



Transformations of Lutheranism

The question of confessional liturgical identity and its current relevance in the German-Brazilian dialog¹

Alexander Deeg²

Júlio César Adam³

Resumo: The article is part of a Brazilian-German research project dealing with the question if it is (still) possible to speak about a *Lutheran liturgical identity*. The background in Germany and Brazil is different: The German situation is characterized by growing secularism and explicit and implicit demands to overcome inner-Protestant confessionalism. In Brazil, the idea of being 'Lutheran' gains support, especially in contrast to the growing influence of Evangelical movements. Discussing historical and current examples of Lutheran liturgical developments, the article argues for a perspective describing Lutheran liturgical identity *in* its dynamics of transformation and normatively identifying it *with* a dynamic of transformation.

Palavras-chave: Identity; Lutheran Confessionality; Cult; Liturgy; Brazil; Germany

Do denominational identities (currently) still exist within Protestant churches? Does it (still) make sense to speak of an 'Evangelical-Lutheran identity' - in contrast to a reformed or united one? In Germany, these questions also raise the question of the significance and future of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church (VELKD) within the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKD), which since 2015 has defined itself as a "church" while being the "communion of its member churches" (Constitution of the EKD, Art. 1 (1) 4) - and this is another reason why denominational identities have been and continue to be the subject of constant debate and sometimes fierce controversy in

¹ This article is a slightly updated version of the 2021 article of the same name, first published in *KuD* 67 (2021), 326- 352.

² Institut für Praktische Theologie, Beethovenstr. 25, 04107 Leipzig, alexander.deeg@uni-leipzig.de.

³ Practical Theology, Faculdades EST, São Leopoldo, RS, julio3@est.edu.br.



recent years. This was and is the reason for us to address the issue as a practical-theological research question and to compare the situations in Brazil and Germany. A joint project between Leipzig University and the Faculdades EST in São Leopoldo began in 2021. This paper examines the subject and outlines the ongoing research process.

Post-confessional Protestantism or rediscovery of Lutheranism?

On November 9, 2020, the twelfth synod of the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKD) agreed on "Twelve Guiding Principles for the Future of an Open-minded Church".⁴ 'Confessionality' is only mentioned explicitly in the document as part of the fifth guiding principle, which emphasizes the need to strengthen ecumenism - and appears as a negative backdrop: "In a globalized world, worldwide ecumenism is a community that transcends denominational, cultural and national boundaries." On the other hand, it says: "We promote new forms of ecumenical church work, including ecumenical, multi-denominational churches." The justification is largely an economic one: "In many areas, it is no longer financially viable to go it alone."⁵ The guiding principles outline the image of a Protestant church that focuses primarily on ecumenical cooperation with the Catholic Church and other denominations and pursues the goal of "unity in reconciled diversity".⁶ As a *Protestant* church, it is characterized by its unspecified "reformatory profile".⁷ Against this backdrop, denominationalism appears to be a dark foil: it stands for problematic demarcation and a lack of openness to the world, but ultimately also for a lack of insight into the real challenges facing the church (including the financial situation).

The twelfth and final guiding principle is dedicated to the relationship between the "EKD and its member churches". The EKD sees itself as a "church" in the communion of "member churches" and as a "common platform for all those who belong to the Protestant church."⁸ In the

⁴ Hinaus ins Weite – Kirche auf gutem Grund. Zwölf Leitsätze zur Zukunft einer aufgeschlossenen Kirche, mit Beschluss der zwölften Synode der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland auf ihrer siebten Tagung am 9. November 2020, available at: https://www.ekd.de/ekd_de/ds_doc/zwoelf_leitsaetze_zukunft_kirche_ES_2021.pdf (15.05.2021).

⁵ All quotes *ibid.*, 21.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, 34.



context of these players, the "associations of member churches" are also mentioned rather in passing.⁹ Their aim was to reinforce strengths and reduce redundant structures.

The fact that the EKD is an association of 20 *confessional* member churches, which are either Lutheran, Uniate or Reformed, is not mentioned in the entire paper by the synod. The fact that there are not simply "associations of member churches", but that these also have their own, denominationally definable identities, is also not mentioned in the paper. The future of German Protestantism, as the paper proposes, is post-denominational, generally 'evangelical', 'reformatory' or 'Protestant'.

Considering increasing secularization, this seems consistent in many respects and the question of denominational identity appears to be an oddly pointless or at least backward-looking question for many people. In 2021, the population of Germany was around 26% Catholic, 24% Protestant, 4% denominational Muslim and 42% religiously unaffiliated.¹⁰ The key difference that can be clearly perceived is that between 'religious' and 'secular'. In East Germany in particular, the question is not: "Are you Lutheran or Uniate or Reformed?", but: "Are you religious?" (and it is not uncommon for people to add aloud or in their thoughts: "Are you religious - or normal?"). And if religious identity is already being defined, then there are demarcations in relation to Islam or within Christianity between the Protestant and Catholic churches. Lutheranism is disappearing not only from EKD texts, but also from public perception.¹¹

With regard to the law of church membership, Michael Domszen states what could also apply in a very similar way to internal Protestant denominationalism: "The churches operate with structures and guidelines that once worked well, but are now increasingly reaching their limits. They are familiar to us. They also have a deeper meaning and can therefore be explained easily from a certain logic. And yet it seems that they reflect a reality that currently exists less and less and, in some regions, almost no longer exists at all."¹²

⁹ Ibid, 35.

¹⁰ The figures can be found at: <https://fowid.de/meldung/religionszugehoerigkeiten-2021> (19.08.2023).

¹¹ On the "culture of non-denominationalism" see O. Müller/G. Pickel/D. Pollack, Kirchlichkeit und Religiosität in Ostdeutschland: Muster, Trends, Bestimmungsgründe, in: O. Müller/G. Pickel/D. Pollack, Kirchlichkeit und Religiosität in Ostdeutschland: Muster, Trends, Bestimmungsgründe, in: M. Domszen (Hg.), Konfessionslos – eine religionspädagogische Herausforderung. Studien am Beispiel Ostdeutschlands, Leipzig 2005, 23–64, 29; and cf. the more recent paper: M. Domszen, Zwischen einem „Mia san mia“-Gefühl und der Ahnung von der Nacktheit des Kaisers. Irritationen und Perspektiven kirchlicher Arbeit heute, in: PTh 108 (2019), 287–311.

¹² Domszen, Zwischen einem "Mia san mia" -Gefühl und der Ahnung von der Nacktheit des Kaisers, 298.



The disappearance of internal Protestant confessionalism can be seen as a late victory of the unification efforts two hundred years ago or as a necessary consequence of the Leuenberg Agreement of 1973. Of course, this would be a one-sided and, in our opinion, incorrect interpretation of Leuenberg. The declaration built dialogical bridges, made church communion between Lutheran, Uniate and Reformed churches possible after centuries of separation, and thus facilitated cooperation in all aspects of worship practice. However, it states: "A standardization that impairs the lively diversity of preaching methods, worship life, church order and diaconal and social activity would contradict the essence of the church communion [between Lutheran and Reformed churches, AD/JCA] entered into with this declaration."¹³ The aim of Leuenberg is therefore not some post-denominational Protestantism, but a consciously multi-denominational, internally differentiated, diverse Protestant Christianity.

As there are, at first glance, numerous arguments in favor of a post-denominational EKD, two aspects should be mentioned at the beginning that make the picture somewhat more complex:

(1) Firstly, there is the retrospective view on the 'Reformation Decade'. It actually began as the 'Luther Decade' - symbolically visible, for example, in the 800 colorful Luther sculptures by Otmar Hörl, which stood on the Wittenberg market square in 2010 and were then sent all over the world. But the logo of the Reformation Decade also featured a stylized portrait of Luther combined with the sentence "In the beginning was the word". The question of whether and how the diversity of Protestantism can be made visible with this focus on Luther soon arose. In the discussions, it became clear that a differentiated view of the developments and logics of the various reformations is not only historically essential, but also worthwhile for current observations.¹⁴ Even the dark sides of the Reformation (such as Luther's anti-Judaism) can only be discussed appropriately if they are perceived in a differentiated way based on their specific theological¹⁵ and social background.

(2) At the same time, 'Lutheranism' plays a very noticeable role worldwide. Founded in 1947, the Lutheran World Federation currently comprises 148 member churches in 99 countries with a

¹³ Leuenberg Agreement (1973), No. 45.

