

**THOMAS MÜNTZER:
REVOLUTION THROUGH LITURGY**

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1. Introduction

To the mind of a 21st century lay-person it may seem odd to discuss ‘revolution’ and ‘liturgy’ in close tandem. But the 16th century is a very foreign country and often needs to be crossed without the benefit of hindsight. Our subject, the radical theologian and preacher Thomas Müntzer made every effort to promote a wholesale revolution in the social relationships between people: high up on his list of such efforts was the reform of the liturgy. In this essay we shall look closely at why he chose to concentrate considerable efforts on reforming the church services, and what he hoped to achieve by this.

Of the many curious features in Thomas Müntzer historiography, one of the most strange is perhaps the small amount of study devoted to Müntzer’s liturgical works. It is true that, seen superficially, the liturgies seem unimportant in Müntzer’s career as a whole or inaccessible to the layman; this is partly because of their very nature as musical works, partly because they are, of all Müntzer’s works, the least openly revolutionary in their commentary and most orthodox in form, and thus of secondary interest. But when we penetrate this surface, we find much of significance. The number of works devoted entirely or partially to a study or reproduction of Müntzer’s liturgical work is just a couple of dozen compared with over 3000 in total. And yet it is arguable that this aspect of Müntzer’s work is one of the most important, certainly for Müntzer himself in the years 1523-24, and for an evaluation of his significance in the history of ecclesiastical reform. Even those who have decried Müntzer as a bloodthirsty revolutionary have found little to denigrate in his liturgical work. His two published liturgies, the ‘German Church Service’ [*Deutsch Kirchen Ampt*] (hereinafter: DKA) of 1523, and the ‘German Evangelical Mass’ [*Deutsch Evangelisch Messze*] (hereinafter: DEM) of 1524 constituted the first published, genuinely reformed - not merely translated - liturgical work of the German Reformation, and they owe the shortness of their life only to the efforts of the Lutherans in suppressing them. We say ‘genuinely reformed’ here, because the works are very intimately bound up with Müntzer’s theology and philosophy: they were not merely translations of existing liturgies - although they were German adaptations of two of the main Middle German Gregorian liturgies - but consciously-worked attempts to educate the worshipping commoners of Germany, and to achieve this in such a way that the form of education did not erect a barrier to the content.

As in all other aspects of the understanding of Müntzer, light has been shed on his liturgies only in the past hundred years, after a sojourn of nearly 400 years in darkness; and even then, it was not until 1925 that any serious critical study was undertaken, and not until 1968 that a full and fairly faithful edition of his liturgical works was published. The long period between 1525, after Müntzer's execution after the battle of Frankenhausen, and 1855, when the first critic accorded recognition to Müntzer's contribution to the reformed liturgy, is one characterised by the simple fact that the Lutheran tendency gained control of the German Reformation movement after 1525, and the fact that German church historians only looked critically at their own history after about 1848, when historiography stepped up to a more national platform. The particular reasons for the Lutheran suppression of Müntzer's liturgy will be examined briefly below; but generally speaking, the established Lutheran and Catholic churchmen regarded Müntzer and his kind as violent agents of the devil, revolutionary bogeymen ⁽¹⁾.

Since the start of Müntzer's slow, and as yet incomplete, rehabilitation, the critics of his liturgies have come to several and varied conclusions about his importance as a liturgist. We will discuss these opinions in the appended bibliography, but will refer to the various critics in our analysis of Müntzer's works.

We have available to us six liturgical works by Müntzer: the *Officium St Cyriaci* of 1516-17; the *Deutsches Kirchen Ampt* (DKA) of 1523, along with its introductory *Vorrede*; the pamphlet *Ordnung und Berechnung des Deutschen Amptes zu Allstedt* (hereinafter: OB) of 1523, which explained the motivation for his reformed Mass; the *Deutsch Evangelisch Messze* (DEM), with its introduction, of 1524; and two hymns which were not included in either of his two major works - the *Abendmahlslied* (which may or may not have been written by him), and the translation of the penultimate section of *Psalm 119* (verses commonly used in the service for None) - both of which were probably written in 1523 as part of the material for his main liturgies. Of these, the two major cycles, the DKA and the DEM, and the pamphlet OB, were published in Müntzer's lifetime; the others have come down to modern times in manuscript form.

(Please note that, due to the maturity of this essay, all citations have been made from the Franz edition of Müntzer's works (Gütersloh 1968). Although a newer and possibly more accurate edition has appeared (*Kritische Gesamtausgabe* 2017) no attempt has been made to cross-reference the citations to the newer edition.)

2. The Officium St Cyriaci

Müntzer's first liturgical work was the 'Officium St Cyriaci', a text in Latin written down by him in 1516 or 1517 during his employment as provost in the Cistercian nunnery at Frose (near Braunschweig) which was dedicated to St Cyriacus. If it is of no other significance, this ms. shows us that Müntzer's creative interest in liturgy was developed quite early in his career, and that it was apparently not affected by the rebellious views he held at that time. Wiechert suggests that in Frose, Müntzer would have become familiar with the breviaries of Bremen, Hamburg, Lübeck and Magdeburg, and by that time also with those of the Collegiate Church of St Mary (from his time in Halle) and with the Monastic Breviary. Later on, in the years 1517 to 1523, he would also have got to know the Cistercian (Beuditz, near Naumburg), the Naumburg, the Prague and the Halberstadt breviaries. (Another indication of his formal training in liturgical theory, incidentally, is given in his 1524 attack on Luther, 'Highly Called-For Speech of Defence' [*Hoch verursachte Schutzrede*] ⁽²⁾, when he describes Luther's attempts to reconcile his teachings with those of the Bible as being dissonant "in the highest musical register, the double octave" [*im höchsten alphabeth der musicen disdyapason*] (MGF.326/MPM.331) ⁽³⁾).

The office for St Cyriacus seems to have been the result of Müntzer's notes on the various special offices and masses in honour of that saint in the nunnery; Wiechert, in Franz' edition, suggests that it is composed of the complete texts of two offices and the remnants of a Mass, with the origins of the texts in the legends and histories of the saint. This is therefore of the type common in the Middle Ages - an office compiled for a large church or monastery, to celebrate the day (in this case, 8th August) of the patron, with texts derived from religious legends. From Wiechert's editing of the manuscript, it is apparent that Müntzer borrowed his texts from existing breviaries, particularly in the last section, where only the first couple of words of a known 'use' are given, referring to sundry German breviaries of the 15th century. It is certainly not likely that a 16th century priest would invent any such office from scratch. But the liturgy was probably intended only for Müntzer's own future reference, since not only are one or two sections missing – for example, the repeats of two or three responsories - but the whole is really only a series of rubrics, giving the first few words or phrases of the sections. Nevertheless, it provides evidence, if it were needed given that Müntzer was a trained priest, of his knowledge of late medieval German liturgy, and

may represent his first attempts at writing one of his own from a collection or collation of commonly-used fragments.

The shorthand notes given by Müntzer, where each line of text is only begun, or at best is left as one phrase, seem to break down into the following rubrics: 1st Vespers, 1st Mattins - with 1st, 2nd and 3rd Nocturns – 1st Lauds, 2nd Vespers, 2nd Mattins - with 1st, 2nd and 3rd Nocturns, followed by nineteen verses which would have been used as the Sequence in a Mass, and completed by an Alleluia which should, in theory, have preceded the Sequence. But these notes are often very cryptic, and there is some difficulty in analysing the exact function of certain lines.

Wiechert, who first edited this office, traced the sources of the 19 verses to the following missals and liturgies: Missale ms Codex Erfordiense (S.Petri Erfurt), 15thC.; Graduale ms Clarholtense, 15thC.; Missale Magdeburgense, 1480; Missale secundum morem Magdeburgensem, Halberstadtensem, Brandenburg-ensem, Vedensem aliarumque multarum ecclesiarum, 1486; Missale Lubecense, 1486; Missale Coloniense, 1520; Missale ms Maguntinum, 1524. Obviously, for Müntzer to have used either of the last two sources, they must have been current before being set down in print in the 1520s.

For the other lines of text, Müntzer seems to have drawn from three main sources - the breviaries of Brussels, of Johann von Hildesheim in Lübeck, and a Book of Hours of Nürnberg. If Wiechert is to be believed, then, Müntzer must have collected texts from many different sources in an attempt to create his own liturgy. Again, the cryptic nature of these notes gives rise to some difficulty in analysing their structure. Between 1st Lauds and 2nd Mattins, there are four verses for which Wiechert provides three alternative explanations: firstly, that they consist of an antiphon for the Magnificat in 2nd Vespers and an antiphon for the Benedictus, with two other verses; secondly, of an antiphon for the Magnificat with three short Responsories for Terce, Sext and None in Lauds; or thirdly, that they constitute a 'Processio ad Sepulchrum', such as is contained in the Lübeck source. Wiechert opts for this third alternative; but it is more likely, given the overall structure of Müntzer's notes, that the four verses represent an antiphon for the Benedictus in 1st Lauds, with the short responsories for Terce, Sext and None.

The next time we can connect Müntzer with a liturgy was in 1520-21, when he was preaching in Zwickau, that nest of unrest and back-street heresy. Here there were rumours

of attempts by one Peter von Dresden, in the late 15th century, to introduce German texts into the liturgy. Dresden was a follower of Jan Hus, and cantor at the town school; one of the demands of the Hussites in the 1420s had been for the use of the national language in church services, as an indispensable element in the revolt against Rome. The years 1521-22 were the radical years in Wittenberg during the Reformation, and it was precisely in this period that Luther began his own translation of the Bible (although it was not the first), while qualifying this with his assertion that the use of Latin was a form of ‘speaking with tongues’ (as in 1 Corinthians 14), whereas the German language fulfilled the function of exegesis. But Karlstadt, around Christmas of 1521, had begun to radicalise the services in Wittenberg, even to the extent of introducing German into sections of the liturgy - for example, the Benedictus. It is likely that these developments, which probably began in the Spring of 1521, were echoed in Zwickau, for that ‘pearl of Saxony’ was one of the main centres of the reform-movement, always to the fore. It is likely - although we have no direct evidence - that Müntzer, in his relations with the radical weaver Nikolaus Storch, was encouraged in the idea of translating the liturgy. Müntzer’s great enemy in Zwickau, the Humanist-cum-Lutheran Egranus, in complaining of Müntzer’s criticisms, ended a letter in German to him with the words: “It is no accident that I have written to you in German, for I feel that your spirit despises all scholarship and literature.” [*“Dass ich teutsch geschrieben hab...aller schrift”* (MGF.368/MPM.29)]. Leaving aside the fact that Müntzer’s Latin was as good as that of any of his contemporaries, this letter may signify that Müntzer was already involved in some translation of ceremonies traditionally conducted in Latin. At all events, the one thing about which we are certain in Zwickau is that Müntzer’s successor there, Hausmann, introduced a German Mass and Vespers to the town at Easter 1525; there must have been some such movement in the town previously, since Hausmann was not the most radical of the Reformers.

In Prague, in contact with the leaders of a resurgence of the radical wing of the Hussites, Müntzer dealt with the problems of language more thoroughly. It is implied in his ‘Prague Manifesto’ of November 1521, when he wrote:

“I affirm and swear by the living God: whoever does not hear the real living word of God from the mouth of God, but rather sticks with Bible and Babel, he is nothing more than a dead thing” [*“Ich becrefftige unde schwere ... ein todt ding”*] (MGF.501/MPM.368).

If the Elect were in contact spiritually and directly with God, then there could be no room for incomprehensible language, 'Bible and Babel'. It is significant that, soon after his return to Germany, he broke his allegiance to Wittenberg in a letter which began in Latin and ended in German (March 1522 - MGF.382/MPM.43).

At the beginning of 1523, we find Müntzer in Halle, where among his other activities, he was evidently involved in re-educating the parishioners in liturgical matters, perhaps centred around the question of the giving of the cup to the laity - Utraquism. A letter from one of his followers in Halle asks Müntzer to explain more on the meaning of the Eucharist (MGF.389/MPM.39). But if we look ahead slightly, we must conclude that at least in Halle, if not during the somewhat hazy events of the preceding year, Müntzer was preparing a grander work - to wit, the composition of full offices for the five main events of the Church year. It is not inconceivable, for reasons we shall later discuss, that Müntzer left Halle to take up his new post in Allstedt with the text and music of at least one of these offices in his luggage.

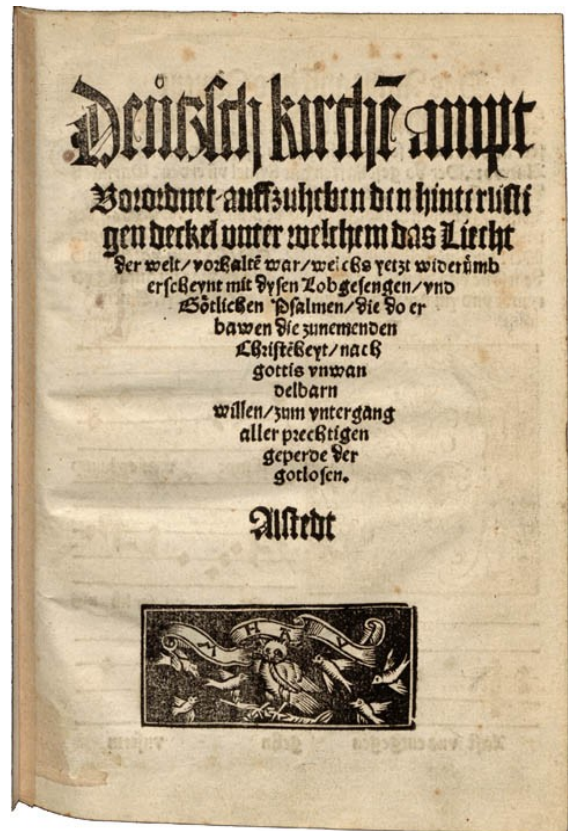
3. The Deutzsch Kirchen Ampt,

Müntzer had very specific theological reasons for introducing the German liturgy to his new congregation at the Johanniskirche in Allstedt: even a cursory study of his letters and writings up until March 1523 provides ample evidence of a deep-rooted desire to re-educate the common people, to expose the lies and corruption in the existing Church, and to free the Elect from the laws of 'Bible and Babel'. Even in the introduction to his DKA, he states several times what his intentions are, so that there can be no doubt. Within the general framework of the historical decline and prostitution of the Christian church over the preceding 1500 years, he sees the use of Latin as an indication of the ills of the faith: the missionaries who first brought Christianity to Germany

“were Italian and French monks. Their arrival was to be tolerated in the name of improvement, and it is understandable that they sang in Latin, since the German tongue was utterly crude, and their use of Latin brought the people together... But that this beginning should remain unimproved is quite astonishing... That some magical power is attributed to the Latin words is something we should not tolerate it any longer, for the poor people now leave their churches more ignorant than when they went in.”

