

FOREWORD

The present Graduate Study is the first of a series prepared and published by the School for Graduate Studies, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri. Other titles are being added as specific needs in the Church can be met with the kind of guidance that requires thorough research and authoritative statement.

The primary intent in these Studies is to serve as an instrument in helping to develop that quality of leadership which alone, under the blessing of the Head of the Church, can adequately cope with the problems and opportunities of the Church in a rapidly changing and deeply disturbed world. This age calls for more than half-hearted devotion and haphazard information. The Studies cannot supply personal dedication, but they can provide essential facts and necessary direction.

These volumes carry no one's *imprimatur*. Each author is responsible for his own views and is free to present the full results of his research. This arrangement is intended to preserve the integrity of the writer and to assure the reader of maximum objectivity in the materials presented.

By way of justification for this study, it may be observed that recent decades have seen a revival of interest in the liturgical heritage of the Church of the Augsburg Confession. This growing concern has produced numerous inquiries, official and personal, into the matter of ecclesiastical vestments as they were designed and developed during various periods and in different areas of the Church's life. The present volume is a detailed and comprehensive study of one aspect of the whole problem of vestments by a recognized authority in the field.

No such presentation has been available to date. This is, therefore, a pioneer project in territory often obscured by misinformation, half-truths and pious fabrication. It ought to prove helpful in providing competent guidance on the basis of precise data gathered from a host of primary sources.

The School for Graduate Studies of Concordia Seminary is proud to release this document as its first Graduate Study. This brochure goes out with the prayer that its spirit and its content may serve to glorify the Lord of the Church.

Martin H. Scharlemann
Director of Graduate Studies

The Survival of the Historic Vestments in the Lutheran Church after 1555, by Arthur Carl Piepkorn

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

Apart from the correction of typographical and other similar errors—the majority of which were detected by the Rev. Ernst Seybold of Furth and Cand. theol. Jobst Schöne of Münster-in-Westphalia in the process of preparing a German translation—this second edition differs from the first chiefly in the additions that have been made to it. Many friends and correspondents have contributed additional suggestions and data; some could be included in the text proper, but most of them have had to be incorporated in the addenda that follow page 20.

To facilitate reference to persons (chiefly authors, since complete bibliographical information appears only at the first citation of a book or article) and places, indices of personal and geographical names have also been provided.

Feast of St. Peter ad Vincula, 1958
ARTHUR CARL PIEPKORN

I. Introduction

The transition from the once almost universal black gown to other clerical garb in the services of the Church of the Augsburg Confession in America has produced a great deal of folk-lore about vestments. Like all folk-lore, the folk-lore of vestments includes a hard core of demonstrable fact, blended with a considerable admixture of legends, myths, exaggerations, generalizations from inadequate data, and sheer exuberant imagination.

The purpose of this survey is threefold:

(1) To reduce the statements that have been made about the use of the historic service vestments to their sources, as far as this is possible;

(2) To organize the accessible material¹ in chronological sequence to illustrate how and to what extent the pre-Reformation service vestments survived in the Church of the Augsburg Confession after 1555; and

(3) To consider what historic warrant and justification the combinations of stole-and-surplice and stole-and-gown may possess as normal Lutheran service vesture, since they have been frequently advocated,² widely adopted, and even on occasion officially

¹ Most of the works referred to herein are in the Pritzlaff Library of Concordia Theological Seminary, St. Louis, Mo., or in the author's personal possession. I must at the same time acknowledge with deep gratitude the extensive help that I have received from great many people who have generously lent books and periodicals, given valuable counsel, suggestions and information, and furnished other vital assistance, notably the late Rev. Edward J. Saleska and Miss Mabel Breckenkamp of the Pritzlaff Memorial Library; my colleagues on the Concordia Theological Seminary staff, the Rev. Profs. George Dolak, Walter E. Buszin, and Martin H. Scharlemann, and the Rev. August R. Suelflow, curator of the Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis; Miss Elinor Johnson, librarian of the Denkmann Memorial Library of Augustana Theological Seminary, Rock Island; Dr. K. T. Jacobsen and Miss Valborg Bestul, past and present librarian respectively at Luther Theological Seminary, St. Paul; Mrs. Elizabeth Reu Darnauer, librarian of the Reu Memorial Library of Wartburg Theological Seminary, Dubuque; Miss Mary W. McCulloch, assistant librarian of the University of Chicago Divinity School; Miss Janice Sherwood, Assistant Director of the Philadelphia Bibliographical Center; the Rev. Karl Laantee, Philadelphia; Miss Hilja Pohl of the National Lutheran Council, New York; Miss Margaret J. Hort, librarian of the Krauth Memorial Library of the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Mount Airy, Philadelphia; Miss Jeannette Eckman, Wilmington, Delaware, vice-president of The Delaware Swedish Colonial Society; Mr. Ernst Jaakson, Vice-Consul in the Consulate General of Estonia in New York; Dr. János Porkoláb, Nürnberg, Germany; the Reverend Julius Sathmary, New Brunswick, New Jersey; the Rev. Adam Valencik, Emporia, Virginia; the Rev. Ján Kováčik, Lansford, Pennsylvania; Chaplain (Major) Walter M. McCracken, USA; the Rev. George Pearce, London, England; Mr. Foster M. Palmer and Mrs. Kirk Bryan of the Harvard College Library Reference Section; Mr. Czeslaw Gronostaj, Attaché of the Ambasada Polskiej Rzeczpospolitej Ludowej, Washington, D. C.; and the librarians of the University of Chicago Library, the University of Illinois Library, the Library of Congress, the Harvard College Library, the Yale University Library, the Library of the Union Theological Seminary in New York, the Schwenkfelder Library at Pennsburg, Pennsylvania, the Library of the University of California at Los Angeles, the University of Minnesota Library, the Princeton University Library, the Library of the Hartford Seminary Foundation, and the Library of Eden Theological Seminary, Webster Groves, Missouri. The specific assistance of others I have noted in the references. The letters and communications from private persons referred to in the footnotes have been deposited in the Concordia Historical Institute on the campus of Concordia Theological Seminary, St. Louis.

² J. A. O. Stub, *Vestments and Liturgies* (Minneapolis: Central Lutheran Church, n. d.), p. 10; the Common Service Book Committee of the United Lutheran Church in America, "Liturgical Life and Practice," in *The Lutheran*, July 25, 1935, p. 9, and "Proper Vestments," in *The Lutheran*, March 29, 1939, pp. 12, 13; Paul Zeller Strodach, *A Manual on Worship*, revised edition (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1946), p. 157; Walter Lotz, *Das hochzeitliche Kleid* (Kassel: Johannes Stauda Verlag, 1949), pp. 36-38. I frankly confess

endorsed.³

The vestments that come into consideration are:

(1) The *amice*, a collar-like linen vestment, which by the end of the Middle Ages measured about two feet by three and which was designed to serve both as a collar and as a kind of hood. The collar effect was heightened by the addition of an *apparel* (Latin, *parura*), a piece of damask or silk three or four inches wide and up to 26 inches long.

(2) The *alb*, a white ankle-length linen tunic with narrow sleeves and a full skirt. Rectangular apparels were generally attached, usually at the wrists and at the front and back of the skirt, although other kinds of appareling were not uncommon. From the alb there developed—

(3) The *surplice*,⁴ also of white linen, and also, when properly designed, as long as the alb. It differed from the alb in design because it was made to go over (*super*) fur-clothing (*pelliceae*, from *pellis*)—hence the Latin name, *superpellicium*. The sleeves were both much longer and much fuller than those of the alb, and the head opening was usually round. But the surplice also assumed other forms. Sometimes the sleeves were made quite narrow, so that it differed from an alb only in being ungirded. It might be sleeveless, like an English server's rochet,⁵ or its full sleeves might be slit from shoulder to wrist and hang down at the sides, like a "winged rochet." Surplices were occasionally appareled. In ordinary reference alb and surplice were not carefully differentiated from each other. After the Reformation the assimilation rapidly became complete in the Church of Augsburg Confession and the names became quite interchangeable.

(4) The *cincture*, a girdle nine to twelve feet in length, usually of white hemp rope, to hold the folds of the alb in place.

(5) The *maniple*, originally a handkerchief worn by political dignitaries. It passed into early Christian worship as a piece of white linen attached to the priest's left forearm to wipe his hands and the Communion vessels. By the sixteenth century it had become a

that twenty years ago I felt that, while the surplice-and-stole combination lacked historical justification as a Lutheran service garb, it was defensible *as the first step* in the restoration of the full historic vestments (so, for instance, in my article "Church Vestments," in *Lutheran Messenger* [London, England], vol. II, no. 6, Michaelmas, 1933, pp. 2-4, reprinted in this country in Frederick Roth Webber (editor), *Luther as He Was* (St. Faith's Liturgical Leaflets No. 1) [Cleveland: Lutheran Church of St. Faith, 1933]). I now believe that the logical and most defensible step beyond a white surplice is the addition of a chasuble.

³ For instance, by the Augustana Lutheran Church (*The Lutheran Companion*, Vol. LIV, No. 29, July 17, 1946, p. 1). The "observation" of the Common Service Book Committee of the United Lutheran Church in America that cassock, surplice and stole are a particularly fitting combination, especially at celebrations of the Holy Communion and on festivals, has acquired a quasi-official status by its inclusion in the Committee's Report to the 1940 Convention (*Minutes of the Twelfth Biennial Convention of The United Lutheran Church in America, Omaha, Nebraska, October 9-16, 1940* [Philadelphia: The United Lutheran Publication House, n.d.], pp. 570, 571; I owe this reference to the kindness of President Emeritus Luther Dotterer Reed.

⁴ The German terms for the surplice are *Chorroch* (etymologically connected with "rochet") and *Chorhemd*. The two terms are practically interchangeable as designations for the white alb-like vestment. It should be noted that *Chorroch* has several meanings. During the sixteenth century it designated the white surplice exclusively. In the seventeenth century it began to be applied to other vestments, such as the chasuble, and even to the black priest's gown. By the nineteenth century, unless qualified by the term "white," it had become a conventional designation for the black priest's gown (*Priesterrock*, *Talar*). The context is usually conclusive.

⁵ Percy Dearmer, *The Ornaments of the Ministers*, new edition (London: A. R. Mowbray and Co., 1920), pp. 91, 92 and plates 30, 31.

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purely ceremonial vestment, made of damask or silk, up to four inches wide and anywhere from two to four feet long, worn over the left arm by bishops, priests, deacons, and subdeacons.

(6) The stole, also a handkerchief originally, which by the sixteenth century had become a badge of the three higher orders of clergy—bishops, priests, and deacons—each of whom wore it in a distinctive way in conjunction with the other Mass vestments. By the time of the Reformation it was regularly made of damask or silk, about three inches wide and about nine feet long. Both the stole and the maniple were embroidered and often fringed.

(7) The *chasuble*, worn by bishops and priests at the celebration of the Holy Eucharist. Originally it was a closed-front, tent-like garment—the *phailones* of 2 Timothy 4:13—which was worn over the tunic. By the sixteenth century the sides had been cut away, and it had acquired a kind of shield shape front and rear; it was made of silk or damask and often richly embroidered.

(8) The *dalmatic* and—

(9) The *tunicle* are counterparts of the celebrant's chasuble at the Holy Eucharist; the deacon (gospeler) wore the dalmatic, while the subdeacon (epistoler), collets (acolytes in the strict sense of the word), and other minor clerics wore the tunicle. The bishop wore both dalmatic and tunicle under his chasuble. The dalmatic and the tunicle are often difficult to distinguish from each other and they are frequently lumped together under the term dalmatic; actually the dalmatic is slightly more elaborate. By the sixteenth century dalmatics and tunicles were made of the same materials as chasubles and had the shape of a very loose fitting, moderately long, short-sleeved, closed-front coat put on over the wearer's head.

(10) The *cope*, a cape which had developed out of the primitive chasuble. By the time of the Reformation it had become a ceremonial garment of damask or silk, a great semi-circle in shape, often very richly embroidered and ornamented, worn by clergymen and laymen alike for solemn non-Eucharistic offices. The hood with which the cope was often equipped in earlier centuries had by the sixteenth become in many cases a richly embroidered little shield hanging down the wearer's back.

(11) The *mitre*, the ceremonial cap worn by a bishop or a person of assimilated episcopal rank.

(12) The *pallium*, a narrow circle of lamb's wool, laid over the shoulders, with an equally wide strip of lamb's wool hanging down (sometimes as far as the knees) front and rear. It was the Papally bestowed acknowledgement of the archiepiscopal status of the wearer.⁶

⁶ For a historical discussion of all these vestments, see Joseph Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1907); the same author's *Die liturgischen Paramente in Gegenwart und Vergangenheit*, 2d edition (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Herder und Co., 1924), Part II, pp. 62-182; Percy Dearmer, *op. cit.*; and Herbert Norris, *Church Vestments: Their Origin and Development* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1950). On medieval developments in vestments in Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Finland and Iceland, see Vilhelm Lorenzen (editor), *Kirkebygninger og deres udstyr* (*Nordisk Kultur*, Vol. XXIII) (Copenhagen: J. H. Schultz Forlag, 1933). On Sweden specifically, see Agnes Branting and Andreas Lindblom, *Medieval Embroideries and Textiles in Sweden*, 2 vols. (Uppsala and Stockholm: Almqvist och Wiksells Boktryckeri-A.-B., 1932). Sigrid Müller-Christensen (editor), *Sakrale Gewänder des Mittelalters* (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 1955), the catalog of an exhibition in the Bavarian National Museum, Munich, from July 8 to September 25, 1955, provides some superb illustrations and careful

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Cassock, gown, biretta, scarf, ruff, (*Beffchen*), and black cape were not service vestments, but, as far as they existed in medieval times, they were part of the domestic and street garb of the clergy.⁷ Thus they will not be considered in the present survey.

descriptions of medieval vestments (chiefly German); I owe my acquaintance with this important catalog to my colleague, the Rev. Donald Meyer, M.A. A considerable quantity of information—likewise carefully documented and profusely illustrated—about the use of vestments in the Church of Sweden is contained in Fred Linderoth and Sven Norbrink, *Den svenska Kyrkan*, 2d edition (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1943), notably in the section entitled “Kyrklig skruf och prydnad,” pp. 74-86. The Rev. Herman A. Preus, Ph.D., of Luther Seminary, St. Paul, has called my attention to two splendidly illustrated sources on Norwegian vestments, Helen Engelstad, *Messeklaer og Alterskrud: Middelalderseke Paramenter i Norge* (Oslo: Cammermeyers Boghandel, 1941), and Fred Tybring, *Den norske Kirke og Kunsten gjennom Seklene: En Oversikt og en Vurdering* (Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, 1953).

⁷ The tasseled “yoke” or “black stole” of the Norwegian Lutheran clergy is not actually in its origin a stole. Similarly, the scarf authorized for optional wear by Christian chaplains of the United States Army and Air Force is an item of uniform and not an ecclesiastical vestment. For a complete discussion of clerical dress in the Lutheran Churches of Europe as of 1879-1881, including the gown, bands, ruffs, birettas, rank symbols, and even mustaches and beards, see the comprehensive and generally accurate, but undocumented, series of articles by the Rev. Dr. G. Bunz of Ohmenhausen-bei-Reutlingen in *Christliches Kunstblatt für Kirche, Schule und Haus* (Stuttgart: J. F. Steinkopf): “Die gottesdienstlichen Gewänder der Geistlichen, namentlich in der evangelischen Kirche,” Vol. XXI, No. 10, October 1, 1879, pp. 145-52; No. 11, November 1, 1879, pp. 162-67; No. 12, December 1, 1879, pp. 183-89; “Die Amtskleidung der Geistlichen,” Vol. XXII, No. 10, October 1, 1880, pp. 150-55; No. 11, November 1, 1880, pp. 170-72; and „Zur geistlichen Tracht,” Vol. XXIII, No. 2, February 1, 1881, pp. 27-30. Inasfar as these articles bear on the subject of this survey, they are referred to hereunder.

II. General Attitudes toward Vestments

From the Reformation century on, we can distinguish four general attitudes toward the ancient vestments.

The first rejects them unexceptingly as symbols of the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and his detestable enormities; this was the viewpoint of the Anabaptists and other Enthusiasts, of the Sacramentarian Zwinglians and Calvinists, of the extremist partisans of Matthias Flacius in the Adiaphoristic Controversy, and, at a later date of the Prussian Unionists who sought to deprive the Church of all of the inherited characteristic features of its worship. The Anabaptists and Enthusiasts came out for strictly lay dress for the leaders of divine service; the others settled for the black gown that was the street garb of sixteen century Continental academicians. Since the black gown was the service vestment which most German Lutheran groups brought with them to this country, strong and articulate pleas have been made for its retention as a characteristically German Lutheran service vesture.¹ Significantly, however, the issue is not regarded as closed even in Germany. A distinguished contemporary German liturgiologist declares with reference to the efforts looking toward a renewal of the service garb of the Evangelical clergy: "In the long run it will not be permissible to pass by such demands for fitting paraments and vestments."²

The second point of view regarded the alb or a cognate white vestment (surplice or rochet) as permissible, but tended to disapprove with greater or less vehemence Eucharistic vestments (particularly the celebrant's chasuble, the deacon's dalmatic, and the subdeacon's tunicle). Thus the proposal for reform put forth in 1526 by Landgrave Philip the Magnanimous of Hesse called for the officiant to be vested at least in a surplice; it forbade "Papistic" dalmatics and tunicles, and while it reluctantly permitted the continued use of existing chasubles, it expressly prohibited the acquisition of new chasubles or copes in the future.³

A third point of view regarded all vestments as things altogether indifferent, to be retained or abolished as circumstances might require. Blessed Martin Luther held this view and so did his fellow Reformer, Blessed John Bugenhagen. Thus the latter wrote to M. Görlitz on September 27, 1530: "There is a twofold doctrine on chasubles . . . one is truth, namely, that chasubles can be used; this does not give scandal to those who are accustomed to hearing the Gospel. The other is a Satanic lie out of the doctrines of devils, namely, that it is never lawful to use chasubles; this gives scandal to the people where they hear and believe such lies from the ministers."⁴

¹ For instance, by Paul E. Kretzmann, "Clerical Vestments in the Lutheran Church," in *Concordia Theological Monthly*, Vol. I, No. 11, November, 1930, pp. 838-48, and by Nathan R. Melhorn in his weekly column, "Across the Desk," in *The Lutheran*, March 29, 1939, p. 17.

² Gerhard Langmaack, "Der gottesdienstliche Ort," in Karl Ferdinand Müller und Walter Blankenburg (editors), *Leiturgia*, I (Kassel: Johannes Stauda-Verlag, 1954), p. 433. In connection with the issue raised by recent developments in St. Ulric's Church, Brunswick, another distinguished German Churchman, Friedrich Hübner, has taken the position that in Brunswick at least "albs and chasuble have indeed 'fallen into desuetude (*abgekommen*)' but not been forbidden" ("Oekumenische Verantwortung: III. Die Evang.-Luth. Brüdern-Kirche St. Ulrici zu Braunschweig," in *Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*, Vol. VII, No. 15, August 1, 1953, p. 234).

³ Karl August Credner, *Phillipp's des Groasmüthigen Hessische Kirchenreformations-Ordnung* (Giessen: I. Ricker'sche Buch-handlung, 1852), chapter III, pp. 6, 7.

⁴ 4. O. Vogt, *Dr. Johannes Bugenhagens Briefwechsel* (Stettin: Saunier, 1888), p. 98.

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A fourth point of view regarded vestments as things indifferent, but held that the retention of some or all of the medieval vestments was a desirable thing as a symbol of the unbroken continuity of the Church of Augsburg Confession with her Catholic past and as a witness against Enthusiasts, Sacramentarians, and other radical reformers. This the viewpoint of the Scandinavian national Churches in the sixteenth and of the Lutheran theologians in many German and Central European communities, especially those that had been rescued from or were threatened by Calvinism.

Thus Quensel points out that the preface, "To the Reader," in Laurentius Petri's Swedish Church Order of 1571 reveals the archbishop's unambiguously "warm partiality for those features in the Roman mass which he reckoned as indifferent things and among which he specifically lists *Mass vestments*; altars and altar paraments; elevation; proper Psalms, hymns, antiphons, lessons and responsories; collects both in Latin and Swedish; etc." Quensel goes on to say that in the archbishop's defense of " 'these ceremonies (*thessa åthäffuor*),' he turns upon the 'Enthusiasts, Anabaptists, profaners of the Sacrament, Zwinglians, and Calvinists'; with no less sharpness and violence than just previously against the 'Papists'."⁵

⁵ Oscar Quensel, *Bidrag till svenska liturgiens historia* (Uppsala: Akademiska Boktryckeriet, 1890), II, pp. 74, 75.

III. The Sixteenth Century

The present survey begins with the year 1555, when the Treaty of Augsburg made dead letters of both the Augsburg and the Leipzig Interims. Accordingly, the frequently-argued question of “what Luther wore” belongs outside the scope of this study. It may not be amiss, however, to call attention to two frequently-cited items of “evidence” that are at least dubious.

The late D. H. Steffens, for instance, has been quoted as declaring that “in the sacristy of the Cathedral at Nuernberg, a chasuble is shown which Kaethie Luther embroidered with her own hands. If it be authentic, as there is no good reason to doubt, it is safe to assume that Martin dutifully wore it. He could hardly have done otherwise.”¹ But doubt is cast on this statement by the very fact that there is no “Cathedral” in Nuremberg!

Again, reference is made from time to time to “an old copperplate” which shows Blessed Martin Luther in a white surplice administering the Host at a celebration of the Holy Eucharist. Beside him Philip Melancthon in a black gown administers (or, to speak technically, confirms with) the Chalice, and two young boy servers, vested in yoked, almost ankle-length, white surplices, kneel at the altar step to receive the Holy Sacrament.² This obviously imaginative and idealized scene is of later origin than 1546.

Portraits of clergymen in vestments are relatively rare. An exception is a bust portrait copperplate engraving of Dr. John Forster (1495-1556) by Joseph Frederick Rein after Gottlieb Heiss. It shows Forster, who was for a time preacher at the Church of the Holy Cross in Augsburg and later a professor at the University of Wittenberg, wearing over his gown a sleeveless white surplice slit down the front.³

A visitation of Querfurt and the surrounding territory took place in the spring of 1555. The visitation record describes the practice with regard to vestments of seven of the ten parishes in this superintendency; the incumbents of the other three had just resigned and the visitation was not carried through in these parishes at this time. In Querfurt itself the rector wore Mass vestments at the Holy Eucharist; for ministration to the sick, at Holy Baptism, and in the pulpit he wore a surplice.⁴ (Until 1671 at least he wore Mass vestments also in the pulpit on the three great feasts.)⁵ In four other parishes Mass vestments were worn; in two—St. Peter’s Church, Uphausen, and the Loddersieben parish church—the parish possessed no Mass vestments and the clergy ministered in

¹ See, for instance, Theodore Schliepsiek (Siek), “What Did Luther Wear?”, in *American Lutheran*, Vol. XXIX, No. 11, November, 1946, p. 7.

² In Strodach, *op. cit.*, p. 152 (compare p. 320).

³ Joseph Friederich Rein, *Das gesamte Augspurgische Evangelische Ministerium. . . bis auf Anno 1748* (Augsburg: Samuel Finckens Wittib, 1749), p. 22.

⁴ Karl Eduard Förstemann, “Ueber die Kirchenvisitation zu Querfurt im Jahr 1555 am Dienstag nach Exaudi,” in *Neue Mittheilungen aus dem Gebiete historisch-antiquarischer Forschungen*, Vol. I, No 3 (Halle: Ed. Anton, 1834), p. 126.

⁵ Karl Gottlob Dietmann, *Die gesamte der unveränderten Augsp. Confession zugethane Priester Schafft in dem Churfürstenthum Sachsen*, Part I, Vol. III (Dresden and Leipzig: Verlag Sigismund Ehrenfried Richters, 1754), pp. 746,747, note y.

surplices. The visitors directed the general use of Mass vestments, but authorized the use of surplices where Mass vestments were not to be had.⁶

The Hamburg Church Order of 1556 directed that “the ministers in the Mass are to keep their customary Mass vestments and to make no changes.” The Church Order also authorized the City Council and the clergy in their discretion to direct at some future date the use of the surplice.⁷

The Breslau (Wrosław) Church Order of 1557 directed the celebrant at the Holy Eucharist to wear his “habit, as in the past,” and the preacher to wear a surplice.⁸

The visitation instructions for Havelberg in 1558 directed that the use of Mass vestments, surplices, and other ecclesiastical vestments was not to be changed.⁹

The Magyar and Slovak Lutheran Churches’ famed *Confessio Montana* or *Heptapolitana*—adopted by the Synod of Kremnica in 1558, published in 1559, and reaffirmed in 1569 and 1573 in the *Confessio Scepusi(a)na* (from Spis/Szepes), and again in 1577 and 1580—declared in Article XV: “Again, special vestments of the ministers, even though they could be omitted without sin, yet, since they have been rightly instituted in the churches, we studiously retain according to the statement of St. Paul in I Corinthians 14, ‘Let everything be done decently and in order in the Church,’ because they adorn the Ministry.” Article XXI stipulated concerning the garb of the ministers of the Church that they were to go about in “decent and priestly garb.”¹⁰

Duke Ulrich’s “Little Württemberg Church Order” of 1536 had abolished the surplice,¹¹ but in 1553 John Brenz had restored it on the ground that for many it was a palpable stumbling-block to the preaching of the Gospel to see the preacher officiate in a rusty coat (*in einem stumpfen Röcklein*).¹² In 1559 the “Great Church Order” of Duke Christopher of Württemberg formally authorized the use by the clergy of “the customary surplice (*Chorrock*)” for all offices conducted in church, while disapproving the “special Levitical and sacerdotal clothes (which) through the right true light of the holy *Evangelion* had been done away and abolished, along with the whole Levitical priesthood.”¹³

⁶ Förstemann, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-33.

⁷ “Kirchenordnung vom 28. April 1556,” in Emil Sehling, *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: O. R. Riesland, 1904-1913; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1955-), v, p. 551.

⁸ “Ordnung der kirchen zu Breslawe (1557),” in Sehling, *op. cit.*, III, p. 404.

⁹ “Havelburger Kirchenvisitations-Ordnung vom 13 Februar 1558,” in Sehling, *op. cit.*, III, p. 230.

