

## MEDIEVAL LITURGY AND LUTHER'S ATTEMPT AT ITS REFORM IN THE 16TH CENTURY.

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### The Medieval Christian liturgy before the Reformation<sup>1</sup>

The early medieval church continued the tradition of the early antique church emphasizing not the personal piety, but the liturgy of the community – especially on the sacrifice (but also the offering) in the framework of medieval mass. Introspective and emotive personal piety

was developed in the monasteries especially in the new monastic orders that were emerging and growing especially in the 9<sup>th</sup> – 11<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup> Gradually the personal piety left the personal grounds and penetrated into the official church liturgy and shifted it to the second place (the official liturgy became a servant of personal piety), which lead to the “decadence of liturgical spirituality.”<sup>3</sup> The devotional elements of personal piety penetrated the official liturgical orders and texts (like metaphors or secret prayers) and sometimes it resulted in the breakdown of the existing liturgical structure of mass. The focus of liturgy was shifted from the public act of the people of God to building the personal faith of an individual. In the midst of the one community of faith there were smaller groups created (like clergy, monasticism and laics) who cultivated their own personal kinds of piety.<sup>4</sup> Since the clergy and monasticism forced the laypersons out of the active participation of the main church liturgy, the laypersons gave up on the official liturgical spirituality and consequently their understanding and expression of their relationship to God changed. They grasped more of the “paraliturgical” forms (pilgrimages, worshiping the relics, automatic prayers, magical understanding of various religious actions and forms ...) which meant the final liturgical deterioration from the official liturgical tradition.

The clergy and monasticism cultivated the official church mass liturgy; especially the musical side of it – the instrumental music – organ and polyphonies. As a consequence, the harmonies were created. This kind of singing required trained singers and its main place was within the monasteries

<sup>1</sup>Much of the material in this section has been published in a less developed form in: VALČOVÁ, Katarína. *Chapters in Practical Theology*. Žilina: EDIS, 2008, pp. 44-51.

and monastic schools. The music and the musical texts were developed in the form of tropes<sup>5</sup> and sequences,<sup>6</sup> which lead to the dramatic expression of particular events (like crucifixion or resurrection, later on the stories of Jesus' birth). Although the contribution of the medieval church music is really great and special for the whole cultural-music world and for the later development of the sacred but also profane music, it was too difficult for a simple medieval lay person and meant another estrangement from the official mass.

The liturgy is prolonged thanks to the private prayers of the priests in the framework of the official public mass. The private prayers were said quietly during some kind of activity done during the mass (for example putting on the vestments or coming to an altar or before of after the receiving the sacrament, etc.) Many new kinds of mass were put into practice. The basic division of mass is the "high" (chanted) and the "low" (spoken) mass. There are also "votive" masses (private mass for specific needs of an individual, especially requiems) shifted from the public to the private masses. That is the reason the number of altars was growing immensely. An extreme example of the private mass was the so called *Missa solitaria*, when only one priest was present, which was very common in the 9<sup>th</sup> century. The Synod of Trier in Canon 8 (mainly for practical reasons) specified that "no priest may presume to celebrate a mass without a cleric responding"<sup>7</sup>.

Even though the masses were being celebrated virtually every hour and every day in the middle ages, the believers did not receive communion very often. They were discouraged by a number of ascetical practices such as fasting and abstinence, especially the requirement of a personal confession and absolution which were necessary in order to be allowed to receive communion. This was the main reason the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) had to issue a decree, which commanded all believers to receive communion at least once a year at Easter. Prior to that everybody had to go to a private confession and receive an absolution of all sins.

The inseparable parts of the Eucharist liturgy are various elements having an effect on several senses at once – elevation of the host and chalice by saying the words of consecration, the sound of bells<sup>8</sup> (at the moment of transubstantiation), and kneeling down. The desire of believers to see is much greater (because any other active participation in the worship service is excluded) so the tabernacle (with the consecrated hosts) is placed on the main altar and that requires kneeling down while entering or leaving the church building (as a sign of respect). The desire of believers to see the transformed (transubstantiated) body and blood of Christ lead to the development of the processions accompanying various festivals or special worship services.

