

Liturgy vs. Ceremony: What Constitutes True Unity in Worship

Today there appears to be a misunderstanding among many about the definition of Liturgy. We often hear employed such phrases as, “I prefer high church liturgy”, or “I prefer low church liturgy”, or the appalling, “I prefer to write my own liturgy every Sunday”, or some other similar statement. However, such statements are misplaced. For when people refer to the Liturgy in this manner, they are really speaking about the ceremonial involved in carrying out the Liturgy, that is, the rites and rubrics followed in the performance of the Liturgy. This skewed understanding of the definition of the Liturgy, has led to many quarrels and divisions among Lutherans. In his book *Practical Studies in the Liturgy*, F. R. Webber states that “generally speaking, the Liturgy is the printed order of service.”¹ In other words, the words on the page are the Liturgy, and the rubrics, or the way in which the words are to be carried out, is the ceremony.

What this means is that strictly speaking the Liturgy should not cause divisions and quarrels among those who are in agreement in doctrine, because the words on the page carry our doctrine. However, when they no longer portray correct doctrine, there obviously is no longer a unity in doctrine and thereby no unity in worship. And that is what this paper is concerned about: true unity in worship. Therefore, if the words on the page are our Liturgy, and by virtue, convey our doctrine, then the words of the Liturgy cannot be, as has been suggested by some, adiaphora, that is, an external matter, neither having been commanded, nor forbidden by Scripture. For doctrine is not an adiaphoron. The Faith which we believe, teach and confess is not an adiaphoron. Therefore the observance of the Liturgy, that is, what is written on the page, is also not an adiaphoron. For what we observe is a conveying of what we believe, teach and confess every time we gather for worship.

¹ Webber, F. R., *Practical Studies in the Liturgy*. Ashby Printing Company, Erie, Pennsylvania, 1938, 15.

Also at the heart of this discussion of true unity in worship is ceremony, the manner in which the Liturgy is carried out. For what is often confused as a disagreement in Liturgy, is often a disagreement in ceremony. Ceremony, it seems, is what causes the most controversy and angst among Lutherans. There are some ceremonies practiced among Lutherans which are tagged as “too Roman Catholic.” And there are other ceremonies, which should be tagged as “too Baptist” or, “too Reformed,” however, one rarely hears such complaints against these ceremonies. Again, even these statements are misplaced, for strictly speaking, ceremony is an adiaphoron, that is, an external matter, neither commanded, nor forbidden in Scripture. Therefore, it should not matter whether or not how much or how little ceremony is observed among us. That being said, the question arises of how alike the parishes served by our diocese need to be in regard to ceremony, in order for there to exist unity in worship?

Certainly, not all ceremonies are going to be observed in all places, since local circumstances will dictate to some extent the amount and type of ceremony. By example, one cannot expect to observe the Liturgy with the three sacred ministers of celebrant, deacon, and subdeacon serving, if the parish does not have a deacon or subdeacon. Or, a parish cannot observe the use of incense, if it does not possess a thurible. A celebrant cannot wear a chasuble during the celebration of the Holy Mass, if he, or the parish, does not possess one, and the funds are lacking to obtain one. The same can be said of the other traditional Eucharistic vestments which have been used in the course of history of the Lutheran church, such as the amice and maniple. Also, the same can be said about the traditional outdoor and processional vestment of the cope. For the deacon and subdeacon, if there is no dalmatic or tunicle, respectively, these vestments cannot be expected to be used in the parish’s ceremonial. However, the question remains, as to what extent there should be similarity and agreement in ceremony among the

parishes served by our diocese in order that there exists a level of unity in worship. For if one set of ceremonial is used in one parish, and a completely different ceremonial is used in another parish, at best it will create confusion among visitors from other parishes served by members of the diocese, and those sister churches with whom we are in fellowship, and at worst, it will create great angst among these visitors. There should be some level of agreement on the amount of ceremony, understanding that there will be some differences. This is why various Church bodies and dioceses of the past have all developed rubrics governing the ceremonial of worship. For example, in our diocese we have agreed to practice at least these three things: Every Sunday communion, Private Confession and Absolution, and the use of the historic one-year series. Other ceremonies that are important for unity will be addressed later.

Let us first examine, however, the development of the Liturgy, that is, the words on the page, beginning with the use in the Early Church. Let us also examine how similar (or different) regions and dioceses in these times have been in the use of the Liturgy. Some things have changed, or developed, over time and other things have remained the same. Certainly those things which have remained the same should form the foundation of our Liturgy. And obviously, those things which are contrary to our doctrine, or render impotent the Gospel, are to be avoided and distained, as our Confessions teach.

Let us start with one of the very first rubrics ever given. The Blessed Apostle, St. Paul, in his first Epistle to the Church at Corinth, states, “Let all things be done decently and in order.”² In other words, things should not be done haphazardly, or at the whim of individuals. We do not possess the right to do whatever we feel like doing. This is why the Church throughout her history, in various regions and dioceses, has established the words on the page—a common

² 1 Corinthians 14:40. Scripture quotations are from the New King James edition, copyright © 1979, 1980, 1982 Thomas Nelson Publishers, Inc. Used by permission. Except where noted.

Liturgy—in order to promote decency and order. And more importantly, unity and peace, for when people worship the same way, with the same words, every Lord’s Day, they are not only united in worship, but are being taught the pure doctrine of the Church over and over again, every time they come to worship, and thereby are kept in unity and fellowship with one another in doctrine.

We can see evidence of this by examining the words of the various early Liturgies. Joseph Bingham states in his monumental work *Origines Ecclesiasticæ*³ that those things that were divinely instituted, such as the rite of Baptism, the Lord’s Prayer, the singing of the Psalms, and the Benedictions of “The Lord be with you,” “The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all,” and “Peace be with you” were always used in the church without variation. Meaning, these words, which are taken from Holy Scripture, did not change from Sunday to Sunday, or service to service in all the parishes of the Early Church, nor throughout the Church’s history. These words are still being used today. For those words of the Liturgy that were not taken from Holy Scripture, such as the prayers and hymns, the Bishop had the authority to order the parishes of his diocese to use whatever form he created. And if a parish, or region, of the diocese became so large that they were granted their own Bishop, then the Bishop of the new region had the authority to develop a completely new form of the words used for use in the new diocese. This is shown to us by Sozomen⁴, in relating the instance of Maiuma, a small village that became a city in Palestine, which once belonged to the diocese of Gaza, which upon becoming its own Episcopal see, developed its own calendar of festivals for its own martyrs, and the bishops and presbyters that had served there. They also had a Liturgy of their own, apart from the diocese out of which they were created.