¹⁰ Johannes (Ján) Ribini, *Memorabilia augustanae confessionis in regno Hungariae a Ferdinando I. usque ad Carolum VI.*, I (Polon: 1787), pp. 134-47, in Johannes Borbis, *Die evangelisch-lutherische Kirche Ungarns in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Nördlingen: C. H. Beck’sche Buchhandlung, 1861), pp. 27, 28.

¹¹ “Gemein kirchen Ordnung, wie sie diser Zeit allenthalb Um Fürstenthumb Wirtemberg gehalten soll werden, Anno MDXXXVI,” in Aemilius Ludwig Richter, *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, I (Weimar: Verlag des Landes-Industrie-comptoirs, 1846), p. 267.

¹² Chr. Kolb, *Die Geschichte des Gottesdienstes in der Kirche Württembergs* (Stuttgart: Chr. Belsersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1913), p. 415, where he quotes Pressel, *Anecdota Brentiana*, 162.

¹³ Th. Kliefoth, “Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienst-Ordnung in deutschen Kirchen lutherischen Bekenntnisses, ihre Destruction und Reformation,” in *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, VII (Schwerin:

Also in 1559 the government of the royal free city of Kassa in Upper Hungary issued a letter of vocation to the new Magyar chaplain and preacher János Pethö which obligated him to celebrate high Mass in Hungarian in St. Elizabeth's Church on alternate Sundays, wearing the full Eucharistic vesture "according to the colors of the seasons." On the other Sundays, when mass was being sung in German in the parish church, he was to say Mass in Hungarian (likewise in full Eucharistic vesture) in St. Michael's Chapel.¹⁴

In 1560 Prince George disapproved of the draft of the service-book which the theologians of the County of Henneberg had prepared, because, among other things, it did not direct the abolition of the surplice.¹⁵

In the same year Duke Frederick, in his efforts to purge Thuringia of what he called surviving Papistic abominations, ordered the sale of all Mass vestments and the application of the funds so realized toward the purchase of the German Bible, the *Hauspostill*, and Luther's works.¹⁶

In Lübeck is the brass of the Lutheran Bishop Tydeman (died 1561), which represents him in full Eucharistic vestments like his predecessors.¹⁷

Likewise in 1561, Hans Jepsen (Jacobi), rector of Thorslunde Parish church near Copenhagen, Denmark, gave a painted frontal to his church, which shows the celebrant in girdled alb and a cloth-of-gold chasuble administering the Host; an assistant in a sleeveless surplice confirms with the Chalice, while a priest administering Holy Baptism in the background also wears a sleeveless white surplice.¹⁸

In 1562 the visitation instructions for the Archdiocese of Magdeburg directed that no changes were to be made in parochial customs, including the use or nonuse of Mass vestments and surplices.¹⁹ In the same year, the Church Order for the rural parishes of Anhalt directed the use of Mass vestments.²⁰

In 1564 the diocesan council of Roskilde in Denmark directed the use of surplices "after the pattern used in Copenhagen, which probably means with sleeves," in place of

Stiller'sche Hofbuchhandlung, 1861), p. 308; Bunz, "Die gottesdienstlichen Gewänder," pp. 185, 186; Richter does not reprint the section of the Württemberg Church Order of 1559 containing the passage in question. Bunz errs, however, in taking "*den gewöhnlichen Chorrock*" as the black gown (*Schaube*)." ¹⁴ Letter from the Rev. Prof. Dr. Lajos Jánossy, Sopron, Hungary, dated October 19, 1953, published in an English translation under the title, "A Note on the History of the Liturgy in the Lutheran Church in Hungary," in *Concordia Theological Monthly*, Vol. XXV, No. 3, March, 1954, pp. 231-35

¹⁵ Sehling, *op. cit.*, II, p. 278.
¹⁶ Hermann Gebhardt, *Thüringische Kirchengeschichte* (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1880-1882), II, p. 268.
¹⁷ Robert Alexander Macalister, *Ecclesiastical Vestments, Their Development and History* (London: E. Stock, 1896), pp. 193, 194.
¹⁸ Described and reproduced in P. Severinsen, *De rette Messeklæder: Bidrag till Kirkeklædernes Historie* (Copenhagen: Selskabet for Danmarks Kirkehistorie, 1924), pp. 49, 51. This work is better known in this country in the abridged English translation by the late Rev. J. Madsen, Brush, Colo., *The Proper Communion Vestments* (no place of publication, publisher, or date given).
¹⁹ "Visitations-Instruction (1562)," in Fr. H. O. Danneil, *Protokolle der ersten lutherischen General-Kirchen-Visitation im Erzstift Magdeburg* (Magdeburg; Selbstverlag des Herausgebers, 1864), Heft I, pp. ix ff., cited in Sehling, *op. cit.*, II, p. 408.
²⁰ "Kirchen-Ordnung auf dem Lande vom 22. Juli 1562," in Sehling, *op. cit.*, II, p. 562.

albs. A similar order was put forth in Sjaelland in 1574. In other parts of Denmark the girdled alb persisted even longer; it was still used in Hundstrup parish church as late as 1595. It survived longest in the Duchy of Slesvig (Schleswig).²¹

In the edition of the *Small Catechism* printed by James Berwaldt of Leipzig in 1565, the headpiece of the Sixth Chief Part shows a celebration of Holy Communion in which Eucharistic vestments are worn both by the celebrant (in chasuble) and the deacon (in dalmatic).²² On other pages of the same edition of the *Small Catechism* woodcuts show preachers in a white surplice, in a black gown, and in a white sleeveless surplice.²³

In 1566, Wolfgang Prasius (!), rector of Niederlauer and Haard in the County of Henneberg, reported that he was still—reluctantly—using a surplice (*Chorkittel*), because he was “among the Papists.”²⁴ His colleague, Pancras Treutel, rector of Belrieth and Einhausen, stated that he wore his surplice for official acts inside the church and out, such as ministering to the sick, burials, baptisms, confessions, and marriages.²⁵

The 1568/1569 service-book for Pomerania called for the use of “the conventional ecclesiastical ornaments. Mass vestments, etc.”²⁶

In the Latvian duchy of Kurzeme (Courland) and Zemgale, the clergy were directed in 1570 to wear surplices at the Eucharist to remind them “that they are the angels of the Lord (Malachi 2), who, ornamented in the Church of God with the long white robes of doctrine and life (St. Mark 16), are always to live, walk, and serve so as to please God (Psalm 132; Isaiah 52).” If “for the sake of variation they wish to use supplementary vestments—chasubles, Mass vestments, sacerdotal vesture, and so forth—their use before the altar is forbidden to no one.”²⁷

The Swedish Church Order of 1571 affirmed that the traditional vestments were being retained as a matter of Christian liberty, that they could well be tolerated as long as they were unostentatious and without abuse, and that therefore one should use them with a good conscience, as long as superstition and misuse were abolished and not reintroduced.²⁸ The celebrating priest was to be vested “in the customary fashion” at the

²¹ Severinsen, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

²² Folio E. This woodcut is reproduced in the author’s series of articles, “What About Vestments,” in *American Lutheran*, Vol. XXXI No. 2, February, 1948, p. 7. (It was the revision of this series of articles with a view to separate publication that brought home to me the necessity for the present study.)—Apparently similar to the woodcut described in the text is the one in *Messan på Swensko, förbettrat Stocholm 1548*, thus characterized by Quensel: “The altar is without the so-called ‘altar-ring’ [circular altar-rail common in Scandinavian churches]; the celebrating priest wears a chasuble; the [waiting] communicants are standing; among them kneel those who are receiving the Sacrament; on the altar stand two candlesticks” (*op. cit.*, II, p. 66, n. 1).

²³ Folios B, C, and C respectively.

²⁴ “Kirchen-Ordnung zu Niederlauer (1556),” in Sehling, *op. cit.*, II, p. 342.

²⁵ “Gottesdienst-Ordnung [vom 14. März] 1556,” in Sehling, *op. cit.*, II, p. 331.

²⁶ *Agenda, dat is ordninge der hiligen kerckenemter unde ceremonien . . . gestellet cor de kercken in Pamern* (Wittenberg: 1569), in Sehling, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 437.

²⁷ *Kirchenordnung . . . des herzogthums Churland und Semigallien in Liefland . . . Anno salutis 1570* (Rostock: [Johannes Stöckelman und Andreas Gutterwitz,] 1572), in Sehling, *op. cit.*, V, p. 99.

²⁸ *Kyrkolag 1571*, folio xlix-a, cited in Sven Baelter, *Historyiska Anmärkningar on Kyrko-Ceremonierna*, third edition (Örebro: N.M. Lyndhs Boktryckeri, 1838), p. 114.

Eucharist; for solemn sacramental rites the officiant was to wear a surplice and a cope.²⁹ Andersson holds that the Church Order will hardly have contemplated under “*Messeklädher*” only alb, cincture, and chasuble; “one must add to them at least the amice and stole, as well as ‘the surplice, and possibly vestments.’”³⁰

The statutes of the Pomeranian Provincial Synod of Greifenhagen (Gryfino) of 1574 directed that when at a given service in a village church no communicants presented themselves—an unlikely occurrence in a city parish, it was pointed out—the clergy were to wear a surplice (*vestis lineae*) at the altar before the sermon, in the interest of uniformity (*conformitas*) and due reverence toward the Sacred Ministry on the part of the people.³¹

The instructions for the visitation of Albertine Saxony in 1574/1575 directed that there was to be no change in the use of Mass vestments,³² and the 1574 Church Order for the County of Schwarzburg shows that “the priestly ornaments (and) the surplice” were still in regular use there.³³ The Thorn (Torun) Church Order of 1575 ordered priests to wear the “customary ecclesiastical vestments, chasuble and surplice.”³⁴ Mass vestments were in use in Gottleuba in 1577³⁵ and the Würzen visitation schedule of 1578 listed “ornaments and Mass vestments” as a subject of inquiry.³⁶ The Fürstenberg parish inventory of 1578 lists two chasubles (one red-and-green, the other red), with the ornaments pertaining thereto, and two red damask dalmatics, together with two old chasubles no longer in use.³⁷

The first rubric of the controversial and short-lived Eucharistic liturgy of King John III. of Sweden in 1576 provided that the celebrating priest vest in “all the ecclesiastical paraments or vestments.” On the preceding pages prayers are provided for use while donning amice, alb, cincture, stole, chasuble, tunicle, dalmatic, and (in the case of bishops) mitre. As in the Linköping Breviary of 1493, no prayer is provided for the donning of the maniple.³⁸ In any case, however, the maniple, according to Hellerstrom, seems not to have been used in Sweden after the Reformation.³⁹

For non-Eucharistic services, King John also restored the white surplice, which had fallen into general disuse in Sweden except for the communion of the sick, where the

²⁹ Quensel, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

³⁰ Harald Andersson, *Om gudstjänstliga bruk och ceremonier* (Osby: Förlaget Pro Ecclesia, 1937), p. 28.

³¹ “Statuta synodica in ecclesiis Pomeraniae, promulgata in synodo Gryphenhagia anno 1574,” chapter II, section 4, in Sehling, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 485.

³² “Instruktion für die Visitation 1574, 1575,” in Sehling, *op. cit.*, I, p. 353.

³³ “Gräflich Schwarzburg’sche Kirchen-Ordnung anno 1574,” in Sehling, *op. cit.*, II, p. 136 (compare p. 132).

³⁴ “Kirkenordnung, wie es zu Thorn in Preussen . . . mit lehr und ceremoniern . . . gehalten wird . . . Anno 1575,” in Sehling, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 237.

³⁵ “Verzeichnus der kirchenordnung zur Gotleuben, welche von Jahr 1567 bis uf das 1577, gehalten ist worden,” in Sehling, *op. cit.*, I, p. 567.

³⁶ “Articul, wo rauf die pfarhern und custodies antworten sollen (1578),” in Sehling, *op. cit.*, II, p. 99.

³⁷ “Ordnung der Visitatoren für Fürstenberb. Von 1578,” in Sehling, *op. cit.*, V, p. 265.

³⁸ Carl Kihlén, *Johan III:s Liturgi* (Stockholm: F. C. Asker-Bokförlagsaktibolag, 1910), pp. 17, 18; Knut Peters (editor), *Breviarium Lincopense*, I (Lund: Håkan Ohlssons Boktryckeri, 1950), p. 28.

³⁹ A. O. T. Hellerström, *Liturgik*, second edition (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelsens Bokförlag, 1940), p. 57.

Church Order of 1571 urged but did not require it.⁴⁰

Under the terms of the Bishops' Agreement (*Bevillning*) of September 10, 1583, the members of the Swedish hierarchy at a meeting in Uppsala obligated themselves to see to it that "the priests have on Mass vestments or at least a surplice and a stole at all times when they celebrate Mass for the sick, and a surplice at the burial of the dead, the Baptism of children, the churching of women, and sermons."⁴¹ In line with the royal decree and the Bishops' Agreement, Archbishop Andrew Larson (Laurentii) Bjornram's Visitation Instructions (*Visitationsprotokoll*) for Norrland in 1585 required priests to wear surplices instead of every-day garb for non-Eucharistic ministrations.⁴²

The stipulation of the Bishops' Agreement received a subtle distortion in a book published in Swedish in this country at the end of the last century. The author, Olof A. Toffteen, was the rector of St. Ansgarius' Protestant Episcopal Church, Minneapolis, since discontinued; his congregation was predominantly Swedish. In the interest of his proselytizing activities among Swedish Lutheran immigrants, he was concerned in his book to make out the Church of Sweden to be as much as possible like the Protestant Episcopal Church. Thus he cited the quoted portion of the Bishops' Agreement without the words "for the sick," to give the impression that in sixteenth century Lutheran Sweden priests were generally allowed to celebrate the Holy Eucharist vested only in a surplice and a stole, like the late nineteenth century Protestant Episcopal clergy.⁴³

The Salzwedel-Neustadt visitation instructions of 1579 directed the curate, rector and sacristan participating in a funeral to wear surplices (*corjacke*), "lest they be mistaken for mechanics."⁴⁴ In Altstadt-Salzwedel the visitors directed in the same year that the preachers were not to enter the pulpit without their surplices on.⁴⁵

The Slovak Lutheran Synod of Trencín, held in 1500, declared in its fourth canon: "The ornate vesture (*epitogium ornatum*), as they call it, we desire to remain in use for the sake of propriety and on account of the weak in faith, but where this sumptuous

⁴⁰ Edvard Rohde, *Svenskt gudtjänstliv: Historisk belysning av den svenska kyrkohandboken* (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1923), pp. 35, 36, 351, 352.

⁴¹ Emil Hildebrand (editor), *Svenska Riksdagakten jämte andra handlingar som hör a till Statsförfattnings historia under tidevarvet 1521-1718*. Second Part. Vol. II (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt och Söner, 1899), p. 643. I owe this reference and its verification to the kindness of Professor Sven Kjällström of the Theological Faculty of the University of Lund and of his student, Mr. Arthur Carl Kreinheder.

⁴² Quoted in Edvard Rohde, "Den svenska prästdräkten," in *Studier tillägnade Magnus Pfannenstill den 10 Januari 1923* (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerups Förlag, 1923), p. 412.

⁴³ 43. Olof A. Toffteen, *Våra fäders kyrka* (Minneapolis: Olson och Sjöstrands Tryckeri, 1897), p. 348. Toffteen had before him Quensel's book, which (*op. cit.*, II, p. 77, n. 1) quoted the crucial sentence in full and correctly from *Bidrag till svenska kyrkans och riksdagens historia* (Stockholm: 1835), p. 15. Thus Toffteen cannot be excused on the ground of ignorance.—On the proselytizing activities of the Protestant Episcopal Church among the Swedish Lutheran immigrants, see George M. Stephenson, *The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration: A Study of Immigrant Churches* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1932), chapter V, pp. 210-21.

⁴⁴ "Abschied der visitation. . . in der neuen Stadt Soltwedel, den 22. Juny 1579, gegeben," in Sehling, *op. cit.*, III, p. 292.

⁴⁵ "Visitations-Abschied der Altstadt Salzwedel (1579)," in Sehling, *op. cit.*, III, p. 275.

vesture is lacking, we are willing to be content with a vestment (*epitogium*). Let liberty continue to be practiced here concerning things indifferent, for you are neither more acceptable, as Dr. Luther says, if you celebrate (*benedixeris*) in vestments, nor less acceptable if you celebrate without vestments, neither do vestments commend us to God.”⁴⁶ The Slovak Lutheran liturgiologist Ján Petřík explains the *epitogium ornatum* or *sumptuum* as Mass vestments, and the simple *epitogium* as the surplice (*biela kamza*).⁴⁷

At Nörenberg-in-der-Neumark (Insko) the visitation report of 1580 directed the vestry to have a Surplice (*Chorkittel*) made for the rector’s use at Baptisms, instructions, and sermons.⁴⁸ In the parish Church at Reetz (Rzeczyca Wielka) there were in 1580 three chasubles (one of green velvet, another of red damask with matching appurtenances, the third of black London cloth), an alb with amice, a surplice, and other ornaments. About this period the parish church at Hassendorf (Zolwino) burned down and was rebuilt; to the new church the City Council of Arnswalde (Choszczno) contributed a red chasuble that could be spared from use in Arnswalde.⁴⁹ In the inventories of 1580 and 1590, albs and chasubles (black, red, green, and yellow particolored) are reported in the parish churches at Pammin (Pomlen), Stolzenfelde (Stradzewo), Klein-Silber (Suliborek), Rietzig (Rzeczko), Zegensdorf (Zeliszewo), and Zühlsdorf (Suliszewo).⁵⁰

In 1581, John Wigand, Bishop of Pomerania, directed the use of Mass vestments at the Holy Eucharist and of the surplice in services without Holy Communion in the churches of Marggrabowa (Olecko)⁵¹ and Sensburg (Mragowo).⁵²

As late as 1581 the traditional Eucharistic vestments were in general use among the Lutherans of Bohemia.⁵³ The Czech ritual published at Leipzig in 1571 and re-issued in 1581 (*Agenda Czeská*) directed the priest to don his vestments (*ornát*) and proceed to the altar.⁵⁴ (For a century and a half, the 1581 edition of this Agenda was extensively used among the Lutherans in Slovakia side by side with the Saxon Agenda of 1564.)⁵⁵

In the course of the next four decades the influence of the *Unitas Fratrum* brought

⁴⁶ “Canones rituum sacrorum Trenchini anno 1580 die IX. Octobris editi,” Article IV, cited in Ján M. Petřík, *Dejiny slovenských evanjelických augsburgského vyznania služieb Božích* (Liptovský Svätý Mikuláš: Spolok Tranoscus, 1946), pp. 73, 74.

⁴⁷ Memorandum of the Rev. Th. Dr. Ján M. Petřík, Professor of Practical Theology at the Slovak Evangelical Theological Faculty at Bratislava, dated October 12, 1953. The greater part of this memorandum has been reproduced under the title, “O uzívaní bielej kamze v Slov. ev. a. v. cirkvi,” in *Svedok*, the official Slovak organ of The Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Church, Vol. 48, No. 4 (April, 1954), p. 55.

⁴⁸ K. Berg, “Arnswalde im 16. Jahrhundert,” in *Schriften des Vereins für Geschichte der Neumark*, No. 16 (Landaberg: Fr. Schaeffer und Co., 1904), p. 79, n.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

⁵¹ “Gottesdienstordnung vom 16. Mai 1581,” in Sehling, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 149.

⁵² “Gottesdienstordnung vom 20. April 1581,” in Sehling, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 151.

⁵³ Memorandum of the Rev. Th. Dr. Jan M. Petřík, dated October 12, 1953.

⁵⁴ Petřík, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

⁵⁵ *Agenda, Das ist Kirchenordnung . . . Für die Diener der Kirchen in Hertzog Heinrichen zu Sachessen . . . Fürstenthumb gestellet* (Wittenberg: Hana Rahambaw, 1564). Both were finally superseded by the first printed Slovak agenda, Daniel Krman’s *Agenda Ecclesiastica Slavonica* (Léta Páne: 1734).

about the abolition of the ancient vestments among the Lutherans of Bohemia, until the defeat of the Evangelicals at the Battle of the White Mountain (1620) brought an end to the public practice of the Lutheran religion in that country.⁵⁶

The instructions for the visitors who inspected the Archdiocese Magdeburg in 1583 required them to ask each rector and curate “if he used Mass vestments.”⁵⁷

The 1584 Church Order for the Duchy of Teschen (Cieszyn) in Silesia permitted the continued use of Mass vestments if no superstition were connected with them.⁵⁸

In 1586, James Andreae, one of the authors of the Formula of Concord, stated in the course of his colloquy with Theodore Beza at Montbéliard (Mömpelgard) that the chief churches of the Augsburg Confession in Saxony “retain until now the whole panoply of vestments which they used in previous years in celebrating the Papal Mass.”⁵⁹

In Weissenfels, Mass vestments were done away with in 1588, but the surplice was retained.⁶⁰

The visitors inspecting the Diocese of Halberstadt in 1588 were to make no changes in existing parochial customs as far as the use or nonuse of Mass vestments and surplices were concerned.⁶¹

The Visitation-Book (*Visitatsbog*) of Bishop James Madsen in 1590 reveals the great variety of colors, materials, and embroidery existing in chasubles in a single Danish diocese.⁶²

In 1592 Church Order for Lower Lusatia (Niederlausitz) of Governor (Landvogt) Lord Jaroslav von Kolowradt directed that at the Holy Eucharist the celebrant was to wear chasuble and Mass vestments and the other two sacred ministers were to wear surplices. The officiants at Sunday and holy day morning services without Holy Communion, at ferial preaching services inside the church and out, at baptisms, marriages, all altar ministrations, funerals, and at celebrations of the Holy Communion in the homes of the sick, as well as the four boy servers who held the houseling cloths at the Holy Communion (lest the consecrated Species fall to the floor through the inadvertence of either the minister or a communicant), were also to wear white surplices. A frankly expressed purpose of this Church Order was to counteract the “pernicious,

⁵⁶ Memorandum of the Rev. Th. Dr. Ján M. Petrík, dated October 12, 1953.

⁵⁷ “Instruktion zur Visitation, Vom 25 Mai 1583” in Sehling, *op. cit.*, II, p. 240.

⁵⁸ Skalsky (editor), “Kirchenordnung vom 20. April 1584 aus dem Archiv der evangelischen Kirchengemeinde zu Teschen,” in *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte des Protestantismus in Österreich*, XXII (1901), pp. 5-16, reprinted in Sehling, *op. cit.*, III, p. 461.

⁵⁹ *Acta Colloquii Montis Belligartensis, quod habitum est Anno Christi 1586* (Tübingen: Georg Gruppenbach, 1587), pp. 403, 404. Adolph Wismar appears to have been the first to quote this interesting passage; see his article, “Lutheran Tradition,” in *Pro Ecclesia Lutherana*, Vol. I, No. 1, December, 1933, p. 23.

⁶⁰ Heydenreich, *Kirchen- und Schulchronik der Stadt und Ephorie Weissenfels*, p. 53, cited in Albert Chalybäus, “Sind ‘Alba’ und Krause durch das Leipziger Interim in Sachsen eingeführt worden?” in *Beiträge zur sächsischen Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. XX (1906), (Leipzig: Johann Ambrosius Barth, 1907), p. 231.

⁶¹ “Instruktion für die Visitation. Vom 8. August 1588,” in Sehling, *op. cit.*, II, p. 470.

⁶² Severinsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 56, 57.

destructive, and misleading Calvinistic sect.”⁶³

The Council of Uppsala in 1593 revolted against some of the extremer liturgical prescriptions of the late King John III. but it refused to be dragooned into sponsoring a Protestant reaction. It ordered the abolition of the white surplice (*hwita röklin*), which the king had ordained for non-Eucharistic use, but it retained the girdled alb and chasuble at the Eucharist.⁶⁴ The Council’s decree against surplices did not wholly succeed. It survived in non-Eucharistic use until the seventeenth century. The designation *röklin* ultimately passed to the later form of the Swedish alb.⁶⁵

In 1595 the clergy of the County of Hohenlohe acceded to the demand of Count Wolfgang to cease using surplices.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, the surplice continued in use at least in Oehringen.⁶⁷ A woodcut in the “Amberg Catechism” of 1595 shows the celebrant and deacon at the Holy Eucharist officiating in albs.⁶⁸

The following year, John Dürr, the first Lutheran rector of Wain, over which the City Council of Ulm held the right of patronage, in the instructive standing operating procedure which he drafted for his successor, refers to the Mass vestments which he kept in a locked vestment-press.⁶⁹

In November, 1596, Calvinistic ally-minded Prince John George of Anhalt described Mass vestments and surplices, among other things, as ceremonies surviving “from the accursed Papacy” and ordered that the clergy be directed “to take off Mass vestments and chasubles.”⁷⁰ Later in the same month he confirmed this in a letter to the *Superintendens* and rectors of the district and city of Coswig.⁷¹ The following year the Theological Faculty of the University of Wittenberg published a reply to John George’s theologians in which the Wittenbergers energetically defended the continued use of surplices, chasubles, and Mass vestments in the Church of the Augsburg Confession.⁷²

⁶³ “Kirchenordnung des Landvogts Jaroslaw von Kolowradt für die Niederlauswitz. Vom 30. Juli 1592,” in *Destinata litteraria et fragmenta lusatica* (Lübben: 1738), II, pp. 831 ff., quoted in Sehling, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 363, 364.

⁶⁴ Yngve Brilioth, *Eucharistic Faith and Practice, Evangelical and Catholic*, authorized translation by A. G. Hebert (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1930), p. 259; Baelter, *op. cit.*, p. 115; Conrad Bergendorff, “The Liturgical Tradition of the Swedish Church,” in *The Lutheran Church Quarterly*, XXI (1948), p. 238.

⁶⁵ Rohde, *Svenskt gutjännstliv*, p. 478; Andersson, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

⁶⁶ R. Günther, “Geschichte des evangelischen Gottesdienstes in Hohenlohe,” in *Blätter für württembergische Kirchengeschichte*, neue Folge, I (1897) (Stuttgart: Max Holland, 1897), p. 15.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁶⁸ *Enchiridion: Der Kleine Catechismus D. Martin Luthers Für Churfürstl. Pfaltz Stadt Amberg in Bayern Euanegliche Stadt Kirchen und Schulen in Druck verordnet* (Leipzig: 1595), woodcut illustration for the Sixth Chief Part.

⁶⁹ Eberhardt (editor), “Mitteilungen des ersten evangelischen Pfarrers der Gemeinde Wain, Johann Dürr, an seinen Nachfolger,” in *Blätter für württembergische Kirchengeschichte*, vol. cit., p. 188.