¹⁴ See, for example, the five-volume series "Reformation heute" (Leipzig 2013-2017), which dealt with the foundations and effects of the Reformation in a European context, reflecting on the topics of education, the state, individuality, media and images of humanity.

¹⁵ Cf. exemplarily *Chr. Axt-Piscalar/A. Oblemacher* (Hg.), *Die lutherischen Duale. Gesetz und Evangelium, Glaube und Werke, Alter und Neuer Bund, Verheißung und Erfüllung*, im Auftrag der Bischofskonferenz der VELKD, Leipzig 2021.



total of around 75.5 million Christians.¹⁶ In 2019, the LWF initiated a three-year study process "Being Lutheran", which focuses on the question of Lutheran identities (deliberately formulated in the plural).¹⁷ The reason for this search for identity is not the disappearance of confessional identity, but rather the perception of far-reaching global plurality in the face of different national, cultural and social contexts. The question of how 'Lutheran tradition' expresses itself in these contexts and what this perception of diversity means for the future guides the process: "[...] we want to discern ways in which we creatively express law and gospel, faith and works, nature and grace, justification and sanctification, freedom and vocation - marks of our common Lutheran heritage."¹⁸

For this purpose, the LWF launched a survey among all member churches titled "Global Survey on Being Lutheran".¹⁹ The 'Lutheran' was partly determined by dogmatic aspects ("law and gospel"; the corresponding sentence is: "I understand law and gospel."), partly by practices (how often do people read the Bible or the Small Catechism, how often do they attend church services or receive communion, how often do they talk about the Confessio Augustana or the Book of Concord in their own congregation, how often do individuals think about their baptism?). In addition, the questionnaire focused - surprisingly at first glance - on the effect of the Holy Spirit and the question of "spiritual gifts". On the one hand, this corresponds to the thematic orientation of the LWF consultation in Addis Ababa 2019, which was held under the theme "We believe in the Holy Spirit. Global Perspectives on Lutheran Identities", and which marked the starting point of the study process.²⁰ On the other hand, the topic of "Spirit" indicates a context of discussion that is of great importance for Lutheranism worldwide: the need to define the relationship to the

¹⁶ For these figures, see <https://de.lutheranworld.org/> (19.08.2023).

¹⁷ Cf. <https://www.lutheranworld.org/content/lutheran-identities-study-process> (19.08.2023).

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ The survey was and is accompanied by the suggestion of group discussions on "Being Lutheran" and a webinar series on the topic. In the meantime, see also K. Fitschen/N. Grochowina/O. Schuegraf (Hg.), *Lutherische Identität. Kulturelle Prägung und reformatorisches Erbe*, Gütersloh 2023.

²⁰ The Lutheran World Federation, *Lutheran Identity Process Phase I, Full Report and Lessons Learned*, Geneva 2020, available at: https://www.lutheranworld.org/sites/default/files/2020/documents/2020_dtmj_addis_ababa_lutheran_identity_consultation_a4_en.pdf (19.08.2023).



(growing) Pentecostal and neo-Pentecostal churches.²¹ Officially, however, the LWF does not mention the challenge this poses for many member churches, but instead writes

"The overall goal of the Lutheran Identity Study Process is to analyze contemporary Lutheran spirituality, and affirm the way in which the Holy Spirit works through the ministry of the church to form, revive, and equip us to live out our faithful vocations in the next 500 years of the Lutheran communion."²²

Whenever identity is questioned, it means that it is no longer self-evident. In this respect, processes of an explicit search for identity are always also a crisis phenomenon;²³ on the other hand, a "study process" means that what is being questioned is (or at least can be) newly created *through* the process.

Especially against the backdrop of the briefly outlined discussion in the German-speaking context, in which the question of Lutheran identity is partly perceived as a move of pure ecclesiastical polity by the United Evangelical Lutheran Church, which has fallen into a defensive position. To us, however, the worldwide Lutheran identity process is significant - in at least four respects: (1) The aim of an identity process cannot be to define as clearly as possible some kind of 'essence of Lutheranism' that could be summarized in propositional sentences, or to fix Lutheran content or forms that would then have to be equally findable for all times and all places. The Lutheran World Federation therefore speaks of "identities" in the plural; and although we continue to speak of identity in the singular, this diversity in a historical and global perspective is taken into account. (2) The focus is therefore descriptive rather than normative. It is about mutual perceptions and descriptions. (3) The view is directed towards the future - and not towards adherence to a tradition (however it may be defined). (4) The aim is not to set boundaries, but to bring something personal and unique into the discourse. However, this is only possible if the question of what is 'unique' is at least asked and an answer is found together.

²¹ It is difficult to determine the global figures of distribution. Researchers estimate that around 200 to 600 million people belong to Pentecostal churches, whereby the classical Pentecostal churches make up a rather small proportion compared to the rapidly growing neo-Pentecostal churches, especially in the Global South.

²² The Lutheran World Federation, Lutheran Identity Process, 5.

²³ Cf. *A. Deeg*, *Leben auf der Grenze. Die Externität christlicher Identität und die Sprachgestalt kirchlicher Gottesrede*, in: *ders./S. Heuser/A. Manzeschke* (Hg.), *Identität. Biblische und theologische Erkundungen* (BThS 30), Göttingen 2007, 277–300. *A. Deeg*, *Leben auf der Grenze. Die Externität christlicher Identität und die Sprachgestalt kirchlicher Gottesrede*, in: *ders./S. Heuser/A. Manzeschke* (Hg.), *Identität. Biblische und theologische Erkundungen* (BThS 30), Göttingen 2007, 277–300; cf. also *R. Eickelpasch/C. Rademacher*, *Identität, Themen der Soziologie*, Bielefeld 2013, 5–14.



In our opinion, the questionnaire with its quite peculiar concentration on thematic areas, texts and pneumatology can be viewed critically, but the direction of the LWF points to the right direction. We believe: The perception of practices, especially liturgical practices, is particularly helpful for the exploration of Lutheran identity.

Liturgy as a practice of identity

The ritualistic dimension of lived religion and its significance for the question of identity

Lived religion can be found in individual and social practices, in attitudes and stances, beliefs and values. This is reflected in the frequently used religious phenomenological model by Charles Y. Glock from the 1950s.²⁴ Glock distinguishes five dimensions: the ritualistic, the ideological (confessional), the intellectual, as well as the dimensions of religious experience and religious convictions. This model has been adopted and modified in numerous empirical studies.²⁵

In our opinion, the ritualistic dimension is particularly important for a study that poses the question of identity.²⁶ This includes various practices such as the celebration of religious services. We offer four reasons why we consider the study of liturgical practice to be of particular relevance: (1) Every liturgical form is an explicit or implicit process of negotiation between tradition and innovation, between reference to origins and reaction to current challenges. This applies in a special way to the question of *Lutheran* liturgy, for which this process of negotiation has been one of the special characteristics from the very beginning. For Luther and the Lutheran Reformation, the connection to the 'Mass form' was beyond question. CA XXIV "On the Mass" states:

"Our people are unjustly accused of having dismissed the Mass. For it is evident that the Mass is said with greater devotion and earnestness among us than among our opponents, without speaking gloriously. [...] Thus no noticeable change has been made in the public ceremonies of the Mass, except that in some places German chants are sung alongside Latin chant in order to teach and train the people, especially since all ceremonies are primarily intended to help the people learn what they need to know about Christ."

²⁴ Cf. C. Y. Glock, *Toward a Typology of Religious Orientation*, New York 1954.

²⁵ Cf. only e.g. J.-G. Vaillancourt, *From Five To Ten Dimensions of Religion*. Charles Y. Glock's Dimensions of Religiosity Revisited, in: *Australian Religious Studies Review* 21 (2008), 58-69.

²⁶ Cf. also E. B. Anderson, *Worship and Christian Identity*. Practicing Ourselves, Collegeville (Minnesota) 2003. In his study, the Methodist Anderson starts from the assumption that "Christian worship is a cluster of practices in which persons and communities are formed intentionally and unintentionally in particular understandings of self and church" (29).