³ Bingham, Joseph, *Origines Ecclesiasticæ*. John Childs and Sons, Bungay, England, 1708-1722. Reprinted by Henry G. Bohn, London, England, 1846. Volume 1, Book XIII, 602-603.

⁴ Sozomen, lib. 5. cap 3.

This is shown us by some of the early Liturgies which, although not extant, have been preserved for us in their later versions. Such as, the Liturgy of St. James, which was the Liturgy used in the parishes of the Jerusalem see, and throughout the East; The Liturgy of St. Mark, which was used in the parishes of Egypt, and the surrounding countries; And the Clementine Liturgy, sometimes referred to as the Roman Liturgy, found in the *Apostolical Constitutions* which is attributed to Clement I of Rome, and is believed to be the apostolic form of the Liturgy handed down to us. The Liturgy of Rome described by Justin Martyr⁵, is almost identical to the Clementine Liturgy, therefore, it can be assumed that these are either the same Liturgy or derived from a similar source, it was used not only in Rome and its provinces, but also in parishes of Gaul. Therefore, in these regions the same Liturgy was used by all parishes in that region being under the authority of the same bishop. Later, after the third century, a common Liturgy was used by every diocese in a given Metropolitan, or Patriarchal see, so that several dioceses agreed to use the same Liturgy that was used in that particular region.

It has also been shown by Dom Gregory Dix in his book *The Shape of the Liturgy*,⁶ that over time, as new bishops were consecrated into these sees, new elements were added. Hence, as new interpolations to the Liturgy were made, some of them good, such as the inclusions that were added after the councils of Nicæa and Constantinople in defense of the Trinity and the Person and Nature of Christ; and some of them bad, such as the interpolations which became the Canon of the Mass, the Liturgies grew to become what they were at the time of the Reformation.

To illustrate this let us note the original structure, and then the changes that occurred over time using the Liturgies of St. Mark, St. James, and the Clementine Liturgy. These are Liturgies

⁵ *The First Apology of Justin Martyr*. Chapters LXXV-LXVII. *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, ed. Alexander Roberts & James Donaldson, Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1885. Reprinted by Hendrickson Publishers Inc., Peabody, Massachusetts, 1994. Volume 1, 185-186.

⁶ Dix, Dom Gregory, *The Shape of the Liturgy*. Dacre Press, London, England, 1945. Pullout diagram between 432-433.

that started out being the Liturgy for a specific diocese, and then became the common Liturgy for all the dioceses within these Patriarchal sees. So that we can see the uses in a specific location grow into the common use of a larger region.

Originally, all three Liturgies began with a Greeting in the vernacular. The use of the vernacular was used throughout the rest of the original forms of the Liturgy as well. The original language for all three of these Liturgies was Greek. Later, the Clementine Liturgy, which was used at Rome, switched to Latin, which at that time was still the common language of the people. The Greeting, which we refer to today as the “Salutation” was, “Peace be with you,” which was followed by the response of the people, “And with thy spirit.”

The next part of the Liturgy, and common to all three, was the reading of the Lections, interspersed with chants, which were usually psalms, between each of the readings. The Liturgy of St. James describes the readings as such: “Then there are read in order the holy oracles of the Old Testament, and of the prophets; and the incarnation of the Son of God is set forth, and His sufferings and resurrection from the dead, His ascension into heaven, and His second appearing with glory; and this takes place daily in the holy and divine service.”⁷ The readings in the Liturgy of St. Mark are described as “the Apostle and the Prologue of the Hallelujah” and “the Gospel.”⁸ The readings described in the Clementine Liturgy are,

“In the middle, let the reader stand upon some high place: let him read the books of Moses, of Joshua the son of Nun, of the Judges, and of the Kings and the Chronicles, and those written after the return from the captivity; and besides these, the books of Job and of Solomon, and of the sixteen prophets. But when there have been two lessons severally read, let some other person sing the hymns of David and let the people join at the conclusions of the verses. Afterwards let our

⁷ *The Divine Liturgy of James, the Holy Apostle and Brother of the Lord. The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, ed. Alexander Roberts & James Donaldson, Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1885. Reprinted by Hendrickson Publishers Inc., Peabody, Massachusetts, 1994. Volume 7, 539.

⁸ *The Divine Liturgy of the Holy Apostle and Evangelist Mark, the Disciple of the Holy Peter. The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, ed. Alexander Roberts & James Donaldson, Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1885. Reprinted by Hendrickson Publishers Inc., Peabody, Massachusetts, 1994. Volume 7, 553.

Acts be read, and the Epistles of Paul our fellow-worker, which he sent to the churches under the conduct of the Holy Spirit; and afterwards let a deacon or a presbyter read the Gospels, both those which I Matthew and John have delivered to you, and those which the fellow-workers of Paul received and left to you, Luke and Mark. And while the Gospel is read, let all the presbyters and deacons, and all the people, stand up in great silence; for it is written, ‘Be silent, and hear, O Israel.’⁹ And again, ‘But do thou stand there, and hear.’^{10,11}

We can see from these instances the early development of the practice of reading an Old Testament Lesson, an Epistle, and the Gospel with a psalm between each reading.

Next, the sermon by the bishop was preached. This is common to all three Liturgies. In some places a sermon was given by all the presbyters, from lowest rank to highest, and then the bishop last. They were allowed to preach for as long or as short as they desired, or even not at all. This is shown in the *Constitutions of the Apostles*, which provides the Clementine Liturgy, “Let the presbyters one by one, not all together, exhort the people, and the bishop in the last place, as being the commander.”¹²

Then, common to all, was the Dismissal of the Catechumens. This, of course, is where the Liturgy gets its ancient name “Mass” for in the course of the Liturgy there were two dismissals, one of the catechumens, and one of the faithful, which took place after the Eucharist. Therefore, the papists are incorrect in referring to one part of the service as the “Mass”¹³ since for the Early Christians; the whole service was termed either *missa catechumenorum* or *missa fidelium*, that is, Mass of the Catechumen and Mass of the Faithful. The form of the dismissal in the Liturgy of St. James was as such: A deacon would say, “Let none remain of the catechumens, none of the unbaptized, none of those who are unable to join with us in prayer. Look at one

⁹ Deuteronomy 27:9. KJV.

