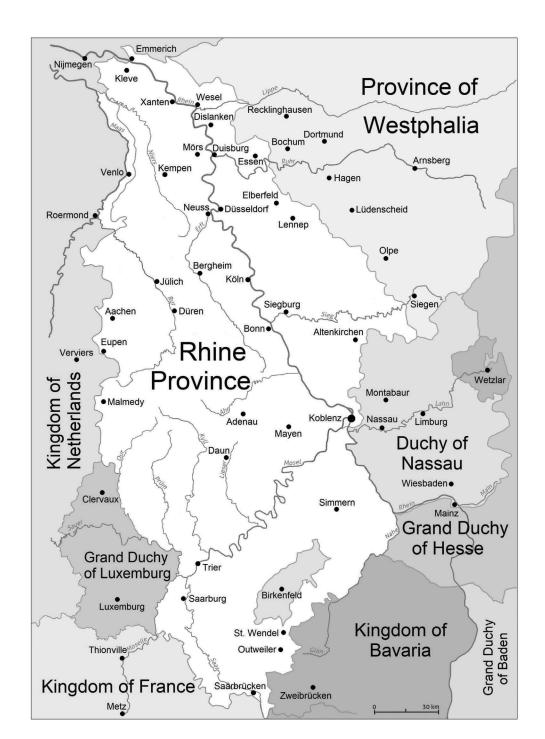
10. LITURGICAL TRADITIONS IN THE RHINE PROVINCE

The Congress of Vienna gave control to Prussia of large territories in the Rhineland most of which had not previously been in any way connected with Prussia. Two new provinces were established. They were the Province of Jülich-Cleve-Berg, which was centered in Köln, and the Province of the Grand Duchy of the Lower Rhine (Germ. *Grossherzogtum Niederrhein*), the capital of which was at Koblenz. The principal cities in Jülich-Cleve-Berg included Köln, Düsseldorf, Duisburg, Bonn, Essen, and Cleve which had been under Prussian control since 1614 when Cleve and Berg were annexed. The Province of the Lower Rhine included Koblenz, Trier, Aachen, and other cities. In 1822, these two provinces were merged into a single unit, called the Rhine Province, and Koblenz was made its capital. Here as in Westphalia, there was a rich mixture of dominant confessions with Lutherans predominating in some regions, and Roman Catholics or the Reformed predominating elsewhere.

10.1 Liturgical Orders in the Duchies of Jülich and Berg

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Lutheran churches in Jülich and Berg did not look back on the united liturgical tradition since no firmly planted liturgical tradition had been able to grow and develop there.

Johann III became the ruler of Jülich and Berg upon the death of his father Johann II in 1521. Johann II had been ruler in Cleve as well, and his son's accession made him the single ruler of Jülich, Cleve, and Berg. In the early days of his reign, Johann III took little notice of the Lutheran Reformation, but with the passing of time, he came to see the need for supporting its introduction and spread. The Reformation had come to Cleve as early as 1518. It was evident that an order was needed to govern the churches. The result was the introduction of a church order formulated and established in Cleve in 1532 by the authority of Johann III. This order did not mention the *Augsburg Confession* by name, but it did state that the Word of God was to be clearly proclaimed that those who hear it might be saved, their lives improved, and peace and order might reign in the community. A new church order which expanded these provisions appeared in 1533, but it still remained general and non-specific in terms of confession. Neither document dealt with liturgical matters, apart from the statement that the Mass was to



be properly celebrated and the sacraments rightly administered. The use of any particular agenda was not specified in the church orders which applied not only in Cleve but in Jülich and Berg as well. 1203

Wilhelm succeeded his father in 1539. He personally strongly supported the *Augsburg Confession*, but the Treaty of Venlo forced him to support the emperor against the Lutherans and he was forced to accept the Augsburg Interim in 1548. Although he was at that time a member of the Roman Church, he fostered the spread of Lutheranism after the Peace of Augsburg in 1555.

As a result of persecutions in France and the Low Countries, there was an influx of Reformed refugees into Jülich-Cleve-Berg. They soon formed congregations and synods, and within a few decades they were the dominant Protestant religious force in Jülich and Berg. By 1609, they were numerically superior. Information concerning the state of the Lutheran Church from this period is meager.

Johann Wilhelm, the son of Wilhelm, came to power in 1592. He suffered from mental disability and Roman Catholic territorial councilors remained in virtual control. They proceeded in their campaign to eliminate the influence of both the Reformed and Lutheran Churches. Johann Wilhelm died in 1609 without leaving an heir. Both Palatinate-Neuburg and Brandenburg claimed the right of succession. The result was a peaceful division between these two houses both of which were at that time Lutheran. After several years of conflict which involved foreign powers as well, the Treaty of Xanten in 1614 gave Jülich and Berg to Palatinate-Neuburg and Cleve, Mark, and Ravensberg to Brandenburg.

In 1612, Wolfgang Wilhelm, Count Palatine of Neuburg, called an assembly of the Lutheran clergy in his territories to meet together and decide about the matters relating to the organization of the church. The assembled clergy decided to introduce the Zweibrücken church order which had first appeared in 1557. Wolfgang Wilhelm agreed to this decision. 1204 It was assumed that from this point forward liturgical worship in the congregations would be ordered according to the directives of the Zweibrücken church order and its agenda, however, in 1614 Wolfgang Wilhelm converted to Roman Catholicism and became a determined and zealous enemy of the Lutheran Church. Now the Lutherans found themselves in a situation even more perilous than in the days of Wolfgang Wilhelm's predecessors. The church had enjoyed only five years of religious liberty, and the two years since their synod had not been enough time for them to organize themselves. The church was now in a struggle for its life. Churches were closed, pastors and believers were oppressed. In 1634, Wolfgang Wilhelm declared that those who opened their doors that worshipers might gather in their homes were to be fined fifty guldens; those who married without the blessing of a Roman priest would be fined twenty-five guldens; anyone who listened to a Protestant sermon outside a church building could be fined four guldens. Conditions did not improve under his successor, Philipp Wilhelm. 1205 Indeed, the measures taken against the Protestants resulted in their growing hatred of the Catholics and everything Catholic, including liturgical forms and ceremonies. Some Lutherans even began to disregard their own liturgical traditions and customs, at least in so far as they were reminders of Catholicism. Now simplicity, lack of ceremonies, and indeed the rejection of traditional outward forms came to be the desired norm. Although the Zweibrücken church order was still official, its liturgical provisions were now ignored. True worship was said to be entirely inward and all outward manifestations and ceremonies were to be eschewed. Not even the hymn tradition remained unaltered. Traditional hymns were rejected as being too ornate and they must be replaced by more simple melodies. True divinity manifested itself in simple songs, simple prayers, and simple sermons on the divine word. True religion, it was asserted by some, is as a matter of the heart. The appearance of a vested pastor with a book of liturgical formulas in his hand was met with distrust. Books contained "dead letters" which were cold and hard and were unworthy to be compared to a warm spirit-filled-heart. The result was growing individualism and liturgical disorder as divine services came to differ greatly from one congregation to another. 1206

The synods of Berg in 1643 and Lennep in 1655 attempted to create order. They reaffirmed the position of the Zweibrücken church order but were unable to restore the needed order. Some pastors and congregations insisted on going their own way. 1207

Attempts were made to establish some order in church administration by dividing the pastors and congregations into so-called classes. Three were established in Jülich and Lower and Upper Berg (*Unter-, Oberberg*). Each class was assigned a senior and an assessor, and beginning in 1665, each class was organized into a kind of quasi-consistory. In 1704, the classes were reorganized. Now there would be six classes instead of three – in Jülich, Lennep, Düsseldorf, Miseloh, Windeck, and Blankenberg. Each of these classes would consist in six to eight congregations. ¹²⁰⁸

In 1687, Cleve and Mark worked together to formulate and adopt their own church order while Jülich and Berg looked on with interest. Finally at the synod in Volberg of 1717, the delegates decided to follow the example of the Mark and prepare a new church order to meet their particular needs. The synod of

¹²⁰⁵ Oven 1828, 88-90.

¹²⁰⁶ Oven 1828, 92-93.

Oven 1626, 92-9.

1719 at Eckenhagen added a resolution to prepare an agenda and a committee was named to do so. No church order was forthcoming, and in 1735 the call to prepare a new church order was renewed. The committee assigned to accomplish this task was instructed to consult the Zweibrücken, Frankfurt (Main), Mark, and other church orders, agendas, and other authoritative documents. Progress lagged. The matter was taken up again by delegates of the 1768 general synod at Volberg. It resolved that a committee consisting of the assessors should consult the best agendas and on their basis prepare suitable orders for Baptism, the Lord's Supper, ordination, marriage, confirmation, and other necessary rites and prayers in order that worship unity might be achieved. The assignment of this project indicated that the delegates were reaffirming the old Zweibrücken church order, but at the same time, they were recognizing that it was necessary to create their own agenda in place of it.¹²¹⁰

Still, no final results came of these resolutions. The general synod at Volberg took up the matter again in 1780, resolving that assessor Bergmann, Pastor Theodor Heinrich Zacharias Middendorf, and Pastor Heinrich Christoph Scheibler should now take up the task of assembling materials to be shared with the inspectors and subsequently with the assessors of the six classes and all the pastors. The same matter was once again brought to the floor in the 1781 synod at Radevormwald. At this synod, the delegates assigned each member of the committee special duties. The work of preparing of formularies for Baptism, Lord's Supper, the churching of women, and confession and absolution was given to assessor Bergmann. Pastor Middendorf was given the task of preparing the formularies for churchly repentance, ordination, and installation. Pastor Scheibler was asked to prepare the services of marriage and the form for the setting apart of elders, but still, progress toward the goal of a new agenda lagged. The attention of the delegates laid elsewhere. In 1800, it was resolved to establish a commission to consider anew the whole matter of a new ministerial organization and church order. 1211

The task of the committee assigned to prepare the agenda was indeed formidable. It would be difficult to prepare a form of liturgical worship which would be warmly welcomed and adopted in congregations which had long settled matters of liturgy to their own satisfaction. In addition, liturgical confusion was now increasing with the spread of many new liturgies which sought to capture in words and formulas the spirit of the Enlightenment. It was impossible to reconcile the old and the new. In so far as congregations were willing to change their forms of worship at all, the forms they were adopting were those prepared by such Neologists as Zollikofer in his 1777 work, the numerous liturgical works of Seiler, and the new 1783 agenda for Electoral Palatinate. Under such circumstances, litur-

gical unity was bound to remain a dream which could only be realized at some future date. 1212

Two presently available liturgical texts describe the divine services in Jülich and Berg. One of these is the Zweibrücken church order of 1557 which retained official status in the churches for many decades and was reprinted several times. Another was little more than the draft or outline of the Divine Service used in Lennep. The terminology used in this outline indicates that it was probably used in the middle decades of the eighteenth century. For example, the "Tischlead" (hymn of thanksgiving) was not used before that time. 1214

The Sunday liturgy at Lennep began with the "Te Deum laudamus." Then the pastor intoned the "Gloria in excelsis" and the congregation sang a hymn on the same general theme as the sermon of the day. There followed a prayer by the pastor which had in it a confession of sins, after which the congregation sang the Kyrie. Then the pastor sang a collect, preceded by a versicle and response. It was to be followed by the free altar prayer, not bound to any printed form. After it, the Our Father was prayed and then the reading of an epistle. After the epistle, the congregation sang the Creed, most likely Luther's "We All Believe in One True God." Then followed the pulpit office which consisted in seven parts: Introduction with Our Father - Hymn or hymn stanza - Reading of the gospel -Sermon - The prayer of Manasseh - Intercessory prayer with the Our Father -Announcements - Pulpit blessing. Then while the communicants gathered before the altar, the congregation sang, "O Christ, Thou Lamb of God." Then followed the celebration of the Lord's Supper with the singing of the Words of Institution. No details concerning this celebration were included in the outline. No specific reference is made to the use of Latin. The designation, "Gloria in excelsis Deo," was provided only for the sake of identification, however, on the day of repentance and prayer the service began with the traditional Latin versicle and response, "Veni, Sancte Spiritus" and "Emitte Spiritum tuum," and the collect for Pentecost Day, all of them in Latin. The general rubrics stated that on the high feasts the liturgy was to include both Latin and German antiphons and responses. Even in the hostile environment in which these Lutherans found themselves and in a period when clergy and laity alike were reacting strongly against many vestiges of traditional ceremonial, the use of Latin still continued. 1215

As in many neighboring territories, Jülich and Berg came under French control, and in 1795 they were separated in the aftermath of the First Coalition War

¹²¹² Anreden und Gebete 1777; Ordnung Gebete und Handlungen 1783; Seiler 1785; Liturgisches Journal V 1806, 318; Graff II 1994, 11.

¹²¹³ A description of the Zweibrücken liturgy can be found in the chapter on Zweibrücken

fought by several European powers against the French First Republic. Jülich was absorbed into France, and in 1806 Berg became the Grand Duchy of Berg. Both were Napoleonic satellite states which absorbed several neighboring territories. In 1815, Jülich and Berg were made a part of the Prussian Province of Jülich, Cleve, and Berg which was united in 1822 with the Province of the Grand Duchy of the Lower Rhine to form the new Rhine Province.

10.2 Worship Rites in Essen and Vicinity

The city of Essen had known the presence of Lutherans from the early days of the Reformation. Essen itself was originally the possession of an Abbey, administered by princess-abbesses as an Abbey-Town (Germ. *Abtei-Stadt*). Beginning in the fourteenth century, the city council came to play an increasingly prominent role in the administration of the city. The first evidence of Lutheran influence could be seen in the introduction of a Lutheran hymnal in 1561. Subsequently, the city council requested Duke Wolfgang Wilhelm of Zweibrücken to send them a Lutheran pastor. This led to the installation of Pastor Heinrich Barenbroch of Kempen who preached his first sermon in Essen in 1563. This also led to the adoption by the church of the so-called "Eleven Articles of the Clergy" ("11 Prediger-Artikel"), drawn from the Zweibrücken church order of 1557. The Zweibrücken order also became normative in the church's liturgical services.¹²¹⁶

The Essen church withstood the tribulations of the Counter-Reformation and the Thirty Years' War, and on January 23, 1664, it enacted its own church order which stated that in doctrine and ceremonies no pastor was to introduce any unusual matters or deviate from the established norm. The Lord's Supper was to be celebrated on all high feasts, as well as the Sunday immediately preceding and following them, and it was also to be celebrated throughout the year every fourth Sunday. Several yearly observances in addition to those already listed in the church order were designated. The church order was unnamed but the reference was clearly to the Zweibrücken church order. The church had long since an established consistory to administer church affairs and this church order dealt also with some matters pertaining to the discharge of their responsibilities. 1217 Consistorial matters were dealt with more directly in an order for church and clergy, dated December 1, 1691. Among its directives, it stated that the Lord's Supper was to be celebrated two Sundays in succession for communicants who had been properly examined. The church order also dealt with further instructions concerning the Lord's Supper, as well as the prayers and hymns to be sung and the elements to be administered. Article XXI indicated that the influences of Pietism were already being felt. These influences affected the liturgical services. The article stated that the worshipers had heard the prayers and admonitions of the divine word and sang the same hymns so often that only "their outward mouth and ears" were involved and "their hearts were little touched." Therefore, the services must henceforth be more devotional and that the usual collects, hymns, and prayers must give way to new and more devotional collects, hymns, and prayers. So too, changes must be made in the distribution of the Lord's Supper, and pastors must make greater use of such devotional writings as Johann Arndt's *Paradiesgärtlein* (*Little Garden of Paradise*) and the devotional works of other spiritual writers. Great emphasis was given to pastoral freedom from the necessity of closely following the liturgical forms in the Zweibrücken church order. Subsequently, the use of the old forms dwindled and the old church order was more and more laid aside.¹²¹⁸

In 1802, Essen was annexed by Prussia and in 1803 the principality was secularized. On September 13, 1808, a new church order was adopted. It dealt almost exclusively with the constitution and work of the consistory and diaconate. It might well have been called a consistorial order rather than a church order. It did not deal with any liturgical issues and it gave no information about the influence of Rationalism in Essen and its effects on public worship. 1219 Secondary sources do not speak of these matters, a possible indication that the influence of Rationalism was limited or negligible. In 1815, Essen was united with the Province of Jülich-Cleve-Berg administered from Köln.

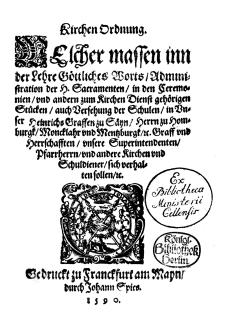
10.3 The 1590 Church Order of the County of Sayn

In 1815, Prussia received two adjacent counties, Sayn-Altenkirchen and Sayn-Hachenburg. In both territories, Lutheranism had traditionally predominated and a church order, dated from 1590, was still in use.

After the death of Johann V, the County of Sayn was divided in 1555 between his sons Johann VI and Sebastian. When five years later, in 1560, Johann VI died, his holdings passed on to his sons Adolph, Hermann, and Heinrich IV. In 1573, Sebastian II died without heir, so his holdings were inherited by the sons of his late brother Johann VI. By that time, Adolph, the oldest brother, had died, and in 1588 a second brother, Hermann, died, leaving only Heinrich IV as possessor of the entire county and the last male descendant of the line. 1220

It was Sebastian who first introduced Lutheranism into his territories. His brother Johann VI remained Roman Catholic, but after his death, his sons began to introduce the Lutheran Reformation. It was mainly Heinrich IV who was responsible. He had earlier served as dean of the cathedral in Köln but had left his office and married. In the earliest period, Lutheran church life and liturgy were regulated by the Electoral Palatinate church order of 1556. 1221 This order had been published in Neuburg under the title: Kirchen Ordnung. Wie es mit der Christenlichen Leere, heiligen Sacramenten, vnnd Ceremonien, inn des Durchleuchtigsten Hochgebornen Fürsten vnnd Herren, Herrn Ottheinrichs, Pfaltzgrauen bey Rhein, des heiligen Römmischen Reichs Ertzdruchsessen vnnd Churfürsten, Hertzogen in Nidern vnn Obern Bayrn etc. Chur vnnd Fürstenthumben gehalten wirdt (Church Order, as It Should Be Observed with Christian Doctrine, the Holy Sacraments, and Ceremonies in the Electorate and Principalities of the Most Serene, Highborn Prince and Lord, Sir Otto Heinrich, Count Palatine by the Rhine, Arch-Steward and Prince-Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Duke in Lower and Upper Bavaria, etc.). This church order was used until in 1590 Heinrich IV replaced it with a church order prepared especially for use in his county.

The church order for the County of Sayn was published in 1590 in Frankfurt (Main) by Johann Spies under the title: Kirchen Ordnung, Welcher Massen inn der Lehre Göttliches Worts, Administration der H. Sacramenten, in den Ceremonien, und andern zum Kirchen Dienst gehörige Stücken, auch Versehung der Schulen, in Unser Heinrichs, Grafen zu Sayn, Herrn zu Homburgk, Moncklahr und Mentzburgk, etc. Graff und Herrschafften, Unsere Superintendenten, Pfarrherrn, und andere Kirchen und Schul Diener sich verhalten sollen, etc. (Church Order, with the Doctrine Measured by the Divine Word, the Administration of the Holy Sacraments, the Ceremonies and Other Matters Belonging to the Church's Ministry, and the Maintenance of Schools, as It Should Be Observed by Superintendents, Parish Pastors, and Other Church and School Ministrants, etc., in the County and Lordships of



Title page of the 1590 Sayn church order.

Heinrich, Our Count of Sayn, Lord of Homburg, Montclair, and Meinsberg).

This new order sought to cover in a comprehensive manner all aspects of the life of the church in the county. Details concerning the celebration of the Lord's Supper were given in a section, entitled: "The Order of the Supper of Our Lord Jesus Christ," which is separate from the description of the Divine Service, found in the chapter on the ceremonies of the church. However, an examination of the latter chapter shows that it was expected that the usual divine services would include the celebration of the Lord's Supper. A clear statement to this effect can be found in the chapter on the order of the Lord's Supper which states that Communion was to be celebrated on Sundays and other Christian feasts in the Christian assembly of the congregation.

The Divine Service was to begin with the singing of a German psalm. Then the pastor was to read a collect and then the epistle. This was followed by a second psalm or the hymn, "All Glory be to God on High." Then the gospel was read, and after it, the Creed was sung. This was followed by the sermon which was to begin with a prayer. After the sermon and the prayer of the church, a short psalm was to be sung while the communicants gathered in front of the altar. The order then proceeded as in the section on the order for the Lord's Supper. The pastor read an admonition and instruction concerning the Venerable Sacrament of the Altar. After this, he was to sing the Our Father and the Verba. The congregation might join in singing the Our Father with him in German. The body and blood of Christ were to be distributed with the words: "Take and eat, this is the body of Christ, given for you," and "Take and drink, this is the blood of the New Testament, shed for your sins." During communion, either "O Lord, We Praise Thee" or "Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior" could be sung. No provision was made for the use of either the Sanctus or the Agnus Dei. Following communion, the pastor was to speak the prayer of thanksgiving without a versicle. Then the service concluded with the Aaronic Benediction.

No provisions were made for Vespers on Saturdays or Matins on Sundays. However, provision was made for a Sunday afternoon service which consisted in the singing of a psalm or the Ten Commandments, or the Our Father, or "To Jordan Came the Christ, Our Lord," and other hymns followed by a short catechetical sermon and instruction. The pastor was also to ask the children questions concerning their memorization of the Ten Commandments and the explanations from Luther's *Small Catechism*, as well as the other chief parts of the catechism until the whole catechism was learned. Then the process was to begin again. The examination closed with prayer. Finally, the congregation was to sing, "Lord, Keep Us Steadfast in Thy Word" and "Grant Peace, We Pray, in Mercy, Lord," after which the service was to close with a collect and the benediction.

No provision was made for introits, graduals, sequence-hymns, the *Kyrie*, the festal "*Gloria in excelsis Deo*," the Preface, the *Sanctus*, or the *Agnus Dei*. In Baptism, neither the exorcism nor the consignation was included. Strong emphasis was put on doctrine, and it was made clear to all that this doctrine must conform to the *Augsburg Confession*. The order stated that preachers must remember that outward ceremonies and orders are not in themselves divine worship or any part of it but were established for the sake of good order. However in order not to cause offence, Christian freedom must be practiced in such a way that disunity in ceremonies and usages in outward things are avoided. It was also noted that although the divine services should and must remain in the language known by the people, still for the sake of the schoolchildren, it was permitted that on occasion they might sing Latin songs from the Holy Scriptures or in agreement with the Holy Scriptures, as long as the greater part of the service continued in German. In no case was any music to be permitted that was not in agreement with the Scriptures.¹²²²

In his testament of 1592, Heinrich IV mandated the use of the *Augsburg Confession* and insisted that "no other religion, doctrine, or faith was to be introduced in place of it." ¹²²³

As Heinrich IV grew older and increasingly weaker, he found it necessary to turn over the reins of government in 1605, to Wilhelm III, Count of Sayn-Wittgenstein-Sayn, who although he was himself a Calvinist, promised that he would maintain the Lutheran confession in Sayn. He had been educated in the Reformed doctrine by Caspar Olevianus, court preacher and professor at Berleburg. After assuming control of Heinrich IV's domains, he did not keep his word, and while Heinrich IV was on his deathbed, he began to introduce Calvinism by force. 1224

In order to accomplish the calvinization of the County of Sayn, Wilhelm III called upon the services of Jakob Hermannus and Reinhard Susenbethus of Nassau-Dillenburg. On October 9, 1605, he charged them to begin a Calvinist Reformation in the land and ordered that any Lutheran clergy, teachers, or other officials, who were not willing to accept the Reformed doctrine, were to be forcibly removed from office. Hermannus and Susenbethus were to visit every Lutheran parish in the county, one by one, and mark the degree of faithfulness to the Reformed religion of every clergyman and present their report to the count. 1225

Their report to Wilhelm III stated that Johann Scipio, pastor in Kirburg, had studied diligently the Calvinist writings and come to understand Reformed teachings thoroughly but still insisted that he needed "further instruction in this true

¹²²² Kirchen Ordnung 1590, 87-102.

doctrine" before he could accept it. Several other pastors, including Bartholomäus Textorius of Höchstenbach, Eberhardus Worniger of Kirchen, Laurentius Ellen of Rossbach, Honoricus Willrich of Mehren, Valentinus Apiarius of Birnbach, and Georgius Tragius of Hamm, stated that they needed more time to consider conversion. Other pastors were more decisive in declaring themselves as thoroughly opposed to the Reformed confession. They included Pastors Heimann Mudersbach of Gebhardshain, Adamus Klingspan of Fischbach-Freusburg, Alexander Zitopäus of Croppach, Henricus Hachenburg of Almersbach, Peter Merkator of Schöneberg, Zacharias Stazelius of Flammersfeld, and Engelbertus Salchendorf of Daaden. Of them, Count Wilhelm III noted on the margins of the report that they were to be removed "from before his face." Magister Johannes Grymeus, pastor of Neunkirchen, asked Susenbethus for some books to study and said that he hoped that they would help him to find "peace of conscience," but the parish visitor noted in his report that he very much doubted Grymeus' seriousness. The count noted on the margins of the report that the "good magister" would find plenty of time to seek peace of conscience after he had left the parish. Another teacher about whom the visitors expressed doubts as to whether he would convert was Magister Casparus of Hachenburg. The count's response was that, as in the case of the clergy, this teacher must either convert or leave.

All the pastors, except only Laurentius Ellen of Rossbach, were forced to leave their parishes. They would not compromise. Even Johann Scipio at Kirburg, who at first had stated that he was considering conversion, refused further indoctrination and was removed from office. Those who did not leave peacefully were forced out by military personnel, and the count sent Reformed ministers from Nassau-Dillenburg to take their places. In Hachenburg, Altstatt, Höchstenbach, Hamen, Schöneberg, Altenkirchen, Daaden, Almershach, Mehren, Alpenrod, Flammersfeld, Croppach, Birnbach, Kirburg, Maxsain, Freusburg, Fischbach, Gerbertshayn, and Bendorf Lutheranism was banished so that the Reformed confession would hold sway. 1226

The introduction of the *Heidelberg Catechism* into the parishes was ordered by Wilhelm III on May 21, 1606. At the same time, he ordered the removal of all altars and church organs and the elimination of exorcism in the baptismal liturgy, along with other Lutheran ceremonies which he labeled "superstitious." ¹²²⁷

Even though they were deprived of Lutheran clergy, Lutheran preaching, and Lutheran liturgy, most of the population insisted on remaining true to the Lutheran doctrine and customs with which they had been raised. The twenty Lutheran parishes in the county were now in the hands of the Reformed, and the Lutherans were forbidden to leave the county to attend Lutheran services elsewhere.

During the Thirty Years' War, the Reformed clergy found themselves oppressed and persecuted by hostile soldiers who raided the churches, destroyed parish documents, and parish journals. From this point on, Calvinism found itself not only unable to move forward in its task of calvinizing of the county, but it was forcibly removed from some parishes. Such was the case in Freusburg which in 1626 converted to Roman Catholicism. 1228

Lutheran Countess Louise Juliane at Erbach, who married Ernst of Sayn-Wittgenstein-Sayn, was able to restore the Lutheran Church in this region only after she had taken possession of the County of Hachenburg. She appointed Court Preacher Johann Ludwig Dumphius, who was a staunch Lutheran, to carry out the reintroduction process.¹²²⁹

Lutheranism was also reintroduced into other congregations in Hachenburg. Many Reformed ministers in the parishes there had either died or were now aged and needed to retire. Their places were taken by Lutheran pastors. This process returned Lutheranism to Hamm and Alpenrod in 1650, Höchstenbach in 1651, and Bendorf in 1654. Although Reformed members were told that they would be supplied with a Reformed minister, this promise was not fulfilled. It was only later that Reformed ministers were readmitted and the parishes were divided. Reformed congregations with reduced income were established in Alpenrod in 1652, in Hamm and Hachenburg in 1664, and in Höchstenbach in 1671. Bendorf remained entirely Lutheran. 1230

Wilhelm III's son, Ernst at Sayn-Wittgenstein and Homburg, who ruled from 1623 until 1632 followed the same policy. He was succeeded by Ludwig who died in 1636 without male heir. In 1652, the land was divided between his sisters Ernestine and Johanneta. Johanneta inherited Sayn-Altenkirchen. In 1661, she married Duke Johann Georg II of Saxe-Eisenach, a staunch Lutheran, who reversed the policy of his predecessors and restored Lutheranism. The church order of 1590 was again given official status and a Lutheran consistory took its seat in Altenkirchen. Ernestine inherited County Sayn-Hachenburg. She married Salentin Ernst, Count of Manderscheid-Blankenheim. In Sayn-Hachenburg too, Lutheranism again became the dominant faith and the consistory in Hachenburg once again gave official status to the 1590 church order. This order was reprinted in Eisenach in 1683 under the same title: Kirchenordnung, welchermaaßen in der Lehre des göttlichen Worts, Administration der heiligen Sacramente, in den Ceremonien und andern zum Kirchendienste gehörigen Stücken, auch Versehung der Schulen in Unser, Heinrichs, Grafen zu Sayn, Herrn zu Homburgk, Monklar und Mentzberg etc., Graff- und Herrschaften, unserm Superintendenten, Pfarrherrn und andern Kirchen- und Schul-Diener sich verhalten sollen etc. (Church Order, with the Doctrine Measured by the Divine Word, the Administration of the Holy Sacrament, the Ceremonies and Other Matters Belonging to the Church's Ministry, also the Maintenance of Schools, as It Should Be Observed by Superintendents, Parish Pastors, and Other Church and School Ministrants, etc., in the County and Lordships of Heinrich, Our Count of Sayn, Lord of Homburg, Montclair, and Meinsberg). 1231

In 1741, Sayn-Altenkirchen was united with Ansbach-Bayreuth, in 1792 with Prussia, in 1803 with Nassau, and in 1815 it was ceded again to Prussia. Following Ernestine's death, in 1675 Sayn-Hachenburg came under rule of the burgraves of Kirchberg. It passed in 1799 to Nassau and to Prussia in 1815. Through this entire period, the 1590 church order continued in force.¹²³²

10.4 Hessian Church Orders in the County of Solms

In 1815, the counties of Solms-Braunfels and Solms-Hohensolms-Lich were attached to Prussia. The church in Solms-Braunfels had since the late sixteenth century been Reformed, however, the church in Solms-Hohensolms-Lich had been and remained Lutheran throughout its post-Reformation history.

In 1436, the County of Solms underwent the first of what would prove to be numerous divisions when Bernhard II, son of Otto, took possession of Solms-Braunfels, while his brother Johann took possession of Solms-Lich-Hohensolms. Johann's territory went through further divisions and was finally reunited after the death of Hermann Adolf Moritz in 1718. The old name was revived with a juxta-possession: Solms-Hohensolms-Lich.¹²³³

The Reformation came to Solms-Braunfels through the efforts of Count Philipp of Solms-Braunfels in 1546 with the adoption there of the *Augsburg Confession*. The church's Lutheran character was reaffirmed in 1558 through a general visitation. In 1579, however, the count converted from Lutheranism to Calvinism, according to the model already established at Nassau with the collaboration of the Nassau Preacher Friedrich Widebrand. From this point forward, the church remained Calvinist and was governed by the terms of the Electoral Palatinate agenda of 1563.¹²³⁴

Under Count Conrad, Philipp's son, who ruled from 1581 until 1592, altars and pictures were removed from the churches and a simple Reformed service, which featured the breaking of the bread, predominated everywhere in the county. Conrad introduced the new church order, dated December 6, 1582, which had earlier been presented and accepted at a meeting of the clergy in Hungen on September 7. This

¹²³¹ Kirchenordnung 1683; Dahlhoff 1874, 60.

¹²³² Jacobson 1844, 584-593.

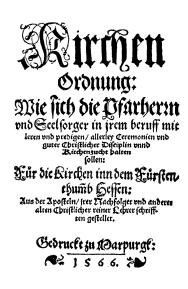
¹²³³ *Jacobson* 1844, 611, 619.

Jacobson 1044, 011, 017.

church order governed all doctrine, worship, and discipline, directing that all these matters were determined by the count and his government. This new church order initiated and enforced the typical Reformed requirements and noted again and again the onerous penalties which would be imposed upon any clergy or church members who did not follow the terms of the church order. Weekly Communion was replaced by a Communion service to be held at least once every six weeks, announced eight days in advance, prepared for by prospective communicants very rigorously.¹²³⁶

Count Johann Albrecht I of Solms-Braunfels, who had been educated at Strasburg under Reformed influence, reinforced the 1582 Church Order in 1602, strengthening its penalties. In 1600 he was already made court-master of Friedrich IV of the Electoral Palatinate and for twenty-one years he remained in that position as a staunch representative of the Reformed Church. 1237

Solms-Hohensolms-Lich received the Lutheran Reformation from the land of Hesse in 1544. It remained Lutheran and was ordered according to the terms of the Hesse church order of 1566 which was published in Marburg under the title: Kirchen Ordnung: Wie sich die Pfarherrn vnd Seelsorger in jrem beruff mit leren vnd predigen, allerley Ceremonien vnd guter Christlicher Disciplin vnnd Kirchenzucht halten sollen. Für die Kirchen inn dem Fürstenthummb Hessen: Aus der Aposteln, jrer Nachfolger und anderer alten Christlicher reiner Lehrer schrifften gestellet (Church Order, as It Should Be Observed by Parish Pastors and Chaplains in Their Office with Doctrines and Sermons, All Ceremonies, and Proper Christian Behavior and Church Discipline. For the Churches in the Principality of Hesse, Put Together from the Apostles, Their Successors, and Other Pure Teachers of Ancient



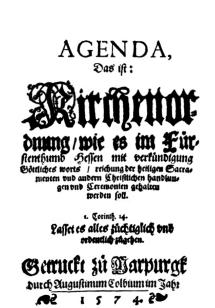
Title page of the 1566 Hesse church order.

Christendom). This order was influenced by the 1540 agenda of Duke Heinrich, the church order of Kassel, 1539, the so-called "Reformation of Cologne" of Hermann von Wied, 1543, and the 1543 *Agend Büchlein* of Veit Dietrich. ¹²³⁸

¹²³⁶ Printed in *Jacobson II* 1844, 557-562; *Richter II* 1871, 458-460.

A brief draft of the Sunday Divine Service was included. The service began with the singing of one or two psalms. This was followed by the confession of sins and the absolution. In the place of the confession, the whole congregation might instead sing Psalm 51, "Have mercy upon me, O Lord." After it, the congregation sang the *Kyrie*, the "Gloria in excelsis" and "Et in terra pax" in German. This was followed by the collect or some other appropriate prayer. After the epistle had been read, the appropriate seasonal sequence was sung, or some other psalm, and hymn of praise appropriate to the season might be sung instead. The gospel was then read, and at its conclusion, the entire congregation sang the Creed. Next came the sermon, and after it, prayer, confession of sins, and the absolution, as well as relevant announcements and admonitions concerning almsgiving and thanksgiving. Next followed the Lord's Supper according to the order of the Kassel church order of 1539.¹²³⁹

Under a separate section, the celebration of the Lord's Supper was described in greater detail. It indicated that a special service was to be held the day before the Lord's Supper for the admonition and encouragement of the communicants who would then register their intention to commune with the seniors who were



to question them concerning their faith and life. When all had been registered, the pastor led them in prayer and dismissed them with the blessing.¹²⁴⁰

Later, in 1574, an agenda was published in Marburg as a separate document: Agenda Das ist: Kirchenordnung, wie es im Fürstenthumb Hessen mit verkündigung Göttliches worts, reichung der heiligen Sacramenten vnd andern Christlichen handlungen vnd Ceremonien gehalten werden soll (Agenda, that Is, the Church Order, as It Should Be Observed with the Proclamation of the Divine Word, the Administration of the Holy Sacraments, and Other Christian Ministrations and Ceremonies in the Principality of Hesse). The liturgy in this document differed little from the earlier book, but now it included a full complement of collects and prayers for all occasions.

This service began with the children on bended knee singing, "Come, Holy Ghost, God and Lord." Then the proper introit was sung, or for general use, the introit for Trinity. This was followed by the *Kyrie*, *Gloria* and *Et in terra*. After this, the epistle for the day was sung and then the Sequence for Trinity or a proper sequence, or an appropriate German hymn. The gospel was then to be read from the altar, followed by the Apostles' Creed sung word-by-word in German, or Luther's "We All Believe in One True God" might be sung. Other alternatives were also provided. The Nicene Creed might be sung in German, or instead of it, "All Praise to Thee, Eternal God" ("*Grates nunc omnes*"), or some other hymn might be sung and after that the Nicene or Athanasian Creed.

The pulpit office began with a short admonition to prayer and the Our Father or an appropriate seasonal hymn. Then the text was read and the sermon followed. At the conclusion of the sermon, the pastor delivered a short admonition to the communicants. This was followed by confession and absolution, along with the retention. Then the prayer of the church was prayed with an admonition concerning the giving of alms for the poor, and the pulpit office was closed with a reminder to the non-communicants that they were expected to remain until the end of the service. During the singing of "Praise the Lord All Nations" ("Lobet den Herren alle Heiden") or some other short Christian hymn, the pastor returned to the altar. On the high feasts, confirmation then followed before the Communion.¹²⁴¹

The Communion service began with an abbreviated Preface, spoken by the pastor:

"Lift up your hearts to the Lord God, for it is good and right that we should do so, and wholesome also that we should at all times and in all places call upon you, Lord, Holy Father, Holy God, through Jesus Christ, our Lord."

This lead into the Our Father. The pastor then introduced the Words of Institution, saying:

"Hear now with devout hearts and true faith the words of the Supper of Our Lord Jesus Christ. Thus wrote the holy evangelists and apostles Matthew, Mark, Luke, and St. Paul: 'Our Lord Jesus Christ in the night when he was betrayed...'."

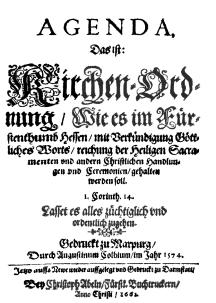
These introductory words left the question of the character of the recitation somewhat unclear. There was no indication given about manual acts, such as the sign of the cross, or whether the pastor was to face the altar or the congregation. The distribution rubrics referred to the elements as blessed. The pastor then invited those who had registered the day before to come forward with true faith and Christian obedience. No distribution formula was included, but it was noted that if there were a large number of communicants, the congregation may sing: "O Lord, We Praise Thee" or "Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior."

Communion was followed by the Salutation without response. The pastor then immediately continued: "Let us pray and give thanks to the Lord." He was then given a choice of two post-communion collects both of which were based on Luther's post-communion thanksgiving. He then dismissed the congregation with the Aaronic Benediction. 1242

Also included was a so-called "early or midday service" which began with a German psalm and ended with a short hymn of praise. Vespers, or "Children's Sermons," was somewhat more elaborate. It was to begin with a psalm in Latin or German, together with the *Magnificat*. It was to include a sermon and an instruction for children. The service concluded with the hymn, "Lord, Keep Us Steadfast in Thy Word," or some other familiar hymn. Saturday evening Vespers was to begin with one, two, or three psalms in German or Latin. It was to include an admonition to the communicants. Elsewhere, it was stated that in Vespers the *Magnificat* was to be sung in German, although occasionally it might be in Latin. There was also to be every month a Wednesday or Friday gathering for a day of Christian repentance or conversion to God.¹²⁴³

The Hessian Divine Service, which was introduced to Solms-Hohensolms-Lich, can be described as eclectic. The Service of the Word contained notable traditional elements, such as the introit, Kyrie, Gloria and Et in terra, and the sequences. However, there seems to be no provision for the Salutation and collect before the epistle, a departure from the earlier 1566 church order. In the Service of the Sacrament, tradition seems to have been disregarded. Even though Communion was to be held weekly, bi-weekly, or monthly according to circumstances, not only does the service lack the traditional Prefaces, Sanctus, Benedictus qui venit, Pax Domini, and Agnus Dei, but neither is there included as alternatives to these Luther's paraphrase of the Our Father, "Isaiah, Mighty Seer," and "Lamb of God, Pure and Holy." Also the character of the Verba in this service is unclear and there is no distribution formula, even though by the time of the appearance of this rite the inclusion of such formulas had become something of an act of confession in the church orders. There is no sign of the cross anywhere in any service, and along with the exorcism, the consignation has been removed from the baptismal rite. The Sacrament is referred to as "blessed bread and wine." The agenda includes an elaborate rite of confirmation which may be taken as a consequence of the close association between Philipp of Hesse and Martin Bucer. It should be noted that in the scrutinies in the confirmation rite the Lord's Supper is described as a "Sacrament or divine activity in which the Lord Christ is himself present and gives us, together with the bread and wine, his own true body and blood as a certain assurance that our sins had been forgiven and we shall be with him in eternal life,"1244 a description which may be seen to be somewhat less definitive than Luther's statements in the sixth chief part of the *Small Catechism*.

A new edition of the Hessian agenda appeared in 1662 in Darmstadt under the title: Agenda, Das ist: Kirchen-Ordnung, Wie es im Fürstenthumb Hessen, mit Verkündigung Göttliches Worts, reichung der Heiligen Sacramenten und andern Christlichen Handlungen und Ceremonien, gehalten werden soll (Agenda, that Is, the Church Order, as It Should Be Observed with the Proclamation of the Divine Word, the Administration of the Holy Sacraments, and Other Christian Ministrations and Ceremonies in the Principality of Hesse). This agenda was also introduced into Solms-Hohensolms-Lich and continued in force there until the opening decades of the nineteenth century.1245 It was reprinted in 1724 in Darmstadt. 1246 In



Title page of the 1662 Hesse-Darmstadt agenda.

1806, this territory was incorporated into the Grand Duchy of Hesse-Darmstadt and in 1815 it was ceded to Prussia.

10.5 The Nassau-Weilburg Church Orders at a Judicial District of Atzbach

In 1815-1816, parts of Nassau-Weilburg (*Justizamt Atzbach*), including the districts of Atzbach, Launsbach, Lützellinden, Rechtenbach, and some other places, were ceded to Prussia. All these territories, which had formerly been included in Nassau-Weilburg, continued to use the liturgy of the churches of those regions.

The Reformation had been introduced to Nassau-Weilburg in 1523 during the reign of Count Philipp III. Its first church order was formulated in 1533. Little is known of it.¹²⁴⁷ The church was administered by its consistory and by a general superintendent. A "special" superintendent was appointed for the Gleiberg and

¹²⁴⁴ Agenda 1574, 69.

Hüttenberg region and the land on the Lahn. Another church order appeared on September 3, 1555. It stated that it was to govern the Hüttenberg regions and the land on the Lahn, although it also pertained to the rest of Nassau-Weilburg as well. Included in it was a section on church ceremonies and annual church festivals, as well as directives concerning sermons and admission to Communion. 1248 Further revisions of the church order were enacted in 1574. The order was published in Nassau-Saarbrücken under the title: Kirchenordnung, welche anno 1574 in der Gemeinschaft des Hüttenbergs und auf der Lahn, auch dem Loller-Gerich zu Grossenlinden und zu Nieder-Clehen von Hn. Landgrav Ludwig zu Hessen, sodann Hn. Gravn Albrecht u. Philipsen Gebrüdern zu Nassau-Saarbrück publicirt und in Druck ausgegangen (Church Order which in the Year 1574 [was introduced] in the Communities of Hüttenberg and the Lahn, as well as Loller-Gerich of Grossenlinden and Nieder-Clehen of Landgrave Ludwig of Hesse, Then Published and Put into Print by the Brothers Counts Albrecht and Philipp at Nassau-Saarbrücken). 1249 Complaints arose about the lack of uniformity of ceremonies¹²⁵⁰ and this led Philipp IV of Nassau-Weilburg to call for a consultation between the territorial leaders and their councils and church officials. A conclusion was reached by the clergy on April 23-24, 1601, and in that same year, appeared a new agenda. It was given the title: Agenda: Das ist: Kirchen Ordnung, Wie es in der Gemeyndschafft deß Hüttenbergs, zu Nider Clehen, unnd zu Ober Roßbach, mit verkündigung Göttliches Worts, reychung der heiligen Sacramenten, und andern Christlichen handlungen und Ceremonien gehalten werden soll (Agenda, that Is, the Church Order, as It Should be Observed with the Proclamation of the Divine Word, the Administration of the Holy Sacraments, and Other Christian Ministrations and Ceremonies in the Communities of Hüttenberg, Nieder-Clehen, and Ober-Rossbach). 1251 The original edition prepared in 1601 contained many errors, and superintendent Jeremias Vietor of Marburg and Lorenz Stephani of Weilburg refused to introduce it until these were corrected. The corrected edition was approved on July 4, 1602, and published on November 27. 1252

As in other places, the territory of Nassau-Weilburg suffered increasing partitioning. In 1703, a partition created a division between Hesse and Nassau which had been worked out in 1701 through the efforts of Landgrave Ernst Ludwig of Hesse-Darmstadt and Count Johann Ernst of Nassau-Weilburg. This division brought attention to church matters, and the consistory at Weilburg determined that it was necessary to replace the church agenda of 1602 with a new one. It

¹²⁴⁸ Urkunden-Sammlung 1844, 569-571; Jacobson 1844, 628; Richter II 1871, 162.