⁷⁰ “Verordnung Johann Georg’s. Vom 3. November 1596,” in Sehling, *op. cit.*, II, p. 580.

⁷¹ Under date of November 17, 1596; quoted in Sehling, *op. cit.*, II, p. 533.

⁷² Theological Faculty of the University of Wittenberg, *Notwendige Antwort auff die im Fürstenthumb Anhalt Ohn langsten ausgesprengete hefftige Schrift usw.* (1597), in *Consilia Theologica Witebergensia* (Frankfurt-am-Main: Balthasar Christoph Wust, 1664), Part I, pp. 394-97.

Likewise in 1597, Niels Helvaderus (Heldvad) in Denmark was still furnishing devotional interpretations for the cincture, the chasuble, and the apparels on the alb.⁷³ This would indicate that despite official efforts to abolish the girdled alb in favor of the surplice, the alb was still in use in Denmark.

The strongly Calvinistic *Consensus Bremensis* of 1598 declared that there were still many who did not want to be Papistic who nevertheless wore surplices, albs, chasubles, and other Mass vestments. Since these are an unnecessary imitation of Levitical pomp now happily abolished, “these histrionic cocoons which are indeed nothing else than the livery of Antichrist” have been discontinued in Bremen.⁷⁴

The chasuble was still being worn in Danzig (Gdansk) near the end of the sixteenth century.⁷⁵

⁷³ Niels Hansen Helvaderus (Heldvad), *Eleusina sacra* (Copenhagen: 1610), the preface of which bears the date 1597, in Severinsen, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

⁷⁴ Quoted in Oskar Johannes Mehl, *Das liturgische Verhalten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1927), p. 21.

⁷⁵ Hirsch, *Geschichte der Oberpfarrkirche von St. Marien in Danzig*, II (Danzig: 1847), p. 432, in Sehling, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 170.

IV. The Seventeenth Century

IN THE FIRST of the *Meditationes Sacrae* of John Gerhard, the arch-theologian of the Church of the Augsburg Confession, “De vera peccatorum agnitione,” these words occur: “*A te accepit immortalitatis et innocentiae stolam.*” This is strongly reminiscent of the LBning words of the ancient prayer repeated by the celebrant as he dons the stole: “*Redde mihi, Domine, stolam immortalitatis, quam perdi in praevaricatione primi parentis.*”¹

Throughout the sixteenth century and into the early years of the seventeenth century the priests of the Church of the Augsburg Confession in Hungary—in the purely Magyar parishes as well as in parishes of the German, Slovak and Croatian minorities—wore amice, cincture, maniple, stole, and chasuble at celebrations of the Holy Eucharist, and the surplice, with or without stole, as ne circumstances required, at other offices. Abundant evidence of these customs is contained in the sixteenth century visitation records, as well as in the Articles of the Magyar Congregational Order of Sopron of 1569, the Congregational Order of Sárvár in 1576, the Articles of the Rozsnyó Synods of 1592 and 1604, and the Murány Articles of 1596. In communities where the population was divided between the Church of the Augsburg Confession and the Roman Catholic Church 1 where use of the parish church was denied to the Lutherans, the clergy who ministered in the emergency chapels or in private houses wore albs or surplices.²

In 1604 we find the parish of Freudenstadt in Württemberg acquiring two new surplices. Not to wear a surplice when celebrating the Sacrament of the Altar at this period exposed a Württemberg clergyman to the suspicion of Calvinism.³

In connection with the complete Protestantization of Hesse under Landgrave Maurice early in the seventeenth century, the further use of surplices (*Chorhemde*), Mass vestments and other ornaments was prohibited “because Popish,”⁴ although the surplice must have survived here and there at least until 1628, when *Superintendens* Liesring made use of the surplice a subject of inquiry in the visitation of that year.⁵

The efforts of Calvinistically-inclined King Charles IX. of Sweden to eliminate Mass vestments were resolutely protested at the Örebro Conference of 1608, in which it was urged that the Church of Sweden ought to continue to take a middle course between the Papists and the Calvinists; that the use of Mass vestments was older than the Papacy;

¹ Johannes Gerhard, *Meditationes Sacrae*, edited by Hermann Scholz (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1863), pp. 2, 3.

² Letter from the Rev. Prof. Dr. Lajos Janossy, Sopron, Hungary, dated October 19, 1953. See also Sándor Payr, *A dunántúli evangélikus egyházkerület története*, I (Sopron: 1924), p. 767, cited in Janossy, *Az evangélikus liturgia megújodása* (Budapest: 1932), p. 153. I am indebted for this latter reference to the kindness of Teol. Dr. Vilmos Vajta, Director, Department of Theology, The Lutheran World Federation, Geneva, Switzerland.

³ Kolb, *op. cit.*, p. 416, where he quotes *Blätter für württembergische Kirchengeschichte*, 1910, p. 124.

⁴ G. Ludwig Büff, *Kurhessisches Kirchenrecht* (Cassel: J. C. Krieger'sche Buchhandlung, 1861), p. 530, n. 4; see also Lotz, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

⁵ Wilhelm Diehl, *Zur Geschichte des Gottesdienstes und der gottesdienstlichen Handlungen in Hessen* (Giessen: J. Ricker'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1899), p. 2627

and that it was proper that a poor priest come to the altar for so holy a service in a decent vestment rather than in his torn coat.⁶

In 1610, John Gerhard lists as a ceremony which a pastor might conveniently abrogate (after proper instruction of the congregation) the ringing of a little bell⁷ “when the priest’s chasuble has been lifted up,” that is, by a ministrant, presumably at the elevation of the Host and Chalice.⁸ It should be noted that the objection is to the ringing of the hand-bell and the lifting up of the chasuble and not to the chasuble itself.

In 1610, the Synod of Zilina (Zsolna/Silein), in what was then Upper Hungary, which created three dioceses, each under a Slovak superintendent (assisted, where necessary, by “inspectors” for the Magyar and German congregations), charged the superintendents with the preservation of existing ecclesiastical vestments (Canon IV), and affirmed that it did not regard it as advisable to make the wearing of an alb—since it is a neutral thing—compulsory upon the Magyar clergy “for certain and obvious reasons” (Canon VI).⁹ The practice of the German and Slovak congregations with reference to the wearing of at least the surplice was thus not affected. Jánossy accounts for this exception in favor of the Magyar clergy by pointing out that in the ten counties concerned, especially in the Danube district, the “Helvetic” (that is, Calvinist) influence was diligently insinuating itself among the Magyars. The Reformed party was energetically propagandizing against liturgical garb, especially against Mass vestments, and frequently

⁶ Baelter, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

⁷ The custom of ringing a hand-bell at the Consecration (hence the name “sacring bell”) survived the Reformation in many Lutheran areas. Thus, to cite but one example, the 1592 Lower Lusatian Church Order of Governor Lord Jaroslav von Kolowradt (see note 63 to Chapter III above) directed the ringing of a hand-bell at the end of the Preface, again after the Consecration of the Host, and for a third time after the Consecration of the Chalice (Schling, *op. cit.*, III, p. 363). In spite of objections to the practice it persisted stubbornly. The “Transsubstantiationsglöckchen” (as an invidious editor called it in the year of its abolition) continued in use in St. Mary Magdalene’s Church, Breslau, until 1786, when an Oberconsistorialrat Gerhard achieved its discontinuance—in the face of considerable popular opposition—as part of a program of liturgical “improvement” (*Schlesische Provinzialblätter*, Vol. III, No. 4, April, 1786, 365). It was still in use in Saxony at the end of the eighteenth century; a Rationalist complaint refers to “the jingling of hand-bells by the boy servers during the singing of the Words of Institution” (Karl Spazier, *Freymüthige Gedanken uber die Gottes Verehrungen der Protestanten* [Gotha: Karl William Ettinger, 1788], p. 166). Half a generation later “*euer Klingeln*” at the Holy Eucharist still came in for criticism (Veillodter, “Einige Ideen über die Bequemung des Liturgen nach dem Geiste und Geschmacke des Zeitalters,” in Heinrich Balthasar Wagnitz (editor), *Liturgisches Journal*, Vol. IV [Halle: Johann Jacob Gebauer, 1805], p. 14).

⁸ Johannes Gerhard, “De Coena Sacra,” Chapter XXVI, para. 263, in *Loci Theologici*, edited by Edward Preuss (Berlin: Gustav Schlawitz, 1867), V, p. 249.

⁹ “IV. Superintendentis erit, omnes proventus templorum, parochiarum, scholarum . . . cum vestibus ecclesiasticis . . . asservare . . . VI. Conformitatem rituum et ceremoniarum, una Alba excepta (ad cuius usum, tamquam adiaphoron, Dominos Hungaricos Concionatores, certas et evidentes ob causas compellere non videtur consultum), in omnibus hisce conjunctis ecclesiis instituant et conservent . . .” (“Acta et Conclusiones Conventus seu Synodi . . . Baronum, Magnatum et Nobilium, nec non Legatorum et Ministrorum Augustanae Confessionis, ex Decem Cis-Danubianis Comitibus, Solnae congregatorum, Anno Domini MDCX,” in Karl Kuzmany, *Urkundenbuch zum oesterreichisch-evangelischen Kirchenrecht* [Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1855], p. 191. Both canons were confirmed at the Synod of Szepes-Várallya in 1614 (*op. cit.*, p. 197).

calumniated the Magyar Lutheran clergymen who wore them as Papists. Where the Magyar Lutheran communities were not exposed to such tactics—in the Western Hungarian counties of Sopron, Győr, Vas, and Zala, for instance—there were hundreds of purely Magyar Lutheran parishes in which the sumptuous *Hochzeitskleid*, which included amice, [girdled] alb, maniple, stole and chasuble at the Holy Eucharist and the surplice (with stole where appropriate) at other offices, continued in use for another two decades.¹⁰

In Slovakia the white surplice (*biela kamza*) began about this gradually to replace the “sacerdotal vestments” (*ornáty*) that had previously been worn, although the latter continue to find mention in visitation records and synodical minutes into the eighteenth century. The first reference to the *kamza* in the minutes of the seniorate of Zvolen, for instance, occurs in the records for 1630.¹¹ In the diocese of Trenčín the *kamza* appears a little earlier, in 1608.¹² In the Branecko-Plavecky seniorate, the visitation protocols of 1612 refer to surplices side by side with Mass vestments.¹³ In Myjava, where the first church to be built in the town's history was the Lutheran parish church—St. Trinity—erected in 1586, an inventory of the ornaments made by Bishop Izák Abrahamides in the course of a visitation in 1610 lists as the only vestments two surplices;¹⁴ it would thus seem that at least some newly-erected parish churches were not fitted out with the traditional vestments.

Taking Slovakia as a whole, however, there was at this time no material difference in the matter of vestments between the Lutheran and the Roman Catholic clergy of the country; a visitation in 1611 disclosed the presence of no fewer than 164 sets of Mass vestments in the diocese of Trenčín alone, in spite of the invasion of part of this area by the iconoclastic followers of Prince Istvan Bocskay of Transylvania in 1605, and the same visitation records also lists many crucifixes, dalmatics, copes (*kápy*), albs (*kosele*), prelatial tunics (*podornáty*), censers, stoles, banners, pax-bredes (*pacifikále*), cruets (*ampuly*), and maniples.¹⁵

Early in the seventeenth century, the distinguished Lutheran hymn-writer Valerius Herberger calls the alb his “natural sower’s apron (*natürliches Säe tuch*),” out of which he casts the seed of the divine Word into the parish.¹⁶

In connection with the abolition of albs in Anhalt under the continuing strong

¹⁰ Letter from the Rev. Prof. Dr. Lajos Jánossy, dated October 19, 1953.

¹¹ Jan Slavik, *Dejiny Zvolenskeho evanjelického augsburgského vyznania bratstvá a seniorátu* (Banská Stiavnica: Vdova a Sin Augusta Joergesa, 1921), p. 14.

¹² Ladislav Pauliny, *Dejepis superintendence nitranskej* (Senica: Ján Bezo a Spolocnosť, 1891), I, p. 19.

¹³ *Ibid.*, II, p. 11.

¹⁴ Julius Bodnar, *Myjava* (Myjava: Kníhtlacaren Daniela Pazického, 1911), p. 42.

¹⁵ Pauliny, *op. cit.*, I, p. 19. This passage is the source of the similar statement in Ján Kvacala, *Dejiny reformacie na Slovensku 1517-1711* (Liptovský Svätý Mikuláš: Bratia Rázusovci, 1935), pp. 95, 96 (where *panfikole* is apparently an error for *pacifikále*).—For the positive identification of some of the technical terms in the cited passage I am grateful to the Rev. Clement C. Englert, C. SS. R., Professor of Liturgy and Comparative Theology in the Russian Institute of Fordham University.

¹⁶ Rudolph Rocholl, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland* (Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachfolger, 1897), p. 300.

Calvinistic pressure, the orthodox Lutheran theologians likewise continued to argue for their retention. If one really wanted to hold as closely to the Bible as the Reformed profess to do, said the Lutherans, one would finally have to imitate the Oriental garb of the Lord Jesus. It is absurd, they said, to reject the liturgical vesture only because the Saviour did not wear it when He instituted the Holy Eucharist; on the contrary, the exalted office of administering the Sacrament deserves a special vesture, namely the surplice (*Chorhemd*) and the chasuble. It is impossible, the Lutherans argued, to prove from the Bible either the necessity or the impropriety of liturgical vestments.¹⁷ (Lotz observes acutely in this connection that this difference between the Lutherans and Reformed derives in part from their respective attitudes toward the Incarnation and its significance for the form of ecclesiastical life.)¹⁸

In the same connection, George Dedeken's great compilation of theological opinions included one by Henry Eck(h)ard on the question: "If the alb (*vestis alba*), which the ministers wear in some churches, must necessarily be taken off and given up." Eck(h)ard argued that the alb is not intrinsically reprehensible; that it displeases God no more than the clothes of the Calvinists; that it differentiates the ministers of God's Word from other people; and that there is no grave and urgent reason for abolishing it. The Anhalt party objected that it makes the celebrant look like a Mass-priest (*sacrificulus*); if that were true, Eck(h)ard replied, St. Paul ought to have omitted tonsure, sacrifices, etc., lest he be taken for a Jew, and besides, our confession, doctrine and preaching save us from such a misunderstanding. Where the adversaries argued that Christ did not Himself use the alb or command its use, Eck(h)ard pointed out that He did not forbid it; furthermore, Our Lord did not command Baptism *super mortuos*, yet that was a rite in Corinth (1 Cor. 15). Where the adversaries said that it is not ornamental to put a white vestment over a black gown and "march around as motley as a magpie (*picae instar versicolore incedere*)," Eck(h)ard declares that such an objection could have been raised against Aaron's vestments too. The true ornaments of a minister, according to the opponents, are to preach the Gospel and administer the Sacraments; Eck(h)ard counters that the two kinds of ornament are not mutually exclusive, since in the Old Testament they existed side by side.¹⁹ The fact that the opinion is twice reprinted in the last third of the seventeenth century illustrates its continuing relevance.

On August 24, 1614, the Supreme Consistory of Electoral Saxony handed down an opinion at the request of Christopher Ziegler, pastor of an all-German parish at Oschwitz in Bohemia. Inasmuch as some of the churches of the district had dropped the chasuble, the local hereditary liege-lord, Lord Albert-John Smirsitzky of Smirsitzky, had

¹⁷ So Philip Arnoldi, *Caeremonia Lutherana* (Königsberg: 1616), pp. 61 ff., summarized in Paul Graff, *Geschichte der Auflösung der alten gottesdienstlichen Formen in der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1937-1939), I, pp. 107, 108, and Lotz, *op. cit.*, p. 20. 5

¹⁸ Lotz, *loc. cit.*

¹⁹ Georgius Dedekennus, *Thesaurus consiliorum et decisionum*, edited by Johannes Ernest Gerhard (Jena: Zacharias Hertel, 1671), Vol. I, p. 552. Eck(h)ard's opinion is also digested in Johannes Nicolaus Mislerus, *Opus Novum Quaestionurn Practice-Theologicarum Sive Casuum Conscientiae* (Frankfurt-am-Main: Balthasar Christophorus Wustius, 1676), Caput XV, Sectio III, Quaestio IV, p. 392.

ordered all the clergy of his domains to wear only a surplice at celebrations of the Holy Eucharist, in the interest of uniformity. After raising a question as to the legality of such an order, the Consistory counsels the inquiring pastor to have his parishioners join him in pointing out to the liege-lord, respectfully and diligently, that the chasuble had never given scandal to anyone in the parish; that a chasuble detracted no more from the Most Venerable Sacrament than a surplice; that neither the ancient orthodox Church nor the Evangelical Church had ever demanded entire uniformity in ceremonies; that the self-styled Reformed people, that is, the Calvinists and the Sacramentarians, have no accepted ceremonial norm, either universal or particular; that the Papists round about could exploit this innovation by trying to persuade the parishioners that this change presaged alterations in doctrinal matters as well; and that the common people set great store by externals. Properly presented, such a plea might, with God's blessing, be successful. If it failed, and if the liege-lord were ready to pledge that he would make no other ceremonial changes and that he contemplated no innovations in doctrinal matters, and if the parishioners were so well instructed that the use of the chasuble could be discontinued without great scandal, then, as a last resort and in order to prevent some doctrinally dubious cleric from insinuating himself into the pastorate if the inquiring pastor were to resign over this issue, the latter might conform with a good conscience.²⁰

The inventories of the Cathedral at Västerås in Sweden for the 1620s and subsequent decades listed copes, chasubles, dalmatics, albs, humeral-veils, stoles, and cinctures. In spite of the earlier legislation to the contrary, surplices were still worn at non-Eucharistic rites.²¹

In 1616 the Reformed Margrave John George sought to Calvinize the parish churches of the then strictly Lutheran Silesian county of Jägerndorf (Krnov). Number eight on his list of objectives was the doing away with Mass vestments and other ornaments of the ministers. The citizenry resisted his efforts so stoutly that the Margrave hired a force of 150 mercenaries to put down the rebellion. He lost out in the end; the clergy continued to wear Mass vestments, and the clerk and the boy servers who held the houseling-cloths at Holy Communion also remained vested.²²

In 1623 the former rector of Ohnastetten in Württemberg was accused of having

²⁰ Reproduced in Benedict Carpzov, *Opus definitionum ecclesiasticarum seu consistorialium* (Leipzig: Timotheus Ritschius, 1605), Book II, pp. 370, 371.—I have not been able to identify Oschwitz. In a letter dated September 24, 1954, Mr. Foster M. Palmer of the Harvard College Library suggests a possible identification with one of two places in Bohemia called Oschitz by the Germans: Osecná, about 50°40' N, 14°55' E, and Susice, about 49° 15' N, 13°30' E. Neither, however, is near Smirice.

²¹ *Liber ecclesiae Aroensis*, cited in Rohde, "Den svenska prastdrakten," p. 406; Severinsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 47, 48.

²² P. G. Bronisch, "Versuch einer Verdrängung lutherischer Kirchengebräuche durch calvinische," in *Monatschrift für Gottesdienst und kirchliche Kunst*, Vol. I, No. 12, March, 1897, pp. 385, 386. The article reproduces and discusses the "Forzeichnus der Artikell so der Margrafte zum Jägerndorff In seinen Kirchen zue Endern anbefohlen," discovered by a Pastor Eberlein in the Royal Government Archives at Breslau and published by him in the *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche Schlesiens*, Vol. IV (1895), No. 3, pp. 178ff.

made aprons for his daughters out of the parish church's surplice.²³

A souvenir of the Augsburg Confession centennial in Nuremberg in 1630 shows two officiants at a celebration of the Holy Communion, a preacher in the pulpit, and a clergyman administering Holy Baptism, all vested in white surplices.²⁴

In 1631 the pastor of the Magyar Lutheran parish of Lós in Hungary still wore alb, stole, and chasuble.²⁵ The records of the Hungarian Lutheran episcopal visitations for the years from 1631 to 1642 indicate that Lós was only one among over 300 Magyar Lutheran parishes in which the clergy were still wearing Mass vestments in accordance with the ancient prescriptions.²⁶ In the Lutheran Church of Slovakia the surplice (*biela kamza*) had displaced completely the ancient Mass vestments in the majority of congregations by this time.²⁷

In 1628 a group of Lutherans had fled from Silesia and found asylum from Roman Catholic persecution in Lissau/Lissaw (Lisewo? Lisewiec?), Poland. But the Calvinistic officials of this place forbade them the right to use certain characteristically Lutheran ceremonies—among them the wearing of surplices by their clergy at sermons and funerals—in their religious services. In 1635 they asked the Theological Faculty of the University of Wittenberg if they could with a good conscience make such a concession. Although the Wittenberg reply stressed the fact of the continued use of similar vestments in Saxony, the answer to the question put by the inquirers, in contrast to the spirit of Article X of the Formula of Concord, was a disappointing “yes.”²⁸

In 1637, St. John's Church, Flensburg, acquired a new surplice (*Messhemd*) with red figured velvet apparels.²⁹

The Brunswick-Lüneburg Church Order of 1643, repeating the injunction of the Church Order of 1598, directs the celebrants to wear their “ecclesiastical ornaments, such as albs, chasubles, and Eucharistic vestments.”³⁰ This Church order was repeatedly reprinted down into the last part of the nineteenth century.

About this time the Lord High Chancellor of Sweden, Per Brahe, counseled the Governor of New-Sweden-on-the-Delaware, John Printz, in a letter: “Decorate your little

²³ Kolb, *op. cit.*, p. 416.

²⁴ Copperplate etching from the Paul Fürst Verlag (Nuremberg: 1630), reproduced in Paul Drews, *Der evangelische Geistliche in der deutschen Vergangenheit*, second edition (Jena: E. Diederichs, plate 60, p. 75; the second edition of this work is identical the first (same publisher, 1905).

²⁵ Thury Etele (editor), “Kis Bertalan és Musay Gergely dunántúli ág. Hitv. Ev. Puspökök egyháalátogatási jegyzök nyve, 1631-1654,” in Stomp Laszlo (editor), *Magyar Protestáns Egyháztörténeti Adattár*, VI (Budapest: Magyar Protestáns Irodalmi Tarsasag, 1910), p. 36. This reference has been kindly verified for me by Mr. A. P. DeWeese of the Reference Department, The New York Public Library.

²⁶ Letter from the Rev. Prof. Dr. Lajos Jánossy, dated October 19, 1953.

²⁷ Memorandum of the Rev. Th. Dr. Ján Petrik, dated October 12, 1953.

²⁸ *Concilia Theologica Witebergensia*, Part I, pp. 496-500.

²⁹ Richard Haupt, *Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Schleswig-Holstein* (Kiel: Ernst Homann, 1887-1889), I, p. 261.

³⁰ *Kirchen-Ordnung, Wie es mit Lehr und Ceremonien . . . in ... Braunschweig-Lüneburg . . . gehalten werden sol . . . im Druck gegeben Anno MDCXLIII*, Chapter XV, section 17. This Church Order was frequently reprinted; the edition here used was published at Hermannsburg by the Missionsdruckerei in 1873, in which the quoted passage occurs on p. 119.

church [at Fort Christina] and your priests in the Swedish manner with chasuble, in order that you may be different from the English and the Hollanders, fleeing from all Calvinistic leaven. Outward ceremonies will do much with such savage people [the native Indians] (and will) also incline other people to be devotional and God-fearing.”³¹

The Thirty Years’ War resulted in the widespread destruction of vestments along with other ecclesiastical ornaments, but after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 many of the vestments destroyed in the War were replaced.³²

We have very detailed information about the use of vestments in St. Nicholas’ Church, Leipzig, for the period from 1619 to 1662, in the form of entries which Martin Schwärtz, sacristan from 1619 to 1644, and Gideon Schleiffenheiner (or Schleissenheiner), sacristan from 1644 to 1662, made in the *Küsterbuch*.³³ This is the era of such orthodox stalwarts in Leipzig as Henry Höpfner, John Hülsemann, John Benedict Carpzov (grandson of the great jurist), and Thomas Ittig.

The three boy choristers who sang the Passion according to St. Matthew at the Epistle lectern on Palm Sunday wore white surplices.³⁴ So did the boy servers who accompanied the celebrant to the altar and who held the houseling-cloths in front of the communicants, and so did the five clergymen of the parish when they heard confessions.³⁵ At the first vespers of Sunday, sung at 1.30 on Saturday afternoon, the “Saturday-preacher” and the boy servers—and presumably the officiant as well—all wore white surplices.³⁶

On Saturday afternoons, the clergy of the parish heard confessions before, during, and after vespers. After they had absolved the last penitent, the sacristan would lay out three white surplices and a chasuble, “together with the appurtenant albs, *Strichen* and *Bändern*, according to the season,” so that “the next morning the priests can quickly be vested.”³⁷ *Strichen* may be an error for *Stricken*, “ropes,” that is, rope cinctures. *Bänder*, it would appear from earlier entries, are silk ribbons (both black and white ribbons are

³¹ Quoted in George H. Ryden, “The Lutheran Church on the Delaware,” in *The Lutheran Companion*, May 26, 1938, p. 649.

³² Graff, *op. cit.*, I, p. 107.

³³ “Bilder aus dem gottesdienstlichen Leben Leipzigs im 17. Jahrhundert,” an anonymous series of four articles in *Allgemeine Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung* for 1895 (Nos. 47-50, for November 22 and 29 and December 6 and 13 respectively). The Common Service Book Committee of the United Lutheran Church states that Eucharistic vestments were worn in Paul Gerhardt’s church, St. Nicholas’ Church, Leipsic, around 1650 (“Liturgical Life and Practice,” in *The Lutheran*, July 11, 1935, p. 4). This obvious slip for St. Nicholas1 Church, Berlin, may be the result of a misreading of something the Rev. J. Madsen had written. The latter had identified the period which the description of the vestments in St. Nicholas’ Church, Leipzig, refers by giving the *dates* of Paul Gerhardt (1607-1676), both in his translation of Severinsen’s book under the title *The Proper Communion Vestments*, p. 17, as well as in a paper, “The Vestments,” in *Føbe*. February. 1935, pp. 20, 21. In the Danish original of the former, Severinsen (*op. cit.*, pp. 44, 45) had cited two of the articles in the *Allgemeine Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung* referred to above.