¹⁰ Deuteronomy 5:31. KJV.

¹¹ *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles*, Book II, Sect. VII, Chap. LVII. *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, ed. Alexander Roberts & James Donaldson, Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1885. Reprinted by Hendrickson Publishers Inc., Peabody, Massachusetts, 1994. Volume 7, 421.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ See Fortescue, Adrian, *The Mass: A Study of the Roman Liturgy*, Preface, vii

another. The door.”¹⁴ The “look at one another” referred to the practice of making sure that only the faithful remained. This was the responsibility of the deacons. The cry of “the door” referred to the practice of shutting the door. Originally this was handled by a deacon, but eventually became a minor office in the Church, known as, *ostiarii*, or door-keepers, who shut and locked the doors.¹⁵ Hence, the practice of “closed” communion; They closed the door. And only those with whom they were in fellowship were allowed to be present, let alone commune. The Liturgy of St. Mark has for the dismissal, “Take care that none of the catechumens [remain].”¹⁶ The form of the dismissal in the Clementine Liturgy states,

“The deacon shall immediately say, ‘Let none of the catechumens, let none of the hearers, let none of the unbelievers, let none of the heterodox, stay here. You who have prayed the foregoing prayer, depart. Let the mother’s receive their children; let no one have anything against anyone; let no one come in hypocrisy; let us stand upright before the Lord with fear and trembling, to offer.’”¹⁷

As did the Liturgy of St. James, both of these last two Liturgies illustrate that the Lord’s Supper was only for the faithful. And that only those with whom there existed true unity were allowed to be present for the Holy Eucharist. This marked the end of the *missa catechumenorum*, the Mass of the Catechumen.

The *missa fidelium*, the Mass of the Faithful, began with the intercessory prayers of the faithful. This was in the form of what we commonly refer to today as the Bidding Prayer. It prayed for all estates of mankind. The deacon would announce the particular petition to be prayed, all would kneel for silent prayer. After an indication to stand by the subdeacon, the celebrant would sum up the petitions of all in a brief collect. It typically lasted about thirty

¹⁴ *The Divine Liturgy of James, the Holy Apostle and Brother of the Lord*. 540.

¹⁵ This is shown by the ordination rite into this office as recorded in the 4th Council of Carthage, canon 9, “*Ostiarus cum ordinatur—ad suggestionem archidiaconi tradat ei episcopus clavat ecclesiae, dicens ‘Sic age quasi redditurus Deo rationem de his rebus quae his claiobus recluduntur.’*”; “Ostiarium at the time of ordination—by the suggestion of the Archdeacon, the Bishop hands over the keys to the Church, saying, ‘Behave thyself as one that must give an account to God of the things kept locked under these keys.’”

¹⁶ *The Divine Liturgy of the Holy Apostle and Evangelist Mark, the Disciple of the Holy Peter*. 554.

¹⁷ *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles*, Book VIII, Sect. II, Chap. XII. 486.

minutes. We can see this being possibly referenced by St. John, the Apostle and Evangelist, in the Apocalypse, when he relates that there was silence in Heaven for about thirty minutes.

Then there came another Greeting. This followed the same form as earlier, “Peace be with you” and the same response of “And with thy spirit” followed. This was followed by the deacon pronouncing the Kiss of Peace. In the Liturgy of St. James the form was, “Let us salute one another with a holy kiss. Let us bow our heads to the Lord.”¹⁸ In the Liturgy of St. Mark the form was, “Salute one another.”¹⁹ The Clementine Liturgy states, “Let that deacon who is at the high priest’s right hand say to the people, ‘Let no one have any quarrel against another; let no one come in hypocrisy.’ Then let the men give the men, and the women give the women, the Lord’s kiss. But let no one do it with deceit, as Judas betrayed the Lord with a kiss.”²⁰ It must be remembered that during this time, the men and women were separated from one another during the service; Men sitting with men, and women sitting with women; the children would sit with the women.

Then came the Offertory, this came to be known as the Oblations, which is a fancy way to say “the offerings.” Originally, this was simply the bringing forward of wine and bread to be used in the breaking of the bread, followed by a prayer of thanksgiving. The Altar was also prepared for the Communion at this time. Other items were also sometimes brought forward such as, oil, cheese, vegetables, fruit, flowers, olives, milk, etc. The Offertory is described in the *Apostolic Tradition* of St. Hippolytus of Rome, “Then the deacons shall present the oblation to him, and he shall lay his hand upon it, and give thanks, with the entire council of elders.”²¹ The term “oblation” refers to the bread and wine before they are consecrated by the celebrant.

¹⁸ *The Divine Liturgy of James, the Holy Apostle and Brother of the Lord*. 541.

¹⁹ *The Divine Liturgy of the Holy Apostle and Evangelist Mark, the Disciple of the Holy Peter*. 554.

²⁰ *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles*, Book II, Sect. VII, Chap. LVII. 422.

²¹ *Apostolic Tradition*, IV, 2.

Therefore, by its earliest example, the Offertory, which would later make up a part of the Canon of the Mass, is strictly speaking the bringing forward of our offerings in thanks to God for what He has given to us. These offerings were blessed with a long prayer of thanksgiving prayed by the celebrant.

The next part of the original Liturgies was the Eucharistic Prayer, or the Anaphora. In the early Liturgies this was a long prayer of thanksgiving, that began with “The Lord be with you” and the response of the people, “And with thy spirit,” then the *Sursum corda*, “Lift up your hearts,” and the response, “We lift them up unto the Lord,” and, “Let us give thanks unto the Lord,” and the response, “It is meet and right so to do.” After a long prayer of thanksgiving, which included the Words of Institution, the Eucharistic prayer ended with the Lord’s Prayer. This prayer of thanksgiving differed in each Liturgy, but the theme was basically the same. The Liturgy of St. James differs from the other Liturgies in that for “The Lord be with you” it has “The love of the Lord and Father, the grace of the Lord and Son, and the fellowship and the gift of the Holy Spirit, be with us all.”²² All the rest of the words which we refer to as the Preface were the same as they are today.