¹²⁴⁹ Jacobson 1844, 638 fn. 57.

[&]quot;Convent zu Giessen wegen Abfassung der Agende im Hüttenberge d. 1. April 1600." *Urkunden-Sammlung* 1844, 577-579.

was published in 1703 and introduced on August 12 of that year, along with the *Nassau-Weilburger Sabbath-, Schul- und Kirchenordnung für den Hüttenberg (Nassau-Weilburg Sunday, School, and Church Order for Hüttenberg)*, in which note was taken of the appearance of Pietism in some parishes. Pastors were specifically advised that they were expected to hold to the scriptural and written oath that they had sworn and to remain faithful to the Symbolical Books of the church and not to enter into relationships with any "Erring Pietists." Note was also taken that communicants were to receive the Sacrament kneeling, which may be an indication that in some places contrary practices had been introduced through the influences of the Reformed who always communed standing. 1254 This agenda continued in force and regulated the liturgical life in the churches of Nassau-Weilburg when some portions of this territory came under Prussian control in 1815.

10.6 The Nassau-Saarbrücken Church Orders in the Counties of Saarbrücken, Ottweiler, and Saarwerden

The Counties of Saarbrücken, Ottweiler, and Saarwerden, which had originally been under the County of Nassau-Weilburg, were among the territories ceded to Prussia in 1815. Lutheranism predominated in these lands and the church had its own church order, administration, and agenda.

The County of Saarbrücken passed to Nassau-Weilburg in 1574 at the death of Johann IV of Nassau-Saarbrücken. Control was taken by the brothers Philipp IV and Albrecht. It was under their direction that the Lutherans were brought together under an officially recognized church organization. The Lutheran Reformation was officially introduced on January 1, 1575, under the terms of the *Variata* Edition of the *Augsburg Confession*. It was under Ludwig II of Nassau-Weilburg, the son and heir of Albrecht, that the church officially adopted the *Unaltered Augsburg Confession* of 1530 and the *Formula of Concord*.¹²⁵⁵

The introduction of the *Variata* edition of the *Augsburg Confession* in the earlier period is an indication of the Melanchthonian influence. Little is known of the liturgical worship in this early period, although secondary sources point to the influence of the 1554 Palatinate-Neuburg order and the so-called "Wittenberg agenda," published by Melanchthon in 1559. It is said that these were introduced by Count Adolf of Nassau-Saarbrücken and were used also in Saarwerden and affiliated churches. The first official Nassau-Saarbrücken church order and agenda was formulated under the direction of Philipp IV and Albrecht. It was published



Condern auch souften inandern/guadsitafinng allerfand Elberglaubens / Notten bund
degerlichen Lebens auch bestäderung Ehristlicher Zuche und
Berkartitund abaltunge gener Policep bestiden fährensels mit Erställen
jehren Fauheren. Zumelfen Leinen Sanderen Weitstellen in ichne Ehristlanden um fraff
ber Dajudi und Eberngangsbalten
ber Dajudi und Eberngangsbalten



Gerneftzu Frankfurtam Marn 11576.

Title page of the 1576 Nassau-Saarbrücken church order. in 1576 in Frankfurt (Main) by Feyerabend under the title: Kirchenordnung Vnd Reformation vnser Albrechts vnd Philipsen Gebrüder, Grauen zu Nassaw, zu Sarprücken vnd zu Sarwerden, Herrn zu Loher: wie es in vnser Graue vnnd Herrschafft, nicht allein im Kirchenregiment, von vnsern Visitatore vnd Predicanten, mit der Lehr, jrem Leben vnd Wandel, Visitation der Pfarren, annemung vnd bevrlaubung der Predicanten, vbung deß Catechismi, vnd dergleichen; Sondern auch sonsten in andern, zu abschaffung allerhand Aberglaubens, Rotten vnnd ärgerlichen Lebens ... gehalten werden sol (Church Order and Reformation of the Brothers Albrecht and Philipp, Our Counts at Nassau, Saarbrücken, and Saarwerden, Lords at Loher, as It Should Be Observed in Our County and Lordship not Only in Matters of Church Government but also by Our Visitors and Preachers with Reference to Doctrine, Life, and Walk, Visitation of the Parish Pastors, the Acceptance

and Suspension of Preachers, the Exercise of the Catechism, and the Like; Also in Other Matters Pertaining to the Abolition of All Kinds of Superstition, Corrupt and Malicious Living...). 1257 In its baptismal order and its admonition before Communion, it was heavily dependent on the Zweibrücken church order. In other matters, it leaned toward the Hessian agenda. 1258 It was reprinted in 1609. 1259

A revised edition appeared in 1618 under the title: Kirchenordnung, Wie es mit der Christlichen Lehre und Ceremonien etc. In unsern Ludwigs, Graffen zu Nassaw zu Sarprucken unnd zu Sarwerden, Herrns zu Lahr, Wißbaden und Itzstein Graffe: und Herrschaften gehalten wirt (Church Order, As It Is Observed with Christian Doctrine and Ceremonies, etc., in the Lordships of Ludwig, Our Count at Nassau, Saarbrücken, and Saarwerden, Lord at Lahr, Wiesbaden, and Idstein). The book was approved by Count Ludwig II of Nassau-Weilburg on October 23, 1617. 1260

In the main, this document reproduced the 1576 and 1609 church order and agenda. As in the earlier volumes, it enumerated the feast days to be celebrated in

¹²⁵⁷ Kirchenordnung 1576; Agenda 1576.

²⁵⁸ District II 1071 400 Confil 1004 07 20

the church. It also included directives concerning hymns, readings, sermons, the administration of the Sacrament, prayers, and other matters pertaining to the Divine Service. Also included were regulations concerning the general confession and absolution to be observed before the sermon on Sundays and other times, as well as regulations concerning the proclamation and explanation of the divine word in sermons, the Vespers readings on Saturdays in cities and towns, as well as other prayer formulas concerning the conduct of the days of prayer, and regulations concerning the catechization of the young. According to this order, the Lord's Supper was to be celebrated on Easter and other high feasts and in other times according to the needs of the congregation, at least once a month. or in some cases, once every six to eight weeks. Also included were instructions concerning the Communion of the sick, pregnant women, and others unable to attend the services in church. As in Hesse and Zweibrücken, provision was made for the confirmation of the young after their instruction in the catechism. This 1618 order incorporated some changes in the provisions for the celebration of feast days. Apostles' days and some

smaller celebrations were made half day observances, and a new marriage formula, borrowed mostly from Zweibrücken, was introduced.¹²⁶¹

The church order and agenda were reissued in 1675 and again in 1699.1262 A further edition appeared in 1713, published in Idstein, and a final edition - in 1762, again at Idstein. It bore the title: Kirchen-Ordnung, Wie es Mit der Christlichen Lehre Und Ceremonien [et]c. In Weyland Des Hochgebohrnen Grafen und Herrn, Herrn Ludewigs, Grafens zu Nassau, zu Saarbrücken, und zu Saarwerden, Herrn zu Lahr, Wißbaden und Idstein etc. Als allgemeinen Stamm-Vatters Des noch Florirenden Fürstl. Nassau-Saarbrückischen Graf- und Herrschafften zu halten ist, Welche auf dero Gnädigsten Befehl im Jahr 1617. verfasset, und im Jahr 1618. zum erstenmahl zum Druck befördert, nunmehro aber zum



Title page of the 1713 Nassau-Saarbrücken church order.

fünftenmahl neu aufgeleget worden (Church Order with Christian Doctrine and Ceremonies, etc., of the Erstwhile, Highborn Count and Lord, Sir Ludwig, Count at Nassau,

Saarbrücken, and Saarwerden, Lord at Lahr, Wiesbaden and Idstein, etc., As It Is Commonly Observed in the Ancestor's Still Flourishing Princely House of Nassau-Saarbrücken, Counties, and Lordships, issued by his Most Gracious Order in the Year 1617 and in the Year 1618 Set Down in Print for the First Time but Now Newly Reprinted for the Fifth Time). 1263

The administration of the church in this territory was under the direction of a consistory, superintendents, elders, synods, and visitors. The land continued under one ruler until 1627 when Ludwig II died and the territory was divided between his three sons – Count Wilhelm Ludwig of Nassau-Saarbrücken, Count Johann of Nassau-Idstein, and Count Ernst Casimir of Nassau-Weilburg, who then adjusted church administration in their territories of Saarbrücken, Idstein, Weilburg. The church order and agenda of 1762 remained stable and the churches entered the nineteenth century under the terms of them.

10.7 Church Orders in the Electoral Palatinate

Some smaller territories within the Electoral Palatinate (Germ. *Kurpfalz*) and the Principality of Simmern and County of Sponheim were ceded to Prussia in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars. The religious composition of these areas was mixed and included not only the three major Christian confessions – Roman Catholics, Lutherans, and Reformed but also some smaller groups, such as the Mennonites.

Ludwig V, Elector of the Palatinate of the Rhine in the first half of the sixteenth century was a loyal son of the Church of Rome, but he was not adverse to the planting and spread of Lutheranism in his territories. When Lutherans and Roman Catholics came into conflict, he sought to resolve their differences by peaceful means. That he himself remained in obedience to Rome was due, at least in part, to the fact that four of his brothers were Roman bishops. After his death in 1544, his brother Friedrich II became the ruler. It was during his rule that the Lutheran Reformation gained a greater foothold. Melanchthon advised that German be permitted in the Mass, that lay people be permitted to receive the cup, and that priests be permitted to marry. All these practices were deemed allowable and some adopted them. Lutheranism also found a home for a time in the University of Heidelberg. 1265

Lutheranism was made officially valid and came to be widely accepted during the reign of Otto Heinrich, the nephew of Friedrich II, who succeeded him in 1556. Before he assumed the Electorate of Palatinate, Otto Heinrich was Count of Palatinate-Neuburg and was widely known to be a staunch Lutheran. In 1543, he

Ritchen ordnung/ Wie es mit der Chuftlichen Lehre, heiligen «Sacramenten) und allerley andern Ceremonien/in mei nes gnedigen herrn, Herrn Otthain-richen Pfalggrauen bey Nhein/ Hernogen inn Nibern ond Obern Bairn 20. Fürstenthumb gehalten wirt.





gen Sacamenten / of Cermonien / in mente Gne-bigen Seen / Seen Ottbainrichs / Dfa'ngar nen ber Abein / Deenggen in Tibern von Seen Day in 12. Sinfelindum/Sephaten wirde,



M, D, LIIIL

Title page of the 1543 Palatinate-Neuburg church order.

Title page of the 1554 Palatinate-Neuburg church order.

published a church order in Nürnberg under the title: Kirchenordnung, Wie es mit der Christlichen Lehre, heiligen Sacramenten, und allerley andern Ceremonien, in meines gnedigen herrn, Herrn Otthainrichen, Pfalzgrauen bey Rhein, Hertzogen in Nidern vnd Obern Bairn etc. Fürstenthumb gehalten wirt (Church Order, as It Should Be Observed with Christian Doctrine, the Holy Sacraments, and All Other Ceremonies in the Principality of My Gracious Lord, Sir Otto Heinrich, Count Palatine by the Rhine, Duke in Lower and Upper Bavaria, etc.). This church order, often called the Palatinate-Neuburg church order of 1543, was composed by Andreas Osiander of Nürnberg and included some unique features, such as an "offertory prayer" between the admonition and the Words of Institution, asking that Christ would receive the church's gifts of bread and wine and that he would hallow and bless them that they might be for those who receive them his body and blood. Such a prayer was not normally found in sixteenth-century church orders. 1266

Under the influence of Johannes Brenz, an enlarged edition was prepared which showed the influence of the Württemberg church order of 1553 and included an order for the visitation and Communion of the sick from Duke Heinrich's 1540 Saxon agenda. Also included was Melanchthon's order for the examination of the ordinands from Mecklenburg church order of 1552. This edition was published in Nürnberg in 1554 under virtually the same title as the earlier book: Kirchenordnung, Wie es mit



Bie es mit der Christenlichen Geere/ heiligen Sacramenten/ ond Eeremonien/ inn des Durchleuchtigsten Hochzebounn Farsenund Herrn/ Herrn Itheinrichs/ Pfatigraum ben Ahein/ des heiligen Rounschen Reichs Erhonachsesten vond Ehurfürsten/ Herhogen im Abern und Dbern Bayen no. Chur und Färstennhumben zehate en wiebt.

M. D. LVI.

Title page of the 1556 Electoral Palatinate church order.

Herrn Otthainrichs, Pfaltzgrauen bey Rhein, Hertzogen in Nidern und Obern Bayrn etc. Fürstenthumb, gehalten wirdt (Church Order, as It Should Be Observed with Christian Doctrine, the Holy Sacraments, and Ceremonies in the Principality of My Gracious Lord, Sir Otto Heinrich, Count Palatine by the Rhine, Duke in Lower and Upper Bavaria). 1267

Otto Heinrich went on to become elector of the Palatinate in 1556 and set about the task of firmly establishing Lutheran doctrine throughout his electorate. He republished his 1554 church order for use in all Lutheran parishes in the Palatinate. It was published in Neuburg an der Donau in 1556 under the title: Kirchen Ordnung. Wie es mit der Christenlichen Leere, heiligen Sacramenten, vnnd Ceremonien, inn des Durchleuchtigsten Hochgebornen Fürsten vnnd Herren, Herrn Ottheinrichs, Pfaltzgrauen bey Rhein, des heiligen Römmischen Reichs Ertzdruchsessen vnnd Churfürsten,

Hertzogen in Nidern vnn Obern Bayrn etc. Chur vnnd Fürstenthumben gehalten wirdt (Church Order, as It Should Be Observed with Christian Doctrine, the Holy Sacraments, and Ceremonies in the Electorate and Principalities of the Most Serene, Highborn Prince and Lord, Sir Otto Heinrich, Count Palatine by the Rhine, Arch-Steward and Prince-Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Duke in Lower and Upper Bavaria, etc.). ¹²⁶⁸

Otto Heinrich died in 1559 without issue. His place as elector was taken by Friedrich III, Count Palatine of Simmern-Sponheim. In 1561, Friedrich III, who had converted to Lutheranism, announced that after careful study he had determined that only Calvin had penetrated most deeply into the meaning of the Scriptures and that henceforth he would be the Calvinist ruler of a Calvinist electorate.

The time was now ripe for him to make extensive changes in the liturgy and introduce a form of worship that was truly "reformed." On December 7, 1561, Friedrich III together with his court and his theologians held a Communion service in Heidelberg which consisted of Reformed ceremonies, together with the breaking of the bread as the central act.¹²⁶⁹

Now the pastors and their churches would be cleansed of the residue of "papal filth" which he believed still adhered to the Lutherans. Strong iconoclastic measures followed. The altars and images in Heidelberg were removed and replaced by plain tables, wall pictures were whitewashed, ordinary table bread and wooden beakers were used instead of hosts and chalices, the stone baptismal fonts were replaced by tin basins, and the pipe organs were no longer used. When Duke Johann Friedrich II of Saxony reprimanded him for taking these actions, Friedrich III answered that Christ and the apostles had never used chalices and that stone baptismal fonts were associated with "idolatry and witchcraft." He called the hosts on the altars "idolatrous bits of bread," and he explained that he had them taken away because he found that "they led to such superstitious practices among his subjects who worshipped them as though they were truly God."1270 He spoke also against crucifixes as "works of idolatry" and ordered that his territories should be searched out from top to bottom and that all sorts of "rubbish" should be done away with both in and outside the churches. Pictures and sculptures must be destroyed everywhere they were found in order to forestall any possibility of idolatry.

In order to introduce Calvinism, Friedrich III needed a Calvinist catechism and a Calvinist church order. Both were produced in 1563. His Calvinist catechism stated in its introduction that it was the result of the labors of the entire theological faculty of the University of Heidelberg, as well as of the superintendents and other prominent ministers of the church. In fact, Zacharius Ursinus, a former student of Melanchthon at Wittenberg, is regarded as the principal author of the work. He was able to produce a Reformed catechism which to the eyes and ears of ordinary folk would look and sound Lutheran. The catechism used terminology which was reminiscent of Luther's *Small Catechism* but lacked his specificity. In 1563, this catechism, published in Heidelberg and known as the *Heidelberg Catechism*, soon became the most widely accepted expression of Reformed positions.

Understandably, Friedrich III had not much use for the 1556 Lutheran church order of his predecessor, Otto Heinrich. In 1563, he replaced it with a Reformed church order which retained the title of the 1556 order, excepting only that Friedrich III's name was substituted for that of Otto Heinrich: *Kjrchenordnung, Wie es mit der Christlichen Lehre heiligen Sacramenten, vnnd Ceremonien, inn des Durchleuchtigsten Hochgebornen Fürsten vnnd Herren, Herrn Friderichs Pfaltzgrauen bey Rhein, des heilige Ræmischen Reichs Ertzdruchs-essen vnnd Churfuersten, Hertzogen inn Bayrn etc. Churfürstenthumb bey Rhein, gehalten wirdt (Church Order, as It Should Be Observed with Christian Doctrine, the Holy Sacraments, and Ceremonies in the Princely Electorate by the Rhine of the Most Serene, Highborn Prince and Lord, Sir Friedrich,*

Count Palatine by the Rhine, Arch-Steward and Prince-Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Duke in Bavaria, etc.). In fact, the only similarity between the two church orders was in their titles. The new church order was thoroughly Calvinist. Friedrich III ordered it to be reprinted in 1565, 1569, and 1576.¹²⁷¹

The Reformed church order replaced all Lutheran ceremonies with Calvinist actions, such as the breaking of the bread. This action, the Calvinists stated, was absolutely essential to the sacramental act. Heidelberg professor, Thomas Erastus, saw that it was necessary to clarify this essential point, and he did so in his Erzelung Etlicher vrsachen, warumbdas hochwirdige Sacrament des Nachtmals vnsers Herrn vnd Heylandts Jesu Christi, nicht solle ohne das brodbrechen gehalten werden (Clarification of Several Reasons why the Venerable Sacrament of the Supper of Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ Should not Be Celebrated Without the Breaking of the Bread). This work was published in 1563, the same year as the publication of the Heidelberg Catechism, and it was known popularly "Das Büchlein vom Brotbrechen" ("The Booklet About the Breaking of the Bread"). According to Erastus, the fractio panis was necessary for three reasons: (1) The church must imitate what Christ did in the Last Supper; (2) Christ's command "this do" includes the breaking of the bread which is mentioned in both Acts 2 and Acts 20, and (3) it is necessary that the people be provided with visual symbols of Christ's passion and death and also the visible symbol of the oneness of the church represented by the "one loaf." 1272

The publication of catechism and church order in the Palatinate left no doubt that Lutheranism had now been abandoned there. In his chronicle of the year 1563, Theodosius Fabricius of Göttingen wrote: "Heidelberg has become Reformed and Luther's catechism has now been eliminated. ... The Calvinists remove pictures from the churches, abolish auricular confession, eliminate exorcism and many church festivals, and do away with altars and baptismal fonts." ¹²⁷³

Friedrich III entertained the illusion that he was himself a valiant crusader whose worthy cause was the destruction of every form of idolatry, including the Mass and other traditional liturgical services which he regarded "as mere devilworship." The positions taken in the *Augsburg Confession*, and even in its *Variata* edition, were of no further interest to him.¹²⁷⁴

On frequent occasions, he organized iconoclastic actions and publicly ordered that "pictures, images, and church utensils to be broken up and burnt in his presence." Like the Reformed theologian, Theodore Beza, he was of the opinion that not only altars and baptismal fonts but even crucifixes were "objects of idolatry,"

¹²⁷¹ Kjrchenordnung 1563; Kirchenordnung 1565; Kirchenordnung (Heidelberg) 1569; Kirchenordnung 1575.

and he ordered that "everything should be entirely cleared out, whether paintings or sculpture." "Our hope reposes in the true cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, not in that image. Therefore I must admit that I thoroughly detest the image of the crucifix … [and] cannot endure it," declared Beza, ¹²⁷⁶ and Friedrich III regarded such things as not mere pale imitations of the real thing but as objects which distracted Christian hearts and minds from the contemplation on the true cross.

Even in areas where he was not the sole patron but shared patronage with other princes, and in places where he had absolutely no authority whatever, he continued his iconoclastic activities, destroying altars and images and removing "idolatrous" church decorations. At Dirstein in October 1564, where he and the bishop of Worms had joint patronage, he ordered the destruction of every altar and every image and the removal from the churches of all sacred art. In Simten in the Palatinate, he took the consecrated host from the ciborium, and as he crumbled it to pieces, he declared: "See what a splendid God you are! You think you are stronger than I am? No indeed." Some of the fragments he threw into the fire which had been made to destroy the altars, images, and other "idols."

The Palatinate court theologians lauded him, calling him the "Pious Friedrich." Court Preacher Abraham Scultetus asserted that the true merit of Luther was that he had been the first to open the way to the gospel and had been willing to challenge the pope. However, he was not alone in this work. "Luther may have been the first one to attack the pope publicly, but he was not the only one ... for there were also other pious and learned men in Switzerland and Upper Germany, who preached God's pure Word." A new "King Josiah" was still needed to come and cleanse the church, just as King Josiah had cleansed and renewed the Jerusalem temple. This new "Josiah" was Elector Friedrich III. In summary, Scultetus stated that "in the Palatinate the Reformation began with Elector Friedrich III; ... and Elector Friedrich III brought it to its praiseworthy conclusion." 1279

Now every congregation would be forced to introduce a form of worship which was in accord with the 1563 Calvinist church order, and institute further Calvinist reforms as well. As historian Ludwig Häusser stated:

"Altars, crucifixes, and other examples of 'works of idolatry' were removed from of all churches and from all roadsides, as was stipulated in 1565. The surplices and Mass vestments were distributed to the poor, and within the empty walls an 'honorable table' was set up. Even the baptismal font had to give way to a basin." ¹²⁸⁰

¹²⁷⁵ Janssen XI 1907, 33.

¹²⁷⁶ Pelican 1984, 217.

¹²⁷⁷ Janssen VII 1905, 320.

¹²⁷⁸ Carlotter H 1(10, 7, Niveless 1000, 1, 200

Friedrich III died in 1576. His last will and testament directed that the Palatinate territory should remain Calvinist, however, his heir and successor, Ludwig VI, Count Palatine of Simmern, had been raised a Lutheran by his mother and he returned the Palatinate to Lutheranism.

The consistory was once again a Lutheran consistory, consisting of such staunch Lutherans as Paul Schecksius, Timotheus Kirchner, and Jacob Schopper. The Lutheran office of church superintendent was once again reestablished with Peter Patiens appointed to fulfill that role. More than 500-600 Reformed ministers and teachers were dismissed from the parishes and their places were now once again taken by Lutherans. Since there were not enough Lutheran clergy to fulfill vacant teaching positions, the elector decided that it was better to leave their places vacant than to allow Calvinists to continue to influence youths.



Title page of the 1577 Electoral Palatinate

With the help of Philipp Marbach, who came from Strasburg in 1577, Lutheranism was strengthened in the Palatinate and a new church order, based on that of Otto Heinrich, was published in Heidelberg. It bore the title: Kirchenordnung Wie es mit der Christenlichen Leer, Raithunge der heiligen Sacramenten, Ordination der diener des Euangelij vnd ordenlichen Ceremonien, Erhaltung Christlicher Schulen und Studien, auch anderer der Kirchen notwendigen Stücken etc. In Vnser Wolffgangs von Gottes Genaden, Pfaltzgrauens bey Rhein, Hertzogens in Bayern, vnd Grauens zu Veldentz Fürstenthumb gehalten werden soll (Church Order, as It Should Be Observed with Christian Doctrine, the Administration of the Holy Sacraments, the Ordination of Ministers of the Gospel and Orderly Ceremonies, the Maintenance of Christian Schools and Studies, as well as Other Necessary Matters Pertaining to the Churches, etc., in the Prin-

cipality of Our Wolfgang, by the Grace of God Count Palatine by the Rhine, Duke in Bavaria, Count at Veldenz). It was not significantly different from the 1556 order. Lutheran worship was restored and the Reformed service ceased to be used. 1283 The

theological faculty at Heidelberg was changed to reflect the theological change. Ludwig VI was thoroughly Lutheran, and when the Formula of Concord was published in 1577 and the Book of Concord appeared in 1580, a general visitation was conducted in the Palatinate territory in 1582 to implement it. 1284

When Ludwig VI died in 1583, his son, Friedrich IV, was only nine years old, so Ludwig's brother, Johann Casimir, Count Palatine of Simmern, was named administrator. Johann Casimir was a Calvinist, and he was displeased with the religious direction his brother Ludwig VI had taken and sought to distance the Palatinate Church as far as possible from Lutheranism. He deposed the Lutheran church councilors and general superintendent and dismissed those Lutheran pastors who refused voluntarily to abandon the Book of Concord and become Calvinists. In total, 400 Lutheran pastors were banished. 1285

Johann Casimir once again reformed the University of Heidelberg and the schools so that the Calvinist position would predominate there in both life and teaching. In 1585, he republished the 1563 Reformed church order of Friedrich III. 1286 Johann Casimir died in 1592 and Friedrich IV, the son of Ludwig VI, became ruler. He issued a Calvinist church order in 1601, published in Heidelberg. 1287 It was in many respects similar to the 1563 Reformed church order both in title and contents. The predominant position of the Calvinist Church was now firmly established, and in 1652, 1665, 1684 (revised), 1724, 1738, and 1763 new editions of the church order were published. 1288

At the death of Karl II in 1685, his hereditary line came to an end and control of the Electoral Palatinate passed to his distant cousin, Philipp Wilhelm, Count Palatine of Neuburg and a staunch Roman Catholic. Roman Catholic rule would continue until the Palatinate was dissolved as the French moved eastward across Europe taking the east bank of the Rhine in 1795. The west bank territories were taken by Baden in 1803. The most serious Protestant losses during the Roman Catholic reign were suffered by the Reformed Church. Later the principle of simultaneity was introduced and some churches were shared by Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed congregations. The Lutherans, who were able to maintain themselves during the period of Roman Catholic rule, used the Zweibrücken agenda which had first appeared in 1557, although a few, such as the congregations in Heidelberg and Mannheim, used the Frankfurt agenda of 1644

¹²⁸⁴ Jacobson 1844, 686; Dingel 2001, 383.

¹²⁸⁵ Moeller, Kawerau 1900, 303.

¹²⁸⁶ Kirchenordnung 1585.

¹²⁸⁷ Kirchenordnung 1601. Class DC: La Viala On Lance 1650 Class DC: La



Title page of the 1783 Electoral Palatinate agenda.

which was reprinted in 1688. Little is known of this agenda, excepting from secondary sources. In 1695, the Lutheran congregations asked permission to use a single Lutheran agenda, like that of Ludwig VI of 1577, but expanded to include a number of collects from Veit Dietrich's agenda or some similar agenda, such as that of Hesse, Nassau, or Hanover. The secondary sources mention a new agenda put to use in 1699.1290 As Calvinism decreased, Lutheranism increased, mainly through immigration from the neighboring Lutheran territories. By 1780, 40 percent of the Protestant population was Lutheran. 1291

The evidence of the spread of Rationalistic thinking among the Lutherans in Electoral Palatinate can be found in the 1783 publication of the Rationalist agenda of the Electoral Palatinate congregations which was introduced by order of

the Electoral Palatinate consistory. It was printed in Heidelberg by Johann Baptist Wiesen under the title: Ordnung Gebete und Handlungen bey dem öffentlichen Gottesdienste der evangelischlutherischen Gemeinen in Kurpfalz, auf Verordnung des kurpfälzischen Konsistoriums herausgegeben (Order of Prayers and Ministrations for Public Divine Services of the Evangelical Lutheran Congregations in Electoral Palatinate, Issued by Order of the Electoral Palatinate Consistory). Credit for its contents belongs to Carl Benjamin List, a member of the consistory, who was influenced by the works of the Lutheran liturgiologist, Georg Friedrich Seiler, and the Reformed, Georg Joachim Zollikofer. List's intention was to produce a modern agenda, built on a foundation which honored the Scriptures and supported the sort of traditional Lutheranism found in Strasburg and Hesse. He was concerned that nothing be included which would confine its use to a single confessional group. This liturgy was made the official replacement for the former agendas. It was reprinted under the same title

¹²⁸⁹ Kirchenordnung 1557, or the editions of 1560, 1570, 1600, 1721; Agenda 1644; Agenda 1688;

and without any changes in 1786.¹²⁹² A new edition of the agenda appeared in 1815, published in Mannheim by Tobias Löffler under the title: *Allgemeine Liturgie beym öffentlichen Gottesdienste (Common Liturgy at Public Divine Services*). By that time, Electoral Palatinate had been divided by the Congress of Vienna and parts of it had come under Prussian control. List's agenda was reprinted again in 1824,¹²⁹³ but it would soon be superseded by the Prussian Union agenda.

10.8 The Zweibrücken Church Order in the Principalities of Simmern and Veldenz and the County of Sponheim

The Lutheran Reformation was introduced in the Principality of Simmern as the result of the deathbed conversion of Johann II. He was succeeded in 1557 by his Crypto-Calvinist son, Friedrich III, who in 1559 became prince elector of the Palatinate. He introduced the Zweibrücken church order of 1557 to regulate church life in his duchy, and services were held according to the agenda included in that book. When he became elector of Palatinate in 1559, he was succeeded in Simmern by his brothers, Georg and Reichard. They remained true to Lutheran doctrine, and in 1577 Reinhard was among the subscribers to the *Formula of Concord*. After his death in 1598, Simmern was united with the Electoral Palatinate, and Calvinist Elector Friedrich IV made Reformed faith the standard and introduced the 1563 Reformed church order of the Palatinate. In 1610, Ludwig Philipp, the son of Friedrich IV, was given Simmern to be his domain. He was succeeded in 1655 by Ludwig Heinrich Moritz, the last of the line. Upon his death in 1673, Simmern was again united with the Palatinate and in 1685 shared its fate and came once again under Roman Catholic rule. 1294

In 1815, Prussia was also given some portion of the Principality of Veldenz. The Reformation had come to the Principality of Veldenz in 1523 through the efforts of Ludwig II of Zweibrücken since from 1459 Veldenz was united with Zweibrücken. In 1543, a treaty concluded at Marburg, gave the Principality of Veldenz to Ruprecht, the uncle and guardian of Wolfgang of Zweibrücken. Upon his death in 1544, his son Georg Johann received the inheritance. He introduced the Zweibrücken church order to regulate Lutheran church life in the country. This arrangement continued until the nineteenth century. After the Peace of Westphalia, the Roman Catholic Church was also granted privileges in the territory, and the principle of simultaneity was introduced. 1295

¹²⁹² Ordnung Gebete und Handlungen 1783; Ordnung Gebete und Handlungen 1786.

Since the thirteenth century, the County of Sponheim was divided into two parts. One part, often called Front County (Germ. Die vordere Grafschaft), became a possession of Electoral Palatinate, Baden, and Veldenz in 1437. The Reformation was introduced into the county during the time of Otto Heinrich of the Palatinate. In 1557, he introduced the use of Electoral Palatinate church order of 1556. After Otto Heinrich's death in 1559, Friedrich III, who was himself of the house of Simmern, succeeded him. He united some parts of Sponheim which previously had been under the rule of the Electoral Palatinate and Baden. Friedrich III soon declared himself a Calvinist and insisted that the church in his realm must adhere to Calvinist theology and ecclesiology. The introduction of Calvinism into the Baden regions of the county did not go smoothly, and because of the incessant complaints of Lutherans, the Margrave Philibert of Baden-Baden saw to it that it was only temporary. The death Friedrich III brought Ludwig VI to power and he restored Lutheranism into Palatinate and Sponheim. This again was only temporary because when he died in 1583, his successor Friedrich IV and the Palatinate administrator, Johann Casimir, Count Palatine of Simmern, again restored Calvinism. 1296

So too in the Baden parts of Sponheim, Lutheran preeminence was only temporary. Philibert of Baden-Baden died in 1569 and was succeeded by Philipp II. During his administration, the *Formula of Concord* appeared and was subscribed by Kreuznach Superintendent Christoph Kolkwitz and thirty-one clergy. Philipp II died in 1588. Appointed to succeed him was Eduard Fortunatus, who had been born a Lutheran but raised by his Catholic guardian, Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria. In 1584, he converted to Catholicism and from 1588 he zealously advanced the reestablishment and spread of Roman Catholicism in the territories under his authority. From that point forward, three confessions lived side-by-side uneasily with the Reformed in the first position. In general, however, Protestantism declined.¹²⁹⁷

The other division of Sponheim was called the Rear County (Germ. *Die hintere Grafschaft*), and since 1437 it had been a possession of Baden and Veldenz. As a result of the Heidelberg Succession Agreement of 1553, the territory would henceforth be possessed by Baden and Palatinate-Zweibrücken. It was Wolfgang of Zweibrücken who introduced the Lutheran Reformation into this region in 1560, with the church administered according to the terms of the Zweibrücken church order of 1557. The first edition of the church order had been published in Nürnberg under the title: *Kirchenordnung Wie es mit der Christenlichen Leer, Raithunge der heiligen Sacramenten, Ordination der diener des Euangelij vnd ordenlichen Ceremonien, Erhaltung Christlicher Schulen und Studien, auch anderer der Kirchen notwendigen Stücken etc. Jn Vnser Wolffgangs von Gottes Genaden, Pfaltzgrauens bey Rhein, Hert-*

zogens in Bayern, vnd Grauens zu Veldentz Fürstenthumb gehalten werden soll (Church Order, as It Should Be Observed with Christian Doctrine, the Administration of the Holy Sacraments, the Ordination of Ministers of the Gospel and Orderly Ceremonies, the Maintenance of Christian Schools and Studies, as well as Other Necessary Ecclesiastical *Matters, etc., in the Principality of Wolfgang,* by the Grace of God Our Count Palatine by the Rhine, Duke in Bavaria, Count at Veldenz). The church order was published again in 1560 with a few changes in the forward, in the concluding words, and in the pagination. It was again issued in 1570.

The church order was published in two volumes. The first volume consisted in liturgical orders and pastoral acts. The second volume was the hymnal and cantional for the divine services. The order



Anno. M. D. LVII.

Title page of the 1557 Zweibrücken church order.

was based upon the Mecklenburg church order of 1552 and the Palatinate-Neuburg of 1554. The later order, in turn, contained elements taken from Württemberg, 1553. The greater part of the Divine Service followed the Mecklenburg church order and to a lesser extent the 1540 agenda of Duke Heinrich.¹²⁹⁹

In 1600, a new edition was printed for use in the Rear County of Sponheim. It was entitled: Kirchen Ordnung, WJe es in weyland deß Durchleuchtigen Hochgebornen Fürsten vnd Herren, Herrn Wolffgangs, Pfaltzgraffen bey Rhein, Hertzogen in Bayern, Graffen zu Veldentz vnd Sponheim, &c. Fürstenthummen vnd Landen, mit Lehr vnd anderer der Kirchen nohtwendigen Stücken gehalten worden, Erstlich in ANNO M. D.LVII. Darnach zum andern mal in ANNO M. D. LX. Vnd ferrners von den auch Durchleuchtigen Hochgebornen Fürsten vnd Herren, Herrn Philips Ludwigen, vnd Herrn Johansen, Gebrüdern, beyden Pfaltzgraffen bey Rhein, Hertzogen in Bayern, Graffen zu Veldentz vnd Sponheim, &c. Zum dritten mal in ANNO M. D. LXX. außgangen vnd publiciert. Jetzunder aber von dem auch Durchleuchtigenn Hochgebornen Fürsten vnd Herrn, Herrn Caroln, Pfaltzgraffen bey Rhein, Hertzogen in Bayern, Graffen zu Veldentz vnd Sponheim, auß Vrsachen, so in der Præfation vermeldet werden, in diese kleinere Form zu bringen, vnd zu trucken befohlen, &c. (Church Order, as It Should Be Observed with



Jegunder aber von dem auch Durchleuchtigen Sochgebornen Fürs ftenvno Derrn/Derm Carolnipfalagraffen

Renund Herrn/Herrn Carolin Malagraffen ben Mein/Derhogen in Bapern/Graffen zu Beideng and Sponheim/auf Wesachen/fo in der Præfation bermelder werden/ in diese tienere John zu bringen/wid zu tracken ferbolin/ie.

Gedruck zu Frankfort am Mahn/ Durch Johann Spieß.

Title page of the 1600 Zweibrücken church order for Rear County of Sponheim.

Doctrine and Other Necessary Ecclesiastical Matters in the Principalities and Lands of Erstwhile, Most Serene, Highborn Prince and Lord, Sir Wolfgang, Count Palatine by the Rhine, Duke in Bavaria, Count at Veldenz and Sponheim, etc., First Published in 1557 and After That Again in 1560, and Further by the Most Serene, Highborn Princes and Lords, Sir Philipp Ludwig and Sir Johann, the Brothers, both Count Palatines by the Rhine, Dukes in Bavaria, Counts at Veldenz and Sponheim, etc., for the Third Time Issued and Published in 1570. Now, However, Put in This Smaller Form and Ordered to Print for Reasons Stated in the Preface, etc., by the Most Serene, Highborn Prince and Lord, Sir Carl, Count Palatine by the Rhine, Duke in Bavaria, Count at Veldenz and Sponheim).

According to the familiar pattern found also in other church orders, separate forms of the Mass were included for use in cities and villages. The form for the Chief Divine Service was entitled: "The Supper of Our Lord Jesus Christ." The order included statements differentiating

the true and false understandings of the Sacrament, its proper uses, and abuses.

In cities, the Supper was to be celebrated at least once a month, and if possible, every second Sunday, or even more often if there were communicants. The service began with the hymn, "Come, Holy Ghost, God and Lord," or "We Now Implore God the Holy Ghost" or a German psalm or hymn deemed appropriate to the occasion. The hymn was followed immediately by general confession which consisted in a prayer and the absolution spoken by the pastor. After the invitation to confession, the pastor read the words of the psalmist, "Our help is in the name of the Lord," and the choir responded, "Who made heaven and earth." Then the pastor, kneeling at the altar, with an assisting minister prayed the general confession in the first person singular and the other minister answered with a second prayer in the first person plural. The pastor then spoke the so-called absolution, which is, in fact, a declaration of grace since the communicants had participated

After the confession, the schoolchildren sang the introit for the day or feast or a German psalm. This was followed by the German Kyrie and the hymn, "All Glory be to God on High." Then followed the Salutation and response, either in Latin or German. The pastor read the collect in German and the people affirmed it with their Amen. Then facing the people, the pastor read the epistle in German, and after it, the congregation sang a hymn, appropriate to the day. The pastor then read the proper gospel in German, after which the people sang, "We All Believe in One True God," or schoolchildren sang the "Patrem omnipotentem" in the usual tone. Then followed the sermon on the gospel on the day. It was to be no more than three quarters an hour in length, although in extraordinary circumstances, it could be an hour long but surely no longer. A prayer of thanksgiving followed the sermon. It was, in fact, the prayer of the church which included thanksgivings and asked for the maintenance of pure doctrine and faithful teachers, the worldly authorities, and all special necessities. The pastor then admonished all present to remain until the end of the communion, even if they were not themselves receiving, and he also exhorted them to the right use of the Sacrament and to pray for the conversion of all enemies of the Gospel and heretics. Finally, he asked that the Lord will grant them all the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

At this point, the communicants came forward to kneel, the men in one side and the women on the other. Then the Sanctus was sung. From time to time, the children might sing it in Latin, otherwise the congregation sang, "Isaiah, Mighty Seer," as found in the hymnal. It was not made clear whether the Latin Sanctus included also the Preface and Vere dignum. If included, they would be in the cantional rather than in the hymnal. The pastor now read a lengthy admonition to the communicants in which he again proclaimed the forgiveness of sins to reassure the communicants that they need not fear approaching the Sacrament. This ended with a lengthy prayer, thanking God for the gift of Christ and reaffirming belief in the gospel and in the forgiveness of sins, and asking for the guidance of God. This was followed by the Our Father and the Words of Institution, sung by the pastor. However, the congregation itself might sing the Our Father. It was specifically noted that there was no elevation. The elements were administered with the formula: "Take, eat, this is the body of Christ, given for you," and "Take, drink, this is the blood of the New Testament, shed for your sins." During communion, the congregation sang, "O Lord, We Praise Thee," or "Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior," also the psalm-hymn, "I Will Praise the Lord with My Whole Heart," and finally, "Lamb of God, Pure and Holy" or "O Christ, Thou Lamb of God." After all had communed, the pastor prayed Luther's post-communion collect and the service closed with the Aaronic Benediction. 1300

Communicants were expected to attend Vespers on Saturday evening and the vigils of feasts. A separate form was provided for this service. It began with several psalms, after which the congregation sang a hymn and the *Magnificat* in German. This was followed by a sermon, after which the pastor prayed the collect and the choir sang the "Benedicamus Domino," or "Lord, Keep Us Steadfast in Thy Word" and "Grant Peace, We Pray, in Mercy, Lord." Following Vespers, the pastor was to hear confessions. He first instructed them concerning confession and absolution. Where there were many communicants, confessions could also be heard before Vespers and while the children were singing.

When no communicants presented themselves on Sunday morning, the Service of the Word proceeded as it normally did, but before the final collect and benediction, the pastor was to earnestly admonish the people to come more often to the Sacrament, and a form was prescribed for him to read, enumerating several reasons why they ought to do so, a special feature taken from the Mecklenburg church order. After the admonition, the Litany was sung or selected psalms and other German hymns. The service concluded with the collect, the benediction, and the singing of "Lord, Keep Us Steadfast in Thy Word" and "Grant Peace, We Pray, in Mercy, Lord." ¹³⁰¹

No provision was made for Matins, but there was a form for afternoon service on Sunday and feast days, especially for the instruction of the children in the catechism. In this service, the congregation sang the *Magnificat* and the pastor from the pulpit said the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Our Father, and the Words of Christ concerning Baptism and the Lord's Supper. He then concentrated his attention on one part of the catechism in his sermon, and after the sermon, he admonished the people to prayer. After the prayer, the people sang the "*Nunc Dimittis*," and with the collect and the "*Benedicamus Domino*" the service was concluded. ¹³⁰²

During the week, divine services were to be held on Wednesday and Friday for one hour from 7 a.m. to 8 a.m. Since part of this service was in Latin, it appears that schoolchildren were expected to be present and participate. The psalms included Psalm 51, "Miserere mei," Psalm 130, "De profundis," Psalm 2, "Quare fremuerunt gentes," Psalm 110, "Dixit Dominus," Psalm 32, "Beati quorum," Psalm 34, "Benedicam Dominum," and others. This was followed by a reading from the Pauline epistles. Then a minister, approved by the pastor, preached on such books or parts of the Scriptures as should be useful for instruction and comfort. On feast days, the gospels were read, as for example, of the day of the Conversion of Paul, Mary Magdalene, the Beheading of John the Baptist, etc. When these days fell on other days of the week, the pastor might choose to transfer their observance to Wednesday or Friday. On these days, the people were to sing well-known German hymns to move their hearts to prayer, as for example, "Our Father, Thou in Heaven Above" and

"A Mighty Fortress Is Our God." After the sermon, the Litany was to be sung. If the pastor desired, services might also be held on other days. 1303

A separate section gave the form for services in villages, paralleling the city services but eliminating any reference to the use of Latin. For example, in place of the Latin introit, a German psalm was to be sung.