[“*waren Welsche und Franzosische munche ... dan hyneyn*”] (MGF.161f/MPM.166f).

(This last comment on the magical powers ascribed to Latin may well be a disguised attack on Luther and his theory of ‘speaking with tongues’, as well as one on the Roman Church generally). It is quite plain, then, that Müntzer saw the task of translating the Mass and other services into German as a central one for any preacher, since this was the arena where the common people had most contact with religion. Looking further, we find that his pamphlet OB begins with the words



“It is the responsibility of a servant of God to conduct a service openly, not furtively and sneakily, but openly for the strengthening and instruction of the whole congregation.” [*“offenbarlich ampt au treyben...gantzen gemein”*] (MGF.208/MPM.170).

This demand for openness in liturgical matters naturally harmonises with his experience of Utraquism in Prague, since that movement was devoted to making all people - clergy, lay rich and lay poor - equal within the Church rites; Müntzer had now developed that idea into the one that all people should understand fully what was being enacted in the ceremonies. Quoting St Paul, he wrote:

“The people should be instructed by songs of praise. That is why I have translated the psalms in a German style and German form, more according to their meaning than the form of the words, but always strictly under the guiding force of the Holy Spirit.”

[*“Die leuthe sollen durch lobgesenge ...dan nach den worten”*] (MGF.162/MPM.168).

So it was not only a question of translating in order to educate and to open the spirit for communication with God – “in this way, Christ will be explained to us through the Holy Spirit that is in us.” [*“also wirt Christus durch den heiligen geist in uns durch sein gezeugnis erkleret”*] - but it is also a matter of how the texts are translated: Müntzer proposed to do this freely, according to his own theology (and, as we shall see, within the parameters set by the musical form) in order to release the spirit of God from the prison of tradition in which it had been placed by the Roman usurpers.

As regards the sequence of the DKA, Müntzer states that it will follow the course of the Church year:

“Five services will be sung throughout the whole year, and in these the whole Bible will be sung instead of read.”

[*“Es werden fünf ampt...gesungen”*] (MGF.162/MPM.168).

Müntzer proposed that, instead of the priest reading from ancient commentaries and legends of the saints on their feast days, the Bible itself should be restored to primacy in the lessons, and sung by the laity as well. This ties in with his condemnation in the ‘Prague Manifesto’:

“The usurious and tithe-stealing priests, who swallow the dead words of the Scriptures and then disgorge the letter and the unexperienced faith (which is not worth one louse) over the truly poor, poor people.”

[“*Also seyn auch dye wuchersuchtigen ... arme, arme volk*”] (MGF.501/MPM.367).

So although we find that Müntzer has retained the age-old forms of the liturgies, we also find that he expressly tries to return them to their original state, uncorrupted by the additions of hagiolatry and other merely mortal devices. In this way, he hoped to have the bulk of the Bible read to the parishioners over the year. He envisaged that his own five offices specifically for the five main Church events could be used as models for the remaining 47 weeks, a plan to which he returned in the introduction to the DEM less than a year later:

“No one should blame me for only publishing five services. Everyone should feel at liberty to shorten or lengthen any one of them according to circumstance. The same applies to the hymns, such as ‘*et in terra*’ or ‘*patrem*’, which sometimes go on too long with too much music – people can include them or leave them out, as required. It is not my intention to mimic or perpetuate the old papist nonsense. Any one may accept or ignore things that are instituted by men, but not what God has set down and ordered: in the same way here with the hymns and tunes. He can sing as much of one of the feasts as he wants – for example, from Whitsun to Advent, or right through from Advent to Christmas, or from Christmas to the Purification of Mary ⁽⁴⁾, from the Purification of Mary to the Passion of Christ and through to Easter, from Easter back to Whitsun, whatever is felt to be best: the main thing is that the poor lay people should have the psalms sung and read in front of them.”

[“*Das ich aber allein funff ampte ... gelesen werden*”] (MGF.164/MPM.181).

The reference in the phrase “too much music” is to the large number of plainsong settings of the Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Benedictus, Agnus Dei etc, which, by the 16th century, had reached ridiculous proportions. Although most of the populace, literate or nay, knew the ‘*et in terra*’ and the ‘*patrem*’ as responds to the priest’s ‘*Gloria in excelsis deo*’ and ‘*credo in unum deum*’, the musical settings tended to alienate ordinary people because of their extravagance. Thus, in fact, Müntzer stated that the form and content, musical and textual, of the reformed liturgies were not of paramount importance, as long as they conformed with the true word of God and edified the populace. It is most unlikely that Müntzer himself did not have his own schedules for each succeeding Sunday. He would have published the five important offices partly to point the way for other reformers, partly because they were

probably the ones he concentrated on first, on account of their status in the Church calendar.

If we look at the form of the sections of the DKA, we will not find any startling departures from tradition: the sequence of the worship generally follows the orthodox sequence for the three offices of Mattins, Lauds and Vespers; and the music and texts themselves are drawn from a specific set of known sources, as Wiechert and Honemeyer have shown. The Franz edition also gives the tables of sequence and comparison with probable early medieval models, as worked out by Mehl and Wiechert in 1937; but a word of caution is required here, since the tables are not absolutely accurate or complete. From these tables it is easy to see just how well-adapted Müntzer's liturgies are; if the first of them was ready in April 1523, this reinforces the argument that Müntzer must have been preparing them for some time prior to his arrival in Allstedt. The main change from the traditional Mattins and Lauds was that Müntzer had only one Nocturn at Mattins instead of the usual three (although Easter and Whitsunday traditionally only have one) and that he reduced the number of psalms in each Nocturn - i.e. he reduced the services in length while retaining the original structure. As Wiechert's notes indicate, much of Müntzer's liturgy was based on the German breviary '*Breviarium Halberstadtense ad Sanctam Mariam*', in common use between 1482 and 1520; this breviary was relevant to Allstedt since the town was within the diocese of Halberstadt and so would have used that breviary, as did Nordhausen and Halle where Müntzer stayed at times between 1522 to 1525; this breviary was based on the '*Breviarium Romanum*' in its form in the latter half of the 15th century. Müntzer translated and adapted this breviary himself. Three psalms were borrowed from Luther's translations, the rest of the psalms and Biblical passages were entirely translated by Müntzer from the Latin; and several major sections were entirely his own work, notably the '*Te Deum*' segments in Mattins.

The debate as to the exact origins and stimuli for both the DKA and the DEM has reached no satisfactory conclusion. Wiechert's studies began the controversy, by suggesting, with the support of closely-researched comparative tables and documents, that Müntzer worked from a 1504 edition of the Halberstadt breviary, a book which he may have owned, despite the expense, for some time before 1523. But Wiechert also considered the possibility that the reformer worked from memory, since there is no one-for-one relationship in the structure of the *Breviarium* and the DKA, and the antiphons and

responses in particular are drawn from often apparently random sections of the original. This suggestion is probably given more weight when one considers that a professional churchman was required to learn by heart the texts and music of a church's liturgy and that Müntzer was within the Halberstadt diocese throughout the years 1522 and 1523, and so did not have to use a written original ... which he then did not faithfully follow! Gebhardt then developed this thesis in relation to the DEM, and concluded that Müntzer in fact drew his sources from various musical traditions - north-west, south-east and south German, corresponding to Minden, Prague and Bamberg. But Gebhardt's theory here, and his idea that Müntzer used suggestions from Luther's 'Formula Missae et Communionis' for the DEM, cannot really hold water; he supposes that Müntzer had the time to pull all these strands of his experience together into an artistic whole, and the inclination to impose this unnatural Frankenstein liturgy on his parishioners; and the second idea, that he followed Luther's theoretical 'Formula Missae' is simply fantastical, partly because there are some structural differences between what is suggested in the 'Formula' and the DEM, but mostly for the simple reason that the 'Formula' did not appear until late November 1523, at least six months after the introduction of the reformed Mass to Allstedt and at least three months after Müntzer had described it in the OB. More recently, Honemeyer has come to the conclusion that Müntzer was working from a single source, which was probably one of the many local variations on the basic original breviary: this is the most likely solution, and it may well have been that it was a source known to the people of Allstedt, at least for the DEM; Honemeyer and Gebhardt point out that almost every diocese and each religious order in that diocese had its own version of a liturgy, and that Luther himself was quite happy to have each parish sing a reformed liturgy to whatever music was available in that parish (assuming that the parish was sophisticated and rich enough to have both music and musical instrument).

In the DKA where texts have been repeated, or in the repeats of antiphons, Müntzer usually has a note to that effect in parentheses within the text - for example, in the Mattins for Whitsunday, the "Te Deum" section is given as "After this, the deum laudamus is sung, which is to be found in the Mass of the Resurrection" ["(*Darnach ... auferstehung*)"] (MGF.147); where these cross-references are not given by Müntzer, there is usually some clue left in the text, not merely in identical phrases of music to be completed, but by the use of continuation marks - "And there came upon every..." ["*Und es sass auff einem ig...*"] (MGF.147)

refers to a previous respond “And there came upon everyone” [*“Es sass auff eynem iglich”*] (MGF.146). But much of the text which is omitted by Müntzer, and thus presumably was to be supplied by the officiating priest, is not indicated at all; it is to be supposed that Müntzer, since he followed known and traditional offices, only traced what was necessary and not what would be naturally assumed. Almost all his texts follow the original breviary very closely - thus, at Easter, Psalms 1, 2, and 5 are sung at Mattins. When, for example, the texts for Whitsunday and Advent Lauds do not give a Collect, we might be expected to provide it from the (preceding) Passiontide Collect.

The question of how Müntzer managed to combine German text and Gregorian melody is one of the controversial issues in liturgical critique. Some critics, like Jammers, have maintained that, although Müntzer managed successfully to mould the text to the music, the music selected remained too difficult for the layman to sing, “since it was too pronounced and too conservative” [*“weil zu stark ausgeprägt, und weil zu wenig neuschöpferisch”*] (Jammers, p.128). Others, such as Honemeyer, suggest that “the well-known tunes from the Latin Laudes of the Christmas Mass are sung in Müntzer’s Church Service without any significant alteration to the musical forms, but with German text, so that everyone could understand the words and participate in the liturgical event without any hindrances.” [*“die aus den lateinischen Laudes ... teilhaben kann”*] (Honemeyer, p.99), and that, although Müntzer occasionally had to introduce unnatural stresses into German words, the combination of word and music was very successful from the point of view of both author and congregation. Honemeyer was also the first to point out just how much of the music came from existing and locally known medieval offices, so that the question of who wrote the music, once considered problematical, does not really arise; the melodies, which, as Frederichs indicates, seem to have a very intimate relationship with the text, could only really have been written by the author of the words.

Müntzer’s mode of composition is another contentious matter in criticism. Schulz first broached the problem of how the German words were adapted to existing Gregorian music set for Latin texts, and discovered 40 cases where the original musical timing had been shortened, and 150 where it had, on the contrary, been lengthened: this theory is criticised by Honemeyer who points out that, since Schulz did not know what the original music actually was, any such detailed comparison is both arbitrary and inaccurate. Frederichs conducted a further analysis and with examples indicated that, although Müntzer had used the music to

emphasise particular words or phrases, a third of all syllables had a ligature in the music, and of these a half had what appears to our ears to be a false stress on a final, or unstressed, inessential or assimilated syllable or word. But one must not forget that that one of the features of real Gregorian chant is the way in which the accented syllable of a word often has a single note, while unaccented syllables may have a phrase of several notes. False stresses were quite common in early Gregorian, so Müntzer was not in fact doing anything outrageous. Many critics, from Luther onwards, have denigrated Müntzer's use of the Gregorian for precisely this lack of perfect synchronisation; Honemeyer, however, rightly questions the textual monopoly of the Gregorian form by Latin texts; in a comparison with some of Luther's liturgies, he shows that Müntzer, by using his own translation of one original antiphon, rather than by using Luther's translation of the same text in the New Testament, retains the original 39 syllables and music, whereas Luther was forced to use the 56 syllables of his translation and hence create new music (Honemeyer pp.99-101). This difference between the two reformers also explains why Müntzer never wrote anything at all on the theory of Church music - since he never felt obliged to change a tradition - while Luther and Karlstadt did. Luther, in his pamphlet 'Against the heavenly Prophets' (1525) stated: "All - text and tunes, accent, manner and gestures – all must arise from the true mother-tongue and voice." [*Es mus baide, text und noten...komen*"]. What, precisely, he meant by notes in the 'mother-tongue' is not clear. But he obviously felt that the elaborate Gregorian music was too complex. Karlstadt went further in his 53 'Theses 'De cantu Gregoriano Disputatio' (1522). Let us quote some of these (they were written in Latin !): Number 7: "Chanting (which we call Gregorian) distances the mind from God") [*Cantus (quem Gregorianum vocamus) mentem a deo elongat*"]. Number 9: "This chanting, if it is sweet, so easily raises the singer towards pride." [*Is cantus, si dulcis fuerit, canentem facile in superbiam elevat*"]. Number 14: "Gregorian chant, as it is now performed, is nothing but a noise of the organs and mere sound and nothing more." [*Cantus Gregorianus, ut nunc fit, et strepitus organorum non nisi sonus sunt, praeterea nihil*"]. Numbers 37 and 38: "The Church, headed by Gregory, instituted this muttering. But not the Church, headed by Christ." [*Ecclesia, cuius Gregorius caput fuit, haec murmura instituit. Sed non ecclesia, cuius caput est Christus*"] ⁽⁵⁾. So Luther had doubts about the full suitability of Gregorian music, while Karlstadt rejected it outright as a barrier between God and Man. Müntzer accepted it as given.

Thus, Müntzer provided a very familiar old vehicle for the new texts and ideas which he wanted to introduce. In the five Mattins, he follows the pattern of the traditional Nocturn - three psalms and antiphons, versicle, response, and reading divided by three responsories - and in the Lauds follows the traditional sequence of Introitus, Gloria, five psalms with their antiphons, chapter, hymn, versicle, response, antiphon, Benedictus and Collect. He questioned this form so little, indeed, that he retained the Gloria Patri ("Glory to the Father") at the end of all the psalms in the Mattins, Lauds and Vespers, while the Kyrie ("O Lord be merciful") is retained in the Mattins before the responsories almost as a reflex from the retention of the lesser litany. This retention of the traditional forms of text and music, and the dialectic between form and content by which Müntzer hoped to educate, has led several critics to being blinded to the content and judging that Müntzer was "more conservative than all the other liturgical writers of the Reformation" [*"konservativer als alle anderen Liturgiker der Reformationszeit"*] (Schulz, p.398), and, with an eye to contemporary social events in the 1930s, led Mehl to proclaim that, because of this conservatism, "Müntzer is – despite everything – a king!" [*"Müntzer ist - trotz allem - ein König!"*] (Mehl, Vorwort). Given the undoubted success of Müntzer's liturgy in 1525 and 1524, we should perhaps amend Mehl's pronouncement to read "*because* of everything", for some sections of this liturgy were so successful that for many years afterwards, individual hymns and psalms appeared in official and unofficial hymnaries in their original form, albeit with disguised authorship. This includes the 'Communion Hymn' [*Abendmahlslied*] given in Franz's edition, which, if it is Müntzer's work, was probably written at around this time, and which made its appearance in the 1537 Salminger hymnary (a radical hymnary which included songs by Müntzer, Hans Hut, Salminger, Schwenkfeld and others) under the authorship of "T.M" (MGF.529/MPM.399). Other hymns which were included in the DKA later appeared in this collection under various authorships - "T.M" (MGF.45-46,120-121,124-125), or "Hans Hut", one of Müntzer's followers and leader of the Anabaptists in the two years after Müntzer's death (MGF.67-68). Hymns have also been traced by Wackernagel in hymnaries published as late as 1543 - Zwickau 1528, Augsburg 1529, Rostock 1531, Nürnberg 1531, and Magdeburg 1534, 1541 and 1543. These hymns, although based on and translations of the originals in the Roman breviary, bear the characteristic stamp of Müntzer's ideas.