³⁴ *Allgemeine Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*, 1895, No. 50 (December 13), col. 1203.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 47 (November 22), col. 1121.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 49 (December 6), col. 1169.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 48 (November 29), col. 1144.

mentioned). The albs were apparently slit part-way down the front to permit drawing the alb over the head; the slit was closed at the neck by tying together the two pieces of ribbon attached to the ends of the neck-band or yoke. The sleeves of the alb may have been similarly slit part way to the elbow and the slits closed by tying together the ribbons attached to each side of the cuff, or the “bands” may have been ribbons which gathered the full sleeves of the albs at the wrists, much like the ribbons used with the eighteenth century form of Anglican bishops’ rochets.³⁸ Severinsen’s suggestion that the “bands” were maniples³⁹ is not likely to be correct. Rectangular apparels of the same material as the chasuble were sewn to the alb at the wrists and at the front and back of the skirt of the alb. It was the task of the sacristan’s wife to remove the apparels before laundering the albs and to sew the apparels on again afterward. A reference to “*Schildt und Kappen*,” which had to be similarly removed and restored, suggests that a hood-shaped amice-like vestment of the same material as the apparels may have been attached to the neckband of the alb.

The number of chasubles in the vestment-presses of the parish is nothing short of astonishing. A *different* chasuble was appointed for *each* of the following seasons and holy days: Advent (green velvet, with Our Lord’s Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem embroidered on it); Christmas; the Circumcision; Epiphany; the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary (white damask, with the Mother of God embroidered on it); the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (white damask with a crucifix); Palm Sunday (green, with palms embroidered on it); Maundy Thursday (green damask); Good Friday (black velvet, with a crucifix); the three days of Easter (with a crucifix embroidered in pearls); Low Sunday; the Ascension Day; Whitsunday (red-brown velvet, with the Holy Trinity embroidered in pearls and gems); Holy Trinity; Nativity of St. John the Baptist; the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (red velvet, with the Madonna and the Holy Child embroidered on it). For the Sundays in Lent there was choice of two chasubles, one of black velvet, the other of dark violet velvet. On other Sundays, five others were used in rotation (green damask; red figured velvet; dark red plain velvet; red satin; violet-brown plain velvet). There are indications that up to five others may have been omitted from the list. In addition to the twenty-three listed, there were five old ones to be used “zum Heiligen Christ.”⁴⁰

In 1650 Mass vestments were abolished in Künzelsau.⁴¹

The contemporary portrait of the distinguished Danish theologian-bishop, Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand, in Frederiksborg Castle shows him vested in a white surplice and a white cope.⁴²

About the same period the surplice was still regularly worn in the pulpit by the clergy of the Halberstadt area.⁴³

³⁸ Dearmer, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

³⁹ Severinsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 45.

⁴⁰ *Allgemeine Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*, no. cit., cols. 1144, 1145.

⁴¹ *Beschreibung des Oberamtes Künzelsau* (Stuttgart: 1883), p. 266, in Graff, *op. cit.*, I, p. 108.

⁴² Severinsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-106, where the portrait of Brochmand is reproduced.

⁴³ P. Philips, *Mysteriorum divinatorum fidus dispensator*, edited by E. Christian Philips (Bremen: 1669), p.

In 1659, Duke Gustave Adolph very energetically enjoined the use—if need be, the restoration—of the anciently customary ecclesiastical garb and Mass vestments in Mecklenburg to combat the “daily increasing libertinism and neglect of divine service.”⁴⁴

On Shrove Tuesday of 1662, the town clerk of Dornstetten in Württemberg took the surplice out of the sacristy of the parish church and rode around in it on horseback as a Carnival prank.⁴⁵

From the days of the “Great Elector” Frederick William of Brandenburg-Prussia on, according to Bishop Otto Dibelius of Berlin, the Lutheran clergy of Brandenburg Province tenaciously wore the “alb” as an identifying denominational badge which distinguished them from the Elector’s Reformed court-chaplains.⁴⁶ Similarly, reports have been preserved from both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries indicating that the surplice (*kamza*) was consistently worn by the Lutheran clergy of Slovakia as a visible symbol of their orthodoxy and of their rejection of Crypto-Calvinism.⁴⁷

In 1663 Balthasar Meisner argued against the Calvinists in defense of the historic vestments: (1) The example of the Old Testament shows that vestments are not contrary to the will of God; (2) the symbolism of the vestments excites the congregation to purity of heart and to reverence; (3) they are part of the “good order” that St. Paul enjoins.⁴⁸

The engraved frontispiece of the *Opus definitionum ecclesiasticarum* (1665) by the juriconsult Benedict Carpzov shows clergymen engaged in various professional functions. All wear ruffs. The priest in the confessional, the ordinator and his assistants as well as the ordinand, the priest who is administering Holy Baptism, and the priest who is solemnizing the nuptials of a bride and groom all wear black gowns. The preacher in the pulpit wears a sleeveless surplice over his gown, and over theirs the two priests who are distributing the Blessed Sacrament wear albs consisting merely of two linen panels joined at the neck and hanging down to within a few inches of the hem of the black gown at the front and rear.⁴⁹

Within one month in 1666, from August 18 to September 15, three parishioners of St. Nicholas’ Church, Leipzig, one a burgomaster, one a burgomaster’s wife, and the third the wife of an alderman, each gave a new surplice of white *Schwebisch* cloth (a very fine linen almost as sheer as a veil), of the kind “the rector puts on when they (!) preach or baptize children, etc.” In noting the gift of the second surplice, the sacristan says he “put it on Dr. Elijah Sigmund Reinhardt, the pastor, for the first time when he was about to ascend the pulpit the next morning, being the Twelfth Sunday after Trinity.”⁵⁰

Abraham Calov in 1668 rebuked with vehemence the sarcasm of the Socinians in

110. in Graff, *op. cit.*, I, p. 107.

⁴⁴ Johannes Bachmann, *Geschichte des evangelischen Kirchengesangs in Mecklenburg* (Rostock: Stiller’s Hof- und Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1881), p. 121, n. 1.

⁴⁵ Kolb, *op. cit.* p. 416.

⁴⁶ Letter of the Most Rev. Otto Dibelius, D.D., the Evangelical Bishop of Berlin, dated Nov. 3, 1953.

⁴⁷ Memorandum of the Rev. Th. Dr. Ján M. Petřík, dated October 12, 1953.

⁴⁸ Balthasar Meisner, *Collegium adiaphoricum*, VIII, paras. 17-18 (Wittenberg: Mevius und Schumachers Erben, 1663), pp. 191, 192.

⁴⁹ Carpzov, *op. cit.*, frontispiece.

⁵⁰ *Allgemeine Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*, 1895, No. 48 (November 29), col. 1147.

writing about the “long white carnival shirts (*Fassnachts-Hembde*)” in which the Lutheran clergymen officiate.⁵¹ In the same year the chaplain of the Lutheran Benedictine convent at Lune is described as wearing a chasuble with an embroidered representation of the Passion on it.⁵² (Incidentally, the members of the community and the abbess all still wore the traditional Benedictine habit.⁵³ This was not wholly unprecedented. The Cistercian habit was worn by the members of the community at the Lutheran Convent of Waterleer [Wasaerleben] in the County of Wernigerode until 1622.⁵⁴ The Lutheran Cistercians at Loccum Abbey wore the white tunics and black hoods of their order until 1631,⁵⁵ while a visitation rescript of 1604 reaffirmed the requirements that the stipendiaries of the Ducal Stipendium at Tübingen, the “Tübinger Stift,” must wear their black monastic cowls at meals.)⁵⁶

In 1671 the rector of Querfurt was still wearing Mass vestments in the pulpit on the three great feasts.⁵⁷

In 1672 the Duchess Augusta presented a chasuble with three diamonds on it to St. Lawrence’s Church, Ketting, Kreis Sonderburg, Slesvig-Holsten.⁵⁸

The instructions for the sacristan in a manuscript directory for divine service in St. Mary’s Church, Nuremberg, prepared in the late seventeenth century, indicate that at ante-Communion and the choir offices the officiants and the preacher wore their surplices during those parts of the service in which they actually performed their respective ministries.⁵⁹

The Danish-Norwegian *Ritual* of 1685, which continued in force into the nineteenth century, prescribed the white surplice (*messeskiorten*) and chasuble (*messehagelen*).⁶⁰ The priest was to wear the surplice from the beginning to the end of the Holy Eucharist, but he was to wear the chasuble over it only while ministering at the altar. He was to doff the chasuble for preaching and for the administration of Holy Baptism. For the Litany he was to wear only the surplice. At the Consecrations of bishops, all the bishops (including the bishop-elect) were to wear albs and copes, the participating priests only albs; at Ordinations the ordaining bishop was to wear alb and

⁵¹ Abraham Calov, *Socinismus profligatus* (Wittenberg: Johannes Borckard, 1668), pp. 923, 925.

⁵² Rocholl, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Jacobs (editor), *Urkundenbuch des Klosters Waterleer*, cited in H. Drees, “Ekklesiastika aus dem Fürstlichen Archiv zu Wernigerode,” in *Monatschrift für Gottesdienst und kirchliche Kunst*, Vol. VIII, No. 11, November, 1903, p. 371.

⁵⁵ Rocholl, *loc. cit.*

⁵⁶ Martin Leube, *Geschichte des Tübinger Stifts (im) 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Chr. Scheufeie, 1921), p. 170. Rocholl (*loc. cit.*) states that the stipendiaries wore their monastic habit until 1750.

⁵⁷ See note 5, Chapter III, above.

⁵⁸ Haupt, *op. cit.*, II, p. 407.

⁵⁹ Max Herold, *Alt-Nürnberg in seinen Gottesdiensten* (Gutersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1890), pp. 270, 271.

⁶⁰ The chasubles described in A. Bugge and T. Kielland, *Alterskrud og Messeklaer i Norge* (Norske Folkemuseums saerutstilling nr. 10) (Kristiania: Forlagt av Norsk Folkemuseum, 1919), pp. 20-36, indicate the wide range of colors, materials, and decoration used in Norway in the making of chasubles from the thirteenth to the nineteenth centuries. For Denmark, see Severinsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-63.

cope, the ordinands albs.⁶¹ The cope has continued in use as an episcopal vestment in both Denmark and Norway from the Reformation down to the present.⁶²

The Swedish Church Law of 1686 provided that the priest who celebrated the Holy Eucharist at the altar “should be dressed in the customary vesture and ornament.”⁶³ This, according to Andersson, contemplated only the three Mass vestments that have survived down to the present in the Church of Sweden, the alb, the cincture, and the chasuble. He describes the developments between the Church Order of 1571 and the Church Law of 1686 thus: “The surplice passed out of use during the seventeenth century—certainly not, however, in immediate connection with the Council of Uppsala, as the matter is often represented—but probably before the Church Law [på 1686] came into being; the same circumstances seem to have existed with reference to the stole. The amice disappeared in the process of furnishing the alb with a collar.”⁶⁴

The legislation of 1686 has continued in force in Sweden. Under Pietistic and Rationalistic influence, the use of the historic vestments was abandoned in some Swedish parishes, but their use was never universally abolished. The Swedish bishops have continued to wear colored copes as badges of their office.⁶⁵

In this country, however, the Swedish immigrants who formed the Augustana Lutheran Church wore at most the black gown (*prastrock*), bands (*krage*) and black cope (*prastkappa*); at an early date the black cope was abandoned and the gown and bands

⁶¹ *Danmarks og Norgis Kirke-Ritual* (Copenhagen: Joachim Schmedtgen, 1685), pp. 12, 48, 52, 53, 161, 338, 364. The *Ritual* played a prominent role in early Norwegian Lutheranism in America: The Rev. L. F. E. (!) Krause of Freistadt, Wisconsin, ordained Claus Lauritz Clausen in accordance with it; it became the standard of discipline in the Muskego, Wisconsin, parish; the Rev. J. W. C. Dietrichson made acceptance of its order a condition of membership in the Koshkonong, Wisconsin, parish; it was made normative in the Spring Prairie, Wisconsin, parish by the parochial constitution of 1849; paragraph 5 of the 1853 constitution of the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Synod of America made it binding, “with such modifications as the Synod may determine” (for documentation, see J. Magnus Rohne, *Norwegian American Lutheranism up to 1872* [New York: Macmillan Co., 1926], pp. 58, 64, 69, 76, 80-83, 30).

⁶² *Alterbog for den norske Kirke* (Kristiania: F. Beyer’s Forlag, 1889), pp. 136, 150; *Alterbok for den norske Kirke* (1920). 2d edition (Kristiania: Selskapet til Kristelige Andagtsbøkers Utgivelse, 1922), pp. 173, 191. For a description of eighteenth century Norwegian copes, see Bugge and Kielland, *op. cit.*, p. 36. For copes at a contemporary consecration of a Norwegian bishop (Bjarne Skard, first Bishop of Tunsberg), see the Religious News Service photograph reproduced in *The Lutheran*, August 18, 1948, p. 8. Severinsen (*op. cit.*) devotes a whole chapter (X) to the episcopal cope.

⁶³ *Kyrkolag 1686*, Chapter XI, para. 10, quoted in Baelter, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

⁶⁴ Andersson, *op. cit.*, p. 28. Hellerström likewise holds that the surplice survived for a time after the Council of Uppsala (*op. cit.*, p. 53); that the stole continued in use in Sweden through a large part of the seventeenth century (*ibid.*, p. 57); and that the present use of the stole in Sweden is a restoration (*ibid.*)

⁶⁵ Bergendoff, *op. cit.*, p. 238; U. L. Ullman, *Evangelisk-Luthersk Liturgik* (Lund: W. K. Gleerups Förlag, 1885), p. 85. Highly instructive by way of example is Agnes Branting and Agnes Geijer, *Katalog över Uppsala Domkyrkas Skrudkammare* (Uppsala: Almqvist och Wiksells Boktryckeri A. B., 1932), pp. 9-22. According to this inventory the surviving ancient vestments preserved in Uppsala Cathedral included eight copes (XIII through XVIII centuries), 23 chasubles (XIV through XIX centuries), three mitres, three XVIII-XIX century cinctures (*mäss-skärp*), two (possibly three) stoles, one XIII century maniple, one XVI century embroidered amice, and one XVI century embroidered *sudarium* and cover for the archbishop’s staff. The modern (XX century) vestments included one cope, one mitre, one cincture, and seven chasubles.

retained in a compromise designed to steer a middle course between Methodism and Episcopalianism, both of which were attracting Swedish immigrants.⁶⁶

The title-page of the Danish-Norwegian *Alterbog* of 1688 shows a priest, book in hand, facing westward before an altar with a frontal falling to the floor, two candlesticks, a crucifix, and a Baroque reredos. He wears a surplice with fairly tight sleeves, a “Scandinavian” type chasuble, and a collar.⁶⁷

A copperplate etching in the Germanic Museum of Nuremberg, made by A. Boener in 1689, shows one Lutheran clergyman in a white surplice (*Chorhemd*), another in white surplice and chasuble (*Mess-gewand*), and the third in a black gown.⁶⁸

According to a contemporary source, in 1692 the celebrant in the Cathedral of Ss. Maurice and Catharine at Magdeburg and the two sacred ministers assisting him wore dalmatics, as did also two “vicars” who acted as collets.⁶⁹

In 1692 the ornaments of St. Mary’s Church, Arnswalde (Choszczno), included two old chasubles (*Chorroek*), one of brown and the other of green figured velvet, two old linen surplices, and four linen rochets for boy servers (*Knabenkittel*). By 1772 the chasubles had fallen into such disrepair that they could no longer be used.⁷⁰

The white surplice was restored throughout the County of Hohenlohe in 1694/1695, “since Church history shows that it was customary in the primitive Church long before the Papacy.”⁷¹

On the Feast of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, 1694, the Provost of St. Peter’s Church, Kölln (the slightly older twin-city of Berlin), in an open-air service instituted Christopher Frederick Possart as vicar-in-charge of the still unbuilt chapel in the cemetery of the “Köpenick suburb” (called Luisenstadt since 1802, but in 1694 a part of St. Peter’s parish). At this service the clergy wore the customary white surplices. In the course of the next two years the chapel was erected under the name of St. Sebastian’s Church. A week before it was to be dedicated, the Calvinistic Elector Frederick III. of Brandenburg (who was subsequently in 1701 to crown himself as King in Prussia), under date of July 14 (old style), 1696, informed the Lutheran consistory that lest he be accused of innovation he had not abolished such Papistic holdovers as surplices, altar-candles, chasubles and making the sign of the cross, but that he did not want such ceremonies introduced into any of the new churches that were a-building in the vicinity of his capital. In his capacity of *summus episcopus* of the Church of the Augsburg Confession in his domains he directed that in the dedication of St. Sebastian’s and afterward such ceremonies were to be pretermitted therein, under penalty of unpleasant consequences.

⁶⁶ Oscar N. Olson, *The Augustana Lutheran Church in America: Pioneer Period 1846 to 1860* (Rock Island: Augustana Book Concern, 1950), pp. 363, 364. The *prastroek* and the *prästkappa* were respectively the *vestis talaris* and the *cappa clausa* which the Swedish clergy of the Middle Ages wore as every-day garb; the black cape became a Eucharistie vestment in Sweden only in the eighteenth century (Rohde, “Den svenska prästdräkten,” pp. 407, 409, 410).

⁶⁷ Reproduced in Severinsen, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁶⁸ Drews, *Der evangelische Geistliche*, plate 56, p. 71.

⁶⁹ Quoted in Rocholl, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

⁷⁰ Berg, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

⁷¹ Günther, “Geschichte des evangelischen Gottesdienstes in Hohenlohe,” pp. 50, 51.

Before this directive was filed with the town government, the Provost of St. Peter's, apparently in innocent ignorance, dedicated St. Sebastian's Church the following Sunday in a Eucharistic service in which he and the vicar of the congregation wore surplices, the four boy servers wore white rochets and lighted tapers burned on the altar. The Elector was furious, demanded abject apologies from all concerned, and withheld from the town government for almost a month the right to appoint the clergyman (*jus patronatus*). When he finally bestowed this privilege, it was combined with the express prohibition of chasubles, surplices, lighted candles, carrying of processional crosses, and chanting of the Gospel and the prayers. (The parish accounts, however, show that these provisions were promptly disregarded as far as altar-candles and boy servers holding houseling-cloths were concerned.) For almost a decade, the clergy of St. Peter's Church refused to accompany funeral processions to the cemetery in which St. Sebastian's Church stood because of the restrictions. After 1705, by which time St. Sebastian's had achieved quasi-parochial status, the clergy of St. Peter's accompanied their funeral processions as far as the defensive moat that marked the boundary between the two parishes. At the bridge that spanned the moat they either turned around and went home in their surplices or took off their surplices before proceeding.⁷²

The manuscript *Agenda Diaconorum* of St. Sebald's Church in Nuremberg, dated 1697, prescribed that when the collegiate clergy assembled in choir after the early choral Mass (*Frühmesse*) on holy days for the singing of *Erhalt' uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort*, they were to wear white surplices.⁷³

On Wednesday, June 30, 1697, Andrew Rudman, Erik Björck, and Jonas Aurén held their first service for the Swedish Lutheran colonists on the Delaware. "Upon this occasion," says Schmauk, "the three clergymen officiated clad in robe and surplice."⁷⁴

In 1699, Björck described in his diary the dedication of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Wilmington, Delaware, on the Feast of the Holy Trinity (July 4, old style): "After the congregation had been brought together by ringing the bell, my brother from the other congregation, Magister Andreas Rudman, along with myself, each clad in his surplice without chasubles—since we could not obtain them here—went in before the altar, along

⁷² J. F. Bachmann, *Die Luisenstadt: Versuch einer Geschichte derselben und ihrer Kirche* (Berlin; L. Oehmigke, 1839), pp. 38, 39, 43, 45-51, 79. The account of an early matins on Christmas Day in St. Nicholas' Church, Berlin, during the rectorate of Paul Gerhardt, given in Hans Joachim Moser, *Die evangelische Kirchenmusik in volkstümlichem Überblick* (Stuttgart: J. Engelhorn's Nachfolger, 1926), p. 65, where he describes the three officiating clergymen at the altar "in black garb (*Habit*) with big white ruffs (*Halskrausen*) under their turned-up mustaches (*Knebelbärten*)," has been quoted in English by Theodore Graebner, *The Borderland of Right and Wrong*, 4th edition (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1938), p. 6, and by Matthew N. Lundquist, "A Church Service from the Baroque Period" in *Lutheran Education*, Volume LXXXVIII, No. 10, June, 1953, p. 498; both, incidentally have changed the ruff into bands. It should be remembered that Moser's account of the service is an imaginative reconstruction and that he furnishes no references in support of his description of the vestments worn by Paul Gerhardt and his two assistants. Surplices have continued in unbroken use in St. Nicholas' Church, Berlin, until the present.

⁷³ *Agenda Diaconorum Ecclesiae Sebaldinae ao 1697* (MS., City Library, Nuremberg, about 200 pp., 12°), cited in Herold, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

⁷⁴ Theodore Emanuel Schmauk, *A History of the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania (1638-1820)*, Vol. I (Philadelphia: General Council Publication House, 1903), pp. 45, 46.

The Survival of the Historic Vestments in the Lutheran Church after 1555, by Arthur Carl Piepkorn

with our brother, the Reverend Mr. Jonas Aureen, wearing only a long cape (*Kappa*) with bands (*Krage*) . . .”⁷⁵

On the First Sunday after Trinity of the following year, Gloria Dei Church was dedicated in Philadelphia. Schmauk states, without indicating his source, that Rudman, Björck, and Aurén were robed in surplice and chasuble for this service.⁷⁶ In the light of the available evidence, Schmauk is probably wrong about the chasuble.⁷⁷

According to Bunz, the substitution of narrow panels of material over the arms in place of sleeves in surplices and the general abbreviation of this vestment are traceable on the Continent to the seventeenth, partly to the eighteenth, century.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ The original is reprinted in “Account of the Consecration of Holy Trinity Church by the Rev. Erik Björck,” in Hans Mattson (editor), *250th Anniversary of the First Swedish Settlement in America*, September 14th, 1888 (Minneapolis: The Anniversary Committee, 1889), p. 52; an English version is contained in Horace Burr (editor). *The Records of Holy Trinity (Old Swedes’) Church*, Wilmington, Del., from 1697 to 1773 (Wilmington, Historical Society of Delaware, 1890), p. 40.

⁷⁶ Schmauk, *op. cit.*, I, p. 49, n. 53.

⁷⁷ Compare Otto Norberg, *Svenska kyrkans mission vid Delaware i Nordamerika* (Stockholm: A. V. Carlsons Bokforlags-Aktiebolag, 1893), p. 19: “The dedication [of Gloria Dei Church at Wicaco] itself was carried out in about the same way as at Christina [Holy Trinity Church, Wilmington]. “Without stressing the point, it may be noted that neither of Björck’s two accounts of the dedication, one of which he entered in the records of Holy Trinity Church, Wilmington (in Burr, *op. cit.*, p. 79), the other of which is contained in a letter he sent to Sweden (in Jehu Curtis Clay, *Annals of the Swedes on the Delaware*, 2d edition [Philadelphia: H. Hooker and Co., 1858, p. 73), mentions the vestments worn or suggests a difference in the situation at this point from that which had obtained the year before. Neither does the account of Israel Acrelius, *A History of New Sweden*, translated from the 1759 Swedish original by William M. Reynolds (Philadelphia: Publication Fund of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1874), pp. 207, 208. Herr Harald J. Heyman, Keeper of the Manuscripts in the Universitetsbibliotek at Uppsala, where much of the manuscript material pertaining to the Swedish Mission on the Delaware has been deposited, has kindly examined the material in the Handskriftsavdelning for me without finding any document that sheds light on the question of the vestments worn either at the dedication of Gloria Dei Church or at the Ordination of Justus Falckner (Letter dated November 4, 1953). After several written requests for information had elicited no response, I called the Rev. John Craig Roak, rector of Gloria Dei Church, Philadelphia, by telephone on June 11, 1954, and he informed me that he had carefully examined the parish records for the years in question and that he had found no positive evidence in them to substantiate either the statement of Schmauk concerning the vestments worn at the dedication of Gloria Dei Church or the statements of Sachse concerning the vestments worn at the Ordination of Justus Falckner.

⁷⁸ Bunz, “Die Amtskleidung der Geistlichen,” p. 153.

V. The Eighteenth Century

WITH the famed jurist of the Enlightenment, John Samuel Stryk, presiding at the disputation, Conrad Louis Wagner at Halle in 1702 ridiculed chasubles, copes, and surplices as relics of Popery, Judaism, and paganism.¹

On November 24, 1703, Andrew Rudman, with the assistance of Erik Björck and Andrew Sandel, ordained Justus Falckner in Gloria Dei Church, Philadelphia. A number of published accounts of this event have described in considerable detail the vestments allegedly worn by the participants.

According to John William Richards, Rudman wore a “girdled surplice (!) with cotta (!) and stole,” while Björck, Sandel, and Falckner wore black clerical robes; during the rite Falckner “was invested with his cotta and stole (the symbol of the yoke of service for the Master as still used in some American Lutheran churches).”²

According to Delber Wallace Clark, Rudman was “vested in a white linen robe, falling to the feet and girdled at the waist. Around his neck, crossed over his breast, and held under the girdle, he wore a stole. Over this was a ‘chor-hemd,’ a loose copelike vestment.” Falckner, Sandel, and Björck wore black preaching gowns. During the rite, Björck and Sandel placed around Falckner’s neck “the stole as the badge of his priesthood. Then they drew over his head the ‘mess-hemd’ or chasuble, which the Swedish clergy wore when celebrating the Holy Communion.”³

Underlying these accounts is the description of Julius Friedrich Sachse, according to whom Rudman wore “a girdled surplice (!) with chasuble and stole, while the two assistants wore the black clerical robe.” Falckner wore “the collegiate gown of the German University,” and during the rite was invested “with the chasuble (*chorhemd*) and stole.”⁴

The statements of the Common Service Book Committee of the United Lutheran Church in this connection also appear to derive from the same source: “Andreas Rudman . . . was vested in an alb with girdle, over which was a white lace garment and stole. His two clerical assistants wore black gowns. Falckner wore his black university gown and over this was later placed a surplice or linen chasuble (*mess-hemd*), and stole.”⁵

¹ Conrad Ludwig Wagner, *De jure sabbathi* (Halle: 1702), p. 129, in Severinsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 64, 65.

² John William Richards, *Penn’s Lutheran Forerunners and Friends* (Columbus: The Book Concern, 1926), pp. 267, 268.

³ Delber Wallace Clark, *The World of Justus Falckner*, (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1946), pp. 32, 36.