Following the Anaphora, the celebrant would say, “The holy things unto holy” in the Liturgy of St. James. And the people would respond, “One only is holy, one Lord Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father, to whom be glory to all eternity.” He would say, “Holy things for the holy” in the Liturgy of St. Mark. And the people would respond, “One Father holy, one Son holy, one Spirit holy, in the unity of the Holy Spirit. Amen.” In the Clementine Liturgy, he would say, “Holy things for holy persons” and the people would respond, “There is One that is holy; there is one Lord, one Jesus Christ, blessed forever, to the glory of God the Father. Amen. ‘Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will among men. Hosanna to the Son of

²² *The Divine Liturgy of James, the Holy Apostle and Brother of the Lord.* 543.

David! Blessed be He that cometh in the Name of the Lord,’ being the Lord God who appeared to us, ‘Hosanna in the highest.’”²³ Here we see the beginnings of our *Sanctus*. After this, the celebrant would break the bread. This became known as the Fraction.

The Fraction is described in detail in the Liturgy of St. James,

“The Priest breaks the bread, and holds the half in his right hand, and the half in his left, and dips that in his right hand in the chalice, saying, ‘The union of the all-holy body and precious blood of our Lord and God and Saviour, Jesus Christ.’ Then he makes the sign of the cross on that in his left hand: then with that which has been signed the other half: then forthwith he begins to divide, and before all to give to each chalice a single piece, saying, ‘It has been made one, and sanctified, and perfected, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, now and ever.’ And when he makes the sign of the cross on the bread, he says, ‘Behold the Lamb of God, the Son of the Father, that taketh away the sin of the world, sacrificed for the life and salvation of the world.’ And when he gives a single piece to each chalice, he says, ‘A holy portion of Christ, full of grace and truth, of the Father, and of the Holy Spirit, to whom be glory and the power to all eternity.’ Then he begins to divide, and to say, “‘The Lord is my Shepherd, I shall not want. In green pastures,”²⁴ and so on.”²⁵

During the rest of the dividing of the bread the celebrant continues on after he had finished Psalm 23, with Psalm 34, Psalm 114, and Psalm 117, until all the bread was divided into individual pieces. The Liturgy of St. Mark’s Fraction is not as elaborate: “The Priest makes the sign of the cross upon the people, and saith in a loud voice, ‘The Lord be with all.’ The Priest breaks the bread, and saith, ‘Praise ye God.’ The Priest divides it among those present, and saith, ‘The Lord will bless and help you through His great mercy.’”²⁶ Here we can see the beginnings of the *Pax Domini*, what we say after the Consecration, just before the Distribution, “The Peace of the Lord be with you alway.”²⁷

²³ *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles*, Book VIII, Sect. III, Chap. XIII. 490.

²⁴ Psalm 23. KJV.

²⁵ *The Divine Liturgy of James, the Holy Apostle and Brother of the Lord*. 548.

²⁶ *The Divine Liturgy of the Holy Apostle and Evangelist Mark, the Disciple of the Holy Peter*. 559.

²⁷ *The Lutheran Hymnal*. 27

After the Fraction came the Communion, that is, what we refer to as the Distribution. The details of the Communion are shown us in the Liturgy of St. Mark, “The Priest partakes, and prays, ‘According to Thy loving-kindness,’²⁸ etc. Or, ‘As the hart panteth after the water-brooks,’²⁹ etc. When he gives the bread to the clergy, he says, ‘The holy body.’ And when he gives the chalice, he says, ‘The precious blood of our Lord, and God, and Savior.’”³⁰ Then the Body and Blood were distributed to the people. In this example we see the early practice of the celebrant communing himself, and then the clergy were communed, first the ones assisting, and then the ones who were not assisting, and finally the laity were communed last. This was based off the Christian premise that the person or persons of greatest honor always received last place. This is why the bishop, in processions of clergy, always goes last, since among the clergy, he holds the highest honor. And in processions that include the laity, the laity goes last, since they hold the position of honor. This is a reflection of the words of our Lord, “So the last will be first, and the first last.”³¹ Therefore, the laity always is served last, since they hold the highest place of honor as brothers of Christ, and sons of the Father. This is further shown in the Clementine Liturgy,

“Let the bishop partake, then the presbyters, and deacons, and sub-deacons, and the readers, and the singers, and the ascetics; and then of the women, the deaconesses, and the virgins, and the widows; then the children; and then all the people in order, with reverence and godly fear, without tumult. And let the bishop give the oblation, saying, ‘The body of Christ’; and let him that receiveth say, ‘Amen.’ And let the deacon take the cup; and when he gives it, say, ‘The blood of Christ, the cup of life’; And let him that drinketh say, ‘Amen.’ And let the thirty-third psalm be said, while the rest are partaking; and when all, both men and women, have partaken, let the deacons carry what remains into the vestry.”³²

²⁸ Psalm 51. KJV.

²⁹ Psalm 42. KJV.

³⁰ *The Divine Liturgy of the Holy Apostle and Evangelist Mark, the Disciple of the Holy Peter.* 559.

³¹ St. Matthew 20:16.

³² *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles*, Book VIII, Sect. III, Chap. XIII. 490-491.

Notice that this example shows the ancient practice of the men communing first, and then the women. As has been stated earlier, men and women, did not sit together, but had different places in the Nave. Also, make note of the position of the children, they received the Communion, after the widows, and before the people. One can clearly see in this example the last being first, and the first being last.