There is one hymn (MGF.124f) which begins:

"Ever to God strives the life of the pious,

And all the Elect here on Earth,
Should become like Christ,
For he died to gain that prize for us”;
*“Der heylgen leben thut stets nach Got streben,
Und alle ausserwelten hye auff erden
Soln Christ gleich werden,
Drumb ist er gestorben, yhn solchs zur werben”;*

it is very noticeable from Müntzer’s translations that the concept of the Elect, the ‘*ausserwelten*’, had assumed a paramount role in his theology. In all his texts in the DKA, we find the word used as a translation for such concepts as ‘saint’, ‘the people’, ‘pious’, ‘the soul’. The same applies to his use of the word ‘*gotlos*’, which translates such terms as ‘wicked’, ‘heathen’ and other enemies of God. He was, as he admitted, translating not literally but according to his own theological interpretations. The more one looks at his translations of the psalms, antiphons and Biblical texts which constitute the DKA, the clearer this method becomes. Let us compare some examples with the original Breviarium Romanum (BR) and with Luther’s translation of the Bible (L).

In Psalm 25, verses 2 and 7 (MGF.33f), Müntzer suggests “for all who suffer before you” [*“dann alle die vor dir leyden”*], where (BR) has “qui sperant in te” and (L) “who await you” [*“der dein harret”*]; he writes “my coarseness” [*“meine grobheyl”*] instead of “delicta mea” (BR) and “my transgressions” [*“meine ubertretung”*] (L): the words “suffer” and “coarseness” are specific terms the mystical heritage of spiritual suffering which Müntzer drew from Tauler and Suso to thread into his own faith. In Psalm 80 (MGF.33f), the “Deus exercituum” of BR is given in L as “God, Lord of Hosts” [*“Gott Zebaoth”*], and by Müntzer as “God of the poor multitude” [*“Got des armen hauffens”*], while the simple pronoun “eam” in (BR) - “him” [*“im”*] in (L) - is rendered by Müntzer as “the godless” [*“die gotlosen”*].

His version of Psalm 140, verses 8 to 11 (MGF.98) is worth considering in detail, in parallel with BR and L (both the German and an English translation gave been provided) :

Müntzer	Breviarium Romanum	Luther
O Lord, do not let the godless oppress us any longer, for their evil doings	Ne concesseris, Domine, desideria iniqui, noli implere consilia eius. Extollunt caput	LORD, do not let the godless have their desires, lest they exalt themselves.

hinder the whole world, above which they have raised themselves in honour. If I sit at their table, then I must eat from the same plate in their godless manner. O God, give them the onslaught of faith, test them like red gold in the glowing coals, for then they must fall into a pit from which no one can help them escape. The untested man, though he wants to blether about God, will find no goodness in his own demise. <i>[Ach Herr, lass die gotlosen nit lenger bezemen, dann ire missethat vorhindert die gantze welt, mit welcher sie sich vor andern in wirdigkeit emporet haben. Wann ich mit ybn zu tische sitze, so muss ich ir gotlose weyse fressen auff dem teller. O Got, gib yn die anfechtung des glaubens, versuche sie wie das rothe golt in glienden kollen, do müssen sie stehn, das sie fallen in eyne grube, auss wilcher yn nyemant kan helffen. Der</i>	qui me circumdant: malitia labiorum eorum obruat eos. Pluat super eos carbones ignitos; in foveam deiiciat eos, ne resurgant, Vir linguae malae non durabit in terra; virum violentum repente capient mala.	<i>Selah!</i> The mischief which my enemies propose should fall upon their own heads. He will shed burning rays upon them. He will strike them with fire deep into the earth, so that they never again will stand up. An evil mouth will have no fortune upon earth. A blasphemous evil man will be hunted down and overthrown. <i>[HERR, las dem Gottlosen sein begirde nicht. Sie möchten sichs erheben. Sela. Das unglück davon meine Feinde ratschlagen, müsse auff iren Kopff fallen. Er wird stralen uber sie schütten. Er wird sie mit Fewr tieff in die erden schlafen, das sie nimer nicht auffstehen. Eine böse Maul wird kein glück haben auff Erden. Ein frevel böser Mensch wird verjagt und gestürzt werden.]</i>
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<i>unversuchte mensch, so er von Got wil vil schwatzen, wirt er in seynem untergang nichts gutes erfinden.]</i>		
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We can see from this straight comparison that Müntzer has not only introduced his own vocabulary into the translation, but also his own popular imagery and other Biblical references.

Another example of this method of translation appears in his version of Psalm 93, verse 2. (MGF.115); from the Latin of (BR) “Firma est sedes tua ab aevo, ab aeterno tu es”, Luther straightforwardly gives “From that time onwards your throne will stand firm. You are eternal” [*Von dem an sthet dein Stuel fest. Du bist ewig*], while Müntzer writes “since you are an unchanging God, you have brought the Elect to your throne” [*dorumb, das du ein unwandelbar Got bist, hast du den ausserwelten gemacht zu deynem stule*], which, as a translation, is almost unrecognisable, but as an interpretation is perfectly valid within the framework of Müntzer’s theology. As a final example, Psalm 118, verse 17 is interpreted in such a way that it becomes: “God will not let me die before I have told of his works” [*Got wirt mich nicht ehe lassen sterben, byss das ich seyne wercke vortzele*] (MGF.118), which supposes a relationship between psalmist and his God which is not apparent in the original.

It is quite clear that Müntzer’s translations of these Latin texts - and if we agree with Frederichs, we must assume that Müntzer did not return to the original Hebrew, Greek or Vulgate Bible, but relied solely on the breviary (and even then, the separate translations of identical original texts - e.g. of psalm 95 - are by no means the same) - are given their life-blood from his theology: this defined a clear, mutual relationship between God and the Elect, a relationship born in the suffering of the spirit and nurtured on direct spiritual communication, the aim of which was to overcome the godless world of godless men. Schulz described the “great warmth and power of the language” [*grosse Wärme und Kraft der Sprache*] (Schulz, p.587) in these translations, and Bräuer points out that the places where Müntzer’s subjective translations are most obvious are in the two most emotional services — Christmas and Easter; thus, Müntzer’s hymn against Herod (MGF.64f.) becomes a hymn against all Herods – “Herod, o you evil-doer, with your brood of vipers” [*Herodes, o du*

bösewicht, mit all deyнем otterngezicht’], ‘otterngezicht’ - brood or generation of vipers, (cf. Luke 3,7) being one of Müntzer’s descriptive terms for the mortal agents of evil.

The dominant tone of almost all these texts is one of strength, of victory over the godless; this is particularly evident in the offices of the Passion, where the number of references to suffering and victory over the torturers is quite overwhelming. Even in the Advent and Christmas offices, whose tone is one of joy and praise, we find texts on the destruction of the godless: “The Lord kills and he gives life, makes poor and lifts up to riches, he casts down and raises up. God lifts the needy from the dust and pulls the poor from the mire. He will raise them alongside princes and they will inherit the throne of glory. He will protect the feet of his saints, but silence the godless in darkness” [“*Der Herr todet und gibt das leben... im finsterniss vorstummen*”] (MGF.44f.). The number of texts of this nature is manifold: but what is important is that, although these texts were in the original breviaries, this was the first time that laymen could properly comprehend their meaning. And this comprehension also coincided with the radical social movement among the lower classes in the 1520s: it is perhaps no great wonder that the feudal authorities got hot under the collar while people flocked to Allstedt from far and near on Sundays. And it was in this way that Müntzer popularised his theology, his conception of election, Godlessness and Suffering, his ideas on the fear of man and the fear of God.

The history of the DKA and related liturgical reforms in that period is illuminating, for it shows the opposition from the authorities which Müntzer had to face. On the one hand, there was Martin Luther, reforming in Wittenberg under the protection of the leading families of Saxony: although Luther had been calling for a reformed liturgy since at least 1520, when, in his ‘Sermon on the New Testament, he wrote: “But God wants us to read a German Mass in German and to sing the most secret words in our strongest voices ! (6) Why should we Germans not read the Mass in our own tongue, just as the Romans, Greeks and many others hold Mass in their own language?” [“*Aber wolt gott, das wir deutschen mess ... sprach mess halten?*”] (Luther, Weimar ed., Vol.6, p.362); and although in 1525, he called for a Mass of a “truly German type” [“*rechte deutsche Art*”] (in the pamphlet ‘Against the heavenly Prophets’ [“*Wider den himmlischen Propheten*”]); in practice he was most unwilling to take the step of introducing such a Mass, perhaps for political reasons; certainly, in his thoughts on the ‘Order of the Divine Service in the Congregation’ of March 1523, he had still by no means abandoned the Latin Mass. Honemeyer has suggested that Luther was careful to

heed Prince Friedrich's conservative views on the reformation of the liturgy, and that it was only after Friedrich's death and his brother's accession to power in May 1525, that Luther deemed it safe to resume this aspect of the Reformation. Thus, it was not until early 1526, *three years* after Müntzer's first liturgies, that Luther published a German Mass.

On the other hand, there were the feudal authorities. Having recognised Müntzer as an opponent in late 1522, Luther was apparently actively involved in official steps to prevent the spread of Müntzer's liturgical work in 1523. There is as yet no corroborative evidence for this, but Müntzer, who was not prone to telling untruths about Luther's activities, had the following to relate about Luther's intervention in the summer of 1523, in his diatribe against the Wittenberger, the 'Highly Called-For Speech of Defence:

"But it is nothing less than the truth that...the roads were full of people from all over, wishing to come to Allstedt and hear how the service, in which we sing and preach the Bible. Even if he were to explode, the man from Wittenberg could not do anything like that; we can see from his Mass how he worked himself into holy wrath about it; and Luther was so annoyed about it that he firstly tried to persuade his princes that my service should not be printed. But when no one paid attention to the Wittenberg Pope's edict, then he thought, just wait! I'll smash this pilgrimage to pieces."

["*Es ist nit anders in der warheit... trummer verstore*"] (MGF.333/MPM.339).

These princely allies of Luther to whom Müntzer refers may or may not have included Friedrich der Weise and Graf Ernst of Mansfeld. If Luther really did attempt to prevent the printing of Müntzer's DKA, it would have been sometime between June and December 1523, since the printing of the first sections of the liturgy took place around December, and the printed editions were ready by January 1524 at the latest. Although Luther's hand in the matter is not proven, we do know that throughout the summer, the Catholic Count Ernst of Mansfeld took drastic measures to stop the 'weekly pilgrimage' from towns, villages and mining communities to Allstedt. On the 22nd September, Müntzer wrote a confrontational letter to Ernst, backed up by another to Friedrich two weeks later, demanding that Ernst withdraw his militia and mandates:

"Now, you want to be feared more than God, as I will show in your deeds and your edict, then you are he who takes away the key to the knowledge of God and forbids the people from going to church and can achieve nothing better than

that. I will prove that my new Church Service and my sermons, yes, even the very slightest thing that I say or sing, agrees with the Holy Bible... Do not pull, or the old coat will rip the way you don't want. If you lay a finger on my printer, I will deal with you a thousand times worse than Luther did with the Pope"

[*"Nun ir aber wolt mehr dan Got geforcht seyn ... dan der Luther mit dem babst"*]

(MGF.394/MPM.67).

Luther gave no support to Müntzer in this case. Communication between the two reformers in the summer of 1523 had broken down completely: in July, Müntzer wrote to Luther, setting out his own doctrines, and suggesting an agreement to differ; Luther's only reply, as far as we know, was to arm Friedrich's secretary, Georg Spalatin, with a series of eleven very basic questions on the nature of belief, which Spalatin then posed to Müntzer on a trip through Allstedt in November 1523.

There are two ironical twists to this episode with Mansfeld and Luther's later criticisms. In 1525, Graf Ernst asked for an "*erster Volksmessbuch*", a first German *Catholic* breviary, to be undertaken by Christoph Flurheym, which was duly published in Leipzig in 1529, and hailed as something progressive by the German Catholics. And in 1525, when Müntzer's liturgies were reprinted in Erfurt, Luther, without knowing the identity of the original author, gave them his blessing: in reply to a request for encouragement in introducing a German Mass to Erfurt, Luther wrote back to the Christians of Erfurt on 28th October, explaining that he was engaged on his own '*Deutsche Messe*', but gave his approval to the one submitted by the citizens: "Your concern for the form of the ceremonies pleases us greatly, and the form you describe raises no objections" [*"Vehementer nobis placet sollicitudo vestra pro formandis caerimoniis, neque forma a vobis descripta ingrata est"*]. To add to the irony, the pastor in Erfurt was Dr Justus Jonas, a long-time enemy of Müntzer; Jonas was the leader of the Visitation which inspected Allstedt's ecclesiastical practices in 1533 and found them full of Müntzerish abomination.

Before moving on to the next development in Müntzer's liturgies, a few words on the printing of the DKA are in order, since the sequence of printing is interesting and may be important in deciding other related issues. Although some editors and critics have taken the original printed edition of the DKA at face value, and have supposed that it was printed in its entirety around Easter 1523 in the sequence Advent to Whitsunday (Schulz subscribes to the idea that the office for Easter came first, those for Whitsunday, Advent and Christmas

next, and the Passiontide last of all), at least three factors indicate that it was printed in two separate periods, probably September and December, in the order Passiontide to Christmas: firstly, as we have noted, cross-references within the text often point back to the sections containing the Passiontide, Easter and Whitsunday services, but never back to the Advent or Christmas ones, which precede the former in the editions; secondly, if Müntzer's complaint against Luther was valid, then to give Luther time to react to the new liturgy, which cannot have been used before the beginning of April, the printing cannot have been finished before autumn. Allowing for the period when Müntzer had to procure the services of the printer Nikolaus Widemar and the actual time taken to set the type and to match the musical accompaniment, it would have taken at best several months for the first batch of offices to come off the press - at the earliest September 1523, possibly as late as January 1524. This chronology must also indicate that Müntzer had been engaged in writing his liturgy for some time before his arrival in Allstedt. And finally, the pagination in the original edition is diverse - the introduction is paginated in Arabic numerals, the Advent and Christmas services are paginated between "a.i" and "h.v", the remaining services between "A.i" and "S.iii", with a new title page before this final set. Since there is no other explanation for this pagination, it must be supposed that the type was set for the Passiontide, Easter and Whitsunday services before the arrival at the print workshop of the remaining two.