The Zweibrücken agenda was one of the most influential agendas in the region of the Rhine. It was somewhat richer in its provisions than the liturgies of the churches of Württemberg and Hesse. The Service of the Word could be described as traditional, although the alleluias, graduals, sequence-hymns, and tracts had fallen away. So too, the shape of the Service of the Sacrament maintained its traditional pattern, and included the Sanctus, even allowing it to be sung in Latin on occasion. However, as was the case in other liturgies in the region of the Rhine, it lacked some elements and ceremonial found in the Saxon and Brandenburg traditions. The baptismal service could only be described as impoverished. Although it was lengthy, the traditional elements of the exorcism and consignation had been eliminated, and the important connection between the reading of St. Mark's Gospel of the blessing of the children and the act of blessing the child, with the laying-on-of-hands and the praying of the Our Father, had by now been completely disconnected by insertion of a lengthy exhortation and prayer. Nowhere in the entire book does one find any directive concerning the use of the sign of the cross. Indeed even in Luther's morning and evening prayer, the directive, "You shall bless yourself with the holy cross," now becomes, "You shall bless yourself," with no reference to the cross whatever. 1304 The ceremony was kept at a minimum. The shadow of the nearby Reformed Churches and their disdain for outward ceremonies left its mark throughout the region.

The preface to the agenda was signed on January 28, 1600, by Duke Charles. He was one of five sons of Wolfgang. When Wolfgang died in 1569, his lands were divided into five separate branches: Palatinate-Neuburg, established by Philipp Ludwig, Palatinate-Zweibrücken, inherited by Johann I, Palatinate-Birkenfeld, the heritage of Karl I, Palatinate-Sulzbach, inherited by Otto Heinrich, and Palatinate-Zweibrücken-Vohenstrauss-Parkstein, the heritage of Friedrich. The Baden portion of Sponheim went to the Roman Catholics when in 1588 it was passed to Eduard Fortunatus who converted from Lutheranism to Roman Catholicism. Lutheranism was firmly established only in those portions of Sponheim which were under the authority of Karl I, Duke of Zweibrücken-Birkenfeld and Count at Sponheim and Veldenz, who took up active government of the region in 1584. Now his territories were designated Palatinate-Birkenfeld. A territorial



Title page of the 1721 Zweibrücken church order for Rear County of Sponheim.

consistory was established in Trarbach in 1672. The church continued to operate under the Zweibrücken church order of 1600 which was published in a specifically Sponheim edition after the visitation of that year.

As the Roman Catholic Church reestablished control in Zweibrücken, the Sponheim line continued the republication of the Zweibrücken church order. The last edition of this order appeared in 1721. It bore the title: Kirchen-Ordnung Wie es Von wegen des Durchleuchtigsten Fürsten und Herrn Herrn Christian Des Dritten Pfaltz-Grafen bey Rhein, Hertzogen in Bayern, Grafen zu Veldenz, Sponheim und Rappoltstein, Herrn zu Hohenack, [et]c. In Dero Gemeinschafftlichen Hintern Grafschafft Sponheim und übrigen Landen Das Evangelische Kirchen- und Schul-Wesen betreffend, solle gehalten werden (Church Order, as It Should Be Observed in Matters Pertaining to the Evangelical Churches and

Schools in the Joint Rear County of Sponheim and the Other Lands of the Most Serene Prince and Lord, Sir Christian III, Count Palatine by the Rhine, Duke in Bavaria, Count at Veldenz, Sponheim, and Rappoltstein, Lord at Hohenack, etc.). This final edition was no mere reprint of earlier editions. It represented a thorough reworking of the church order. It was influenced by the orders of Hesse and the Wild and the Rhine domains. Its ordination service was influenced by those of the churches of Hanau and Strasburg. Noteworthy, in this church order were statements which cast aspersions on both the Pietists, who were introducing novelties in doctrine and in worship, and the Orthodox, who in matters of faith adhered strictly "to the letter" ("Buchstäblichen Lehr-Begriff"). 1306

In 1734, shortly before his death, Christian III joined Palatinate-Birkenfeld with the Duchy of Zweibrücken. He was succeeded in 1735 by his son Christian IV. The consistory in Zweibrücken was now made a High Consistory for his lands. The consistory at Trarbach continued to exercise responsibilities in the County of Sponheim. In 1758, Christian IV converted to Roman Catholicism. He

died in 1775 without issue and was succeeded by his Roman Catholic nephew, Karl II August Christian. During his administration, the Trarbach consistory was abolished and in its place the Zweibrücken High Consistory became the ruling body over all Sponheim and Zweibrücken congregations. A further division in 1776 divided the Rear County of Sponheim between Baden and Palatinate-Zweibrücken. The county disappeared as an entity in the Napoleonic Wars, and at the Congress of Vienna the greater part of the former Front and Rear counties went to Prussia, while the region surrounding Birkenfeld was given to Oldenburg. 1307

10.9 Worship Rites in the Lands of the Wild and Rhine Counts of Daun and Kirburg

The Lutheran Church was established in the lands of the Wild and Rhine Counts and had its own church order from 1588.

The sons of the Wild Count, Conrad II of Daun-Kirburg, established the lines of the Kirburg and Daun in the thirteenth century. With the passing of time, these territories came to be again united and augmented with acquisition of parts of the Upper Salm, until in 1514 when the sons of the Wild and Rhine Count, Johann VI of Salm-Daun-Kirburg, reestablished the two old lines, with Johann VII receiving Kirburg and adjacent territories, and Philipp – Salm, Daun, Neufville, Rheingrafenstein, and other domains.

It was the son of Philipp, the Wild and Rhine Count, Philipp Franz of Salm-Daun, who was principally responsible to the establishment of Lutheranism in his region in 1554. The Reformation of the region was patterned after that of Otto Heinrich of Palatinate-Neuburg. Philipp Franz's example was followed also by the Kirburg line of the family. Little is known of the early church order and liturgy in both of these lands, however, it is known that a church order and agenda were enacted and introduced there in 1588. The pertinent documents themselves are no longer extant. In 1688, the last heir of the Kirburg line died. Roman Catholicism was once again reintroduced into the region and continued side-by-side with Lutheranism.¹³⁰⁸

The old church order and agenda of 1588 continued in use. It was newly affirmed in 1690 and printed in 1693 in Frankfurt (Main) under the title: *Kirchen Ordnung Wie es in denen Wild- und Rhein-Graffschafften mit der Predigt Göttliches Worts, Ausspendung der Heiligen Sacramenten und andern Christlichen Ceremonien und Handlungen solle gehalten werden (Church Order, as It Should Be Observed with Preaching of the Divine Word, Administration of the Holy Sacraments, and Other Christian Ceremonies and Ministrations in the Wild and Rhine Counties)*. According to the church order, every aspect of the church

life was to be ordered under the provisions of the Lutheran *Book of Concord*. The book included sections on the hymnal, the order of divine services on Sundays and feast days, weekdays, and days of repentance and prayer, as well as the order for confession and other ministrations. As was common in the regions of the Rhineland and Westphalia, the Lord's Supper was dealt with separately from the regular Sunday and feast day services, and the rite of confirmation was also affirmed and described. In general terms, it followed the pattern established in the church orders of Nassau, Hesse, and Zweibrücken.¹³⁰⁹

In 1574, the sons of Philipp Franz divided the lands, with Johann Christoph and Friedrich taking possession of Salm-Grumbach and Salm-Neufville. Friedrich's sons Philipp Otto and Friedrich Magnus subdivided this territory into Salm and Salm-Neufville. Both Salm branches converted to Roman Catholicism and the Roman Catholics gained a certain measure of superiority over the Lutheran Church. However, the Lutheran Church continued to operate under the 1690 church order and existed side-by-side with the Roman Catholic Church. 1310

In 1815, the Congress of Vienna divided these territories with the larger portion being given to the Prussian Province of Lower Rhine.

10.10 Some Observations Concerning Liturgical Worship in the Rhine Province

The region, which in 1822 were merged into the Prussian Rhine Province, proved to be stony ground for the Lutheran Reformation. In many places, this ground was sown and flourished but did not endure. Strong influences of the Reformed, and later the Counter-Reformation and the Thirty Years' War, took their toll and Lutheran presence continued somewhat diminished and in some places disappeared altogether.

The church orders in these territories almost uniformly were less ceremonial than the Saxon, Brandenburg, Braunschweig, Prussia, and other church orders where Lutheranism predominated and Reformed influence was almost non-existent. In the western regions, Lutheran and Reformed territories were in close proximity. In this situation, the Lutheran church orders continued to define clearly their Lutheran doctrinal positions which included in many cases also the *Formula of Concord*. However, ceremonially more attention was given to the inward than the outward expression of faith, and the result was liturgical impoverishment. In some cases, the Mass was no longer the regular Sunday Divine

Service but was celebrated once each fortnight or once a month, or in some cases, even more seldom than that. In fact, in these church orders one looks in vain for the word "Mass." In an atmosphere where Calvinism and Calvinistic attitudes were widespread, the mere mention of the word "Mass" would bring visions of the pope and a return to Roman Catholicism. Those who prepared these church orders apparently needed to scrutinize every ceremony as to its biblical foundations. The liturgical use of Latin, however, survived, along with the general shape of the liturgy. The general outlines of the *Missa Catechumenorum* and the *Missa Fidelium* still endured, although they were simplified and some elements, such as the sign of the cross, elevation of the consecrated species, and exorcism, were either neglected or dropped.

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Acta historico-ecclesiastica nostri temporis. Oder gesammlete Nachrichten und Urkunden zu der Kirchengeschichte unsrer Zeit. Sechs und siebenzigster Theil. Weimar 1785.

Calvinische Hewschrecken. Das ist, Kurtzer aber Gründtlicher Erklärung, der Wort deß Geheimnusses von den Hewschrecke[n], ihren eigenschafften, ihrem König, und ihrer zeit der 5. Monden: auß dem 9. Capitel der Offenbahrung S. Johannis Erste theyl; Darinnen augenscheinlich dargethan, das dieses Gesicht recht und wol auff die Zwinglische Calvinianer gezogen wird; Zu verhütung deß Calvinischen Schwarms, ... sonderlich aber allen rechtgläubigen in der Chur und Marck Brandenburg, zu gewisser nachrichtung, in der, von D. Pelargo, Harminio de Mosa, Petro Freyen, Lazaro Theodoro, Bene: Habrechten, unnd anderen Berlinischen Reformanten verlorner Streitsachen ..., Von Johanne Affelmanno, der H. Schrifft Doctore und in der Löblichen Universitet zu Rostock Professore. Rostock 1616.

Veit Dietrich Agend Büthlein für die Pfar-Herren auff dem Land. Nürmberg 1543.

Agenda. Das ist, Kyrchenordnung, wie sich die Pfarrherrn vnd Seelsorger in jren Ampten vnd diensten halten sollen, fur die Diener der Kyrchen in Hertzog Heinrichen zu Sachssen V. G. H. Fürstenthumb gestellet. Leipzig 1540.

Agenda. Das ist, Kyrchenordnung, wie sich die Pfarherrn vnd Seelsorger in yhren Ampten vnnd diensten halten sollen, für die Diener der Kyrchen in Hertzog Heinrichen zu Sachsen, V.G.H. Fürstenthumb gestellet. Erfurt 1540.

Agenda, Kirchen Geschefft: Vnd derselben Ordnung, wie es

Agenda 1569 Agenda dat is, Ordninge der hilligen Kerckenempter vnde Ceremonien, wo sick de Parrherren, Seelsorgere vnde Kerckendenere in ërem Ampte holden schölen, Gestellet vor de Kercken in Pamern, up bevel der Dorchlüchtigen, hochgebarnen Försten unde Herren, Herrn Barnim des öldern, Herrn Johann Friderichen, Herrn Bugslaffen, Herrn Ernst Ludwigen, Herrn Barnim des yüngern, vnde Herrn Casimiren, Geueddern vnde Gebröder, Hertogen tho Stettin, Pamern, der Cassuben vnde Wenden, Försten tho Rügen, vnde Grauen tho Gutzkow, etc. Anno M.D.LXVIII. ... Anno M. D. LXIX. Agenda 1574 Agenda Das ist: Kirchenordnung, wie es im Fürstenthumb Hessen mit verkündigung Göttliches worts, reichung der heiligen Sacramenten vnd andern Christlichen handlungen vnd Ceremonien gehalten werden soll. 1574. Agenda 1576 Agenda Das ist: Kirchenordnung wie es in der Graue vnnd Herrschafft Nassaw, Sarprücken, Sarwerden vnnd Loher mit verkündigung Göttliches Worts, reichung der Heyligen Sacramenten, vnd andern Christlichen Handlungen vnd Ceremonien gehalten werden sol. Gedruckt zu Frackfurt am Mayn 1576. Agenda 1591 Agenda Dat is, Ordninge der hilligen Kerckenempter vnde Ceremonien, wo sick de Parrherren, Seelsorgere vnde Kerckendenere in ërem Ampte holden schölen, Gestellet vor de Kercken in Pamern, up beuël der Dorchlüchtigen, hochgebarnen Försten vnde Herren, Herrn Barnim des öldern, Herrn Johann Friderichen, Herrn Bugslaffen, Herrn Ernst Ludwigen, Herrn Barnim des yüngern, vnde Herrn Casimiren, Geueddern vnde Gebröder, Hertogen tho Stettin, Pamern, der Cassuben vnde Wenden, Försten tho Rügen, vnde Grauen tho Gutzkow, etc. Anno M.D.LXVIII. ... Tho Olden Stettin by Andreas Kellner, Anno 91. Agenda 1601 Agenda: Das ist: Kirchen Ordnung, Wie es in der Gemeyndschafft deß Hüttenbergs, zu Nider Clehen, unnd zu Ober Roßbach, mit verkündigung Göttliches Worts, reychung der heiligen Sacramenten, und andern Christlichen handlungen und Ceremonien gehalten werden soll... Marpurg 1601. Agenda 1609 Agenda, Das ist: Kirchenordnung, Wie es in der Grave unnd Herrschafft Nassaw, Sarprücken und Sarwerden Loher, Mißbaden und Ittstein, mit verkündigug Göttlichen Worts, reichung der heyligen Sacramenten, und andern Christlichen Handlungen und Ceremonien gehalten werden sol. Im Jahr 1609. Agenda Das ist Außerlesene Kirchen-Ceremonien Welche in den Agenda 1614 Kirchen Augspurgischer Confession in ublichem Brauche sein, unnd hin und wieder gleich und ungleich Bey Dem Sacrament der H. Tauffe, Administration des Herrn Christi Nachtmahl, Copulation Breutigams unnd Braut, Einsegenung der Sechswöchnerinnen, und Christlichen Begrebnussen gehalten werden, Collegiret und zusammen getragen, Durch M. Joachimum Goltzium Seniorem Dienern Göttliches Wortts zu Franckfurth an der Oder, Hartman, 1614. Agenda 1624 Agenda. Das ist, Kirchenordnung, Wie sich die Pfarrherrn und

Seelsorger in ihren Ampten und Diensten halten sollen. Für die Diener der Kirchen in Hertzog Heinrichen zu Sachsen, V.G.H. Fürstenthumb gestellet. Jetzo auffs new aus Churfürst Augusti Kirchenordnung

Agenda 1637	Agenda álbo forma porzadku usługi swietey, w zborach ewangelickich Koronnych y Wielkiego Xiestwa Litewskiego Na wiecżną cźeść y chwałę Oycu, Synowi, y Duchu S. Bogu w Troycy jedynemu, zá zgodną Zborow wszystkich uchwałą, teraz nowo przeyźrzana y wydána, we Gdansku Drukował Andrżey Hünefeldt. Roku Páńskiego, M DC XXXVII.
Agenda 1644	Agenda, Das ist, Kurtze und einfältige Erzehlung der fürnehmbsten Kirchen Gebräuch und Ceremonien, so in der reinen Evangelischen und ungeenderter Augspurgischer Confession zugethanen Kirchen zu Franckfurt am Mayn. gehalten werden. Franckfurt am Mayn 1644.
Agenda 1650	Agenda Schwartzburgica, Das ist, Verzeichnuß der Ceremonien, wie solche in ihren Kirchen wollen gehalten haben Die Graffen und Herren, H. Christian Günther, H. Antonius Günther, und H. Ludowig Günther, Gebrüdere, der Vier Graffen des Reichs, Graffen zu Schwartzburg und Honstein Arnstadt 1650.
Agenda 1657	Agenda Oder: Erster Teyl der Kirchen-Ordnung, unser von Gottes Gnaden Augusti, Herzogen zu Bruns-Wyk und Lunä-Burg. Wy es mit denen Ceremonien, auch andern nootwendigen Sachen und Verrichtungen in denen Kirchen Unserer Fürstentume Graf-, Herrschaften und Landen zu halten. Wolfen-Büttel 1657.
Agenda 1662	Agenda, Das ist: Kirchen-Ordnung, Wie es im Fürstenthumb Hessen, mit Verkündigung Göttliches Worts, reichung der Heiligen Sacramenten und andern Christlichen Handlungen und Ceremonien, gehalten werden soll. Darmstatt 1662.
Agenda 1664	Agenda Oder Ordnung Derer Evangelischen Kirchen im Oelßnischen Fürstenthum und zugehörigen Weichbildern, Auff gnädigen Befehl I. F. G. Hertzog Carls zu Münsterberg, dieses Nahmens des Anderen, erstlich gestellt und zusammenbracht, und der Ehrwürdigen Priesterschafft übergeben Ao. 1593: Numehro aber auff gnädige Verordnung I. F. G. Hertzog Sylvii zu Würtenberg und Teck, auch in Schlesien zur Oelssen, etc. revidiret und zum Druck befördert Ao 1664.
Agenda 1667	Agenda So, Zu behueff der Primat-Ertzbischöfflichen Kirchen zu Magdeburg, Uff Verordnung Eines HochEhrwürdigen DomCapituls hochgedachter Kirchen in Druck gegeben worden. Magdeburg, Müller, 1667.
Agenda 1675	Agenda Schwartzburgica Das ist Verzeichniß der Ceremonien, Wie solche Die jetzo regierende Gräfliche Schwartzburgisch und Honsteinische sämptliche Herrschaft Beyder, Der Sondershäusischer und Rudolstätischen Linien, in ihren Kirchen wollen gehalten haben. Von neuem übersehen Und Gedruckt zu Arnstadt bey Heinrich Meurern. Jm Jahr M. DC. LXXV. Rudolstadt 1675.
Agenda 1686	Agenda oder Ordnung Derer Evangelischen Kirchen im Oelßnischen Fürstenthum und zugehörigen Weichbildern, Auff gnädigen Befehl I. F. G. Hertzog Carls zu Münsterberg, dieses Nahmens des Anderen, erstlich gestellt und zusammen 1502 N., und der Ehrwürdigen

Priesterschafft übergeben Anno 1593: Numehro aber auff gnädige Verordnung I. F. G. Hertzog Sylvii zu Würtenberg und Teck, auch in Schlesien zur Oelssen, etc. revidiret und zum Druck befördert Anno Agenda 1688 Agenda, Das ist, Kurtze und einfältige Erzehlung Der fürnehmsten Kirchen-Gebräuch und Ceremonien, so in der reinen Evangelischen und ungeänderten Augspurgischen Confession zugethanen Kirchen zu Franckfurt am Mäyn, gehalten werden. Franckfurt am Mayn, Bey Jphann Georg Walthern. Gedruckt bey Johann Bauern 1688. Agenda 1691 Agenda, dat is, Ordninge der hilligen Kerckenempter unde Ceremonien, Wo sick de Parrherren, Seelsorgere vnde Kerckendenere in ërem Ampte holden schölen, Gestellet vor de Kercken in Pamern, up Beuël der Dorchlüchtigen, hochgebarnen Försten vnde Herren, Herrn Barnim des öldern, Herrn Johann Friderichen, Herrn Bugslaffen, Herrn Ernst Ludwigen, Herrn Barnim des yüngern, vnde Herrn Casimiren, Geueddern vnde Gebröder, Hertogen tho Stettin, Pamern, der Cassuben vnde Wenden, Försten tho Rügen, vnde Grauen tho Gutzkow, etc. Olden Stettin 1691. Agenda 1697 Agenda Das ist Außerlesene Kirchen-Ceremonien, Welche in den Kirchen Augspurgischer Confession in üblichem Brauche seyn, und hin und wieder gleich und ungleich Bey Dem Sacrament der H. Tauffe, Administration des Herrn Christi Nachtmahl, Copulation, Bräutigam und Braut, Einsegnung der Sechswöchnerinnen, und Christlichen Begräbnüssen gehalten werden, Colligiret und zusammen getragen, Durch M. Joachimum Goltzium, Seniorem Dienern Göttliches Worts zu Franckfurt an der Oder, An vielen Orten verbessert, die Fehler geändert und auf Begehren gedruckt. Franckfurt an der Oder, Völcker, 1697. Agenda 1715 Agenda to jest Porządek Kośćiołów Ewánjelickich Kśięstwá Oleśnickiego, y innych do niego należących Powiátów. Naprzod Ná milośćiwe rozkazánie Kśiążęćią IGo Mośći Károla z Mynsterberku Wtorego, w Niemieckim języku spisána y Wielebnemu Duchowienstwu Roku 1593. oddána; Potym Zá Miłościwym Zrżądzeniem JGo Książęcey Mości SYLWIUSZA, Książęćiá ná Wyrtenberku, y Teku, á w Śląsku ná Oleśnicy etc. przeyrżána, y do Druku Roku 1664. podána. A teraz Kwoli Kośćiołom Polskim w pomięńionym Kśięstwie ná Pospolite używánie Kśiężey, z Niemieckiego ná Polski Język przetłumáczona. wtóra Edicya. Brieg 1715. Agenda 1724 Agenda, Das ist: Kirchen-Ordnung, Wie es im Fürstenthumb Hessen, mit Verkündigung Göttliches Worts, Reichung der Heil. Sacramenten und andern Christlichen Handlungen und Ceremonien, gehalten werden soll. Darmstatt 1724. Agenda 1731 Agenda, Dat is, Ordninge der hilligen Kerckenempter unde Ceremonien, Wo sick de Parrherren, Seelsorgere unde Kerckendenere in eerem Ampte holden schölen, Gestellet vor de Kercken in Pamern, up Beueel der Dorchlüchtigen, Hochgebarnen Försten unde Herren, Herrn Barnim des öldern, Herrn Johann Friderichen, Herrn Bugslaffen, Herrn Ernst Ludewigen, Herrn Barnim des yüngern, unde Herrn Casimiren, Gevedderen unde Gebröder, Hertogen tho Stettin, Pamern, der Cassuben unde Wenden, Försten tho Rügen, unde Grauen tho Gützkow, etc. Anno M. D. LXVIII. Stralsund unde Gripswaldt, 1731. Agenda 1750 Agenda Oder Ordnung, Derer evangelischen Kirchen im Oelßnischen

Fürstenthum und zugehörigen Weichbildern, Auf gnädigen Befehl Ihro Fürstl. Gnaden Hertzog Carls zu Münsterberg, dieses Nahmens des Andern, erstlich gestellt und zusammen bracht, und der Ehrwürdigen Priesterschafft übergeben Anno 1593. Nunmehro aber auff gnädigste Verordnung Ihro

Agenda 1775 Agenda tattai esti Surászimas Pagraudinnimû ir Maldû, Lietuwôs Baźnyćiosa skaitomû nůg Kunnigû szwentus sawo Urėdo Darbus pilnawojanćiujû. Karaláućiuje, Méte 1775. Agenda 1804 Agenda, oder: Ordnung der evangelischen Kirchen im Oelsnischen Fürstenthum und zugehörigen Weichbildern; auf gnädigen Befehl Ihro Fürstl. Gnaden Herzog Carls zu Münsterberg, dieses Nahmens des Andern, erstlich gestellt und zusammenbracht, und der ehrwürdigen Priesterschaft übergeben Anno 1593. Nunmehro aber auf gnädigste Verordnung Ihro Fürstl. Gnaden Herzog Sylvii zu Würtemberg und Teck, auch in Schlesien zur Oelssen etc. revidiret und zum Druck befördert Anno 1664. Oels 1804. Agenda 1819 Agenda lub porządek kościołów ewanielickich Księstwa Oleśnickiego i do niego należących powiatów, na miłościwe rozkazanie Książęcia Jego Mości Karola z Mynsterberku wtórego naprzód złożona i spisana, a wielebnemu Duchowieiistwu r. 1593 oddana; potem za najmiłościwszem zrządzeniem Jego Książęcej Mości Sylwiusza Książęcia na Wyrtenbergu i Teku i też w Śląsku na Oleśnicy i t. d. przejrzana i do druku r. 1664 podana, kwoli kościołom polskim w polski język przetłumaczona. Nowa edycya. Oleśnica, drukowane i wydane u Jana Kar. Samuela Ludwiga książęcego dwornego i miejskiego drukarza, 1819. Agricola 1628 Widerlegung der Schlußreden D. Lucae Backmeisters Superint. zu Güstrow Die er auß der also genanten Reformirten Lehrer freywilligem vnnd wolgmeinten Zeugniß von der Lutherischen Lehre, Ceremonien vnd Lehrern, seinen Lutheranern zu einem sonderbaren Trost, Unterricht vnnd Ermahnung, den Reformirten aber zu einem vermeinten Zeugniß über sie gezogen, vnd biβher fleissig gebraucht hat. Darinnen dann Solche Schlußreden gebührlichen erwogen, vnd viel zu leicht falsch vnd betrieglich erfunden werden. Im gegentheil aber auß vieler vornehmen Lutheraner Zeugnissen selber dargethan wird, daß der Lutheraner Religion, Ceremonien und Lehrer, nicht so richtig seyn, vnd freylich noch einer reformation bedürffen. Auff Fürstl. Mechelnb. Befehl angestellt, Vnd zur nothwendigen verantwortung der Warheit, vnd ableinung der falschheit, zurück geschickt Durch M. Adam-Christianum Agricolam. Sil. [1628]. Ajendá ábo Porządek 1668 Ajendá ábo Porządek, Kościołow Ewánjelickich Kśięstwá Oleśnickiego, y innych do niego należących Powiátow. Naprzod Ná miłośćiwe rozkazánie Kśiążęćią JGo Mośći Károlá z Mynsterberku Wtorego w Niemieckim jezyku spisána y Wielebnemu Duchowieństwu Roku 1593. oddána; Potym Zá Miłośćiwym Zrządzeniem JGo Książęcey Mośći SYLWIUSZÁ, Kśiążęćiá ná Wyrtenberku, y Teku, á w Sląsku ná Oleśnicy etc. przeyrzána, y do Druku Roku 1664. podána. A teraz Kwoli Kośćiołom Polskim w pomięńionym Kśięstwie na Pospolite używánie Kśiężey z Niemieckiego ná Polski język przetłumáczona. Oels [1668]. Akta Synodów różnowierczych w Polsce. Tom I (1550-1559). Akta synodów I 1966 Opracowala Maria Sipayłło. Warszawa 1966. Akta synodów II 1972 Akta Synodów różnowierczych w Polsce. Tom II (1560-1570). Opracowala Maria Sipayłło. Warszawa 1972. Akta synodów III 1983 Akta Synodów różnowierczych w Polsce. Tom III (Małopolska 1571-1632). Opracowała Maria Sipayłło. Warszawa 1983.

Algemeines Buß-Gebet 1681 Algemeines Buß-Gebet In denen Kirchen des Herzogthumbs Preussen zu halten verordnet Auff den 26sten Februarii dieses lauffenden Jahres Als welcher Zu einem Buß- Fast- und Bet-Tag angesetzet Nachdem der erschreckliche Comet zu Außgang des 1680sten und Anfang des 1681sten Jahres sich hatte sehen lassen. [1681]. Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung. Num. 92. Freytags, den 17. April 1807. No. 92, 1807 Allgemeine Liturgie I 1805 Allgemeine Liturgie oder Versuch einer möglichst vollständigen Sammlung von Gebeten und Anreden bey dem öffentlichen Gottesdienst und andern feierlichen Religionshandlungen herausgegeben von Heinrich Wilhelm Frosch, Feldprediger bei dem Königl. Preuss. Kuirassierregiment von Bünting. Erster Theil, welcher die Gebete enthält. Breslau 1805. Allgemeine Liturgie II/1 1805 Allgemeine Liturgie oder Versuch einer möglichst vollständigen Sammlung von Gebeten und Anreden bey dem öffentlichen Gottesdienst und andern feierlichen Religionshandlungen herausgegeben von Heinrich Wilhelm Frosch, Feldprediger bei dem Königl. Preuss. Kuirassierregiment von Bünting. Zweiter Theil, welcher die Formulare enthält. Breslau 1805. Allgemeine Liturgie II/2 1809 Allgemeine Liturgie oder Versuch einer möglichst vollständigen Sammlung von Gebeten und Anreden bey dem öffentlichen Gottesdienst und andern feierlichen Religionshandlungen herausgegeben von Heinrich Wilhelm Frosch, Feldprediger bei dem Königl. Preuss. Kuirassierregiment von Bünting. Zweiter Theil, welcher die Formulare enthält. Zweite und lezte Abtheilung. Breslau 1809. Allgemeines Dissidentisches Allgemeines Dissidentisches Kirchen-Recht, laut den Tractaten und Kirchen-Recht 1784 Reichs-Constitutionen von 1768 und 1775 abgefasst, von der General-Synode abgefasst, von allen Provinzen synodalisch angenommen, und sämtlichen Gliedern der Evangelischen Kirche U. A. C. in der Crone Pohlen und dem Großherzogthume Litthauen, zur gemeinschaftlichen Befolgung bekannt gemacht. Lissa 1784. Allgemeines Gebet 1655 Allgemeines Gebet, welche auff Sr. Churfl. Durchl. zu Brandenburg, in Preussen Hertzogs ... Verordnung umb Abwendung gegenwärtiger Noht ... in allen Kirchen des Hertzogthumbs Preussen ... nach der Predigt sol gehalten werden. Königsberg 1655. Allgemeines Kirchenrecht Allgemeines Kirchenrecht beyder Evangelischen Confessionen in Polen 1780 und Litthauen, die Kirchen-Verfassung, gute Ordnung, Policey und rechtliche Thätigkeit der Consistorien betreffend. Warschau 1780. Allgemeines Kirchenrecht Allgemeines Kirchen-Recht, vor beyde Evangelische Confessionen 1783 in Pohlen und Littauen, nach dem Innhalte der Traktaten und Reichs-Constitutionen von 1768. und 1775. abgefasst; Wie solches nach erfolgter bedingter Annehmung desselben auf der im Jahr 1780. zu Wegrow gehaltenen und limitirten General-Synode beyder Confessionen aus allen drey Provinzen, Laut des, auf der im Jahre 1782. reassumirten General-Synode von den Städten der U. A.

Allgemeines Magazin für

Allgemeines Magazin für Prediger nach den Bedürfnissen unsrer Zeit.

worden ist. Lissa 1783.

Confession abgefassten Vten Canons, von der hierzu bevollmächtigten Commission durchgesehen, abgeändert, verbessert und approbirt Allgemeines Magazin für Allgemeines Magazin für Prediger nach den Bedürfnissen unsrer Zeit. Prediger 1792 Herausgegeben von Johann Rudolph Gottlieb Beyer. Sechsten Bandes, erstes Stük. Leipzig 1792. Almer 2016 Gabriel Almer Calvinista Aulico-Politicus. Titelzusatz Konfession und Herrschaft in Brandenburg-Preußen (ca. 1660-1740). Zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades eingereicht am Fachbereich Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften der Freien Universität Berlin. 2014. https://refubium.fu-berlin.de/bitstream/handle/ fub188/4392/Almer_Gabriel.diss.pdf Angelus 1593 Rerum Marchicarum Breviarium. Das ist: Kurtze vnd doch warhafftige beschreibung der vornembsten geschichten und Historien, so sich vor vnd nach Christi Geburt als vber 2000. Jaren im Chur vnd Fürstenthumb der Marck Brandenburg von Jar zu Jar bis auff gegenwertiges 1593. Jar begeben vnd zugetragen haben: Aus sehr vielen vnd glaubwirdigen Scribenten, vnd sonst aus allerley alten und newen diplomatibus, Grabschrifften, Calendarijs vnd dergleichen zusammen gebracht, vnd odentlich verfasset: durch Andream Engelium, Pfarrherrn zu Straußberg in der Mittelmark Brandenburg. Am ende ist hinzu gesetzt ein kurtzer bericht vom Marggraffthumb Brandenburg, etc. Wittenberg 1593. Anhang zum Danziger Anhang zum Danziger Gesangbuche für die kirchliche und häusliche Gesangbuche 1810 Andacht. - Christliche Religions-Gesänge für die öffentliche und häusliche Gottesverehrung gesammelt von dem geistlichen Ministerio des Danziger Freistaates. Danzig 1810. Anreden und Gebete 1777 Anreden und Gebete, zum Gebrauche bey dem gemeinschaftlichen, und auch dem häuslichen Gottesdienste von G. J. Zollikofer, Evang. reform. Prediger zu Leipzig. Mit allergnädigstem Kaiserlichen Privilegio. Leipzig 1777. Anreden und Gebete 1795 Anreden und Gebete zum Gebrauch bey dem öffentlichen Gottesdienst und den dahin gehörigen Handlungen, nebst einer Nachricht von der Ordnung desselben. Stralsund 1795. Georg Arndt Gottesdienstliche Ordnungen des Schwedenkönigs Arndt 1899/1900 Gustav Adolf von Schweden für die Stifter Magdeburg und Halberstadt vom Jahre 1632. – Monatsschrift für Gottesdienst und kirchliche Kunst. 4 (1899), 5 (1900). Arnoldi 1614 Confessio vera & Lutherana, Oder Warhafftige Glaubens Bekentnuß von den vier HauptArtickeln Unsers Christlichen Glaubens, Der Person unsers Heylandes, Der H. Tauffe, Dem Hochwürdigen Abendmahl, und der Gnadenwahl der Kinder Gottes zum ewigen Leben. Aus Des Hocherleuchten Mannes Gottes, D. Luthers Geistreichen Schrifften zur Nachricht zusammen getragen, und einem falschen verführischen Bekentnuß (daß sonderlich in diesem Hertzogthumb Preussen herumb getragen wird) Damit Martinus Fusselius, gewesener Pfarrer zu Claden, in Lutheri Nahmen viel frommer Christen bestürtzt macht, entgegen

> gesetzt und in Druck verfertiget Von M. Philippo Arnoldi, Pfarrern und ErtzPriestern zur Tilsit, auch der Churf. Schulen

Arnoldi 1616 Artickel der Ceremonien	Caeremoniae Lutheranae, Das ist, Ein Christlicher, Gründlicher Unterricht von allen fürnembsten Caeremonien, so in den Lutherischen Preussischen Kirchen, in verrichtung des Gottesdienstes, adhibirt werden, als, Von Hostien, Brodtbrechen, Consecriren. Caseln, Altharen, Bildern, brennenden Liechten, Kniebeugen, Hut abnehmen, Musica, Orgeln, Exorcismo, Festagen, und andern Kirchensachen mehr; Den Calvinischen Caeremonienstürmern entgegen gesetzt, und in Druck verfertiget Von M. Philippo Arnoldi, Erztpriestern zu Tilsit. Königsberg 1616.
1526	Artickel der Ceremonien und anderen Kirchen Ordnung. Königsberg 1526.
Ausführliche Geschichte 1783	Ausführliche Geschichte der Uneinigkeiten welche seit einigen Jahren in der Warschauischen Evangelischen Gemeine der unveränderten Augspurgischen Confession geherrschet haben. Alles mit dazu gehörigen Urkunden bewiesen. Wengrow 1783.
Aust 1910	Otto Aust Die Agendenreformen in der evangelischen Kirche Schlesiens während der Aufklärungszeit und ihr Einfluss auf die Gestaltung des kirchlichen Lebens. Breslau 1910.
Bagdonavičius 1984	<i>Vytautas Bagdonavičius</i> Aukojimas prūsuose šešiolikto šimtmečio pradžioje. – <i>Aidai</i> . Lapritis – Gruodis, 1984.
Baltische Studien 1834	Philipp Hainhofers Reise-Tagebuch, enthaltend Schilderungen aus Franken, Sachsen, der Mark Brandenburg und Pommern im Jahr 1617. – Baltische Studien. Herausgegeben von der Gesellschaft für Pommersche Geschichte, Altertumskunde. Zweiter Jahrgang. Zweites Heft. Stettin 1834.
Baum 1860	Capito und Butzer, Straßburgs Reformatoren. Nach ihrem handschriftlichen Briefschatze, ihren gedruckten Schriften und anderen gleichzeitigen Quellen dargestellt von Johann Wilhelm Baum. – Leben und ausgewählte Schriften der Väter und Begründer der reformierten Kirche. III. Theil. Elberfeld 1860.
Behm 1608	Kirchen Calender Das ist, Christliche Erklerung, Des Jahres und der zwölff Monaten: Allen Pfarherrn, Schuldienern unnd Haußvätern in 13. Predigten verfasset und abgehandelt. Unnd jtzo zum andern mal auffs New ubersehen, gemehret und mit Figuren gezieret Durch Martinum Bohemum Predigern zum Lauben. Wittemberg, 1608.
Behm 1614	Gantz Trewhertzige Warnung, An alle und jede des Hertzogthumbs Preussen Untersassen, Sich für der verdämlichen Zwinglinianischen oder Calvinischen Sect zu hütten. Mit Einführung etzlicher gemeiner, und dann sonderbarer Ursachen, Sonderlichen Damit sie das liebe Vaterlandt nicht in eusserste noth und Verderben setzten mügen, Auß guter Trewhertziger Wolmeinung Gestellet von Johanne Behm SS. Theologiae Doct: Hoffpredigern und Professore. Königsberg 1614.
Bekändtniß 1614	Des Durchleuchtigsten, Hochgebornen Fürsten und Hern, Herrn Johann Sigmunds, Marggraffen zu Brandenburg, des H. Römischen Reichs Ertzkämmerers und Churfürsten, [et]c. Bekändtniß Von jetzigen under den Evangelischen schwebenden, und in streit gezogenen puncten: Und Edict An alle der Chur Brandenburg Kirchendiener, sich hinfüro des unnöttigen Gezäncks, auch schmehens, lästerns und verdammens anderer Kirchen, zu gesthalten. Neben etlichen so zon Churf Herrn Stathaltern als guch

enthalten. Neben etlichen, so wol von Churf. Herrn Stathaltern, als auch

Brecht 1981

Benedict 2002	Philip Benedict Christ's Churches Purely Reformed A Social History of Calvinism. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.
Benrath 1920	Wie die Königsberger Reformatoren echtprotestantische Kultprinzipien früher und reiner verwirklichten als Luther. Geschichtlicher Beitrag zu den Problemen der Agendenreform von Lic. theol. G. Ad. Benrath, Pfarrer in Frauenburg Schriften der Synodalkommission für Ostpreussische Kirchengeschichte. Heft 23. Königsberg 1920.
Bente 1921	Friedrich Bente Historical Introductions to the Symbolical Books. – Concordia Triglotta: Die Symbolichen Bucher Der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche. Concordia Triglotta: Libri Symbolici Ecclesiae Lutheranae. Triglot Concordia: The Symbolic Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. St. Louis 1921.
Bergius 1664	Daß die Wort Christi noch veste stehen, Für die wahre seligmachende Gemeinschafft seines Leibes und Blutes im Heiligen Abendmahl. Zur beforderung der Evangelischen Vereinigung, Auff vieler Christlicher Hertzen begehren erwiesen, Durch D. Johannem Bergium, Pomeranum, Churf. Brandenb. Hoff-Prediger. Auβ Verwilligung des Authoris, Nach dem zu Berlin, durch Georg Rungen, im Jahr 1632. gedruckten Exemplar, Gedruct zu Basel, durch Johann Rudolph Genath, Jm Jahr 1664.
Berndorff 2010	Lothar Berndorff Die Prediger der Grafschaft Mansfeld, eine Untersuchung zum geistlichen Sonderbewusstsein in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts: Potsdam 2010.
Beytraege 1786	Beytraege Zur Verbesserung Des Oeffentlichen Gottesdienstes Der Christen. Von Hermes, Fischer und Salzmann. Ersten Bandes Zweytes Stück. Leipzig 1786.
Bezold 1882	Briefe des Pfalzgrafen Johann Casimir mit verwandten Schriftstücken gesammelt und bearb. von Friedrich von Bezold. Auf Veranlassung und mit Unterstützung hrsg, durch die Histor. Commission bei der kgl. Academie der Wissenschaften. Erster Band 1576-1582. München 1882.
Bibliotheca Agendorum 1726	Bibliotheca Agendorum, Bestehend aus einem Vollständigem Catalogo Derer Kirchen-Ordnungen, Agenden, Und anderer Dergleichen Schrifften, Welche Ihro Hoch- Ehrwürden Herr Christian Julius Bokelmann, Archidiaconus Ecclesiæ Cellensis & Consistorialis, Durch mehr als dreyßig-jähriges Bemühen gesammlet; Und aus Einem Anhange einiger Schrifften von solcher Gattung, welche man bißher nicht erhalten können. Mit einer Kurtzen Vorrede und hinzugesetzten Anmerckungen zum Druck ausgefertiget Von Hermann Caspar König, SS. Th. St. Zelle 1726.
Borowski 1789	<i>Ludwig Ernst Borowski</i> Anhang. Ueber die liturgische Formulare besonders der lutherischen Gemeinen in Preußen. Königsberg 1789.
Braunschweig-Lüneburgische Kirchen-Ordnung 1739	Braunschweig-Lüneburgische Kirchen-Ordnung Zum Gebrauch der Fürstenthümer, Graff- und Herrschafften Calenbergischen Theils. Göttingen 1739.
Dunglet 1001	Mautin Dualet Dictionus and Nouzoit Pd (Cabayamanlet

Martin Brecht Pietismus und Neuzeit. Bd. 6. Schwerpunkt

Landesherr und Landeskirchentum im 17 Jahrhundert

Brückner 1864	Benno Bruno Brückner Betrachtungen über die Agende der Evangelisch- Lutherischen Kirche im Königreich Sachsen. Leipzig 1864.
Brunner 1595	Leichpredigt Bey der Christlichen vnd Fürstlichen Begrebnus Elisabeth Magdalenæ Gebornen Marggrefin zu Brandenburg, vnd Hertzogin zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg welche den 22. Augusti 1595 entschlaffen vnd Fürstlicher massen im Thumbstifft zu Cöln an der Sprew, zur Erden bestetiget worden, Gethan Durch M. Hieronymum Prunnerum. Franckfurt an der Oder 1595.
Burke 1994	Peter Burke Popular culture in early modern Europe. Aldershot 1994.
Busch 1818	Kirchen-Agende für die Herrschaft Arnstadt, oder Gebete zur öffentlichen Gottesverehrung und Formulare zu den feyerlichen Religionshandlungen, bes. von Gabriel Christoph Benjamin Busch. Arnstadt 1818.
Busch 1821	Agende für evangelische Kirchen, besorgt von Gabriel Christoph Benjamin Busch, Consistorial-Rathe, Superintendenten und Ober- Pfarrer in Arnstadt. Sondershausen und Nordhausen. Sondershausen und Nordhausen 1821.
Büsching 1784	Anton Friedrich Büsching Neueste Geschichte der Evangelischen beyder Confeßionen im Königreich Polen und Großherzogthum Litauen, von 1768 bis 1783, nebst der besondern Geschichte der Evangelisch-lutherischen Gemeine zu Warschau. Halle 1784.
Büsching 1785	Anton Friedrich Büsching Neueste Geschichte der Evangelischen beyder Confeßionen im Königreich Polen und Großherzogthum Litauen, von 1768 bis 1783, nebst der besondern Geschichte der evangelisch-lutherischen Gemeine zu Warschau; Zweyter Theil, welcher die Geschichte des ersten Theils vertheidiget, verbessert, ergänzet, und bis 1785 fortsetzet. Halle 1785.
Büsching 1785 II	Anton Friedrich Büsching Neueste Geschichte der Evangelischen beyder Confeßionen im Königreich Polen und Großherzogthum Litauen von 1768 bis 1783, und besondere Geschichte der evangelisch-lutherischen Gemeine zu Warschau; Zweyter Theil, welcher die Geschichte des ersten Theils vertheidiget, verbessert, ergänzet, und bis 1785 fortsetzet. – Magazin für die neue Historie und Geographie, angelegt von A.F. Büsching. Hale 1785.
Büsching 1787	Anton Friedrich Büsching Neueste Geschichte der Evangelischen beyder Confeßionen im Königreich Polen und Großherzogthum Litauen, und besondere Geschichte der evangelisch-lutherischen Gemeine zu Warschau; Dritter Theil, welcher die Geschichte der Jahre 1785 und 1786 begreifet. Halle 1787.
Buschmann 1984	Arno Buschmann Kaiser und Reich: klassische Texte zur Verfassungsgeschichte des Heiligen Römischen Reiches Deutscher Nation vom Beginn des 12. Jahrhunderts bis zum Jahre 1806. München 1984.
Caemmerer 1915	Die Testamente der Kurfürsten von Brandenburg und der beiden ersten Könige von Preußen. Herausgegeben von Hermann von Caemmerer. München 1915.