The Western Church went through the “divorce” of the official church liturgy and personal spirituality at the end of middle ages. The consequences of dividing one community into various groups and the desire to empirically experience – touch the reality were reflected in the official theology, which led to the changes in the official liturgy. These changes could be understood quite negatively, but certainly had some positive sides, too. The most negative matter was the growing gap between the laypersons and clergy, “hiding” or “keeping in secret” the understandable and comprehensible words into Latin. On the other hand the church was trying to make the Gospel closer to the lay people in some other ways – appealing mainly on the visual senses (for example, stained glass windows) and hearing, which could be understood positively but not really comprehended, as the Reformation has stated.

The whole Western Europe went through an uneasy period of time in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> century. The society was suffering from economical poverty and political weakness. The Church, in spite of it, decided to pursue the Crusades and to free the Holy Land from Muslim dominion. This step helped Europe see its strengths and weaknesses, but also opened the door to the Arabic world and oriental education (especially in mathematics, and medical science) which was inaccessible to European scholars before.

The late antiquity and early middle ages were both eras that emphasized symbols, symbolic meaning of everything, and invisible spiritual reality that is superior to the worldly one. The late middle ages brought a new fresh view of things, reality and people. The desire to see the reality with ones own eyes is prevalent above all, which is considered to be the beginning of the era of empiricism. The empirical view penetrated the Church, too. Since only the visible (seen) is real and can be demonstrated or documented, also the allegorical interpretation of the Scriptures and liturgy gets a new quality that is primarily focused on facts and real pictures. The contemplation is shifted from imagination to specific events of Jesus' life (especially birth and death) and depicted as realistically as possible in the sacred art (like statues, pictures, stained glass windows). Most of the art is focused on depicting the cross and the suffering Jesus. Christians are trying to see and touch their God and, in the concrete picture of suffering Jesus, the holy and remote God is much closer and understandable. Some of the theologians call this era – the period of “carnal reality.”

The empiricism penetrates the Eucharistic liturgy, too.<sup>9</sup> The Eucharist action was always centered on the Eucharistic prayer. The typical patristic pattern presents *lex orandi* as determining *lex credendi* because the meaning of the Eucharist was always (according to the early church fathers) based on the content of the Eucharistic prayer. The oldest debates concerning the change of bread and wine to body and blood of Christ started as early as the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD. By examining the Eucharistic prayer, the words of institution (Christ's words within the gospel narrative), the consecration form was found and established, which is the basis for changing the elements into the real body and blood of Christ. Eastern fathers were concentrated more on the words emphasizing the work of the Holy Spirit, not exactly on the “changing” words in the gospel narrative.<sup>10</sup> Western fathers focused the opposite – namely Christ's words, which are identified with the “changing” formula.<sup>11</sup> This identification of consecration words with Christ's words constantly repeated by the priest celebrating the Eucharist contributed greatly to the emphasis on the “moment of consecration,” which was in the process of greater and more elaborate development in Western Europe. The moment of consecration was very important; and this very moment became

the basis for more debates related to Eucharist and was primarily about Christ's real presence in the consecrated bread and wine.<sup>12</sup>

### **Martin Luther and his attempts at Liturgical reform**

The reform of the order of the medieval Roman Mass was not the main, primary concern of the reformers. Luther himself did not take any major steps in changing the order of the Mass till the end of year 1523 (*Formula Missae*), when he was pressed by his friends; suggested changes were meant primarily for the town of Wittenberg. Bigger change, including the change of language from Latin to German, was proposed by Luther later on, in 1526 (*Deutsche Messe*) and it was meant for the whole Germany. In any case, Luther was not blind not to see the value of the existing liturgical tradition of the Christian church. He highly valued the liturgical chants coming from the early church; he also regarded highly the catechetical education (especially during the sermon before receiving the sacrament) and respected the discipline (in the framework of order) at mass.<sup>13</sup> He joyfully supported all the parts of liturgical order that are inevitable for the true worship service (Kyrie, Gloria in excelsis, Credo, Sanctus, Agnus Dei), and became an organic part of the mass reformed by Luther (Latin and partially German) because of their value as an expression of the true and real Christian faith. Luther thus remained faithful to the liturgical succession through these elements. He believed the liturgical forms served to "preserve the faith of simple people during the dark times when the mass became the subject to idolatry."<sup>14</sup> „The outward habits serve as external initiative primarily because of the weak in faith. That is why they are supposed to serve to support the piety.”<sup>15</sup> Luther agreed on the positive role of the form (the structure) of mass but he put the main emphasis on the benefits coming from the mass in order to achieve the goal of the mass.