Both sides become clear here: the connection to tradition *and* the reformatory renewal, which was to lead to more serious participation and which emphasized the newly discovered (and in retrospect, it can be said: quite one-sided) pedagogical dimension of public worship.²⁷

(2) Public church services appear to be a representative form of religious practice. This has been called into question several times in recent years due to declining attendance at Sunday services. However, the COVID-19 pandemic and media attention paid to the suspension of 'in-person services' as part of the first lockdown during the 2020 Lenten season and the discussion about the possibility of in-person services at Christmas 2020 showed that and how church services are still perceived as a representative form of Christian practice in society. They are places where religion is shown in public.

(3) From an internal Protestant perspective, another, decidedly theological argument is that Protestant ecclesiology is based on the church as "creatura verbi", which is constantly renewed by word and sacrament. It therefore makes sense to look in particular at the act in which this ever new constitution of the church primarily takes place.²⁸

(4) A pragmatic research aspect should not be neglected: Liturgical practices are (relatively) easy to perceive and describe.

Lutheran liturgical identity - current search movements

In the German-speaking context, the development and introduction of the "Evangelisches Gottesdienstbuch" (1999) has led to the difficulty that it is impossible to point to a liturgical order to determine Lutheran liturgical identity - which, however, was the intention of the liturgical order of the 1950s. The introduction to the Evangelisches Gottesdienstbuch states: "It brings together the Lutheran, Uniate and Reformed traditions of the "Agende I" of both churches (1955 and 1959) and replaces them. It opens up the richness of these evolved reformatory traditions for the worship

²⁷ On the problem of the Lutheran liturgical focus on the dimension of doctrine, see: *A. Deeg*, Das äußere Wort und seine liturgische Gestalt. Überlegungen zu einer evangelischen Fundamentalliturgik, APTLH 68, Göttingen 2012, 91–95.

²⁸ Cf. *A. Deeg*, Kirche aus dem Wort. Ekklesiologische Implikationen für eine Theologie des Gottesdienstes aus lutherischer Sicht, in: *B. Jeggle-Merz/B. Kranemann* (Hg.), Liturgie und Konfession. Grundfragen der Liturgiewissenschaft im interkonfessionellen Gespräch, Freiburg/Basel/Wien 2013, 180–196.



life of Protestant congregations today."²⁹ Klaus Raschzok therefore writes: "Identity is [...] no longer determined by denomination, but by the Reformation."³⁰

In January 2014, a paper was published in the series "Texts from the VELKD", written by Christine Axt-Piscalar, Klaus Raschzok and Alexander Deeg on the topic of "Evangelical-Lutheran liturgical identity".³¹ In the introduction, the then leading bishop of the VELKD, Gerhard Ulrich, also recognizes that the question seems to be "subordinate" regarding the current discussions about worship. However, Ulrich says: "In the work of liturgical orders, however, it is unavoidable, because orders have an ecclesial function."³² Accordingly, the paper states that the question of a Lutheran liturgical identity is necessary,

"so that we do not build up a conceptual image of 'the Lutheran' which no longer contains anything, but also to avoid simply claiming, forgetful of tradition, that the 'Lutheran' *in liturgiis* no longer exists just because the rich variety of liturgical forms has overlapped the original forms or because the Lutheran type of service has gained a leading character far beyond the Evangelical-Lutheran regional churches [...]."³³

Three 'approaches' that describe the phenomenon of Evangelical-Lutheran liturgical identity are presented below. (1) The first approach looks at the interaction between forms of worship and Lutheran creeds, thus reflecting on the relationship between *lex orandi* and *lex credendi*. Here it is foremost "the emphasis on the externality of the self-offering of Jesus Christ" in the Lord's Supper and the "self-presentation of Jesus Christ for the salvation of believers" in the Word that has normative significance for all liturgical forms from a Lutheran perspective.³⁴ (2) The second approach emphasizes the "continuity of tradition in Lutheran worship practice".³⁵ The fundamental insight that "faith [...] in its lived practice [...] is a creative event out of tradition",³⁶ was already known to Luther and led to rather hesitant liturgical reforms. Continuity of tradition³⁷

²⁹ Evangelisches Gottesdienstbuch, Introduction, 13.

³⁰ K. Raschzok, Lutherische liturgische Identität. Zur Phänomenologie des liturgisch-räumlichen Erlebens, Leipzig 2020, 34.

³¹ Evangelisch-lutherische liturgische Identität. Texte aus der VELKD Nr. 169, Januar 2014.

³² Cf. at this point also Article 5 of the VELKD Constitution, which states: "The United Church shall establish rules for worship, in particular the order of worship and the hymnal, which are intended to promote unity in the United Church. The member churches shall introduce these ordinances for their area."

³³ Ibid, 4.

³⁴ Ibid, 5.

³⁵ Ibid, 6-9.

³⁶ Ibid, 6.

³⁷ The term was introduced into the discussion in 2009 by Klaus Raschzok; cf. id., Die notwendige Fortsetzung des agendarischen Erneuerungsprozesses. Ergebnisse einer Ausschussarbeit, in: M. Meyer-Blanck/ders./H. Schwier

describes the connection between "today's Lutheran worship practice and the church's worship tradition", which can of course be described in ever new forms and by no means "in the mere reproduction of historical forms of worship".³⁸ The importance of the mass form with its dramaturgy of the sermon and communion as the two highlights, the importance of the church year and the lectionary, the collective action of various people with different roles, among other things, are mentioned as characteristics. On the contrary, continuity of tradition also means that neither the preferences of those responsible for the service nor the supposed or actual expectations of those celebrating determine the service.³⁹

(3) In the third approach, we take a phenomenological look at the church services and initially state:

"In the dialog between the denominations, [...] there are not substantially defined identities facing each other, but rather lively and flexible mixtures of what has historically evolved, what is ideally definable, unconsciously important and personally shaped. This is the difficulty and the attraction of liturgical work that does not negate the *confessional* as something that has supposedly been overcome, but consciously and reflectively brings it into play."⁴⁰

The term "the external word in a bodily shape"⁴¹ is then used to define what is specifically Lutheran. In the 16th century, Lutheran doctrine of worship turned against the 'enthusiastic' position of the 'spiritualists' on the one hand, and against the Roman position on the other. Against the 'enthusiasts' (ger. "Schwärmer"), the necessary corporeality was emphasized: God acts "with us through the oral word of the gospel and through bodily signs".⁴² Against any institutionalization of salvation in an ecclesiastical-hierarchical or material-substantial manner, the externality of the Word was emphasized, as it can never be 'owned', but only ever be expected in, with and among external acts.

(Hg.), Gottesdienst feiern. Zur Zukunft der Agendenarbeit in den evangelischen Kirchen, Gütersloh 2009, 9–25; id., Traditionskontinuierlicher Gottesdienst. Eine terminologische Neuschöpfung und ihre Begründung, in: Quatember 77 (2013), 205–213. This text is also reprinted in: *Raschzok*, Lutherische liturgische Identität, 95–102.

³⁸ Evangelisch-lutherische liturgische Identität, 7.

³⁹ Ibid, 8.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 10.

⁴¹ Ibid, 13.

⁴² WA 18, 136.

For the further dialogical development of denominational characteristics, the paper focuses on the dialogical space of worldwide Lutheranism.⁴³ At the same time, however, it is also clear that the necessity of this dialog requires independent Lutheran liturgical work in the German-speaking world.

In recent years, the reflections in this paper have been continued in particular by the now retired practical theologian from Neuendettelsau, Germany, Klaus Raschzok. The volume "Lutherische liturgische Identität" (Lutheran liturgical identity), published in 2020, brings together contributions by Raschzok that further define the concept of the continuity of tradition. Raschzok writes: "Lutheran-influenced worship culture needs both cultural and ecclesial traditions, just as it needs to be credibly open to the transformations of the present."⁴⁴

The concept of "worship atmosphere", which Raschzok introduces and in which he primarily locates the Lutheran liturgical identity, seems particularly inspiring.⁴⁵ In doing so, he adopts - without going into more detail - a key concept of modern phenomenology⁴⁶ and emphasizes the observability of the Lutheran. In individual articles, Raschzok considers liturgical spaces,⁴⁷ describes vasa sacra⁴⁸ and liturgical vestments⁴⁹ as well as paraments⁵⁰ - and shows examples of what can be pointed out when liturgical identities are sought phenomenologically.