Calviniana Religio Oder Calvinisterey, So fälschlich die Reformirte Religion genennet wird. Kurtzer Außzug und Bericht, nach den fürnembsten Hauntmurcten Christlicher Lehre und Ceremonien Daraus

Calviniana Religio 1615

Church Order 2015

Cameron 2002 Euan Cameron One Reformation or many? Protestant identities in the later Reformation in Germany. - Tolerance and intolerance in the European Reformation. Edited by Ole Peter Grell and Bob Scribner. Cambridge 2002. Cantica sacra 1613 Cantica sacra, quo ordine et melodiis, per totius anni curriculum, in matutinis et vespertnis, itemque intermediis precibus cantari solent, una cum lectionibus et precationibus in unum volumen congesta pro s. metropolitana Magdeburgensi Ecclesia, excusa Magdeburgi Sumtibus praedictae Ecclesiae, etc. Tipis Andreae Bezeli, Anno Christi M. DC. XIII [1613]. Christiana Concordia 1593 Christiana Concordia Das ist, Christliches wiederholtes einmütiges Gespräch, von allen streittigen Religionspuncten, beydes die Lehr vnd Kirchen Ceremonien belangendt, welche in streit gezogen nach absterben Doctor Martin Luthers seligen: Mit angeheffter, in Gottes Wort, als der einigen Regel und Richtschnur wolgegründter Christlichen Erklærung, welcher massen ein jeder guthertziger und recht Lauterischer Christ, auffs aller einfältigst vnnd schlechtest, durch Gottes hülff, auß allen verworrenen Streitsachen gründtlich und von sich selbs entrichten, und für allem verführischen Jrrthumb sich verwahren soll. Auβ einhelliger vergleichung der Christianae Concordiae, allen Euangelischen Kirchen vnd Schulen, vnd sonderlich dem einfältigen Mann vnd nachkommenden Jugendt zum vnterricht vnd warnung, Durch einen Liebhaber der Christlichen Concordiae in Druck verfertiget. Gedruckt zu Newstadt an der Hardt, durch Matthaeum Harnisch, im Jahr M.D.XCIII. Christliche Gebet nach den Christliche Gebet nach den Predigten, vom Aduent an bis auff Ostern: Predigten 1563 In welchen als in einer Summa, die fürnemsten Lere, so in einem jeglichen Euangelio, wie die auff die Sontage vnd fürnemsten Festtage geprediget, eingefürt vnd erzelet werden, Geschrieben vnd nach den predigten im brauch gehalten, durch M. Johan. Funcken. 1563. Christliche Kirchen Agenda Christliche Kirchen Agenda: Wie die bey den zweyen Ständen der 1571 Herrn vnd Ritterschafft, im Ertzhertzogthumb Oesterreich vnter der Enns, gebraucht wirdt. Anno M D LXXI. Christliche Religions-Christliche Religions-Gesänge für die öffentliche und häusliche Gesänge 1810 Gottesverehrung gesammelt von dem geistlichen Ministerio des Danziger Freistaates. Danzig 1810. Christlike Ordeninge der Erlyken Stadt Mynden tho denste dem hilgen Christlike Ordeninge 1530 Euangelio, Ock denn Christliken frede vnd enicheit belangende, mit sampt ytliker vormaninge vor der gemeine Dorch Nicolaum Kragen erwelten vnd geescheden predicantenn tho Minden. M D XXX. Chronicon 1704 Chronicon oder Beschreibung der Stadt und des Stiffts Bardewick, Vor und nach der Zerstörung: Darinn zugleich unterschiedliches von dem Zustand des alten Sachsen-Landes, so wohl im Heydenthum, als nach eingeführter Christlichen Religion, enthalten, Wobey auch der umliegenden Stiffter, Clöster und Pfarr-Kirchen ... Meldung geschicht; ... Aus untrüglichen Archiven alten und neuen bewehrten Scribenten zusammen getragen Von Christian Schlöpken, der Bardewickischen Stiffts-Schulen Rectore, Lubeck 1704.

Church Order for Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel. How Doctrine, Ceremonies, and Other Church-related Matters Shall (by God's Grace) be Conducted

Chur. Pfältzische Kirchen-Ordnung 1685 Chur. Pfältzische Kirchen-Ordnung, Wie es mit der Christlichen Lehr, heiligen Sacramenten und Ceremonien, in allen Kirchen der Chur-Fürstlichen Pfaltz gehalten werden soll: Wie dieselbe vor alters, publicirt gewesen, und anjetzo bey Regierung Des ... Herrn Carln Pfaltzgrafen bey Rhein und Churfürsten, Hertzogen in Bayern, [et]c. Aufs neue nachgedruckt worden. Heidelberg, 1684.

Chur-Pfältzische Kirchen-Ordnung 1652

Chur-Pfältzische Kirchen-Ordnung, Wie es mit der Christlichen Lehr, Heiligen Sacramenten, und Ceremonien, in allen Kirchen der Churfürstlichen Pfaltz gehalten werden soll: Wie dieselbe vor alters, und in Anno 1611. das letzte mahl publicirt gewesen, und anjetzo bey Regierung Des Durchleuchtigsten Fürsten unf Herrn, Herrn Carl Ludwigen, Pfaltzgraffen bey Rhein, des Heil: Röm. Reichs Ertz-Schatzmeisters und Churfürsten, Hertzogen in Bayern, etc. Auffs Newe, und dem obgedachten Exemplari gantz gleichförmig nachgedruckt worden; Häydelberg 1652.

Chur-Pfältzische Kirchen-Ordnung 1665

Chur-Pfältzische Kirchen-Ordnung, Wie es mit der Christlichen Lehr, Heiligen Sacramenten, und Ceremonien, in allen Kirchen der Churfürstlichen Pfalz gehalten werden soll. Wie dieselbe vor alters, und in Anno 1611. das letzte mahl publicirt gewesen, und anjetzo bey Regierung des Durchleuchtigsten Fürsten und Herrn, Herrn Carl Ludwigen, Pfaltzgraven bey Rhein, des Heil: Röm: Reichs Erz=Schatzmeisters und Churfürsten, Hertzogen in Bayern, [et]c. Aufs Newe und dem obgedachten Exemplari ganz gleichförmig nach gedruckt worden. Heydelberg [1665].

Chur-Pfältzische Kirchen-Ordnung 1724 Chur-Pfältzische Kirchen-Ordnung, wie es mit der christlichen Lehr ... in allen Kirchen der Chur-Fürstlichen Pfaltz gehalten werden soll: wie dieselbe vor Alters publicirt gewesen und anjetzo nach dem Expl. 1684 revidirt und auffs neue gedruckt worden. 1724.

Chur-Pfältzische Kirchen-Ordnung 1738 Chur-Pfältzische Kirchen-Ordnung, Wie es mit der Christlichen Lehr, Heiligen Sacramenten, und Ceremonien, in allen Kirchen der Churfürstlichen Pfaltz gehalten werden soll: Wie Dieselbe vor Alters, und in Anno 1611. das letzte mahl publicirt gewesen, und anjetzo bey Regierung Des Durchleuchtigsten Fürsten und Herrn, Herrn Carl Ludwigen, Pfaltzgrafen bey Rhein ... Aufs Neue, Und dem obgedachten Exemplari gantz gleichförmig nachgedruckt worden. 1738.

Chur-Pfälzische Kirchen-Ordnung 1763

Chur-Pfälzische Kirchen-Ordnung, Wie es mit der christlichen Lehre, heiligen Sacramenten und Ceremonien, in allen Kirchen der Churfürstlichen Pfalz gehalten werden soll. Wie dieselbe vor Alters publicirt gewesen, und anjetzo nach dem Exemplar de Ao. 1684 revidirt und aufs neue gedruckt worden. 1763.

Clausnitzer 1895

Eduard Clausnitzer Die märkischen Stände unter Johann Sigismund. Leipzig 1895.

Clev- und Märckische Kirchen-Ordnung 1687 Clev- und Märckische Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchen-Ordnung. Cleve 1687.

Cochlaeus 1544

Defensio Ceremoniarum Ecclesiae aduersus errores et calumnias Trium librorum D. Ambrosii Moibani Vratislaviae Concionantis. Reprehensio item Noui Canonis Missae ab eodem aediti. Per D. Io. Cochlaeum Canonicum Vratislauiensem. Ingolstadij ex officia Conrad 2006

Joachim Conrad Der Gottesdienst in der Nassau-Saarbrükischen Landeskirche. – Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie. 45. Band. Göttingen 2006.

Consilia I 1647

Consilia, sive Iudicia Theologica & Requisita Ministerii, totius Ecclesiae: New verbessert und vollständig Kirchen Buch D. Philip. Hanen, DomPredigers zu Magdeburgk, Darinnen die gewöhnliche Ceremonien, neben vielen kurtzen Tauff, Einsegnung, Hochzeit ... aus Gottes Wort ... verfasset sind ... In den Kirchen des Ertzstiffts Magdeburg, vnd in allen andern Christlichen Versamblungen ... nützlich zu gebrauchen;; In Neun unterschiedtliche Tractätlein abgetheilet, deren Register, oder Summa und Inhalt im Anfang des Buchs zu finden, Auch mit einem Manual. Ministorum Ecclesiae von 12. Büchern auffs newe verbessert... Magdeburg, Braunschweig 1647.

Consilia II 1647

Ander Theil. Consilia, sive Iudicia Theologica & Requisita Ministerii, totius Ecclesiae: New verbessert und vollständig KirchenBuch D. Philip. Hanen, DomPredigers zu Magdeburgk, Darinnen das vierdte, fünffte und sechste Tractätlein vom Beruff und Ordination und Introduction, Investitur oder Anweisung newer Prediger, Beicht, Absolution und Communion oder Administration des heiligen Abendmals, in der Kirchen: heilsamem Consiliis, Bedencken und Erinnerungen Herrn D. Lutheri, und anderer fürnehmer reiner Theologen, auch 14. Ordination- 8. IntroductionSermönlein, auff gewisse Personen und Zeiten gerichtet: New verbessert und vollständig KirchenBuch D. Philip. Hanen, DomPredigers zu Magdeburgk, Darinnen die gewöhnliche Ceremonien, neben vielen kurtzen Tauff, Einsegnung, Hochzeit ... aus Gottes Wort ... verfasset sind ...; In Neun unterschiedtliche Tractätlein abgetheilet, deren Register, oder Summa und Inhalt im Anfang des Buchs zu finden, Auch mit einem Manual. Ministorum Ecclesiae von 12. Büchern auffs newe verbessert. Magdeburg, Braunschweig 1647.

Consilia III 1647

Dritter Theil. Consilia, sive Iudicia Theologica & Requisita Ministerii, totius Ecclesiae: New verbessert und vollständig KirchenBuch D. Philip. Hanen, DomPredigers zu Magdeburgk, Darinnen das siebende, achte, und neundte Tractätlein von Visitation und Communion der Krancken, für Sterbende, Betrübte und allerhand Angefochtene, für Gefangene, auch die zum Todte, verdammete Übelthäter, für melancholische trawrige Leute, für leiblich besessene Leute, und wie Prediger mit denselben zu handeln ...: New verbessert und vollständig KirchenBuch D. Philip. Hanen, DomPredigers zu Magdeburgk, Darinnen die gewöhnliche Ceremonien, neben vielen kurtzen Tauff, Einsegnung, Hochzeit ... aus Gottes Wort ... verfasset sind ...; In Neun unterschiedtliche Tractätlein abgetheilet, deren Register, oder Summa und Inhalt im Anfang des Buchs zu finden, Auch mit einem Manual. Ministorum Ecclesiae von 12. Büchern auffs newe verbessert. Magdeburg, Braunschweig 1647.

Consilia IV 1647

Vierdter Theil. Manuale ministrorum Ecclesiae, Hand- und Kirchen-Buch, darinnen 12 folgende Bücher begriffen, 1. Die Episteln auff alle Sonn- u. Fest-Tage ... 2. Evangelia auff alle Sonn- u. Fest-Tage ... Magdeburg, Braunschweig 1647. Corpus Constitutionum Marchicarum I/1 [1737] Des Corporis Constitutionum Marchicarum. Erster Teil. Von Geistlichen-Consistorial- und Kirchen-Sachen betreffend Die Religion, äuserlichen Gottesdienst, Geistl. Jurisdiction, Kirchen-Visitation, Intraden, derer Prediger Vocation, Confirmation, Lehr und Lehen, Universitäten, Schulen, Stipendien, Ehe-Verlöbniß, Hochzeiten, Kindtauffen und Begräbniß, Armen-Verpflegung, Hospitalien, Wittben-Cassen, Feyer des Sonntags und anderer Feste, Fast-Buß- und Bethtage, Jubilaea, Kirchen-Buße etc. In zwey Abtheilungen. - Corpus Constitutionum Marchicarum, Oder Königl. Preußis. und Churfürstl. Brandenburgische in der Chur- und Marck Brandenburg, auch incorporirten Landen publicirte und ergangene Ordnungen, Edicta, Mandata, Rescripta &c. Von Zeiten Friedrichs I. Churfürstens zu Brandenburg, &c. biß ietzo unter der Regierung Friderich Wilhelms, Königs in Preussen &c. ad annum 1736. inclusivè Mit allergn. Bewilligung colligieret und ans Licht gegeben von Otto Mylius.

Corpus Constitutionum Marchicarum I/2 [1737]

Ersten Theils Des Corporis Constitutionum Marchicarum, Zweyte Abtheilung Von Universitäten, Schulen, Stipendien, Ehe-Sachen auch Hochzeiten, Kind-Ttauffen, Begräbnissen (so weit diese Actus ministeriales betreffen und nicht zu Policey-Sachen gehörig,) Armen-Verpflegung, Hospitalien, Wittib-Cassen, Feyerung des Sonntags und anderer Feste, auch extraordinairen Buß- und Beth-Tagen, Jubilaeis, Kirchen-Buß &c. - Corpus Constitutionum Marchicarum, Oder Königl. Preußis. und Churfürstl. Brandenburgische in der Chur- und Marck Brandenburg, auch incorporirten Landen publicirte und ergangene Ordnungen, Edicta, Mandata, Rescripta &c. Von Zeiten Friedrichs I. Churfürstens zu Brandenburg, &c. biß ietzo unter der Regierung Friderich Wilhelms, Königs in Preussen &c. ad annum 1736. inclusivè Mit allergn. Bewilligung colligieret und ans Licht gegeben von Otto Mylius.

Corpus Constitutionum Marchicarum I/3 [1737] Andern Theils des Corporis Constitutionum Marchicarum, Erste Abtheilung Enthält dasjenige, was die lustiz in genere und in specie die Ciuil-Sachen angehet, so wohl quoad ius in Thesi und dahin einfliessende materias iuris, als auch modum procedendi und die Gerichts-Ordnungen, auch Iurisdictionalia, &c. - Corpus Constitutionum Marchicarum, Oder Königl. Preußis. und Churfürstl. Brandenburgische in der Chur- und Marck Brandenburg, auch incorporirten Landen publicirte und ergangene Ordnungen, Edicta, Mandata, Rescripta &c. Von Zeiten Friedrichs I. Churfürstens zu Brandenburg, &c. biß ietzo unter der Regierung Friderich Wilhelms, Königs in Preussen &c. ad annum 1736. inclusivè Mit allergn. Bewilligung colligieret und ans Licht gegeben von Otto Mylius.

Corpus Constitutionum Marchicarum. Continuatio II 1741-1744

Corporis Constitutionum Marchicarum. Continuatio II. Derer in der Chur- und Marck Brandenburg, auch incorporirten Landen, ergangenen Edicten, Mandaten, Rescripten, von 1741. biß 1744. inclusive. Berlin und Halle, Zu finden im Buchladen des Waysenhauses, [ca. 1744].

Corpus Constitutionum Marchicarum. Continuatio III 1745-1747 Corporis Constitutionum Marchicarum. Continuatio III. Derer in der Chur- und Marck Brandenburg, auch incorporirten Landen, ergangenen Edicten, Mandaten, Rescripten, &c. von 1745. biß 1747. inclusive. Berlin und Halle, Zu finden im Buchladen des Waysenhauses, [ca. 1748]. Corporis Constitutionum Marchicarum Continuatio IV. Derer in

Corporis Constitutionum

Corporis Constitutionum Marchicarum. Continuatio IV. 1748-1750 Corporis Constitutionum Marchicarum. Continuatio IV. Derer in der Chur- und Marck Brandenburg, auch incorporirten Landen, ergangenen Edicten, Mandaten, Rescripten, &c. von 1748. biß 1750. inclusive. Berlin und Halle, Zu finden im Buchladen des Waysenhauses, [ca. 1751].

Corpus Constitutionum Marchicarum VI/2 [1751] Waysenhauses, [ca. 1751].

Des Corporis Constitutionum Marchicarum Sechster Theil Von Miscellaneis, und Supplementis derer vorhergehenden Fünf Theile bis 1736. in sich haltend Landtags-Recesse, von Justitzien- Zoll- Brau- und anderen Sachen, auch Edicta und Ordnungen vom Abschoß, Ober Heralds-Amt, Rang-Reglements, Monte Pietatis, Privilegiis derer refugirten aus Franckreich und Schweitz, Erb-Pacht, Orden des schwartzen Adlers, Societaet derer Wissenschaften etc. In Drey Abtheilungen. Nebst Anhang Derer in Frantzösischer Sprache zum Behuf der Frantzösischen Nation publicirten Verordnungen, und beygefügter Dixcipline Ecclesiastique derer Reformirten Kirchen in Franckreich. Halle [1751].

Corporis Constitutionum Marchicarum. Continuationum I. II. & III. 1737-1747 Corporis Constitutionum Marchicarum. Continuationum I. II. & III. Suplementa einiger in der Chur- und Marck Brandenburg, auch incorporirten Landen, ergangenen Edicten, Mandaten, Rescripten, &c. von 1737. biß 1747. inclusive. Berlin und Halle, Zu finden im Buchladen des Waysenhauses, [ca. 1751].

Corpus Constitutionum Marchicarum. Continuatio Prima 1737-1740 Corpus Constitutionum Marchicarum. Continuatio Prima, Oder Königl. Preußis. und Churfürstl. Brandenburgische in der Chur- und Marck Brandenburg, auch incorporirten Landen publicirte und ergangene Ordnungen, Edicta, Mandata, Rescripta &c. von 1737. biß 1740. inclusive. Mit allergn. Bewilligung colligiret, und auf vorgehende Censur ans Licht gegeben von Christian Otto Mylius. Berlin und Halle [ca. 1740].

Corpus Constitutionum Prutenicarum 1721 Corpus Constitutionum Prutenicarum, Oder Königliche Preußische Reichs-Ordnungen, Edicta und Mandata Sambt unterschiedenen Rescripten, Welche mit Sr. Königl. Majestät in Preussen zusammengetragen, Und In drey Theil, In Dessen Erstem Kirchen-Schulen- Universitæten- Consistorial- Matrimonial- Hospital- Klosterund Stipendien- Im Andern Justitz- Wechsel- und Wett- Im Dritten Militair- Lehn- Jagt- Forst- Post- Cammer- und Policey-Sachen, befindlich. Nebst einem vollständigen Register Herausgegeben D. George

Corpus Doctrinae Christianae 1560 Grube, Königlicher Preuß. Hoff-Gerichts-Raht. Königsberg 1721.
Corpus Doctrinae Christianae. Das ist, Gantze Summa der rechten waren Christlichen Lehre des heiligen Euangelij, nach jnnhalt Göttlicher, Prophetischen vnd Apostolischen Schrifften, inn etliche Bücher gantz richtig, Gottselig vnd Christlich verfasset, Durch den Ehrwirdigen Philippom Melanthonem. Zu nutz vnd anleitung der Pfarherrn vnd Kirchendienern, vnnd aller anderer Christlichen Haußuätter vnnd bekenner vnserer warhafftigen Religion. Vnd zu einem gezeugniß bestendiger vnd einträchtiger Bekentnis der reinen vnd waren Religion, dabey dieser Churfürstlichen, Sächsischen vnd Meißnischen Landen, Schülen vnnd Kirchen, nuhn her biß in das dreissigst Jar, in allen stücken vermöge der Augspurgischen Confession, mit Gottes gnädigen beystandt vnd hülff geblieben vnnd verharret sind, wider aller Lügengeister vngegründte falsche aufflag vnd beschwerung. Leipzig 1560.

Corpus Reformatorum IX Corpus Reformatorum. Volumen IX. Philippi Melanthonis opera 1842 quae supersunt omnia. Edidit Carolus Gottlieb Bretschneider. Halis Saxonum 1842. Corpus Juris Evangelicorum Corpus Juris Evangelicorum Ecclesiastici, oder Sammlung Evangelisch-Lutherisch- und Reformirter Kirchenordnungen, wie auch dergleichen Armen- Classical- Consistorial- Ehe- Gerichts- Gymnasien- Hochzeit-Hospital-Inspections- Leichen- Presbyterial- Schul- Superintendentz-Tauf- Visitations- Universitäts- Waisenhaus- und andere solche Ordnungen, Nebst denen von dergleichen Dingen, oder auch von causis et delictis mixtis handelnden Edicten, General-Rescripten, u.d. Mit einer ausführlicher Vorrede Johann Jacob Mosers. Zülichau 1737. Cosack 1861 Karl Johann Cosack Paulus Speratus Leben und Lieder. Ein Beitrag zur Reformationsgeschichte, besonders zur Preußischen, wie zur Hymnologie, von K. J. Cosack, [aus gleichzeitigen gedruckten und ungedruckten, namentlich archivalischen Quellen]. Braunschweig 1861. Crichton 1782 Ueber die Unverbesserlichkeit der Religion, des Gottesdienstes und der Liturgie freyer Christen. Von D. Wilhelm Crichton Königl. Hofprediger in Königsberg. Der Anhang enthält einen liturgischen Versuch. Halle 1782. Croon 1938 Die kurmärkischen Landstände 1571-1616 Bearbeitet von Helmuth Croon. - Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für die Provinz Brandenburg und die Reichshauptstadt Berlin IX. Berlin 1938. Cyprian 1726 Documenta und Nachrichten. Tomvs secvndus commonitorii. -Abgetrungener Unterricht von Kirchlicher Vereinigung der Protestanten, aus Liebe zur nothleidenden Warheit abgefasset, mit historischen Original-Documenten bestärcket, und allen Evangelischen Lehrern zur Prüfung übergeben, von Ernst Salomon Cyprian, D. Kirchen- und Consistorial-Rath zu Gotha. Andere Auflage. Franckfurth und Leipzig 1726. Dahlhoff 1874 Geschichte der Grafschaft Sayn und der Bestandtheile derselben: der Grafschaften Sayn-Altenkirchen und Hachenburg, der Herrschaft Freusburg und des Freien- und Hickengrundes, besonders in kirchlicher Beziehung. Unter Vorausschickung einer kurze Geschichte der Regenten des Sayn'schen Landes. Von Matth. Dahlhoff. Dillenburg 1874. Dambrowski 1728 X. Samuela Dambrowskiego, Pasterza Kościoła Ewanielickiego Nieodm. Augsp. Konfess. w Wilnie Dozorcę Zborow Bożych w Litwie, we Zmoydzi, etc. Kazania albo Wykłady Porządne Swiętych Ewanieliy Niedźielnych Przez cały rok. Z Pisma Swiętego i Doktorow Kościelnych, Według starożytney Nauki i Porządku Prawdźiwego Chrześćiańskiego Kośćioła. Na cześć i chwałę Wielkiego Boga i Zbawićiela Jezusa Chrystusa zebrane i podług eksemplarza Toruńskiego Roku Pańsk 1621 w druk podane. W Lipsku Nakładem i Typem Chrysztofa Bernata Breytkopfa Roku Pańskiego 1728.

Dawádnas pamokinnimas 1730 Dawádnas pamokinnimas kaipo wissi, Lietuwoje, po Maloningiáusio Prusû Karalum essantieji Kunningai, kaip Diewo Tarnai tur elgtis, noredami szwentą Klebonû Urèdą wiernay iszpildit. Karaláuczuje, Mete MDCCXXX.

Delius 1965 Walter Delius Die Kirchenpolitik des Kurfiirsten Joachim II. von Brandenburg in den Jahren 1535-1541. - Jahrbuch für Brandenburgische Kirchengeschichte, 40. Jg. 1965. Der Erbarn Stadt Brunswig Der Erbarn Stadt Brunswig Christlike ordeninge, to denste dem hilgen Christlike ordeninge 1528 Euangelio, Christliker lèue, tucht, freede vnde eynicheit. Ock dar vnder veele Christlike lere vor de borgere. Dorch Joannem Bugenhagen Pomerñ bescreuen. 1528. Der Erbaren, Erenriker Stadt Sost Christlike Ordenunge, tho denste Der Erbaren, Erenriker Stadt Sost Christlike Ordenunge dem hilgen Euangelio, Gemenem vr[ee]de vnd eindracht, ouergesen 1532 dorch D. Vrbanum Regium, vnd mit ener des sülfftigen latinschen Commendation. Dorch Gerdt Omeken van Kamen, beschreuen. 1532. Der Ordinanden Examen Der Ordinanden Examen, wie es in der Meckelburgischen 1555 Kirchenordnung gefasset ist. Wittenberg. Gedurckt durch Hans Lufft. 1555. Deutsche Geschichte in Deutsche Geschichte in Quellen und Darstellungen. Band 3. Quellen und Darstellungen Reformationszeit 1495-1555. Herausgegeben von Ulrich Köpf. 2001 Stuttgart 2001. Dewerdeck 1711 Silesia Numismatica, Oder Einleitung zu dem Schlesischen Müntz-Cabinet, In welchem biß 368. theils sehr alte rare und schöne, im Lande verfertigte Müntzen durch accurate Kupffer gewiesen, umbständlich erkläret und dabey viele in der Schlesischen Historie begangene Fehler deutlich entdecket werden, Ausgefertiget von M. Gottfried Dewerdeck, Archi-Diacono und Bibliothec. Pet. Paul. in Liegnitz. Jauer: Weber, 1711. Dictionary 1911 A Dictionary of Christian Biography and Literature to the End of the Sixth Century A.D., with an Account of the Principal Sects and Heresies. Edited by Henry Wace, D.D. Dean of Canterbury, and William C. Piercy, M.A. Dean and Chaplain of Whitelands College, S.W. In one volume. London 1911. Die älteren Presbyterial-Die älteren Presbyterial-Kirchenordnungen der Länder Jülich, Berg, Kirchenordnungen 1837 Cleve und Mark in Verbindung mit der neuen Kirchenordnung für die evangelischen Gemeinen der Provinz Westphalen und der Rheinprovinz, herausgegeben von K. Snethlage, evangelischem Pfarrer in Unterbarmen und Superintendenten der Kreissynode Elberfeld. Mit einem Vorwort des Herrn Dr. theol. Gräber, Präses der Rheinischen Provinzialsynode. Leipzig 1837. Die Drey Confessiones 1695 Die Drey Confessiones, Oder Glaubens-Bekäntnüsse, Welche in den Chur-Fürstl. Brandenb. die Religion betreffenden Edictis zu beobachten befohlen werden: I. Johannis Sigißmundi, Chur-Fürsten zu Brandenburg, glorwürdigsten Andenckens, Glaubens-Bekäntnüß. II. Colloquium Lipsiacum Anno 1631. da die anwesenden Reformirten und Lutherische Theologi eine Liquidation angestellet, wie weit sie einig, und nicht einig seyn. III. Thornische Declaratio, welche Anno 1645. nicht allein von denen Brandenburgischen Reformirten, sondern auch, von allen aus der Cron Polen, Groß-Fürstenthum Littauen,

> und incorporirten Provincien Deputirten Proceribus & Theologis ist unterschrieben worden. Hierbey auch Die Churfüstl. Brandenburgische Edicta selbst, nebst einer Declaration. Mit. Churf. Brandenb. Freyheit

nich nachzudrucken. Cölln an der Spree M. DC. XCV.

Die Evangelische Kirchen-Die Evangelische Kirchen-Agenda, Auff sonderbahre Verordnung Der Agenda 1696 gesambten Stände des Marggraffthumbs Ober-Lausitz, von Land und Städten, in Die Wendische Sprache übersetzet, und nunmehr zum gemeinen Gebrauch Der Evangelischen Ober-Lausitzischen Kirchen in offentlichen Druck gegeben. Budissin 1696. Die evangelischen Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts herausgegeben von Emil Sehling. 6. Band, 1. Hälfte, 1. Halbband. Kirchenordnungen VI 1955 Niedersachsen; die welfischen Lande; Die Fürstentümer Wolfenbüttel und Lüneburg mit den Städten Braunschweig und Lüneburg. Tübingen 1955. Die evangelischen Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts Kirchenordnungen XI 1961 herausgegeben von Dr. jur. Emil Sehling, weiland Professor in Erlangen fortgeführt vom Institut für evangelisches Kirchenrecht der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland zu Göttingen. Elfter band. Beyern I. Teil. Franken. Tübingen 1961. Die Geschichte der Die Geschichte der Evangelischen Kirche der Union. Band 1. Die Evangelischen Kirche der Anfänge der Union unter landesherrlichem Kirchenregiment Union I 1992 (1817-1850). Herausgegeben von J. F. Gerhard Goeters und Rudolf Mau. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1992. *Die politischen Testamente* Die politischen Testamente der Hohenzollern nebst ergänzenden der Hohenzollern 1911 Aktenstücken. Band 1. Die Hofordnung Joachims II. Die politischen Testamente des Großen Kurfürsten (Friedrich Wilhelm) von 1667 und Friedrich Wilhelms I. von 1722. Herausgegeben von Georg Küntzel und Martin Hass. - Quellensammlung zur deutschen Geschichte. Leipzig und Berlin 1911. Die pommersche Die pommersche Kirchenordnung von Johannes Bugenhagen Kirchenordnung 1985 1535. Text mit Übersetzung, Erläuterungen und Einleitung. Herausgegeben. im Auftrag der Evangelischen Landeskirche Greifswald von Norbert Buske. Berlin 1985. Die Selbstbiographie 1966 Die Selbstbiographie des Heidelberger Theologen und Hofpredigers Abraham Scultetus (1566-1624). Neu hrsg. und erläutert von Gustav Adolf Benrath. - Veröffentlichungen des Vereins für Kirchengeschichte in der Evangelischen Landeskirche in Baden. Bd. 24. Karlsruhe 1966. Dietrich 1541 Summaria vber das alte Testament, Darinn auffs kürtzste angezeigt wird, was am nötigsten vnd nützsten ist, dem jungen Volck vnd gemeinem Man, aus allen Capiteln, zu wissen vnd zu lernen, Darnach sie jr Leben richten, vnd solcher feiner Lere, zu jrer Seelen seligkeit brauchen künnen, Durch M. Veiten Dieterich, in S. Sebalds Kirchen, zu Nürmberg Prediger, gestellet. Wittemberg M.D.XLI. Dietrich 1544 Summaria vber das newe Testament, Darin auffs kürtzste angezeigt wird, was am nötigsten vnd nützsten ist, dem jungen Volck vnd gemeinem Man, aus allen Capiteln, zu wissen vnd zu lernen, Darnach

Dingel 2001 Irene Dingel The Preface of The Book of Concord as a Reflection of Sixteenth-Century Confessional Development. – Lutheran

sie jr Leben richten, vnd solcher feiner Lere, zu jrer Seelen seligkeit brauchen können, Von M. Vito Dieterich, in S. Sebalds Kirchen, zu

Nürberg Prediger, gestellet. Wittemberg M.D.LIIII.

Dini 2010

2 2 010	vertimo originalas – Form der Tauff (1559). – <i>Archivum Lithuanicum</i> 12, 2010.
Dresbach 1909	Ewald Dresbach Reformationsgeschichte der Grafschaft Mark. Zur Erinnerung an die dreihundertjährige Verbindung der Mark mit Brandenburg-Preußen. Gütersloh 1909.
Druki mazurskie 1948	<i>Druki mazurskie XVI W.</i> Z pierwodruku i rękopisu wydał wstępem, komentarzem i charakterystyką językową opatrzył Stanisław Rospond. Olsztyn 1948.
Duae epistolae 1556	Duae epistolae, altera Aloysii Lipomani Veneti, Episcopi Veronae, Rom. Pontificis in Polonia Legati, ad Illustrissimum Principem D. Nicolaum Radivilum, Palatinum Vilnensem, etc. Altera vero eiusdem Illustrissimi D. Radivili ad Episcopum, et Legatum illum. Königsberg 1556.
Dundulis 1971	Bronius Dundulis Lietuvos užsienio politika XVI a. Vilnius 1971.
Dworzaczkowa 1995	Jolanta Dworzaczkowa Reformacja i kontrreformacja w Wielkopolsce. Poznań 1995.
Eber 1562	Vom heiligen Sacrament des Leibs vnd Bluts vnsers Herrn Iesv Christi. Vnterricht vnd Bekentnis D. Pavli Eberi Kittingensis, Pastoris der Kirchen zu Witteberg. 1562.
Eberlein 1905	Gerhard Eberlein Die General-Kirchenvisitation im Fürstentume Wohlau 1656 und 1657. Protokolle und Beilagen. – Urkunden-Sammlung zur Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche Schlesiens. Bd.1. Liegnitz 1905.
Edict 1773	Edict wegen Einschränckung der Feyertage, in den Evangelisch- Reformirten und Lutherischen Kirchen: De Dato Berlin, den 28. Januarii 1773. Berlin: Gedruckt bey George Jacob Decker, Königl. Preuß. Hofbuchdrucker, 1773.
Edwards 1975	Mark U. Edwards Luther and the False Brethren. Stanford 1975.
Ein christliches und	Ein christliches und allgemein andächtiges Gebet uber vorstehende
allgemein andächtiges Gebet 1626	grose Kriegsgefahr in den Kirchen des Hertzogthumbs Preussen zuhalten angeordnet []. Gedruckt zu Königsberg in Preussen bey Lorentz Segebaden Anno 1626.
Ein andächtiges und	Ein andächtiges und christliches Gebet, in welchem die vor diesem
christliches Gebet 1628	zerschlagene numehr reassumirte Tractaten zwische den beiden Chronen Pohlen und Schweden Gott dem Herren zum glücklichen fortgang demütigst befohlen werden []. Gedruckt im Jahr 1628.
Ein christlich allgemein Gebet 1649	Ein christlich allgemein Gebet, welches in gegenwertiger grossen Krieges-Gefahr der Löblichen Cron Polen wieder alle derselben Feinde in den Kirchen des Hertzogthumbs Preussen nach der Predigt zuhalten angeordnet ist auch einem jedern in seinem Hause und Hertzen andächtig zu beten treülich anbefohlen wird []. Königsberg gedruckt bey Pasche Mensen im Jahr Christi 1649.
Ein Gepet 1542	Ein Gepet, so durch die Diener des worts jm Hertzogthumb Preussen dem volck fur vnd fur vorzutragen. [1542].
Ein Gepet c. 1550	Ein Gepet, so durch die Diener des worts jm Hertzogthumb Preussen dem volck fur vnd fur vorzutragen. [1550].

Pietro U. Dini Martyno Mažvydo Formos Chrikštymo (1559)

Christliche Gebet nach den Christliche Gebet nach den Predigten, vom Aduent an bis auff Ostern: In Predigten 1563 welchen als in einer Summa, die fürnemsten Lere, so in einem jeglichen Euangelio, wie die auff die Sontage vnd fürnemsten Festtage geprediget, eingefürt vnd erzelet werden. Geschrieben vnd nach den predigten im brauch gehalten, durch M. Johan. Funcken. Wittenberg 1563. Ein Kurtzer Extract Einer Ein Kurtzer Extract Einer Kirchen-Agende Welcher Alle Actus des Kirchen-Agende 1725 Ministerii in sich fasset, Alten Predigern zum Nutz und Seegen, in diesem Format mit grössern Buchstaben in Druck gegeben Von Des Halberstädtischen Ministerii Seniore. Halberstadt 1725. Enchiridion 1579 Enchiridion. Catechismas maszas, del paspalitu Plebonu ir Koznadiju, Wokischku lieszuwiu paraschits per Daktara Martina Luthera. O isch Wokischka lieszuwia ant Lietuwischka pilnai ir wiernai pergulditas, per Baltramieju Willentha Plebona Karalauczuie ant Schteindama. Ischspaustas Karalauczui per Jurgi Osterbergera, Metu Diewa M.D.LXXIX. Enchiridion 1612 Enchiridion. Catechismas Maszas, dael paspalitu Plebonu ir Koznadiju Wokischku lieszuwiu paraschits per D. Martina Luthera. O isch Wokischka lieszuwia ant Lietuwischka pilnai ir wiernai pergulditas per Baltramieju Willentha Plebona Karalauczuie. A Nu Diewuj ant garbes bei Crikschczonims ant naudos per Lazaru Sengstack Lietuwos Plebona Karaliauczios atnaugintos. Ischpaustas per Jona Fabriciu, Metu M. DC. XII. Erneuerte Kirchen-Ordnung Unser Von Gottes Gnaden Anthon Erneuerte Kirchen-Ordnung I 1709 Ulrichs Hertzogen zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg. Erster Theil. Braunschweig 1709. Erneuerte Kirchen-Ordnung Erneuerte Kirchen-Ordnung Unser Von Gottes Gnaden Anthon II 1709 Ulrichs Hertzogen zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg. Ander Theil oder Agenda. Braunschweig 1709. Erneuerte und erweiterte Erneuerte und erweiterte Verordnung über das Kirchen- und Schül-Wesen

Verordnung 1735

Ertz-stifftische magdeburgische Kirchen Agenda 1653

ErtzStifftische Magdeburgische Kirchen Agenda 1663

in Preussen, Welche auf Sr. Königl. Majestät in Preussen Allergnädigsten Special-Befehl De Dato Berlin den 6. Julii 1735. In Dero gantzen Hertzogthum Pommern eingeführet, und ohne die geringste Ausnahme unverzüglich zur Observantz gebracht werden soll. Alten Stettin [1735]. Ertz-stifftische magdeburgische Kirchen Agenda, auff gnädigste Anordnung Des Hochwürdigsten, Durchl., Hochgebohrnen Fürsten und Herrn Herrn, Augusti, postulirten Administratoris des Primats und Ertz-Stiffts Magdeburg, Hertzogens zu Sachsen, Jülich, Cleve und Berg, Landgrafens in Düringen, Marggrafens zu Meissen, Ober: und Nieder Lausitz, Graffens zu der Marck, Ravensberg, Herrns zu Ravenstein etc. publiciret Anno 1653. Halle [1653].

ErtzStifftische Magdeburgische Kirchen Agenda Auff gnädigste Anordnung Des Hochwürdigsten, Durchlauchtigsten Hochgebohrnen Fürsten und Herrn, Herrn Augusti, Postulirten Administratoris des Primat- und ErtzStiffts Magdeburg, Hertzogens zu Sachsen, Jülich, Cleve und Berg, Landgraffens in Düringen, Marggraffens zu Meissen, Ober und Nieder Lausitz, Graffens zu der Marck, Ravensberg, Herrn zu Ravenstein, etc. Publiciret Anno 1663. Halle, Hall in Sachsen. Gedruckt bey Christoff: Salfelden. [1663].

Erzelung 1563

Erzelung Etlicher vrsachen, warumbdas hochwirdige Sacrament des Nachtmals vnsers Herrn vnd Heylandts Iesu Christi, nicht solle ohne

Euangeitas vei Epistolas 1579	Baszniszosu Chriksczonischkosu, pilnai ir wiernai pergulditas ant Lietuwischka Szodzia, per Baltramieju Willenta, Plebona Karalauczui ant Schteindama. Priegtam ant gala priedeta jra Historia apie muka ir smerti Wieschpaties musu Jesaus Christaus pagal kieturiu Euangelistu. Ischspaustas Karalauczui per Jurgi Osterbergera, Metu M.D.LXXIX.
Evangelias bei Epistolas 1612	Evangelias bei Epistolas Nedeliu ir Schwentuiu dienosu skaitomasias Baszniczosu Criksschezonischkosu pilnai ir wiernai pergulditas ant Lietuwischka szodzia per Baltramieju Willenta Plebona Karalauczui ant Schteindama. Priegtam ant gala priedeta ira Historia apie muka ir smerti Wieschpaties musu Jesaus Christaus pagal kieturiu Evangelistu. A Nu Diewuj ant garbes bei Crikschczonims ant naudos per Lazaru Sengstak Lietuwos Plebona Karaliauczios atnaugintos. Ischspaustas Karalauczuie per Jona Fabriciu, Metu M. DC. XII.
Exegesis perspicua 1574	Exegesis perspicua & ferme integra controuersiæ de Sacra Coena, Scripta vt priuatim conscientias piorum erudiat, Et subiicitur iudicio sociorum confessionis Augustanæ Quicunque candide & sine priuatis affectibus iudicaturi sunt. 1574.
Extract, Oder Verzeichnuß 1621	Extract, Oder Verzeichnuß, Etlicher Nothwendiger Artickel, der Gräfflichen, Manßfeldischen Kirchen Agendt, Und wohlhergebrachten Kirchen-Disciplin; So Jährlich auff den Andern Sontag nach Epiphanias, nach der Amts-Predigt frühe, und Dominica 2. Trinit. zur Vesper, In den Kirchen der gantzen Graffschafft Manßfeld, von offener Cantzel abzulesen. Eisleben 1621.
Extract, Oder Verzeichnuß 1647	Extract, oder Verzeichnuss Etlicher Nothwendiger Artickel Der Gräfflichen Mansfeldischen Kirchen Agendt, Vnd Wolhergebrachten Kirchen Disciplin etc. Eissleben, 1647.
Faber 1620	Kurtzer Beweiß, Das etlicher Calvinischen, doch bey ihnen hochgeachteten Lehrern Schwarm, in vielmal ärger und verdamlicher sey, denn der Papisten Lehr, in den zweyen Articuln von Gott, und von Christi Person und Ampt: Männiglich, dem seiner Seelen Seligkeit angelegen ist, zu beförderung der ewigen Frewd und Seligkeit in Druck verfertiget, Durch M. Zachaeum Fabrum, Seniorem, Pfarrern zur Hohenleina. Leipzig 1620.
Fabricius 1593	Historia certaminis sacramentarii. Das ist, Historia des Streits Vber der gegenwart vnd Niessung des Leibes vnd Bluts Christi, vnter Brodt vnd Wein im Heiligen Abendmal des Herrn. Aus etlicher virtfflicher Lehrer schrifften in einen Summarischen vnnd kurtzen Jndicem zusammen gezogen, Durch M. Theodosivm Fabricivm Pfarrerrn der Kirchen S. Johannis in Göttingen. Magdeburgk 1593.
Faden 1954	Eberhard Faden Der Berliner Tumult von 1615. – Jahrbuch für brandenburgische Landesgeschichte. 5. Band. Berlin 1954.
Falkenhahn 1941	Falkenhahn, Viktor Der Übersetzer der litauischen Bibel Johannes Bretke und seine Helfer. Beiträge zur Kultur- und Kirchengeschichte Altpreussens. Konigsberg-Berlin 1941.
Fijałek 1921	Jan Fijałek X. Jan Tortyłowicz-Batocki, pierwszy ewangelik na Żmudzi i apostol luterski na Litwie pruskiej. – <i>Reformacja w</i>

Polsce Rocznik I. Warszawa 1921.