The goal of the mass is, according to Luther, the clear communication of the content of the Gospel.<sup>16</sup> The Gospel is most clearly communicated in the Scriptures and in the words of institution. That is why it has to be said loudly and clearly so that everybody can hear it properly. Luther fully understood the fact that it is not enough to listen, it is inevitable to understand that, which was

communicated and heard. That is the primary role of the preachers – to explain and clarify the Gospel – in a sermon. The sermon is nothing but explaining Christ's words, who "instituted the mass and said: this is my body, this is my blood! What else could the Gospel be if not the explanation of Christ's testament? Christ summarized the whole Gospel into a short summary in the words of his testament – the sacrament. The Gospel is nothing but the proclamation of God's mercy and forgiveness of sins that are given to us through Christ's suffering."<sup>17</sup>

The liturgical texts and rites are the symbols that can or can not be received and properly understood by the worshipers. In that case though, they are dead in spite of their correctness and value because the function and the goal of mass (the proclamation of the Gospel) are not fulfilled any more. Luther knew this was the main reason the "ideal - exemplary" order of mass would never be created, not even by him. He worked on the basis of his knowledge and experience with the liturgical practice in Wittenberg at certain times. His work was neither sloppy nor according to his mood at the moment! The new liturgical forms that were put into practice were evaluated on the basis of certain criteria – Christian freedom and pastoral concern for the weak in faith, taking into account different groups of believers in the congregation.<sup>18</sup>

Luther was very well aware of the fact that all the liturgical reforms he had accomplished revealed his pastoral concern for the spiritual wellbeing of the weak in faith, who needed a mass that was educational in the first place. If they should be converted by pastors for a new life of Christian freedom, the very first criterion had to be fulfilled, that is, love towards a neighbor. Only the love towards neighbor allows the changes to be accomplished.

Thoughtfulness (consideration) towards the various groups in the parish is inevitable. The main reason is the common life of various groups in one community. It is necessary to pay attention to their spiritual receptivity, not only to the spiritual experiences. That is why Latin was to be kept

as a worship language – because of all the students attending. The morning and evening masses were meant for the servants and children, who could not attend any other daily mass.

Luther warned all the pastors from implementing liturgical changes too quickly or wantonly. The liturgy was to serve everybody who was willing to worship God. The changes were necessary but in such a way that “none thoughtlessly holds onto the outward orders but everyone experiences freedom in faith.”<sup>19</sup> This had to be proclaimed clearly from the pulpit and confirmed from the altar.

All of Luther’s liturgical work rested on the tradition that was the background of Luther’s life. He limited himself to the liturgical reforms that came from the liturgical medieval tradition and did not create new rites or offices. We can not be surprised by his conservatism – it sprang from the pastoral concern for others. In spite of many negatives, Luther valued the medieval liturgical tradition and did not want to create a totally new liturgical order. It did not prevent him from excluding from the liturgical order everything that he deemed to be in contradiction to the Gospel and refusing radically the understanding of the sacrificial character of mass.

### **Luther’s exclusion of what he thought were non-biblical elements**

Everything that led to the understanding of the mass as the sacrificial or beneficial (mass as a good deed) had to be removed. It meant, first of all, everything that was not supported by the Scriptures, especially the things in contradiction to the New Testament Eucharist texts had to be removed. Luther tried to rewrite the mass order on the basis of the early church tradition (known from early church fathers) and according to Guillelm Durantis, the bishop from Mende, who wrote a book - *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*. This work consists of 8 books describing in details all the content of church laws, ceremonies, habit and mystical interpretations of Roman rite.

### **The “reform” of the sermon**

The medieval mass consisted of two main forms: officium (the canonical hours) and missa (mass). The Reformation continued the tradition and also the titles from the very beginning. Later on the

titles were changed into daily worship and main Sunday mass which was also done during some special events or festivals. Luther emphasized the sermon within the liturgical order by both of them. The main reason for this step was the fact that reading from the Scriptures had to be properly explained (so called “exposition”) – all the time. The expositions (or sermons) were not a totally new thing, the medieval church talked about the possibility of preaching during the mass, but the exposition did not have to be in organic accordance with the character of the mass and Scriptures that were read. The expositions served first of all to instruct people about the benefits of the mass which was done primarily by explaining the Law. Luther also criticized the legends about the Saints that were used in place of explanation of the Scriptures and gained the equivalent position with the Bible and thus became the beneficial (good) deed.<sup>20</sup>

### Active participation of the congregation

Believers could participate actively primarily in singing. Luther supported not only singing of the choirs but also the singing of the whole congregation. In 1523 in Formula Missae et Communione, Luther expressed the desire to have songs in German that could be sung by the whole congregation and observed that there was not enough poets and musicians in Germany.