A further indication of the relative age of the five sections of the DKA is provided by Honemeyer, who points out that Müntzer used the very antiquated German word "*ammacht*" to describe the office for Passiontide, but the usual "*ampt*" for all the others, suggesting that the Passion predated the other four by a matter of weeks or months, when Müntzer's attitude to these reforms may have been simply academic - that is, in Halle before his posting to Allstedt. Indeed, Honemeyer also suggests that Müntzer held his first reformed service in Allstedt on Psalm Sunday, 29th March 1523, within a week of his arrival there.

The DKA was printed by Widemar, an apprentice to the Lutheran printer Jakob Stöckel of Leipzig, a man already well-known in 1523 to the Catholic authorities as a reformer. The book comprises 27 sheets, in quarto, a total of 216 sides to be printed. We know from contemporary accounts that Widemar was no emperor of the press: Jakob Stöckel was the son of Wolfgang Stöckel of Leipzig who had been the victim of the Catholic Duke Georg's ban on Lutheran printers in late 1522. In 1529, Pirckheimer complained that Stöckel's

workshop in Dresden lacked any Greek or Hebrew letters, or even Roman capitals. In 1524, Stöckel was virtually bankrupt. Widemar himself, the employee of the son of the owner, was short of cash - at one point he had to borrow six gulden from his paper-supplier. Thus, although Müntzer's contract for the DKA was probably manna from heaven to Widemar, there must remain a question mark over the length of time he took to complete the printing. The first type for music was developed by Ulrich Han in 1476, and in 1482 the first musical notation was printed in Germany. By 1523, the technique of typesetting music had without doubt improved. Frederichs suggests that Widemar had access to metal type for this job, and that he printed the words and lines for the notes first, then began the complex task of superimposing the notes themselves - although using the slightly out-of-date Gothic (diamond-shaped) notes and musical punctuation. However, such an advanced and efficient procedure was not necessarily used, and an estimated 700 wooden blocks, with the notes and lines engraved, might have been the best that could be offered. Even if we assume that the offices were sent in two separate batches (Frederichs actually suggests four separate batches, each being sent the fifty miles to Eilenburg as soon as it was ready; his argument is that Müntzer's rendering of Psalm 95 has four separate and different translations, indicating that the liturgist did not retain the previous versions long enough to copy) and that the printing began in September, then October or November is the earliest possible date of publication, but December or January seems more likely.

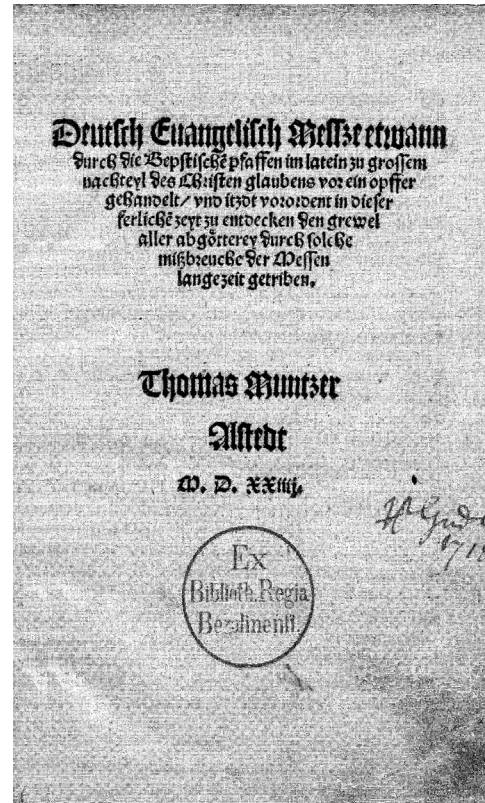
4. The Deutsch Evangelisch Messze etwamm

Although the next liturgical work to be printed by Müntzer was his explanatory pamphlet OB (which Franz places after the DEM for reasons best known to himself), the next work we shall consider is the DEM itself. The reason for this is contained in an apparent discrepancy in the full title of that pamphlet: ‘Order and Explanation of the German Service at Allstedt, established last Easter by the pastor Thomas Müntzer, 1523’ [*‘Ordnung und berechnunge des Teutschen ampts zu Alstadt durch Tomam Müntzer seelwarters ym vorgangen Osteren auffgericht, 1523’*]. Some critics such as Schulz and the editor Franz have taken this to mean that the pamphlet describes the DKA, the ‘*ampt*’, which was instituted and partially set for printing in the autumn of 1523; Franz goes so far as to say

(MGF.26) that “according to the title-page of the ‘Order’ ... Müntzer set up the German service ‘last Easter’, i.e. Easter 1523, soon after he moved to Allstedt” [*“nach dem Titel der ‘Ordnung’ ... nach Allstedt, auffgericht*”]; but even the briefest glance at the contents of the pamphlet shows that what Müntzer describes is not the DKA at all, but the DEM. Therefore, we must conclude, the DKA and the DEM were instituted (if not conceived) around Easter 1523, but, for reasons we shall later discuss, the DKA was printed first, followed by the OB and then the DEM; the final form of the DEM had probably been elaborated by September or October 1523, when the OB was first printed. For this reason, we shall examine the DEM with the aid of the OB.

That the introduction to the DEM, at least, belongs to a different stage in Müntzer’s experience from the DKA is clear from the tone of the text when compared to the introduction to the DKA, as Schulz has pointed out. The latter is calm, historical and quiet in its explanations; the introduction to the DEM is more polemical, aggressive. And this change in tone is most probably due to the reactions of the authorities to his reforms:

“Recently, some church services and hymns of praise in German have been produced at my urging [...] But several academics, from hateful envy, have been



greatly enraged and have spent much effort in prevent them from being used.”

[“*Es seint newlich ... fleyss vorgewant haben*”] (MGF.163/MPM.180).

In effect, the introduction to the DEM provided Müntzer with an opportunity to recapitulate his reasons for liturgical reform, and at the same time to attack those who opposed his reform for whatever reason. Thus, evidently in response to criticisms from Lutherans, he replied: [they accuse me]

“of trying to bring back and justify the old papist ceremonies, Masses, Matins and Vespers. This has never been my intention or my aim. On the contrary, I have tried to rescue the poor, miserable, blind consciences of the people with a shortened form of the services which the deceitful, false priests, monks and nuns sang and read aloud in churches and cloisters, thereby withholding from the poor masses of the laity the clear bright teaching of the Apostle Paul in 1 Corinthians 14, to the destruction of faith, gospel and word of God. Therefore it is my serious intention even today to help poor, ruinous Christianity with German services, be they Masses, Mattins or Vespers, so that any good-hearted person can see, hear and understand how the desperate papist villains have stolen the holy scriptures from poor Christianity, to its great detriment, and have kept them from a true understanding, and at the same time wickedly swallowed up the possessions of poor people.”

[“*als wolt ich die alten beptischen geberden ... vorschlungen haben*”] (MGF.163/MPM.180).

This reply, apart from pre-empting any suggestion that Müntzer was conservative in his liturgies, or that the form was unimportant to him, also pre-empts the criticisms levelled by Luther in 1525 (and perhaps even in 1523). In his pamphlet against Karlstadt and other radicals, ‘Against the heavenly Prophets’ (1525), Luther wrote –

“Today I truly desire a German Mass; I am preparing one. But I also want it to be of a truly German character; I will allow simple translations of Latin text and the retention of Latin sounds and tunes. But that sounds neither attractive nor well-formed. All - text and tunes, accent, manner and gestures – all must arise from the true mother-tongue and voice. Anything else is mere mimicry, such as the apes do.” [“*ich wolt heute gern aine deutsche Messe haben ... wie die affen thun*”].

Müntzer replied plainly that his task was to open the eyes and ears of laymen to what they had seen or heard, but not understood, in the church governed by Rome, and so to complete

the break from that church. For this purpose, the old forms were not only not irrelevant or ill-suited, but on the contrary absolutely necessary:

“as the preachers of the gospel themselves admit, the weak should be spared, 1 Corinthians 3. But can you think of a better or more suitable way of showing consideration than using these same hymns in German, so that the poor, weak consciences do not abruptly lose their grip or become satisfied with meagre and unworthy ditties, but rather with the translation from Latin into German, with psalms and hymns of the word of God and with a true understanding if the scriptures – such were the intentions of the good fathers who, right at the beginning, established such songs for the building of faith.”

[“*wie dann die evangelischen prediger ... kommen mogen*”] (MGF.163f./MPM.181).

Müntzer then turns to the general character of his reforms, and, with reference either to the DKA or the DEM, points out that his models of reform could be amended, expanded, shortened in any way, but ideally in such a manner

“that the poor lay people should have the psalms sung and read in front of them” [“*das die psalmen den armen leyen wol vorgesungen und gelesen werden*”] (MGF.164/MPM.181f).

The reason why Müntzer published the DKA first may be explained by one comment in this introduction: it has been suggested that reformers in that epoch (including Luther in his pamphlet ‘German Mass and the Order of Divine Service’ [*Deutsche messe und ordnung gottis diensts*] of 1526) had a natural antipathy to the Mass as a Roman ceremony and that they turned back to Mattins, Lauds and Vespers as an alternative. Müntzer showed no apparent antipathy, but he does seem to exhibit a preference in the following declaration:

“That is why St Paul teaches us to discipline and delight ourselves with spiritual songs of praise and psalms, Ephesians 5. But then the delicate priests would have to give themselves a sore head for the benefit of the poor people, or else the whole trade of priesthood would vanish. Should they perhaps laze around all week like grandees and only on Sundays give a sermon? No, certainly not !” [“*Drumb leeret der heylige Paulus ... Nein, nicht also!*”] (MGF.164/MPM.182).

This implies a preference for daily worship - also one of Luther’s preferences - and hence daily education for God-fearing men, attendance at as many services as possible. The preacher himself

“should not pay any attention to the raging of the tyrants, but should rather dispense the testament of Christ openly and sing in German and so explain things the people may become like Christ”

[“*sol das wueten der ... christformig werden*”] (MGF.164/MPM.182)

- a clear reference to the raging tyrannical Ernst of Mansfeld ! Although Müntzer seems to prefer Mattins and Vespers to the Mass as a form of worship, we know that the Mass was introduced in Allstedt as a reform at virtually the same time as the DKA; again, we must go back to the argument that some of the DKA was already in existence before Allstedt, probably for this very reason of preference.

So, this introduction is not so much an explanation of his motives as a polemic against those who attacked Müntzer's projects. It provides an insight into the confidence which the radical had gained in his first months in Allstedt, into the real excitement which his liturgies caused among supporters and enemies, and an idea of why perhaps the DEM was published after the DKA. The real explanation for the DEM, as we have said, is provided by the pamphlet ‘Order and Explanation:

“A servant of God should conduct a service openly, not furtively and sneakily, but for the strengthening and instruction of the whole congregation, which will be nourished by a faithful steward who distributes the measure of wheat in good time. He should not keep anything hidden under cover, and should not keep anything concealed from all of Christendom, nor from the whole world, like those people used to do who removed the key to the knowledge of God, even though God said in Ezekiel 22 that every Elect person should have it put in their hands. With us, therefore, the psalter is used to introduce the mystery of God in the Mass, since the key of David is laid on the shoulder of Christ ⁽⁷⁾, to open everything which is sung. In this way, so that there is understanding, the whole psalm is sung and not just fragments, as it was in the beginning of Christianity with the pious followers if the holy apostles.”

[“*Offenbarlich ampt zu treyben... der heiligen aposteln geschach*”] (MGF.208/MPM.170).

Thus, according to OB, at the start of each Mass in this collection, the 43rd psalm is sung. The choice of this psalm, which is given only in the Advent Mass, is the same as that in Müntzer's model, the ‘Missale Romanum’, although he again uses the word ‘*gotlos*’ as a translation for both ‘impious’ and ‘inimicus’. To the five verses of this psalm are added, as in

the Missale Romanum, the verses of the Gloria Patri, spoken by the preacher, and replied to by the congregation, as Müntzer's instructions in the text of the DEM indicate; this is followed by the confession: "Confession is led by the preacher, with clear words in front of the people" [*"Dye beycht thut der prister mit klaren worten vor allem volcke"*] (MGF.165), which then becomes a responsory between preacher and congregation.

The Introitus consists of a verse from the Bible (Isaiah, Philippians, Psalms or Wisdom) and a psalm, which is again the same as in the Missale Romanum and its local variant Missale Halberstadtense. Here, as Franz notes, there is a discrepancy between the OB and the DEM: while Müntzer writes in the former that, for the Introitus, the entire psalm is sung, in the DEM itself, he seems to have retained the traditional usage of just singing one or two verses of the psalm, rather than its entirety. The significance of this discrepancy is wide open to debate. There is nothing unusual about Müntzer's sequence or choice of text, nor even in the translation, which throughout the DEM is actually less controversial than in the DKA. This might lead to the supposition that the DKA was in fact intended for the 'Elect', those more familiar with and dedicated to Müntzer's ideas on the relationship between Man and God, while the DEM was for everyone. The really new aspect of all this lay more in the OB itself, where Müntzer explains the origins and intentions of the texts. The simple Salutatio, consisting of the preacher saying "The lord be with you" and the congregation replying "and with your spirit" [*"Der Herr sey mit euch" ... "Und mit deinem geist"*] (MGF.169), is explained by Müntzer as follows:

"After this thanksgiving, the people will be comforted with the words of Boaz (Ruth 2), when he says to his reapers, 'The Lord be with you', just as we sing to the sons of God, the ripened wheat. Then the whole church will wish the servant of God a pure spirit (as St Paul taught his pupil Timothy, saying) : 'And with your spirit', so that this same needy congregation will not have a godless man as a preacher. For whoever does not have the spirit of Christ, is no child of God: so how can he know of the works of God which he has never suffered? If he does not know of it, how can he tell of it? For so it is with a blind man who leads another blind man, with no idea of the way."

[*"Daruber wirt das volck ... den andern zu leyten."*] (MGF.209/MPM.171).

Here, Müntzer transforms the phrase of convention into something meaningful, with a history, and something which an unlettered plebeian or peasant could understand; at the

same time he invests it with spiritual significance for the well-being of both preacher and congregation, contrasting the new style of preacher with the old, 'godless' specimen.