⁴ There are two substantially identical accounts from Sachse’s pen. The earlier is contained in Julius Friedrich Sachse, *The German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania 1694-1708* (Philadelphia: Printed for the Author, 1895), pp. 353-60, the later in the same author’s *Justus Falckner: Mystic and Scholar* (Philadelphia: Printed for the Author, 1903), pp. 65-68. Schmauk (*op. cit.* pp. 112-117) has incorporated the earlier account verbatim; Clark (*op. cit.*, p. 37) depends on the later account.

⁵ Common Service Book Committee of the United Lutheran Church, “Liturgical Life and Practice,” in *The Lutheran*, July 18, 1935, p. 5. In its report to the 1940 Convention of the United Lutheran Church in

Also from Sachse (via Clark) comes the account published in 1952 by William H. Baar, who has Rudman officiating in an “alb and crossed stoles and a resplendent cope, the episcopal vestments of the Church of Sweden.” Falckner entered the church in a German university gown and “was vested in chasuble and stole” during the ceremony.⁶

The following observations can be made. First, Clark cautiously points out that Sachse’s account “may not be accurate as to facts.”⁷ Second, a “surplice” is not girdled. Third, Sachse himself indicates in his footnotes that the white vestment allegedly worn by Rudman and allegedly placed also upon Falckner in the course of the Ordination was not a “chasuble,” but, as the two German terms used, “*Chorhemd*” and “*Messhemd*,” clearly show, a “surplice” or “alb.”⁸ Fifth, it is most unlikely that Rudman wore two surplices, one on top of the other. Sixth, the general trustworthiness of Sachse’s account is rendered questionable by the fact that he inserted, apparently without compunction, a falsified document in his book *Justus Falckner*, a facsimile of what he labeled “the official certificate of Ordination of Dom. Justus Falckner.”⁹ Although Sachse claimed to have discovered this document in the archives of the Lutheran Consistory in Amsterdam, the astute detective work of the Dutch Lutheran theologian Kooiman has shown that Sachse actually forged by means of trick photography the document that he reproduced.¹⁰ Seventh, as Kreider has pointed out, it is unhappily not possible to determine the source(s) of Sachse’s description.¹¹

Thus, while much has been made of the alleged fact that Falckner was invested with a stole at his Ordination as justifying the combination of stole-and-gown or stole-and-surplice as a service vestment, yet unless and until Sachse’s alleged source(s) became accessible, it would appear most unsafe to draw from Sachse’s confused and highly imaginative account any definitive conclusions about the vestments actually used on this occasion.

It appears probable that Rudman was vested in a gown and an alb or surplice, without a stole. Falckner may have been similarly vested throughout the service, or he

America, the Committee stated: “Justus Falckner was vested at the time in alb and stole” (Minutes of the Twelfth Biennial Convention, p. 570).

⁶ William H. Baar, “Justus Falckner Anniversary,” in F. Eppling Reinartz (editor), *1953 Yearbook: The United Lutheran Church in America* (Philadelphia: United Lutheran Publication House, 1952), p. 8.

⁷ Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

⁸ Sachse, *German Pietists*, pp. 355, 356, nn. 395, 397; *Justus Falckner*, p. 65, nn. 21, 23.

⁹ Sachse, *Justus Falckner*, between pp. 74 and 75.

¹⁰ Willem J. Kooiman, “Justus Falckner’s Ordination Certificate,” in *The Lutheran Quarterly*, Vol. V, No. 4, November, 1953, pp. 385-88.

¹¹ Harry J. Kreider, “Justus Falckner,” in *The Ordination of Justus Falckner 1703-1953; A Service of Thanksgiving and Praise in Commemoration of the 250th Anniversary, held in connection with the Convention of the United Lutheran Synod of New York and New England in Battell Chapel, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, on June 2, 1953*, p. 10, n. 4. This order of service has on the cover a line drawing based on Sachse’s description, with all four participants wearing stoles; in a letter to this author under date of July 15, 1953, Kreider disclaims responsibility for this cut and asks that it be disregarded.

may have worn only a black gown. It is unlikely, though not impossible, that he entered the church in a black gown and that in the course of the service he was invested with a surplice, again without a stole. That Falckner wore only an alb, without a stole, seems to be the conclusion of Strodach, who, in spite of his partiality to the surplice-and-stole combination, stressed merely that Falckner wore an alb at his Ordination.¹² Kreider indicates that Falckner may have been vested either in an alb or in his own conventional dress.¹³

In any case, the issue is academic, since there seems to be no evidence that Falckner ever used a surplice, let alone a stole, during his subsequent ministry.

In 1705, Calvoer's *Rituale* refers to the retention among Lutherans of the "alb or surplice and chasuble."¹⁴

The wearing of a surplice at the celebration of Holy Communion and the administration of Holy Communion was general in Thuringia at this period; here and there the clergy wore it at all services. The boy servers were similarly garbed in many places; in 1706 Lord von Hund gave two surplices to the new parish church at Schweina near Salzungen, to be worn by the boy-servers who held the houseling-cloths at Holy Communion.¹⁵

By 1707 Mass vestments had generally disappeared in the Lutheran Church of Slovakia. In that year Canon VIII of the Synod of Ruzomberok (Rosenberg) directed that "popish vestments (*pontifikálne rucha*)" were to be abolished, "if they have been anywhere retained." It directed the priest to put on his surplice (*kamza*)—"in contradistinction to those who are not yet rectors"—after the third ringing of the bell and to proceed to the altar. Wearing of the *kamza* in the pulpit by the priest was expressly prescribed. The minutes ("Acta") of the synod noted that "albs continued to be retained in the church after the Mass vestments had been abolished (*ornatibus sublatis*)." Canon XVI prescribed that superintendents, seniors, priests, deacons, and rectors of schools were to

¹² Strodach, *op. cit.*, p. 167, and "On Vestments for the Clergy," in *The Lutheran Church Quarterly*, Vol. XII, No. 3, July 1939, p. 315.

¹³ Kreider, *op. cit.*, p. 7. The Swedish Ordination rite in the *Kyrko-Ordning* of 1571, which was in force until 1811, required the ordinands to come forward to the chancel, either "*in albis*, as the custom is, or in his own conventional dress, if that be suitable" (Kreider, *op. cit.*, p. 7 and p. 10, n. 3). At Ordinations in the Church of Sweden, the ordinands have traditionally entered the church in albs and receive chasubles during the service as an insigne of their new status. This custom is implied by Archbishop Laurentius Petri's Church Order of 1571 and, since it is documented for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it presumably never passed out of use. The Swedish *Ritual* has *prescribed* the investiture with the chasuble since 1811. (Rohde, *Svenskt gudstjänstliv*, pp. 462, 470.) By Björck's account, however, chasubles were not available in the Swedish colony on the Delaware as recently as only four years earlier (see note 74, Chapter IV, above). At my request Prof. Kooiman kindly searched the archives of the Lutheran Consistory of Amsterdam for possible sources of Sachse's description, but without result. In a letter dated July 2, 1954, he expresses the opinion that "Sachse fabricated the story himself; he has made it all up, also what he tells about the vestments."

¹⁴ Caspar Calvoer, *Rituale ecclesiasticum*, Part II (Jena: Johann Christoph Konig, 1705), pp. 505, 507, 510.

¹⁵ Gebhardt, *op. cit.*, III, 70.

use such vestments as corresponded to their status and circumstances.¹⁶

In 1714 a standard reference work, Rechenberg's *Hierolexicon Reale*, is able to say: "The vestments common and proper to all Evangelical priests (*Vestimenta communia et propria omnibus Sacerdotibus Evangelicis*) are amice, alb, cincture, maniple, stole, and chasuble."¹⁷ But it does not follow that all were actually still worn.

About this time the juriconsult Justus Henning Bohmer argues that even though "we use also in our churches the albs and chasubles, (which they call *das Chorhemd und Messgewandt* in the vernacular) from a custom originally introduced through the Roman Church, " this use is arbitrary, since these vestments are not universally used and in some churches they have already been done away with. Furthermore, we use them with a different intention and purpose, since we regard it as immaterial if the Holy Supper is celebrated in ordinary clothes or in Mass vestments. Again, our pastors use them only in public and not for the Communion of the sick outside the church or for private Communion. Hence, because our principles are different from those of the Roman Church, these vestments "ought for us to be something rightly (*merito*) to be repudiated."¹⁸

A widely-used Nuremberg hymnal of 1718 shows three sacred Ministers at the altar in Mass vestments.¹⁹

In Old Dresden in 1721, the celebrating curate (*Diakonus*) still donned alb and chasuble after the sermon every Sunday and holiday and, accompanied by two vested boy servers who held the houseling-cloths, proceeded to the altar and consecrated the Sacred Species.²⁰

In Transylvania, so a report from the year 1722 indicates, the Epistle at the Sunday *Hochamt* was read by a priest in surplice and tunicle (*a sacerdote veste choralis et missatica induto*); this implies that the celebrant and the liturgical deacon also wore Eucharistic vestments.²¹

In 1722, King Frederick William I. of Prussia, directed that when churches in which he had patronage rights (*jus patronatus*) were either newly constructed or, if old,

¹⁶ Petrik, *op. cit.*, pp. 168 (and n. 246), 169, 174.

¹⁷ Adam Rechenberg, *Hierolexicon reale* (Leipzig and Frankfurt: J. H. Klossius, 1714), II, p. 1680. I know of no other explicit evidence to support Robert Frederick Lau's statement as far as the amice and stole are concerned: "In [eighteenth century] Saxony the celebrant preached vested in alb, amice and stole, leaving the chasuble on the altar" ("Lutheran Worship in Germany After the Reformation," in *American Church Monthly*, Vol. XXIV, September, 1928, p. 64).

¹⁸ Justus Henning Böhmer, *Jus ecclesiasticum Protestantium* (1714 and subsequent editions), III, p. 747, in Adolph Heinrich Graser, *Die römisch-katholische Liturgie* (Halle: Friedrich Ruff, 1829), p. 236.

¹⁹ John Wulfer (editor), *Gottgeheiliger Christen Tafel-Music* (Nuremberg: A. I. Felssecker, 1718), cited in Herold, *op. cit.*, pp. 114, 115.

²⁰ Paul Christian Hilscher, *Etwas zu der Kirchen-Historie in Alt-Dresden usw.* (Dresden and Leipzig: Joh. Christoph Mieths Erben, 1721), p. 150.

²¹ Martin Schmeizel, *De statu ecclesiarum Lutheranorum in Transylvania* (1722), in Erich Roth, *Die Geschichte des Gottesdienstes der Siebenbürger Sachsen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1954), p. 161.

renovated, “chasubles or Mass vestments were not to be tolerated” in them.²²

In 1729, Christopher Bruhn, parish priest at Rinkenaes in the Duchy of Slesvig, who had come under Pietistic influence while a student at Halle, was unwilling to wear vestments, so he simply “alienated” the parish church’s gold-bordered chasuble—valued at from 30 to 40 *Reichsthaler*—from the Vestment-press, reportedly sold the better parts of it to some Jews and gave the rest of it to his wife to make a baptismal outfit (*Cassel-Zeug*)²³ and to trim her dress with, and, when the parishioners complained, barefacedly offered six *Thaler* by way of reimbursement. (Eleven years later, after he had become parish priest at Humptrup, he was still paying off the obligation.)²⁴

At the dedication of the Dresden-Friedrichstatt parish church in 1730, at which Valentine Ernst Löscher preached, the rector of the parish, David Mehner, wore a green chasuble. The use of white surplices and colored chasubles embroidered with golden crosses was general at this period in Saxony, Brunswick, the territory of Brandenburg-Nuremberg and elsewhere.²⁵

At the dedication of the Uffenheim parish church in 1731 both officiating clergymen wore white surplices.²⁶

At this period, according to Christian Gerber (died 1731), the celebrant at Holy Communion in Saxony generally wore a chasuble (*Messgewande*) over a very full white

²² Instruktion für die Generaldirektion vom 20. Dezember 1722, Article 18, para. 2, quoted in Oscar J. Mehl, “Des Soldaten-königs Kampf gegen die Zeremonien,” in *Die Hochkirche*, January, 1928, p. 18.

²³ I owe the identification of this puzzling term to the kindness and the vast erudition of Prof. John G. Kunstmann, Ph. D., of the Germanics Department of the University of Chicago and the University of North Carolina, who cites as references Otto Mensing (editor), *Schleswig-Holsteinisches Wörterbuch* (Volksausgabe), in (Neumünster: 1931), cols. 62, 63, and Johann Friedrich Schütze, *Holsteinisches Idiotikon*, II (Hamburg: 1801), p. 232. Other designations for the same item were *Kasseltüg*, *Kasseltüch*, *Kasteltüch* (corrupted by vulgar etymology into *Kastentüch*), *Kastelzeug*, *Kasgelkleed*, *Taufzeug*. *Kassen* or *Karsten* is local dialect for “Christian;” as a verb it means “to christen,” that is, “to make a Christian (by Holy Baptism).” According to Mensing (*loc. cit.*) *Koseler Kircheninventar* of 1764 required parishioners, in lieu of payment of the ordinary perquisite for a Baptism, to rent a *Castelzeug* or *Taufzeug* from the pastor; these were available in this case in five different qualities of material, from which the parishioners were free to choose, at rates ranging from 12 to 32 *Schilling* per use. The outfit seems to have consisted of a small garment and a small cap; Mensing refers to a description of a *Kasseltüch* in *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte*, IV, p. 140; V, p. 35. Schütze (*loc. cit.*) expressly mentions the pastor’s wife as the person from whom the *Kasseltug* was rented, and notes that a parallel practice existed in connection with the bridal crown (*Brautkrone*) at marriages. The dismantled chasuble was thus converted into an additional source of family income for Pastor Bruhn!

²⁴ J. Brodersen, *Fra gamle Dage* (1912), p. 481, quoted in Th. O. Achelis, “De rette Messeklaeders Brug i Hertugdømmet Slesvig,” in *Sønderjydske Aarbøger*, second series, 1927 (Aabenraa: Hjemdal’s Bogtrykkeri, 1927), pp. 269, 270.

²⁵ Friedrich Lochner, *Der Hauptgottesdienst der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1895), p. 20; the passages from Lochner referred to in this survey have been translated into English by Fred H. Lindemann in *American Lutheran*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 9, September, 1951, p. 8.

²⁶ Georgii, *Uffenheimische Nebenstunden*, I, p. 344, cited in Emil Friedrich Heinrich Medicus, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche im Königreiche Bayern diesseits des Rheins* (Erlangen: Andreas Deichert, 1863), p. 28.

surplice (*Hemd*).²⁷ In some places the celebrant still donned both at the beginning of the service, removed the chasuble and spread it on the altar after the Holy Gospel, preached in his surplice, and resumed the chasuble at the altar after the sermon. In most parishes, however, the celebrant donned the chasuble in the sacristy and wore it only after the sermon.²⁸ Everywhere some of the laity set great store by chasubles; when they wanted to do a particularly good work, they would have an expensive chasuble or set of altar and pulpit paraments made and present it to the parish church.²⁹ He reported that some churches had four, six, eight, and as many as ten chasubles. He professed astonishment that there were still even clergymen who set great store by such things and complained when their respective parish church had an old, poor or no chasuble, where they ought to have rejoiced that there was none. He stated that many preachers who had been in the Sacred Ministry for many years had never worn a chasuble; he himself had had to wear one the first six years of his ministry in Schönberg because the noble patron (*Herrschaft*) insisted upon it, but in the Lockwitz parish church he had not worn a chasuble for more than forty years, even though they were available.³⁰

According to the accounts for the year 1733, the Swedish Lutheran parish church at Raccoon [Swedesboro] of New Jersey, “was rubbed [robbed] of wicked hands from a biurring [burying] Pall, Surplice chalice and the minister of his Gown which never could be discovered.” The surplice was replaced with church funds, the pall by the private gift of another pall.³¹

In 1733, Frederick William I. of Prussia extended the prohibition of the use of copes and Mass vestments to all the churches in his domains.³² The decree was vigorously protested in Königsberg, Magdeburg, Halle, and Pomerania.³³ On November 6, 1736, the decree of 1733 was repeated as an Order-in-Council directing the

²⁷ Christian Gerber, *Historic der Kirchen-Ceremonien in Sachsen*, edited by Christian Gottlob Gerber (Dresden and Leipzig: Raphael Christian Saueressig, 1732), pp. 456, 457.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 457.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 115, 458.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 458.

³¹ Amandus Johnson (editor), *The Records of the Swedish Lutheran Churches at Raccoon and Penns Neck 1713-1786* (Elizabeth: New Jersey Commission to Commemorate the 300th Anniversary of the Settlement by the Swedes and Finns on the Delaware, 1938), p. 123. Thefts of this kind were not uncommon. In 1749 Provost Israel Acrelius refers to thefts that had taken place at Holy Trinity Church, Wilmington, and elsewhere (see page 69 and note 55). The Wilmington church was again burglarized “by a depraved and Godless person” who broke in through a window early on October 2, 1771; in recording the event in the parish register, the then rector, Lawrence Girelius, notes that the church at New Castle suffered a similar loss at the same time and that St. Paul’s Church, Philadelphia, sustained like damage soon after (Burr, *op. cit.*, pp. 495, 496).

³² W. Harry Krieger, *An Historical Survey of Liturgical Vestments for Clergy and Sanctuary with Final Reference to Good Lutheran Usage* (St. Louis: Unpublished typewritten S. T. M. Thesis, Concordia Theological Seminary, 1947), p. 35. For a bibliography on the soldier-king’s attack on the ceremonies, see the supplementary note in Graff, *op. cit.*, I, bottom of p. 109.

³³ Enevold Ewald, *Tiids-Register* (Copenhagen: 1742), p. 895, cited in Severinsen, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

discontinuance of “white surplices, chasubles and Mass vestments.”³⁴ In Halle, however, all the Lutheran clergy, except the prison chaplain, continued to use Mass vestments until October 8, 1737, when the city bowed to the edict of Frederick William and the Mass vestments were turned in to a central depository for safe keeping.³⁵

In 1735 the Synod of the Church of Württemberg investigated the feasibility of transferring responsibility for laundering the surplices from the wives of the parish school-teachers—who were unwilling to continue to perform this office for a mere 24–30 *Kreutzer* apiece, or from one to four *Gulden* a year—to the wives of the clergy. The ludicrous aspects of the inquiry seem to have struck more than one of the parties concerned, but it led nowhere.³⁶

The Schleswig-Holstein Church Order of the same year directed that the Eucharistic vestments (*Abendmahlsgevänder*) be donned during the offertory.³⁷ It was probably about this time—somewhere in the eighteenth century—that the custom developed in Norway also that the celebrant wore a surplice on ordinary Sundays from the beginning of the service to the “Gospel-psalm” (*Evangeliesalme*, the hymn before the sermon), divested himself of the surplice during the hymn, preached in his black gown, and, if the Holy Communion followed, put on surplice *and chasuble* during the “short Communion-psalm” (*kort Nadverdsalme*, the hymn after the General Prayer); on the three great feasts, however, the procedure set forth by the Ritual of 1785 continued to be followed literally.³⁸ This distinction between ordinary Sundays and the great festivals has become a matter of liturgical prescription in the *Alterbok* of the Church of Norway.³⁹

Under Pietistic influence, robes (*Müntel*) finally replaced the traditional Mass vestments and surplices in the County of Wernigerode in 1738.⁴⁰ (Until 1671, the students of the Wernigerode school had been allowed to borrow the Mass vestments for use in their Christmas pantomime and their annual processions on St. Gregory’s Day; withdrawal of the privilege resulted in a general exodus of the older scholars at Easter-time in the year named.)⁴¹

In 1739 the Church Order of Brunswick-Lüneburg repeated the old injunction that

³⁴ Quoted in Mehl, “Des Soldatenkönigs Kampf gegen die Zeremonien,” p. 19.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 22. Graser (*op. cit.*, p. 237) speaks of the riots (*Unruhen*) this decree precipitated in the Brandenburg domains, as a result of which the privilege of wearing Mass vestments was restored in 1740.

³⁶ Kolb, *op. cit.*, pp. 416, 417.

³⁷ Quoted in Mehl, *Das liturgische Verhalten*, p. 19.

³⁸ Henry Holloway, *The Norwegian Rite* (London; Arthur H. Stockwell, 1934), p. 102. An analogous procedure was common in Saxony at this period, as we have observed above; see Gerber, *op. cit.*, p. 457. Christian T. Engelstoft, *Liturgiens eller Alterbogens og Kirkeritualets Historie i Danmark* (Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzels Forlag, 1840), p. 87, states that in the course of the eighteenth century the custom developed here and there in Denmark that the priests wore surplices during the whole service only on feasts, notwithstanding the provisions of the official directories.

³⁹ *Alterbok for den norske Kirke* (1920), 2d edition, pp. 1, 7, 16, 29, 31.

⁴⁰ Drees, *op. cit.*, p. 373.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 371.

at the celebration of the Holy Eucharist the officiating clergy were to be vested in their “ecclesiastical ornaments, such as albs, chasuble, and Mass vestments.”⁴²

On July 3, 1740, an Order-in-Council of the new King Frederick William III. restored to the Lutheran clergymen of the Kingdom of Prussia the privilege of wearing white surplices and chasubles again, if they chose. During the national mourning for Frederick William I., however, the colorful chasubles were not to be worn, and, in Magdeburg at least, they were forgotten after the period of mourning was over. In Berlin, however, and apparently in Halle also, some churches did restore Mass vestments.⁴³

Besides Berlin, according to Drews, we find chasubles in use in the first half of the eighteenth century in Old Prussia, in the city of Halle, in Halberstadt, in the border churches of the Neumark, and in the principality of Ansbach; he states that by 1740 they had been abolished in the duchy of Magdeburg, in the Saalkreis, and in Hesse.⁴⁴

1744 saw the publication of *Commentatio juris ecclesiastici de jure Sabbathi* by John Samuel Stryk, the same “most celebrated jurisconsult” of the Enlightenment who had presided at the inaugural disputation of Conrad Louis Wagner in 1702. In it Stryk lumped together “Mass vestments, surplices, white gowns, collars, long black priests’ gowns with wide sleeves, etc.,” as Papistic in origin, Pharisaic in character, and conducive to superstition. Hence they should be disapproved. At least Mass vestments should be abolished. Since we repudiate the sacrifice of the Mass we ought to repudiate the superstitious vesture of the Mass-priests (*Missifici*), just as honest matrons avoid not only the life and customs but also the dress of street-walkers.⁴⁵

Surplices and Mass vestments were abolished in all three parish churches in Flensburg by a Royal Rescript of the Danish monarch dated March 20, 1745.⁴⁶ This action was taken on the urgent recommendation of Provost Christian Ernst Lundius, who declared that at two of the churches, St. Mary’s and St. John’s, the vestments were so old they would have to be replaced, an expense which neither the town council, the consistory, nor the vestrymen of the parishes were prepared to assume.⁴⁷

Gifts of Mass vestments from wealthy parishioners to Lutheran parishes in

⁴² *Braunschweig-Lüneburgische Kirchen-Ordnung zum Geder Fürstenthümer, Graff- und Herrschaften, Calenbergischen* (Göttingen: Universitäts Buchhandlung, 1739), p. 96.

⁴³ Mehl, “Des Soldatenkönigs Kampf gegen die Zeremonien,” p. 23 (Berlin); on Halle, see p. 85 and n. 1 on p. 95 below.

⁴⁴ Drews, *Der evangelische Geistliche*, p. 40; but Drews errs in saying that Mass vestments were at this time no longer worn in Saxony. Severinsen (*op. cit.*, p. 68) points out that at the time of writing (1924) St. Mary’s Church, Danzig (Gdansk) and the Cathedral at Brandenburg had one of the largest collections of Mass vestments in Christendom, although they were, as far as he knew, no longer in use.

⁴⁵ Johannes Samuel Stryk, *Commentario Juris ecclesiastici de Jure Sabbathi* (Halle [?]: Publisher not given, 1744), pp. 111-13.

⁴⁶ O. H. Möller, *Beyträge zur Civil- Kirchen- und Gelehrten-Geschichte der königlichen Dänischen Stadt Flensburg* (Flensburg: 1767), last part, p. 44, in Severinsen, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

⁴⁷ Th. O. Achelis, *op. cit.*, pp. 271, 272.

Lusatia, including some newly-founded parishes, are recorded as late as 1747 at least.⁴⁸ The same was true at mid-century in Silesia.⁴⁹

In Pomerania, the chasuble was customary until the middle of the eighteenth century.⁵⁰

At Leipzig in Johann Sebastian Bach's time the officiants wore white surplices and chasubles and the choir boys wore white surplices also.⁵¹ The Common Service Book Committee states: "We know from the inventory of Bach's effects that he wore the surplice as organist at Leipsic."⁵² It is quite probably that as organize Bach wore a surplice, but no surplice is listed in the "Inventory of the Effects of Johann Sebastian Bach, late Cantor of the Thomasschule, Leipzig, deceased 28 July 1750 in the *Archiv des Bezirksgerichts* at Leipzig."⁵³

On December 27, 1749, the newly-arrived provost of the Swedish Mission on the Delaware, Israel Acrelius, noted at a parish meeting of Holy Trinity Church, Wilmington, in connection with "the adornment and things necessary for the church" the lack of "mass-linen, which is not only Swedish but English Church-vestment."⁵⁴ Earlier in the month he had reported to the Archbishop of Uppsala, and the Cathedral Chapter there that the parishes had "had no Mass Ornaments (*masse skrud*) ever since they had been stolen out of the churches." (Since no theft is noted in the Wilmington parish register, the loss at Holy Trinity Church probably took place between the death of the previous rector, Peter Tranberg, on November 8, 1748, and the arrival of Acrelius.) The new provost continues in his letter: "Since, however, the people are not averse to it, but on the contrary talk with pleasure of its previous use, I shall try to get the linen into use as is universally customary also in the English Church. A chasuble (*mässehake*) is regarded as expensive and does not admit of being brought back into use so easily."⁵⁵

⁴⁸ C. Wilke, *Chronik der Stadt Budissin* (Budissin: 1843), p. 662, in Graff, *op. cit.*, I, p. 107 and n. 10 thereat.

⁴⁹ Otto Walter Eberhard Aust, *Die Agendenreformen in der evangelischen Kirche Schlesiens während der Aufklärungszeit und ihr Einfluss auf die Gestaltung des kirchlichen Lebens* (Breslau: Breslau Genossenschafts-Buchdruckerei, 1910), p. 58, n. 19.