In 1526, in the year his work Deutsche Messe was completed, there was a totally different situation in the German protestant church. Luther and some other authors produced in past years enough German songs that the whole congregation could sing during the worship service – for example: the introductory song or, the morning song, Kyrie, song in between the readings called “Gradual”, Creed, the songs sung during the communion. The priest sang the collect, the Epistle, the Gospel, the words of institution, the collect after communion and final blessing.

Luther was well aware of the fact that Roman mass, in spite of all the corruption and layers of sediments, came from the Last Supper in the upper room.<sup>21</sup> It (the mass and especially the Eucharist) was established by Christ himself and that is why it had to be seen in connection with

Christ himself. This was the main reason Luther wanted to REFORM the mass, not to REPLACE it with something new. With the liturgical changes that he always defended Luther wanted to bring the mass in conformity with its original establishment. In general he was quite satisfied with the original form of medieval mass because he was not primarily interested in “the outward structural changes but primarily in radically changing the theological meaning of the mass.”<sup>22</sup>

### **The theology of the worship service according to Luther**

Luther's theology of the worship service was developed on the basis of the relationship to the conflict between theolatriy and idolatry. The basic presupposition of all of Luther's theology is the question: Who is your God? What does it mean to have God? The answer is found in the explanation of Decalogue, Creed, Small and Large Catechism (mainly the first article concerning God) where it says: „A “god” is the therefore that to which we are to look for all good and in which we are to find refuge in all need. Therefore, to have a god is nothing else that to trust and believe in that one with your whole heart. As I have often said, it is that trust and faith of the heart alone that make both God and an idol. If your faith and trust are right, then your God is the true one. Conversely, where your trust is false and wrong, there you do not have the true God. For these two belong together, faith and God. Anything on which your heart relies and depends, I say, that is really your God.”<sup>23</sup> God and trust belong inseparably together. Even though it recognizes that the false gods exist (like money or wisdom, power, friendship, etc.), the first commandment talks primarily about the true God (theolatrie). It requests a firm trust from the believers who have to trust only and completely the true God (especially in critical times – tragedies, catastrophies or poverty) – this is the true worship and service to God.

Luther's theology of the worship service stems from the correct understanding of God and His actions and also on the faith as the integral part of humanity which is naturally connected to the true worship of God. Just as Christology explains the unity of two natures in Christ's person – true

God and true man in one person, the worship service is the unity of accepting the Gospel and consequently the spontaneous reaction in worshiping and praising the true God.

The goal of the worship service is, according to Luther, a clear and focused communication of the content of Gospel. He was thus open to a great variety of liturgical expressions and forms. As long as they did not overshadow the heart of mass, the Triune Gospel, they remained true and valid. Luther's criticism of medieval theology and church, first of all, is based on that which contradicts the Scriptures.

The understanding of the mass as a good deed flows, according to Luther, from the human attempts to cleanse themselves in front of God and the sacrifice of mass is one of many attempts to influence God by offering the good deeds.<sup>24</sup> Luther understands Christ's atoning work as done once and forever and as a sacrifice brought once and forever, according to the New Testament and the theological tradition, on the basis of the explanation of Gal 2:20.<sup>25</sup> Christ's sacrifice is a part of his humiliation – the One who did not know sin was made sin for us in His sacrifice. His sacrifice is included in God's merciful plans, which see the humankind in slavery. Jesus gives Himself to free us – therefore His sacrifice is unique and the only one. Luther thus refuses the concept of repetition (not only in mass). He rejects this tendency in whatever form of the deed of justice, because the deed of justice instead of accepting the work of God for us, seeks to collect as many beneficial deeds as possible to please God.<sup>26</sup>

Luther distinguishes between gaining/acquiring the forgiveness of sins on Calvary and distributing/dispensing the means of grace. Forgiveness of sins was gained once and forever, but it is offered and distributed again and again. Christ's deed was promised at the dawn of history and people benefit from it at all times, in all places. We are forgiven daily and we receive God's gift of love daily. This God's gracious offer forbids sacrificial understanding of the mass. It is far from sacrifice of Christ but it strengthens our trust in the one and only sacrifice on Calvary. According to

Luther, the commemoration is not the representation but proclamation of the death of God until He comes back." (1Cor 11:26).