For the Collect, first Reading, Alleluia and Sequence, the message is the same: the Elect of God must yield to the strength of God to overcome the godless world:

“From such songs of praise drawn from the psalms, he will see how God the almighty deals with his beloved Elect, and how he draws them to him, and how he instructs them in thanks with fatherly chastisements, in his graciousness”
[“*Dann aus solchen lobgesengen ... auf sein boltselikeit*”] (MGF.209/MPM.171).

The second Reading, which for Müntzer also constitutes the start of the second stage of argument in his OB, is introduced in terms of congregational comprehension:

“Secondly, it should be noted that we always read a whole chapter instead of extracts from epistles and gospels, so that we can dispense with any piecemeal approach, and the holy scriptures can again become familiar to the common people. Aye, the superstitious ceremonies or rites in the service will fall away by dint of continually hearing the divine word, and all this with a mild and gentle dismantling of these artificial ceremonies; and all irreverence will also be removed, and the people will be guided by familiar songs in their own language, just as children are nourished with milk, and there will be no room left for any wicked habits. Although all this provokes much annoyance in our opponents, the most powerful way of silencing the critics is the improvement of such services. That is why we sing the epistles and gospels in our own language, even in the Mystery of God in the Mass, just as the holy apostle Paul had his epistles read aloud before the whole congregation.”

[“*Zum andern ist zu wissen ... offenbar lesen vor aller gemein*”] (MGF.209f/MPM.171f).

In the Masses for Advent and for Whitsunday, this second reading is not given in full, but ends with the word “*etc*”; it is not clear just how another preacher was to continue, since Müntzer did not give the full translated text elsewhere; the preacher may have been expected to use his own translation or interpretation of the Roman original, or perhaps to use any available translation, such as Luther’s. For the Advent reading, which is Luke 1, 26f, there is an equivalent in the Mattins of the DKA for Advent, but, significantly, the corresponding fragments are given quite different translations.

The Nicene creed, which is sung in the DEM, is clarified in the OB not just as an exegesis of the articles of faith, but also as a demonstration of the faults of the old Church – “the agreed consolidation of all the main articles of faith, which address the coarse errors of the church, so that false Christians don’t complain that anything is being denied to them, now that the Mass is being presented to the whole world without any secrecy.”

[“*das zusammengetragen ubereinkommen ... der gantzen werlt*”] (MGF.210/MPM.172).

Although most of Müntzer’s texts are drawn from the Roman or Halberstadt Masses, this Credo is not, and since it is given only in the office for Advent and assumed thereafter, one must suppose that Müntzer regarded it as an essential fixed component in this liturgy. There is one interesting reforming deviation from the Latin text of the Nicaenum, in the description of ‘*unam catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam*’, which is rendered as “a holy Christian church” [“*eyne heilige christliche kirche*”] (MGF.172f.) - Luther made similar alterations in the translation of this same phrase.

According to the OB, the Credo is then followed by the sermon and the Benedictus, the first of which

“is placed there so that the songs heard so far in the service can be explained.

For David said: ‘the explanation of your words gives understanding to the simple.’” [“*ist do gelegen... vorstandt den kleinen*”] (MGF.210/MPM.172).

After this explanation of previously sung texts - perhaps the second reading and the Credo - the congregation were to sing “Now we beg the holy spirit etc” [“*Nu bitten wir den heiligen geist etc*”], and then, to allow the preacher to regain his breath, to sing the Benedictus to praise God for this sermon. And although Müntzer himself does not mention it, there is a contemporary report that, after every sermon preached during Mass in Mühlhausen (1524-25), Müntzer had a choir of boys and girls sing the Responsory ‘*Judaea et Jerusalem*’ (8) (cited in Honemeyer, p.19). This entire fourth stage in Müntzer’s construction is completed by the statement that “We do not have an oblation in the Mass” [“*wir halten kein opffer in der geheim Gotis*”] (MGF.210/MPM.173); the editors Franz and Mehl have interpreted this to mean that there is no Offertory in the DEM (a suggestion repeated by Elliger, p.315); but they have merrily marked the corresponding passage in the DEM as...“Offertorium” ! Now, here is a contradiction, which we could only explain if Müntzer’s “*opffer*” was not in fact the word for Offertory, but the word for Oblation - money or goods given to priest in return for the

bread and wine of the Eucharist. It is noteworthy that Luther's 'Formula Missae' of 1523 also recommended a shortened offertory with no oblation. What Müntzer rejected was the medieval practice of repeating the sacrifice of Christ in the ceremony of consecration of bread and wine, since, for him, that sacrifice was not repeatable at all. This is a more plausible explanation than to suggest that the reformer said one thing on this aspect in the OB and did the opposite in the DEM, concerning which he cited Isaiah 1, 11, to indicate that it was a question of principle. The Offertories in the DEM are drawn from the Roman original, and are the usual texts for this section of the Mass (parts of Psalms 25, 89, 118, 76, and 68). For the rest of his explanations here, there are still some problems: there is, in the DEM, no indication of the sermon, or the Benedictus with which the congregation replies. This is probably quite simply due to the fact that the sermon is, by its nature, something unique and individual in each enactment of the Mass; Schulz has assumed that Müntzer must have conducted Mass originally without a Sermon, but this is far-fetched: although one of the faults of late medieval church practice was a lack of good preachers, a reformer dedicated to re-education such as Müntzer would not even have considered a Mass without a sermon; the 1526 Erfurt reprint of these offices actually does have a prescribed sermon, suggesting that the sermon was used in practice. As for the 'Benedictus', this must have been a standard, set response which the parishioners all knew anyway - thus, to omit one naturally meant to omit the other. Franz's footnote on this point in the OB is a bit mysterious, and obviously has lost a clause somewhere: "The Benedictus is preferred the German Mass" [*"Das Benedictus ist der Deutschen Messe gegenüber vorgezogen"*] means nothing without an insertion after "is" - presumably to the effect that Müntzer preferred to indicate a Benedictus in OB but not in DEM. Unfortunately, there is no-way of telling just what our editor had noticed. It may be that what has happily been labelled the 'Offertorium' was what Müntzer called - in order to differentiate from the traditional Catholic offertory with oblation - a 'Benedictus'. But there are three other possibilities at least: that the Benedictus is the start of Daniel 3, 52-56 (Song of the Three Children) which was sung in the Roman Mass in the first full week of Lent; or that it was the canticle from Luke 1 sung daily at Lauds, 'Benedictus dominus deus Israel'; or that it was the piece following the Sanctus. Given one or two other discrepancies on Müntzer's part, it is not unlikely that he has mentioned the Benedictus at this point in OB, but actually placed it after the Sanctus in DEM - since he does not mention it as being in this latter position when he discusses the Sanctus in OB.

The explanation then proceeds to the Praefatio and Sanctus, which are included because they remind Christians of the relationship between Man and God and of the omnipotence of the latter. This is followed by the Pridie,

“so that now we may patiently bear such a high and mighty tribulation, we follow the path which Jesus Christ the son of God ordered for his church, to be mindful of him in all sorrow, so that our soul might strive and hunger after the bread of life” [*“auff das wir nu solche hobe... der speyse des lebens”*] (MGF.211/MPM.173), which begins the explanation of that thorny problem, the communion. The text of the ceremony in the DEM is taken from Matthew 26, 26f; Müntzer uses this as the basis for the seventh and eighth sections of his argument, where he claims that the ritual had been abused in the old Church, and presents a thinly disguised case for utraquism:

“But in order to avoid superstition, which has been introduced by the abuse of the Mass in the churches, we sing openly those same words of the blessing etc... Moreover, the consecration is a transformation, which happens not simply to one person, but to the whole congregation gathered there. That is our reply to our opponents who persecute us without just cause, when they say that we are teaching the bumpkins in the fields to hold Mass. Every pious good-hearted man can judge for himself from this just what those people think of the son of God, as if he was some kind of painted puppet or the Mass was some kind of magic trick like the words used to conjure up the devil. And they dare to think that one can conjure up Christ, the son of God, with some magic spell, and produce him wherever the arrogance of men find it useful. No, not so ! Christ feeds the hungry in spirit, and the godless he leaves empty.” [*“Nu aber affterglawben zu vormeyden... und die gotlosen lesset er lehr”*] (MGF.211/MPM.174).

Having thus proclaimed that it is the prayer of the entire congregation which consecrates the elements, not the recital of a magical formula by the priest, Müntzer then goes on to give, in the OB, an approximate version of the text of the communion in the DEM, with marginal notes on some highly significant actions by the preacher - against “this is my body” [*“das ist mein leichnam”*], Müntzer wrote “the minister lifts his eyes and prepares the sacrifice” [*“elevat minister oculos et parat sacrificium”*], then “the minister turns and takes the cup, facing the people” [*“vertens se minister, accipiens calicem coram vulgo”*], and finally, “turning again towards the altar” [*“rursus vertens se ad altarem”*] (MGF.212/MPM.175). These directions, (although it is

unclear why they are given in Latin, even if they are intended for the priest) show that Müntzer was determined to make the sacrament a communal rite, and not a mumbled, private activity of the priest. Later, in discussing the Communion, Müntzer writes: “In the eleventh place, the most venerated sacrament is given in both kinds, taking no account of all the twaddle from the pedlars in this or that market-place. For if we do not accept the sacrament, the holy symbol, how can we then hope to understand the essence which it signifies? That is why, after the Communion, we say: ‘Thank God’ to the people, and then ‘The Lord be praised etc’ ” [“*Zum XI gibt man das hochwirdige sacrament unter beyder gestalt... und ‘Gesegnet den Herren etc’*”] (MGF.213/MPM.176). These statements reflect Müntzer’s experience of Utraquism as it manifested itself in Zwickau and Prague.

The DEM, then, is continued with the Pater Noster, Pax and Agnus Dei. For the Agnus Dei, which Müntzer describes in OB as being sung “three times” [“*zu dreymal*”] (MGF.212/MPM.175), of the three occasions when the full text is given, only the Easter Mass actually indicates that it is sung three times; at Advent and Christmas, it is given to be sung only twice. Since traditionally (and Luther also followed this tradition later) it was sung three times, and since Müntzer himself declares the repetitions, it may be that the texts for Advent and Christmas made a silent assumption, or that his haste to print his liturgy caused an omission on the part of author or printer; the text for Easter, after all, only indicates the second repetition with “*etc*” (MGF.200). The rite then continues

“without the hypocritical papist confession. For everyone is reminded, in every sermon, how every man should reflect on his past life, so that he sees how his cross is merited by so many lusts. Man sins, God exacts penance, and it is the duty of men to accept this. No man can be good and pure and have a peaceful conscience before God unless he recognises this with all his heart. That is why the third Agnus Dei ends with the words: ‘Give us your peace’ and ‘Let your servant, o Lord, go in peace with your word.’ For only the long-suffering are worthy of the saviour of life etc” [“*on die beptische heuchlische beicht... wirdig des heylandts des lebens etc*”] (MGF.212f/MPM.176).

And finally came the second Collect, the Communion and the Benedicamus.

We see, then, that the structure of this DEM, in all its five versions for the five Church events, is quite conformant to tradition, even more so than the DKA. It is perhaps surprising that Müntzer made no reference in OB to the omissions he had made from the

central part of the Mass between the Benedictus and the Pridie; these very old parts were tied up with the idea of the Mass as sacrifice, and so would be anathema to all reformers. Just as the DKA was based on, and virtually a translation of most sections of the appropriate Roman and Halberstadt Breviaries of the turn of that century, so the DEM was based on the Roman and Halberstadt Masses, for the very simple reason that that was what the people of Allstedt already knew. There are occasions when a text is specifically not based on the original Mass, or when something has been omitted or added - as is the case, for example, with the first Collect in Advent (MGF.169), the Second Collect in Advent (MGF.180), in Christmas (MGF.187) and in Passiontide (MGF.192), which have no corresponding original. As Jammers has pointed out, the manifold appearance of the word “etc” in the body of the text suggests that Müntzer wished to diverge from the original as little as possible, although the actual selection of texts from the various parts of the model suggests a fair amount of critical appreciation on the liturgist’s part. But none of these texts ever equals the tone of subjective didacticism which pervades the texts for the DKA. On the other hand, there is more evidence of the active involvement of the congregation in the DEM than in the DKA - there are ten occasions where Müntzer has specifically put some reference to the action of the congregation, such as “the people respond” [“(antwort das volck)” or “(Das volck darauff)"] in the Advent Mass alone, and we must suppose their involvement also in the Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Pater Noster, Agnus and sundry alleluias.

If this series of Masses was developed during the Spring, Summer and perhaps the early Autumn of 1523, there is no direct evidence to tell us when exactly the printed version first appeared, nor whether delivery of the manuscript to the printer preceded or otherwise the printing of the OB. Elliger suggests that the ms. was sent to Nikolaus Widemar in Eilenburg around October 1523, and that, since the technical task of matching text and music was complex, the printing was probably completed in December or January. Certainly, since the date on the cover of the first edition is “MDXXIII”, there is no reason to doubt the latter dates, although it is more likely to have been January than December. Nor is it impossible that the typesetting could have taken three or four months.

But other factors contributing to a dating of the printing of the DEM must be mentioned. In December 1523 or January 1524, Widemar also printed for Müntzer: a new pamphlet, ‘Protestation or Proposition’ [*Protestation odder empietung*], which was dedicated to “The crucified Jesus Christ, in the new year” (MGF.225/MPM.183), containing ten pages of

quarto; another pamphlet, 'On Counterfeit Faith' [*Von dem getichten glawben*] (MGF.217/MPM.210), which had as an appendix a letter written on 2nd December 1523; and quite probably a new, (third?) edition of the OB - this we can establish on the basis of the British Library copy of OB, which bears the date "MDXXIII", and contains, in place of pages "B.i" to "C.ii", the correspondingly numbered pages from the 'Protestation or Proposition', indicating some confusion in binding, probably in the print-shop itself. And in March or April 1524, Widemar also printed a short pamphlet on the 'The Three Kings' by Müntzer's co-reformer in Allstedt, Simon Haferitz. Now, even if Widemar was an industrious man, it seems unlikely that he could manage on top of this to set and print the DEM as early as December or January. While there is no evidence to back Frederichs' assertion that Müntzer's supposed printer of the summer months of 1524, Nikolaus Reichardt, actually printed the DEM using Widemar's type ⁽⁹⁾, it is likely that the printing took place in July or August 1524 and that delivery of the ms. to Widemar may have been in the Spring of that year.