Upon completion of the Communion, the Altar was cleared, and the vessels were cleansed, this came to be known as the Ablutions, which is a fancy way to say, “washing the dishes.” This is shown above in the Communion of the Clementine Liturgy, when the deacons carried the *reliqui*, that which remained, into the vestry. Then came the Dismissal of the Faithful. In the Clementine Liturgy this began with an announcement of prayer by the deacon, and then a prayer by the bishop. Then after a command by the deacon to, “Bow down to God through His Christ, and receive the blessing.”³³ The bishop would pray a prayer of blessing; Afterwards, the deacon would say, “Depart in peace.”³⁴ Then all would leave. The form in the Liturgy of St. Mark is very similar, the difference being that after the deacon said, “Depart in peace” the people would respond, “In the name of the Lord.”³⁵ Then the celebrant would say, “The love of God the Father; the grace of the Son, our Lord Jesus Christ; the communion and gift of the All-holy Spirit, be with us all, now, henceforth, and forevermore.”³⁶ To which the people responded, “Amen. Blessed be the name of the Lord.”³⁷ Then all would depart. The Liturgy of St. James differs greatly from the previous two in its Dismissal. After several prayers of thanksgiving, the celebrant greets the people, saying, “Peace be to all.”³⁸ And the people responded saying, “And

³³ Ibid. 491.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ *The Divine Liturgy of the Holy Apostle and Evangelist Mark, the Disciple of the Holy Peter.* 560.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ *The Divine Liturgy of James, the Holy Apostle and Brother of the Lord.* 549.

with thy spirit.”³⁹ Then the deacon would say, “Let us bow our hearts to the Lord.”⁴⁰ After which the bishop would pray a prayer of blessing. The deacon would then say, “In the peace of Christ let us sing.”⁴¹ And again he would say, “In the peace of Christ let us go on.”⁴² To which the people responded, saying, “In the name of the Lord. Sir, pronounce the blessing.”⁴³ Then the deacon would pray the dismissal prayer, saying, “Going on from glory to glory, we praise Thee, the Saviour of our souls. Glory to Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit, now and ever, and to all eternity. We praise Thee, the Saviour of our souls.”⁴⁴ Then everyone would depart. While going from the Altar to the sacristy the celebrant would also pray another prayer. In all three Liturgies the celebrant, deacon, and other clergy would join together for prayers in the sacristy afterward.

From these early Liturgies one can see the similarity in structure. They all contained these same parts: Greeting (what we refer to as the Salutation) and Response; Lections, interspersed with Psalmody; The Bishop’s Sermon; The Dismissal of the Catechumens; The Intercessory Prayer of the Faithful (what we refer to as the General Prayer, although it took the form of the Bidding Prayer); Another Greeting and Response; The Kiss of Peace; The Offertory, or Prayer of Oblation; The Eucharistic Prayer (what we refer to as the Preface and that which follows it); The Fraction; The Communion (with the Ablutions); And the Dismissal of the Faithful. These twelve parts are found in all the early Liturgies, and although the words are not the same in every Liturgy, there are very similar words, or they carry the same theme. It must also be remembered that these Liturgies were not just used in one location, but first throughout

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid. 550.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

the diocese, and then throughout what was known as the Metropolitan, or Patriarchal see, as has been pointed out earlier.

We can also see the basic parts of these Liturgies in our Liturgy today. To make it clear let us run down the parts of the early Liturgies, and point out their use in our Liturgy today. I will use the Liturgy of *The Lutheran Hymnal*. The Greeting and Response is shown in the Salutation and Response: “The Lord be with you.” “And with thy spirit.”⁴⁵ The Lections, obviously, can be seen in the Lesson, Epistle and Gospel. The Psalmody is seen in the Interveniend chants of the Gradual and Verse or Tract, which are chanted between the readings. We still have the Sermon, although only one minister preaches instead of the whole order of clergy. We no longer have a Dismissal of the Catechumens, which was dropped about the 6th century in Rome, the Western Liturgy, and the Prayers for the Catechumens were lost about 495 A.D. These elements were lost even earlier in the East. The Dismissal of the Catechumens was dropped sometime in the 5th century, and the Prayers for the Catechumens were moved to be part of the Intercessory Prayers sometime in the 4th century in both Jerusalem and Alexandria. The Intercessory Prayers of the Faithful are now our General Prayer, and as has been pointed out, the Bidding Prayer still remains today as an example of this early form of intercessory prayer. The second Greeting and Response, the Kiss of Peace, and the Offertory are not practiced in the Lutheran Church. What we refer to today as the Offertory is not the same thing that was practiced in ancient times. Although, sometimes the Kiss of Peace takes the form of exchanging of hugs and handshakes in some parishes. The Eucharistic Prayer has now become our Preface and Proper Preface, the *Sanctus* and *Benedictus*, the Lord’s Prayer, the *Verba Domini*, and the *Pax Domini*. The *Pax Domini* was originally before the Oblation and Offertory. It was moved to after the Fraction about 400 A.D. The Fraction also has not remained in use in the Lutheran Church, although this

⁴⁵ *The Lutheran Hymnal*, 19.

may be due to the use of individual wafers, more so than for any theological reason. There are some rubrics within the Lutheran Church which state that during the *Agnus Dei*, the Host, especially if it is a large Host, is broken into smaller pieces. Obviously, we still observe Communion. And, in some parishes, the ancient practice of the celebrant self-communing, and then communing the servers, and then choir, and then the rest, still remains, or has been restored where it has fallen into disuse. The practice of the celebrant distributing the host, and the deacon the chalice, also remains in some parishes, where a deacon is present. Finally, we can see in the form of the Dismissal of the Faithful similarities between our own practice leading up to the Dismissal. Everything from the Post-communion canticle of the *Nunc Dimittis* (or whatever canticle it may be) on comprises the Dismissal of today. The Thanksgiving (anciently sung by the deacon), the Post-communion Collect (anciently prayed by the bishop), the Hymn, the Salutation and Response, the deacon's blessing of the *Benedicamus*, and the celebrant's blessing of the *Benediction*, can be seen in the ancient Liturgies.

Certainly there were many additions and subtractions that took place over centuries. These parts were added following the Nicæan Council up to about the 9th century. These changes make up the second tier of additions and deletions to the Liturgy. It is also where we start to see differences developing between the Churches of the East and the Churches of the West. For example, to the Liturgies of St. Mark and St. James, these Eastern Liturgies, were added an Entrance chant, it took the form of the *Monogenes*, a hymn written by Emperor Justinian at the end of his pro-Monophysite period, while Severus, the Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch was staying at his palace. It is still used in some of the Churches of the East, such as the Antiochene, Alexandrian, and Armenian churches. It should be pointed out that the Monophysites rejected the hymn, as contrary to their doctrine, and was not used by them, as is the case in the Byzantine

parishes⁴⁶ which are influenced by Monophysite philosophy. The addition of the *Monogenes* to the Liturgies of the East was made in 536 A.D. In Rome, the Church of the West, there also was added an Entrance chant, only this was taken from the Psalms, as are the Introits that we have today. This addition was made about 430 A.D. The Entrance chant came before the Greeting in both the East and the West.