⁵⁰ Otto (editor), *Die Pommersche Kirchen-Ordnung und Agenda . . . von 1736* (Greifswald: C. A. Koch Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1854), Part II (Agenda), p. 75.

⁵¹ Philipp Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, 4th edition (Leip-Breitkopf und Härtel, 1930), II, p. 94.

⁵² Common Service Book Committee of the United Lutheran Church, "Liturgical Life and Practice," in *The Lutheran*, July 11, 1935, p. 4.

⁵³ Rep. IV, No. 1800, reproduced in Spitta, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 956-78; in English translation in Charles Sanford Terry, *Bach: A Biography* (London: Oxford University Press, 1928), pp. 269-75, and in Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel (editors), *The Bach Reader* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1945), pp. 191-97.

⁵⁴ Burr, *op. cit.*, p. 426.

⁵⁵ Photostatic copy of the letter of Acrelius to the Archbishop and Cathedral Chapter at Uppsala, dated December 1, 1749, obtained from the Landsarkiv in Uppsala, where it is filed as Series F VIII, Vol. 5, p. 18. Gustav Arén and Sigurd Petri, "De svenska forsam-lingarnas i Nordamerika anslutning till den Anglikanska Kyrkan 1736-1786," in Gunnar Westin (editor), *Kyrkohistorisk Arskrift*, XLVI (1946) (Uppsala and Stockholm: Almqvist och Wiksells Boktryckeri AB, 1947), p. 118 (I owe this reference to Dr.

Wealthy patrons and parishioners imported French-made chasubles into Denmark and gave them to parish churches there as late as 1754.⁵⁶ French (especially Lyonnaise) workmanship is also demonstrable in many Norwegian chasubles that have survived from the eighteenth century.⁵⁷

An inventory of the Riddarholm church in Sweden in 1758 lists a chasuble richly embroidered with pearls, gold and silver for the high festivals; a black chasuble embroidered in silver for Lenten use; a chasuble of cloth-of-silver, with a Crucifixion embroidered in gold and with gold galloons three fingers wide, for festivals of lesser rank; a red silk chasuble, ornamented with gold lace, also for high festivals; and another red chasuble for ordinary Sundays.⁵⁸

The process of abolishing Eucharistic vestments in North Slesvig—the only major part of Denmark where they have not survived until the present—did not end with the abolition of Mass vestments and surplices in Flensburg. By 1759 Mass vestments had been done away with in the rural parishes that belonged to the diocese (*Stift*) of Slesvig,⁵⁹ although they survived for over a century longer in most of the parishes that belonged to the dioceses of Ribe and Fyn.⁶⁰

A funeral procession in Nuremberg on an *Allegorie auf Vergänglichkeit* cut in copper in 1760 shows six clergymen in white surplices.⁶¹

A manuscript service-book of 1764, entitled *Liturgia Ecclesiae Cibiensis*, indicates that in Hermannstadt (Sibiu), Transylvania, the three sacred ministers at the Holy Eucharist were in albs, over which the celebrating archdeacon wore a chasuble of gold brocade (*aurea laenea*) and the liturgical deacon (*Vigil*) and sub-deacon (*Convigil*) wore tunics of the same rich material (*tunica aurea*). The same rite also prescribes white, green, red, and violet Eucharistic vestments and copes (*pluviale*) for various seasons and occasions. The historic vestments were likewise in use elsewhere in Transylvania; in the Burzenland (Bârsa) district, the curates (*Diakoni*) performed their

Oscar N. Olson of Rock Island), cite a part of this letter to show that Acrelius “venture(d) to introduce (*införa*) the alb as liturgical garb by referring . . . to the custom of the Church of England;” all that was really involved, however, was the restoration of a well-remembered and well-loved custom which antedated the introduction of the chasuble into churches of the Swedish Mission on the Delaware. How generally the chasuble was actually used in the Delaware colonies is difficult to determine; in addition to the cited letter we have as evidence for the use of the chasuble Acrelius’ somewhat inconclusive statement of 1758: “Still more singular does the Swedish Mass appear to them [the English] . Mass-linen is usual with this (them?); but they cannot be reconciled to the chasuble.” (*A History of New Sweden*, translated by Reynolds, p. 359.)

⁵⁶ Severinsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 54, 55, furnishes examples from 1731, 1735, and 1754.

⁵⁷ Bugge and Kielland, *op. cit.*, pp. 11, 32-35.

⁵⁸ Bengt Stolt, “En liturgisk färgcanon från 1758,” in *Svenskt Gudstjänstliv*, Vol. XXVII, No. 2, November, 1952, pp. 46, 47, 47.

⁵⁹ J. Lass, *Versuch einer vermehrten Anleitung usw.* (1759), p. 119, quoted by Th. O. Achelis, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

⁶⁰ Th. O. Achelis, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

⁶¹ Drews, *Der evangelische Geistliche*, plate 92, p. 117.

sacred ministrations in a surplice (*weissen Kittel*); in Kronstadt (Stalin, formerly Brasov) the three sacred ministers at the Holy Eucharist wore mass vestments, while the clergy who assisted in the distribution of the Blessed Sacrament and the servers wore surplices. We are also told that at marriages in Kronstadt the officiant celebrated the nuptial Eucharist in mass vestments, then laid aside his chasuble in the sacristy and solemnized the nuptials “in stola alba.” Without giving any reason, Roth expresses the opinion that the *stola* “obviously” means “vestment,” not specifically a “stole;” he may be right, but there is a strong possibility that a proper stole is meant.⁶²

In Taucha, where Leipzig had the patronage right, the chasuble was discarded in 1768.⁶³

The surplice was dropped from use in Dortmund in 1769.⁶⁴

A chasuble was in use in the Castle Church at Königsberg (Kaliningrad) until the sacristan stole it in the eighteenth century.⁶⁵

The inventory of the Raccoon Swedish Lutheran parish church in Swedesboro, New Jersey, undertaken when Nils Collin, the last Swedish rector, assumed charge in 1773, includes “an old [used] surplice.”⁶⁶

The minutes of the Municipal Council of Leipzig contain the following entry under date of December 13, 1776: “The old Mass vestments that were on hand in St. Nicholas’ Church have now been converted into money; and while it was once intended to give them away for 900 *Thaler*, 1450 *Thaler* were nevertheless realized from them.”⁶⁷

A silver-brocade chasuble given to Sigersted parish church in Denmark around the 1770s by its then patron, Baron C. D. Knuth⁶⁸ of Conradsborg, still shows medieval influence in its shape.⁶⁸

In 1780, all the Lutheran clergymen of Weimar, including Johann Gottfried Herder, still wore the white surplice.⁶⁹

⁶² Roth, *op. cit.*, pp. 160, 166, 182, 211.

⁶³ Albrecht, *Sächsische Kirchen- und Predigergeschichte* (1802), Vol. I, Part 2, p. 1038, in Chalybäus, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

⁶⁴ C. H. E. von Oven, *Über die Entstehung und Fortbildung des evangelischen Kultus in Jülich, Berg, Cleve, Mark usw.* (Essen: 1828), p. 76, cited in Graff, *op. cit.*, n, p. 70.

⁶⁵ G. Bunz, “Kleider und Insignien, geistliche, in der christlichen Kirche,” in J. J. Herzog, G. L. Plitt, and Albert Hauck (editors), *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, second edition, III (Leipzig: Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1881), p. 53. Unfortunately, the corresponding article by Viktor Schulze in the third edition of the *Realencyklopädie* (X, pp. 526-35) omits much of the instructive material assembled by Bunz.

⁶⁶ Johnson (editor), *op. cit.*, p. 183. The “old cope” listed in the inventory of the Raccoon rectory (p. 184) was unquestionably a black *prästkappa*.

⁶⁷ “Bilder aus dem gottesdienstlichen Leben Leipzigs im 17. Jahrhundert,” in *Allgemeine Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*, 1895, No. 50 (December 13), col. 1204.

⁶⁸ Severinsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-62. Severinsen’s summary of visitation records, church accounts, museum catalogs, and other documents discloses the impressive variety of colors, materials, and ornaments used in Danish chasubles from 1550 to 1776 (*op. cit.*, pp. 56-63).

⁶⁹ Gebhardt, *op. cit.*, III, p. 239.

In 1781, Friedrich Nicolai visited Nuremberg and observed the clergy there in surplices and Mass vestments; he professed not to have been edified by a weekday choral matins service in St. Sebald's Church in which eight curates in surplices participated.⁷⁰

On Advent Sunday of that year (1781) a new church was dedicated in Friemar, in the superintendency of Gotha, to replace the one that had burned down in 1779; on the occasion of the first service in the church two matrons of the parish gave the church a surplice of "good Bielefeld linen."⁷¹

The Edict of Toleration of 1781 restored freedom of worship to the Church of the Augsburg Confession in Bohemia. In a few places especially in eastern Moravia, on the border of Slovakia, the restoration of privileges resulted in the introduction of the surplice, but the number of congregations affected remained very small.⁷²

In Slovakia itself the inroads of Rationalism were also being felt. Thus on January 5, 1784, a district inspector by the name of Szilvay submitted to the Lutheran Bishop Michal Torkos of Bratislava a *Proiectum quomodo cultus Divinus diebus Dominicis et Festis in Ecclesiis Evangelico-Lutheranis institui deberet*. In it he advised the abolition of the surplice (*alba*), "partly because it is a remnant of old superstition and partly because the Bohemians and Moravians do not want to receive and wear it."⁷³

In March of the same year a district-by-district survey of Church ceremonies throughout Hungary was compiled under the title *Kirchen Caeremonien der Evangelischen von allen drey Nationen in Ungarn*.⁷⁴ The surplice is the only vestment discussed. The Germans used it everywhere at almost all sacerdotal functions inside and outside the church, although there were some congregations where its use was restricted to the church interior. The seniorate of Tolna was the only one in which the German priests did not use the surplice at all. The Slovaks used the surplice sometimes more, sometimes less. The Magyars did not use the surplice at all, except in a few mixed congregations among the Slovaks.⁷⁵

In Leisnig, Mass vestments were in use until 1787 on Sundays and until a later date at weekday Eucharists; in Gersdorf-bei-Leianig they survived until 1797.⁷⁶

In rural Austria—under the influence of the "Silesian rite"—the alb was in occasional use in the late eighteenth century.⁷⁷

Mass vestments were still in use in St. Nicholas' Church, Berlin, in 1787.⁷⁸

⁷⁰ Friedrich Nicolai, *Beschreibung einer Reise durch Deutschland und die Schweiz im Jahre 1781*, I (Berlin and Stettin: No publisher, 1783), pp. 303, 304.

⁷¹ Johann Heinrich Gelbke, *Kirchen- und Schulen-Verfassung des Herzogthums Gotha*, Part 2, Vol. I (Gotha: Ettingersche Buchhandlung, 1796), p. 201.

⁷² Memorandum of the Rev. Th. Dr. Ján M. Petřík, dated October 12, 1953.

⁷³ Petřík, *op. cit.*, p. 207 and n. 337b.

⁷⁴ Now in the Archives of the Bratislava Congregation (Petřík, *op. cit.*, p. 217 and n. 354).

⁷⁵ Petřík, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

⁷⁶ *Neue Sächsische Kirchengalerie, Ephorie Leisnig*, cols. 40, 269, in Chalybäus, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

⁷⁷ Graff, *op. cit.*, II, p. 71.

⁷⁸ *Ueber den Religionszustand in Preussen unter der Regierung Friedrichs II.* (Leipzig: 1787), II, p. 142, in

In Hamburg, a chasuble richly embroidered with pearls and gold thread was in use until 1788.⁷⁹

Simultaneously the Rationalist Karl Spazier complained that even in some of the chief churches of enlightened Berlin “the preacher gets up in a frightful white linen surplice like a spook in the midst of an assembled multitude of people.” He also refers to “the loud-colored embroidered chasubles” extant particularly in the Saxon principalities and to the “ludicrously vested boy servers” who kneel behind the celebrant.⁸⁰

The proposals for liturgical reform in Silesia put forth by Senior Engelmann of Steinau (Scinawa) in 1791 discountenanced the retention of chasubles.⁸¹

In 1795, Gottfried Elisenschmid of Gera complained that chasubles, against which he inveighed as “theatrical garb which dates entirely from the dark ages of superstitious worship,” were worn “in many places of our Protestant Churches,” and that some Lutheran pastors were even restoring them in places where they had been abolished years earlier.⁸²

Chasubles were finally abolished in Leipzig on January 1, 1795,⁸³ and in Zwickau in 1796.⁸⁴

In 1797, the Danish theologian Bastholm urged the substitution of a black gown for the still conventional white surplice.⁸⁵

On February 10, 1797, an inventory of vestments from the Lutheran churches of Nuremberg offered for sale in order to raise money for the depleted city treasury included: From St. Sebald’s Church, a pearl-embroidered red chasuble, two similarly embroidered red dalmatics, and a similarly embroidered blue chasuble; and from St. Lawrence’s Church, a party-colored, gold-and-pearl-embroidered chasuble with two matching dalmatics, a blue pearl-embroidered chasuble, a white chasuble, and a blue-and-gold chasuble each with a matching dalmatic, and three brown silk chasubles. The pearls alone were sold by the three successful Jewish bidders for 2300 *florins*.⁸⁶

Even the white surplice was abolished in 1798 in the margraviates of Ansbach and Bayreuth.⁸⁷

Graser, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

⁷⁹ Graff, *op. cit.*, I, p. 107.

⁸⁰ Spazier, *op. cit.*, p. 166; see also p. 48.

⁸¹ *Corr(espondenz)-Bl(att) d(es) V(ereins) f(ur) G(eschichte) f(ür) ev(angelischen) K(irche) Schl(esiens)*, V, p. 32, cited in Aust, *op. cit.*, p. 59, n. 19.

⁸² Gottfried Benjamin Eisenschmid, *Geschichte der vornehmsten Kirchengebräuche der Protestanten* (Leipzig: Johann Ambrosius Barth, 1795), pp. 310-12

⁸³ Hofmann, *Bildnisse der sämtlichen Superintendenten der Leipziger Dioces mit kurzen Lebensabrissen*, p. 61, in Chalybäus, *op. cit.*, p. 224, n. 3.

⁸⁴ *Neue Sächsische Kirchengalerie, Ephorie Zwickau*, col. 54, in Chalybäus, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

⁸⁵ Christian Bastholm, *Kurze Gedanken zu weiterem Nachdenken über den geistlichen Stand* (Altona: 1797), p. 110, cited in Graff, *op. cit.*, II, p. 69.

⁸⁶ Herold, *op. cit.*, pp. 321-22.

⁸⁷ Medicus, *loc. cit.*; Hans Kressel, *Die Liturgie der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche in Bayern rechts des Rheins: Geschichte und Kritik ihrer Entwicklung im 19. Jahrhundert*, 2d ed. (Munich: Evangelischer

Mass vestments—as well as the chrisom and the burning candle at Baptisms—were in use in the Lutheran parish churches of Breslau until the end of the eighteenth century.⁸⁸

A contemporary copperplate of a Lutheran wedding in Nuremberg in the eighteenth century shows the officiant vested in an “alb.”⁸⁹ Lotz states that the officiant also wears a cope (*Pluviale*),⁹⁰ but what looks like a cope is probably only the panels attached to the yoke of the “alb” in lieu of sleeves and hanging down over the arms at each side.

At the end of the eighteenth century and afterward there were still here and there in Hungary parishes in which the clergy wore surplices, at least at the Holy Eucharist. For the most part these were urban parishes in Upper Hungary with mixed Magyar, Slavic and German constituencies.⁹¹ It was during the era of Rationalism, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, that the black robe with bands (“tablets of Moses”) was first introduced into Hungary.⁹² In Slovakia, the use of surplices was discontinued in Magyar congregations under the influence of Rationalism.⁹³

An engraved eighteenth century *Patenbrief* from the Municipal Library, Hamburg, shows an officiant at Baptism wearing a “Saxon alb.”⁹⁴

Until the end of the eighteenth century—Gräser writes in 1828—the alb and the chasuble continued in use in many Evangelical churches, notably in Saxony and Brandenburg, “although not wholly without criticism.”⁹⁵

Presseverband für Bayern, 1953), p. 8. I owe the latter reference to Kirchenrat Kressel’s kindness.

⁸⁸ J. C. H. Schmeidler, *Die evangelische Haupt-und Pfarr-Kirche zu St. Elisabeth* (Breslau; Josef Max und Co., 1857), p. 213, where he also states that in his day a “rich supply” of Mass vestments was still preserved in Breslau, notably in St. Mary Magdalene’s Church.

⁸⁹ Drews, *Der evangelische Geistliche*, plate 90. p. 115.

⁹⁰ Lotz, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

⁹¹ Letter from the Rev. Prof. Dr. Lajos Jánossy, dated October 19, 1953.

⁹² 92. Letter from Dr. János Pórkolab, a lay leader of the Hungarian Evangelical (Lutheran) Mission Congregation, Nuremberg, Germany, dated October 5, 1953.

⁹³ Memorandum of the Rev. Th. Dr. Ján M. Petrík, dated October 12, 1953.

⁹⁴ Drews, *Der evangelische Geistliche*, plate 88, p. 113.

⁹⁵ Gräser, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

VI. The Nineteenth Century

Chasubles were not abolished in Halle until 1801/1802.¹

At Schweidnitz (Swidnica) in Silesia both the rector and his two assistants wore chasubles for an anniversary service in the *Friedenskirche* in 1802; the vestments were still on display there a century later.²

In the same year, however, Rullmann described the common garb of Lutheran clergymen officiating at divine service as consisting of a cassock (*Summar*), a white surplice, and, at the Holy Eucharist, a chasuble.³

In 1803 Wagnitz takes umbrage at the “unseemly toilet practice” current in Jena, where the sacristan assists the celebrant in donning his white surplice at the altar during the last stanza of “All glory be to God on high,” and in doffing it after he has sung the Holy Gospel. Wagnitz held that the sacristy would be a more appropriate place! Better still, abolish this ostentation altogether!⁴ The complaint is conclusive evidence, however, that the ancient custom of vesting at the altar persisted in the Church of the Augsburg Confession until the last century.

Chasubles in the liturgical colors were in use in Lübeck until 1805.⁵

In November, 1810, the Nuremberg clergy wore their surplices and Mass vestments for the last time.⁶ Karl Friedrich Michahelles, rector of St. John’s Church, stresses in an entry in the parish records that on December 2 he celebrated the Holy Eucharist without a chasuble for the first time.⁷

In the early years of the eighteenth century the rector of Braunsdorf-bei-Schwarzburg in Thuringia still wore a surplice at divine service. Elsewhere in Thuringia the surplice had generally disappeared, except that here and there it survived at celebrations of Holy Communion.⁸

An Order-in-Council of King Frederick William III. of Prussia, dated March 20, 1811, made the black gown (*Talar*) with bands (*Beffchen*) the obligatory service vestment of Evangelical clergymen and Jewish rabbis throughout the kingdom of Prussia. The intention of the regulation was laudable; it sought to replace with a decent and uniform vestment the chaotic caprice of clerics—some of whom when officiating wore only the vestigial *Abbé-mäntelchen* (also called *Predigermantelchen*), a black cloth fastened to the coat-collar and hanging down the wearer’s back in folds, while others wore unadorned lay street-dress. The King specifically provided that where albs and white surplices

¹ Heinrich Balthasar Wagnitz, in *Liturgisches Journal*, Vol. IV (1804), p. 83.

² Worthmann, *Geschichte der Friedenskirche* (1902), pp. 9, 42, in Aust, *op. cit.*, p. 57 and n. 18 thereat.

³ D. G. W. Rullmann (editor), *Materialien für alle Teile der Amtsführung*, Vol. VI (1802), p. 472, in Graff, *op. cit.*, II, p. 69.

⁴ Wagnitz, in *Liturgisches Journal*. Vol. II (1803), p. 66.

⁵ Bunz, „Die Amtskleidung der Geistlichen,” p. 154.

⁶ Herold, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

⁷ Max Herold, *Die St. Johanniskirche in Nürnberg* (Erlangen: Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, 1917), p. 8, n. 2. (The author of this thesis is the nephew of the author of *Alt-Nürnberg in seinen Gottesdiensten*.)

⁸ Gebhardt, *op. cit.*, III, p. 239.

(*Chorhemd*) were still in use they might continue to be worn over the black gown.⁹ It may be noted in this connection that in Silesia the white surplice was still in general use in 1811.¹⁰

In the same year, a Royal Decree in Denmark under date of September 21 directed all patrons of churches to provide new Eucharistic vestments as the old one(s) wore out.¹¹

In Bautzen (Budissin, Budysin), the capital of Saxon Upper Lusatia, the Collegiate Church of St. Peter had been a *Simultankirche*—that is, a church which Roman Catholics and Lutherans used jointly—since 1530.¹² Friction and rivalry marked the relations between the two worshipping congregations until the use of the church by both groups was definitively regulated by an agreement in 1635 and the areas allotted to each were separated by an iron screen.¹³ The Lutheran pastor was technically a canon of the chapter at Meissen; the Roman Catholic clergy constituted an independent chapter. Citing Drews as his authority, Graff states that the “clergyman in the *Simultankirche* in Bautzen was still wearing a stole with an embroidered crucifix down into the middle of the nineteenth century.”¹⁴ What Drews actually wrote was: “Down into the *second decade* of the nineteenth century the clergymen in the *Simultankirche* in Bautzen in good Catholic fashion wore a stole into which a crucifix had been embroidered” (emphasis not original).¹⁵ Drews wrote ninety years after the custom had been discontinued and he furnishes no authority for his statement. This author's diligent efforts have so far failed to produce any evidence to substantiate Drews. The current pastor of the Lutheran congregation of St. Peter's Church has been unable to find any information about the practice that Drews alleges.¹⁶ It is probable that Drews erred. For one thing, the

⁹ Lotz, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-7; Graff, *op. cit.*, II, p. 70; Mehl, *Das liturgische Verhalten*, p. 19, n. 1.

¹⁰ “Das weisse Chorhemde,” in *Schlesische Provinzialblätter*, Vol. LIV, No. 7, July, 1811, p. 56; the anonymous author deplors the fact that the Royal Ordinance did not prohibit the use of the white surplice.

¹¹ Severinsen, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

¹² Walter Gerblich, *Johann Leisentritt und die Administration des Bistums Meissen in den Lausitzen* (Gorlitz: Hans Kretschmer, 1931), pp. 67-69.

¹³ Karl Baedeker, *Northern Germany*, 14th edition (Leipzig: Karl Baedeker, 1904), p. 217; s. v. “Bautzen,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1950), III, p. 228. Technically speaking, the *Britannica* errs in referring to St. Peter's as a “cathedral”; Bautzen was never the seat of a diocesan ordinary, although the dean of the Roman Catholic chapter has in recent years usually been a titular bishop.

¹⁴ Graff, *op. cit.*, I, p. 108: “Eine Stola mit einem eingestickten Kruzifix trug der Geistliche noch bis in die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts in der Simultankirche zu Bautzen.” The footnote refers to “Drews, *Kirchenkunde Sachsens*, p. 190.” Mehl (*Das liturgische Verhalten*, p. 21), citing Graff as his source, repeats the latter's error.

¹⁵ Paul Drews, *Das kirchliche Leben der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Landeskirche des Königreichs Sachsen* (Part I of *Evangelische Kirchenkunde: Das kirchliche Leben der deutschen evangelischen Landeskirchen*) (Tübingen and Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1902), p. 190: „Bis in das zweite Jahrzehnt des 19. Jahrhunderts trugen in Bautzen in der Simultankirche die Geistlichen, gut katholisch, eine Stola in die ein Kruzifix eingestickt war.”

¹⁶ Letter of the Reverend B. Busch, Superintendent of the Deanery (*Ephorie*) of Bautzen and Pastor of the Lutheran Congregation of St. Peter's Church there, under date of October 21, 1953: “Until now it has not come to my attention, nor is it any longer determinable, that our Evangelical clergy in this community reportedly wore a stole with crucifix embroidered on it until into the nineteenth century. The only fact

description of the embroidered ornament accords far better with a chasuble than with a stole; it is difficult to imagine how “a crucifix” would be embroidered on a stole, but the Crucifixion was a common subject for the embroidery on the back of a chasuble. For another, in the passage in question Drews is speaking of the survival of the traditional vestments after the Leipzig Interim; he refers to some survivals of the “alb,” but he is altogether silent about the survival of the chasuble, unaccountably so unless he had inadvertently put down “stole” for “chasuble” in describing the use of the Bautzen *Simultankirche*. Third, the time factor also accords; chasubles had not disappeared altogether by 1811, but they had become rare enough to be noteworthy. If, however, Drews is right, the words “in good Catholic fashion (*gut katholisch*)” would seem to imply that the use of the stole conformed to contemporary Roman Catholic practice. But the Lutheran clerics’ Roman Catholic colleagues would have worn a stole apart from the other Mass vestments only for non-Eucharistic sacraments, rites, and services, that is, Baptisms, marriages, funerals, Confirmations, and sermons, and not for the regular services, such as the Holy Eucharist, a Sunday morning service without Holy Communion, matins, vespers, and nonliturgical devotions.

In Upper Lusatia the clerical “alb” was universally used up to this time in urban parishes at least, especially for Sacraments. Rationalism achieved the general abolition of the “alb” around 1816, but it survived here and there, and in some places, like Schonberg, even the boy servers (*Chorknaben*) continued to wear “albs.”¹⁷

Chasubles and surplices continued in use in Hannover until 1817.¹⁸ The chasuble was likewise in use in Dresden in the early part of the nineteenth century,¹⁹ and the Germanic Museum in Nuremberg preserved a red chasuble which was worn at Regelsbach near Nuremberg well into the eighteen hundreds.²⁰

At the consecration of Marcus Wallenberg as Bishop of Linköping on September 14, 1820, six chaplains in albs are referred to.²¹

known to me is that uninterruptedly since the Reformation and in unbroken connection with the Catholic period the Evangelical clergy have been wearing a so-called alb (white surplice) over their black gown. They still do so at the administration of the Sacraments and on the great feasts throughout divine service. It is of course possible—as was the case elsewhere—that for a considerable period after the Reformation the Evangelical clergy used all the Mass vestments in full.... I cannot give you definitive information if that was the case here in Bautzen, with its particular and historically unique circumstances that developed in the Reformation period, but I am inclined to assume that it was. This would explain Drews’ statement, which, however, goes a little too far in point of date. . . I can add that the alb is used consistently and currently by all the Evangelical clergy throughout the area of our Deanery of Bautzen. “The statement of Graser—writing at Spielberg in Prussian Ducal Saxony in 1828—is interesting in this connection: “The stole, maniple and amice”—in contrast to the alb and chasuble—“seem to have been universally abolished right at the very beginning” of the Reformation (*op. cit.*, p. 236).