Euangelias bei Epistolas 1579 Euangelias bei Epistolas, Nedeliu ir schwentuju dienosu skaitomosias,

Finck I 1615	SacramentSpiegels, Erster Theil. Darinnen zu sehen, wie die alten Schmeißvögel, nach der Apostelzeit, das Sacrament des Abendmals, mit Aberglauben vnnd Menschentandt besudelt, vnd solches ohne einigen grundt Göttliches Worts biß auff den heutigen Tag vortheidigen. Inn Druck verfertiget Durch Salomon Finck, Churf. Brandenburgischen Hoffpredigern. Anno M.DC.XV.
Finck II 1615	SacramentSpiegels, Ander Theil. Darinnen zu sehen, wie die alten Schmeißvögel, nach der Apostelzeit, das Sacrament des Abendmals, mit Aberglauben vnnd Menschentandt besudelt, vnnd solches ohne einigen grundt Göttliches Worts biß auff den heutigen Tag vorthedigen. Jnn Druck verfertiget Durch Salomon Finck, Churf. Brandenburgischen Hoffpredigern. [1615].
Finck 1616	Sacraments Spiegels Verklärung, Darinnen zu ersehend warumb Salomon Finck auff so viel Bücher, die wider seine vorhergehende beyde Sacrament Spiegel geschrieben wurden, nichts antworten dörffe. Bey Fridrich Hartman, in der Churfürstlichen Stadt Franckfurt an der Oder gedruckt. Jm Jahr 1616.
Fischer 1817	Reformations-Geschichte der Haupt- und Pfarrkirche zu St. Maria Magdalena in Breslau, von Johann Wilhelm Fischer. Brelsau 1817.
Fischer 1872	Albert Fischer Die Ordnung der Evangelischen Gottesdienste in der Metropolitankirche zu Magdeburg zu Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts. – Geschichts-Blätter für Stadt und Land Magdeburg. Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte und Altertumskunde des Herzogtums und Erzstifts Magdeburg. Siebenter Jahrgang. 1872. Magdeburg 1872.
Foerster 1905	Erich Foerster Die Entstehung der preussischen Landeskirche unter der Regierung König Friedrich Wilhelms III.: nach den Quellen erzählt. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Kirchenbildung im deutschen Protestantismus. Erster Band. Tübingen 1905.
Foerster 1907	Erich Foerster Die Entstehung der Preußischen Landeskirche unter der Regierung König Friedrich Wilhelms des Dritten nach den Quellen erzählt; ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Kirchenbildung im deutschen Protestantismus. Zweiter Band. Tübingen 1907.
Förster 1909	Richard Förster Die Bildnisse von Johann Hess und Cranachs "Gesetz und Gnade." - Jahrbuch des Schlesischen Museums für Kunstgewerbe und Altertümer. Karl Masner und Hans Seger (Hrsg.). Kommissionsverlag von Eduard Trewendt Berlin, Breslau 1909, Band 5.
Form der Tauff 1559	Form der Tauff. Wie die in der Kirchenordnung des Her□ogthumbs Preussen, vnd andern mehr, verfasset. Gedruckt zu Königsberg, durch Iohann Daubman. Anno Christi, 1559.
Forma ac ratio 1555	Forma ac ratio tota ecclesiastici ministerij, in peregrinorum, potissimùm uerò Germanorum Ecclesia: instituta Londini in Anglia, per Pientißimum Principem Angliae etc. Regem Edvardom, eius nominis Sextŭ: Anno post Christum natum 1550. Addito ad calcem libelli Priuilegio suae Maiestatis. Avtore Ionanne Á Lasco Poloniae

Barone. Cum breuietiam (in Epistola nuncupatoria) calumniarum quarundam refutatione: quae falsò aduersusipsum, in Martiniani cuiusdam apud Bremen. Pastoris farragine inspersae babentur [1555].

Franke 1841

Formul Der Christlichen	Formul Der Christlichen Ceremonien, Welche in den Evangelischen
Ceremonien 1618	Kirchen zu Dantzigk, Bey verhandlung des Hochwürdigen Abendmals, etc. gebreuchlich sein. Sampt einer Vorrede an den Christlichen Leser, Darinnen ein kurze unterweisung zur Gottseligkeit angezeiget, und auff etliche Streitpunct kürtzlich geantwort wird. Allen Einfeltigen unnd Jungen Leuten zum unterricht gestellet, Wie sie sich selbst prüfen, und zum würdigen gebrauch des Heiligen Abendmahls bereiten sollen. Danzig 1618.
Formul des Gebets 1634	Formul des Gebets, Wie solches in beyden Ertz- und Stifftern Magdeburg und Halberstad, Nach den FrüPredigten Von den Cantzeln zuverlesen. Sambt Erinnerung Bey der Litaney und dem Gebet pro Pace. Halle 1634.
Formular 1656	Formular Wie in den Kirchen des Königlichen theils Preussen, stracks nach verrichtetem vormittagigen Gottesdienste, nechstkommenden Sontag, welcher ist der 9. nach Trinitatis, Die Dancksagunge, vor die jüngst den 18 28 , 20 30 Iulii Durch Ihre Königl. Maytt. von Schweden, und Ihre Churfürstl. Durchl. wieder den König von Pohlen erhaltene victorie, verrichtet, und nach beschriebenes von den Cantzeln abgelesen werden solle. 1656.
FormularBuch I 1636	New verbessert und vollstendig Gantz außführlich FormularBuch, Allerhand Christlicher Wort, und Ceremonien, deren ein Prediger in Verrichtung seines Ampts, und der Seelsorge kan gebrauchen. Mit sonderlichem Fleiß, also, daß nicht das geringste Ministerii requisitum fast fürfallen kan und mag welches nicht darinne begriffen were. Erster Theil, Durch Johannem Schraderum, Aegelensem, Pfarrern zu Alvensleben, im ErtzStifft Magdeburg, und Peotam Coronatum. Editio Quarta. Magdeburg 1636.
FormularBuch II 1636	Ander Theil dieses Formular Buchs, Von allerley Christlichen Ceremonien, und Kirchengebreuchen, Als: Vom Gebet, von Verrichtung der Sacrament, Einsegnung der Sechswöchnerinnen, Catechismus Lehre, Copulation der Eheleute, Ordination und Investitur newer Prediger, Begräbnüssen. Neben zweyen aussführlichen Verzeichnissen, Was auff ein jegliches Fest und Sontag für Psalmen gesungen wernen. Magdeburg 1636.
FormularBuch III 1636	Dritte Theil dieses Formular Buchs, Darinn mancherley Trost, Gebet und Unterricht zufinden: Als: Für Krancke, für Sterbende, Betrübte, und allerhand angefochtene Personen, für schwangere Weiber, so in der Geburt arbeiten, eine todte Frucht, oder ungestalte Missgeburt zur Welt bringen, für Wittwen und Waysen, für die, so ins Elende verjaget, oder durch Fewer und Wasser schaden erlitten, für Melancholische Trawrige Leute, für Leiblich Besessene, auch für die zum Tode verdammete Übelthäter. Magdeburg 1636.
Fortgesetzte Materialien 1774	Fortgesetzte Materialien zur evangelischen Religionsgeschichte von Oberschlesien. Reformations- und Kirchengeschichte der freyen Standesherrschaft Pleß mit Archvalischen Originalbeweisen von Gottlieb Fuchs. Bresslau 1774.
Fox 1924	Paul Fox The Reformation in Poland. Some Social and Economic Aspects. – Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Volume XLII. Baltimore 1924.
Evanle 1911	Coordicate der Hallicolom Deformation, mit etater Pariickeichtigung

Geschichte der Hallischen Reformation: mit steter Berücksichtigung

der allgemeinen deutschen Reformationsgeschichte; Eine Festschrift zur 300jährigen evangelischen Jubelfeier der Stadt Halle, Von Karl Chr. Lebr.

Friedensburg 1908	Walter Friedensburg Die Kirchenordnung Kurfürst Joachims II. In katolischer Beleuchtung. – Jahrbuch für Brandenburgische Kirchengeschichte. 5. Jahrhang. Berlin 1908.
Friederich 1616	Ein gar kurtzer Bericht Von dem heutigen Religionsstreit und ärgerlichen Gezänck der Praedicanten, durch ein Missiv an eine fromme Gottselige Matron geschrieben, Jetzo aber in Druck mitgetheilet durch Job Friederich, Im Jahre M. Dc. XVI. Franckfurt an der Oder 1616.
Friese I 1786	Christian Gottlieb von Friese Kirchengeschichte des Königreichs Polen vom Ursprunge der christlichen Religion in diesem Reiche und der Entstehung der Bischoftumer Posen, Gnesen, Krakau, Breslau, Lebus sc. wie auch der verschiedenen Religions-Streitigkeiten dieses Landes bis auf jetzige Zeit. Erster Theil. Breslau 1786.
Friese II 1786	Christian Gottlieb von Friese Beyträge zu der Reformationsgeschichte in Polen und Litthauen. Zweyten Theils erster Band. Breslau 1786.
Friese III 1786	<i>Christian Gottlieb von Fri</i> ese Beyträge zu der Reformationsgeschichte in Polen und Litthauen. Zweyten Theils zweyter Band. Breslau 1786.
Füssel 1616	Ceremoniae Christianae. Das ist, Kurtzer Bericht Von Lehr und Ceremonien Der Reformirten Kirchen in der Chur Brandenburg: Entgegen gesetzt, denen Ceremoniis Lutheranis Welche M. Philippus Arnoldi, Ertzpriester zu Tilsit in Preussen, Jüngst früzeitig ausfliegen lassen, Den Warheit-Liebenden in Druck verfertiget Durch Die Kirchendiener am Wort Gottes in der Churfürstlichen Ober-Pfarrkirchen zu Cöln an der Sprew. Franckfurt an der Oder 1616.
Gallus 1799	Geschichte der Mark Brandenburg für Freunde historischer Kunde von Gottfried Traugott Gallus. Zwote, verbeßerte und vermehrte Auflage. Dritter Band. Züllichau 1799.
Gebet-, Beicht- und Communionbuch 1822	Gebet-, Beicht- und Communionbuch für die häusliche und kirchliche Andacht. Zum Gebrauche für Confirmanden, aber auch für Personen von jedem Lebensalter und für Kranke. Von Johann Christian Daniel Geiser, Archidiaconus und Senior an der Haupt- und Pfarrkirche zu St. Bernhardin in Breslau. Oppeln 1822.
Gebete für den öffentlichen Gottesdienst 1800	Gebete für den öffentlichen Gottesdienst sowohl, als für die häusliche Andacht, gesammelt auf Befehl eines Hochedlen und Hochweisen Stadtraths Evangelischen Theils zu Erfurt. Erfurt 1800.
Gebete und Formulare 1811	Gebete und Formulare für die öffentliche Gottesverehrung und andre feierliche Religionshandlungen, auf Anordnung E. E. Rathes, zum allgemeinen Gebrauch für die Evangel. Lutherischen Gemeinen des Danziger Freistaates, gesammelt und bearbeitet vom geistlichen Ministerium in Danzig. Danzig 1811.
Gedicke 1609	Postilla Oder Außlegung der Episteln, auff alle Fest- und Aposteltage durchs gantze Jahr Jetzo von newem in Druck verfertiget durch Simonem Gediccum, der heiligen Schrifft Doctorn, Churfürstlichen Brandenburgischen Hoffprediger, vnd Consistorij. Dritter Theil. Leipzig 1609.
Gedicke 1613	Von den Ceremonien bey dem Heiligen Abendmahl, Christlicher Bericht, Männiglich inn diesen letzten gefehrlich leufften, wieder die newen Schmeistzögel die alles verzwreinigen voollen zu wissen sehr nützlich und

Gedicke I 1615 Abfertigung, Der Sacramentirischen Bespiegelung, So unter dem Namen Salomo Fincken, Calvinischen Eceboli am Brandenburgischen Hof, newlicher zeit in offenem Patent gedruckt und außgesprenget worden. Darauß Sonnenklar zu sehen, was für Grewel der Verwüstung hinder der Calvinischen Reformation stecke, Durch Simonem Gediccum der Heiligen Schrifft Doctorem, Pfarrherrn vnd Superintendenten zu Meissen, auch im hohen Stifft daselbs Dom-prediger. Mit Churf. Sächsischer Freyheit. Leipzig, Jn vorlegung Abraham Lambergs. Anno M.DC.XV. Gedicke II 1615 Calviniana Religio Oder Calvinisterey, So fälschlich die Reformirte Religion genennet wird, Kurtzer Außzug und Bericht, nach den fürnembsten Hauptpuncten Christlicher Lehre und Ceremonien. Daraus jedermänniglich zu spüren, was für Grewel der Verwüstung hinder dem Calvinischen Glauben stecke. Durch Simonem Gediccum der Heiligen Schrifft Doctorem, der zeit Churfürstlichen Sächsischen verordenten Superintendenten zu Meissen auch Pfarrhern und Dompredigern daselbst. Leipzig 1615. Gedicke 1616 Encaenia Sacra, Oder Christliche Predigt, Bey Renovation oder ernewerung der grossen herrlichen Dom Kirche zu Meissen, Welche auff des Ehrwürdigen Domcapituls daselbst sonderbare anordnung, mit nothwendiger erhöhung des Predigstuels, und richtiger Ordnung und vermehrung der Stände oder Stüelen vernewert und gebessert, Und am FestTage Michaelis, war der 18. Sontag nach Trinitatis, in Volckreicher versamlung auff das new ist eingeweihet, und der heiligen hochgelobten Dreifaltigkeit zugeeignet worden, Durch Simonem Gediccum, der heiligen Schrifft Doctorn, Pfarrern und Superintendenten zu Meissen, auch DomPrediger daselbst. Freiberg 1616. Gedicke 1620 Antipistorius, Oder Widerlegung des Calvinischen Politici Simonis Ulrich Pistoris In Seuselitz: der in seiner andern Antwort unter einer F. Person Nahmen, die verdampte Calvinisterey wider D. Simonem Gediccum zu salviren sich unterstanden, und dieselbe dem Berlinischen ReformationWerck einverleibet hat; Und werden hierin die fürnemsten Argument der Sacramentirer, sonderlich aber Pistoris, Pelargi, Füssels, Finckens, und anderer Märckischen Calvinisten ... gründlich widerleget; Und ist diß das dritte und letzte Schreiben D. Gedicci, so auff der Chur Brandenburg Reformation-Werck gehörig. Leipzig 1620. Gesangbuch 1781 Gesangbuch zum gottesdienstlichen Gebrauch in den Königlich Preußischen Landen, Berlin 1781. Giesmes Chriksczionischkos Giesmes Chriksczionischkos ir Duchaunischkos Per Wissus mætus Baszniczoie ir Duchaunischkos 1612 Diewa giedamos isch Wokischkia bei Lenkischkia ingi Lietuwischkia szodi nekuruu Plebonuu perwerstos. A Nu Diewui ant garbes bei Chrikschczianims ant naudos per Lazaru Sengstak Lietuwos Plebona Karaliauczios atnaugintos. Ischspaustos Karaliaucziuie Prusuu, Per Jona Fabriciu, 1612. Goebel 1852 Max Goebel Geschichte des christlichen Lebens in der rheinisch-

Sekten. Coblenz 1852.

Goeters 1986

J. F. Gerhard Goeters Genesis, Formen und Hauptthemen des reformierten Bekenntnisses in Deutschland. Eine Übersicht. – Die reformierte Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland – das Problem der "Zweiten Reformation."

westfälischen evangelischen Kirche. Zweiter Band. Das siebenzehnte Jahrhundert oder die herrschende Kirche und die

Graff I 1994 Paul Graff Geschichte der Auflösung der alten gottesdienstlichen Formen in der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands. I. Band. Bis zum Eintritt der Aufklärung und des Rationalismus. Nachdruck der zweiten vermehrten und verbesserten Auflage von 1937. Waltrop 1994. Graff II 1994 Paul Graff Geschichte der Auflösung der alten gottesdienstlichen Formen in der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands. II. Band. Die Zeit der Aufklärung und des Rationalismus. Nachdruck der Ausgabe von 1939 mit 2 Abb. und 2 Karten im Anhang. Waltrop 1994. Grammatica Litvanica 1653 Grammatica Litvanica Mandato & Autoritate Serenissimi Electoris Brandenburgici adornata, & praeviâ Censurâ primùm in lucem edita à M. Daniele Klein, Pastore Tils. Litv. Regiomonti M. DC. LIII. Green 1970 Lowell C. Green Ecumenical Concern and Communion Fellowship in Luther's Day and in Ours. - Evangelical Directions for the Lutheran Church. Erich Kiehl, Waldo J. Werning, Editors. Chicago [1970]. Grimm 1978 *Harold J. Grimm* Lazarus Spengler a lay leader of the Reformation. Ohio 1978. Gross 1908 Christian Gross Zeit und Ort der ertsen evangelischen Abendmahlsfeier Kurfürst Joachims II. - Jahrbuch für Brandenburgische Kirchengeschichte. 6. Jahrhang. Berlin 1908. Gundermann 1966 Iselin Gundermann Untersuchungen zum Gebetbüchlein der Herzogin Dorothea von Preußen. Köln 1966. Handlungen und Gebete beym öffentlichen Gottesdienst in den Handlungen und Gebete 1786 Herzogthümern Kurland und Semgallen. Mitau 1786. Handlungen und Gebete Handlungen und Gebete beym öffentlichen Gottesdienst in den 1792 Herzogthümern Kurland und Semgallen. Königsberg 1792. Halecki 1915 Oskar Halecki Zgoda Sandomierska 1570 R. jej geneza i znaczenie w dziejach reformacyi Polskiej za Zygmunta Augusta. Warszawa 1915. Handbok 1693 Handbok, ther vti är författat, huruledes gudztiensten, med christelige ceremonier och kyrckioseder, vti wåra swenska församlingar skal blifwa hållen och förhandlad. Förbättrad och förmehrad i Stockholm åhr 1599. Öfwersedd åhr 1608. och numehra efter nyja kyrckioordningen inrättad åhr 1693. Stockholm 1693. Hartknoch 1684 Alt- und Neues Preussen Oder Preussischer Historien Zwey Theile. In derer erstem von deß Landes vorjähriger Gelegenheit und Nahmen, wie auch der Völcker, so darinnen vor dem Teutschen Orden gewohnet, Uhrankunfft, Lebens-Beschaffenheit, Sprache, Religion, Hochzeiten, Begräbnüssen, Haußhaltung, Kriegsrüstung, Republic und andere Sitten und Gewohnheiten: In dem andern aber von deß Teutschen Ordens Ursprung, desselben, wie auch der nachfolgenden Herrschafft vornehmsten Thaten und Kriegen, Erbauung der Städte, der itzigen Innwohner Uhrsprung, Religion, Müntzordnung, Rechten und Policeywesen gehandelt wird; Auß vielen alten so wol als neuen, einheimischen als außwertigen Scribenten,

Privilegien und andern Documenten, so theils gedruckt, theils geschrieben in verschiedenen vornehmen Bibliothecken und Archiven deß Landes vorhanden sind, Mit sonderbahrem Fleiß zusammen getragen, Durch M. Christophorum Hartknoch deß Thornischen Gymnasii Professorem. Franckfurt und Leipzig. In Verlegung Martin Hallervorden, Buchhandlern in Königsberg, Druckes Johann Andreae, Anno M. D.C. LYXXIV.

Hinrichs 1971

Hartknoch 1686	Preussische Kirchen-historia, Darinnen Von Einführung der Christlichen Religion in diese Lande, wie auch von der Conservation, Fortpflantzung, Reformation und dem heutigen Zustande derselben ausführlich gehandelt wird. Durch M. Christophorum Hartknoch des Thornischen Gymnasii Professorem. Frankfurt and Leipzig 1686.
Häusser 1856	Geschichte der Rheinischen Pfalz nach ihren politischen, kirchlichen und literarischen Verhältnissen, von Ludwig Häusser. Zweite Ausgabe. Zweiter Band. Heidelberg 1856.
Heidemann 1889	Julius Heidemann Die Reformation in der Mark Brandenburg. Berlin 1889.
Heilbrunner 1596	Synopsis Doctrinae Caluinianae. Summarischer begriff, vnd gegründte Widerlegung der Zwinglischen, vnd Caluinischen Lehre, von etlichen Artickeln vnser Christlichen Religion. Darinnen solche Lehre vnd Bekentnus, aus vielen gedruckten Buechern, mit der Autorn eignen worten erzelet, vnd auß Gottes Wort kürtzlich widerlegt wirdt, Sampt angehencktem Bericht, auff etliche die Caluinische Lehre betreffende Fragen. Den gutherzigen vnd der Warheit liebhabenden, welche von dem gantzen handel eigentlichen kurtzen Bericht zuhaben begirig, zum vnterricht vnd Warnung gestellet. Durch Jacob Heilbrunner D. Jn verlegung Johan vnd Friderich Hartmans. Anno M.D.LXXXXVI.
Henke 1802	Heinrich Philipp Conrad Henke Werkwürdige liturgische Verbesserungen in der freyen Reichsstadt Mühlhausen. – Religionsannalen. Erster Band. I-IV Heft. Braunschweig 1802.
Hensel 1768	Johann Adam Hensels, Predigers bey der evangelischen Gemeine zu Neudorf am Grätzberge, Protestantische Kirchen-Geschichte der Gemeinen in Schlesien Nach allen Fürstenthümern, vornehmsten Städten und Oertern dieses Landes, und zwar vom Anfange der Bekehrung zum christlichen Glauben vor und nach Hußi, Lutheri und Calvini Zeiten bis auf das gegenwärtige 1768ste Jahr, Nebst einem vollständigen Verzeichniß aller itzt lebenden Geistlichen bey den evangelischen Kirchen in acht Abschitten abgefasset und mit einer Vorrede versehen von Friedrich Eberhard Rambach, Königlich Preußischen Ober-Consistorialrath und Inspector der Kirchen und Schulen in Schlesien. Leipzig und Liegnitz 1768.
Hering 1778	Daniel Heinrich Herings, Historische Nachricht von dem ersten Anfang der Evangelisch-Reformirten Kirche in Brandenburg und Preußen unter dem gottseligen Churfürsten Johann Sigismund nebst den drey Bekentnißschriften dieser Kirche. Halle 1778.
Hering 1784	Daniel Heinrich Herings, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Evangelisch- Reformirten Kirche in den Preußisch-Brandenburgischen Ländern. Erster Theil. Breslau 1784.
Herl 2004	Joseph Herl Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism: Choir, Congregation, and Three Centuries of Conflict. Oxford 2004.
Heyden 1938	Kirchengeschichte von Pommern. Von Hellmuth Heyden, Pfarrrer an der Bugenhagen-Gemeinde in Stettin. II Band. Die evangelische Kirche Pommerns in der Zeit von der Annahme der Reformation bis zur Gegenwart. Stettin 1938.
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Carl Hinrichs Preußentum und Pietismus. Göttingen 1971.

Hirsch 1846 Herr George Klefelt und seine Zeit. Aus dem Leben Danzigs im sechszehnten Jahrhundert. Von Dr. Theodor Hirsch. – Neue preußische Provinzial-Blätter. Im Namen der Alterthums-Gesellschaft Prussia herausgegeben von Dr. A. Hagen, Dr. Meckelburg. Jahrgang 1846. Juli-December. Königsberg 1846. *History of the Protestant* History of the Protestant Church in Hungary, from the Beginning of the Reformation to 1850; with Special Reference to Transylvania. Church in Hungary 1854 Translated by Rev. J. Craig. With an Introduction by J. H. Merle d'Aubigné. Boston 1854. Hoë 1606 Kurtze und gründliche Antwort, Auff das newlich außgesprengte Calvinische gifftige Büchlein, dessen Titel ist: Etliche sehr schöne und nützliche Sprüche, aus den Schrifften Lutheri, von sich selbst, seinen Namen und Büchern, und von dem heiligen Abendmahl des Herren, In druck ... verfertiget, Durch Matthiam Hoën, der heiligen Schrifft Doctorn: der zeit Pastorn und Superattendenten zu Plawen. Leipzig 1606. Hoë 1618 D. Matthiae Hoe, Churfürstl. Sächs. OberHofePredigers zu Dreßden, Trewhertzige Warnung, Für der Jubelfests Predigt, so im vergangenen Jahr den 2. Novembr. zu Heydelberg, von Abraham Sculteto, Churfürstl. Pfältzischen HofePrediger daselbst, gehalten, Darinnen irrige Lehr von den Sacramenten fürgebracht, Zwinglii Lehr für das reine und klare Evangelium ausgegeben, die Augspurgische Confession, und das Christliche ConcordienBuch, schmählich angetastet, Des löblichsten Churfürstens zu Sachsen, Herren Christiani des Ersten, Christseligster gedechtniß, zur höchsten ungebühr erwehnet, und die Calvinische Religion, umb der weiten, und schnellen ausbreitung willen, auffs höchste gerühmet und gepreiset wird. Männiglichen, zu notwendigem nützlichem unterricht, und zu gebührlicher rettung, verfertiget, und in Druck gegeben. Leipzig 1618. Hoë 1621 D. Matthie Hoe. Augenscheinliche Prob, wie die Calvinisten in neun und neuntzig Puncten mit den Arrianern und Türcken ubereinstimmen. Leipzig 1621. Hoë I 1614 D. Hoë, Churfürstl. Sächs. OberHofepredigers zu Dreßden, Gar kurtzer, aber Gründlicher, deutlicher und unwiedertreiblicher Beweiß, Was von den genandten Calvinischen Lehrern und Sacramentirern, für grawsame Gotteslesterliche und abschewliche Reden und Puncten, in XVII. fürnehmen HauptArtickeln öffentlich fürgebracht, und in ihren selbst eignen Büchern gelesen un[d] gefunden werden. Männiglichen in dieser Zeit zu nothwendiger, trewhertziger verwarnung gestellet, und in Druck verfertiget. Mit Churf. Sächs. Freyheit. Zum andernmal gedruckt. Leipzig, Jn vorlegung Abraham Lambergs, M.DC.XIV. Hoë II 1614 D. Hoe, Churfürstl. Sächs. Ober-Hoffpredigers zu Dreßden Unvermeidliche, und umb Gottes Ehre willen trewhertzige

Erinnerung, An alle rechte Evangelische, eyferige Lutherische Christen, so zu Berlin, unnd sonsten in der Chur und Marck Brandenburg sich auffhalten, daß sie ja umb ihres Heils unnd Seelen Seligkeit willen sich mit dem Calvinischen hochschädlichen Seelengifft, unnd der newlichst außgegangenen Stimpel Confession, auff keinerley weiß noch weg einnemen lassen. Gestellet und in Druck

Hoë III 1614

	Allmacht, unwandelbarern Wesen, unfehlbaren Warheit, Heiligkeit und Barmhertzigkeit, erschrecklich antasten, lästern, und auffs aller abschewlichste von Gott reden und schreiben. Leipzig 1614.
Hoensch 1997	<i>Jörg K. Hoensch</i> Geschichte Böhmens. Von der slavischen Landnahme bis zur Gegenwart. Dritte aktualisierte und ergänzte Auflage. München 1997.
Hoffmann 1911	Georg Hoffmann Johann Timotheus Hermes. Ein Lebensbild aus der evangelischen Kirche Schlesiens im Zeitalter der Aufklärung. Breslau 1911.
Hölscher 1888	Reformationsgeschichte der Stadt Herford. Im Anhang: Die Herforder Kirchenordnung von 1532. Von Ludwig Hölscher. Gütersloh 1888.
Holtze 1889	Friedrich Holtze Zur Geschichte der märkischen Reformation. – Forschungen zur brandenburgischen und, preussischen Geschichte. Zweiter Band. Leipzig 1889.
Норе 1995	Nicholas Hope German and Scandinavian Protestantism 1700-1918. Oxford 1995.
Hospinius 1607	Concordia Discors: De Origine Et Progressu Formulae Concordiae Bergensis Liber Unus: In Quo Eius Errores Et Falsa Dogmata, sacrae Scripturae, orthodoxis Symbolis, toti Antiquitati puriori, & ipsi etiam Augustanae Confeßioni repugnantia: Antilogiae item seu Contradictiones, Condemnationes iniustae, et modus agen di in Ecclesia Christi hactenus inusitatus, quem in conscribendo, suffragiis muniendo et promulgando hoc Concordiae Libro Patres Bergenses Auctores eius sequuti sunt, Christiano Lectori demonstrantur & ab oculos ponuntur Pro Orthodoxis Ecclesiis: Ad Dn. Ottonem Landgravium Haßiae, &c. Rodolpho Hospiniano Tigurino Auctore. Tiguri 1607.
Höth 1994	Thomas Höth Zu nachreformatorischen Entwicklungen im Kirchenwesen der Hansestadt Stralsund. – Die Veränderungen in den theologischen Ansichten des Superintendenten Jakob Kruse - Pommern in der Frühen Neuzeit. Literatur und Kultur in Stadt und Region. Herausgegeben von Wilhelm Kühlmann und Horst Langer. Tübingen 1994.
Hovda 2018	<i>Bjørn Ole Hovda</i> The controversy over the Lord's Supper in Danzig 1561-1567. Presence and practice – theology and confessional policy. Göttingen 2018.
Hubatsch I 1968	Walther Hubatsch Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche Ostpreussens I. Göttingen 1968.
Hubatsch II 1968	Walther Hubatsch Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche

Iselin Gundermann, Göttingen 1968

Ostpreussens II. Bilder ostpreussischer Kirchen bearbeitet von

D. Hoë, Churfürstlichen Sächs. Ober-HofePredigers zu Dreßden, Wolgegründete, und zuförderist denen Evangelischen Christen in der Chur und Marck Brandenburg, zu nothwendiger nachrichtung, verfertigte Verantwortung, Wider das zu Berlin newlich außgeflogene Calvinische Lästergespräch, von Gottes Wort, und Gott selbst, Darinnen nochmaln unwiedertreiblich erwiesen und behauptet wird, daß die Calvinisten Gottes Wort für den einigen grund ihrer Lehr nicht halten: Daß sie auch im Artickel von der Heiligen Dreyfaltigkeit, den Arrianern und AntiTrinitariern guten beystand leisten: Gott an seiner

Hubatsch III 1968 Walther Hubatsch Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche Ostpreussens III. Dokumente. Göttingen 1968. Hutter 1615 Beständige und Gründliche Widerlegung Desheillosen und verworrenen Gesprächs Harminii de Mosa, und Gregorii Brandenburgers, welches wider den Calvinistam Aulico-Politicum alterum Doctoris Leonharti Hutteri &c. zu einer besondern beförderung deren auff Calvinischen schlag gerichteten Brandeburgischen Reformation, von einem Liechtschewenden Calvinischen Priester in Niderhessen, unlangst ist ausgesprenget worden, Gestelt durch Leonhart Hüttern, der H. Schrifft Doctorn und Professorn zu Wittenberg. Wittenberg 1615. Hutter I 1614 Calvinista Aulico-Politicus Alter. Das ist: Christlicher unnd Nothwendiger Bericht, von den fürnembsten HeuptGründen, durch welche man, die verdampte Calvinisterey, in die Hochlöbl. Chur und MarckBrandenburg einzuführen, sich eben starck bemühet, Allen Eifferigen Lutheranern zu bestendigem Unterricht, den mutwillig irrenden aber, zum Zeugniß wider Sie, gestellet Durch Leonhard Huttern, der H. Schrifft Doctorn, und Professorn bey der Churf. Sächs. Universitet Wittenberg. Wittenberg 1614. Hutter II 1614 Gründliche und Nothwendige Antwort Auff die ohn langsten ausgesprengte Berlinische newe Zeitungen oder Gesprechen, Hansen Knorren, Und Benedict Haberechten, etc. Wie auch Auff die zween Sacramentspiegel, so unter dem Namen Salomo Fincken, vor diesem, Lutherischen Spital Prediger zu Königsberg in Preussen: jtzo aber abtrünnigen Calvinischen Priesters zu Berlin, newlicher zeit in Truck gegeben worden, Allen Eifferigen Lutheranern zum bestendigen Unterricht, den mutwillig irrenden aber zum zeugnis wider sie, Gestellet durch Leonhart Huttern der H. Schrifft Doctorn vnd Professorn bey der Churf. Universitet Wittenb. Wittenberg 1614. Iserloh, Glazik, Jedin 1980 Reformation and Counter Reformation: by Erwin Iserloh, Joseph Glazik, Hubert Jedin. History of the Church. Edited by Hubert Jedin, John Dolan. Volume 5. London 1980. Danielis Ernesti Jablonski Historia Consensus Sendomiriensis. Jablonski 1731 Berlin 1731. *Jacobson* 1839 Geschichte der Quellen des evangelischen Kirchenrechts der Provinzen Preussen und Posen, mit Urkunden und Regesten von Dr. Heinrich Friedrich Jacobson. - Geschichte der Quellen des Kirchenrechts des Preussischen Staats, mit Urkunden und Regesten von Heinrich Friedrich Jacobson. Erster Theil. Die Provinzen Preussen und Posen. Zweiter Band. Königsberg 1839. Jacobson, Anhang, 1839 Anhang einer Urkunden - Sammlung von bisher ungedruckten Gesetzen nebst Uebersichten gedruckter Verordnungen für die Provinzen Preussen und Posen. - Geschichte der Quellen des Kirchenrechts des Preussischen Staats, mit Urkunden und Regesten von Heinrich Friedrich Jacobson. Erster Theil. Die Provinzen Preussen und Posen. Zweiter Band. Königsberg 1839. Jacobson 1844 Heinrich Friedrich Jacobson Geschichte der Quellen des

evangelischen Kirchenrechts der Provinzen Rheinland und Westfalen, mit Urkunden und Regesten. – Geschichte der Quellen des Kirchenrechts des Preussischen Staates, mit Urkunden und

Jacobson 1866 Heinrich Friedrich Jacobson Das evangelische Kirchenrecht des preussischen Staates und seiner Provinzen. Halle 1864. Janssen V 1903 Johannes Janssen History of the German People at the Close of the Middle Ages. Vol. V. Translated from the German by A. M. Christie. London 1903. Janssen VI 1903 Johannes Janssen History of the German People at the Close of the Middle Ages. Vol. VI. Translated from the German by A. M. Christie. London 1903. Janssen VII 1905 Johannes Janssen History of the German People at the Close of the Middle Ages. Vol. VII. General Conditions of the German People from the So-Called Religious Pacification of Augsburg in 1555 to the Proclamation of the Formula of Concord in 1580. Translated by A. M. Christie. London 1905. Janssen VIII 1905 Johannes Janssen History of the German People at the Close of the Middle Ages. Vol. VIII. General Conditions of the German People from the So-Called Religious Pacification of Augsburg in 1555 to the Proclamation of the Formula of Concord in 1580. Translated by A. M. Christie. London 1905. Janssen IX 1906 Johannes Janssen History of the German People at the Close of the Middle Ages. Vol. IX. The Politico-Religious Revolution from the Proclamation of the Formula of Concord in 1580 up to the Year 1608. Translated by A. M. Christie. London 1906. Janssen X 1906 Johannes Janssen History of the German People at the Close of the Middle Ages. Vol. X. Leading up to the Thirty Years' War. Translated by A. M. Christie. London 1906. Jauerisches Gesang-Buch Jauerisches Gesang-Buch, darinn eine große Sammlung alter und 1818 neuer Lieder aus den vornehmsten in den Königl. Preußischen und Churbrandenburgischen, auch Schlesischen Landen und Orten Evangel. Religion, herausgekommenen Lieder-Büchern zum Kirchenund Haus- Gebrauch zu finden. [Jauer] 1818. Jenaische Allgemein Literatur-Jenaische Allgemein Literatur-Zeitung. No 88. May 1812. Zeitung (No. 88) 1812 Jordan 1608 Trewhertzige Warnung Für Calvinischer Brüderschafft, welche zu diesen zeiten, nechst Bernhardo Textore, in seinen Tillenburgischen Pandectis, die Pfältzer in einer vermeinten Trewhertzigen vermanung, den Lutherischen Kirchen angefordert haben: Nach anleitung des Evangelii Matt. 7. von falschen Propheten, die in Schaffskleidern auffgezogen kommen, &c. aus Gottes Wort und beyderseits öffentlichen

Jordanum ... Wittemberg 1608.

Journal für Prediger 1787 Journal für Prediger 1788 Junge 1799 Journal für Prediger. Neunzehnten Bandes erstes Stück. Halle 1787. Journal für Prediger. Zwanzigsten Bandes erstes Stück. Halle 1788. Christian Gottfried Junge Versuch einer neuen Liturgie oder Sammlung von Gebeten und Anreden bei dem öffentlichen Gottesdienst und andern feyerlichen Religionshandlungen zum

Calamana da assama salia da an Camarina an Nitimala ana in 1700

Schrifften zusammen getragen, Zusampt einer Zugabe Auff den Heidelbergischen unlangst hernach geschickten ausführlichen Bericht, zur notturfftigen gegenantwort gestellet, Durch M. Christophorum Jura Dissidentium 1768 Jura Dissidentium In Polonia, Lithuania Et Annexis Provinciis, Tam

Spiritualia, Qvam Sæcularia: Qvæ In Comitiis Regni Varsaviensibus Anno 1767. In Actu Primo Separato Tractatus Varsaviensis Restituta *In Perpetuum Sunt, Polonice Et Latine Edita.* 1768.

Gustav Kawerau Joachims II. Verhältnis zu Luther. – Jahrbuch für

Brandenburgische Kirchengeschichte, 7/8. Jg. 1911. Kerckenordeninge: Wo ydt mit Christlyker Lere, vorrekinge der

Sacramente, Ordination der Denere des Euangelij ordentlyken Ceremonien in den Kercken, Visitation, Consistorio vnde Scholen, Im Hertochdome tho Meckelenborch, etc. geholden werdt. M. D. LVII.

Kercken Ordeninge im Lande Kercken Ordeninge im Lande tho Pamern, Dorch de Dorchlüchtigen, Hochgebarnen Försten vnde Herren, Herrn Barnim, vnde Herrn Philipsen, hochlöffliker gedechtnis, beide Hertogen tho Stettin, Pamern, der Cassuben vnde Wenden, Försten tho Rügen, vnde Grauen

> tho Lützkow etc. Olden Stettin 1591. Kercken-Ordeninge Im Lande tho Pamern, Dorch de Dorchlüchtigen, Hochgebarnen Försten vnde Herren, Herrn Barnim vnde Herrn Philipsen, Hochlöffliker gedechtnis, Beide Hertogen tho Stettin, Pamern, der Cassuben vnde Wenden, Försten tho Rügen, vnde Grauen tho Gützkow etc. Anuenglick up dem Landdage tho Treptow, Anno M. D. XXXV. Geslaten, vnde itzund verner, Dorch de Dorchlüchtigen Hochgebarnen Försten vnde Herren, Herrn Barnim den Öldern, Herrn Johann Friederichen, Herrn Bugslaffen, Herrn Ernst Ludwig, Herrn Barnim den Jüngern, vnde Herrn Casimiren, Geueddern vnde Gebröder, Hertogen tho Stettin, Pamern, etc.

Up radt der Theologen, vnde Bewilliginge der LandStende, vornyet vnde

vormeret. Olden Stettin 1690. Kercken-Ordeninge Im Lande tho Pamern, Dorch de Dorchlüchtigen, Hochgebarnen Försten vnde Herren, Herrn Barnim vnde Herrn Philipsen, Hochlöffliker gedechtnis, Beide Hertogen tho Stettin, Pamern, der Cassuben vnde Wenden, Försten tho Rügen, vnde Grauen tho Gützkow etc. Anuenglick up dem Landdage tho Treptow, Anno M. D. XXXV. geslaten, Vnde verner, Dorch de Dorchlüchtigen, Hochgebarnen Försten vnde Herren, Herrn Barnim den Öldern, Herrn Johann Friederichen, Herrn Bugslaffen, Herrn Ernst Ludewig, Herrn Barnim den Jüngern, vnde Herrn Casimiren, Geveddern vnde Gebröder, Hertogen tho Stettin, Pamern, etc. Up radt der Theologen, vnde bewilliginge der Landstende, vornyet vnde vormeret. Gedrückt Anno 1690. Itzund äverst mit Consens der Königl. Schwedis. Hochprießl. Regerung up dat nye thom druck befördert. Stralsund vnde Greipswaldt, 1731.

Beresford James Kidd Documents Illustrative of the Continental Reformation. Oxford 1911.