The longevity - relatively speaking - of the DEM is well established. In 1533, during a regular ecclesiastical inspection by parties from Wittenberg, it was discovered to their horror that the liturgy was still being used - and other unpleasant habits were rife - in Allstedt: the inspectors, Justus Jonas and Johann Bugenhagen, reported:

"and since the present priest soon after Thomas Müntzer came to the parish, he found that in the church the altar was set up in such a way that he had to stand behind the altar and turn his face to the people, we ordered that this altar be changed" [*und so der itzige pfarrer balde nach Thomas Müntzer ... ist unserm bevelch nach solcher altar geändert*"] ⁽¹⁰⁾,

and demanded that

"all the hymns which were composed at the time of Thomas Müntzer, should be withdrawn" [*alle gesenge, welche zur zeit Thomas Müntzer gemacht, hiemit aufgehoben sein*"] ⁽¹¹⁾.

Thus, and this should perhaps be stressed, it was not only the texts and music of Müntzer's liturgies which remained, but also his ceremonial reforms, these further attempts to popularise and democratise church-going evident in his reform of the Eucharist ceremony. And it was these reforms which fell victim to the reinforcement of Catholic law

immediately after the defeat of the insurgent Thuringian peasantry and plebeians in May 1525. Sehling further points out that Müntzer's reforms were probably imitated in the neighbouring towns in 1523-24 - for example, in Sangerhausen.

In 1525, under the title '*Die verdeutschten Fest*', and in 1526 as '*Teutsch Kirchen ampt*', the DEM was reprinted in Erfurt by Johann Loerfeld, albeit with some liberal re-arrangements, additions and omissions. These revised editions were republished in 1527, 1541 and 1543, and Sehling suggests that one of these editions was still in use in Schwarzburg in Thuringia as late as 1549. The first reprint in Erfurt seems to have occurred in April or early May 1525 - i.e. when Müntzer was still very much alive. Mehl is astonished that Loerfeld did not acknowledge Müntzer's authorship; but the practice of piracy, and the fact that the Lutheran Loerfeld may not have wanted to be connected in any way with a man currently leading an insurgent army, should dispel any astonishment. Smend has rendered a valuable service in analysing these reprints: he shows that the 1525 edition contains six offices (Müntzer's five, plus one for Trinity Sunday), and the 1526 edition ten (five, plus Ascension Day, Trinity Day, Holy Sacrament, Holy Apostles, and the so-called 'Promise of God' [*Zusagung Gottes*], which seems to have been a short-lived reformed celebration of prophecy). The earlier is sequenced from Easter to Passiontide, and the later follows the sequence of the lay calendar, and prescribes a sermon between the Credo and the Offertory, where Müntzer had only indicated it externally.

All these facts - the continuity of tradition in the form of the Roman or Halberstadt Breviary and Mass, the popularity of the liturgical reforms in the summer of 1523, the repressive measures which Müntzer's opponents felt obliged to take, the reprinting of parts and whole sections of his liturgy, and the almost unbelievable survival of his reforms in Allstedt for eight years after his execution by the state - all these, if nothing else, give the lie to any idea that the liturgies were 'too difficult' for, or irrelevant to, the common people: on the contrary, they indicate just how important an appreciation of Müntzer's liturgies is for an appreciation of Müntzer himself.

4. The Ordnung und berechnunge ⁽¹²⁾

Before summarising what we have discovered about Müntzer's liturgies, let us return briefly to the points in the OB which do not refer immediately to the DEM. Müntzer obviously considered this pamphlet to be an important instructional document both in relation to the DEM in particular and to his reforms in general, since, as we have mentioned, it is completely hedged in by no fewer than 82 Biblical references in the margin to lend authority to all his arguments. The climactic point of his explanations comes after his descriptions of the DEM, in a lengthy paragraph which summarises Müntzer's intentions perhaps better than we can. For that reason we shall quote it at length.



“Lastly, no one should be astonished that we in Allstedt hold the Mass in German; and at some more convenient time we can provide a fuller explanation of the reasons. And there is nothing new about doing things differently from what is done in Rome: even people in Milan in Lombardy have a different way of holding Mass than Rome.⁽¹³⁾ Every bishopric has its own special ceremonies and rites. So why should we not do the same when there is an opportunity? We in Allstedt are Germans, not Italians, and want to find a way for ourselves through the turmoil, so that we can find out what we should believe. The only way we can do this properly is by acting according to God's word. The Croats, who are Roman Catholics, conduct their Mass and all services in their own language. The Armenians, a great people, do things in their language and show the people the sacrament quite clearly on its paten.” [“Zuletzt sol sich niemant vorwundern, das wir tzu Alstedt deutsche mess halten... sacrament in der patene gegen dem volck”] (MGF.213/MPM.176).

The point is not merely one of language, that the German should worship in German, just as the Arabs in Arabic, the Russians in Russian etc, but also for Müntzer the fact that language reflects an inner state.

“Oh, what blind ignorant people are we, if we presume to be Christians only by virtue of outward splendour and then quarrel furiously about it like crazy bestial people ! Can every servant of the word of God not have the right to teach his parishioners a way in which they may be instructed by psalms and hymns from the scriptures, as St Paul said clearly in Ephesians 5: ‘You should,’ he says, ‘be filled with the holy spirit, and speak amongst yourselves with psalms and hymns and spiritual songs and melodies, singing and playing before God and always giving thanks for everyone.’” [*“Ach, wie blinde unwissne menschen ... danck vor jedermann”*] (MGF.213f/MPM.177).

In short, his new liturgy was a spiritual education for those who had been held in bondage by the Roman Church.

The OB closes with some paragraphs on the questions of baptism, marriage, communion of the sick, and funerals. None of these contains any real surprises - a fact which would confound those who have tried and still try to label Müntzer an ‘Anabaptist’, that is, one concerned primarily with adult baptism and opposed to paedobaptism. For baptism, as set out in the OB, it is the god-parents who reply to the preacher’s questions on faith, and the only apparent reference to Müntzer’s own doctrine comes in the passage relating to the 69th psalm:

“Therefore read the 68th [=69th] Psalm in German, which says that a troubled man is born to fear and want, that the great floods will flow over his head etc”
[*“Drumb lisset den LXVIII psalm ... in balsem gehn etc”*] (MGF.214/MPM.177).

These words echo the doctrines of suffering, according to which all Christians had to experience spiritual rebirth, doctrines expounded in Müntzer’s treatise of that same period, ‘On Counterfeit Faith’ [*Von dem getichten glauben*]. For the marriage ceremony, psalm 128 is read to the couple “zu deutsch”, and for the dead is sung the “benedictus in German without any Vigils” [*“benedictus zu deutsch ohne vigilien”*] ⁽¹⁴⁾ (MGF.215/MPM.178), followed by the antiphon “In the middle of life etc” [*“Mitten in dem leben etc”*] (*Media vita in morte*) which had been translated into German in the 15th century.

As a parting shot at his critics, Müntzer finishes off the OB with the slightly tongue-in-cheek challenge: “But if a small child could teach us better how to do this, then we will be happy to accept it” [*“So uns aber nu ein kindlein kunth besser unterricht thun, wir wolten gem annemen”*] (MGF.215/MPM.179).

The OB was printed at least three times by Widemar, two of the editions dating from the year 1523: the first edition, which has a good dozen printing errors, may have been as early as late July or August, although there is no evidence either way; the second, in which the errors (except on the title page) are corrected, may have been stimulated by an external event, such as Mansfeld's intervention against the reformer's services in September 1523, and may have appeared in September or October; the third, as we have suggested, was probably printed in December or January, again using the same title pages and type. Unfortunately, there is no direct evidence for or against any of these hypothetical dates; but the suggestion by Elliger that the pamphlet was both written and printed in November 1523 is less likely, although it cannot be discounted.

5. Conclusions

From what we have seen of Müntzer's liturgical works, then, it is clear that they occupy a major place in any analysis of his activity. In the years 1523 and 1524, in Allstedt and the surrounding countryside and in Mühlhausen, the DKA and the DEM constituted Müntzer's principal vehicle for educating the common people. Their popularity is well testified. On 13th February 1524, Duke Georg forbade the people of Sangerhausen to visit services in Allstedt, noting with considerable concern that:

“the preacher there had had the impudence to instruct the common people in many corrupt articles against the order and tradition of the holy Christian church, and had incited them to rebellion, and the inhabitants of that town have introduced many new things and have strayed from the usual practices of the holy Christian church. Not only is this intolerable to us, but it is also to their detriment and will lead to the damnation of their souls”

[“*Nachdem aber der prediger doselbst ... vordampnis geraychet*”] (15).

In April 1524, there were reports of up to 2000 people on the roads to Allstedt to hear the services. In May, Georg complained of the communion rite in Allstedt, and in June lamented the fact that menials from the monastery at Memleben were visiting the Mass in Allstedt. In September, the beleaguered duke fined half a dozen men of Sangerhausen for having visited the reformed services; despite which, in January 1525, he still had to complain of “improper actions, quite opposed to Christian order” [“*unlustige handlung, die Cristlicher ordnung ganz entgegen*”] which had been taking place in a village near Salza under the sponsorship of Müntzer's wife. (16)

The audience which Müntzer reached thus was considerably larger than the one he reached through the medium of print. Müntzer has only provided posterity with the offices he wrote for the five main Church festivals; he himself indicated that these were models for other preachers to follow, so we must suppose that his declared intention of working through the entire Bible in the course of the year was carried out by himself - an intention which was that of the earlier Christian liturgy before the introduction of large numbers of Saint's days without an office of their own, using the so-called 'Commons' (Common of Apostles, of Bishops, of Martyrs, of Virgins); this introduction meant that the same psalms and lessons (with responsories and antiphons) were used very frequently, with the effect of interrupting the systematic recital of the whole psalter on a weekly basis, as well as the

systematic reading of large parts of the Bible. (In Appendix B below, we provide a table of the chapters of the Bible which were used formally in his liturgies). We have no way of telling whether these more routine services were based on the existing Roman Catholic liturgies or not, but it is likely that they were. It does seem certain, however, that Müntzer's parish held a Mass every day, as well as Mattins, Lauds and Vespers: on his arrival in Mühlhausen in August 1524, the reformer wrote to his followers in Allstedt to ask them to send on the "books of Mass and Vespers" [*"messbucher und vesperbucher"*] (MGF.435/MPM.117) which he had not had time to pack - using the term "book of Vespers" in the broad sense of Mattins, Lauds and Vespers; and the word 'books' itself may well refer to the printing-type used to produce the books.

If these liturgies must be accorded a position in Müntzer's life's work as a whole, then they must also be given a place in the history of liturgy as a whole. In the German Reformation movement, although there were attempts to reform and translate the rites before 1523, Müntzer's printed liturgies were the first to give those incidental practices a clearly-defined form and provide them with accompanying music.

In 1520, Karlstadt had demanded reforms in the Mass, and in 1521 he made a tentative start by introducing the German language. In Switzerland, Wissenburg had introduced a German Mass to Basel in 1522, as did Oekolampadius and Schwebel. Oekolampadius also began Bible-readings in German in the course of his services. In 1522, Kantz in the Franconian town of Nördlingen also attempted to develop a German Mass. Luther, commonly regarded as the leader in all things reformatory, in fact trailed a long way behind in liturgical reform: in the winter of 1522, he bitterly condemned Karlstadt's (albeit limited) attempts to democratise the services in Wittenberg; in 1523 Luther still considered Latin as an appropriate language of praise, and his only attempts at reform were in the theoretical pamphlets 'Concerning the order of the church service in the community' [*'Von ordnung gottesdienstes in der gemeinde'*] and the 'Formula Missae' (lambasted by Duke Georg of Saxony as a 'corruption'); these had not progressed much further than his original call in 1520 for a German Mass modelled on the traditional liturgy, with German hymns - a call which soon resulted in the publication of collections of German hymns by various authors in Erfurt and Wittenberg. The latter pamphlet, whose credibility is not enhanced by being written in Latin, proposed a Mass that followed the traditional model as far as the Credo and the Sermon, and thereafter incorporated an Offertory (without Oblation), Dominus

Vobiscum, Pridie, Sanctus Benedictus, Paternoster, Pax Domini, Agnus, Communio and Benedicamus. In 1525, Luther rejected the type of reform that Müntzer had carried out, by claiming that the use of Gregorian music was mere aping of former usage. But it was not until 1526, three years after Müntzer's reforms, that Luther's reformed liturgy finally appeared, the 'German Mass and Order of the Church Service' [*Deutsche Messe und ordnung Gottis dienes*]. Even this was not intended as a complete replacement for the Latin Mass, since the latter would still be used on special occasions. He wrote of the Latin service that he wished

“not to get rid of it or to change it, but people should be free to use it just as we have used it here up until now ... For in no way do I want to remove the Latin tongue from the church service”

[*“hie mit nicht aufgeben oder verendert haben... lassen gar weg komen”*];

this equivocation he justified with the ideal of educating the youth in the classics. In 1528, he actually restored the Latin litany for a short period, although he soon replaced it with a German Augustinian litany. In the meantime, the Germans following Luther would have been expected to continue the medieval traditions in hope of future relief.

The difference between Müntzer and Luther has been nicely characterised by Honemeyer: Luther, in his 'Concerning the order of the church service', and Müntzer in his introductions to both the DKA and the DEM, referred to 1 Corinthians 14 - Luther in order to justify the use of Latin in the service as a 'speaking with tongues' which was to be interpreted by the preacher; and Müntzer in order to call for the active education of the congregation. This essential difference between the two men led Honemeyer to state that Luther “had time” to introduce reform slowly, and that Müntzer “had no time” and was obliged to introduce reforms as soon as it became possible for the sake of the spiritual improvement of the people.⁽¹⁷⁾ It might be suggested that the attempts of the various reformers to adapt the liturgy in this early, most radical period of the Reformation reflects the degree of radicality of these reformers in general. We have seen that Karlstadt wanted to reject the traditional form of the liturgy, lock, stock and barrel; while Luther wanted to retain as much as was possible, but did not attempt to put this into practice until the tension of that period had been resolved in political confrontation in 1525. But Karlstadt's attempts, although well-meaning, resulted to some degree from his alienation from the mainstream of the Reformation current, and in rejecting both form and content, he lost contact with the

actuality of reform. Müntzer's attempts, on the other hand, seemed to hit upon a practicable progressive synthesis between old form and new content, which ensured the popularity of his liturgy and hence the spread of his teachings.

Müntzer's liturgies were, in one sense, the final expression of the Gregorian liturgy in the reformed Church; Luther's victory over the radicals after the events of 1525 meant also that only his liturgical reform would hold sway. But the significance of Müntzer's liturgies is not a question of *did they outlive him for any appreciable period*? Clearly, they did not do so, precisely because of the military victory in 1525; but rather *did they present a working alternative in Müntzer's lifetime*? In this they assuredly did succeed. Müntzer introduced the reformed liturgy to Allstedt and then to Mühlhausen; Müntzer's influence in the reforms in other parts of Saxony is evident. And after his defeat and death, the Catholics re-introduced monks, nuns and, importantly, the Catholic Rite to Mühlhausen on 4th June 1525, as a punitive measure.