The draft of the baptismal order by the VELKD and the UEK (2019) and the problem of developing a Lutheran practice

In the German-speaking Protestant liturgical context, there is an example from recent years that reflects the problem of the search for identity in the liturgical field in a special way. Work on a new baptismal order has been overshadowed by questions of church policy about the significance

⁴³ Cf. *Evangelisch-lutherische liturgische Identität*, 17.

⁴⁴ *Raschzok*, *Lutherische liturgische Identität*, 51.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Cf. *G. Böhme*, *Atmosphäre. Essays zur neueren Ästhetik*, Berlin 2013; *H. Schmitz*, *Atmosphären*, Freiburg 2016.

⁴⁷ Cf. *Raschzok*, *Das Konzept heiliger Räume aus evangelisch-lutherischer Sicht - veranschaulicht in der Nürnberger St. Sebalduskirche*, in: *Lutherische liturgische Identität*, 249-277.

⁴⁸ Cf. *Raschzok*, *Sehen und Berühren. Die Vasa Sacra der Nürnberger St. Lorenzkirche*, in: *ders.*, *Lutherische liturgische Identität*, 297-306.

⁴⁹ Cf. *Raschzok*, *In-vestition – Liturgische Gewänder im evangelischen Gottesdienst*, in: *ders.*, *Lutherische liturgische Identität*, 307-314; *ders.*, *Textiler „Klassiker“*. 200 Jahre Talar mit Beffchen als Identitätssymbol des Protestantismus, in: *id.*, *Lutherische liturgische Identität*, 315-332.

⁵⁰ Cf. *Vgl. Raschzok*, *Im „Dunkel der Unwissenheit“*. Die Anfänge des lutherischen Paramentenwesens bei Wilhelm Löhe und dem Niedersächsischen Paramentenverein, in: *id.*, *Lutherische liturgische Identität*, 343-361..



of internal Protestant denominational differentiations (and about the future and relevance of member church associations like the VELKD). The dynamic of the attempt to 'unify' Protestantism, has also produced the opposite dynamic of profiling 'uniqueness' and continues to do so.

The currently valid VELKD baptism order dates back to 1988. In the context of numerous new developments (the tendency to move the age of baptism backwards; the popularity of baptisms in different places, e.g. at baptism festivals, the rediscovery of traditional symbols, etc.), a new edition was urgently needed. In the Uniate Church (UEK), the "Baptism Book" was published in 2000, which made a new edition less urgent.⁵¹ The Liturgical Committee of the VELKD therefore began work on a baptismal order; the UEK Committee was initially only informed about the developments.

At the same time, however, it has been obvious at least since the 'Evangelisches Gottesdienstbuch' that work on liturgical orders in the German-speaking context can only succeed if the two liturgical committees of the UEK and VELKD continue to work together. Thus, after some heated debates, the work on the baptismal order was jointly resumed and a draft was presented for evaluation in 2019.⁵² The introduction states that the draft aims to "give current expression to the respective denominational liturgical identities [...]" and at the same time "provide differentiated attempts to respond to the changes in baptismal practice that have occurred in recent years [...]".⁵³

The draft offers two liturgical forms of baptism, which were developed individually in the respective committees. There is a Form I (VELKD) and a Form II (UEK), of which the differences are defined in the introduction as follows: "While the Lutheran-influenced Form I (VELKD) is based more on a reciprocal intertwining (Ernst Lange, ger. "Versprechen") of lifeworld and liturgical tradition in the ritual performance, Form II (UEK) places the accent more on the situational communication in the currently assembled congregation and presents baptism to the

⁵¹ Taufbuch. Agende für die Evangelische Kirche der Union, Bd. 2, im Auftrag des Rates hg. von der Kirchenkanzlei der Evangelischen Kirche der Union, Berlin/Bielefeld 2000.

⁵² Die Taufe. Entwurf zur Erprobung. Taufbuch für die Union Evangelischer Kirchen in der EKD. Agende III, Teilband 1 der VELKD für evangelisch-lutherische Kirchen und Gemeinden, Kirchenamt der EKD, Hannover 2019.

⁵³ Ibid, 8.



celebrants in a more proclaiming way."⁵⁴ To exaggerate, one could say: baptism primarily as a ritual act on the side of the VELKD, baptism as proclamation on the side of the UEK. Later it says: "Form I is understood as a contribution to an experiential, subjective appropriation of the church's stock of symbols."⁵⁵ It emphasizes the "power of biblical language" as well as "the elementary otherness and the excessive meaning of church tradition".⁵⁶ Particularly striking is the attempt to understand baptism as a path into the church space, a path through the church as a symbolic expression of the connection between "Christ's path and one's own path in life".⁵⁷ Form I "seeks life-world connectivity through a strong experience of the action, less through explanatory communication."⁵⁸ At the same time, there is an orientation towards Martin Luther's baptism booklet (1523/26), which, as part of the Lutheran Confessions, has particular relevance for Lutheran churches. Among other things, Form I contains a prayer at the baptismal site based on Martin Luther's Flood Prayer and a baptismal blessing after baptism, which is "based on Martin Luther's baptismal booklet".⁵⁹

The feedback on the draft for evaluation showed the failure of this draft - and with that the failure of the *creation of* a specifically confessional Lutheran baptismal order. Above all, the confessional division of the two basic forms was not convincing. A regional church statement reads: "Instead of, for example, juxtaposing different language forms and offering theological-hermeneutical alternatives depending on the case, an outdated alternative of the VELKD and UEK is retained here, which has no relevance outside of committees in practical implementation."⁶⁰ Approval of Form I as the basic liturgical form for Lutheran churches was only announced by three regional churches, although here too there was criticism of the language and the insufficient response to social changes. "The presented draft does not achieve the necessary integration of Lutheran and Uniate liturgical tradition, it merely juxtaposes them additively."⁶¹ It can be stated: The determination of liturgical forms to be differentiated by denomination was not convincing in

⁵⁴ Ibid, 9.

⁵⁵ Ibid, 17.

⁵⁶ Ibid, 17.

⁵⁷ Ibid, 17.

⁵⁸ Ibid, 17.

⁵⁹ Ibid, 19.

⁶⁰ This is a quote from the statement of a large Lutheran regional church on the baptism order.

⁶¹ This was the statement of another Lutheran regional church.



the current German-speaking Protestant landscape - at least in the way it was attempted in the baptismal liturgy.

The view to and from the outside and the path to a bi- or multifocal perception of Lutheran liturgical identities

It is precisely the initially failed process on the way to a new baptismal liturgy that makes a new approach to the issue both helpful and reasonable. We are looking for this by observing the situations in two different contexts. Especially in the politicized situation in the German-speaking world, we believe that looking 'outwards' and 'from the outside' will prove to be helpful. A German-Brazilian perspective seems particularly promising: Protestant liturgies in Brazil in the 19th century were initially 'exports' of German liturgies of Lutheran and Uniate provenance, which were brought to Brazil by immigrants from Germany, more precisely: the Bavarian liturgy and the Prussian liturgy (cf. 3 below). It is inspiring to us to observe their transformations in Germany and Latin America in order to recognize the role played by different contexts and whether and how 'the Lutheran' manifests itself in each case.⁶²

The Evangelical Church of the Lutheran Confession in Brazil (IECLB) and its liturgies

Brazil is considered the most religious country in Latin America, which stands in stark contrast to the increasingly secular situation in Germany. Around 90% of people in Brazil consider themselves to belong to a religion (or several!); less than 1% of Brazilians state that they *do not* believe in God or a divine being.⁶³ In 1891, Catholicism was still the only official religion; in the 2010 census, only 64.6% of the population said they belonged to the Roman Catholic Church (in 1970, this figure was 90%).⁶⁴ Above all, the number of *Evangélicos* has increased, with 22.2%

⁶² However, it is important to bear in mind that there has been a constant exchange between German-speaking Protestant/Lutheran churches and the Evangelical Church of the Lutheran Confession in Brazil over the past two hundred years since the beginning of German immigration to Brazil.

⁶³ Cf. *A. Barth/O. Bobsin/R. von Sinner*, Mobilidade religiosa no Brasil: conversão ou trânsito religioso?, in: *I. A. Reblin/R. von Sinner* (Hg.), *Religião e Sociedade: desafios contemporâneos*, São Leopoldo 2012, 231–268.