Kirchen- policey- und procesz Ordnungen Deß Hochwürdigsten, Durchläuchtigsten, Hochgebornen Fürsten und Herrn Herrn, Augusti, Postulirten Administratoris des Primats und Ertz-Stiffts Magdeburg, Hertzogens zu Sachsen, Jülich, Cleve und Berg, Landgraffens in Düringen, Marckgraffens zu Meissen, Ober: und Nieder Lausitz, Graffens zu der Marck, Ravensberg, Herrns zu Ravenstein, Darnach in J. Fürstl. Durchl. ErtzStifft Magdeburg sich männiglich zu achten.

tho Pamern 1591

Kawerau 1911

Kerckenordeninge 1557

Kercken Ordeninge Im Lande tho Pamern 1690

Kercken-Ordeninge Im Lande tho Pamern 1731

Kidd 1911

Kirchen- policey- und procesz Ordnungen 1652

Kirchen-Agenda 1580	Kirchen-Agenda, darinnen Tauff, einsegen, und Trawbüchlein, Communion, sampt den teglichen Collecten, welche in der Kirchen gebraucht werden. Für die Prediger in der Graff, und Herrschafft Mansfeld.
Kirchen-Agenda 1647	Kirchen-Agenda, Das ist Ordnung, Wie es von Pfarrern und Seel- Sorgern, beym oeffentlichen Gottes-Dienst, und sonsten, gehalten werden sol; Fuer die Kirchen im Fuerstenthumb Gotha. Gotha 1647.
Kirchen-Agenda 1718	Kirchen-Agenda, Darinnen enthalten sind Tauff-Einsegungngs-Trau-Communion- und andre Büchlein, samt den täglichen Collecten, welche in der Kirchen gebraucht werden, Für die Prediger der Graffschafft Mannssfeld Jezund zum drittenmahl gedruckt, aufs neue übersehen, und mit vielen Collecten, auf allerhand Fälle gerichtet, Vermehret. Eisleben 1718.
Kirchen-Agenda 1727	Kirchen-Agenda Des Hertzogthums Magdeburg, Welche Auf Veranlassung der Königl. Preuß. Regierung und Consistorii allhier, nachdem die alten Exemplaria abgegangen, von neuem zum Druck befördert worden. Magdeburg 1727.
Kirchen-Agenda (Magdeburg) 1740	Kirchen-Agenda Des Hertzogthums Magdeburg, nebst denen von Sr. Königl. Majest. in Preußen, etc. verordneten Kirchen-Gebethen An den Sonn-hohen Fest- und Bußtägen nach der Predigt, auch bey den Wochenpredigten und in den Bethstunden, Mit Seiner Königlichen Majestät in Preussen, etc. etc. allergnädigsten Approbation von neuem wieder aufgelegt im Jahr 1740. Magdeburg, Druckts und verlegts Nicolaus Günther, Königl. Preuß. privil. Hoff-Buchdrucker.
Kirchen-Agenda 1740	Kirchen-Agenda, Das ist: Gebeth, und andere Formulen, Welche bey denen Evangelisch-Reformirten Gemeinden, in Sr. Königl. Majestät in Preussen Königreich, und andern Landen gebrauchet werden, Samt beygefügten Symbolis, oder Glaubens-Bekänntnissen der alten Christlichen Kirchen. Berlin [ca. 1740].
Kirchen-Agenda 1767	Kirchen-Agenda derer evangelischen Gemeinen der Königlichen Stadt Elbing. Elbing 1767.
Kirchen-Agende 1822	Kirchen-Agende für die Hof- und Domkirche in Berlin. Zweite Auflage. Berlin 1822.
Kirchenagende für Stadt- und Landprediger 1811	Kirchenagende für Stadt- und Landprediger. Theils aus den neuesten und besten liturgischen Werken sorgfältig gesammelt, theils selbst ausgearbeitet von Johann Friedrich Wollgast. Dritter Theil. Schweidnitz 1811.
Kirchen-Buch 1615	KirchenBuch D. Philip. Hanen, DomPredigers zu Magdeburgk, Darinnen die gewöhnliche Ceremonien, neben etlichen kurtzen Sermonen auß Gottes Wort, heilsamen Consilijs, Bedencken vnd Erinnerungen Herrn D. Lutheri, vnd anderer fürnemer, reinen Theologen, auch gemeine Gebet vnd Collecten verfasset sind: Welche bey Christlichen Kindtäuffen, Einsegnung der Sechswöchnerin, Ehelicher Copulation Braut und Brautigam, Vocation, Ordination vnd Introduction newer Prediger, Beicht, Absolution vnd Communion gesunder vnd Krancken, auch handlungen mit Gefangenen, Besessenen, vnd endlich verstorbenen Begrebnissen; Jn den Kirchen dess Ertzstiffts Magdeburgk, vnd andern Christlichen versamlungen üblichen sein, vnd von Predigern, in allerhand fällen, nützlich zu gebrauchen. Jn Neun vnterschiedliche Tractätlein abgetheilet,

Kirchenbuch I 1812	Kirchenbuch für den evangelischen Gottesdienst der Königlich Sächischen Lande, auf allerhöchsten Befehl herausgegeben. Erster Theil. Dresden 1812.
Kirchenbuch II 1812	Kirchenbuch für den evangelischen Gottesdienst der Königlich Sächischen Lande, auf allerhöchsten Befehl herausgegeben. Zweyter Theil. Dresden 1812.
Kirchendienstordnung 1862	Kirchendienstordnung und Gesangbuch der Stadt Riga nach den ältesten Ausgaben von 1530 flagg. kritisch bearbeitet und mit einer geschichtlichen Einleitung hrsg. von Johannes Geffcken. Hannover 1862.
Kirchen-Gebete 1767	Kirchen-Gebete, die sowohl an Fest- als gemeinen Sonntagen wie auch bey den Wöchentlichen Andachten in denen evangelischen Gemeinen der Königlichen Stadt Elbing gebraucht werden. Elbing 1767.
Kirchen-Gesezbuch 1783	Kirchen-Gesezbuch für die beiden evangelischen Confessionen in Pohlen und Lithuauen auf ausdrükliches Verlagen der Dissidentischen Generalsynode entworfen neuerlich aber von Drukfehlern gereiniget und mit Anmerkungen begleitet vov D. Heinrich Gottfried Scheidemantel, ordentlichen Lehrer des Lehnrechts in Jena. Nürnberg un Altdorf 1783.
Kirchen Ordnung 1533	Kirchen Ordnug, In meiner gnedigen herrn der Marggrauen zu Brandenburg, vnd eins Erberen Rats der Stat Nürnberg Oberkeyt vnd gepieten, Wie man sich bayde mit der Leer vnd Ceremonien halten solle. Nürnberg, 1533.
Kirchen ordnung 1539	Kirchen ordnung zum anfang für die Pfarher in Hertzog Heinrichs zu Sachsen V. G. H. Fürstenthumb. M.D.XXXIX. Dreßden 1539.
Kirchen-ordnunge 1539	Kirchen-ordnunge zum anfang, fur die Pfarherrn in Hertzog Heinrichs zu Sachsen v. g. h. Fürstenthum. 1539.
Kirchen Ordnung 1540	Kirchen Ordnung im Churfurstenthum der Marcken zu Brandemburg, wie man sich beide mit der Leer vnd Ceremonien halten sol. Berlin 1540.
Kirchen Ordnung 1542	Kirchen Ordnung im Churfurstenthum der Marcken zu Brandemburgk, wie man sich beide mit der Leer vnd Ceremonien halten sol. Berlin 1542.
Kirchenordnung 1543	Kirchenordnung, Wie es mit der Christlichen Lehre, heiligen Sacramenten, vnd allerley andern Ceremonien, in meines gnedigen herrn, Herrn Otthainrichen, Pfalzgrauen bey Rhein, Hertzogen in Nidern vnd Obern Bairn etc. Fürstenthumb gehalten wirt. Nürnberg 1543.
Kirchenordnung 1552	Kirchenordnung: Wie es mit Christlicher Lere, reichung der Sacrament, Ordination der Diener des Euangelii, ordenlichen Ceremonien, in den Kirchen, Visitation, Consistorio und Schulen, Im Hertzogthumb zu Meckelnburg etc. gehalten wird. Wittenberg 1552.
Kirchenordnung 1554	Kirchenordnung: Wie es mit Christlicher Lere, reichung der Sacrament, Ordination der Diener des Euangelii, ordenlichen Ceremonien, in den Kirchen, Visitation, Consistorio und Schulen, Im Hertzogthumb zu Meckelnburg etc. gehalten wird. Wittenberg 1554.
Kirchenordnung (Otto Heinrich) 1554	Kirchenordnung, Wie es mit der Christlichen lehre, heiligen Sacramenten, unn Cerimonien, in meines Gnedigen Herrn, Herrn Otthainrichs, Pfaltzgrauen bey Rhein, Hertzogen in Nidern und Obern Bayrn etc. Fürstenthumb, gehalten wirdt. Nürnberg 1554.
Kirchen Ordnung 1556	Kirchen Ordnung. Wie es mit der Christenlichen Leere, heiligen Sacramenten, vnnd Ceremonien, inn des Durchleuchtigsten Hochgebornen Fürsten vnnd Herren, Herrn Ottheinrichs, Pfaltzgrauen bey Rhein, des heiligen Römmischen Reichs Ertzdruchsessen vnnd

am Mayn) 1565

Kirchenordnung 1557	Kirchenordnung Wie es mit der Christenlichen Leer, Raichunge der heiligen Sacramenten, Ordination der diener des Euangelij vnd ordenlichen Ceremonien, Erhaltung Christlicher Schulen und Studien, auch anderer der Kirchen notwendigen Stücken etc. In Vnser Wolffgangs von Gottes Genaden, Pfaltzgrauens bey Rhein, Hertzogens in Bayern, vnd Grauens zu Veldentz Fürstenthumb gehalten werden soll. Nürnberg 1557.
Kirchen Ordnung I 1558	Kirchen Ordnung Wie es im Hertzogthumb Preussen, beydes mit Lehr vnd Ceremonien, sampt andern, so zu Fürderung vnd Erhaltung des Predigampts, Christlicher Zucht, vnd guter Ordnung, von nöten, gehalten wird. Anderweit vbersehen, gemehret, vnd Publicieret. Anno Christi M. D. LVIII. 25. Nouembris. Der Erste Theyl dieser Kirchenordnung, begreyfft in sich die summa der waren Christlichen Lehr. Königsperg 1558.
Kirchen Ordnung II 1558	Kirchen Ordnung Wie es im Hertzogthumb Preussen, beydes mit Lehr vnd Ceremonien, sampt andern, so zu Fürderung vnd Erhaltung des Predigampts, Christlicher Zucht, vnd guter Ordnung, von nöten, gehalten wird. Anderweit vbersehen, gemehret, vnd Publicieret. Anno Christi M. D. LVIII. 25. Nouembris. Der ander Theil dieser Kirchenordnung. Von den Ceremonien, vnd Kirchengebreuchen. Königsberg 1558.
Kirchenordnung 1559	Kirchenordnung: Wie es mit Christlicher Lere, reichung der Sacrament, Ordination der Diener des Euangelij, ordenlichen Ceremonien, in den Kirchen, Visitation, Consistorio vnd Schulen, zu Witteberg vnd in etlichen Chur vnd Fürstenthum, Herrschafften vnd Stedte der Augsburgischen Confession verwand gehalten wird. Witteberg 1559.
Kirchenordnung 1560	Kirchenordnung Wie es mit der Christenlichen Leer, Raichunge der heiligen Sacramenten, Ordination der diener des Euangelij vnd ordenlichen Ceremonien, Erhaltung Christlicher Schulen vnd Studien, auch anderer der Kirchen notwendigen Stuecken [et]c. In Vnser Wolffgangs von Gottes Gnaden, Pfaltzgrauens bey Rein, Hertzogens in Beyern, vnd Grauens zu Veldentz Fuerstenthumben gehalten werden sol. Erstlich auszgangen, Anno M.D.LVII. Vnd jetzund widerumb gedruckt, Anno M.D.LX.
Kjrchenordnung 1563	Kjrchenordnung, Wie es mit der Christlichen Lehre heiligen Sacramenten, vnnd Ceremonien, inn des Durchleuchtigsten Hochgebornen Fürsten vnnd Herren, Herrn Friderichs Pfaltzgrauen bey Rhein, des heilige Ræmischen Reichs Ertzdruchs-essen vnnd Churfuersten, Hertzogen inn Bayrn etc. Churfürstenthumb bey Rhein, gehalten wirdt. Heidelberg 1563.
Kirchenordnung 1564	Kirchenordnung: wie es mit Christlicher Lere, reichung der Sacrament, Ordination der Diener des Evangelij, Ordentlichen Ceremonien, Visitation, Consistorio und Schulen, Jm Hertzogthumb Lünenburg gehalten wird. Wittenberg 1564.
Kirchenordnung 1565	Kirchenordnung, Wie es mit der Christlichen Lehre, heiligen Sacramenten, vnd Ceremonien in des Durchleuchtigsten, Hochgebornen Fürsten vnd Herren, Herrn Friderichs Pfaltzgrauen bey Rein, des heiligen Römischen Reichs Ertzdruchsessen vnnd Churfürsten, Hertzogen in Bayern, [et]c. Churfürstenthumb bey Rhein, gehalten wird. Heidelberg 1565.
Kirchenordnung (Franckfurt	Kirchenordnung, das ist, Form und weise, nach welcher die reyne

Christliche Lere, Sacramenten, und allerley nötige Ceremonien, in etlichen fürnemen der Augspurgischen Confession verwandten Kirchen, deren

Kirchenordnung Kirchenordnung: Wie es mit Christlicher Lere, reichung der Sacrament, (Wittenberg) 1565 Ordination der Diener des Euangelij, ordenlichen Ceremonien, in den Kirchen, Visitation, Consistorio vnd Schulen, zu Witteberg vnd in etlichen Chur vnd Fürstenthum, Herrschafften vnd Stedte der Augsburgischen Confession verwand gehalten wird. Witteberg 1565. Kirchenordnung 1566 Kirchenordnung: Wie es mit Christlicher Lere, reichung der Sacrament, Ordination der Diener des Euangelij, ordenlichen Ceremonien, in den Kirchen, Visitation, Consistorio vnd Schulen, zu Witteberg vnd in etlichen Chur vnd Fürstenthum, Herrschafften vnd Stedte der Augsburgischen Confession verwand gehalten wird. Witteberg 1566. Kirchen Ordnung: Wie sich die Pfarherrn vnd Seelsorger in jrem beruff mit Kirchen Ordnung 1566 leren vnd predigen, allerley Ceremonien vnd guter Christlicher Disciplin vnnd Kirchenzucht halten sollen. Für die Kirchen inn dem Fürstenthum[m] b Hessen; Aus der Aposteln, jrer Nachfolger und anderer alten Christlicher reiner Lehrer schrifften gestellet. Marburg 1566. Kirchen Ordnüng vnd Ceremonien. Wie es in vbung Gottes Worts Kirchen Ordnung 1568 vnd reichung der Hochwirdigen Sacrament in den Kirchen des Herzogthumbs Preussen soll gehalten werden. Anno Domini M.D.LXVIII Königsperg 1568. Kirchenordnung 1569 Kirchenordnung Vnnser, von Gottes Genaden, Julij Hertzogen zu Braunschweig und Lueneburg, etc. Wie es mit Lehr und Ceremonien vnsers Fuerstenthumbs Braunschweig, Wulffenbuetlischen Theils, Auch derselben Kirchen anhangenden sachen und verrichtungen, hinfurt, (vermittelst Göttlicher Gnaden) gehalten werden sol. Wulfenbüttel 1569. Kirchenordnung (Heidelberg) Kirchenordnung, Wie es mit der Christlichen Lehre, heiligen Sacramenten, 1569 vnd Ceremonien, inn des Durch=leuchtigsten Hochgebornen Fürsten vnnd Herren, Herrn Friderichs Pfaltzgrauen bey Rhein, des heiligen Römischen Reichs Ertzdruchsessen vnnd Churfürsten, Hertzogen inn Bayrn [et]c. Churfürstenthumb bey Rhein, gehalten wirdt. Heidelberg 1569. Kirchenordnung 1570 Kirchenordnung Wie es inn Des Durchleuchtigen, Hochgebornen Fürsten und Herren Wolffgangs, Pfaltzgrauen Bey Rhein, Hertzogen in Baiern, Grauens zu Veldentz vnnd Sponhaim, &c. Fürstehthumben vnnd Landen, biß anhero mit der Christlichen Lehr, raichung der Heiligen Sacramenten, Ordination der diener des Euangelij, vnd Ordentlichen Ceremonien, Erhaltung Christlicher Schulen vnd studien, auch anderer der Kirchen notwendigen stücken, &c. gehalten worden. Erstlich zu Zwaypruckh, Anno M. D. LVII. Vnd hernacher vmb Christlicher Gottseliger gleichförmigkeit willen beider Fürsten- thumben, zu Neuburg an der Thunaw Anno M. D. LX. zum andern mal außgangen und publicirt. Jetzund aber, Durch die auch Durchleuchtige, Hochgeborne Fürsten vnd Herrn, Herren Philipps Ludwigen, und Herrn Johansen, gebrüder, beide Pfaltzgrauen bey Rhein, Hertzogen inn Baiern, Grauen zu Vel-dentz vnnd Sponhaim, auß vielen notwendigen Christenlichen vrsachen, Fürnemlich aber zu erklerung eintrechtiger bestendigkait inn der Lehr, Administration der heilwertigen Sacramenten und gleichmessiger Ceremonien, auch abwendung besorglicher geferlicher newerung und mißuerstend one ainige verfelschung oder verenderung widerumb erholet,

Kirchenordnung 1575

vnd mit ainer Christlichen Vorrede inn Druck gegeben. Im jar M. D. LXX. Kirchenordnung Wie es mit der Christlichen Lehre heyligen Sacramenten und Ceremonien in des Durchleuchtigsten Hochgebornen Fürsten und

Kirchenordnung 1576	Kirchenordnung Vnd Reformation vnser Albrechts vnd Philipsen Gebrüder, Grauen zu Nassaw, zu Sarprücken vnd zu Sarwerden, Herrn zu Loher: wie es in vnser Graue vnnd Herrschafft, nicht allein im Kirchenregiment, von vnsern Visitatore vnd Predicanten, mit der Lehr, jrem Leben vnd Wandel, Visitation der Pfarren, annemung vnd bevrlaubung der Predicanten, vbung deß Catechismi, vnd dergleichen; Sondern auch sonsten in andern, zu abschaffung allerhand Aberglaubens, Rotten vnnd ärgerlichen Lebens gehalten werden sol. Gedruckt zu Frackfurt am Mayn 1576.
Kirchenordnung 1577	Kirchenordnung Wie es mit der Christlichen Lehre, Administrierung der heiligen Sacramenten vnd Ceremonien, in des Durchleuchtigsten, Hochgebornen Fürsten vnnd Herren, Herrn Ludwigen Pfaltzgrauen bey Rhein, des heiligen Römischen Reichs Ertztruchsässen vnd Churfürsten, Hertzogen in Bayern, etc. Chur: vnd Fürstenthumb gehalten werden soll. Heidelberg 1577.
Kirchen Ordnung 1582	Des Durchlauchtigen Hochgebornen Fürsten vnd Herrn, Herrn Georg Ernsten, Grauen vnd Herrn zu Hennenberg, etc. Kirchen Ordnung, wie es in S.F.G. Fürstlicher Graff vnd Herrschafft, beide mit Lehr vnd Ceremonien, Christlich, vnd Gottes wort ebenmessig, gehalten werden soll.
Kirchen Ordnung 1583	Kirchen Ordnüng vnd Ceremonien. Wie es in vbung Gottes Worts vnd reichung der Hochwirdigen Sacrament in den Kirchen des Hertzogthumbs Preussen soll gehalten werden. Anno Domini M. D. XCVIII.
Kirchenordnung 1585	Kirchenordnung Wie es mit der Christlichen Lehre, heiligen Sacramenten, vnd Ceremonien, inn der Chur vnd Fürstlichen Pfaltz bey Rhein, gehalten wirdt: Mit eynverleibtem kleinen Catechismo, von newem vbersehen, vnd in Druck gefertiget. Heidelberg 1585.
Kirchen Ordnung 1590	Kirchen Ordnung, Welcher Massen inn der Lehre Göttliches Worts, Administration der H. Sacramenten, in den Ceremonien, und andern zum Kirchen Dienst gehörige Stücken, auch Versehung der Schulen, in Unser Heinrichs, Grafen zu Sayn, Herrn zu Homburgk, Moncklahr und Mentzburgk, etc. Graff und Herrschafften, Unsere Superintendenten, Pfarrherrn, und andere Kirchen und Schul Diener sich verhalten sollen, etc. Franckfurt am Mayn 1590.
Kirchenordnung 1594	Kirchenordnung. Wie es mit Christlicher Lehre, reichung der Sacrament, etc. Ordentlichen Ceremonien, in den Kirchen, Visitation, Consistorio und Schulen, (der Kirchen Wittenberg, und etlicher Chur und Fürstenthumb, Herrschafften vnd Städte der Augspurgischen Confession verwandten gemesse.) im Fürstenthumb Liegnitz, auf alte löbliche Fürstliche verordnung, biss anhero standhafftig gehalten werden sollen, Nun mehr aber vnd hinfuran vnuorbrüchlich vnd beyn vermeidung höchster vngnade gehalten werden sol. An jetzo wegen mangel der Exemplarien in Originali, Witterbergischen drucks, so dieser orth gar nicht zubekommen, aufs new aufgeleget, auser einigem zusatz, ohne das eine Dancksagung nach der heiligen Tauffen, vnd vermanung an die Paten, Und dann eine Ermanung bein Ausspendung des Hochwirdigen Abendmahles hinzugethan. Liegnitz 1594.
Kirchenordnung 1598	Kirchenordnung: Wie es mit Christlicher Lere, reichung der Sacrament,

Ordination der Diener des Euangelij, Ordentlichen Ceremonien, Visitation, Consistorio vnd Schulen, Jm Hertzogthumb Lünenburgk

Kirchen Ordnung 1598	Kirchen Ordnüng vnd Ceremonien. Wie es in vbung Gottes Worts vnd reichung der Hochwirdigen Sacrament in den Kirchen des Hertzogthumbs Preussen soll gehalten werden. Anno Domini M. D. LXXXIII.
Kirchen Ordnung 1600	Kirchen Ordnung, WJe es in weyland deß Durchleuchtigen Hochgebornen Fürsten vnd Herren, Herrn Wolffgangs, Pfaltzgraffen bey Rhein, Hertzogen in Bayern, Graffen zu Veldentz vnd Sponheim, &c. Fürstenthummen vnd Landen, mit Lehr vnd anderer der Kirchen nohtwendigen Stücken gehalten worden, Erstlich in ANNO M. D.LVII. Darnach zum andern mal in ANNO M. D. LX. Vnd ferrners von den auch Durchleuchtigen Hochgebornen Fürsten vnd Herren, Herrn Philips Ludwigen, vnd Herrn Johansen, Gebrüdern, beyden Pfaltzgraffen bey Rhein, Hertzogen in Bayern, Graffen zu Veldentz vnd Sponheim, &c. Zum dritten mal in ANNO M. D. LXX. außgangen vnd publiciert. Jetzunder aber von dem auch Durchleuchtigenn Hochgebornen Fürsten vnd Herrn, Herrn Caroln, Pfaltzgraffen bey Rhein, Hertzogen in Bayern, Graffen zu Veldentz vnd Sponheim, auß Vrsachen, so in der Præfation vermeldet werden, in diese kleinere Form zu bringen, vnd zu trucken befohlen, &c. Franckfort am Mayn 1600.
Kirchenordnung 1601	Kirchenordnung, wie es mit der Christlichen Lehre, heyligen Sacramenten, und Ceremonien, in des Durchleuchtigsten, Hochgebornen Fürsten und Herrn, Herrn Friderichs Pfaltzgraffen bey Rhein, des heyligen Römischen Reichs Ertztruchsessen und Churfürsten, Hertzogen in Bayern, Churfürstenthumb gehalten wirdt. Gedruckt in der Churfürstlichen Statt Haidelberg, bey Gothard Vögelin, 1601.
Kirchenordnung 1606	Kirchenordnung, Wie es mit Christlicher Lehr und Ceremonien, verreichung der H. Hoch: Sacramenten, und andern Kirchensachen, im Stifft Verden, hinfort, durch Gottes gnad und beystandt, Ordentlich gehalten werden soll. Gedruckt zu Lemgo, durch Conrad Grothen Erben. M. DC. VI.
Kirchenordnung 1612	Kirchenordnung: wie es mit den gemeinen Gebeten, Handlung der hochwürdigen Sacrament und trawung der Eheleute zu Elbing in der Pfarr- unnd andern in der Stadt unnd auff dem Lande einverleibeten Kirchen gehalten wird. Elbing 1612.
Kirchenordnung 1618	Kirchenordnung, Wie es mit der Christlichen Lehre und Ceremonien etc. In unsern Ludwigs, Graffen zu Nassaw zu Sarprucken unnd zu Sarwerden, Herrns zu Lahr, Wißbaden und Itzstein Graffe: und Herrschaften gehalten wirt. Frankfort am Mayn 1618.
Kirchenordnüng 1619	Deß Hochwürdigen, Durchleuchtigen, Hochgebornen Fürsten vnd Herrn, Herrn Christians, Bischoffen deß Stiffts Minden, Hertzogen zu Braunschweig, vnd Lüneburgk, Kirchenordnüng vnd Befehl, Wie es mit Christlicher Lehre, Beruff, Ordination, vnd Ampte der Prediger, Kirchengerichte, vnd Visitation, Predigten, übung des Catechismi, vnd Gebeten, heiligen Sacramenten, Beicht, vnd Absolution, Besuchung der Krancken, Begrebnissen, Kirchendisciplin, Schulen vnd Schuldienern, Zuhörern, Pfarr-Volck, vnd Gemeinden, Vnterhalt der Kirchendiener, vnd deren Wittiben, der Kirchen: Hospitalen; Gottesheuser: vnd Armen Kasten Gütern, vnd deren Verwaltern, vnd Vorstehern, Ehe: vnd andern Consistorialsachen, KirchenCeremonien, vnd Gesengen, Copulation, oder Trawung der Eheleute, Tauffen, vnd Ampte der Communion, Collecten, vnd Gebetten, Sonderbaren Vermanungen zur Buß, Anordnungen sonderlicher Bettage [et]c. Vnd in den Clöstern, [et]c. In beyden S. F. G. Fürstenthümhen, Braunschweig: Lüneburg: Cellischen, vnd Grubenhagischen teilß, vnd

Kirchen-Ordnung 1721

Kirchen-Ordnung 1643	Kirchen-Ordnung Des Durchleuchtigen, Hochwürdigen, und Hochgebornen Fürsten und Herrn, Herrn Friederichen, Hertzogen zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg, Postulirten Coadiutorn des Stiffts Ratzeburg, Erwehlten Thumb Probsten des Ertzstiffts Bremen, etc. Wie es mit Lehr und Ceremonien, auch andern geistlichen Sachen und Verrichtungen in beyden Sr. Fürstl. Gn. Fürstenthümen Braunschweig: Lüneburg, Cellischen und Grubenhagischen Theils, auch angehörigen Graff: und Herrschafften gehalten werden sol. Auff S. F. Gn. Befehl und Anordnung wiederumb in Druck gegeben. Lüneburg Bey den Sternen, Anno M. DC. XLIII.
Kirchen-Ordnung 1660	Kirchen-Ordnung der Stadt Hall in Sachsen, Welche E. E. Hochweiser Rath daselbst A. 1541. zu erst abfassen, A. 1640. revidiren, und A. 1660. samt dero Anhang und Beylagen publiciren lassen. Hall 1660.
Kirchen-Ordnung 1682	Kirchen-Ordnung: Wie es mit den gemeinen Gebeten, Handlung der Hochwürdigen Sacramenten und Trawung der Ehe-leute zu Elbing in der Münch- und andern in der Stadt und auff dem Lande einverleibten Kirchen gehalten wird. Elbing 1682.
Kirchenordnung 1683	Kirchenordnung, welchermaaßen in der Lehre des göttlichen Worts, Administration der heiligen Sacramente, in den Ceremonien und andern zum Kirchendienste gehörigen Stücken, auch Versehung der Schulen in Unser, Heinrichs, Grafen zu Sayn, Herrn zu Homburgk, Monklar und Mentzberg etc., Graff- und Herrschaften, unserm Superintendenten, Pfarrherrn und andern Kirchen- und Schul-Diener sich verhalten sollen etc. Eisenach, gedruckt bey Johann David Kolb, Fürstlicher Buchdrucker, 1683.
Kirchenordnung 1685	ChurFürstliche Brandenburgische Im Hertzogthum Magdeburg Publicirte KirchenOrdnung. Anno 1685. Halle in Sachsen 1685.
Kirchen Ordnung 1693	Kirchen Ordnung Wie es in denen Wild- und Rhein-Graffschafften mit der Predigt Göttliches Worts, Ausspendung der Heiligen Sacramenten und andern Christlichen Ceremonien und Handlungen solle gehalten werden. Franckfurt am Mayn 1693.
Kirchenordnung 1708	Chur-Fürstliche Brandenburgische Jm Hertzogthum Magdeburg publicirte Kirchenordnung. Anno 1685. Halle 1708.
Kirchen-Ordnung 1713	Des Durchlauchtigen, Hochgebohrnen Fürsten und Herrn, Herrn Georg Ernsten, Grafen und Herrn zu Hennenberg, etc. Kirchen-Ordnung, Wie es in S.F.G. Fürstlicher Graf- und Herrschafft, beyde mit Lehr und Ceremonien, Christlich, und GOttes Wort ebenmäßig, gehalten werden soll. Schleusingen 1713.
Kirchen-Ordnung (Itzstein) 1713	Kirchen-Ordnung, Wie es Mit der Christlichen Lehre, Und Ceremonien, &c. In Unsern Ludewigs, Grafens zu Nassau, zu Sarbrücken, und zu Sarwerden: Herrn zu Lahr, Wießbaden und Itzstein, etc. Grafe- und Herrschafften gehalten wird. Anfänglich getruckt zu Franckfurt am Mayn, Bey Johann Nicolao Stoltzenbergern, Anno M. DC. XVIII. und nun zum vierdten mal neu auffgelegt. Itzstein, Drucks Erdmann Andreas Lyce, Fürstl. Hoff-Buchdr. Anno M. DCC. XIII.
V:1	$V' = 1 \dots O = 1 \dots = IAV = V = \dots = 1 \dots D \dots = 1 \dots = 1 \dots = V' = 1 \dots = V' = 1 \dots =$

und Herrn Herrn Christian Des Dritten Pfaltz-Grafen bey Rhein, Hertzogen in Bayern, Grafen zu Veldenz, Sponheim und Rappoltstein, Herrn zu Hohenack, [et]c. In Dero Gemeinschafftlichen Hintern Grafschafft Sponheim und übrigen Landen Das Evangelische Kirchen-

Kirchen-Ordnung Wie es Von wegen des Durchleuchtigsten Fürsten

Kirchen-Ordnung 1762	Kirchen-Ordnung, Wie es Mit der Christlichen Lehre Und Ceremonien [et]c. In Weyland Des Hochgebohrnen Grafen und Herrn, Herrn Ludewigs, Grafens zu Nassau, zu Saarbrücken, und zu Saarwerden, Herrn zu Lahr, Wißbaden und Idstein etc. Als allgemeinen Stamm-Vatters Des noch Florirenden Fürstl. Nassau-Saarbrückischen Hauses, Graf- und Herrschafften zu halten ist, Welche auf dero Gnädigsten Befehl im Jahr 1617. verfasset, und im Jahr 1618. zum erstenmahl zum Druck befördert, nunmehro aber zum fünftenmahl neu aufgeleget worden. Idstein 1762.
Kirchen-Ordnung 1739	Revidirte und nach denen neuern Königlichen Edicten, Mandaten und Rescripten eingerichtete und vermehrte Kirchen-Ordnung im Hertzogthum Magdeburg, wie auch in der Graffchafft Mantzfeld Magdeburgischer Hoheit, sammt einem vollständigen Anhange derer von Anno 1680. bis 1739. publicirten Ordnungen, Edicten, Mandaten und Rescripten, von Consistorial-Kirch-Stiffter-Universität-Schul-Hospitalien-und Ehe-auch anderer Geistlichen Sachen, auf erfolgte allergnädigste Königl. Approbation zum Druck befördert. Magdeburg 1739.
Kirchner 1867	Ernst Daniel Martin Kirchner Die Kurfürstinnen und Königinnen auf dem Throne der Hohenzollern, im Zusammenhange mit ihren Familien- und Zeit-Verhältnissenaus den Quellen bearbeitet. Zweiter Theil. Die letzten acht Churfürstinnen, mit deren Bildnissen. Berlin 1867.
Kleine auserlesene liturgische Bibliothek I 1793	Kleine auserlesene liturgische Bibliothek für Prediger. Erstes Bändchen. Gotha 1793.
Kleine auserlesene liturgische Bibliothek III 1794	Kleine auserlesene liturgische Bibliothek für Prediger. Drittes Bändchen. Gotha 1794.
Kleines Liturgisches Handbuch 1796	Kleines Liturgisches Handbuch in Anreden und Gebeten bey der Ordination und Institution der Prediger, der Taufe, Confirmation der Kinder, Beichte, Communion und Trauung, nach den Einsichten und Beyspielen verständiger Gottesgelehrter eingerichtet von D. Gottlieb Schlegel. Leipzig 1796.
Kleines Priester-Buch 1757	Kleines Priester-Buch. Nach Fürschrift der Pommerschen Kirchen- Ordnung und Agenda bey Priesterlichen Amtsverrichtungen zu gebrauchen. Aufs neue durchgesehen und zum Druck befördert von Jacob Henr. von Balthasar General-Superintendenten über Pommern und Rügen. Greifswald bey Hieronymus Johann Struck. 1757.
Klose 1803	Die Abendmahlsfeyer ein Erbauungsbuch für gebildetete Christen. Von Ernst Klose Professor in Liegnitz. Zweyte verbesserte Ausgabe. Leipzig 1803.
Kluckhohn 1868	Briefe Friedrich der Fromme Kurfürsten von der Pfalz mit verwandten Schriftstücken gesammelt und bearbeitet von A. Kluckhohn. Erster Band. 1559-1566. Braunschweig 1868.
Knesebeck 1615	Einfältiger Bericht, Wie sith ein jedes Christliches Hertz jetziger Zeit: Insonderheit aber Underthanen gegen ihrer Obrigkeit, welche etwa veränderter Reglion beschuldigt wird, verhalten sollen. In sechs Dialogos verfasset. Durch einen Liebhaber deß Friedens vnd der Warheit. Erstlich gedruckt zu Amberg, durch Johann Schönfeld. Im Jahr MDCXIV.
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Kniebe 1902

Rudolf Kniebe Der Schriftenstreit über die Reformation des

Kurfürsten Johann Sigismund von Brandenburg seit 1613 - Hallesche

Kollectas Alba Paspalitas Maldas 1589	Kollectas Alba Paspalitas Maldas, prastasu Nedeliasu ir didzosu Schwentesu, per wissus maetus Hercegisteie Prusu giedamas isch Wokischko lieszuwio ing Lietuwischka pergulditas Per Jana Bretkuna. Karaliaučius 1589.
Kolde 1883	Analecta Lutherana. Briefe und Actenstücke zur Geschichte Luthers. Zugleich ein Supplement zu den bisherigen Sammlungen seines Briefwechsels. Herausgegeben D. Theodor Kolde, ord. Professor der historischen Theologie an der Universität zn Erlangen. Gotha 1883.
Konstytucye Publiczne 1775	Konstytucye Publiczne Seymu Extraordynaryinego Warszawskiego pod Węzłem Generalney Konfederacyi Oboyga Narodow trwaiącego Roku 1773 dnia 19. Kwietnia zaczętego, a z Limity y sześciu Prorogacyi w Roku 1775 przy utwierdzeniu Dzieł Generalnych Konfederacyi y rozwiązaniu onychże skończonego. Za zgodą Zgromadzonych y Skonfederowanych Stanow Uchwalone. Warszawa 1775.
Krasinski 1838	Valerian Krasinski Historical Sketch of the rise, progress, and decline of the Reformation in Poland. Vol. I. London 1838.
Krasinski 1840	Valerian Krasinski Historical Sketch of the rise, progress, and decline of the Reformation in Poland. Vol. II. London 1840.
Krause 1788	Versuch einer Agende für Prediger von allen christlichen Kirchenparteien von Christian Wilhelm Krause Garnison- und Feldprediger des Königl. Preußischen von Lichnowskischen Infanterieregiments. Berlin 1788.
Krebs 1881	Carl Krebs Johann Christian, Herzog von Brieg. – Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie (ADB). Band 14. Leipzig 1881.
Krumhaar 1855	Die Grafschaft Mansfeld im Reformationszeitalter. Mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Reformationsgeschichte aus den Quellen dargest von K. Krumhaar, Pastor zu Helbra. Eisleben 1855.
Kuehn 2002	Manfred Kuehn Kant. A biography. Cambridge 2002.
Küster 1751	Martin Friedrich Seidels Bilder-Sammlung, in welcher hundert größtentheils in der Mark Brandenburg gebohrne, allerseits aber um dieselbe wohlverdiente Männer vorgestellet werden, mit beygefügter Erläuterung, in welcher Derselben merkwürdigste Lebens-Umstände und Schrifften erzehlet werden von Georg Gottfried Küster, des Friedrich-Gymnasii in Berlin Rectore, und der Königl. Preuß Academi der Wissenschaften Mitglied. Berlin, In Verlag der Buchladens bey der Real-Schule, 1751.
Kurtz Ordnung 1530	Kurtz Ordnung des Kirchendiensts, Sampt eyner Vorrede von Ceremonien, An den Erbarn Rath der löblichenn Stadt Riga ynn Liefflandt. Mit etlichen Psalmen, vnd Götlichen lobgesengen, die yn Christlicher versamlung zu Riga ghesungen werden. M.D.XXX.
Langbecker 1841	Emanuel Christian Gottlob Langbecker Leben und Lieder von Paulus Gerhardt. Mit P. Gerhardt's Bildniß, einem Facsimilie seiner Handschrift und neun Musikbeilagen. Berlin 1841.

Lebens-Beschreibung D. Henrici Lysii 1732 Lebens-Beschreibung D. Henrici Lysii. – Acta Borussica ecclesiastica, civilia, literaria. Oder Sorgfältige Sammlung allerhand zur Geschichte des Landes Preussen gehöriger Nachrichten, Uhrkunden, Schrifften und Documenten. Das III. Bandes, Erstes Stück. Königsberg 1732.

Lepner 1744 Der Preusche Littauer oder Vorstellung der Nahmens-Herleitung, Kind-Tauffen, Hochzeit, Leibes- und Gemüths-Beschaffenheit, Kleidung, Wohnung, Nahrung und Acker-Bau, Speise und Tranck, Sprachen, Gottes-Dienst, Begräbnisse und andere dergleichen Sachen der Littauer in Preussen, kürtzlich zusammen getragen von Theodoro Lepner, Ersten Pfarrer der Deutschen und Littauschen Gemeine Gottes in Budwehten. Im Jahr nach des werthen Heylandes Geburt 1690. Dantzig bey Joh. Heinrich Rüdiger, 1744. Lettische Neu verbesserte-Lettische Neu verbesserte-und vollständige Kirchen-Agende Oder und vollständige Kirchen-Hand-Buch, etc. Mitau 1727. Agende 1727 Liber 1562 Liber, Continens Doctrinam, Administrationem Sacramentorom, Ritus Ecclesiasticos, formam Ordinationis, Consistorij, Visitationis, & Scholarum: in ditione Illustrissimorum Principum ac Dominorum, D. Iohannis Alberti, & D. Hulderici, fratrum, Ducum Megapolensium, Principum gentis Henetæ, Comitum Suerini, Dominorum Rostochij & Stargardiæ, &c. à Iohanne Fredero in latinam linguam conuersus. Francoforti, Excvdebat Petrus Brubacchius, Anno M.D.LXII. Lietuvos TSR bibliografija Knygos lietuvių kalba T.1 1547-1861. – Lietuvos TSR bibliografija. 1969 Serija A. Vilnius 1969. List 1767 Geschichte der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeine zu Mannheim, verfasset von Carl Benjamin List. Churpfälzischen Consistorialrath und ersten Evang. Lutherischen Pfarrer daselbst. Mannheim, In Verlag der akademischen Buchhandlung 1767. Liturgische Bibliotheck 1760 Wilhelm Christian Just Chrysanders, S. S. theologiae, wie auch Philosphiae, Mathematum und Philologiae Sacrae Professoris Ordinarii auf der Heßen-Schauenburgischen Universität zu Rinteln, Liturgische Bibliotheck. Worin einesteils die Kirchen-Ordnungen, welche in des seel. Herrn Pastor Koenigs Bibliotheca Agendorum, und in S.T. Herrn D. Feuerlins Bibliotheca symbolica ausgelassen worden, zur nützlichen Ergänzung beyder beliebten Haupt-Bücher beygebracht werden; andernteils aber dort schon angeführte Kirchen-Ordnungen historisch erläutert, und einige Umstände noch mehr berichtiget werden. Hannover 1760. Liturgisches Journal V 1806 Liturgisches Journal. Herausgegeben von Heinrich Balthasar Wagnitz. Fünfter Band. Halle 1806. Liturgisches Journal VII 1807 Liturgisches Journal. Herausgegeben von Heinrich Balthasar Wagnitz. Siebenter Band. Halle 1807. Liturgisches Magazin von Georg Friedrich Seiler. Erstes Bändchen. Liturgisches Magazin 1784 Erstes Stück. Erlangen 1784. Loeschin 1828 Geschichte Danzigs von der ältesten bis zur neuesten Zeit : mit beständiger Rücksicht auf Cultur der Sitten, Wissenschaften, Künste, Gewerbe und Handelszweige. Zum zweiten Male bearbeitet von D. Gotthilf Loeschin. Danzig 1828.

Lorenz 1907 Die Kirchenordnungen des Stiftes und der Stadt Quedlinburg bei

prim. Brieg 1885/86.

Aus der Vergangenheit der evangelischen Kirchengemeinde Brieg. Ergänzung und Fortsetzung der "Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Brieg", von W. H. Müller Von Otto Lorenz, Pastor

Lorenz 1885/86

Lothar Noack, Jürgen Splett 2001	Lothar Noack, Jürgen Splett Bio-Bibliographen Brandenburgische Gelehrte der Frühen Neuzeit. Mark Brandenburg 1640-1713. Berlin 2001.
Lubieniecki 1995	Stanislas Lubieniecki History of the Polish Reformation and Nine Related Documents. Translated and interpreted by George Huntston Williams. – Harvard Theological Studies 37. Minneapolis 1995.
Lukšaitė 1999	<i>Ingė Lukšaitė</i> Reformacija Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje ir Mažojoje Lietuvoje. XVI a. trečias dešimtmetis – XVII a. pirmas dešimtmetis. Vilnius 1999.
Lund 2002	<i>Documents from the History of Lutheranism, 1517-1750.</i> Edited by Eric Lund Minneapolis 2002.
Luther 1556	Der Achte Teil der Bücher des Ehrnwirdigen Herrn D. Martini Lutheri: darinnen die verdeudschte Auslegunge begriffen vber die Psalmos graduum, vnd den 110 Psalm, Das fünffte Buch Mose, vnnd diese Propheten, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadia, Micha, Nahum, Zephania, Haggai, Malachias. Wittemberg 1556.
Sylvius 1535	Luthers vnd Lutzbers eintrechtige vereinigung, so in xxij eygenschafften sindt allenthalben gleychförmig verfüget, Durch M. Pet. Syluium der Christenheyt zu seliger warnung trewlich beschriben, vnd mit Göttlicher schrifft vnwidersprechlich ergründet Anno M. D. XXXV.
LW	<i>Luther's Works</i> . Volumes 1-55. Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, 1958-1986.
Magdeburg und	Magdeburg und Halberstadische Kirchen-Agenda, Auff sonderbaren
Halberstadische Kirchen-	gnädigsten Befehl Des Durchlauchtigsten, Großmächtigsten Fürsten und
Agenda 1632	Herrn, Herrn Gustav-Adolphs, der Schweden, Gothen und Wenden Königs, GroßFürsten zu Finland, Herzogen zu Ehesten und Carelen, Herrn über Ingermanland, &c. Verfasset Jm Jahr Christi M. DC. XXXII. Hall in Sachsen, Jn verlegung Melchior Oelschlegels Buchführers. 1632.
Manval 1605	Manval. Darinnen Tauff-Einsegen-Trawbüchlein, beneben etlichen Gebeten unnd Collecten, bey dem Gottesdienst zugebrauchen, besonders zusammen gedruckt seind. Zu Erffordt, Bey Johann Beck, Jm Jahr M. DC. V.
Manvale Aus der Kirchen	MANVALE Aus der Kirchen Agenda. Darinnen Tauff, Einsegen,
Agenda 1563	vnd Trawbüchlein, sampt etlichen teglichen Collecten, besonders zusammen gedruckt sind. Eisleben 1563.
Manvale Ecclesiasticvm 1737	Manvale Ecclesiasticvm Bey Priesterlichen Amts-Verrichtungen zu gebrauchen, Auf vielfältiges Begehren mit sorgfältigem Fleiß, nach Fürschrifft und Approbation der Theologischen Facultät in Grypswalde, verfertiget und mitgetheilet von M. Benjamin Printz, Past. Richtenberg. & Synodi Bardensis Seniore. Grypswalde, Verlegts Jacob Löfler, 1737.
Martens 1896	Carl Martens Die Erfurter evangelischen deutschen Messen 1525-1543. – Mitteilungen des Vereins für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde von Erfurt. Achtzehntes Heft. Erfurt 1869.
Mažvydas 1974	Martynas Mažvydas, pirmoji lietuviška knyga. Vilnius 1974.
Mažvydas 1993	Martynas Mažvydas Katekizmas ir kiti raštai. Vilnius 1993.
Maźas Katgismas 1722	Maźas Katgismas D. Mertino Luteraus Lietuwiszkay ir Wokiszkay Ant Małoningiáusojo Prusû Karálaus Isákimo wissû Wyskupû ir Klebonû Lietuwoj', Sutarijan isz navio Tilágia Mata 1722 nárpojadátas Ir

Lietuwoj' Sutarimù isz naujo Tilźeje Mete 1722. pérweizdėtas. Ir

Mehlhausen 1999 Joachim Mehlhausen Vestigia Verbi - Aufsätze zur Geschichte der evangelischen Theologie. Berlin 1999. Meine Liturgischen Gedanken. Breslau 1787. Meine Liturgischen Gedanken 1787 Merczyng 1905 H[enryk] M[erczyng] Zbory i Senatorowie protestanccy w Dawnej Polsce. - Walerjan Krasiński Zarys dziejów Reformacji w Polsce. t. 2, cz. 2. Warszawa 1905. Meyer 2000 Hans Bernhard Meyer Zur Theologie und Spiritualität des christlichen Gottesdienstes. Ausgewählte Aufsätze. Herausgegeben von Reinhard Meßner und Wolfgang G. Schöpf. Münster; Hamburg 2000. Michelini 2000 Guido Michelini Martyno Mažvydo raštai ir jų šaltiniai. Vilnius 2000. Michelini 2001 Jonas Bretkūnas, Giesmes duchaunas ir kitos 1589 metų liturginės knygos tekstai ir šaltiniai. Leidinį parengė habil. dr. Guido Michelini. Vilnius 2001. Michelini 2004 Lozorius Zengštokas. Giesmes Chriksczionischkos ir Duchaunischkos ir jų *šaltiniai*. Leidimą parengė prof., habil dr. Guido Michelini. Vilnius 2004. Michelini 2009 Guido Michelini Mažosios Lietuvos giesmynų istorija: nuo Martyno Mažvydo iki XIX a. pabaigos. Klaipėda 2009. Michelini 2010 Guido Michelini Jono Berento Jß naujo pérweizdètos ir pagérintos Giesmû Knygos: Mörlino traktato pritaikymas poezijoje. Vilnius 2010. Militair-Consistorial-Militair-Consistorial-Reglement [So geschehen und gegeben Cölln an Reglement 1711 der Spree den 29. April. 1711. ... den 21. Aprilis 1709.] [1711]. Militair-Consistorial-Königl. Preußisches Churfürstl. Brandenburgisches Militair-Reglement 1748 Consistorial-Reglement, samt verschiedenen Beylagen. Breßlau 1748. Milkus 1990 *Kristijonas Gotlybas Milkus* Pilkalnis. Vilnius 1990. MLE II 2003 Mažosios Lietuvos enciklopedija. Antras tomas. Kas – Maž. Vilnius 2003. MLE III 2006 Mažosios Lietuvos enciklopedija. Trečias tomas. Mec – Rag. Vilnius 2006. MLE IV 2009 Mažosios Lietuvos enciklopedija. Ketvirtas tomas. Rahn -Žvižežeris. Vilnius 2009. Moeller, Kawerau 1900 Wilhelm Ernst Moeller, Gustav Kawerau History Of The Christian Church A.D. - 1517-1648. Third Volume. Reformation and Counter-Reformation. London 1900. Mohnike 1830 Das sechste Hauptstück im Katechismus nebst einer Geschichte der katechetischen Litteratur in Pommern. Zum dritten Jubelfest der Augsburgischen Confession von D. Gottlieb Mohnike. Mit einem Anhange, enthaltend die Geschichte der liturgischen Veränderungen in Pommern. Stralsund 1830. Morscovius 1745

Mühlpfordt 1981 Günter Mühlpfordt Die Oderuniversität Frankfurt (1506-1811).