But it must never be forgotten that for Müntzer the question of liturgy was of paramount importance in 1523 and 1524, and scarcely any less so in 1525. The first sentence of his famous 'Sermon to the Princes', of July 1524 (*Auslegung des andern Unterschieds Danielis*), reads:

"You should know that poor, miserable, crumbling Christian faith can neither be advised or helped unless the busy and unstinting servants of God explain the Bible by singing, reading and preaching."

[*"Es ist zu wissen, ... lesen und predigen"*] (MGF.242/MPM.230).

An undated letter of 1524 to a friend (Georg Amandus of Schneeberg) shows Müntzer's concern:

"I beg you, dear Jeori, and also the good fellow who was with you, to help in introducing the German service, the earlier the better. You will see that God will stand by you. Do not be afraid, even if you be a small band, for it will please the mighty God of Sabaoth to see his name put forth again before the pompous world. It is high time, arise from the slumber of heathen ceremonies, for they are of no other use than to make you more and more impenitent from day to day. You must conduct the service daily, with the reading of the laws of the prophets and evangelists, so that the text becomes just as familiar to the common man as to the preacher etc. It will come to pass."

[*“Ich bit euch, lieber Jeori, ... Es nyrt angehen”*] (MGF.426/MPM.107).

Although Müntzer's letters of 1525 show little concern with liturgy - perfectly understandably, since his preoccupations were by then with practical preparations for the Apocalypse - it is clear that the feudal authorities took his liturgical reforms very seriously.

Müntzer's confession and recantation of 16-17th May 1525, which were apparently written by his captors, principal among whom was the Catholic Count of Mansfeld, and signed under duress by the prisoner, are very revealing: article 1 of the Confession reads: “He does not want the holy, most revered sacrament to be worshipped outwardly, only inwardly in the spirit,” [*“Er wil nit, das man das heylige hochwirdige sacrament eusserlich anbeten soll anders dan im geyste”*]; article 2: “He says that he offered the sacrament to the sick and that he himself has taken of it in the afternoon, after he had eaten, and also at night if that suited; he took wine and bread and consecrated it.” [*“Sagt, das er das sacrament den kranken geryecht... habe weyn und brot genomen und dasselbige consecrirt”*] (MGF.544/MPM.433). This concern by the Catholic authorities about the reform of the communion, which takes precedence over their concern about Müntzer's more overtly political misdemeanours, extended into the radical's recantation, in which he supposedly renounced his version of that ceremony:

“Secondly, since he had preached many kinds of opinions, madness and errors about the most revered sacrament of the holy and divine body of Christ, and also had preached rebelliously and seditiously against the order of the common Christian Church, he now wants to yield peaceably to all that this same Christian Church has always maintained and still maintains, and now to meet death as one who is wholly and truly conformed in it, begging them for God's sake to pray for him before God and the whole world, and to forgive him as a brother.” [*“Zum andern, nye er manicherley opinion... ime bruederlich zu vorzeyben”*] (MGF.550/MPM.439).

It is, of course, highly debatable whether Müntzer did actually renounce his principles and die in the embrace of the Catholic faith, accepting the Roman rite; in fact, it is almost inconceivable; but the importance which the authorities attached to the whole question of the sacrament indicates just how important to Müntzer's revolutionary doctrines these liturgical reforms were.

So, for the German reformation movement as a whole, and for Müntzer's revolutionary hopes in particular, his liturgical work was of great significance. To ignore the works is not

merely to miss out a central and fascinating part of any appreciation of Müntzer; it is also to misunderstand Müntzer completely.

FOOTNOTES

(1) For further information on Lutheran attitudes to Müntzer, see M.Steinmetz, 'Das Müntzerbild von Martin Luther bis Friedrich Engels', Berlin 1971.

(2) Where possible and relevant, all German text has been translated into English by the article's author; to facilitate research, the starting and ending words of any translated passage are provided in the original German, in parentheses immediately after the translation. With some exceptions, the same courtesy has not been applied to passages in Latin.

(3) The references in parentheses of the type (MGF.xxx) indicate the page in the Müntzer edition by G.Franz, 'Thomas Müntzer. Schriften und Briefe. Kritische Gesamtausgabe', Gütersloh 1968. Any references in parentheses of the type (MPM.xxx) indicate the page in Peter Matheson's translation of 'The Collected Works of Thomas Müntzer' (Edinburgh 1988)

(4) i.e. 2nd February, Candlemass.

(5) in: K.Barge, Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt, Leipzig 1905. Vol.1. pp.491 ff.

(6) This refers to the medieval practice of reciting most of the central part of the Mass '*secrete*', inaudibly.

(7) A reminiscence of one of the antiphons in the Magnificat of the last nine days before Christmas - 'O clavis David' - referring to the great wooden keys carried by church stewards in 8th century BC Palestine.

(8) This responsory was the third in Advent Mattins, and used there also by Müntzer.

(9) And indeed, it is not at all certain whether this Reichardt was in fact involved in printing any of Müntzer's works - see: S.Bräuer, Hans Reichart, der angebliche Allstedter Drucker Müntzers, in Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte Vol.85, Stuttgart 1975.

(10) E.Sehling. Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts, Leipzig 1902, p.508.

(11) *ibid.*, p.509.

(12) The title of this pamphlet was printed as 'Ordnung und berechunge', rather than 'Berechnung' in all three editions in 1523 and 1524. It may be that the missing 'n' could not be supplied by the printer, due to lack of resources; or it may be a regional variant... It is also noteworthy that the word 'Berechnung' (in whatever spelling) does not appear in the body of the text at all – it only appears in the title.

(13) i.e. the Ambrosian rite.

(14) Luke 1. This is the usual Vespers, Mattins and Lauds for the dead.

(15) F.Gess, Akten und Briefe zur Kirchenpolitik Herzog Georgs von Sachsen, Vol.1, Leipzig 1905, p.609.

(16) *ibid.*, Vol.11, Leipzig 1917, p.8.

(17) K.Honemeyer, Thomas Müntzer und Martin Luther. Ihr Ringen um die Musik des Gottesdienstes. Untersuchungen zum 'Deutsch Kirchenamt' 1523. Berlin 1974, pp.35-36.

APPENDIX A

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c. **Short Review of editions and critiques of Müntzer's liturgies.**

Wackernagel's edition of 16th century hymns, which included ten attributed to Müntzer, hinted at the extent to which Müntzer's hymns outlived him and provided the first real attempt to reproduce Müntzer's liturgies; but the texts have no musical accompaniment and Wackernagel disputes whether Müntzer actually wrote the DKA). But it is the work of Julius **Smend** in 1896 is perhaps of more importance. Apart from an attempt to trace the origins and later editions of the liturgies, Smend also provides the texts of the 'Introitus' of the five Masses, the text of the pamphlet OB, the introduction to the DKA (under the rubric relating to the DEM) and a summary of the form of the DKA. He also analyses the later Erfurt editions of the DEM and reproduces the text in these where it diverges from the reformer's original. The state of research in that period is reflected in his debate as to whether the DKA was really Müntzer's child, and in his assertion that this liturgy contains only the Mattins and Vespers but not the Lauds, and in his opinion that the OB actually precedes the practical implementation of the DEM, because of the difference between theory and practice. But his suggestions on the need for research have not dated: the liturgies "belong as a whole to the curiosities of those days, and their importance has until now never been recognised." [*"gehören sämtlich zu den Seltenheiten ... gewürdigt worden"*] (p. 95). Smend then goes on to discuss Müntzer's dependence on Luther in liturgical questions, and attributes the latter's animosity to his general antipathy towards the radicals, and for this reason criticises Luther for impartiality. But, despite some valuable pioneer work, Smend comes to the conclusion that Müntzer's reforms must have failed in practice, because the text and music in 1525 would have sounded like "a dead language" [*"eine tote Sprache"*] (p.250); he unfavourably contrasts the "calm and pious spirit" [*"stiller und frommer Geist"*] of liturgists such as Urbanus Rhegius, Kaspar Kantz and Jakob Strauss with Müntzer's "scrappy, feeble Collects" [*"brockenhafte, magere Kollekte"*] (p.115).

Sehling's history of 16th century liturgy went further along the path to bringing Müntzer's liturgy to light, by publishing the (musically unaccompanied) texts of both the main liturgical works, with their introductions, and the 1525 Erfurt reprint of the DEM. However, he expresses no opinion on the significance of any of these.

Schulz, having written a dissertation for the Theological faculty at Leipzig on the subject of Müntzer's liturgical work, came to the conclusion in 1928 that Müntzer was "the

most conservative of all reformers in the liturgical field” [*“der konservativste aller Reformatoren auf liturgischem Gebiet”*] (p.400), and suggests that, from the musical point of view, the DEM demanded a great deal of skill among the congregation, even more than that demanded by the DKA. Despite these debatable views, Schulz’s analysis of the relationship between text and music, his comparison of Müntzer’s texts and music with those of the Halberstadt Breviary, and his view that the radical’s stress on the use of Biblical texts all laid a firm foundation for later research. But it is when Schulz expresses an opinion on the overall value that he comes unstuck: to say that “the form in which [the reform of the Mass] occurs is all the same to Müntzer. It is so irrelevant to him that he, quite contrary to his otherwise revolutionary behaviour, only makes minor alterations to the old forms” [*“die Form in der das geschieht ... nur wenig ändert”*] (p.572) is to miss the point on the form of these liturgies completely; Müntzer was quite conscious of what form he was using, and why he was using it as the vehicle for revolutionary content, so that it was not a “conservative stance” [*“konservative Haltung”*] (p.598) on his part at all. Quite the opposite.

Gebhardt’s general study of the musical basis of Reformation liturgy, and in particular of Luther’s 1526 ‘Deutsche Messe’ - useful in itself - contains a section on Müntzer’s liturgies which is not entirely useful. Gebhardt assumes that Müntzer followed the suggestions put forward in Luther’s ‘Formula Missae’, with no respect for chronology, and on this basis writes: “Since the manner of singing the Words of Institution [Eucharist] was not his invention, Münzers own contribution was in the selection and translation, as well as the apportionment of the melody.” [*“Münzers eigenes Werk ist ... Melodie aus sie”*] (p.119). Müntzer’s contribution is rendered as small as possible in order to raise Luther as high as possible. Müntzer is considered to have been too dependent in following the original music as nearly as practicable: “he was no musical genius, indeed the slightest feeling for musical subtleties seems to have escaped him” [*“ein musikalisches Genie ... gefehlt zu haben”*] (p.127). So Luther was right to have criticised the radical’s liturgy; the use of Gregorian music failed because Müntzer was incapable of understanding it and hence of adapting it to the German language. Luther’s Mass was, in contrast, more profound and exact: “Luther cleared the rocks from the path and made the first significant steps along the way” [*“die Steine hat Luther ... Schritte hat er getan”*] (p.169). Having thus cast Müntzer into the shade in order to make the light shine more brightly on Luther, Gebhardt dodges round the problem of why

Luther approved the Erfurt liturgy by simply denying Müntzer's authorship. For all that, Gebhardt's article remains a useful introduction to Reformation liturgy.

Jammers came to much the same conclusion as Schulz: that "Müntzer may have been the most conservative of all the liturgists of the Reformation period, especially in respect of its form" [*"Müntzer dürfte von allen reformatorischen Liturgikern ... Umfang dessen betreffen"*] (p.121), and that the use of Gregorian plainsong, despite the fact that Müntzer adapted the German very well to the music, made the liturgies almost impossible for the congregation.

Only three years separated Jammers' opinions from those of **Mehl** and **Wiechert** in 1937; but the gap in polemic is enormous. Their edition of Müntzer's texts for liturgy, which had the apparent value of reproducing the entire text, is badly marred by their political intentions. On the one hand, Mehl was obviously set on restoring an old liturgy to be sung in the modern church, and talked of Müntzer as "not merely a pious, German man, but also a scholarly one and an artist" [*"nicht bloss ein frommer ... ein Künstler"*] (p.46); on the other, Wiechert denounced "Luther-idolatry and Philistinism" and "the bourgeois Protestant Churches" [*"Lutheridolatrie und Spiessbürgertum"* and *"die verbürgerlichte protestantischen Kirchen"*] (p.82) and held up for admiration the "Christian campaigner for social justice for our German people" [*"christlichen ... in unserm deutschen Volke"*] (p.67). Between them, they tried to reduce Müntzer to an outstanding liturgist (section 4 of their edition is baldly entitled "Müntzer as conservative liturgist" [*"Müntzer als konservativer Liturgiker"*]) and nothing more. Mehl makes comparisons with the original Halberstadt texts, and concludes: "We can learn here from Thomas Müntzer, the enemy of 'doing things furtively and sneakily', who nonetheless stands respectfully before the liturgy of the Church, which certainly could not arise without the influence of the Holy Spirit" [*"Hier können wir von Thomas Müntzer lernen ... Geistes zustandegekommen ist"*] (p.44). He praises Müntzer's translations and poetic feeling in the hymns, which are reproduced almost in entirety. Mehl's general intentions, however, are revealed in his final statement (printed in italics in the original): "The question of the church service is the most important of all church questions, is in fact the question of all questions" [*"Die gottesdienstliche Frage ... die Frage aller Fragen"*]; Mehl appears to use Müntzer only for his own conservative Church politics. Thus, "if the church service of a nation is in good order, then the nation is healthy. It is then also courageous and brave" [*"ist der Gottesdienst eines Volkes ... mutig und stark"*] (p.64). This theme is then taken up by Wiechert – "the life-breath of every church congregation is the liturgy" [*"der Atem jeder kirchlichen Gemeinschaft ist die*

Liturgie"] (p.67) - but fortunately soon dropped in favour of a more scientific approach. He traces the origins of Müntzer's liturgy in the Halberstadt offices, and analyses the similarities and differences; this, it must be said, was an important contribution to research. But what Wiechert did, Mehl generally undid: the actual reproduction of text and music is so valueless as to demand a list of complaints. To begin with, the original 16th century German has been modernised, which, while not necessarily affecting the intimate relationship between text and music which Schulz had indicated, also did not offer the direct access which any student without sight of the originals might have hoped for. In addition, the musical accompaniment is supplied only for the text (handwritten - '*Suetterlinschrift*' ! - and modernised) for Mattins of the five sections of the DKA and the Advent DEM; in this way, the comments, directions and prayers included by Müntzer in the original editions are lost. Finally, the unaccompanied tests of the DKA and DEM are not only modernised but, by using comparative tables and editorial cross-references for passages repeated, the reader is left to guess whether the editing is 16th or 20th century in part or in entirety. And this editing is done so liberally as to render the text all but useless as an aid for research, and quite probably also as a text for modern choristers. Thus, despite the outward beauty of the volume and the good intentions of the editors, this 1937 edition is nothing more than a curiosity.