The next notable addition was the addition of The Litany. In Rome, it came after the Entrance chant, and before the Greeting. It was added about 495 A.D. This Litany eventually became what we know as the *Kyrie*. St. Gregory the Great relates the beginning of this development in an epistle to the bishop of Syracuse in 598 A.D. defending himself against accusations of easternizing tendencies,

“We neither used to say nor do we say *Kyrie eleison* as it is said among the Greeks. For among them all sing it together. But with us [it] is sung by the choir and the people answer it. And *Christe eleison* which is never sung by the Greeks is sung as many times [as the *Kyrie eleison*]. But on non-festal days we omit certain things usually sung and sing only *Kyrie eleison* and *Christe eleison*, so that we may spend somewhat longer on these words of supplication.”⁴⁷

Therefore, the “Lord, have mercy. Christ, have mercy. Lord, have mercy” (or whatever the form in use at Rome was) that was used on non-festival days in Rome at the time of St. Gregory the Great, eventually became to be used on festival days as well (Sunday being considered a festival day). The Litany, as it was displaced, took the form of a processional through the streets outside the church as a forerunner to the Eucharist on days of solemnity. We have this form maintained today in the Litany processional which takes place on the festival of St. Mark and during the Rogation days.⁴⁸ A Litany was also added at Jerusalem in the 5th century however, it came after

⁴⁶ For a full treatment of this, see Dix, Dom Gregory, *The Shape of the Liturgy*. 448-450.

⁴⁷ Dix, Dom Gregory, *The Shape of the Liturgy*. 454.

⁴⁸ For further information see McClean, Charles, *The Conduct of the Services*. Clayton Publishing House, St. Louis, MO, 1972, 93. Reprinted by Redeemer Press, Fort Wayne, IN, 2003.

the Greeting. There was no Litany added to the Liturgy of St. Mark, used in the Patriarchal see of Alexandria.

Also during this period was the addition of a Hymn after the Litany in Rome and Jerusalem, and after the Greeting in Alexandria (and Jerusalem). In Rome, this Hymn, which was also before the Greeting, was the *Gloria in Excelsis*, which we are familiar with from our own Liturgy.⁴⁹ It was added about 500 A.D. even though the hymn itself is much more ancient. In the East, the Hymn was the *Trisagion*, which is, “Amen. Holy God, holy mighty, holy immortal, have mercy upon us. Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth, Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory.” It was added in Jerusalem sometime before 470 A.D., and the date of its addition in Alexandria is unknown, but probably sometime in the 5th century as at Jerusalem.

Around this same time frame, a prayer was added after the Greeting in both Rome and Alexandria. This shows the structure that we see today in our Liturgy of Salutation, Response, and Collect. The Creed, obviously developed at the Council of Nicæa in 325 A.D. and completed at the Council of Constantinople in 381 A.D., and though it played a prominent role in catechesis, did not make its permanent use into the Liturgy at Rome until the 11th century (by Pope Benedict VIII in 1014 A.D.). The history of the inclusion of the Creed into the Western Liturgy is such: The third council of Toledo in 589 A.D. directed for use in the parishes of Spain that, “for the fortifying of our people’s recent conversion,”⁵⁰ from Arianism, the Creed should be recited “after the fashion of the Eastern fathers,”⁵¹ by all in a loud voice. Its place in the Churches of Spain was after the Fraction. Charlemagne was the first to introduce it to the Frankish Churches of Gaul in 798 A.D. He was also the first to introduce the singing of the Creed, and he also placed it in its current spot, after the Gospel. Bishop Paulinus of Aquileia in Northern Italy introduced it

⁴⁹ *The Lutheran Hymnal*. 17-19.

⁵⁰ Council of Toledo. Canon 2.

⁵¹ *Ibid*.

into that region at the end of the 8th century. From there it slowly made its way into the Liturgy throughout Italy, until it was finally was accepted into the Liturgy at Rome, as stated above, in the 11th century.

The Nicene Creed was placed into the Liturgy much earlier in the East. It was first introduced at Antioch. It was Peter “the Fuller,” the Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch who instituted the custom of publicly reciting the Nicene Creed at every instance of the Liturgy in 473 A.D. He did it “as an ostentatious act of deference towards the venerable Council of Nicæa, whose teachings he declared that the Chalcedonians had abandoned.”⁵² Its place was after the Gospel, as in our Liturgy. The Creed was introduced into the Liturgy of Constantinople by Timothy after he succeeded the Patriarch Macedonius II, who was banished by the Monophysite emperor in 511 A.D., in order to curry favor with the emperor and secure political support from the federalist party of the Monophysites. When the orthodox regained control of the see, they did not do away with the use of the Creed, not wanting to seem to be against the Council of Nicæa.

The final addition to the Liturgy as we know it today was the *Agnus Dei*. It was added to the Roman Liturgy by Pope Sergius I (687-701 A.D.) after the Fraction, just before the Communion, where it is today. Pope Sergius I imported the concept of the Lamb of God from the Syrian Church. It was originally sung twice, once by the choir, then by the people. It remained in this form until the 12th century when in the French churches it began to be sung three times, with “grant us peace” substituted for the “have mercy upon us” at the third petition, as it is sung in our Liturgy today. In Rome, the original usage remained until the end of the 13th century, and it is still sung in its original form today in the Lateran basilica, the Pope’s cathedral.