¹⁷ P. G. Bronisch, “Beiträge zur Geschichte der evangelischen Liturgien,” in *Siona*, Vol. XIV, No. 1, January, 1889, p. 3; as a specific case of Rationalist opposition to the alb, Bronisch cites Mischke, *Chronik von Schadewalde und Mariklissa*.

¹⁸ Bunz, “Die Amtskleidung der Geistlichen,” p. 154.

¹⁹ Severinsen, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

²⁰ Graff, *op. cit.*, I, p. 107, n. 7.

²¹ *Linköpings Stifts tidningar 1820*, p. 70, cited in Stolt, *op. cit.*, p. 49, n. 4.

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In 1821 von Schubert reported that in Sweden the priests wear alb and chasuble for the celebration of Holy Communion, that ordinands receive chasubles as part of the rite of Ordination, and that the bishops wear alb, cope, mitre (since 1774), and pectoral cross (since 1805).²²

In 1822, albs were restored in Silesia.²³ Albs were likewise restored in some parishes in Lusatia in the nineteenth century.²⁴

In 1825, use of the chasuble was discontinued in Grimma, Saxony.²⁵

Writing in 1828, Gräser described a debased form of the white surplice (*Chorhemd*) as “customary in many Protestant Churches of Germany, as “quite rare” in Saxony, and “not found at all in Prussia” except in churches in which it had still been in use in 1811. It “consisted of two gathered, ankle-length pieces of white linen, which, like the chasuble, hung down in front and in back and were held together only with a draw-string (*Zug*) with which they were secured about the neck.”²⁶ He also charged Augusti with being in error when the latter stated that Mass vestments were still in use in Saxony in the third decade of the nineteenth century;²⁷ neither in the Kingdom of Saxony nor in Prussian Saxony nor in the Saxon duchies could one find chasubles in use any longer.²⁸

In 1832, Behrends stated that “albs and chasubles have remained in use until the present time in many large Evangelical city churches.”²⁹ That year the wearing of Mass

²² Friedrich Wilhelm von Schubert, *Schwedens Kirchenverfassung und Unterrichtswesen*, Vol. I (Greifswald: Friedrich Wilhelm Kunicke, 1821), p. 328, 335, 373-77. On the pectoral cross in Sweden, see Rohde, *Svenskt gudstjänstliv*, p. 480. The pectoral cross as an episcopal insigne was introduced in Norway in 1815 and in Denmark in 1911, although it did not become universal in the latter country until 1922 (Severinsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-08). On the wearing of pectoral crosses by German Lutheran prelates, see Bunz, “Die Amtskleidung der Geistlichen,” p. 154.” At consecrations of Swedish bishops, all the bishops present (including the bishop-elect) wear surplices and copes; the two participating priests called for by the Church Order of 1571 could be similarly vested. Since the seventeenth century, however, the cope has been restricted at consecrations to the bishops and, significantly, to the bishop-elect, while the priests participating in the consecrations of bishops have worn chasubles, not copes (Rohde, *op. cit.*, pp. 477-79). Hellerström says that the cope is at present worn only by bishops and pastores parimarii (*op. cit.*, p. 55). Instances of the occurrence of copes in Swedish parish churches in the eighteenth century are recorded in Linderoth and Norbrink, *op. cit.*, p. 84, n. 1. Priests of the Church of Sweden frequently ministered in albs alone in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century (Linderoth and Norbrink, *op. cit.*, p. 75 and n. 1). Yet the chasuble was worn at least under some circumstances even in the pulpit, as we see from the portrait of J. J. Hedren, pastor of St. James’ Church, Stockholm, made in 1830, from the counsel given by Provost C. J. Lenström in his translation (Stockholm, 1853) of Wilhelm Lohe’s *Der evangelische Geistliche*, and from a report of Regimental Chaplain Elias Schröderheim in the 1880s (Linderoth and Norbrink, *op. cit.*, p. 81).

²³ G. Hoffman, *Johannes Timotheus Hermes* (Berlin: 1911), p. 239, cited in Graff, *op. cit.*, II, p. 70.

²⁴ Graff, *op. cit.*, I, p. 107.

²⁵ Bunz, “Die Amtskleidung der Geistlichen,” p. 154.

²⁶ Adolph Heinrich Gräser, *Die römisch-katholische Liturgie* (Halle; Friedrich Ruff, 1829), pp. 237, 238 and n.

²⁷ Johann Christian Wilhelm Augusti, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus der christlichen Archäologie* (1817-1831), VIII, p. 219, in Gräser, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

²⁸ Gräser, *loc. cit.*

²⁹ Peter Wilhelm Behrends, *Allgemeine altchristliche-evangelische Kirchen-Agende* (Helmstedt: Fleckeisensche Buchhandlung, 1832), p. 23, n. 2.

vestments was finally discontinued in Zorbau-bei-Weissenfels.³⁰

In the deanery (*Ephorie*) of Weissenfels the surplice was done away with in 1833.³¹

In Holstein, the “so offensive white overgarment and the so-called chasubles that are still in use elsewhere” had been altogether abolished by 1837.³²

As of 1837 Augusti affirms that “in the Evangelical Church the surplice (*Chor-Hemd*) has not altogether been displaced at Communion.”³³

In 1839, while waiting to move to Perry County, the clergymen of the Saxon Lutheran immigrant party ministered at the Lutheran services held in Christ Church Cathedral (Protestant Episcopal), St. Louis, in albs; the alb worn by Stephan was distinguished from the rest by a broad edging of lace.³⁴ Prior to their departure from Germany, the Saxon immigrants had supplied themselves with sketches of Roman Catholic vestments used in Dresden. Yet there was at that time no intention of Romanizing, as the minutes of the meeting of the immigrants on December 6, 1837, show: “Sacerdotal vesture of the kind that was abolished forty years ago must be made up. At that time they had different vestures for different cultic functions. They were different for preaching and assisting (*Diaconieren*) from what they were for celebrating the Sacrament (*Consecrieren*). Different also for the various feasts, as they still are in the decoration of a Church: Easter red; Whitsunday green; Christmas blue. Priestly vestments (*Priesterzeug*) must be firm and good in quality. To this also the alb, of fine white linen with lace trimming, with sleeves, for those without sleeves are reminiscent of the Leipzig Interim.” (Italics not original).³⁵ On the matter of colors and the association of sleeveless albs with the Leipzig Interim the minutes may have been incorrectly recorded; or the speaker’s recollection may have been inaccurate.

Around 1840, the “alb” was introduced at Oelzschau-bei-Belgershain in the deanery of Borna.³⁶

A chancellery circular to all the bishops of Denmark, dated February 23, 1841, directed that all new chasubles used in the churches of Denmark were to be made of red silk velvet embroidered with gold. The rule was observed until 1891, when a white

³⁰ Heydenreich, *op. cit.*, p. 416, in Chalybäus, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

³¹ Heydenreich, *op. cit.*, p. 53, in Chalybäus, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

³² Johann Heinrich Bernhard Lubkert, *Versuch einer kirchlichen Statistik Holsteins* (Glückstadt: 1837), p. 80, quoted in Severinsen, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

³³ Johann Christian Wilhelm Augusti, *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie*, III (Leipzig: Dyk’sche Buchhandlung, 1837), p. 503.

³⁴ Carl Edward Vehse, *Die Stephan’sche Auswanderung nach Amerika* (Dresden: P. H. Sillig, 1840), p. 15.

³⁵ Original in Concordia Historical Institute, Fasc. III, No. 12; printed in Carl S. Mundinger, *Government in the Missouri Synod* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1947), p. 61, n. 58.

³⁶ *Sächsisches Kirchen- und Schulblatt*, 1890, No. 49, col. 428, cited in Chalybäus, *op. cit.*, p. 217, n. 2. Hans Kressel, *Wilhelm Löhe als Liturg und Liturgiker* (Neuendettelsau: Freimund-Verlag, 1952), p. 112, n. 85, citing the *Correspondenzblatt der Gesellschaft für innere Mission*, 1852, No. 12, recalls that in the mid-nineteenth century a Lutheran pastor in Cologne, John Conrad Carl Frederick Ruger, made an unsuccessful effort to restore the *Alba* there. See also Klaus Ganzert (editor), *Wilhelm Löhe: Gesammelte Werke*, V (Neuendettelsau: Freimund-Verlag, 1956, pp. 657-664, 1035-1036, 1283-1284, for Löhe’s tribute to Ruger. I owe the last reference to the Rev. Ernst Seybold.

chasuble was introduced in the newly erected Church of the Lord Jesus at Valby.³⁷

In 1842 the *Kirchen-Gesang-Buch* of John Andrew August Grabau of Buffalo, New York, repeated the injunction of “the Christian Church Order” that “the priests who celebrate the Testament . . . are to vest in the usual Church ornaments, Mass vestments, etc.”³⁸

In 1843 the pastors of German Lutheran congregations in Slovakia gave up the use of the surplice; in this they were followed by some Slovak Lutheran pastors in southern Slovakia, whose parishes adjoined Magyar Lutheran parishes.³⁹

At mid-century, Mass vestments were still in use in Hermann-Stadt (Sibiu) in Transylvania.⁴⁰

Lochner recalled that about 1850—it must have been after 1853—the President of the Norwegian Synod wore a chasuble when he participated in the dedication of a new Norwegian Lutheran Church in Wisconsin.⁴¹ According to Rohne, the early clergymen of the Norwegian Synod in this country habitually wore a white surplice over their gowns on the three great feasts and “on other very important occasions.”⁴²

In 1854, Hauber described the white surplice as still in use “in most places” in Württemberg at celebrations of Holy Communion, in church, at Confirmations, at weddings, and at installations.⁴³

Until the fifties, in many places throughout Lusatia the boy-servers who held the houseling-cloths at Holy Communion wore surplices.⁴⁴ In Schonberg, for instance, the custom did not fall into disuse until 1856.⁴⁵

The Lutheran parochial clergy of Breslau (Wroslaw) were still wearing “albs” in 1857.⁴⁶

In describing the dedication of St. Paul’s [Wendish] Church, Serbin, Texas, on Christmas Day, 1859, Jan Kilián reported that the procession into the new church was led by “the pastor, vested, adorned with the alb (*der Pastor im Ornate geschmückt mit der Alba*).”⁴⁷ In commenting on this event, Repp states that the wearing of the alb was customary among the Wends.⁴⁸

³⁷ Severinsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-91. The Royal Decree of May 14, 1923, says nothing about the color of the chasuble, so that it is left to the discretion of the local authorities.

³⁸ John Andrew August Grabau, *Evangelisch-Lutherisches Kirchen-Gesang-Buch* (Buffalo: George Zahm, 1842), p. 232.

³⁹ Memorandum of the Rev. Th. Dr. Jan M. Petrík, dated October 12, 1953.

⁴⁰ Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

⁴¹ Lochner, *loc. cit.*

⁴² Rohne, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

⁴³ A. Hauber, *Recht und Brauch der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche Württembergs* (Stuttgart: 1854), p. 142; cited in Graff, *op. cit.*, II, p. 71.

⁴⁴ P. G. Bronisch, “Ein lutherischer Gottesdienst aus der 2. Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts,” in *Monatschrift für Gottesdienst und kirchliche Kunst*, Vol. I, No. 2, May, 1896, p. 4.

⁴⁵ Bronisch, “Beiträge zur Geschichte der evangelischen Liturgien,” p. 3.

⁴⁶ Schmeidler, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

⁴⁷ Johannes Kilian, “Beiträge in Serbin,” in *Der Lutheraner*, Vol. XVI, No. 15, March 6, 1860, p. 119.

⁴⁸ Arthur C. Repp, “St. Paul’s and St. Peter’s Lutheran Churches, Serbin, Texas, 1855-1905,” in *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly*, Vol. XV, No. 4, January, 1943, p. 116. I owe this and the previous reference

In Transylvania, according to Bunz, chasubles and copes (*Chormäntel*) were in use until the 1860s in Hermannstadt (Sibiu) and Kronstadt (Stalin), and in 1880 (with no prospect of early discontinuance) in many rural communities, in connection with a peculiar ceremony, called the “singing (*Singen*),” actually a survival of the ancient “*Hochamt* without communicants”: Half an hour after the end of the Sunday morning service, the congregation would again fill the church, the pastor would don the old Mass vestments, proceed to the altar, and sing a “litany,” often in Latin.⁴⁹

When Denmark ceded Slesvig to Austria and Prussia in 1864, Mass vestments were abolished even in those parishes of North Slesvig that belonged to the dioceses of Ribe and Fyn.⁵⁰

In 1865, Schoberlein noted that albs had survived in use in a part of Swabia, though not in the sections belonging to Bavaria.⁵¹

As late as 1880/1881, Bunz stated that boy servers (*Chorknaben*) were still wearing surplices in “individual Evangelical churches,” and that the clergy often wore surplices at Holy Communion, usually at the administration of Sacraments, at Confirmation, and at weddings, and less frequently at all Sunday services, in St. Nicholas’ and St. Mary’s Churches in Berlin, in Leipzig and the surrounding area, in the Court Church at Weimar (but only at the Holy Eucharist), in Königsberg (Kaliningrad, where the long form of the surplice, with sleeves, had survived), in all parts of “Old” Württemberg, in Austria and Silesia, in one German parish in Bohemia, in Slovakia, and in most of the Lutheran congregations of Transylvania and Hungary. In Transylvania and Hungary it was worn for the liturgical portions of the service and doffed for the sermon. In “Old” Württemberg, Leipzig, and Transylvania, it had taken the shortened form with panels over the arms in lieu of sleeves. Barring the exceptions named, it was generally not in use in Hanover, the Rhineland, the free cities, Hesse, Thuringia, Alsace, Mecklenburg, “New” Württemberg, Baden, Bavaria, Prussia, Saxony, and Holland.⁵²

The pastor of the Magyar Lutheran parish church in Rozsnyó, Gömör County, Hungary, still wore an *alba* in the latter part of the nineteenth century. In 1913, the vestment was on display in a glass case there, with a sign stating that its use had been discontinued for many years.⁵³

In 1889, the new service book (*Alterbog*) of the Church of Norway, although

to Dean Repp’s kindness.

⁴⁹ Bunz, “Die Amtskleidung der Geistlichen,” p. 154. The “*Singen*” still persisted in the rural parishes around Kronstadt (Stalin) in 1898 (Roth, *op. cit.*, pp. 255, 256).

⁵⁰ Th. O. Achelis, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

⁵¹ Ludwig Schöberlein, *Schatz des liturgischen Chor- und Gemeindegesangs*, I (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1865), p. 302; letter from Dr. Matthias Simon, Landeskirchliches Archiv, Nuremberg, Germany, dated May 10, 1957.

⁵² Bunz, “Die Amtskleidung der Geistlichen,” pp. 153, 154; s. v. “Kleider und Insignien,” in Herzog (ed.), *Realencyklopädie*, 2d ed. 7 III, p. 52.

⁵³ Letters from the Rev. Gabor Brachna, S. T. M., pastor of the West Side Hungarian Lutheran Church, Cleveland, Ohio, dated September 15 and 28, 1953, reporting the recollections of the Rev. Aladar Egyed (now a member of the staff of the Cleveland congregation), whose first pastorate was at the Rozsnyo church.

silent with reference to vestments to be worn at ordinary services and functions, prescribed the wearing of surplices by ordinands, surplices and copes by bishops and surplices by participating priests at consecrations of bishops, and surplices and copes (or chasubles) for bishops and surplices for deans and priests at dedications of churches.⁵⁴

In 1890, an inquiry by the *Sächsisches Kirchen- und Schulblatt* disclosed twenty Saxon communities in which the surplice was still in use: Belgershain, KShra, Leipzig, Oelzschau, Rötha, and fifteen places in Lusatia, namely, Baruth (Bart), Bautzen (BudySin), Hirschfelde, Hochkirch (Bukecy), Kittlitz (Ketlicy), Königswartha (Rakecy), Neschwitz (Njeswacidlo), Neukirch a. H., Nostitz, Ossling (Wóslink), Postwitz (Budystecy), Reichenau (Rychnow), Seitendorf (where it had been introduced in 1881 when the parish was founded), Walddorf, Weissenberg (Wóspork) and all the parishes in the neighborhood.⁵⁵ As of the same year Drews prints substantially the same list. He makes specific mention of St. Peter's and St. Michael's Churches in Bautzen; adds the names of Kottmarsdorf and Schmolln (Smilnja); and states that in some of the places named, notably Leipzig and Bautzen, the surplice survived until the beginning of the present century.⁵⁶ In Schönberg it was worn at all services, except on days of repentance and prayer, in periods of mourning, and in Lent, until 1891.⁵⁷

At the end of the last century Lochner stated that the surplice (*Chorhemd*) was still in use in some parishes of Thuringia and Württemberg, as well as in some of the immigrant parishes of the Missouri Synod in Texas;⁵⁸ by the latter he probably means the Wendish churches, since apparently the surplice was not worn elsewhere. Even in St. Paul's Church, Serbin, however, the surplice had been discontinued well before the end of the century; it had never been worn within the memory of the oldest members of the parish (as of 1953).⁵⁹

The nineteenth century saw the beginning of the gradual disappearance of the surplice in the Church of Württemberg. Parishes were dispensed by the authorities from the obligation—never legally enforceable—of acquiring surplices for their clergy; by the end of the century many parishes, notably in the cities, simply abolished the use of surplices without the formality of asking permission to do so. In Tübingen the surplice ceased to be used for non-Sacramental occasions in 1895; at the administration of Sacraments it persisted until 1909.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ *Alterbog for den norske Kirke*, pp. 123, 136, 150.

⁵⁵ *Sächsisches Kirchen- und Schulblatt*, 1890, No. 45, col. 400; No. 49, col. 428; 1891, No. 2, col. 16; all cited in Chalybäus, *op. cit.*, p. 217, nn. 2, 3.

⁵⁶ Drews, *Das kirchliche Leben der Landeskirche Sachsen(s)*, p. 190. *Allgemeine Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*, 1895, No. 48 (November 29), col. 1144, refers to "the current albs of Leipzig."

⁵⁷ Bronisch, "Ein lutherischer Gottesdienst," p. 44, n. 1.

⁵⁸ Lochner, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

⁵⁹ Letter of the Rev. William H. Bewie, Austin, Texas, archivist of the Texas District of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, dated September 26, 1953. The informants whom he kindly interviewed on my behalf were born in 1873, 1875, and 1885 respectively and have lived all their lives in Serbin. The Reverend John Kilian died in 1884.

⁶⁰ Kolb, *op. cit.*, p. 417.

VII. The Twentieth Century

Jacob Aall Ottesen (1825-1904) of the Norwegian Synod always celebrated Holy Communion in white surplice and chasuble, and during the present century J. A. O. Stub continued to use in his ministry at Central Lutheran Church, Minneapolis, the chasuble which had been used in the Norwegian Lutheran church in Norway Grove, Wisconsin, and which had been given to him by the former pastor at Norway Grove, the Rev. J. A. Aasgaard, D. D., subsequently President of the Evangelical (formerly Norwegian) Lutheran Church.¹ Dr. Herman A. Preus of Luther Theological Seminary, St. Paul, in 1953 told this writer that the chasuble was used on occasion in the chapel there until the absorption of the United Norwegian Lutheran Church into the Norwegian (later Evangelical) Lutheran Church of America in 1917.

The 1920 service-book (*Alterbok*) of the Church of Norway prescribed the surplice before the altar (but not in the pulpit) on ordinary Sundays, with the chasuble worn over it from the Preface to the end of the service when the Holy Eucharist is celebrated; the surplice and chasuble before the altar (but only the surplice in the pulpit) on the three great feasts; and no Eucharistic vestments on Good Friday or a Day of Humiliation and Prayer (*Bededag*). For ordinations, consecrations of bishops, and dedications of churches its vestment prescriptions were the same as those of the *Alterbog* of 1889.²

The then President of the American (formerly Danish) Evangelical Lutheran Church estimated in 1953 that about half of the pioneer pastors of that Church-body brought the chasuble (*Messehagel*) with them to this country and used it here, and states that "it was common in city churches"; by 1948, however, its use had been discontinued.³

The use of vestments in the Church of Iceland has paralleled the use of the other Scandinavian national Churches. The current practice with reference to vestments in the Church of Iceland may be briefly summarized thus: A surplice of pure white linen (*rykkilín*) and a chasuble (*hökull*) are universally used (1) before the altar at all celebrations of the Holy Eucharist in church; (2) before the altar up to the sermon at all Sunday and festival services; and (3) in many churches, although not universally, at Baptisms and Confirmations. A surplice, without the chasuble, is worn: (1) By the participating priests at Consecrations of bishops and Ordinations of priests; (2) in the pulpit by the preacher at an Ordination and by some parish priests on Christmas, Easter, and Whitsunday. Neither vestment is worn at funerals or at services and ministrations outside of the church-building. On festival occasions the Bishop of Iceland and his two

¹ Stub, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 4, 18.

² *Alterbok for den norske Kirke* (1920), 2d edition, pp. 1, 7, 16, 29, 31, 33, 34, 158, 191.

³ Communication from the Rev. Alfred Jensen, D. D., Des Moines, Iowa, President of the American Evangelical Lutheran Church, dated August 7, 1953. The Rev. Hans C. Jersild, Blair, Nebraska, President of the United [Danish] Evangelical Lutheran Church, in a communication dated August 5, 1953, states that the pioneer pastors of his Church-body did *not* bring with them to this country the custom of wearing either a white vestment or a chasuble. He goes on: "The vestments brought over from Denmark. . . were simply a black robe and a white round ruff collar. *Since then* the cassock, white surplice, and stole have come into wide use among us."

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suffragans wear cope and surplice. The chasuble is usually red in color, with a gold cross on the back, but in the last few years an increasing concern for beauty in vestments has created chasubles of great artistic merit in a variety of colors.⁴

In the Church of Denmark use of surplice and chasuble is general.

In Greenland—which is a deanery of the Church of Denmark—surplice and chasuble (the latter generally red) are worn at the Holy Eucharist (except in small and isolated affiliated stations accessible only by boat or dog-sled); at the morning service on Christmas, Easter and Whitsunday; and, in some larger churches, at the regular Sunday morning service. The use of the surplice without the chasuble is rare.⁵

Until 1917, when Denmark sold the Virgin Islands to the United States, the Danish Lutheran colonial clergy wore a black robe and ruff at the regular Sunday and festival morning service, as well as at funeral processions. On festival days and at celebrations of Holy Communion, they wore surplice and chasuble in addition. These customs persisted for a number of years, but as the islands became more and more Americanized, the vestment practice became more and more assimilated to that of the Church of the Augsburg Confession in the United States. While cassock, surplice, and stole have now in this way become the normal use, the custom of wearing a chasuble at celebrations of the Holy Eucharist has been retained from the Danish period.⁶

As early as 1910, in the Hale Lectures of that year, the Anglican Bishop of Salisbury reported concerning the Church of Sweden that “the vestments prescribed by the Church—which are red and black chasubles with heavy gold and silver ornaments, worn over plain white albs—are being used more regularly than in former years. Forty years ago there was a prejudice against their use on the part of some Evangelical clergy, but this is now rare. They are, I am told, not worn every Sunday (except in some cathedral churches), but on festivals and on celebrations of Holy Communion—which, apparently, are generally once a month.”⁷ It may be noted that a painting by Bengt Nordenberg (1822-1902), ‘Communion in a Swedish Church,’ shows the priest vested in white surplice and chasuble.⁸ Both vestments are currently in general use and the full Eucharistic vesture has been widely restored.

⁴ Letter of the Rev. Bjarni Jónsson, Reykjavík, Iceland, dated December 28, 1953. F. J. Bergmann, “The Liturgy of the Icelandic Church,” in *Memoirs of the Lutheran Liturgical Association* (Pittsburgh: The Lutheran Liturgical Association, 1907), IV, p. 105, speaks of the extensive use of purple chasubles. I have not been successful in obtaining information about the vestment practice of the Lutheran Free Church of Iceland. The Rev. V. J. Eylands, Winnipeg, Manitoba, President of the Icelandic Evangelical Lutheran Synod, in a communication dated August 14, 1953, states: “The founders of the Icelandic Synod wore only a Prince Albert coat, or sometimes a black Oxford gown. In recent years our younger pastors wear a cassock, white surplice and the liturgical stoles, while the older men prefer the black gown only. . . . The founders of our Synod discarded the *Rikkelin* and the *Hokull* [when they came to this continent]. Conditions in pioneer days among our people did not warrant, or indeed make possible, the ecclesiastical trappings of the established State Church.”

⁵ Communication from the Very Reverend the Provost for Greenland, Godthaab, Greenland, dated May 6, 1954; letter from the Rev. Aage Bugge, Copenhagen, Denmark, dated June 30, 1954.

⁶ Letter from the Rev. Merle G. Franke, pastor of the Frederick Evangelical Lutheran Church, St. Thomas, V. I., dated January 8, 1954.

⁷ John Wordsworth, *The National Church of Sweden* (London: A. R. Mowbray and Co., 1911), p. 432.

⁸ Stub, *op. cit.*, pp. 22, 23.