Eine deutsche Hochschule in der Geschichte BrandenburgPreußens und der europäischen Wissenschaft Zu. 475 Jahrestag

[Petrus Morscovius] Politia ecclesiastica, quam vulgo Agendam vocant, sive forma regiminis exterioris ecclesiarum Christianarum in Polonia, quæ unum Deum Patrem per filium ejus unigenitum Jesum Christum in Spritu Sancto confitentur, tribus libris explicata, a Petro Morscovio, e codice manuscripto recensuit, et notas atque dissertat. praeliminarem de agendis ecclesiasticis et speciatem de his adjecit Georgius Ludovicus Oederus, s. theol. doctor, decanus

et antistes Feuchtwangensis. Francofurti et Lipsiae anno 1745.

Müller I 1906 Nikolaus Müller Zur Geschichte des Gottesdienstes der Domkirche zu Berlin in den Jahren 1540-1598. – Jahrbuch für Brandenburgische Kirchengeschichte. 2/3. Jahrhang. Berlin 1906. Müller II 1906 Nikolaus Müller Der Dom zu Berlin: Kirchen-, kultus- und kunstgeschichtliche Studien über den alten Dom in Köln-Berlin. Berlin 1906. Müller 1908 Nikolaus Müller Kurfürst Joachim II. An König Ferdinand über die Einführung der Reformation in der Mark Brandenburg. – Jahrbuch für Brandenburgische Kirchengeschichte. 5. Jahrhang. Berlin 1908. Nast 1992 Włodzimierz Nast Agendy Saskie w Zborze Ewangelicko-Augsburskim w Warszawie. - Rocznik Teologiczny, ChAT XXXIV - z. 1, 1992.Συν τω Θεω. Neu Littausches verbessert-und mit vielen neuen Liedern Naujos Giesmju Knygos 1666 vermehretes Gesangbuch Nebst einem sehr nützlichen nie ausgegangenen Gebetbüchlein Auch einer Teutschen hochnötig-unterrichtlicher Vorrede an den Leser. Naujos Giesmju Knygos, Kurrose sénos Giesmes su pritarimu wissu Baźnyczos Mokitoju per musu Lietuwa yra pagérintos O náujos grážos Giesmes pridėtos. Taipajeg Maldu Knygeles didžausey Báznyczose wartojamos Su labay priwálingu Pirm-pamokinnimu ßias Knygeles skaitanczuju Patogiey suguldytos ir iśdůtos. Karalauczuje Isspaude sawo issirádimais Pridrikis Reusneris Metůse M. DC. LXVI. Neu zugerichtetes Neu zugerichtetes Kirchenbuch oder Kurtzer Auszug der Pommerschen Kirchenbuch 1718 Kirchen-Agende, nebst einigen andern Formularen Gebeth- und Liedern, deren sich getreue Evangelisch- Lutherische Prediger, bey ihren heiligen Ammts- Verrichtungen, aller Orthen, und in allen Landen nützlich bedienen können; Abgefasset Von Baltzer Johan Flottmann, Unna - Marcano -Westphalo, Pastore Ducheroviensi & Buggevitzensi, in Synodo Anclamensi. Greiffswald, Zufinden im Fickweilerschen Buchladen. Anno 1718. Neue allgemeine deutsche Neue allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek. Des XCIV. Bandes Erstes Bibliothek 1804 Stück. Erstes bis Viertes Heft. Berlin und Stettin 1804. Neue Liturgie 1784 Neue Liturgie. Zum Gebrauch evangelischer Gemeinden besonders der Reichsstadt Lindau. Lindau 1784. Pommersches Neu-eingerichtetes Neu-eingerichtetes Prediger-Hand-Buch zum Pommersches Predigerbequemen Gebrauch, bey allerley ordentlichen und ausserordentlichen Hand-Buch 1769 Amtsverrichtungen; aus der Pommerschen Kirchen-Agende ehedem zusammen getragen, und anjetzt aufs neue übersehen, und an vielen Orten mit Auszügen aus Königlichen neuerlichst allergnädigst ausgegebenen

Neu-verbesserte Kirchen-Ordnung 1702 Regierungs- auch Krieges- und Domainenkammer-Buchdrucker, 1769.

Die Von Jhr. Königl. Majest. Von Schweden Hoch-betrauten OberKirchen-Rath und General-Superintendenten in Pommern, Herrn Dr.

Joh: Friderich Mayern Neu-verbesserte Kirchen-Ordnung, Wornach sich
die Herrn Prediger im Hertzogthumb Pommern hinführo zu verhalten. In

Verordnungen in Kirchen-Sachen vermehret, und, auf vielfältiges Verlangen ans Licht gestellet, auch mit einer Vorrede, von der wahren Bekehrung zu Gott, als einem zur fruchtbahren Führung des Predigt-Amtes höchstnöthigem Stücke, begleitet, von Gottfried Christian Roth, General-Superintendenten des Herzogthums Pommern und Fürstenthums Camin. Stettin, gedruckt und verlegt von Herm. Gottfr. Effenbart, Königl. Preuß. Pommerschen

Neve 1921 *Juergen Ludwig Neve* The Lutherans in the Movements for Church Union. Philadelphia 1921. New verbessert und New verbessert und vollständig Gantz Außführlich Kirchen Formular, vollstendig Gantz Allerhand Christlicher Wort, und Ceremonien, deren ein Prediger in außführlich FormularBuch Verrichtung seines Ampts, und der Seelsorge kan gebrauchen. Mit I1670sonderlichem Fleis, also, daß nicht das geringste Ministerii requisitum fast fürfallen kan und mag, welches nicht darinnen begriffen were. Erster Theil, Durch Johannem Schraderum, Aegelens. Pfarherrn zu Alvensleben, im ErtzStifft Magdeburg, und Poet. Coronat. Frankfurt und Leipzig 1670. New verbessert und Ander Theil Dieses Formular Buchs, Von allerley Christlichen Ceremonien vollstendig Gantz und Kirchengebräuchen, Als: Vom Gebet, von Verrichtung der Sacrament, außführlich FormularBuch Einsegnung der Sechswöchnerinnen, Catechismus- Lehre, Copulation der II 1670 Eheleute, Ordination und Investitur newer Prediger, Begräbnüssen. Neben zweyen außführlichen Verzeichnüssen, was auff ein jegliches Fest und Sontag für Psalmen gesungen werden. Helmstadt 1670. New verbessert und Dritter Theil Dieses Formular Buchs, Darinn mancherley Trost, vollstendig Gantz Gebet und Unterricht zu finden: Als: Für Krancke, für Sterbende, außführlich FormularBuch Betrübte, und allerhand angefochtene Personen, für schwangere III 1670 Weiber, so in der Geburt arbeiten, eine todte Frucht, oder ungestalte Miβgeburt zur Welt bringen, für Wittwen und Waysen, für die, so ins Elende verjaget, oder durch Fewer und Wasser Schaden erlitten, für Melancholische trawrige Leute, für leiblich Besessene, auch für die zum Todte verdammete Übelthäter. Helmstadt 1670. Newcome I 1825 The life of John Sharp, D.D., Lord Archbishop of York, to which are added, select original, and copies of original papers, in three appendixes, collected from his diary, letters, and several other authenic testimonies, by his son, Thomas Sharp, D.D., ed. by Thomas Newcome. Vol.I. London 1825. Newcome II 1825 The life of John Sharp, D.D., Lord Archbishop of York, to which are added, select original, and copies of original papers, in three appendixes, collected from his diary, letters, and several other authenic testimonies, by his son, Thomas Sharp, D.D., ed. by Thomas Newcome. Vol.II. London 1825. Nienałtowski 2019 Marek Nienałtowski Wirtembergowie. Książęta na Oleśnicy, Bierutowie i Dobroszycach, Oleśnica 2019. Nischan 1987 Bodo Nischan The Exorcism Controversy and Baptism in the Late Reformation. - The Sixteenth Century Journal. Volume XVIII, No.1, Spring 1987. Nischan 1994 Bodo Nischan Prince, People, and Confession. The Second Reformation in Brandenburg. Philadelphia 1994. Nischan 1996 Bodo Nischan Confessionalism and Absolutism: the case of Brandenburg. - Calvinism in Europe, 1540-1620. Edited by Andrew Pettegree, University of St Andrews, Alastair Duke, University of Southampton, and Gillian Lewis, University of Oxford. Cambridge 1996. Nischan 1999 Bodo Nischan Lutherans and Calvinists in the Age of

Confessionalism. Aldershot 1999.

Bodo Nischan Germany after 1550. - The Reformation World. Edited

by Andrew Pottegree London and New York 2000

Nischan 2000

Nischan 2004 Bodo Nischan Religious Polemics and Ritual in Early Modern Germany's Confessional Churches. - Religious Polemics in Context. Papers Presented to the Second International Conference of the Leiden Institute for the Study of Religions (Lisor) Held at Leiden, 27-28 April 2000. Edited by T. L. Hettema & A. Van Der Kooij with an annotated bibliography compiled by J. A. M. Snoek. Assen 2004. Noltenius 1750 Joh. Arn. Noltenii Nachricht von der Berlinischen Reformation unter Churfürst Johann Sigmund. - Fortgesetzte Sammlung von alten und neuen theologischen Sachen, Büchern, Uhrkunden, Controversien, Anmerckungen und Vorschlägen, u. d. g. Zur geheiligten Uebung in beliebigem Beytrage Ertheilet von einigen Kirchen- und- Schul-Lehrern, Auf das Jahr 1750. Leipzig 1750. Nothwendige Kirchen-Nothwendige Kirchen-Constitution, Welche für die sämtlichen Constitution 1664 Evangelischen Gemeinden Oelssnischen Fürstenthums, Auf die in selbigem Anno 1662 und 63 gehaltene und glücklich verbrachte Visitation, Der Durchlauchtige, Hochgebohrne Fürst und Herr, Herr Sylvius, Hertzog zu Würtemberg und Teck, auch in Schlesien zur Oelssen, Graff zu Montbelgart, Herr zu Heidenheim, Sternberg und Medzibohr, etc. Durch gewisse darzu deputirte und beschriebene S. Fürstl. Gn. Consistorial- und Land- Räthe, auch Pfarrer und Seniores, in unterschiedenen Puncten und Articuln verfassen lassen Anno 1664. Nothwendige Kirchen-Nothwendige Kirchen-Constitution, Welche Für die sämtlichen Constitution 1686 Evangelischen Gemeinden Oelsnischen Fürstenthums, Auff die in selbigem Anno 1662 und 63 gehaltene und glücklich verbrachte Visitation, Der ... Fürst ... Sylvius, Hertzog zu Würtemberg und Teck, auch in Schlesien zu Oelßen ... Durch ... Consistorial- und Land-Räthe, auch Pfarrer und Seniores ... verfassen lassen Anno 1664. Oelß 1686. Notifications-Patent, Betreffend Die Einrichtung, welche Se. Königl. Notifications-Patent 1742 Majest. in Preußen und Oberster auch Souverainer Hertzog in Nieder-Schlesien, Bey dem Welt- und Geistlichem Justitz-Wesen in Dero Souverainen Hertzogthum Nieder-Schlesien gemacht haben. De Dato Berlin den 15. Januar 1742. Notifications-Patent 1772 Notifications-Patent, betreffend die Einrichtung des geistlichen und weltlichen Justiz-Wesens, in den bishero von der Crone Pohlen besessenen, und nunmehro von Seiner Königlichen Majestät von Preussen in Besitz genommenen Landen, Preussen und Pommern, wie auch den bishero zu Groß-Pohlen gerechneten Districten diesseits der Netze. De Dato Berlin, den 28. Sept. 1772. Novum Corpus constitutionum Prussico-Brandenburgensium praecipue Novum Corpus constitutionum 1776 Marchicarum, oder Neue Sammlung Königl. Preuß und Churfürstl. Brandenburgischer, sonderlich in der Chur- und Marck-Brandenburg, publicirten und ergangenen Ordnungen, Edicten, Mandaten, Rescripten & c. & c. von 1771. 1772. 1773. 1774. und 1775. als der Fünfte band. Nebst einem Zusatz einiger Verordnungen, welche in den jährlichen Sammlungen

das Jahr 1773. Berlin 1776.

von 1771. bis 1774. noch nicht befindlich sind und einem Register über den fünften Band. Mit Königlichen allergnädigsten Bewilligung und Dero Academie der Wissenschaften darüber Privilegio. Zweyter Theil, betreffend

Prussic-Brandenburgensium

Novum Corpus Novum Corpus constitutionum Prussic-Brandenburgensium praecipus constitutionum 1791 Marchicarum oder neue Sammlung königl. preuß u. churfürstl. brandenburgischer, sonderlich in d. Chur- u. Marck-Brandenburg publ. u. ergangenen Ordnungen, Edicten, Mandaten, Rescripten, & c. & c. & c. Von 1786, 1787, 1788, 1789 und 1790, als der Achte Band. Nebst einem Zusatz einiger Verordnungen, welche in. den jährlichen Sammlungen von der Edicten von 1786 bis 1790 noch nicht befindlich sind. Berlin 1791. Novum Corpus Corpus constitutionum 1796 praecipus Marchicarum oder neue Sammlung königl. preuß u. churfürstl. brandenburgischer, sonderlich in d. Chur- u. Marck-Brandenburg publ. u. ergangenen Ordnungen, Edicten, Mandaten, Rescripten, & c. & c. & c. Von 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794 und 1795 als der Neunte Band. Nebst einem Zusatz einiger Verordnungen, welche in. den jährlichen Sammlungen von der Edicten von 1791 bis 1795 noch nicht befindlich sind. Berlin 1796. Ordenung der Christlichen Ordenung der Christlichen Kirchenn zucht. Für die Kirchen im Kirchenn zucht 1539 Fürstenthumb Hessen. Marpurg c. 1539. Ordenung vom eusserlichen Ordenung vom eusserlichen Gotsdienst vnd Gotsdienst 1544 Ceremonien#wie es jnn den Kirchen des Hertzogthumbs zu Preussen gehalten wirt. Königsberg 1544. Ordnung 1580 Des Durchlauchtigsten, Hochgebornen Fürsten vnd Herrn, Herrn Augusten, Hertzogen zu Sachsen, des heiligen Römischen Reichs Ertzmarschalln, und Churfuersten, Landgraffen in Düringen, Marggraffen zu Meissen, vnd Burggraffen zu Magdeburg, Ordnung, Wie es in seiner Churf. G. Landen, bey den Kirchen, mit der lehr vnd Ceremonien, deßgleichen in derselben beiden Vniuersiteten, Consistorien, Fuersten vnd Particular Schulen, Visitation, Synodis, vnd was solchem allem mehr anhanget, gehalten werden sol. Den innhalt dieser ordnung, wird der Chrisliche Leser gleich nach der Vorrede verzeichnet finden. Leipzig 1580. Ordnung 1626 Ordnung Wie es in deß Durchleuchtige[n] Hochgebornen Fürsten und Herrn Herrn Johann Casimiri Herzogen zu Sachsen, Gülich, Cleve, und Berg, Landgraven in Thüringen, Marggraven zu Meissen, Graven zu der Marck und Ravenßburgk, Herrn zu Ravenstein [et]c. Fürstenthumb und Landen, Orts-Francken und Thüringen, in den Kirchen, mit Lehr, Ceremonien, Visitationen und was solchen mehr anhängig, Dann im Fürstlichen Consistorio, mit denen verbotenen gradibus in Ehesachen

> Ordnung Unser Ludwigs Grafens zu Nassau, zu Sarbrücken und zu Sarwerden: Herrn zu Lahr, Wißbaden und Itzstein, etc. Von übrigen Bestellung des Kirchen-Wesens: Christlicher Disciplin und Zucht: Verwaltung Geistlicher Güter: Ehe: Und andern Sachen. Anfänglich

Schulen, gehalten werden solle. Coburg 1626.

constitutionum

Pfaltz-Zweybrückischer Buchtrucker zu Zweybrucken. Anno M.DC.XCIX. Ordnung der Handlungen und Gebete bei dem öffentlichen Gottesdienste der Kirchen-Gemeinen Augsburgischen

getruckt zu Franckfurt am Mayn, bey Johann Nicolao Stoltzenbergern, An. 1618. Hernach zu Zweybrücken bey Joh. Burckhard Quantz, Anno M.DC. LXXV. Auff Gnädigstes Begehren Druckts jetzt auffs Neu Adam Zeller,

und sonsten, auch im Fürstlichen Gymnasio, so wol Land: und Particular

Ordnung 1699

Ordnung der Handlungen und Gebete 1788

Ordnung Gebete und Ordnung Gebete und Handlungen bey dem öffentlichen Gottesdienste der evangelischlutherischen Gemeinen in Kurpfalz, auf Verordnung Handlungen 1783 des kurpfälzischen Konsistoriums herausgegeben. Heidelberg 1783. Ordnung Gebete und Ordnung Gebete und Handlungen bey dem öffentlichen Gottesdienste Handlungen 1786 der Evangelischlutherischen Gemeinen in Kurpfalz auf Verordnung des Kurpfälzischen Konsitoriums herausgegeben. Heidelberg 1786. Ordnung und Reformation Ordnung und Reformation unser Ludwigs Graven zu Nassaw, 1609 zu Sarprücken und zu Sarwerden, Herrn zu Loher, wie es in unser Grave und Herrschafften, nicht allein im KirchenRegiment, von unsern Visitatorn und Predicanten mit der Lehr, ihrem Leben unnd Wandel, Visitation der Pfarren, annemung und beurlaubung der Predicanten, ubung deß Catechismi und dergleichen: Sondern auch sonsten in andern, zu abschaffung allerhand Aberglaubens, Rotten unnd ärgerlichen Lebens, auch befürderung Christlicher Zucht und Erbarkeit, und Erhaltung guter Policey dienlichen stücken, als mit Crystallsehern, Zauberern, Widertäuffern, Kirmessen, Sontagstänzen, Gottslästerern und Vollsäuffern, auch in etlichen Ehefällen, und mit straff der Unzucht und Ehebruchs, gehalten werden sol. Gedruckt zu Giessen, durch Caspar Kemlein. Anno M. DCIX. Ostermejeris 1996 Gotfrydas Ostermejeris Rinktiniai raštai. Vilnius 1996. Otto 1882 Leopold von Otto Beitrag zur Geschichte der Evangelisch-Augsburgischen Gemeinde zu Warschau in den Jahren 1650-1781: Nach den ältesten Quellen zusammengestellt. Warschau 1882. Oven 1828 Carl Heinrich Engelbert von Oven Ueber die Enstehung und Fortbildung des evangelischen Cultus in Jülich, Berg, Cleve und Mark. Ein geschichtlicher Versuch C. H. E. von Oven, evangelischem Pfarrer zu Wetter in der Grafschaft Mark. Essen 1828. Pagvs neletici et nvdzici 1755 Pagvs Neletici Et Nvdzici, Oder Ausführliche diplomatisch-historische Beschreibung des zum ehemaligen Primat und Ertz-Stifft, nunmehr aber durch den westphälischen Friedens-Schluß secularisirten Hertzogthum Magdeburg gehörigen Saal-Creyses, Und aller darinnen befindlichen Städte, Schlösser, Aemter, Rittergüter, adelichen Familien, Kirchen, Clöster, Pfarren und Dörffer, Insonderheit der Städte Halle, Neumarckt, Glaucha, Wettin, Löbegün, Cönnern und Alsleben; Aus Actis publicis und glaubwürdigen Nachrichten mit Fleiß zusammen getragen, Mit vielen ungedruckten Documenten bestärcket, mit Kupferstichen und Abrissen gezieret, und mit nöthigen Registern versehen von Johann Christoph Dreyhaupt. Halle [1755]. Pahl 1983 Irmgard Pahl Coena Domini I. Die Abendmahlsliturgie der Reformationskirchen im 16./17. Jahrhundert. - Spicilegium Friburgense. Texte zur Geschichte des kirchlichen Lebens. Vol. 29. Fribourg 1983. Pahl 2005 Irmgard Pahl Coena Domini II. Die Abendmahlsliturgie der Reformationskirchen vom 18. bis zum frühen 20. Jahrhundert. – Spicilegium Friburgense. Texte zur Geschichte des kirchlichen Lebens. Vol. 43. Fribourg 2005. Pahncke 1910 Karl Pahncke, Abraham Scultetus in Berlin. - Forschungen zur

Brandenburgischen und Preußischen Geschichte 23 (1910).

Pelargus 1608	Encaenia sacra. Christliche Predigt Bey renovation oder Ernewerung der grossen Domkirche zu Cöln an der Sprew, Welche auffdes Durchleuchtigsten Hochgebornen Fürsten vnn Herrn Herrn Joachimi Friderici Marggraffen zu Brandenburg, des heiligen Römischen Reichs ErtzCämmerern und Churfürsten in Preussen, zu Stettin Pommern, der Cassuben vnd Wenden, Auch in Schlesien zu Crossen vnd Jägerndorff Hertzogen, Burggraffen zu Nürenberg vnnd Fürsten zu Rügen, etc. gnädigste anordnung vnd befehl zur Obersten newen Pfarrkirchen zubereitet Vnd am Sontag der heiligen Dreyfaltigkeit (war der 22. Maij dieses 1608. Jars) in Volckreicher vorsamlung auff das newe ist eingeweihet worden Auff S. Churfürstlichen Gn. sonderbarn befehl gehalten vnd publiciret Durch Christophorum Pelargum der H. Schrift Doctorn, der Chur vnd Marck Brandenburg general Superattendenten. Gedruckt zu Franckfurt an der Oder, durch Andream Eichorn. [1608].
Pelican 1984	Jaroslav Pelikan The Christian Tradition. A History of the Development of Doctrine. Volume 4. Reformation of Church and Dogma (1300-1700). Chicago 1984.
Pelikan 1947	<i>Jaroslav Pelikan</i> The Consensus of Sandomierz. A Chapter from the Polish Reformation. – <i>Concordia Theological Monthly</i> 18 (No: 11:825-37) 1947.
Petkūnas 2005	Darius Petkūnas Polish and Lithuanian Anti-Trinitarian Eucharistic Practice in the 16th and 17th Centuries. – Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran vuosikirja 95 / 2005 = Finska kyrkohistoriska samfundets årsskrift (Jahrbuch der finnischen Gesellschaft für kirchengeschichte). Editors Ketola Mikko & Laine Tuija. Helsiniki 2005.
Petri 1852	Agende der Hannoverschen Kirchenordnungen. Mit historischer Einleitung, liturgischer Erläuterung und ergänzenden Zugaben, zum erneuerten Gebrauch bearb. und hrsg. von Ludw. Adolf Petri. Hannover 1852.
Philipp 1831	Geschichte der Stadt Breslau. Neu bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Eduard Philipp. Breslau 1831.
Picart 1736	The ceremonies and religious customs of the various nations of the known world: Together with historical annotations, and several curious discourses equally instructive and entertaining. Vol. V. Containing the Ceremonies of the greeks and Protestants. Written originally in French, and illustrated with a large Number of Folio Copper Plates, all beautifully Designed by Mr. Bernard Picart, And curiously Engraved by most of the Best Hands in Europe. Translated into English. London 1736.
Pierius 1590	Gemeine Beicht, Absolution vnd Gebet, wie dieselbe nach gethanen Predigten in der Kirchen zu Cüstrin der Newen Marckt Brandenburg gesprochen werden, Sampt angehengter form eines Gebets wieder das Bäpstische verbündnis, vnd einer Dancksagung für den Sieg, welchen Elisabeth, Königin in Engeland, wieder die Spanier im 1588. Jar auff dem Meer erhalten hat, verfasset Durch Vrbanum Pierium

D. Wittenberg 1590.

Pieśni duchowne a nabożne 1897 Pieśni duchowne a nabożne nowo zebrane i wydane przez Jana Seklucyana. Powtórnie wydał Teodor Wierzbowski. – Biblioteka

Pirmoji lietuvių kalbos Pirmoji lietuvių kalbos gramatika 1653 metai. Vilnius 1957. gramatika 1957 Pirmoji prūsų knyga 1995 Pirmoji prūsų knyga. Vilnius 1995. Pischon 1846 Vorträge über die deutsche und schweizerische Reformation mit besonderer Beziehung auf die symbolischen Schriften der lutherischen und reformirten Kirche in Brandenburg, gehalten im Winter 1845 u. 1846 von F. A. Pischon. Berlin 1846. Pistoris 1668 Zwölff vornehme wolgegründete Haubt-Ursachen, Warum die Reformirte Evangelische Kirchen mit D. Luthers und seiner Nachfolger Auslegung der Worte Christi im H. Abendmal, dadurch eine wesentliche doch unräumliche, unempfindliche Gegenwart des Leibes und Bluts Christi alhier auf Erden In, Mit und Unter dem Brot, auch eine Mündliche Niessung desselben eingeführet wird, nicht eins sein können. Von einer vornehmen Standes Person aus H. Göttlicher Schrifft, gemeinen Consens und Zeugnüssen der Altväter von Jahren getreulich zusammen getragen. Folgends der Warheit zu steuer und dem unpartheyischen Leser zur gründlichen Nachrichtung durch etliche Diener göttliches Worts zum Druck befordert. Nunmehr aber wegen Fürtreffligkeit solches Werckleins auff inständiges anhalten eines dieser Meinung beypflichtenden und Warheit liebenden auffs neue wieder heraus gegeben. Cöthen im Fürstenthum Anhalt, 1668. Pocock 1870 Nicholas Pocock Records of the Reformation. The divorce 1527-1533. Mostly now for the first time printed from mss. in the British museum, the Public record office, the Venetian archives and other libraries. Vol. 2. Oxford 1870. Pommersche Kirchen-Pommersche Kirchen-Ordnung und Agenda nebst den Legibus Ordnung und Agenda 1854 Præpositorum, Status synodicis und der Visitations-Ordnung von 1736. Herausgegeben von dem Superintendenten Otto in Naugard. Greifswald 1854. Pommersches Prediger-Pommersches Prediger-Handbuch zum bequemen Gebrauch bey allerley Handbuch 1734 AmtsFällen und Verrichtungen aus der Pommerschen Kirchen-Agende hierbei zusammengetragen und anjetzo aufs neue übersehen, und an vielen Orten vermehrt von Einem Ehrwürdigen Ministerio der Stadt Stargard. Stargard in Pommern: Verlegt von Johann Tillern, 1734. Pommersches Prediger-Pommersches Prediger-Handbuch zum bequemen Gebrauch bey Handbuch 1748 allerley Amtsfällen und Verrichtungen aus der Pommerschen Kirchen-Agende hierbei zusammengetragen und anjetzo aufs neue übersehen, und an vielen Orten vermehrt von Einem Ehrwürdigen Ministerio der Stadt Stargard. Stargard 1748. Porządek nabozenstwa 1602 Porządek nabozenstwa Kosciola powszechnego Apostolskiego, Słowem Bożym vgruntowánego y zbudowánego ná Iezvsie Krysvtvsie. Spisány ku chwale Bogv w Troycy Iedynemv: Rokv 1602. Przez Stársze

Porządek nabozenstwa 1614 Porządek nabozenstwa Koscioła powszechnego Apostolskiego, Słowem Bożym vgruntowánego y zbudowanego, Ná Iezusie Krystusie Spisány, ku chwale Bogu w Troycy Jedynemu: Roku 1602. Przez Stársze Kościołow reformowánych w małey Polszcze, za rádą y dozwoleniem

Kośćiołow reformowanych w małey Polszcze, za radą y dozwoleniem

Synodu Prouinciálnego Ożarowskiego y Włodzisłáwskiego.

Porządek nabożeństwa 1599 Porządek nabożeństwá Kościołá powszechnego Apostolskiego, słowem Bożym zbudowanego y vgruntowanego na Jezusie Chrystusie: ktory iest Bogiem Izráelskim, Synem Bożym przedwiecznym społistnym z Oycem, Zbáwicielem, Kápłanem, Przyczyńca iedynym namiestniká nie máiącym, y dosyć vczynieniem zá grzechy ludzkie. Spisány ku chwale Bogv w Troycy iedynemu: Roku 1598. Przez Xiędzá Krzysztofa Kraińskiego, Superintendentá Kośćiołow reformowánych w máłej Polszcze, zá rádą y dozwoleniem bráćiey Distriktu Lubelskiego. Drukowano w Toruniu, Roku 1599. Porządek naprawienia 1553 Porządek naprawienia w koscielech nassych: z pisma swiętego, y z pisma Doktorow swiętych oycow starych, Przez Franciszka Sztankara z Mantuy Doktora pisma swiętego spisany [1553]. Praetorius 1614 Refutatio Pseudolutherani Martini Fusselii, Das ist, Widerlegung Des falschen vermeinten Lutheraners Martini Fusselii, der sich unterstanden hat, seines Calvinischen Glaubens Bekentuß, aus dem Catechismo vnd andern geistreichen Schrifften des tewren Mannes Gottes D. Martini Lutheri, (seeligen Gedechtnuß) fälschlich zubeweisen, vnd denselben gleichsam bey den Haaren auff seine Calvinische Meinung zu ziehen, Allen denen, so gut Lutherisch seyn wollen, zum Unterricht gestellet, Von Adamo Praetorio Strausbergensi Marchico, Pfarrern und ErtzPriestern zu Schacken. Benebenst einer Praefation des Ehrwürdigen Ministerii zu Königsberg. D. Martinus Luth. Tom. 3. Ihen. Fol. 455. Sie (die Calvinisten) achten, viel speyen vnd vnnütze Bücher schreiben sey recht antworten, vnd betriegen doch die armen Leute. Gedruckt zu Königsberg in Preussen Typis osterbergerianis Anno 1614. Precht 1992 Fred L. Precht Lutheran Worship. Hymnal Companion. Prepared under the auspices of The Commission on Worship of The Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod. St. Louis 1992. Preußische Kirchen-Agenda Preußische Kirchen-Agenda, Oder Verzeichniß der in der Kirchen 1741 öffentlich vorzulesenden Formularien, aus den Agendis Ecclesiasticis, der Preußischen Kirchen-Ordnung, und neuern Königlichen Verordnungen in Kirchen-Sachen zusammen getragen, und auf vieler Begehren dem Druck überlassen. Königsberg 1741. Preußische Kirchen-Agenda, Oder Verzeichniß der in der Kirchen Preußische Kirchen-Agenda 1780 öffentlich vorzulesenden Formularien, aus den Agendis Ecclesiasticis, der Preußischen Kirchen-Ordnung, und neuern Königlichen Verordnungen in Kirchen-Sachen zusammen getragen, und auf vieler Begehren dem Druck überlassen. Königsberg 1780. Preußische Kirchen-Agenda Preußische Kirchen-Agenda, die liturgischen Formulare der lutherischen 1789 Gemeinen in Preußen enthaltend. Nebst einer Abhandlung über liturgische Formulate überhaupt und die preußische besonders, aufs neue herausgegeben. Königsberg 1789. Preußische Preußische Merckwürdigkeiten, das ist Nachlese einiger zur

> Bürgerlichen- Kirchen- und Gelehrten-Geschichte von Preußen gehörigen Nachrichten zur Fortsetzung des erleuterten Preußens und der Actorum Borussicorum, herausgegeben von einigen Liebhabern der

Geschichte des Vaterlandes. Stück 7. Königsberg, 1741.

Merckwürdigkeiten 1741

Psalmodia 1553

Psalmodia, hoc est, cantica sacra veteris ecclesiæ selecta. Quo ordine, & melodiis per totius anni curriculum cantari usitate solent in templis de Deo, & de filio eius Iesu Christo, de regno ipsius, doctrina, vita, passione, resurrectione, & ascensione, & de Spiritu Sancto. Item de sanctis, & eorum in Christum fide & cruce. Iam primum ad ecclesarum, & scholarum usum diligentur collecta, & brevibus ac piis scholiis illustrata, per Lucam Lossium luneburgensem, cum præfatione Philippi Melanthonis. Noribergae 1553.

Rapolionis 1986

Stanislovas Rapolionis, sudarė Eugenija Ulčinaitė, Juozas Tumelis, Vilnius: Mokslas, 1986.

Recessus Generalis 1639

Recessus Generalis Der kirchen Visitation Insterburgischen und anderer Littawischen Embter in Hertzogthumb Preussen. Königsberg 1639.

Renovirtes Militair-Consistorial-Reglement 1780 Sr. Kön. Majestät von Preussen und Churf. Durchl. zu Brandenburg, [et]c. [et]c. Renovirtes Militair-Consistorial-Reglement und Kirchen-Ordnung des Feld-Ministerii, samt einigen Beylagen derer bey dem öffentlichen Gottesdienst, Taufe, Beicht, Abendmahl und Trauung zu gebrauchenden Gebethe und Formularien. De Dato Berlin, den 15. Julii 1750. Berlin [ca. 1780]. – Archiv der Deckerschen Geheimen Ober-Hofbuchdruckerei. Sammlung von den in genannter Druckerei gedruckten Edicten, Gesetzen und sonstigen amtlichen Erlassen. Nach der Zeitfolge. Band I. Jahrgang 1712-1768.

Rentsch 1682

Brandenburgischer Ceder-Hein, Worinnen des Durchleuchtigsten Hauses Brandenburg Aufwachs- und Abstammung, auch Helden-Geschichte und Gros-Thaten, aus denen Archiven und Ur-Briffschaften, auch andern bewerten Documenten mit Fleiß zusammen getrage, und neben zirlichen Kupfer-Bildnißen vorgestellet worden, Durch Johann Wolfgang Rentschen, Hoch-Fürstl. Brandenburgischen Hof-Predigern und Theol. Professorem. Unter Chur- und Hoch-Fürstlichen Brandenburgischen Privilegien. Bareut, aus der Gebhardischen Officin. 1682.

Repertorium Corporis Constitutionum Marchicarum. I. Chronologicum. II Reale 1755

Repertorium Corporis Constitutionum Marchicarum, I. Chronologicum. II Reale. oder Zweyfaches oder Zweyfaches Register über die Königl. Preuß. und Churfürstl. Brandenburgischen in der Churund Marck-Brandenburg auch incorporirten Landen, in Geistlichen, Justiz-, Lehn-, Militair-, Zoll-, Jagdt-, Müntz-, Saltz-, Post-, Steuer-, Accis, Policey-, Commercien-, Manufactur-, Handwercks-, Städte und Dörfer- auch andern unterschiedenen Sachen ergangenen und publicirten Ordnungen, Edicten &c. von 1298. bis 1750. inclusive, welche in Sechs Theilen, und Vier Continuationen Anno 1737. 1738. 1740. 1744. 1748. und 1751. von Christian Otto Mylius. Berlin und Halle, zufinden im Buchladen des Waysenhauses, 1755.

Repetitio corporis doctrinae ecclesiasticae 1567 Repetitio corporis doctrinae ecclesiasticae Oder Widerholung der Summa vnd Jnhalt der rechten allgemeinen Christlichen Kirchen Lehre wie dieselbige aus Gottes Wort in der Augspurgischen Confession Apologia vnd Schmalkaldischen Artickeln begriffen Vnd von Fuerstlicher Durchleuchtigkeit zu Preussen etc. Auch allen derselbigen Getrewen Landtstenden vnd Vnterthanen Geistlichen vnd Weltlichen

Revidirte Magdeburgische Revidirte Magdeburgische Kirchen-Ordnung vom Jahre 1739. Kirchen-Kirchen-Ordnung 1857 Agenda des Herzogthums Magdeburg vom Jahre 1740. Rescript vom 24. Januar 1685 wegen Bestellung der Kirchen-und Schul-Inspectoren im Herzogthum Magdeburg nebst Instruction. Neu herausgegeben von dem Königlichen Consistorio der Provinz Sachsen. Magdeburg 1857. Rhesa 1827 De primis sacrorum reformatoribus in Prussia. Programma V. Natalitiis Jesu Christi Academiae Regiomontanae Ciuibus a Prorectore, Cancellario, Directore et Senatu propositum. Anno MDCCCXXVII. Inest vita Georgii a Polentis inde ab anno 1525 enarrata. Regiomonti, Typis Academicis Hartungianis]. Rhesa 1832 Historiae Augustanae Confessionis in Prussia brevis enarratio. Programma I quo Sacra Paschalia pie celebranda Civibus Academiae Albertinae indicunt Prorector, Cancellarius, Director et Senatus Acad. Regiomontanae. Anno MDCCCXXXII. Inest historia Aug. Conf. in Prussia saeculo decimo sexto. Regiomonti. Typis Academicis Hartungianis. Richter 2008 Manfred Richter Unerledigte Anregungen Daniel Ernst Jablonskis für Kirche und Ökumene - ein Rückblick und Ausblick aus evangelischer Perspektive. - Daniel Ernst Jablonski - Religion, Wissenschaft und Politik um 1700. Herausgegeben von Joachim Bahlcke und Werner Korthaase Wiesbaden 2008. Richter I 1871 Aemilius Ludwig Richter Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts. Urkunden und Regesten zur Geschichte des Rechts und der Verfassung der evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland. Erster Band. Leipzig 1871. Aemilius Ludwig Richter Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen Richter II 1871 des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts. Urkunden und Regesten zur Geschichte des Rechts und der Verfassung der evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland. Zweiter Band. Leipzig 1871. Riedel 1861 Riedel's Codex diplomaticus Brandenburgensis. Sammlung der Urkunden, Chroniken und sonstigen Quellenschriften für die Geschichte der Mark Brandenburg und ihrer Regenten. Herausgegeben von Adolph Friedrich Riedel. Fortgesetzt auf Veranstaltung des Vereins für die Geschichte der Mark Brandenburg. Dritter Band. Berlin 1861. Rieger 1967 *Julius Rieger* Berliner Reformation. Berlin 1967. Rietschel 1900 Georg Rietschel Lehrbuch der Liturgik. Erster Band. Die Lehre vom Gemeindegottesdienst. Berlin 1900. Rimša 2001 Vaidotas Rimša Jano Maleckio ir Jano Sekluciano polemika dėl katekizmo kanoninio vertimo. - Bibliotheca Archivi Lithuanici 2, Vilnius 2001. Ritter 1974 Gerhard Ritter Frederick the Great: A Historical Profile. Berkeley 1974. Röber 1617 Artis non-Moriendi precognitum Secundum. Von dem Hochtröstlichen schönen unterscheidt/ zwischen dem Tode der Gerechten/ und Ungerechten : Bey ... Leichbegängnüß/ Deß ... Philippi Hahns/ Der Primat Ertzbischofflichen Kirchen zu Magdeburgk/ gewesenen DomPredigers/

seligen: Welcher im Jahr Christi 1616. den 6. Monatstag Julii ... im 59. Jahr seines Alters ... verschieden/ und folgends/ den 12. Julii Christlich zur Erden bestattet ist: Erkläret in der Domkirchen allda: Nunmehr aber in gewisse

Römer 1974	Christoph Römer Der Beginn der Calvinistischen Politik des Hauses Brandenburg: Joachim Friedrich als Administrator. – Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands. Bend 23 (1974).
Rosenmüller 1788	D. Johann Georg Rosenmüllers Pastoralanweisung zum Gebrauch akademischer Vorlesungen. Leipzig 1788.
Rothert 1905	Hugo Rothert Zur Kirchengeschichte der "ehrenreichen" Stadt Soest. Gütersloh 1905.
Ruigys 1986	<i>Pilypas Ruigys</i> Lietuvių kalbos kilmės, būdo ir savybių tyrinėjimas. Vilnius 1986.
Ruschke 2012	Johannes M. Ruschke Paul Gerhardt und der Berliner Kirchenstreit: Eine Untersuchung der konfessionellen Auseinandersetzungen über die kurfürstlich verordnete 'mutua tolerantia.' Tübingen 2012.
Sabisch 1938	Alfred Sabisch Der Meßcanon des Breslauer Pfarrers Dr. Ambrosius Moibanus. – Archiv für schlesische Kirchengeschichte. Band 3, 1938.
Sammlung von Formularen und Gebeten 1800	Sammlung von Formularen und Gebeten bey kirchlichen und außerkirchlichen Geschäften des Predigtamts, zum Gebrauch in dem Herzogthum Schwedisch-Pommern und dem Fürstenthum Rügen. Ausgefertigt von D. Gottlieb Schlegel, General-Superintendenten der Kirchen des Herzogthums Schwedisch-Pommern und des Fürstenthums Rügen. Stralsund 1800.
Sammlung von Formularen und Gebeten 1804	Sammlung von Formularen und Gebeten bey kirchlichen und außerkirchlichen Geschäften des Predigtamts, zum Gebrauch in dem Herzogthum Schwedisch-Pommern und dem Fürstenthum Rügen. Ausgefertigt von D. Gottlieb Schlegel. Stralsund 1804.
Sammlung von Gebeten 1795	Sammlung von Gebeten und Formularen für gottesdienstliche Handlungen. Mit besondrer Rücksicht auf das Herzogthum Oldenburg herausgegeben von E. H. Mutzenbecher. Oldenburg 1795.
Sammlung von Gebeten 1801	Sammlung von Gebeten und Formularen für gottesdienstliche Handlungen. Mit besondrer Rücksicht auf das Herzogthum Oldenburg herausgegeben von E. H. Mutzenbecher. Oldenburg 1801.
Sämptliche Fürstliche Magdeburgische Ordnungen 1673	Sämptliche Fürstliche Magdeburgische Ordnungen, und vornehmsten Mandata, Welche Der Hochwürdigste, Durchlauchtigste Fürst und Herr, Herr Augustus, Postulirter Administrator deß Primatund Ertz-Stiffts Magdeburg, Herzog zu Sachsen, Jülich, Cleve und Berg, Landgraff in Thüringen, Marckgraff zu Meissen, Ober- und Nieder-Lausitz, Graff zu der Marck, Ravensberg und Barby, Herr zu Ravenstein, ec. Zeit seiner Ertz-Stifftischen Magdeburgischen Landes-Regierung, in Kirchen- Policey- Gerichts- und Justitien- auch Hällischen Thals- und Pfannenwercks- Sachen, von Zeiten zu Zeiten publiciren, und in öffentlichen Druck geben lassen. Nunmehro aber, zu dess gantzen Landes Besten, wieder auffgeleget, und in ein Corpus zusammen gedruckt worden. Mit Fürstlichen Magdeburgischen privilegio nicht nach zu drucken. Leipzig, Jn Verlegung Johann und Friedrich Lüderwalden, Buchhändl. zu Magdeburg und Helmstädt. Gedruckt bey Johann-Erich Hahnen, anno M DC LXXIII.