In this brief overview of the development of these Liturgies, we can see which elements have remained, and for the most part, stayed the same. These parts of the early Liturgies should

⁵² Dix, Dom Gregory, *Shape of the Liturgy*. 486.

form the foundation for our Liturgy today, since they are the most ancient and universal, especially as we consider the development of a hymnal to be used by the parishes served by members of our diocese. These elements are the unifying parts of the Liturgy, which convey the doctrine of the Church and thereby promote unity in worship. Among these elements we see the development of the Ordinaries of the *Kyrie*, the *Gloria in Excelsis*, the Creed, the *Sanctus*, and the *Agnus Dei*. We have also seen evidence of the Propers from these early Liturgies, in the Entrance chants, and the Readings, along with the additions of the Collect and the Intervenient chants. We see a common Liturgy throughout the ancient world, that even though there were some minor differences, the elements of the Liturgy were the same everywhere. We also see that the use of these Liturgies enjoyed a common practice among the people of these regions. That is, that within each diocese the form used in all parishes was the same every Lord's Day, and did not change from day to day, or week to week. This was governed by the bishop of the diocese. The Early Christians, and the Christians throughout the ages, did not know several different Liturgies. They did not have Divine Service 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, they only had one Liturgy, and that was the Liturgy that was used throughout the diocese. This should encourage our diocese, even though we are not a geographic one, to be mindful of using the same Liturgy, the same words on the page, in all parishes served by our diocese, for just as unity in doctrine exists in the agreeing to the same words of teaching, unity in worship exists in a common language, and our common language is the words on the page of the Liturgy. This unity is further enhanced by a shared ceremonial, that is, in delivering this common language in the same manner as those with whom we are in agreement in doctrine, we further promote the bond of unity among us.

This leads us into a discussion on ceremonial, since Liturgy and ceremony are two sides to the same coin. For not only has the Church developed a set pattern for the words of the

Liturgy, but throughout her history the Church has also established certain rites and ceremonies for the carrying out of those words to promote the Gospel, and further the thinking among her children the importance of what our Lord has done for her. For example, the observance of bowing the head at every mention of the Name of our Lord + Jesus in the Liturgy has been established by the Blessed Apostle, St. Paul in his Epistle to the Church at Philippi, “that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of those in heaven, and of those on earth, and of those under the earth.”⁵³

In our Confessions we are taught that ceremonies are not harmful, but can be salutary. As Article XV of the Augsburg Confession—Of Church Rites and Ordinances—states,

“Concerning ecclesiastical rites instituted by men it is taught, that those should be observed which can be so observed without sin, and which promote peace and good order in the church: as, certain holidays, festivals, and the like. Respecting these, however, our instruction is designed to release the consciences of men from the idea, that such observances are essential to salvation. It is taught on this point, that all ordinances and traditions of men, for the purpose of reconciling God and meriting grace, are contrary to the Gospel and the doctrine of faith in Christ; wherefore, monastic vows, and traditions concerning the difference of meats, days, &c., intended for the purpose of meriting grace and making satisfaction for sins, are impotent and contrary to the Gospel.”⁵⁴

Therefore, those ceremonies which are not “impotent and contrary to the Gospel,” which “can be so observed without sin,” and “which promote peace and good order in the Church” should be observed by the parishes served by our diocese. For these are the ceremonies which make sure that all things are “done decently and in order.” This article also reveals to us which ceremonies truly are “too Roman Catholic” for only those ceremonies which are done for the “purpose of meriting grace and making satisfaction for sins,” are truly ceremonies which are “too Roman Catholic” and should be avoided and disdained among us.

⁵³ Philippians 2:10.

⁵⁴ *The Christian Book of Concord*. Henkel Electronic Edition, © 2008 <http://grabauski.com>, page 113.

We can see from both Scripture and the Confessions what constitutes a meet, right and salutary ceremonial. But what makes a ceremony unifying? To what extent must there be agreement in externals? As I stated before, there in no way, shape, or form must be agreement and common practice in all externals. However, I do believe that there are some externals that should find a common agreement and practice among those in the same diocese and those who confess a common doctrine. What are these? The answer can be found in the historic and common use, among churches of the Lutheran confession. Not wanting this paper to get overly long, I will limit the discussion to a few externals that have found a common use among those of the Lutheran confession.

The first common element of ceremony that should be in use among us is a common Lectionary. For although, the reading of Scriptures in the Divine Liturgy is not an adiaphoron, which Scriptures are read are an adiaphoron for this is not commanded in Holy Scripture. And, as much as it pains me to say this, which Lectionary is not as important as the use of the same Lectionary. This is something that has to be decided upon by the diocese as a whole. And, in the event of a disagreement, as has been the practice of the Church for ages, it should fall to the bishop to determine the course of action for the diocese. This axiom remains true for all external matters. That being said, the use of the historic one-year series has the most ancient use in the Church, and should be commended for use by all members of the diocese in their parishes. However, since only the Epistles and Gospels are in fact historic, it would remain to the diocese to determine, if any, what Old Testament Lesson series to use. Whether we adopt the use of what is used in The Lutheran Hymnal, or what has been put forth by the Lutheran Service Book, or

some of the other older Old Testament series used among Lutherans, such as the Thomasius, Hannover, or Eisenach⁵⁵ series, is up to the decision of the diocese.

Related to this is the use of the same Propers. The Introit, Collect, Gradual, and Verse or Tract should be the same in all the parishes served by our diocese. This will go a long way to promote the use of a common theme on any given Sunday or Feast day. Again, the diocese is free to choose whichever series of Propers they choose, as long as the whole diocese is in agreement on its use. Along these lines, with regard to both the Lectionary and the Propers, is the use of a common language with these Propers. Do the Propers, and for that matter the Liturgy itself, use Jacobian language or modern language? Is there a certain translation that should be used for Scripture references and language of the readings? Also should be addressed is the case of different editions of parts of the Liturgy, as is the case with the *Benedictus* in *The Lutheran Hymnal* in which there are variant renderings of that canticle in later versus earlier editions. Also, in regards to the Introit, is the historic use of one psalm verse, as it is in *The Lutheran Hymnal*, or an elongated psalmody, or even the entire psalm desired to be used for the Introit among the members of the diocese.

Related to the Propers is the use of a common hymnody. Obviously, since hymns are a sung confession of the faith, and portray our doctrine, the hymns we use should be orthodox and Christological. I believe we can all agree that there are some hymns that should “go the way of all things,” and there are other hymns that are orthodox and Christological that for space limitations in other hymnals did not make the cut, which should be brought back into use. I believe it is also safe to say that the tune of the hymn is as important as the words on the page. By example, is a hymn set to a calypso tune really necessary? Not only are the hymns we use in

⁵⁵ See *Common Service Book of the Lutheran Church*. The Board of Publication of the United Lutheran Church in America, Philadelphia, PA, 1917. 299-304.

our repertoire important, but also in line with the Propers of the Day, is the use of a Hymn of the Day. A hymn that carries the theme of the day, and is used on a given Sunday throughout the diocese would be a valuable thing, if for no other reason than those hymns would come to be known well, and every one would know at least one hymn that would be sung on that day. The diocese could develop her own use, or use one of the existing lists from either Ralph Gehrke in *Planning the Liturgy*, Henry Gerike, or the *Lutheran Service Book*.