Besides, Mass is, according to Luther, the means through which the Spirit continues in fellowship and formation with Christ. Therefore the sacrifice can not be identified with a special liturgical action, not even with prayer. It rests on the relationship of a believer with Christ and is hidden as such. It is connected to the inner righteousness, which can be expressed outwardly but can not be gained from the outward circumstances, because the good actions (deeds) can be multivalent.<sup>27</sup>

### **"Ordo" in the framework of freedom**

Luther defines Christian faith as the freedom of a Christian as a human being who is free. The faith gives space to freedom in all the areas of Christian life – also in the area of Law or liturgical forms. This freedom can not be viewed as the independence from God and His work. The freedom of a Christian is founded on God's coming to him and his conformity with Christ. Only a man who takes part in Christ and His actions can be truly free. Man's freedom comes from the Gospel and it is not the freedom from the Gospel. A man is independent in his faith concerning human forms, rites, sacred spaces, seasons, and vestments and such. Liturgical forms and rites cannot influence his conscience because his faith does not reside in outward things. It is the inner trust in Christ's redeeming work. We cannot be free from the Word (of Gospel) coming from the outside.

Luther recognized that the world needs an order and certain structures. The worship service is not an exception. On the one hand there are some rites within the worship service that are the work of man and are not inevitable for salvation. On the other hand there are rites that were established by the Lord and have to be preserved at all times.<sup>28</sup> It is inevitable to point out certain times and certain liturgical forms. A man, who stands in front of God passively and receives only, can be very active and give away when dealing with people. There lies the difference – in front of

God a man stands alone, by himself; but in common life is surrounded by many people. Love towards the other people made Luther a conservative in questions about liturgical reforms. A believer is free from the firmly set orders of the mass. He worships God in spirit and truth and yet is subordinate because he is not a perfect Christian and needs to be exercised in faith and also needs to help a neighbor with the possibility of becoming a Christian and growing in faith, too. The Christian freedom cannot be connected to the refusal of the liturgical forms that are used for the benefit of a neighbor and for the believer they serve as a discipline (mortificatio) and exercising of faith. Ceremonies and rites exercise our faith but cannot create, they just point it out. They serve to lead us to the Word and sacrament where faith can be created.

Rites and forms are inevitable and natural for the outward life of humans. They can be used as a means of discipline. They cannot cleanse or justify us in the eyes of God, which only the Gospel (as God's true work) can do. Liturgical forms are inevitable framework for the proclamation of the Gospel. As Jesus explained his words, the proclamation of the words needs the same – an explanation (in the form of a sermon). Liturgical forms without proclamation of the Word are like the old being without the new being of faith. Only in preaching the true Gospel are the outer liturgical forms safe and used in a right (correct) way. The Word protects believers from resting their faith on liturgical actions. Liturgies, ceremonies, orders and rites made by humans can be used freely only by faith. A believer can worship God in simple or in elaborate rites if these serve to form his faith.

Even though the reformers did not deny the existence and potential usefulness of the ecstatic expressions of the Spirit in the church in the strictly theological sense (as part of their theological reasoning against the "Enthusiasts" of the Radical Reformation), they resolutely refused the shift in emphasis or in the starting point of theology from God to man. The desire for a fullness of religious expression of the modern man can be viewed as legitimate. However, the art of its fulfilling in the liturgical life of a church must be judged according to the criteria, whether or not it is compatible

with the reformation theocentric understanding of the gospel. One must not separate the salvific work of the Spirit from the outer means (*extra nos*) of the proclaimed Word and distributed sacraments. It is not the intensity or even genuineness of religious experience that serves as a base for one's certainty of salvation or norm of faith.<sup>29</sup>