⁶⁴ For these and other statistical data, see <https://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935420.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199935420-e-50> (02.05.2021).



declaring themselves as such in 2010; of these, 60% described themselves as Pentecostal and 18.5% as *Evangélicos Históricos*, which includes Lutherans, Presbyterians and Baptists. Around 700,000 people belong to the "Igreja Evangélica de Confissão Luterana no Brasil" (IECLB; Evangelical Church of the Lutheran Confession in Brazil), mainly in the south of Brazil - that is around 0.3% of the total Brazilian population. The IECLB is therefore a minority between a still strong Catholic Church and significantly growing (neo-)Pentecostal congregations.⁶⁵

In this situation, a new emphasis on the 'Lutheran' in the self-perception and self-description of members of the IECLB has been noticeable for several decades. People who belong to this church increasingly describe themselves as 'Lutheran' rather than 'evangelical' in order to distinguish themselves from the large group of 'evangelicals' within the *Evangélicos*. In view of the political and social influence of some 'evangelicals' in Brazil, as was recently evident in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic and the actions of former President Bolsonaro, this also has political relevance. In contrast to the German-speaking context, being 'Lutheran' is currently becoming more important for some members of the IECLB, whereas the majority of the Brazilian population has no knowledge of the existing Lutheran churches in Brazil. It is no coincidence that the church can be found on the Internet at www.luteranos.com.br. The church's main newspaper was called the "Evangelical Newspaper" for many years; since the end of the 1990s it has been called the "Evangelical Lutheran Newspaper".⁶⁶

The question of identity is also currently facing a different challenge in Brazil because it is shaped there by the memory of 200 years of German immigration to Brazil.⁶⁷ The first groups of German emigrants arrived in Brazil in May and July 1824 - followed by numerous others in various waves over the course of the 19th century.⁶⁸ Rarely did they bring their own (Lutheran, Uniate or

⁶⁵ Cf. G. Brakemeier, "Somos igreja! Que igreja devemos ser?" Exigências eclesiológicas luteranas no contexto brasileiro, in: W. Wachholz (ed.), *Igreja e ministério: perspectiva evangélico luteranas*, São Leopoldo 2009, 95-105.

⁶⁶ Cf. M. A. Zimmer, *Assimilação e organização religiosa. Como as igrejas étnicas lidam com a assimilação estrutural de seus membros*. Blumenau 2014, 93ff. - Recently, however, the term "Lutheran" has once again taken on a different connotation in the Brazilian church context and is being used by conservative groups within the IECLB to distinguish themselves from more "liberal" currents. This can be observed, for example, with the "Herdeiros de Worms" ("Heirs of Worms"; cf. the respective homepage: <https://www.herdeirosdeworms.com/quem-somos-nos> [21.07.2021]), but also with the "Aliança Luterana" ("Lutheran Alliance"; cf. <https://www.facebook.com/aliancaluterana/> [21.07.2021]).

⁶⁷ Cf. M. Hoffmann/D. C. Beros/R. Mooney (Hg.), *Radicalizando a Reforma. Outra teologia para outro mundo*, São Leopoldo 2017.

⁶⁸ On the history of the IECLB, see H.-J. Prien, *Evangelische Kirchwerdung in Brasilien. Von den deutsch-evangelischen Einwanderergemeinden zur Evangelischen Kirche Lutherischen Bekenntnisses in Brasilien*,



Reformed) pastors with them to Brazil, but certainly they brought their Bibles, their hymnals and prayer books and occasionally also their liturgical orders.⁶⁹ In many places, a "lay pastorate" developed, "which was responsible for preaching and administering the sacraments as well as for 'ministerial acts'".⁷⁰ At the same time, the faith lived in the homes, where Bible readings, home devotions etc. were common, depending on the character of the immigrant families. The language in these communities of double minority (religious and national) remained German for many decades, which was particularly true of the language of worship.⁷¹ From the mid-1860s, missionaries were sent from Germany to Brazil,⁷² and gradually regional synods were established.⁷³ In view of the immense poverty of many immigrants and the manifold organizational problems, the question of orders or valid liturgical forms repeatedly played a role - although a rather marginal one - in the discussions of these synods. In the 20th century, the development of the synods was closely linked to the political and ecclesiastical situation in Germany, and the two world wars in particular had a massive influence on the German Brazilian congregations (as can be seen, for example, in the ban on the German language during the Second World War). In the 1950s, a federation of synods was formed, from which the "Evangelical Church of the Lutheran Confession in Brazil" emerged in 1962,⁷⁴ whose constitution was adopted in 1968⁷⁵ and which effectively meant a union based on a fundamental Lutheran orientation.⁷⁶

Gütersloh 1989; *W. Döbrich*, 190 Jahre Kirche gestalten. Gemeinde, Ämter und Dienste in der Evangelischen Kirche Lutherischen Bekenntnisses in Brasilien, Erlangen 2015, esp. 12–315.

⁶⁹ In the first four decades of German immigration to Brazil, around 20 pastors came to Brazil with the immigrants, see *Döbrich*, 190 Jahre Kirche gestalten, 17.

⁷⁰ Cf. *Döbrich*, 190 Jahre Kirche gestalten, 14.21f.30f.

⁷¹ Daniel Lenski explores the complex question of ethnic identity and constructions of Germanness using the example of the German Protestant Church in Chile: *D. Lenski*, „Die Kirche unserer Väter“.

Deutschtumskonstruktionen in der Chile-Synode und der Deutschen Evangelischen Kirche in Chile, *Arbeiten zur Kirchlichen Zeitgeschichte* Reihe B.80, Göttingen 2021; on the connection between Brazilian Protestant and German-ethnic identity, see *Zimmer*, *Assimilação e organização religiosa*, 93ff.

⁷² Cf. *Döbrich*, 190 Jahre Kirche gestalten, 33–36.

⁷³ At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries in particular, there were bitter internal Protestant denominational disputes between uniate, Prussian-oriented congregations and their pastors and those congregations that were decidedly Lutheran and whose pastors were sent from Neuendettelsau or Hermannsburg, for example; see *Döbrich*, 190 Jahre Kirche gestalten, 64–68.

⁷⁴ Cf. *Döbrich*, 190 Jahre Kirche gestalten, 228f.

⁷⁵ Cf. *Döbrich*, 190 Jahre Kirche gestalten, 233–235.

⁷⁶ Cf. *Döbrich*, 190 Jahre Kirche gestalten, 312; *Döbrich* describes the confessional disputes in detail, in particular the "disruptive fire" from Bavaria against a 'union' that went too far and ignored the Lutheran confession: cf. *ibid.*, 248–261. On the 1955 treaty between the EKD and the Federation of Synods in Brazil see *B. Wellnitz*, *Deutsche evangelische Gemeinden im Ausland. Ihre Entstehungsgeschichte und die Entwicklung ihrer Rechtsbeziehungen zur Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland*, Tübingen 2003, 273–283.



In the 19th century, immigrants brought *two* main orders with them to Brazil, which were used in church services over the following decades: the (Lutheran) Bavarian⁷⁷ and the (Uniate) Prussian⁷⁸ orders. In the course of the 20th century, no new orders were introduced 'church-wide'; instead, the clergy continued to use the traditional liturgies or, increasingly, translations into Brazilian Portuguese, or created their own forms of worship. Liturgical identity was often associated with forms that - justifiably or not - were seen as coming from 'old Germany' and therefore 'valid' in a special way: for example, songs, the 'Talar' (robe) or the use of the German language in (parts of) the liturgy.

In 2000, after several years of research, the IECLB adopted its first order of worship, which was published in the *Livro de Culto* in 2003.⁷⁹ This liturgy is based on the one hand on the liturgical tradition of the Bavarian and Prussian orders and on the other hand on the ecumenical liturgical renewal, which is particularly visible in the Lima Liturgy (1982) and in the liturgical works of the Lutheran World Federation.⁸⁰ The three liturgies (the Prussian, the Bavarian and the new "Oficial da IECLB" now presented) are displayed side by side in the *Livro de Culto* so that it becomes clear in just a few pages where the essential similarities, but also changes, lie.⁸¹ In his introduction, the former Pastor Presidente Walter Altmann writes "Sentia-se a necessidade de entender e de promover a liturgia como impulsionadora da unidade da Igreja a partir da sua confessionalidade."⁸² In English: "There was a need to understand and promote the liturgy as a driving force behind the unity of the Church based on its confessionality."