It was another 31 years before any further steps were taken towards the publication of an understanding of these liturgies. This delay is quite remarkable: firstly, since between 1950 and 1968, the number of editions or studies of Müntzer came close to matching the entire output on the subject in the previous 430 years; and secondly, because this upsurge in interest in Müntzer necessitated investigations into almost every aspect of his religious and political activity. In 1968, then, Franz published his edition of Müntzer's complete works: as a feat of editing, it is remarkable particularly in the length of time that it took for all those interested to produce the results. As far back as 1931, Böhmer and Kirn had produced a volume of almost all Müntzer's correspondence; in 1937, as we have seen, the material for his liturgical works must have been readily available; in 1950, C.Hinrichs had published an excellent edition of Müntzer's major political pamphlets; Franz himself admits to having had the material for the 1968 edition available, after labours of about a decade, during the war, but tells us that the manuscript went missing in the chaos of the occupation of Germany in 1945. It then took two decades to recreate the manuscript. But let us set these forgivable

problems of modern history aside. When the edition finally appeared, it had at least one good quality: it was the only volume that made accessible to a wide audience practically all of Müntzer's printed and unprinted works and correspondence in their original language and with full annotation. There are many aspects of this work which can be and have been criticised; nevertheless, it has the virtue of being – until very recently – the unique collection of this material, and Franz must be thanked for the contribution to further research. Since we are concerned here only with the liturgical works, we shall restrict our comments to what Franz has made of them.

His first mistake is almost inexplicable, and that is to have placed Müntzer's introduction to the 1523 DKA alongside the introduction to the 1524 DEM in the section devoted to the DEM, thus depriving the DKA of a valuable segment, and putting the DEM in the ridiculous position of having two unrelated introductions. In his bibliographical notes, Franz states that the displaced introduction appears in the various extant original bindings as follows: in the DKA itself; between the DKA and the DEM; in the DEM; and between the DKA and the third section of the DEM. The editor also notes that Smend allocated the rogue introduction to the DEM, while Honemeyer ascribes it to the DKA. Elliger, in connection with this problem, suggests that the introduction was written as soon as Müntzer's liturgical reforms began to be attacked in the summer of 1524, and that it arrived at the press after the main body of the text had already been printed (according to Elliger, in May and September 1523), and may thus have appeared as a separate leaflet distributed with the DKA. But this very variety of positioning should have made Franz consider it very circumspectly; without the original editions before us, it is not possible to tell whether the physical appearance of the texts might provide some clue; but the fact that, in the real introduction to the DEM, Müntzer refers almost word for word back to the section in the introduction to the DKA, where the five seasonal offices are introduced, should indicate a clear temporal separation. If this thought ever occurred to Franz, he did not act on it.

The second fault lies in his sequencing of the five offices which constitute the DKA: the problem here is that other research (Elliger, Honemeyer) indicates that Müntzer wrote these offices in the order: Passiontide, Easter, Whitsunday, Advent and Christmas; and that they reached the printer in that order. Although Müntzer himself introduces them in the logical order (Advent to Whitsunday) and this is the order in which the finished original

binding and Franz's edition places them, there are cross-references in each of the sections which could only be possible if the work had emerged in the order now suggested. But again, Franz does not seem to have noticed these anomalies, or, if he has, does not mention them.

The third problem lies mainly in the DEM. Here, Franz places editorial cross-references within the text in such a way that, without the original, we cannot tell just what Müntzer intended: these cross-references are of the format "cf. page xxx, line y", and, by inserting the text referred to on page xxx, the full text is constituted. But we do not know whether: (a) Franz's liturgical eye had spotted an implied insertion which Müntzer's contemporaries would have understood, since it was common practice in late medieval liturgy to insert short formulae to refer to sections to be inserted from an earlier part of the text; or (b) Müntzer himself gave some such formulae in his edition, which Franz has simply replaced with his own formulae (although this is unlikely); or (c) Franz is simply inserting the text he thinks ought to be there, whether Müntzer intended it or not; or perhaps (d) Franz has replaced lines of original, repeated text with a reference. Sometimes Müntzer's text breaks off with the word "*etc*", which clearly implies a reference to a previous section, supplied by Franz's notes. Sometimes there is no warning at all. And since the editor's only explanation of this piece of editing comes in his introductory notes to the DKA, when he writes that "occasionally we will indicate where text is missing" [*"es wird...jeweils...auf fehlende Stücke hingewiesen"*] (MGF.27), we are left to speculate on the content of the original text. On the other hand, there are times when, as Franz acknowledges in the footnotes, Müntzer himself refers the reader back to the previous text (sometimes wrongly), but Franz then treats this as a footnote and not as a marginal part of the text (eg. MGF.117 footnote 387, MGF.119 footnote 398). Elliger supposes that, with the DEM, which was written and printed in a more organised fashion than the DKA, Müntzer considered the first service - for Advent - as the foundation of the group, and the other four as variations on this basic model: hence the gaps are held to be references back to his Advent Mass.

And yet we must appreciate the overall achievement of Franz in publishing the best version of the original texts along with the full (modernised) musical accompaniment with excellent footnotes and bibliographical details.

Since this edition appeared, there have been a half dozen critical works on the significance and structure of Müntzer's liturgies. The studies by the Americans **Irwin** and

Harms have unfortunately not been seen by the present reviewer, and they may prove to be valuable. Of those which have been seen, the study by **Honemeyer** is without a doubt the best. Honemeyer analyses the relationship between Müntzer and Luther in terms of their liturgy, Luther's attempts to sabotage Müntzer's reforms, and then goes on to indicate the originality and importance of Müntzer's work, stressing Müntzer's assessment thus: "In truth the Allstedt church service represents an ideal re-organisation of the Catholic form of worship, in which the congregation participates on the early Christian model and the Gregorian chant remains the optimal form of music for Christian worship" [*"In Wahrheit stellt der Allstedter Gottesdienst ... Kultmusik erhalten bleibt"*] (p.115). In the general framework of the history of music, Honemeyer suggests that Müntzer's work is almost unique, standing as a high point of the Gregorian form in the Protestant churches and superseded by the more sober liturgies perfected by men such as Bach; he considers that Luther's 'Deutsche Messe' of 1526, with music by Konrad Kupsch and Johann Walter signalled the demise of the Gregorian liturgy in Germany. As to the charge that the music was too difficult for ordinary mortals, Honemeyer points out that Gregorian church music was very familiar to laymen, and that the curriculum in the Allstedt school in the early 16th century included a compulsory five hours a week on musical subjects. He also points out that choirs of schoolchildren were used by Müntzer, which says something of their lack of complexity.

Honemeyer's study of the radical's liturgies is probably the best to have appeared so far, and it has influenced much of this essay, and should be consulted by any student with an interest in these matters. Honemeyer very capably extracts the best out of previous research, and criticises the theories of Schulz, Wiechert, Jammers, Gebhardt and others, before engaging in a detailed comparison of Müntzer's texts with those of late medieval offices, and showing how important to Müntzer these reformed liturgies were.

Bräuer's study grapples with the problem that Müntzer's liturgies have the appearance of a conservative phenomenon in the very period when Müntzer was engaged in serious revolutionary theoretical works. He makes an analysis of twelve of Müntzer's hymns translated from the Latin, and indicates just how much Müntzer's doctrines - suffering, election, overthrow of the godless - are woven into the fabric of these songs. He finds the translations functional, and, by the use of popular expression, likely to reach through to the common people. And although the hymns can be judged to be more theological than social in content, he concludes: "Only in recent times has it been recognised that Müntzer's

compositions most probably gave the decisive impulse for the creation of the largest part of Luther's hymns. The Allstedt liturgies have a lasting significance not only for our judgement of Müntzer's theology but also in their effect on Luther" [*"Erst in neuerer Zeit wurde erkannt... eine bleibende Bedeutung"*] (pp.101f.). Thus, Bräuer comes to a diametrically opposed view to, say, Gebhardt. Whether Müntzer had so much influence on his contemporaries is, of course, open to debate: but there was certainly a very wide echo to his reforms.

The detailed study by **Elliger** of Müntzer's life and works has been discussed on occasion earlier. Suffice it here to say that the information on the dating and content of the liturgies is extremely useful, even if Elliger seems to draw the wrong conclusions. **Frederichs'** short essay within this biography, if sometimes a contrast with Elliger's views, is also useful. Although he concludes that Müntzer was wrong to try to fill the old Gregorian form with the new Reformation ideas, he admits: "Even in just their physical form, with their extensive musical accompaniment, Th. Müntzer's liturgical writings tower high above the publications of other reformers. The history of their composition shows that their creator worked primarily from the text and the best possible clarification of the content, but that the music also, as far as the pre-existing forms allowed, were engaged in an often superior manner to support his interpretations." [*"Durch den umfangreichen Notenteil ... herangezogen wurde."*] (p.560).

In 2017, finally, Volume I of the long-awaited 'Kritische Gesamtausgabe' of Müntzer's works appeared. Eccentrically, this was the last of the three volumes to be printed. It contains the full text and musical notations of both the 'Office' and the 'Mass' along with the relevant texts of the explanatory pamphlets which we have discussed above. There is little to fault in this volume – it has tidied up Franz' oversights. And the editorial footnotes and introductions are helpful.

So, from Wackernagel to Honemeyer and Frederichs, much progress has been made in illuminating Müntzer's real intentions for his liturgies. It is a progress of research which follows in parallel the progress made in the last century in dragging Müntzer from the swamp of evil whither he was exiled by Luther and his successors. Let us hope that future research into Müntzer as an historical figure will also allow more room for his liturgical achievements as an integral part of his whole revolutionary career.

APPENDIX B

Müntzer's Usage of the Psalms and Bible in his Liturgies.

The following table, based on Franz's analysis (MGF.27-28), shows the incidence of the psalms and other biblical texts in the DKA and DEM. Different translations of the same original are separated by commas, while similar or referenced translations are linked by hyphens. The following abbreviations are used:

K - Deutsch Kirchenampt	.P - Passiontide	.M - Mattins
M - Deutsch Evangelisch Messe	.E - Easter	.L - Lauds
	.W - Whitsunday	.V - Vespers
	.A - Advent	
	.X - Christmas	

Thus, **K.X.M** = Deutsch kirchenampt, Christmas Mattins;
M.E = Deutsch Evangelisch Messe, for Easter.

Psalm	Verses	Location	Function
1		K.E.M	1st Psalm
2		K.E.M	2nd Psalm
3		K.E.M	3rd Psalm
19	2	K.X.M	2nd Psalm
19		M.A	Psalm
22		K.P.M	2nd Psalm
25		K.A.M	2nd Psalm
25	2f	M.A	Offertory
43		K.P.L, MA-MX-MP-ME-MW	2nd Psalm, Ingressus
44		K.A.M	4th Psalm
45		K.X.M	3rd Psalm
48		K.W.M	2nd Psalm
51		K.P.L (Luther's translation)	1st Psalm

54		K.P.M	3rd Psalm
55		K.P.M	4th Psalm
63		K.A.L-K.X.L-K.E.L-K.W.L-K.P.L	3rd Psalm
67		K.P.L	3rd Psalm
68		K.W.M (based on Luther's translation)	3rd Psalm
68	2	M.W	Psalm
68	29	M.W	Offertory
76	9f	M.E	Offertory
80		K.A.M	3rd Psalm
87		K.X.M	4th Psalm
89	12,15	M.X	Offertory
93		K.A.L-K.X.L-K.E.L-K.W.L	1st Psalm
95		K.A.M, K.X.M, K.P.M, K.E.M, K.W.M	1st Psalm
98	1	M.X	Psalm
98	3	M.X	Communio
100		K.A.L-K.X.L-K.E..L-K.W.L	2nd Psalm
102	2	M.P	Psalm
104		K.W.M	4th Psalm
110		K.A.V-K.E.V-K.W.V-K.P.V-K.X.V (Luther s translation)	1st Psalm
111		as above (own translation)	2nd Psalm
112		as above	3rd Psalm
113		as above	4th Psalm

114		K.A.V-K.LV-K.W.V	5th Psalm
115		as above	5th Psalm
118		K.E.L-K.W.L	4th Psalm
118	16f	M.P	Offertory
119	161-176	translated separately from DKA/DEM	
130	1f		Psalm
132		K.X.V	5th Psalm
139	18,5,6	M.E	Introitus
140		K.P.V	5th Psalm
147		K.W.V	Collect
148		K.A.L-K.X.L-K.P.L-K.E.L-K.W.L	5th Psalm
149		as above	5th Psalm
150		as above	5th Psalm

Book	Chapter	Verses	Location	Function
1 Samuel	2	1-10	K.A.L	4th Psalm
Wisdom	1	7	M.W	Introitus
Wisdom	2	1-3	K.P.M	1st Reading
Wisdom	2	6-8	K.P.M	2nd Reading
Wisdom	2	12-15	K.P.M	3rd Reading
Isaiah	7	14f	K.A.L	Chapter
Isaiah	9	5	K.X.L-K.X.V	Chapter
Isaiah	9	6	M.X	Introitus
Isaiah	11	1-5	M.A	Epistle
Isaiah	12	1-6	K.X.L	4th Psalm
Isaiah	38	10-20	K.P.L	4th Psalm
Isaiah	45	8	M.A	Introitus
Joel	3	1ff	K.W.L	Chapter
Matthew	16	5f	K.E.V	Vidi Aquam
Matthew	20	17ff	M.P	Gospel
Matthew	26	26ff	M.A	Pridie
Matthew	28		K.E.V	Vidi Aquam

Luke	1	26f	M.A, K.A.M	Gospel, 1st Reading
Luke	1	28f	K.A.M	2nd Reading
Luke	1	30-33	K.A.M	3rd Reading
Luke	1	46-55	K.X.M-K.P.V	Magnificat
Luke	1	68-79	K.A.L-K.P.L- K.E.L-K.W.L	Benedictus
Luke	2	1-3	K.X.M	1st Reading
Luke	2	4-7	K.X.M	2nd Reading
Luke	2	8-11	K.X.M	3rd Reading
Luke	2	8-14	M.X	Gospel
Luke	22	42	M.P	Communio
John	14	23	M.W	Gospel
John	15	26	M.W	Communio
John	16	14	M.W	Communio
John	17	1-5	M.W	Communio
Acts	2	1-4	M.W	Epistle
Acts	2	14-17	K.W.L	Chapter
Romans	6	9ff	K.E.M-K.E.L	1st Reading, Chapter
Romans	8	7-11	K.W.M	1st Reading
Romans	8	14ff	K.W.M	2nd Reading
Romans	8	26f	K.W.M	3rd Reading
1 Corinthians	5	7	M.E	Communio
I Corinthians	15	12-15	K.E.M	2nd Reading
Philippians	2	8	M.P	Verse
Philippians	2	8-11	M.P	Epistle
Philippians	2	8,10,11	M.P	Introitus
Colossians	3	1-4	K.E.M	3rd Reading
Colossians	3	15	M.E	Epistle
Titus	3	4-7	M.X	Epistle
I Peter	2	21-24	K.P.L	Chapter