## Summary and conclusion

Luther appreciated and valued the medieval ecclesiastical tradition because it ultimately originated with Jesus himself and with Jesus' disciples. He also recognized the importance and the positive role of the structure (the form) of the Mass. He does not offer one final solution of the new, "reformed" structure (form) of the Mass in his writings. He rather offers multiple solutions of this serious question, always maintaining the basic structure (the Word read and proclaimed and the Eucharist). The individual liturgical orders vary in the number and ordering of the specific elements of the liturgy that surround the two aforementioned basic elements. Luther presented his suggestions of reform always considering the larger context of those, to whom the writing was intended. Luther never attempted to cancel the Mass but to reform it on the basis of the principle of primacy of the Gospel.<sup>30</sup> A clear communication of the Gospel must remain the end goal of every Mass, according to Luther, and even the internal order of the Mass must be serving this goal. Therefore, only that which directly contradicts the Gospel must be excluded from the order of the Mass, and on the other hand, that, which promotes and proclaims the Gospel must be organically incorporated into it. The question of the Eucharist, especially as far as its incorporation into the order of the Mass is concerned, is not relevant because Eucharist was an organic part of the Mass and the only question was what should be kept and what should be excluded from the Eucharistic order of the Mass. A more pressing issue was the preaching of the word which was not a natural (indispensable) part of the Mass. Luther came with a new emphasis on the necessity of the sermon as the clearest place for the proclamation of the Gospel where the Word of God sounds clearly, spoken in an understandable language, and at the same time is practically applied to the life of a believer. This moment is an important moment of the encounter with the living God in His living voice (*viva vox*

Dei).<sup>31</sup> This living voice of God is that which causes the change in the thinking and in the life of a human being and through him/her the change of the human society in general. The Gospel is thus becoming an integral part of the life of the people and their communities.

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<sup>2</sup>As an example of keeping and developing the personal piety can serve the order of Cistercians – especially Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux (1091 – 1153) – this was the foundation of the later pietism.

<sup>3</sup>BRASSO, Gabriel M., *Liturgy and Spirituality*, pp. 39, in: SENN, Frank C., *Christian Liturgy*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997, pp. 211

<sup>4</sup>Joseph Gelinau in his book *The Liturgy Today and Tomorrow* (Longman and Todd, London 1978, p. 19) states that liturgy in reality belonged only to the clergy and monks and that was the reason the church buildings were divided into two main parts. The consequence was the division of the official religion and liturgy.

<sup>5</sup>Tropes – in lat. *tropare* – to sing. Tropus is a song, more specifically it is an addition to the official text or music. It is an insertion of the musical text to the official church hymns (or elaboration of a simple liturgical chant); a biblical text was used very often and it was a special text for the special occasion.

<sup>6</sup>Sequences – in lat. *sequor* – to follow; *sequentia* – a text (in French - *Prosa*); it is a special kind of trope connected especially with a chanted „Hallelujah“; the first and the last strophe are exceptions and have no parallel, the other strophes are repeated in the same tone or chant (example: a bb cc dd ee ff). This kind of music culminates in cantatas of J. S. Bach.

<sup>7</sup>JUNGSMANN, J., *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, op. cit., I 217, in: SENN, Frank C., *Christian Liturgy*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997, p. 222; the practical reason for the canon – the responsory parts of liturgy can not be chanted by just one person, a cleric is needed to respond to the main priest.

<sup>8</sup>The sound of bells by transubstantiation comes probably from the 13th century AD and it was used in Cologne for the first time. The role of the bell was to gain the attention of believers and focus it on the consecrated host and wine.

<sup>9</sup>More details about the penetration of empiricism to church and the church liturgy see SENN, Frank, *Christian Worship and its cultural setting*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press 1983; JUNGSMANN, Joseph, *The Early Liturgy*, University of Notre Dame Press 1959; KLAUSER, Theodore, *A Short History of the Western Liturgy*, Oxford University Press, 1969; MITHCHELL, Nathan, *Cult and Controversy*, New York: Pueblo Publishing, 1982; WHITE, James F., *Christian Worship in Transition*, Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1976.

<sup>10</sup>Cyril of Jerusalem († 386) in *Mystagogical Catechesis*, John Chrysostom († 407), Theodor from Mopsuestia († 428) in *Catechetical homilies*;

<sup>11</sup>Ambrosius from Milan (†397) in *De Mysteriis*, Augustin from Hippo († 430) in various sermons, especially to the new believers who have been just baptised

<sup>12</sup>This is also the point which illustrates the transition from the spiritual debates to practical debates, from spirituality (in general) to empiricism. The focus of the debates was shifted from seeking the spiritual moment of transubstantiation to earthly reality of seeing and tasting the true body and blood of God.