The process of liturgical renewal lasted around a decade. It began in the 1990s with a deepening of liturgical training at the Faculdades EST in São Leopoldo and with in-depth liturgical research, which dealt with the question of the confessional basis of an Evangelical-Lutheran liturgy, but also with ecumenical liturgical developments. This was followed by a discussion at parish level, mainly through the formation of liturgical teams in the parishes, which reflected on the arrangement of the liturgy. At the institutional level, in particular through the church's Liturgy

⁷⁷ Cf. *Prontuário do Culto Evangélico-Luterano* (Handout for the church service), Vitória³ 1981.

⁷⁸ Cf. *Manual do Culto*, São Leopoldo 1964.

⁷⁹ Cf. *Livro de Culto*, ed. by R. R. *Martini*, São Leopoldo 2003.

⁸⁰ Cf. *N. Kirsí*, *Renovação litúrgica*, in: *Tear – Liturgia em Revista* 24 (2007), 5–16; *J. C. Adam*, *Liturgical formation, Liberation Theology and Latin American culture. A study about the changes in liturgical formation in the context of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Brazil*, *Studia Liturgica* 47/1 (2017), 1–13.

⁸¹ Cf. *Livro de Culto*, 17-20.

⁸² *Ibid*, 5.



Council, a Liturgy Forum (1999) was set up with representatives of the synods appointed by the IECLB Council.⁸³ This process of discussion and experimentation led to the drafting of the Book of Worship and its approval by the IECLB Council in 2000. The discussion around the liturgy was not only interested in preserving a certain traditional liturgical identity, but also in articulating an Evangelical Lutheran liturgical identity in line with the contextual and ecumenical identity as part of the IECLB's efforts to become a *more Brazilian* church. Where the new liturgy has been introduced, that is, where pastors have introduced the Livro de Culto in a liturgically didactic way, there has been no resistance to it in the parishes. However, some pastors met the new liturgy with a certain amount of hesitation - not because they necessarily wanted to preserve a *traditional* liturgical identity, but because they wanted to maintain the *current* liturgical identity of their respective parish.⁸⁴

Louis Marcelo Illenseer comments on the introduction of the new liturgy:

"The difficulty [...] in a church with this theological diversity is that not every parish in the IECLB wants to adopt this new order of worship as official and definitive. [...] I have often heard over the past 20 years that the 'new liturgy' of the IECLB would be like a Catholic Mass. I have also heard from parishioners who do not want to celebrate communion more than four times a year. Others spoke of an 'imposed liturgy'.⁸⁵

The introduction of the new liturgy and the reactions to it especially highlight the question of how liturgical identity is reflected in a particular way. In Brazil, the leading difference to the dominant Catholic Church (still) appears to be an important factor for the perception of the Protestant or Lutheran. Illenseer's reflections also reveal the logic of differentiation from the 'Evangelicals'. On the question of music in worship, he takes a critical look at IECLB congregations that replace old songs of German origin "with translations of songs from North America" and speaks in this context of "liturgical colonialism" or the danger of a "Coca-Cola liturgy" emerging.⁸⁶ Instead, he pleads for a "liturgical inculturation" that takes the Brazilian background seriously (and should distinguish itself from some 'evangelicals' or neo-pentecostals precisely because of this).⁸⁷

⁸³ Cf. *ibid.*, 7ff.

⁸⁴ Cf. *Adam*, Liturgical formation, Liberation Theology and Latin American culture.

⁸⁵ *L. M. Illenseer*, Liturgie in der IECLB. Vielfalt in der Einheit oder Einheit in der Vielfalt der IECLB?, in: *MissionEineWelt* (Hg.), *Brasilien. Das Land, seine Geschichte und die Evangelische Kirche Lutherischen Bekenntnisses*, Neuendettelsau 2021, 65–67, 65 [available online at https://mission-einewelt.de/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/brasilienneft_2021_web.pdf; 21.05.2021].

⁸⁶ *Illenseer*, Liturgy in der IECLB, 66.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*



In comparison to the situation in Germany, four main aspects - roughly schematized - become clear: (1) Lutheran liturgical identities in Brazil and Germany come from comparable roots - the liturgical tradition of the 19th century. (2) At present, both face the challenge of defining their confessional identity while at the same time fully acknowledging the importance of ecumenism. (3) The situation in the German-speaking area is characterized by increasing secularization on the one hand and the challenge posed by the logic of a post-denominational Protestantism on the other. (4) In the Brazilian context, the tension appears to be primarily between Catholicism and the other *Evangélicos*.

This constellation seems to be as challenging as it is promising for further exploring the question of denominational identities and their transformation from a liturgical perspective in a joint consultation and research project.

Two far-reaching perspectives on denominational identity from a liturgical perspective

Preserving tradition and the dynamics of change

In a rough schematization, there could be two diametrically opposed answers to the question of confessional Lutheran liturgical identity, which we indicate with the terms *preservation of tradition* and *dynamics of change*.

(1) In one case, 'Lutheran' would appear as a definable and tangible historical identity and the recourse to Lutheran confessional identity would thus appear as a way of preserving tradition. The answer to the question of identity would be sought here in an essentializing manner in such a way that certain and determinable contents or practices would be defined as 'Lutheran' insofar as they can be traced back as directly as possible to Luther himself or to the early 16th century.

This historical-traditionalist path can best be seen in German-speaking countries during the Historicism of the 19th century and in the emergence of so-called neo-Lutheranism. However, this line of response remains visible to this day, in which 'the Lutheran' acts as a certain form of preserving tradition and Lutheran churches - to put it polemically - become some kind of 'heritage association' for the preservation of historical traditions.



This way of defining Lutheran identity was most present in parts of the IECLB where a certain kind of 'Germanness' was identified with Lutheran confessionality. Lutheran congregations gained their symbolic and ritual identity by recourse to the immigrant congregations. Comparable patterns of reasoning still exist, but are in decline, simply due to the fact that fewer and fewer German-language church services have been celebrated in recent decades.

(2) In a completely different way, 'Lutheran' could be understood as a theology-led dynamic of constant change, as a fundamental dynamic of transformation - or formulated more traditionally and related to the liturgy: Lutheran liturgy would necessarily (!) appear as *liturgia semper reformanda*. As is well known, Martin Luther himself emphasized that he did not want to establish a new doctrine that could be traced back to his name, but rather to ground the church in the word of the Bible and a practice of worship that corresponded to this word, which included above all the preaching and the celebration of the Lord's Supper. He states:

"I beg you to be silent about my name and not to call yourself Lutheran, but Christian. What is Luther? The doctrine is not mine. I am crucified for no one. How could I, poor stinking maggot, be giving my wretched name to the children of Christ? So, dear friends, let us erase the biased names and be called Christians, *whose doctrine* we have."⁸⁸

Luther's understanding of faith is characterized by a fundamental dynamic due to the need for constant reassurance in the word of the Bible:

"A Christian is not in the process of being, but in the process of becoming, for Christ says to him: ask, seek, knock; it does not mean: you own, you have found, you have come in, but ask, seek, knock! Therefore, whoever is a Christian is not a Christian, i.e. whoever thinks he has already become a Christian when he still has to become a Christian is nothing. For we are aiming for heaven, but we are not yet in heaven. And just as he who thinks he is already in heaven will never get there, so he who is aiming for heaven is already in heaven, for God looks at him as if he were already there. [...] Woe to him who is already completely renewed, i.e. who thinks he is, for without doubt the renewal has not yet begun with him and he has never yet tasted what it means to be a Christian."⁸⁹

Lutheran liturgy was a plural phenomenon from the very beginning - and Luther himself intended it to be that way. Beyond the demarcation against Roman theology and liturgical practice (missal sacrifice; understandings of office and ministry, etc.) and against a 'spiritualist' theology

⁸⁸ Cf. M. Luther, *Eyn trew vormanung Martini Luther tzu allen Christen, sich tzu vorbuten fur auffruhr unnd emporung*, WA 8, 676–687, 684.

⁸⁹ M. Luther on Mt 13,45f., quoted from E. Mühlhaupt (ed.), D. Martin Luthers Evangelienauslegungen, Bd. 2: Das Matthäusevangelium (Matthäus 3–25), Göttingen 1973, 488; WA 38,568,37–569,9: „Christianus enim non est in facto, sed in fieri“ (WA 38,568,37) - from the Annotationes in aliquot capita Matthaei, 1536.