In Sweden the alb underwent gradual changes of style during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, so that it came to look like a cross between a medieval alb and a medieval surplice. With the disappearance of the white surplice in the seventeenth century, the alb came to be used alone as a liturgical vestment on occasions where the wearer was not officiating as a sacred minister at the Eucharist.⁹

In at least some of the missions that the Scandinavian Churches established in India and Pakistan the historic vestments have been retained and/or restored. Thus a photograph of an Ordination in Mardan, Pakistan, on January 17, 1954, shows the ordinator, the (Swedish) Lutheran Bishop of Tranquebar (Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Church) in cope and mitre and four ordinands of the Sarhadi (Frontier) Lutheran Church (organized by the Pathan Mission of the Church of Denmark and the Lutheran World Mission Prayer League of Minneapolis) in chasuble, alb, amice, and stole.¹⁰ In the Evangelical Lutheran Zulu Church (Church of Sweden Mission in South Africa) priests have been wearing the alb at all services (since 1930), chasubles on festive occasions such as consecration and dedication services and, if available, at celebrations of the Holy Eucharist (since 1949), and stoles (since 1941); cinctures are in very frequent use. The bishop of the Church of Sweden Mission in South Africa wears cope, alb, amice, and cincture. The vestment practice of the Church of Sweden Mission in Southern Rhodesia and Tanganyika is similar to that of the Zulu Church.¹¹ In the mission fields of the Evangelical Fosterlands-Stiftelse (Church of Sweden) in Eritrea, Ethiopia, Tanganyika and India, both the European and indigenous clergy wear a surplice (*mässkjorta*) and stole, but no chasuble.¹² In the South Indian (Arcot and East Jeypore) missions of the Danish Missionary Society, the priests have worn since the beginning of the mission in 1864 a surplice-like white gown and a black "stole" (replaced on festivals by a red stole), but no chasuble. In the same Society's Arabian mission (Aden and the Aden Protectorate), the priests also wear a surplice-like white gown and, since 1937/1938, a black "stole," but no chasuble; in its pre-World War II mission in Manchuria none of the historic vestments were worn. The priests of the Danish Santal Mission in Bihar, Bengal, Assam and northeastern India wear a surplice-like white gown and black "stole". The priests of the Danish United Sudan Mission (Adamawa and Nigeria) wear a white cassock and, since 1946, a stole. The Pathan Mission (Northwest Frontier Province, Pakistan) and the Danish Mission to the Jews (Copenhagen and Israel) follow the vestment practice of the Church of Denmark, but a missionary of the latter society in Algiers is not allowed to use the Danish vestments.¹³

⁹ Andersson, *op. cit.*, pp. 28, 29, where he cites examples from 1774 to the latter part of the nineteenth century.

¹⁰ *World Mission* (Minneapolis, Minnesota), Vol. 16, No. 3, March, 1954, pp. 15-20.

¹¹ Letter from the Most Rev. Erik Lundgren, Dundee, Natal, Bishop of the Church of Sweden Mission in South Africa, dated August 23, 1954. I have not been able to obtain direct information about the vestment practice of the Church of Sweden Mission in South India and Hong Kong.

¹² Letter from the Rev. Einar Thurfjell, Stockholm, Sweden, dated May 19, 1954. I have not been able to obtain information about the vestment-practice of the clergy sponsored by the Svenska Jerusalemsförening.

¹³ The information about the Danish missions has been patiently compiled by the Rev. C. Rendtdorff, Hellerup, Secretary of the Dansk Missionsraad, and communicated in a letter dated June 24, 1954. I have not been able to obtain information about the vestment practice of the clergy sponsored by the Norske Misjonsselskap or the Norske Lutherske Misjonsforbund.

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The historic vestments are still in frequent use in the services of the Church of Finland.¹⁴ Ordinands are vested with an alb (*messupaita*) and a chasuble (*messukasukka*) as part of the Ordination rite and at his installation as rector of a parish a priest always appears before the altar in these vestments. In almost all parishes they are used on the three great festivals, and in many parishes they are always used at celebrations of the Holy Eucharist. On other occasions the black gown is customary. The Gothic shape of the chasuble is a restoration; the use of the liturgical colors is a modern development.¹⁵ The priests of the Suomen Luterilainen Evankeliumiyhdistys (Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland) in Japan and of the Suomen Lähetyksseura (Finnish Missionary Society) in South-West Africa and in Tanganyika do not wear surplices, albs or chasubles, although the stole is worn—under German influence—in Tanganyika.¹⁶

In 1911, Uhlhorn stated that the alb was still in use in Saxony and also elsewhere,¹⁷ and in the same year Achelis stated that the surplice was still in use in St. Mary's and St. Nicholas' Churches, Berlin, in both rural and urban churches of "Old" Württemberg, in Leipzig, and elsewhere.¹⁸

In 1924, Severinsen could state that the surplice was still in use in Leipzig and the surrounding country, a few Berlin churches (including St. Nicholas' Church), Lusatia, Weimar, Königsberg (Kaliningrad) and Württemberg (including Stuttgart).¹⁹

In 1927, Glaue wrote that preachers still wore a short alb "in a number of (*manche*) places in Germany."²⁰

At the beginning of World War II, Graff reported that albs were in use both for preaching and administering Holy Communion in Electoral Saxony.²¹

In 1949, Lotz stated that the clergy in Württemberg—as well as in Saxony and a few other areas—still wear "in very many parishes" a surplice over the gown for Holy Communion and other official acts.²²

¹⁴ Aleksi Lehtonen, *The Church of Finland* (Helsinki: Valtioneuvoston Kirjapaino, 1927), p. 48.

¹⁵ Letter from the Rev. Samuel Lehtonen, secretary to the Archbishop of Finland, Turku, Finland, dated January 22, 1954. In communications dated August 7, 1953, both the Rev. George Aho, D. D., Painesville, Ohio, President of the [Finnish] National Lutheran Church, and the Rev. John Wargelin, D. D., Hancock, Michigan, President of the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church (Suomi Synod), state that the pioneer pastors of these two Church-bodies did not bring with them to this continent either the alb or the chasuble.

¹⁶ Letters from the Rev. Toivo Rapeli, General Secretary of the Suomen Luterilainen Evankeliumiyhdistys, Helsinki, Finland, dated May 19, 1954, and the Rev. Toivo Saarilahti, of the Suomen Lähetyksseura, Helsinki, dated October 30, 1954.

¹⁷ Friedrich Uhlhorn, *Geschichte der deutsch-lutherischen Kirche* (Leipzig: Dörffling und Franke, 1911), I, p. 80.

¹⁸ Ernest Christian Achelis, *Lehrbuch der praktischen Theologie*, 3d edition (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1911), I, p. 305.

¹⁹ Severinsen, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

²⁰ Glaue, "Amtstracht der Geistlichen," in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, I (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1927), p. 314.

²¹ Graff, *op. cit.*, II, p. 70.

²² Lotz, *op. cit.*, p. 22. As of 1913, Kolb (*op. cit.*, p. 417) stated that the surplice had generally disappeared in Württemberg for preaching services; here and there it was worn during the sermon at celebrations of the Sacrament of the Altar and on festivals. It was also worn in both rural and town parishes at Baptism, Confirmation, Holy Communion and the Solemnization of Holy Matrimony, though not consistently. In some places it was not worn during Lent, in others not during Holy Week. Kolb also states (*op. cit.*, p. 267)

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Writing in 1952, Johannes Pfeiffer recalls that the surplice, or alb, was worn by the clergy of the Leipzig city churches during his student days and states that it has been retained here and there in Germany down to the present.²³

Bishop Otto Dibelius of Berlin, states that the sleeveless *Alba* is still in use at celebrations of the Holy Eucharist in all the old “city” parishes of Berlin—St. Nicholas’ (the parish church of which was destroyed in World War II), St. Mary’s, St. George’s, and the *Sophienkirche*; the vestry (*Gemeindekirchenrat*) of St. Mary’s Church, Berlin, has formally decreed the use of the “alb” at all celebrations of the Holy Communion. It has also survived in the ancient “city” churches of the Province of Brandenburg, like those of Frankfurt-an-der-Oder, Brandenburg-an-der-Havel, and Havelberg.²⁴ A picture of the religious procession on the occasion of the millennial anniversary of the last-named community in September, 1948, shows the pastor of the cathedral parish wearing over his black gown a sleeveless white vestment with a head opening of oval shape and a close-fitting yoke extending down to the level of the armpits, at which point the moderately full skirt of the vestment (which falls to within four inches of the wearer’s ankles) is gathered.²⁵

The alb is still in use throughout the Lusatian Deanery of Bautzen at the administration of Sacraments and on festivals.²⁶

In 1920 the surplice was still worn in the large Magyar-Slovak parishes in Nyiregháza and Békécsaba, Hungary, but only at celebrations of the Holy Communion.²⁷

A small number of Magyar Lutheran parishes in Hungary reportedly still use the *alba*.²⁸ It is more frequent in Hungarian parishes with a Slovak constituency.²⁹ In these, as well as in certain German Lutheran parishes in Hungary, it is used in some places for all services and in others for the Holy Eucharist only; the tendency in these parishes has reportedly been to discontinue the wearing of the *alba* as soon as the Magyar element becomes strong enough.³⁰

After World War II, a lace-edged *alba Silesiana*—cut very much like a mediaeval Gothic chasuble (but with a slit part way down the front, closed with a button or a black ribbon and a safety-pin) and called a *komza*—began to be quite generally introduced throughout the Lutheran Church in Poland, including the capital, Warszawa. This vestment has an interesting history. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the district of Cieszyn (Teschen) was a separate duchy; here the *alba Silesiana* continued in general use at all functions, except on Good Friday (although it was worn at the celebration of the

that its use was sometimes omitted at the Baptism of illegitimate children. At an earlier date Max Herold, *Kultusbilder aus vier Jahrhunderten* (Erlangen: 1899), p. 38, cited in Graff, *op. cit.*, I, p. 107, n. 7, stated that the white surplice was in use in his day in Württemberg at occasional services.

²³ Johannes Pfeiffer, *Auf Luthers Spuren in Amerika* (Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1952), p. 84.

²⁴ Letter from Bishop Dibelius, dated November 3, 1953.

²⁵ From a photograph kindly furnished by Bishop Dibelius.

²⁶ Letter from the Rev. B. Busch, Superintendent of the Deanery of Bautzen, dated October 21, 1953; see note 16 to Chapter VI above.

²⁷ Letter from the Rev. Prof. Dr. Lajos Jánossy, dated October 19, 1953.

²⁸ Communication from the Rev. Julius Sathmary, dated September 2, 1953.

²⁹ Letter from Dr. Vilmos Vajta, dated September 23, 1953.

³⁰ Letter from the Rev. Gabor Brachna, dated September 15, 1953. He also states that Magyar Lutheran immigrant pastors in this country did not bring the *alba* with them.

Holy Eucharist even on this day), on Days of Humiliation and Prayer, and at the obsequies of suicides. Customs varied; sometimes the use of the *alba Silesiana* was also omitted at the service of public confession preceding the Holy Eucharist, on Maundy Thursday, and on Fridays in Lent. The use of the *alba Silesiana* was limited to Polish parishes, and pastors of German descent ministering in parishes of mixed language used it only at Polish services and functions; the *alba Silesiana* thus became a symbol of nationality. The efforts made since 1945 at the universal introduction of the *alba Silesiana* have not been wholly successful; it was sometimes protested as a Roman Catholic innovation. The charge was likewise made that in some instances the “innovators” also tried to introduce the stole, but if the charge is true, the attempt was altogether fruitless; no Lutheran parish in Poland uses the stole. In place of the *alba Silesiana*, surplices similar to those worn in the Church of Sweden or in Polish Roman Catholic parishes were introduced here and there. In the Polish Lutheran Church in Exile in England, the bishop of the Church wears the *komza* regularly except during Advent and Lent; its use by the parochial clergy of the Church on the high festivals at least is being encouraged by investing new incumbents with the *komza* during the installation rite.³¹ The *alba Silesiana* also worn by the Polish Lutheran clergy of Czechoslovakian Silesia.³²

In 1947 the Lutheran Pastoral Conference of Slovakia prescribed the general use of the surplice (*biela kamza*) by all ordained clergymen, curates as well as parish pastors (*parochusi*), at all services and functions in the church. At functions not conducted in the church, such as funerals, it is not to be used, but the practice persists in a minority of congregations. The Slovak *kamza* has no prescribed form, and varies from parish to parish. It is long enough to cover almost the entire *luterák* (that is, *Luther-Rock*) over which it is worn. The *kamza* is usually sleeveless, but the arm-openings are sometimes covered by so-called “wings.” The yoke and the bottom hem are usually edged with lace, the design and workmanship of which often displays considerable artistry. The upper part of the *kamza* is slit in front; the opening is closed with a silver clasp from which a silk ribbon, either white or in the liturgical colors, depends.³³

³¹ Letters from the Most Rev. Wladyslaw Fierla, London, England, Bishop of the Polish Lutheran Church in Exile, dated October 14, 1953, and May 20, 1954, and from the Rev. Dr. Andrzej Wantula, Warszawa, Poland, Professor of Practical Theology at the Evangelical Faculty of the University of Warszawa, dated February 24, 1954. Bishop Fierla has kindly furnished me with a photograph of himself in *komza*, gown, bands, and biretta. In connection with the letter from Professor Wantula, I owe thanks to the Embassy of the Polish People’s Republic in Washington for transmitting my questions to him and for mediating his reply to me, and to the Rev. William A. Borkenhagen, Pastor of the Church of the Lord Jesus, Chicago, Illinois, and from 1924 to 1944 a Lutheran pastor in Poland, for translating Prof. Wantula’s letter for me. The Rev. Mr. Borkenhagen, in a letter of his own dated May 1, 1954, confirms the fact that the *alba Silesiana* was not used even by Polish Lutheran clergymen in Polish-speaking parishes in those parts of Poland which in the eighteenth century partitions of that unhappy country had fallen to Germany (East Prussia) and Russia (Duchy of Warszawa). He goes on to state that “when the Germans left Poland in 1945, it occurred that Lutheran pastors were mistreated by their Roman Catholic countrymen as ‘Germans.’ By putting on the *alba* some pastors wanted to show the Roman Catholic Poles that they have nothing in common with Germany.”

³² Memorandum of the Rev. Th. Dr. Ján M. Petrík, dated October 12, 1953.

³³ *Ibid.* Ján Durovic, *Cirkev a Bohuslužby* (Liptovsky Svätý Mikuláš: Spolok Tranoscius, 1931) pp. 14 and 75, note 9, stated that as of that date the *kamza* was worn at the main parochial service or worship, at the

The popular taste for lace in the elaboration of the surplice has affected both the Lutheran Church and the Roman Catholic Church in Slovakia. It has been suggested that in western Slovakia lace is more extensively used than in the eastern part of the country, but this generalization is not sustained by the available evidence. There is, for instance, no perceptible difference between the surplices worn in Banská Bystrica—where the oil portraits of the pastors of the parish for the last two centuries that hang on the walls of the parish hall reveal almost no changes during this period—in western Slovakia and the surplices worn in Kosice, Presov, Uzhgorod and other eastern parishes.³⁴

All the pioneer pastors of the Slovak Lutheran Zion Synod reportedly brought with them to this continent the white surplice and bands and these ornaments have continued in unbroken and universal use in this synod.³⁵ In the Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Church on this continent the surplice is in general use, at least at celebrations of the Holy Eucharist and at baptisms.³⁶

The stoles and surplices worn in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in British Guiana, where the Church was planted in 1743, are restorations dating back no earlier than 1934.³⁷

A few words can be said here about the use of vestments in other countries where the Lutheran Church has a continuous history going back to the sixteenth century.

In Lithuania³⁸ and in much of Latvia³⁹ the transition to the universal use of the black gown seems to have taken place very early. In Estonia likewise the historic vestments seem to have been generally abandoned soon after the introduction of the Reformation.⁴⁰ The necessary primary sources upon which a history of the use of

administration of Holy Baptism and the Sacrament of the Altar, and at occasional offices, such as the churching of women, customarily (but not universally) at funerals, and not at all at matins and vespers.

³⁴ Letter of the Rev. Ján Kováčik, dated December 6, 1953.

³⁵ Communication of the Rev. John Zoman, M. Ed., Pittsburgh, Penna., President of the Slovak Lutheran Zion Synod, dated August 11, 1953.

³⁶ Communication of the Rev. Joseph Kucharik, Garfield, N. J., dated Sept. 2, 1953. He states: "The black robe (*Luterák*), the bands (*tablicky*), and the surplice were and still are in general use in our Slovak Lutheran Church both in Slovakia and here in the United States. The great majority of our Slovak Lutherans insist that their pastor wear the black robe and the bands. Anything else is Roman Catholic to them. The surplice is used at the celebration of Holy Communion and at Baptism. Here and there in recent years one may see some of our pastors wearing the cassock and the stole." The stole, of course, has no precedent in Slovakia as an accompaniment to the surplice.

³⁷ Letter from the Rev. Aubrey R. Bowen, President of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in British Guiana, Buxton Village, British Guiana, dated May 16, 1954.

³⁸ Letters from the Rev. Adolfas Keleris, Wehnen-in-Oldenburg, Germany, Senior Pastor of the Lithuanian Evangelical Lutheran Church in Exile, dated October 28, 1953; from the Rev. Anas Traskis, Chicago, Illinois, dated October 9, 1953; and from the Rev. Leo Kostizen, Toronto, Ontario, dated December 14, 1953.

³⁹ Letters from the Very Rev. Edgars Bergs, London, England, Dean of the Latvian Lutheran Church in England, dated February 1, 1954, and the Most Rev. F. Grinbergs, Archbishop of the Latvian Evangelical Lutheran Church in Exile, Esslingen, Germany, dated May 14, 1954. According to Leonid Arbusow, *Die Einführung der Reformation in Liv-, Est- und Kurland* (Leipzig: Verein für Reformations-geschichte, 1921) p. 569, "sacerdotal ornaments, even at the Eucharist, had vanished" in Riga by 1529/1530.

⁴⁰ Letter from the Rev. Dr. Arthur Voöbus, Maywood, Illinois, dated December 3, 1953. In St. Matthew's parish in the Estonian Deanery of Järvamaa (Jerwen) a memorandum of 1627 (preserved in the parish archives of St. Catharine's Church, Virumaa [Wierland]) stated that there were still Mass vestments from

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vestments in the Lutheran Churches of the Baltic countries might have been destroyed or are inaccessible. In general, it may be presumed that the use of vestments reflected the political vicissitudes of these lands; the frequent wars that swept across them devastated the countryside, destroyed the fabric and the property of the churches, resulted in the death or flight of the clergy, and brought endless confusion.⁴¹ The first definitive prescription with reference to vestments seems to have come around 1830, when all the Lutheran clergy were required to wear for all official acts a black gown (*Talar*), white bands, and a black biretta. With the establishment of independent national Churches in the Baltic countries after World War I, the vestments of the clergy remained unchanged, except that in Estonia and Latvia a silver pectoral cross was added to the ornaments of the parochial clergy, while on ceremonial occasions the bishops wore over their black gowns albs, colored sashes, gold pectoral crosses, white lace collars, black cloth copes, and white bands; the Estonian bishops also wore a mitre and carried a pastoral staff.⁴²

the pre-Reformation period as of that date, and as late as 1641 Mass vestments were still to be found in the Kirbla (Kirrefer) parish church in the Deanery of Läänemaa (Landwieck) (R. von Winkler, "Ueber Kirchen und Capellen Ehistlands in Geschichte und Sage, a lecture delivered in 1894 and printed in *Beiträge zur Kunde Ehist-, Liv- und Kurlands*, Vol. V [Reval: Franz Kluge, 1900], pp. 32, 35). The Rev. Lic. theol. Richard Koolmeister, rector of the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church at Västerås, Sweden, in a letter dated April 24, 1954, informs me that during the period of Swedish rule (1561-1710) the Swedish Church Order was in force in Estonia. The only specific reference to vestments that he has found, however, is in the Church Law of 1686, Chapter XIX, Section XXVII: "Priests should adhere to (*blifwa wid*) the clothing material (*Klädebonadt*) which best befits and comports with their status; and the lesser priests may not wear such-garb as is proper to bishops, superintendents, consistory presidents, and doctors of theology."

⁴¹ Letter from the Most Rev. Juhan Köpp, Stockholm, Sweden, Archbishop of the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church, dated February 3, 1954; for 24 years, Archbishop Köpp was professor of practical theology at the University of Tartu. On the complicated post-Reformation political and social history of this part of Europe, with its disruptive changes of sovereignty and the peculiar evolution of its ecclesiastical organizations, see such studies as: Hermann Dalton, *Verfassungsgeschichte der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche in Russland* (Volume I of his *Beiträge zur Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Russland*) (Götha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1887); Frommhold Hunnius, *Die evangelisch-lutherische Kirche Russlands* (Leipzig: Justus Naumann, 1877); Ernst Hj. J. Lundström, *Bidrag till Livlands kyrkohistoria under den svenska tidens första skede från Rigas intagande 1621 till freden i Oliva 1660* (Uppsala and Stockholm: Almqvist och Wiksells Boktryckeri-A.-B., 1914); the studies of Gustaf Oskar Fredrick Westling, among them "Bidrag till Livlands kyrkohistoria 1621-1656," in *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift*, Vol. I (Uppsala: Harald Wretmans Tryckeri, 1900), pp. 107-39, "Bidrag till Livlands kyrkohistoria 1656-1710," in *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift*, Vol. II (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt och Söner, 1901), pp. 43-107, and the following essays in *Beiträge zur Kunde Ehist-, Liv- und Kurlands*, Vol. V: "Kirchengesetz und Kirchengesetzarbeiten in Ehistland zur Zeit der schwedischen Herrschaft" (pp. 39-67), "Mittheilungen über die Kirchenverfassung in Ehistland zur Zeit der schwedischen Herrschaft" (pp. 131-90), "Mittheilungen über den kirchlichen Kultus in Ehistland zur Zeit der schwedischen Herrschaft" (pp. 270-302), and "Von den religiösen und sittlichen Zuständen in Ehistland (1561-1710)" (pp. 335-52); and Reinhard Wittram (editor), *Baltische Kirchengeschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1956).

⁴² Letters from the Most Rev. Juhan Köpp, dated February 3, 1954; the Very Rev. Jaak Taul, D. D., London, England, Dean of the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church in England, dated January 30, 1954; the Rev. Edgars Kiploks, Sioux Falls, S. D., dated February 23, 1954; and the Rev. Lic. Theol. Richard Koolmeister, Västerås, Sweden, dated April 24, 1954. For the nineteenth century legislation under the Russians (1832, 1857, and 1896), the last named cites Articles 346 and 347 (*Von der Amtstracht der Prediger*) of the *Gesetz für die Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche in Russland* in the *Reichs-Gesetzbuch*, Volume II, Part One, edition of 1857 (St. Petersburg: 1881); these two Articles corresponded to Sections 219 and 220 of the Church Order of 1832. In addition, Articles 350 and 428 provided for the award of a

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In the Lutheran Churches of France, a black gown with white bands (*rabat*) has reportedly been the sole service garb of the Alsatian clergy “since the Reformation”⁴³ while the Lutheran clergy of Montbéliard (Mömpelgard), the forebears of the present Église Évangélique Luthérienne de France (Synod of Montbéliard), refused in 1559 to accept, among other provisions of the “Great” Württemberg Church Order of that year, the white surplice (*l’habit de choeur*).⁴⁴

The same thing is also reportedly true of the Netherlands, where at “the beginning of the Reformation the *Lutherrock* was worn; later on the gown was used, as it still is nowadays.”⁴⁵

In the Serbija and Vojvodina areas of Jugoslavija, where there are German and Magyar settlements dating back to the late eighteenth century, a black gown with bands (*Mosestafel*)—but without alb, surplice or cincture—is the only vestment worn.⁴⁶

gold pectoral cross respectively to “distinguished and best-intentioned” clergymen and to general superintendents and superintendents. For the episcopal vestments described, see the official photographs of the first Lutheran primates of Latvia and Estonia after World War I, the Most Rev. Karlis Irbe, Bishop of Riga, and the Most Rev. Jakob Kukk, Bishop of Tallinn, in *Føbe*, May, 1932, pp. 72, 73. Requests for information addressed to the Archbishop of Latvia, Riga, the Archbishop of Estonia, Tallinn, and the respective Department of History of the Universities of Tartu and Vilnius, have gone unacknowledged.

⁴³ Letter from the Secretary General of the Directoire de la Église de la Confession d’Augsbourg d’Alsace et de Lorraine, Strasbourg, France, dated November 6, 1953.

⁴⁴ Letter from the Rev. Charles Mathiot, Vesoul (Haute-Saône), France, dated January 4, 1954.

⁴⁵ Letter from the Rev. Prof. Dr. Willem J. Kooiman, Amsterdam, Netherlands, dated November 22, 1953.

⁴⁶ Letter from the Rev. Franz-Sostarec, Subotica, Jugoslavija, Superintendent of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Serbija and Vojvodina, dated January 14, 1954. Requests for information addressed to the Senior Pastors of the Free Lutheran Church in the People’s Republic of Slovenia and of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the People’s Republic of Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, and to the Bishops of the Hungarian Evangelical Synodical Presbyterian Lutheran Church in Rumania and of the German Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Rumania have gone unacknowledged.

VIII. Summary

Thus we find that the alb, the cincture, the surplice, and the chasuble have never passed wholly out of use in the Church of the Augsburg Confession. Neither has the cope, although it has survived primarily as an episcopal vestment in Scandinavia. The amice has in a sense persisted as the collar of the Swedish alb.

As far as positive contemporary evidence goes, the mitre (except at Loccum) seems to have gone out of use in the sixteenth, the maniple in the seventeenth, and the dalmatic in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries; the stole¹ passed out of general use by the seventeenth century, although here and there it may have survived into the eighteenth. Where these vestments are currently in use in the Church of the Augsburg Confession they are restorations, not survivals.

Because of the direct and intimate association of the pallium with the Bishop of Rome, we hear nothing of its use after the Reformation.

The carefully cultivated and propagated conviction of Pietism, of the Enlightenment, and of contemporary Protestantizing Lutherans that vestments are chiefly the inheritance of the Interims and that true Lutheranism always rejected them is shown to be without historic foundation.² If anything, the reverse is often true; the historic service vestments tended to survive precisely in areas of the Church where the Interims had never been in force, and they numbered among their doughtiest defenders some of the most impeccably orthodox doctors of the Church of the Augsburg Confession.

We have likewise found no positive contemporary evidence that in the Church of the Augsburg Confession the stole was ever used apart from Eucharistic vestments with either the white surplice or the black gown for regular parochial services in church.

¹ The term *Stolgebühren* (*jura stolae*) as a term for pastoral perquisites has survived in Evangelical circles (for a comprehensive discussion, see Ulrich Stutz and Paul Hinschius, "Stolgebühren," in J. J. Herzog's *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, third edition by Albert Hauck, XIX [Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1907], pp. 67-75.

² That is not to say, of course, that the Interims were not responsible for the restoration of vestments anywhere in the Holy Roman Empire, although this matter is really outside the scope of this study, which is concerned with the survival of the historic vestments after 1555. As Dr. Matthias Simon, Nuremberg, Germany, has pointed out in a letter of May 10, 1957, Nuremberg uniformly and without interruption used Eucharistic vestments from the Reformation down to 1810, whereas Brandenburg-Ansbach-Bayreuth discarded them in 1530 and restored them again in connection with the pressures of the Augsburg Interim.