<sup>13</sup>*The Formula of Concord* in The book of Concord, Article X. Concerning Ecclesiastical Practices, which are called Adiaphora or Indifferent Matters - 1, 3

<sup>14</sup>VAJTA, Vilmos, *Luther on Worship*, Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1958, p. 30

<sup>15</sup>ELERT, Werner, *The Structure of Lutheranism*, translated by Walter A. Hansen, Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1962, p. 328

<sup>16</sup>Cf.: VALČOVÁ, Katarína, The Theology of the Worship Service according to Luther, In: E-Theologos, Vol. 3, No. 1 (2012): 68-81.

<sup>17</sup>*Luther's Works*, Vol. 35, edited by E. Theodore Bachmann, the general editor Helmut T. Lehmann, *Treatise on the New Testament*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1960, p. 106.

<sup>18</sup>JUNGSMANN, Helmar, *Luther on the Reform of Worship v: Harvesting Martin Luther's Reflections on Theology, Ethics and the Church*, ed. by Timothy J. Wengert, Grand Rapids, Michigan/Cambridge, U.K., 2004.

<sup>19</sup>VAJTA, Vilmos, *Luther on Worship*, Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1958, p. 180.

<sup>20</sup> The paragraph is compiled on the basis of the work of Vajta, Vilmos, *Luther on Worship*, Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1958, pp. 81-82; more on the sermons and exposition by Luther see the book.

<sup>21</sup> Matt 26:17-30; Mk 14: 12-25; Lk 22: 7-23;

<sup>22</sup> VAJTA, Vilmos, *Luther on Worship*, Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1958, p. 28.

<sup>23</sup> *The Large Catechism*, The First Commandment, In: *The Book of Concord*, edited by Robert Kolb and Timothy J. Wengert, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000, p. 386.

<sup>24</sup> Danish philosopher Søren Kierkegaard drew the attention to the motives of good deeds. More on motives see: *Nová oikonomie vztahů*. KRÁLIK, Roman. Ljubljana, KUD APOKALIPSA, 2013, p. 121-123.

<sup>25</sup> This, then, has an important significance for Luther understanding of Righteousness, as Valco rightly points out: "righteousness is ascribed to them [baptized believers in Christ] and it belongs to them and yet, it is not theirs intrinsically. It always remains an "alien righteousness," Christ's righteousness, on which sinners participate by faith, being united to the risen Christ in the power of the Spirit of God (Galatians 2:20)." VALČO, Michal, The "new perspective" on Paul and the "introspective conscience" of the west, pp. 206-230. In: *Justification according to Paulexegetical and theological perspectives*. Bratislava: Comenius University, 2012, p. 226.

<sup>26</sup> More on mass as sacrifice and Luther's reaction to it see *Luther on Worship*, Vilmos Vajta, Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1958, pp. 58.

<sup>27</sup> Vajta, Vilmos, *Luther on Worship*, Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1958, pp. 150-154.

<sup>28</sup> It is clear that rites established by God and rites established by man are on different level and therefore it is necessary to distinguish the two of them, as Luther does.

<sup>29</sup> VALČO, Michal – VALČOVÁ, Katarína, *Teologické posolstvo Lutherovej reformácie a výzvy súčasnej doby*. Žilina: EDIS, 2012, pp. 362-363.

<sup>30</sup> Luther was well aware of the fact that the Roman Mass, in spite of all the corruption and accretion (of human teachings), originated directly from the Last supper in the upper room.<sup>30</sup> It was instituted by Christ himself and therefore the Mass, and especially the Eucharist, should always be viewed in relationship to Christ. This is precisely why Luther wanted to REFORM the Mass, not to SUBSTITUTE it with something new! He wanted to use the liturgical changes that he promoted to bring the Mass into conformity with its original institution. Nevertheless, he was satisfied with the original form of the medieval Mass because „he was not primarily focusing on the changes in the outer structure but rather on the radical reevaluation of its meaning and theology!“ VAJTA, Vilmos, *Luther on Worship*, Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1958, p. 28.

<sup>31</sup> VALČO, Michal, Luteránska reformácia a charizmatické hnutia. In: *Acta humanica - Kapitoly z kresťanskej teologickej reflexie*, Nr. 1 (2006):5-20, p. 12.