(unmediated immediacy in the context of the so-called 'Schwärmer' or the 'left wing' of the Reformation), liturgical diversity was possible and desired. As is well known, Luther himself, in his introduction to the "German Mass" (1526), only valued a uniform liturgy in a certain, limited area so that people could celebrate together here and there. Other than that, however, the "German Mass" he presented should "for God's sake [...] not be turned into a necessary law [...]".⁹⁰

Ideally, the two ways of defining a traditionalist or dynamic liturgical identity presented here can be distinguished, but even a brief look back at developments in Germany in the 19th century leads us to recognize the complex interplay between the two dimensions.

The Old- and Neo-Lutheranism of the 19th century in the context of developing liturgical orders - more than just preserving tradition

Even in 19th century Neo-Lutheranism, there was much more to the liturgy than just tradition-led conservatism. The decisive step towards a new demand for the 'confessional' *in liturgicis* was, as is well known, the attempt by King Frederick William III (1770-1840) to settle the internal Protestant confessional question. The fact that his project of union ultimately failed and instead of just *one* Protestant denomination there were then in fact *three* is part of the irony of his religious policy and is at least also, perhaps even primarily, related to the liturgical follow-up questions (which once again shows that liturgies are particularly sensitive places for questions of identity).⁹¹ Frederick William III himself presented his "Church Order for the Court and Cathedral Church in Berlin" in 1822 and seven years later (1829) the "Prussian Union Order". All Lutheran provincial liturgical orders in Prussia were then banned in 1834. The king had triggered a dispute over liturgies and revived the long-forgotten question of Lutheran liturgical identity. At the same time, he had set the course for a new united liturgical tradition, which was reflected in the Prussian Order of 1895, for example.

⁹⁰ *M. Luther*, Deutsche Messe und Ordnung des Gottesdienstes, quoted from: *M. Meyer-Blanck*, Liturgie und Liturgik. Der Evangelische Gottesdienst aus Quellentexten erklärt, Göttingen² 2009, 45. - Of course, one could ask critically how Martin Luther would think about the necessity/opportunity of a common liturgy in a social space today – regarding the immensely increased mobility.

⁹¹ Cf. in detail *M. Meyer-Blanck*, Freiheit der Mitteilung und Darstellung. Das Verhältnis von liturgischer und kirchlicher Ordnung anhand der Entstehung der preußischen Agenden von 1822 und 1895, in: id., Agenda. Zur Theorie liturgischen Handelns, Praktische Theologie in Geschichte und Gegenwart 13, Tübingen 2013, 15–54.



In this context, the "Old-Lutheran Church" emerged, in many of whose congregations the reference to the so-called "Wittenberg Order" played an important role.⁹² People wanted to keep this order of worship, as many were convinced that it could be traced directly back to Luther. In some cases, it carried the additional title: "Wittenberg Order written by Luther himself".⁹³ However, as early as the mid-19th century, it had to be admitted that this designation was not historically tenable and that at best there was a traditional connection, but no direct authorship by the reformer.

In 1836, Johann Gottfried Scheibel published his book "Luther's Order and the New Prussian Order of Worship".⁹⁴ In it, he takes a critical look at the king's desire to organize the liturgy himself. Frederick William III wrote, among other things: "The opinion has been formed that each individual parish, down to the smallest village, has the legal right to organize its own liturgy; but has it also been considered into whose hands the sacred and highly important matter is placed [...]?"⁹⁵ Scheibel resolutely opposed this claim by the king:

"Of course [...] the poor Lutheran citizens and peasants in Silesia are not illustrious, excellencies, high and well-born; but it pleased the King of Kings and Lord of Lords to make a small number of Galilean fishermen and fishermen's fellows even his theocratic special colleagues then on earth, now in heaven itself on his divine throne [...]."⁹⁶

The reference to the church's history of origins, to the New Testament and the actions of Jesus becomes an argument for a practice of resistance to the King's (liturgical) politics.

It is interesting to note that Scheibel emphasizes a further point against the King's Order: the fact that the liturgical congregational singing was basically planned to be performed by a choir. Historically, as Christoph Barnbrock rightly points out, it is only partially correct to assume that congregational singing played a significant role *in church services* in the 16th century - at least not in

⁹² Cf. on the following: Chr. Barnbrock, Liturgie als Ausdruck kirchlicher Identität. Entwicklung und Gebrauch der Agenden im 19. Jahrhundert. Im Raum der (entstehenden) altlutherischen Kirche, in: J. Kampmann/W. Klün (Hg.), Preußische Union, lutherisches Bekenntnis und kirchliche Prägungen. Theologische Ortsbestimmungen im Ringen um Anspruch und Reichweite konfessioneller Bestimmtheit der Kirche, Oberurseler Hefte Ergänzungsbände 14, Göttingen 2014, 132–157.

⁹³ Barnbrock, Liturgie als Ausdruck kirchlicher Identität, 136.

⁹⁴ Cf. J. G. Scheibel, Luthers Agende und die neue Preußische. Genaue Vergleichung Beider nebst ausführlichen Eroerterungen der Geschichte der lutherischen Agenden in Deutschland und der Wittenberger Concordie von 1536, als Pruefung der Schrift „Luther in Beziehung auf die evangelische Kirchenagende in der königl.-preuß. Lande, 2. Aufl. Berlin 1834“, Leipzig 1836.

⁹⁵ Quoted from Barnbrock, Liturgie als Ausdruck kirchlicher Identität, 145.

⁹⁶ Scheibel, Luthers Agende und die neue Preußische, 57.



the cities (this says nothing about the importance of chorales outside of church services). In an urban context, it was still the choir/schola that was primarily responsible for performing the liturgy. In the villages, on the other hand, it was often the congregation itself that sang (because there was no choir). Here, the King's Order was indeed intended to bring about a change and the singing was also to be performed by choirs in the countryside and thus 'professionalized'. Scheibel sees this as a disempowerment of the congregation - and thus brings a theological principle of the Reformation (the priesthood of all baptized) into a specific liturgical dispute.⁹⁷

It turns out that the fact that many congregations stuck to the Wittenberg order was far more than mere Lutheran traditionalism. It was also an act of church-political resistance and a continuation of the theological lines of the Reformation. It would therefore be wrong to accuse Neo- or Old-Lutheranism of merely insisting on a (historically established) tradition. Rather, the approach to the past took place - as it can never be otherwise - in the context of current challenges. It cannot be said that remaining with the Wittenberg order or the new liturgies (such as Wilhelm Löhe's "Agende für christliche Gemeinden des lutherischen Bekenntnisses" from 1844) would have meant pure preservation of tradition and ultimately musealization. Löhe himself wrote in 1859: "The times are not well served by mere Lutheran tradition; we must not rest on the laurels of our fathers; building on old foundations, moving forward in the right direction, is genuine Lutheran piety."⁹⁸

A look at the 19th century also shows (once again) that and how supposed 'trivialities' (which never exist *in liturgicis!*) become decisive and determine identities. In this respect, the discussion about the "Wittenberg Order" also makes it clear how traditions develop given the challenges of the present, how they are discovered and constructed (invented), and in some cases also deconstructed. Even with regard to 19th century Neo-Lutheranism, which is often understood very one-sidedly in liturgical terms, one should follow the distinction made by Michael Meyer-Blanck between *traditional* and *traditionalist*. Because: "The traditional is not traditionalist, but creatively

⁹⁷ Luther himself also emphasized the importance of the priesthood of all the baptized in liturgical precise terms; cf. his description of an 'ideal mass' with recourse to images from Revelation in the writing "Von der Winkelmesse und Pfaffenweihe", 1533, and *Raschzok*, Lutherische liturgische Identität, 103; but cf. also Luther's frequently quoted sermon at the consecration of the castle church in Torgau in 1544.

⁹⁸ *W. Löhe*, Die Kirche in der Anbetung, Teilband 1: Agende für christliche Gemeinden des lutherischen Bekenntnisses, Gesammelte Werke 7/1, Neuendettelsau 1953, 359 (aus der Vorrede Löhes zur Agende „Liturgische Handlungen“ aus dem Jahr 1859).



related to tradition [...]."⁹⁹ And: "Traditional is [...] the strong and deliberate repetition, the play with tradition and the use of its strengths."¹⁰⁰

Transformations of Lutheranism - Four concluding theses

We summarize the above in four theses.