Sämptliche Fürstliche Sämptliche Fürstliche Magdeburgische Ordnungen, und vornehmsten Magdeburgische Ordnungen Mandata, Welche Der Hochwürdigste, Durchlauchtigste Fürst 1673 und Herr, Herr Augustus, Postulirter Administrator deß Primatund Ertz-Stiffts Magdeburg, Herzog zu Sachsen, Jülich, Cleve und Berg, Landgraff in Thüringen, Marckgraff zu Meissen, Ober- und Nieder-Lausitz, Graff zu der Marck, Ravensberg und Barby, Herr zu Ravenstein, ec. Zeit seiner Ertz-Stifftischen Magdeburgischen Landes-Regierung, in Kirchen- Policey- Gerichts- und Justicien- auch Hällischen Thals- und Pfannenwercks-Sachen, von Zeiten zu Zeiten publiciren, und in öffentlichen Druck geben lassen. Nunmehro aber, zu dess gantzen Landes Besten, wieder auffgeleget, und in ein Corpus zusammen gedruckt worden. Mit Fürstlichen Magdeburgischen privilegio nicht nach zu drucken. Leipzi, In Verlegung Johann Friedrich Lüderwalden, Buchhändl. Zu Magdeburg und Helmstädt. Gedruckt bey Johann- Erich Hahnen, Anno M DC LXXIII [1673]. Sander 1937 Hans-Adolf Sander Beiträge zur Geschichte des lutherischen Gottesdienstes und der Kirchenmusik in Breslau. Die lateinischen Haupt- und Nebengottesdienste im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert. Breslau 1937. Saring 1943 Toni Saring Der Berliner Bildersturm von 1615 (Originalbericht der Kurfürstin Anna). – Zeitschrift des Vereins für die Geschichte Berlins. 60. Jahrgang, 1943. Schaff I 1919 Philip Schaff The Creeds of Christendom, with a History and Critical Notes. Volume 1. The History of Creeds. - Bibliotheka Symbolica Ecclesiae Universalis. New York and London 1919. Scheibel I 1834 Actenmäßige Geschichte der neuesten Unternehmung einer Union zwischen der reformirten und lutherischen Kirche vorzüglich durch gemeinschaftliche Agende in Deutschland und besonders in dem preußischen Staate, von Dr. J. G. Scheibel. Theil 1: Die Geschichts-Erzählung selbst enthaltend. Leipzig 1834. Scheibel II 1834 Actenmäßige Geschichte der neuesten Unternehmung einer Union zwischen der reformirten und lutherischen Kirche vorzüglich durch gemeinschaftliche Agende in Deutschland und besonders in dem preußischen Staate, von Dr. J. G. Scheibel. Theil 2: Enthaltand hundert und zwei und dreißig Acten-Stücke. Leipzig 1834. Schlesische Provinzialblätter Schlesische Provinzialblätter. Herausgegeben von Streit und V1787Zimmermann, Achtzehnter Band, Fünfter Band, Viertes Stück, April. 1787. Schlesische Provinzialblätter Schlesische Provinzialblätter. Herausgegeben von Streit und VIII 1793 Zimmermann. Achtzehnter Band. Junius bis December 1793. Schleswig-Holsteinische Schleswig-Holsteinische Kirchen-Agende. Auf Allerhöchsten Kirchen-Agende 1797 Königlichen Befehl zum allgemeinen Gebrauch in den Herzogthümern Schleswig und Holstein, der Herrschaft Pinneberg, der Grafschaft Ranzau und der Stadt Altona verordnet. Schleswig 1797.

> Schleswig-Holsteinische Kirchen-Agende. Einrichtung der öffentlichen Gottesverehrung. Formulare für die öffentlichen Religionshandlungen,

> Sonntags- und Festtags-Perikopen. Auf allerhöchsten Königlichen Befehl zum künftigen allgemeinen Gebrauch in den Herzogthümern Schleswig und Holstein, der Herrschaft Pinneberg, der Grafschaft

Schleswig-Holsteinische

Kirchen-Agende 1824

Schlüsselburg 1614

Erstes Schreiben D. Schlusselburgij an D. Pelargium; Gegeben zu Stralsundt ... 1614 den 26. Sept. [ca 1614].

Schoeberlein 1855

Ludwig Schoeberlein Der evangelische Hauptgottesdienst in Formularen für das ganze Kirchenjahr: nach den Grundsätzen der Reformation, sowie mit Rücks. auf die jetzige Bedürfniß bearb. und mit Erl. vers. Heidelberg 1855.

Schoeberlein 1859

Ludwig Schoeberlein Ueber den liturgischen Ausbau des Gemeindegottesdienstes in der deutschen evangelischen Kirche. Gotha 1859.

Schott 2015

Christian-Erdmann Schott Die Reformierten in Schlesien bis zum Beginn der preußischen Zeit. – *Reformed Majorities in Early Modern Europe*: edited by J. Marius J. Lange van Ravensway. Göttingen 2015.

Schwager 1801

J. M. Schwager Über meine liturgischen Abänderungen. – Materialien für alle Theile der Amtsführung eines Predigers: nebst praktischer Anweisung, dieselben, dem Bedürfnisse unserer Zeiten gemäß zu gebrauchen, herausgegeben von einigen Freunden der praktischen Theologie [Georg Wilhelm Rullmann, Christian Ludwig Funk]. Bd.5. Leipzig 1801.

Scotti 1836

Sammlung der Gesetze und Verordnungen, welche in den vormaligen Wied-Neuwiedischen, Wied-Runkel'schen, Sayn-Altenkirchen'schen, Hachenburg'schen, Solms-Braunfels'schen, Hohensolms resp. Lich'schen, Nassau-Usingen'schen, Nassau-Weilburg'schen, Herzoglich Nassauischen und Wetzlar'schen (resp. fürstl. Primatischen, großherzogl. Frankfurt'schen etc) - nunmehr königlich preußischen - Landes-gebieten, über Gegenstände der Landeshoheit, Verfassung, Verwaltung u. Rechtspflege ergangen sind, vom Eintrittszeitpunkt ihrer Wirkungskraft, bis zu jenem der königl. preußischen Gesetzgebung in den Jahren 1815 und 1816. Jm Auftrage des königl. preuβischen hohen Staats-Ministeriums zusammengetragen und herausgegeben von J. J. Scotti, königl. preuβ. Regierungs-Sekretair. Dritter Theil, enthält Solms-Braunfels, Solms-Hohensolms resp. Lich, Nassau- Usingen und Nasau-Weilburg. Düsseldorf 1836.

Scultetus I 1614

Auff sonderbahren Befehl und Anordnung. Des Durchlauchtigsten Hochgebornen Fürsten vnd Herrn, Herrn Johannis Sigismunds, Marggraffens zu Brandenburg, des heiligen Römischen Reichs ErtzCämmerers, vnd Churfürstens, in Preussen, zu Gülich, Cleve, Berge, Stetin, Pommern, des Cassuben, Wenden, auch in Schlesien zu Crossen vnd Jägerndorff Hertzogs, Burggraffens zu Nürnberg, Fürstens zu Rügen, Graffens zu der Mark vnd Ravensperg, vnd Herrns zu Ravenstein, etc. Anderweit gedruckte Glaubens bekentnus der reformirten Evangelischen Kirchen in Deutschland. Erstlich gedruckt zu Franckfurt an der Oder, im Jahre nach der Geburt Christi, 1614.

Scultetus II 1614	Newe Zeitung von Berlin Jn Zweyen Christlichen Gesprechen zweyer wandersleut Hans Knorren, vnd Benedict Haberecht, von dem jetzigen zustand zu Berlin. Allen vnd jeden Warhafftigen Lutheranern in der Marck Brandenburg zum unterricht. Gestellet Durch einen vertriebenen Pfarnerrn Paulum Kihnstock [i. e. Abraham Scultetus]. Neben einem Christlichen zu end angehengten Churfüstl. Brandenburgische Mandat, Dadurch in jhrer Churfüstl. Gnaden Landen, allen vnnd jeden Kirchendienern, das vnchristliche vnd vngegründe schreckliche Lästern, Calumniren vnnd verkätzern, anderer Evangelischen vnd reformirten Kirchen, ernstlich vnd gebürlich verbotten wird, Jm. Jahr, MDCXIV.
Scultetus III 1614	Ein Christlich und ernst Gespräch, Von den zween ersten Artickeln. Nemblich Von Gottes Wort, und von Gott selbst. Mit welchen D. Hoë, Churfürstlicher Sächsischer OberHoffprediger zu Dreßden, sich unterstanden, die Reformirten Kirchen hart zubeschweren: Gehalten Im freyen Felde, zwischen Berlin, und Brandenburgt, am ende des Monats Maij dieses 1614. Jahrs., Und allen guthertzigen Christen, bevorab in der Chur Brandenburg, zum nothwendigen unterricht inn Druck verfertigt, Durch Peter Freyen, der selbst dabey gewesen. Berlin 1614.
Scultetus I 1615	Berlinische Reformation. Das ist, Ein Gespräch von der zu Berlin vorgenommenen Reformation, zwischen den alten Pfarrern vnnd den Newen Kirchendienern, In welchem gespreche der Hocherleuchte Tewre man Gottes, D. Martinus Lutherus, Hochseliger Christlicher Gedächtnuß, bey einem jeden Puncten einen Außschlag gibt. Beschrieben durch, Eucharium Godofredi Notarium. Franckfurt an der Oder 1615.
Scultetus II 1615	Das Ander Christliche Gespräch, Ob es wahr sey, Wessen die Reformirten Kirchen inn Deutschland von D. Hoe, Churf. Sächsischen Oberhoff Predigern, zu Dresden, Uber vorige und im ersten Gespräch begriffene zween strittige Artickel, [1. Von Gottes Wort. 2. Von Gott.] So hefftig vnd mit lauterm Ungrunde ferner beschuldiget worden Auß dem Berlinischen Exemplar Nachgedruckt durch Johan Schönfeld. 1615.
Scultetus 1617	Newe Jahrs Predigt: Das ist, Historischer Bericht, wie wunderbahrlich Gott der Herr die verschienene hundert Jahr seine Kirche reformiert, regiert, und biß daher erhalten, Durch Abraham Schultetum. Gedruckt zu Heydelberg, Bey Johann Lancellot, Im Jahr 1617. In verlegung Jonae Rosen zu Franckfurt.
Scultetus I 1618	Vialia, Das ist, Ein Christlich unnd freundlich Reyß-Gespräch, So gehalten worden auffm Kutschen von Nürnbergk auß nach Franckfurt, in der Herbstmeß, Anno 1617. Zwischen zween Kauffleuten, und zween Studenten, Darin[n] sonderlich Die Puncten, so in Dissertatione Monitoria, unnd der Gegenantwort enthalten, kürtzlich erkleret werden. In Truck verfertiget durch Theophilvm Mosanvm, Esbac. Academ. Francof. Studiosum. Getruckt zu Hanaw, Bey Daniel vnd Dauid Aubrij, vnd Clement Schleichen. Jm Jahr M. DC. XVIII.
Scultetus II 1618	Historischer Bericht Wie die Kirchenreformation in Teutschlandt vor hundert jahren angangen. Erstlich in Latein gestelt Durch Abrahamum Schultetum, Jetzo aber verteutscht Durch Reinhardum Guolfium, Lichensem. Hieben sind zufinden obgemelten Herrn Schulteti Newights und Juhelfests Predicten im Jahr 1617 gehalten

Schulteti Newjahrs und Jubelfests Predigten im Jahr 1617 gehalten.

Sehling I/1 1902	Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts. Erste Abtheilung. Sachsen und Thüringen, nebst angrenzenden Gebieten. Erste Hälfte. Die ordnungen Luthers. Die Ernestinischen und Albertinischen gebiete. Leipzig 1902.
Sehling I/2 1904	Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts. Erste Abtheilung. Sachsen und Thüringen, nebst angrenzenden Gebieten. Zweite Hälfte. Die vier geistlichen gebiete, etc. Leipzig 1904.
Sehling III 1909	Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts. Herausgegeben von Dr. jur. Emil Sehling, Universitäts-Professor in Erlangen. Dritter Band. Die Mark Brandenburg. – Die Markgrafenthümer Ober-Lausitz und Nieder-Lausitz. – Schlesien. Leipzig 1909.
Sehling IV 1911 -	Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts. Herausgegeben von Dr. jur. Emil Sehling. Bd 4, Das Herzogthum Preussen. Polen. Die ehemals polnischen Landestheile des Königreichs Preussen. Das Herzogthum Pommern. Leipzig 1911.
Sehling V 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.
Seiler 1785	Versuch einer christlich-evangelischen Liturgie von D. Georg Friedrich Seiler. Zwote verbesserte Auflage. Erlangen 1785.
Seiler I/1 1787	Georg Friedrich Seiler Allgemeine Sammlung liturgischer Formulare der evangelischen Kirchen. Erlangen 1787.
Seiler I/2 1787	Georg Friedrich Seiler Allgemeine Sammlung liturgischer Formulare der evangelischen Kirchen. Ersten Bandes zwote Abtheilung. Gebete auf Sonn- und Festtage. Erlangen 1787.
Seiler I/3 1788	Georg Friedrich Seiler Allgemeine Sammlung liturgischer Formulare der evangelischen Kirchen. Ersten Bandes dritte Abtheilung. Erlangen 1788.
Seiler II 1787	Georg Friedrich Seiler Allgemeine Sammlung liturgischer Formulare der evangelischen Kirchen. Zweyter Theil. Erbauliche Betrachtungen über die Leidensgeschichte Jesu. Erlangen 1787.
Seiler III/2 1804	Georg Friedrich Seiler Allgemeine Sammlung liturgischer Formulare der evangelischen Kirchen. Dritter Theil. Zweyte Abtheilung. Erlangen 1804.
Sinemus 1931	M. Sinemus Reinhard Susenbethus, Generalinspektor der Grafschaft Sayn 1605-1612. – Monatshefte für Rheinische Kirchengeschichte, Jahrgang 25 (1931).
Sintenis 1787	Predigt bey Einführung der allgemeinen Beichte in Zerbst, nebst drey hernach gehaltenen öffentlichen Vorbereitungsreden, von C. F. Sintenis. Leipzig 1787.
Smend 1930	Die Synoden der Kirche Augsburgischer Konfession in Großpolen im 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhundert. Herausgegeben von D. Gottfried Smend, Superintendent in Lissa (Leszno). – Jahrbuch des

Sommer 2006	Wolfgang Sommer Die lutherischen Hofprediger in Dresden: Grundzüge ihrer Geschichte und Verkündigung im Kurfürstentum Sachsen. Stuttgart 2006
Sonnek 1903	<i>Johannes Sonnek</i> Die Beibehaltung katholischer Formen in der Reformation Joachims II. von Brandenburg und ihre allmähliche Beseitigung. Berlin 1903.
Sonntag 1807	Formulare, Reden und Ansichten bei Amtshandlungen. Dritter Theil, von Karl Gottlob Sonntag, Assessor des Livländischen Ober-Consistoriums und Ober-Pastor an der Krons-Kirche in Riga. Riga 1807.
Sonntag I 1802	Formulare, Reden und Ansichten bei Amtshandlungen. Erster Theil, von Karl Gottlob Sonntag, Assessor des Livländischen Ober-Consistoriums und Ober-Pastor an der Krons-Kirche in Riga. Riga 1802.
Sonntag II 1802	Formulare, Reden und Ansichten bei Amtshandlungen. Zweiter Theil, von Karl Gottlob Sonntag, Assessor des Livländischen Ober-Consistoriums und Ober-Pastor an der Krons-Kirche in Riga. Riga 1802.
Sonntag I 1818	Formulare, Reden und Ansichten bei Amtshandlungen, von Dr. Karl Gottlob Sonntag, Livländischem General-Superintendenten und Ober-Consistoriums-Präses. Neu geordnete und verbesserte Auflage. Erster Band. Riga 1818.
Sonntag II 1818	Formulare, Reden und Ansichten bei Amtshandlungen, von Dr. Karl Gottlob Sonntag, Livländischem General-Superintendenten und Ober-Consistoriums-Präses. Neu geordnete und verbesserte Auflage. Zweiter Band. Riga 1818.
Sperber 1563	Christliche und nothwendige Verantwortung Erhardi Sperbers, wider die grewliche bezichtigung und beschwerliche aufflag der Sacramentirer und Rottengeister zu Dantzig, Sampt einer trewen Warnung an die fromen Christen daselbst, sich für jnen zu hüten. M.D.LXIII.
Spicilegium Copernicanum 1873	Spicilegium Copernicanum. Festschrift des Historischen Vereins für Ermland zum vierhundersten Geburtstage des ermländischen Domherrn Nikolaus Kopernikus. Herausgegeben von Dr. Franz Hipler. Braunsberg 1873.
Spieker 1835	Beschreibung und Geschichte der Marien-oder Oberkirche zu Frankfurt an der Oder. Ein Beitrag zur Kirchen- u[nd] Reformations-Geschichte der Mark Brandenburg von Dr. Christian Wilhelm Spieker, Superintendent, Professor und Oberpfarrer, Ritter des eisernen Kreuzes 2ter und des rothen Adlerordens 4ter Klasse. Mit 5 lithographirten Blättern. Frankfurt (Oder) 1835.
Spieker 1858	Lebensgeschichte des Andreas Musculus, General-Superintendent der Mark Brandenburg, Consistorialrath, Doctor und erster Professor der Theologie und Pfarrer zu Frankfurt an der Oder. Ein Beitrag zur Reformations- und Sittengeschichte des 16. Jahrhunderts von Christian Wilhelm Spieker. Frankfurt (Oder) 1858.
Stancaro 1552	[Francesco Stancaro] Canones Reformationis Ecclesiarom Polonicarom per Franciscom Stancarom Mantvanom Conscripti. Qvibvs Adioncti

Sont Libelli, Contra inuocationem sanctorum. De Ecclesia & signis eius & c. Quod tota doctrina trinitatis in sacris literis sit relata. Eodem autore, Excedebat lohannes Eichorn Erancofordi, ad Viadrum. Anno

Steinmüller 1903	Paul Steinmüller Einführung der Reformation in die Kurmark Brandenburg durch Joachim II. Halle 1903.
Steinmüller 1904	Paul Steinmüller Das Bekenntnis Joachim II. – Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preussischen Geschichte. Siebzehnter Band. Leipzig 1904.
Stiller 1984	Günther Stiller Johan Sebastian Bach and liturgical life in Leipzig. St. Louis 1984.
Stoffler 1973	<i>F. Ernest Stoffler</i> German pietism during the eighteenth century. Leiden 1973.
Swensson 2010	<i>Eric Jonas Swensson</i> Kinderbeten. The origin, unfolding, and interpretations of the Silesian Children's Prayer Revival. Eugene, Oregon 2010.
Swensson 2012	Eric Swensson Kinderbeten: A Tale ol Ilope and Prayer. – The Pietist Impulse in Christianity. Edited by Christian T. Collins Winn, G. William Carlson, Christopher Gehrz and Eric Holst. With forewords by James H. Barnes III and Peter C. Erb. Eugene 2012.
Szkic o organizacji konsystorza ewaugsb. 1780- 1781	(83.) Szkic o organizacji konsystorza ewaugsb. w W.Ks.Lit. proponowanej w 1780 r. według projektów gmin w Wilnie, Kownie i Słucku. (Akta dotyczące synodów litewskich i organizacji konsystorza ewaugsb. w W, Księstwie Litewskim, 1780-1781). – Różne akta dotyczące organizacji obu wyznań ewangelickich augsburskiego i reformowanego w Polsce w latach 1775-1784. Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Warszawie, No.641 (Syn. 95).
Tappert 2006	Luther: Letters of Spiritual Counsel. Edited and translated by Theodore G. Tappert. – Library of Christian Classics. Louisville 2006.
Teller 1793	Wilhelm Abraham Teller Sammlung einiger Gebete zum Gebrauch bey öffentlichen Gottesdiensten. Berlin 1793.
The Liturgy 1712	The Liturgy Used in the Churches of the Principality of Neufchatel: With a Letter from the Learned Dr. Jablonski, Concerning the Nature of Liturgies: To which is added, The Form of Prayer lately introduced into the Church of Geneva. London 1712.
The Polish Brethren 1980	The Polish Brethren. Documentation of the History and Thought of Unitarianism in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and in the Diaspora, 1601-1685. Edited, Translated, and Interpreted by George Huntston Williams. Harvard Theological Studies. Number 30. Montana 1980.
Thebesius 1733	Weyland George Thebesii, J. U. D. Notarii, Syndici und der Schulen Præsidis zu Liegnitz, Liegnitzische Jahr-Bücher: Worinnen so wohl die Merckwürdigkeiten dieser Stadt, Als auch die Geschichte der Piastischen Hertzoge in Schlesien, von ihrem Anfange biß zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts Mit besonderem Fleisse gründlich untersuchet, die Zeit-Rechnungen genau bemercket, Die Geschlechts-Register hin und wieder verbessert, und mit gantz neuen Stam[m]-Taffeln vermehret, Vornehmlich aber sehr viele Fehler der Schlesischen und benachbahrten Geschicht-Schreiber entdecket werden. Welches alles aus unverwerftlichen Zeugnüßen, Uhrkunden, Siegeln, Grabschriften und alten Nachrichten bestätigt, und mit denen dazzu gehörigen Kunfferstichen grleutert ist. Nebet einer Vorrede Lebens.

Theodorus 1615 Synopsis doctrinae Lutheranae & Calvinianae. Das ist, Summarischer Auszug vnd Bericht Von den Streidthändeln. so heutigs tages zwischen den also genanten Lutheranern vnd Calvinisten mit grosser verwirrung der einfeltigen Leute vorgehen, vnd wie eine jede Part seine Meinung vnd Lehre zubehaupten vnd zuvertheidigen vermeinet. Aus vielen, viel Jahr her außgegangenen Streitschrifften mit fleis zusammen gezogen, vnd dem Christlichen, fried vnd zuurtheilen, heimgestellet Von Lazaro Theodoro Marchiaco. Bey Friderich Hartman, Buchdrucker vnd Händler in der Churf. Stadt vnd Academien Franckfurt an der Oder gedruckt vnd vorlegt Jm jahr Christi 1615. Theologische Theologische Realenzyklopädie in Gemeinschaft mit Horst Balz ... hrsg. von Gerhard Krause u. Grhard Müller. Bd. 18.: Katechumenat, Realenzyklopädie Bd. 18 1989 Katechumenen – Kirchenrecht. 1. Aufl. 1989. Tholuck 1861 Vorgeschichte des Rationalismus von A. Tholuck. Zweiter und letzter Theil: Das kirchliche Leben des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts bis in die Anfänge der Aufklärung. Erste Abtheilung. Die erste Hälfte des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts bis zum westphälischen Frieden. Berlin 1861. Bard Thompson Liturgies of the Western Church. New York 1972. Thompson 1972 Tomvs Tertivs Omnivm Tomvs Tertivs Omnivm Opervm Reverendi Patris, Viri Dei, D.M.L. Opervm 1582 continens quae aedita sunt ab Anno XXIIII. vs[que] ad Annum XXXVIII. Jena 1582. Topographia Bohemiae, Topographia Bohemiae, Moraviae et Silesiae das ist Beschreibung und Moraviae et Silesiae 1650 eigentliche Abbildung der vornehmsten und bekandtisten Stätte und Plätze in dem Königreich Boheim und einverleibten Landern Mähren und Schlesien. Antaggegeben unndt Verlegt durch Matthaeum Merian In Franckfurt. 1650. Topographische Chronik von Topographische Chronik von Breslau. Fünftes Quartal. Breslau 1806. Breslau 1806 Tractat zwischen Jhro Tractat zwischen Ihro Majestät, der Allerdurchlauchtigsten Kayserin Majestät / Traité entre Sa aller Reussen, nebst Jhren Allerdurchlauchtigsten Alliirten, Könige Majesté 1768 von Preussen, Dännemark, Engelland und Schweden einerseits, und dem Allerdurchlaucht. Könige und der Republik Polen anderseits, in Warschau geschlossen = Traité entre Sa Majesté l'Impératrice de toutes les Russies, et Ses Hauts Alliés, les Rois de Prusse, de Dannemarc, d'Angleterre, et de Suède, d'une part, et Sa Majesté le Roi, et la République de Pologne d'autre part, conclu à Varsovie. 1768. Tractat zwischen Jhro Tractat zwischen Jhro Majestät der Allerdurchlauchtigsten Kaiserin Majestät 1768 aller Reussen, nebst Jhren Allerdurchlauchtigsten Alliirten, dem Könige von Preussen, Dännemark, Engelland und Schweden einer Seits, und dem Allerdurchlauchtigsten Könige und der Republik Polen anderer Seits, in Warschau geschlossen. 1768. Triglot Concordia 1921 Triglot Concordia. The Symbolical Books of the Ev. Lutheran Church, German-Latin-English. St. Louis 1921.

Tschackert II 1890 Paul Tschackert Urkundenbuch zur Reformationsgeschichte des Herzogthums Preußen, Zweiter Band, Urkunden ersten Theil

Paul Tschackert Urkundenbuch zur Reformationsgeschichte des Herzogthums Preussen. Erster Band. Einleitung. – Publicationen aus den K. Preussischen Staatsarchiven. Bd. 43. Leipzig 1890.

Tschackert I 1890

Tschackert III 1890	Paul Tschackert Urkundenbuch zur Reformationsgeschichte des Herzogthums Preußen. Dritter Band. Urkunden, ersten Theil, 1542 bis 1549. – Publicationen aus den K. Preussischen Staatsarchiven. Fünfundvierzigster Band. Leipzig 1890.
Tschackert 1894	Paul Tschackert Herzog Albrecht von Preussen als reformatorische Persönlichkeit Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte. XI. Jahrgang, Schrift 45. Vereinsjahr 1893-1894. Halle 1894.
Universal-Lexikon 1845	Universal-Lexikon der Gegenwart und Vergangenheit oder neuestes encyclopädisches Wörterbuch der Wissenschaften, Künste und Gewerbe bearbeitet von mehr als 300 Gelehrten, herausgegeben von H. A. Pierer Herzogl. Sächs. Major a. D. Zweite, völlig umgearbeitete Auflage. (Dritte Ausgabe.). Sechsundzwanzigster Band: Russische Kirche – Schamvielen. Altenburg 1845.
Urkunden-Sammlung 1844	Urkunden-Sammlung von bishet ungedruckten Gesetzen nebst Uebersichten gedruckter Verordnungen für die evangelische Kirche von Rheinland und Westfalen. Als Anhang zur Geschichte des Rheinisch- Westfälischen evangelischen Kirchenrechts. Königsberg 1844.
Urządzenia koscielne / Kirchliche Einrichtung 1792	Urządzenia koscielne dla dyssydentow oboiey konfessyi przez stany seymuiące: Dnia 21 Miesiaca Maja 1792 Roku; 1 approbowane; Kirchliche Einrichtung für die Dissidenten beyder Confessionen in Pohlen genehmigt von den Ständen des Reichstags den 21sten May 1792. Warschau: gedruckt bey Michael Gröll, Königl. Hofbuchähdlern.
Ustawa 1544	Ustawa o zwierzchniei chwale Bożei o kościelnych Ceremonyach na ten Xtałt, yako się zachowawa w kościelech Xięstwa Pruskiego MDXLIIII. W pruskim Królewcu wyciśniono w drukarni Jana Weynreicha 20 May Anno 1544.
Ustawa 1560	Ustawa albo porząd koscielny, iako się w Xięstwie Pruskiem s nauczaniem y Coeremoniami, y s inemi rzeczami, ktore ku pomnoszeniu y zachowaniu urzędu kasnodzieiskiego, y porządku dobrego potrzebne, zachowana. S nowu przeyrzany, pomnossony y na iawią wydany. Roku narodzenia Pańskiego M.D.LX.
Ustawa 1571	Ustawa, albo Porząd Kośćielny y Ceremonie. Yako w Nauczaniu Słowa Bożego, y podawaniu Świątośći w Kośćielech Xięstwá Pruskiego ma być zachowány. Z Niemieckiego Języka na Polski pilnie przełożony, przez Hieronyma Maleckiego, Plebana Leckiego. Roku narodzenia Pańskiego M.D.LXXI.
Ustawy 1731	Ustawy Kośćielne Krolestwa Pruskiego krotko zebrane i wydrukowane w Królewcu roku MDCCXXXI.
Ustawy Kośćielne 1755	Ustawy Kośćielne Które z modlitwami i Hystoryą o męce drogiego zbawiciela przydanymi, Będą w Królestwie Pruskim zwyczaynie używane. Królewiec 1755.
Ustawy synodu generalnego 1780	Ustawy synodu generalnego w Zebraniu Trzech Prowincyi Krolestwa Polskiego oboyga wyznania ewangelickiego przez delegatow w Węgrowie. Dnia 28 miesiąca Sierpnia zaczętego, a dnia 8 miesiąca Września Roku 1780 zalimitowanego. Warszawa 1780.
Ustawy synodu generalnego 1782	Ustawy synodu generalnego w Zebraniu Trzech Prowincyi oboyga wyznania. Dnia 6 Września Roku 1782. – Ustawy synodu generalnego w Zebraniu Trzech Prowincyi Krolestwa Polskiego oboyga wyznania ewangelickiego przez delegatow w Wegrowie. Dnia 28 miesiaca Sierpnia zaczetego, a dnia 8

Vangerow 1804 Wilhelm Ludwig Vangerow Die allgemeine August Menschenreligion. Versuch einer Entwickelung derselben aus den ältesten christlichen Urkunden. Ein Buch für gebildete Leser aus allen Religionspartheien. Leipzig; Züllichau; Freistadt, 1804. Verordnung 1708 Verordnung E. E. Rahts Die Einrichtung Der geistlichen Ampts-Geschäffte und Kirchen-Gebethe Bey der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeine der Stadt Dantzig belangend. Danzig 1708. Verordnung 1753 Verordnung des Rats die Einrichtung der geistlichen Ampts-geschaffte und Kirchen-gebethe bey der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeine der Stadt Dantzig belangend, publicirt Mense Mart. 1708. Danzig 1753. Versuch einer möglichst vollständigen Kirchenagende für Stadt-und Versuch einer möglichst vollständigen Kirchenagende Landprediger. Theils aus den neuesten und besten liturgischen 1810 Werken sorgfältig gesammelt, theils selbst ausgearbeitet von Johann Friedrich Wollgast. Schweidnitz 1810. Vierordt 1856 Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in dem Großherzogthum Baden. Nach großentheils handschriftlichen Quellen bearbeitet von Karl Friedrich Vierordt. Zweiter Band. Vom Jahr 1571 bis zu der jetzigen Zeit. Karlsruhe 1856. Vollständige Vollständige Pfalzsulzbachische Liturgie. Auf höchste, gnädigste Pfalzsulzbachische Liturgie Genehmigung und Verordnung ausgefertiget von dem Sulzbachischen 1797 Ministerium. Bayreuth 1797. Vollständige Topographie des Vollständige Topographie des Königreichs Preussen. Zweiter Theil Königreichs Preussen 1789 welcher die Topographie von West-Preussen enthält. Herausgegben von Johann Friedrich Goldbeck Erzpriester zu Schaken bei Königsberg in Ost-Preussen. Marienwerder 1789. Vollständiges Kirchen-Buch Vollständiges Kirchen-Buch, Darinnen I. Die Evangelia und Episteln auf alle 1668 Fest- Sonn- und Apostel-Tage nebst darzu gehörigen Collecten durchs gantze Jahr. II. Die Historia von dem schmertzlichen Leiden, siegreichen Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt unsersHerrn Jesu Christi, nach den 4 Evangelisten. III. Die erbärmliche Zerstörung der Stadt Jerusalem IV. Der Catechismus mit der Auslegung und Fragstücken D. Lutheri, wie auch ohne denenselben. V. Die gewöhnlichen Kirchen-Gebete als da ist die allgemeine Beichte, Sonntags Betstunden-Türcken-Gebete. VI. Die Agenda und Kirchen-Ordnung. Und VII. Die Chur- und Fürstl. Sächsische Ehe-Ordnung; In richtiger Ordnung, wie alles dieses in Chur- und Fürstl. Sächsischen Kirchen gebräuchlich, und für dem Pulde, auf der Cantzel, und für dem Altar verlesen wird. Leipzig 1668. Vollständiges Kirchen-Buch Vollständiges Kirchen-Buch, darinnen Die in der Evangelischen Kirchen 1747 gewönliche Sonn- und Fest-tags-Episteln und Evangelia mit denen auf dieselbe gerichteten Gollecten, Die Historien des Leidens und Sterbens, der Auferstehung und Himmelfart Christi, und der Zerstöhrung der Stadt Jerusalem, Die drey Haupt-Symbola, der kleine Catechismus Lutheri, die Fragstücke Rosini auf die hohen Fest-Tage und die Augspurgische Confession, Formularen, die bey der Tauffe, der Abendmahl, der Beicht, Ehelicher Trauung, Einsegnung der Catechumenen, und Begräbniss der

Todten zu gebrauchen, Allgemeine und besondere Kirchen-Gebete, und Collecten mit ihren Versiculn, Nebst Einem Ehe- und Sabbaths- Mandat befindlich, Aus den besten hierzu dienlichen Schrifften zusammen getragen und mit einer Vorrede von Kirchen-Agenden herausgegeben von Erdmann

Vollständiges Kirchenbuch 1771 Vollständiges Kirchenbuch darinnen die Evangelia und Episteln auf alle Fest- Sonn- und Apostel-Tage durchs ganze Jahr die Historien von dem schmerzlichen Leiden und der frölichen Auferstehung des Herrn Christi, sammt der erbärmlichen Zerstörung der Stadt Jerusalem die drey Haupt-Symbola und Augspurgische Confession und vielen Collecten auf die Sonn- und Fest-Tage und unterschiedliche Fälle wie auch der kleine Catechismus Lutheri, die Kirchen-Agenda, Ehe-Ordnung und allgemeinen Gebete, die in den Chursächsischen Ländern gebraucht werden, enthalten. Anietzo von neuem mit Fleiß übersehen, und mit einer besondern Vorrede herausgegeben. Unter Churfl. Sächs. allergnädigster Freyheit nich nachzudrucken. Leipzig bey Johann Friedrich Junius, 1771.

Von Erwehlung 1568

Von Erwehlung der beyder Bischoff, Samlandt vnnd Pomezan, im Hertzogthumb Preussen, Auch von jhrem Ampt, Verordnung der Visitation vnd anderem so zu fürderung vnd erhaltung des Predigampts vnnd Schulen, Christlicher zucht vnd guter Ordenung von nöthen ist. Gedruckt zu Königsperg in Preussen, bey Johann Daubman, 1568.

Van Gots genaden 1533

Van Gots genaden. Wir Johan Hertzog zü Cleeff, Gulich vnnd Berg Graff zů der Marck vnnd Rauenßberg etc. doin kundt, Wiewal wir hiebeuorn allen predigern vñ vnderdanen jn vnsern Furstendommen Landen vnd gebieden ... antzeigen vnd beuelhen lassen ... [Köln] 1533.

Von Gottes genaden vnser Hermans... einfaltigs bedencken 1543 Landen vna geneden ... antzeigen vna beueinen lassen ... [Koin] 1933. Von Gottes genaden vnser Hermans Ertzbischoffs zû Cæln vnnd Churfürsten etc. einfaltigs bedencken, warauff ein Christliche, in dem wort Gottes gegrünte Reformation, an Lehr, brauch der Heyligen Sacramenten vnd Ceremonien, Seelsorge, vnd anderem Kirchendienst, biß vff eines freyen, Christlichen, Gemeinen, oder NationalsConcilij, oder des Reichs Teutscher Nation Stende, im Heyligen Geyst versamlet, verbesserung bey denen so vnserer Seelsorge befolhen, anzurichten seye. Bonn 1543.

Vnterricht 1528

Vnterricht der Visitatorn an die Pfarhern ym Kurfürstenthum zu Sachssen. Vuittemberg MDXXVIII.

WA WA Br. Weimarer Ausgabe. D. Martin Luthers Werke. Weimar, 1883-1929. Weimarer Ausgabe. D. Martin Luthers Werke. D. Martin Luthers Briefwechsel. Weimar, 1930-1985.

WA Tr.

Weimarer Ausgabe. D. Martin Luthers Werke. D. Martin Luthers Tischreden 1531-46. Weimar, 1912-1921.

Wagner 1614

FinckenSpiegels Erster Theil, Zu entgegen dem vermeineten, blinden, Aberglaubigen SacramentSpiegel, Deß verführeten, auch verführischen Apostatae Salomonis Fincken, zur zeit Churfürstlichen Brandenburgischen Hoffpredigern. In behauptung des Artickels vom Abendmal des Herren, vnd dessen rechten Gebrauch. Durch Fridericum Wagnerum, Reg. Bor. S.S. Theol: Studiosum. Gedruckt zu Königsbergk in Preussen, Typis osterbergerianis, Anno 1614.

Wagner 1617	Monstrum Cinglio-calviniarum. Das ist Eigentliche Abbildung der erschrecklichen gantz ungehewren Misgeburt, welche ohn gefehr umbs Jahr 1035. nach Christi des Herrn Geburt zu Türon in Franckreich geboren worden: von dannen sie sich nachfolgends in Deutschlandt, auch andere Königreich vnnd Herrschafften begeben: Nun aber endtlich auch in Preussen einzuschleichen sich mit macht Unterstehet. Benebenst Einer gantz trewhertzigen Ermahnung an alle und jede des Hertzogthumbs Preussen Jnwohner, das sie sich Ja vor selbigen ungehewr fleiβig hütten, unnd es in ihre Gräntzen nicht kommen lassen wollen. Gestellet durch Fridericum Wagnerum Regiom. Boruss. S. S. Theol. Stud. Gedruckt zu Wittenberg, Bey Georg Kellnern. Jn verlegung Clement Bergers Buchf. Anno 1617.
Wagner 1849	Johann Georg Wagner Geschichte der Stadt und Herrschaft Schmalkalden nebst einer kurzen Uebersicht der Geschichte der ehemaligen gefürsteten Grafschaft Henneberg. Marburg und Leipzig 1849.
Walchs 1781	Neueste Religions-Geschichte unter der Aufsicht Hrn. Christian Wilhelm Walchs. Achter Theil. Lemgo 1781.
Wallmann 2010	<i>Pietismus und Orthodoxie.</i> Gesammelte Aufsätze III von Johannes Wallmann. Tübingen 2010.
Wangemann 1884	Johan Sigismundt und Paulus Gerhardt oder Der erste Kampf der lutherischen Kirche in Churbrandenburg um ihre Existenz. Ein kirchengeschichtliches Lebensbild aus dem XVII. Jahrhundert. Von D. Wangemann, Missionsdirektor. Berlin 1884.
Wendland 1910	Walter Wendland Ludwig Ernst von Borowski, Erzbischof der evangelischen Kirche in Preußen, ein Beitrag z. Geschichte d. ostpreuß. Kirche im Zeitalter d. Aufklärung von Walter Wendland, Pastor in Berlin-Wilmersdorf. – Schriften d. Synodalkommission f. ostpreuß. Kirchengeschichte; H. 9. Königsberg 1910.
Werner 1989	Friedrich Bernhard Werner Schlesische Bethäuser. Reprint der Ausg. von 1748 – 1752. Hildesheim 1989.
Westermayer 1894	Hermann Westermayer Die randenburgisch-Nürnbergische Kirchenvisitation und Kirchenordnung. 1528-1533. Auf Grund der Akten dargestellt. Erlangen 1894.
Wetzel 1907	Erich Wetzel Die Geschichte des Königl. Joachimsthalschen Gymnasiums 1607-1907. – Festschrift zum dreihundertjährigen Jubiläum des Königl. Joachimsthalschen Gymnasiums am 24. August 1907. Erster Teil. Die Geschichte des Joachimsthalschen Gymnasiums. Halle 1907.
Wiggermann 2010	<i>Uta Wiggermann</i> Woellner und das Religionsedikt. Kirchenpolitik und kirchliche Wirklichkeit im Preußen des späten 18. Jahrhunderts. Tübingen 2010.
Wilbur 1925	Earl Morse Wilbur Our Unitarian Heritage. Boston 1925.
Williams 1962	George H. Williams The Radical Reformation. Philadelphia 1962.
Willich 1551	Totivs Catecheseos Christianae Expositio, Avtore Iod. Vvillich. Reselliano. Frankfurt (Oder) 1551.
Micchanam 1020	Lahannas Mischarom Aug 275 Jahran arangalisahar Kirahanratsarhait

Wischeropp 1939 Johannes Wischeropp Aus 325 Jahren evangelischer Kirchenratsarbeit

Wojak 1993

	wieku. Warszawa 1993.
Wotschke 1907	Theodor Wotschke Stanislaus Ostrorog. Ein Schutzherr der grosspolnischen. evangelischen Kirche. – Zeitschrift der Historische Gesellschaft fur die Provinz Posen 21. 1907.
Wotschke 1908	Der Briefwechsel der Schweizer mit den Polen. Theodor Wotschke. Leipzig 1908.
Wotschke 1910	Theodor Wotschke Francesco Stancaro. – Altpreußische Monatsschrift Bd. 47, Heft 3-4. Königsberg 1910.
Wotschke 1911	Theodor Wotschke Geschichte der Reformation in Polen. Halle 1911.
Wotschke 1913	Theodor Wotschke Reformation im Lande Posen. Lissa 1913.
Wotschke 1934	Theodor Wotschke Der Aufbau der grosspolnischen lutherischen Kirche nach erlangter Religionsfreiheit. Posen 1934.
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Zeitfuchs 1717	Stolbergische Kirchen- und Stadt-Historie, darinnen von gnädigster Landes-Obrigkeit, Stadt und Kirchen, Stifftungen, Brüderschafften, Religions- und Reformations-Wesen, erlittenen Befehdungen und Kriegs-Pressuren, Pest, Brand, Wasser-Schaden, Theurung und allerhand Unglücks-Fällen, auch alten Merckwürdigkeiten, so in hiesiger Residentz und Landen vorgangen, gehandelt wird, auch ein Verzeichnis zu finden derer Hoch-Gräfl. Officianten, Cantzlar, Räthe, [et]c. Stadt-Raths und Schul-Collegii, besonders des gesam[m] ten Kirchen-Ministerii, in der Stadt und auf dem Lande, von Lutheri Zeiten / Mehrentheils aus alten bisher unbekandten Schrifften und Uhrkunden zusammen getragen, mit nöthigen Briefen und Beylagen versehen, und so eingerichtet, daß diese Particularia der allgemeinen Historie und andern Oerthern dienen, von M. Joh. Arn. Zeitfuchs, Diac. Stolb. Franckfurth und Leipzig 1717.
Zprawy 1527	W těchto polozeny gsau knihach popořadku zprawy při sluzbach vrzadu Knězskeeho w Gednotie: Bratrskee: (At the end:) Zprawy tyto wsseho vřadu knězskeho spolu y po mocnikuo k Imprimowani dane Leta. M. CCCCC. rrvij Skrz Giřika Sstyrsu w Boleslawi nad gizerau wčtyr mezcytmu hodinu na den. S. Martina wytisknutim dokonany gsu.) [=1527 (The title page gives the date 1523)].
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PRUSSIAN LITURGIES: FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE PRUSSIAN UNION

VOLUME I: THE LUTHERAN LITURGIES IN THE REFORMATION ERA AND THE AGE OF ORTHODOXY

The book presents the story of the origins and development of the Prussian Lutheran liturgy from its earliest beginnings in the Reformation era through the age of Orthodoxy. Surveyed are the liturgical traditions and customs in the Prussian provinces with the primary focus given to an examination of the liturgy of the Lord's Supper. The study also unfolds the dynamic of the tension which developed between the Lutheran Church and a state-dominated Reformed Hohenzollern family which sought to influence the liturgical life of its Lutheran subjects.

PRŪSIJOS LITURGIJOS REFORMACIJOS IR TARPBAŽNYTINĖS UNIJOS METAIS

PIRMAS TOMAS: LIUTERONŲ LITURGIJOS REFORMACIJOS EPOCHOJE IR ORTODOKSIJOS KLESTĖJIMO AMŽIUJE

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Darius Petkūnas

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