The next element of ceremony that should find common use in our diocese is a common sanctoral calendar. We should all be promoting, if not celebrating, certain festivals and saints' days on the same day. Some of these days have already enjoyed wide spread use and the day of their observance is well known, such as the Feasts of the Lord, and the festivals of the Apostles, along with Reformation, and All Saints Day, among others commonly listed in hymnals in use today. Along these lines, as there are certain festival days that have more than one day in the Church year listed for its celebration, such as, The Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, our diocese should also celebrate these particular feasts on the same day; Picking which date out of the two (or three or more, as in the case of the festival of St. Ignatius of Antioch, Bishop and Martyr) we desire to celebrate those festivals. Another question that should be answered is how large of a sanctoral calendar does the diocese desire? Do we want to stick to only the festivals outlined in *The Lutheran Hymnal*, or do we want to expand that list as has been done in both *Lutheran Worship* and the *Lutheran Service Book*? There are certainly sanctoral calendars in Lutheran posterity that can aid in the foundation of answers to these questions, for example, either the sanctoral calendar or *Martyriologium*, of Wilhelm Löhe.

The next external that should find common usage in order to promote unity in worship is the use of the same liturgical colors. And, not only the use of the same colors, but also the use of

the same colors on the same day should be promoted. For example, does the diocese want to promote the use violet or blue during Advent? Does it want to promote the use of violet or green during Gesimatide? Do we limit the liturgical colors to the historical violet, white, green, red, and black? Or, should some of the other colors that have been used among Lutherans be promoted for use? Such as rose for *Gaudete* and *Laetare*; Scarlet for Passiontide; And gold for the main service on Easter Day. Historical practice among Lutherans should encourage our common use.

Another element of ceremony that should have a common use among us is the promotion of a unified use of vestments. The historic vestments of the Lutheran Church are amice, alb, cincture, maniple, stole, and chasuble (for the celebrant; dalmatic and tunicle for the deacon and subdeacon, respectively) during the administration of the Lord's Supper. The historic vestment for the offices of Matins and Vespers is a surplice. The cassock, historically speaking, is part of the daily dress of the clergy therefore it is not rightly called a vestment. However, if the cassock is to be treated as a vestment, it should be "the first garment put on by the minister when vesting and should be worn while he is in the sacristy, or when he enters the chancel or sanctuary to prepare for service, and when he meets people after the service in the church."⁵⁶

Other vestments include the cotta, which was historically worn by the liturgical choir with a cassock. It was also sometimes worn by acolytes, and the organist. The cotta differs from the surplice in that the surplice has a rounded collar, the cotta a square collar. The cope, a vestment historically used for processions and outdoor use, is another vestment used in the Lutheran Church. Among some Lutherans, the cope in use is the same as the color of the day. It is traditionally worn over the surplice and cassock. It is not a Eucharistic vestment, and therefore should not be worn with the Eucharistic vestments. Nor should the Eucharistic vestments, such

⁵⁶ Strodach, Paul Zeller, *A Manual on Worship*. Muhlenberg Press, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1946. 159.

as the stole, rightly be worn with the surplice and cassock, wide spread practice to the contrary notwithstanding. Also, used in the Middle Ages and among Lutherans for outdoor services is the biretta. In the Middle Ages it was a square cap. Today it is a stiff, collapsible, four-cornered cap made of black woolen material, surmounted by a black tuft of silk. It is rarely worn by Lutheran clergy today. The mitre is still worn by some Lutheran bishops in Europe. Originally, it was a white felt hat. During the Middle Ages it came to be the distinctive head dress of the bishop. Like the cope, today the mitre follows the color of the season. Not vestments strictly speaking, but related to the dress of the Bishop is the pectoral cross and crosier.⁵⁷

Not all of these vestments, which have enjoyed a use among Lutherans and throughout history, need to be used by every minister of the diocese. Obviously, the ones that are specific to the bishop would only be worn by him, as are all vestments specific to rank. Nor do all these vestments have to be of the same material and design in all places. Local circumstance and preferences would dictate that to a certain extent. However, a common use that is encouraged and promoted within our diocese, based upon historic use, would go far to promote a uniform worship practice. It would also go far in catechizing the laity as to proper historic use, and give them a connection to the Church of the ages.

There are other ceremonies and rites that should have unified use in our diocese, for example, the same rite of Holy Baptism, or Confirmation; A similar Marriage rite, or Funeral rite; A unified use of confirmation materials and catechism, which would go to promote a common language when it came to reciting the catechism, so that we won't have some say, for example, "explain everything in the kindest way" and some say, "put the best construction on everything."

⁵⁷ For an in-depth explanation of the vestments in use in the Lutheran Church see Lang, Paul H. D. *Ceremony and Celebration*. Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, Missouri, 1965. Reprinted by Redeemer Press, Fort Wayne, Indiana, 2004. 42-49.

These are just a few examples of ways our diocese can promote a common language, and a unity in ceremony.

Therefore, what constitutes true unity in worship? First and foremost, it is the Liturgy, the words which carry our doctrine in a common language. When this common language does not exist, it gives rise to moments of disunity. For who has not experienced at one time or other the curious case of the minister saying, “The Lord be with you” and half the people respond, “And with thy spirit” and the other half respond, “And also with you”? Such instances produce confusion, and do not really instill a sense of unity among the worshippers. It is as if we are not one group, but two or more different groups, who happen to be gathered in the same place at the same time. Secondly, true unity in worship is expressed through a shared ceremony, and an agreement in external matters. For unity in these things creates a sense of oneness, and a comfort level, that no matter where one worships within the diocese, we can be confident that we are all in agreement; Both in doctrine and practice. May the Lord God Almighty grant us grace that such peace and unity may be enjoyed among us.

Soli Deo Gloria!