(1) The question of Lutheran liturgical identity is not settled, but is essential in terms of the historical development, of an understanding of the present and of the future of Protestant worship services. – Contrary to the supposed evidence of the post-confessional, it is not only essential to pose the question of the development of Protestant liturgies as a question of internal Protestant confessional identity for understanding the present, but also for the future organization of worship services. At the same time, it has become clear that the question of what is 'Lutheran' cannot be answered as if a certain canon of content that can be formulated in propositional sentences or even a definition of certain forms of celebration constituted 'the' Lutheran. Paraphrasing a famous quote from Bonhoeffer's habilitation, one could say that there is no such thing as a Lutheran liturgical identity. It can therefore not be a question of an asserted identity, but only of the ever new exploration of identity in liturgical practices. At the same time, the few allusions to the situation in Germany and Brazil and to developments in the 19th century have already made it clear that liturgical identities can of course only be one element of complex individual and social constructions of identity.

(2) *Lutheran liturgical identities can never be described as anything other than transformations of Lutheranism.* - 'Lutheranism' did not and does not exist as an 'essence' that can be determined independent of time, but only in a constant dynamic of transformation since its beginnings. On the one hand, this is a descriptive proposition (cf. the third thesis), but on the other hand, it can also be applied normatively (thesis four). Klaus Raschzok, for example, uses the term *transformation* for Luther himself, who in his liturgy of the Mass undertook "a reformatory transformation of this fundamental form of worship".¹⁰¹ Lutheran transformation is characterized not by radical

⁹⁹ M. Meyer-Blanck, *Bibel und Predigt aus homiletischer Sicht*, in: A. Deeg/M. Nicol (Hg.), *Bibelwort und Kanzelsprache. Homiletik und Hermeneutik im Dialog*, Leipzig 2010, 31–46, 44.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Raschzok, *Lutherische liturgische Identität*, 105.



reinvention (if there is such a thing as 'the new' in this hypertrophy!¹⁰²), but by work on existing forms, which means continuation *and* purification, continuity *and* conscious interruption. The term *transformation*, as we understand it here, thus stands between active work on what has been handed down¹⁰³ and insight into the dynamics of change that arise, take place emergently¹⁰⁴ and ideally only be determined *ex post*.

(3) *Descriptively, it is important to perceive Lutheranism in its transformations.* - The German-Brazilian research project we have begun aims to define more precisely what Michael Meyer-Blanck calls the "traditional" and what Klaus Raschzok describes as "continuity of tradition" - i.e. the dynamics that show Lutheran liturgical identity in its constant processes of transformation. A research design in which we combine five levels seems helpful to us: (a) the explicit discussions on Lutheran liturgical identities on a national and international level; (b) describing as precisely as possible the contexts and challenges in which these discussions take place; (c) identifying the applicable regularities for worship formation in the VELKD and the IECLB; (d) the exploration of the logics of participation in worship through group interviews with parishioners; (e) the perception of exemplary liturgical celebration practices using the method of participant observation, taking into account the actors, the space, the social interaction, etc.¹⁰⁵

(4) *On this basis, it becomes normatively possible to define Lutheranism as a dynamic of transformation determined by content.* - In purely formal terms, Lutheran church services are a constantly changing event based on tradition - and in this respect, traditional or tradition-continuous. Based on the evaluation of our international comparative research, it seems possible for us to identify aspects *of content* that constitute Lutheran liturgical identity and that Lutheran churches can incorporate into

¹⁰² On a problematic emphasis on "the new" see *A. Deeg/Chr. Lehnert*, Wir glauben das Neue. Zur Einführung, in: dies. (Hg.), „Wir glauben das Neue“. Liturgie und Liturgiewissenschaft unter dem Einfluss der völkischen Bewegung, Beiträge zu Liturgie und Spiritualität 27, Leipzig 2014, 9–15.

¹⁰³ Primarily due to this active dimension, the term is becoming increasingly important in the context of church theory and in the context of church and community development. This is exemplified by the degree program "Transformation Studies for Public Theology & Social Work" at the YMCA University in Kassel and the book series "Interdisciplinary Studies on Transformation"; see *T. Faix/T. Künzler* (Hg.), Handbuch Transformation. Ein Schlüssel zum Wandel von Kirche und Gesellschaft, Interdisziplinäre Studien zur Transformation 1, Neukirchen-Vluyn 2021.

¹⁰⁴ The term "emergence" has been convincingly introduced by Berndt Hamm in particular with regard to the history of the Reformation: *B. Hamm*, Die Emergenz der Reformation, in: *ders./Michael Welker*, Die Reformation. Potentiale der Freiheit, Tübingen 2008, 1–27.

¹⁰⁵ On the significance of this praxeological methodology for liturgical studies, see *A. Deeg/D. Pliiss*, Liturgik, Lehrbuch Praktische Theologie 5, Gütersloh 2021, 27–31.



ecumenical liturgical discussions. The decisive factor here should be an understanding of the character of the entire liturgical event as a gift. Worship services live from the preceding action of God and engage with it. As in Luther's famous Torgau formula, it is always about a katabatic-anabatic interplay, about God's word and human response. This 'axiom' of Lutheran celebration can be played out in different perspectives: on the premise that there are services that are celebrated and do not have to be reinvented Sunday after Sunday, holiday after holiday; that the promise lies in the ever new reading and interpretation of biblical words in which God's word becomes audible anew, with and under these human words; that in the sacraments the divine *promissio* is given bodily shape; that it is not pastors or others who are responsible for the liturgy: 'The liturgy is not 'made' by pastors or others 'responsible' for the liturgy, but by the assembled community, which in the liturgy experiences itself anew as the body of Christ and the assembly of the priesthood that it has been all along; that because of the divine *prae*, human liturgical attitudes are characterized by serenity and that worship services do not have to achieve anything and therefore have an impact.¹⁰⁶ With these and other aspects, Lutheran churches and theologies will be able to make a significant contribution to the ecumenical discussion on worship,¹⁰⁷ but also to the social discussion.

Finally, we should note that our research project already has a pragmatic dimension with its joint video conferences, exchange visits for joint research and field observation and this tentative-explorative paper: identity discourses, insofar as they are conducted, themselves have an identity-forming effect. By talking about identity(ies), these are always also produced.

¹⁰⁶ Especially in times when the celebration of church services also has to justify itself economically (is it justifiable for pastors to invest so much time in the celebration of services that are sometimes not particularly well attended?), it seems necessary to constantly take the celebration of church services out of the category of 'work' and understand it in the category of 'gift'. This does not release us from the responsibility for the targeted use of church resources and does not make the discussion about church structures and regionalization dispensable - but it puts all of this in a completely different light.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. the VELKD paper cited above, which emphasizes the ecumenical significance of Lutheran services in particular. The Lutheran liturgical tradition represents the connection to the tradition of the Roman Mass in a unique way within all Protestant liturgies and therefore represents a "middle position", which has "the special duty and the opportunity" to "keep the conversation and the enriching exchange between the liturgical traditions open and to promote it" (Evangelisch-lutherische liturgische Identität, 11).



References

- ADAM, J. C. Liturgical formation, Liberation Theology and Latin American culture: A study about the changes in liturgical formation in the context of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Brazil. *Studia Liturgica*, v. 47, n. 1, p. 1-13, 2017.
- ANDERSON, E. B. *Worship and Christian Identity: Practicing Ourselves*. Collegeville (Minnesota), 2003.
- AXT-PISCALAR, Christine; RASCHZOK, Klaus; Deeg, Alexander. *Evangelisch-lutherische liturgische Identität*. 2014. Texte aus der VELKD, 169.
- AXT-PISCALAR, Chr.; OHLEMACHER, A. (ed.). *Die lutherischen Duale: Gesetz und Evangelium, Glaube und Werke, Alter und Neuer Bund, Verheißung und Erfüllung, im Auftrag der Bischofskonferenz der VELKD*. Leipzig, 2021.
- BARNBROCK, Chr. Liturgie als Ausdruck kirchlicher Identität: Entwicklung und Gebrauch der Agenden im 19. Jahrhundert. Im Raum der (entstehenden) altlutherischen Kirche. In: KAMPMANN, J.; KLÄN, W. (ed.). *Preußische Union, lutherisches Bekenntnis und kirchliche Prägungen: Theologische Ortsbestimmungen im Ringen um Anspruch und Reichweite konfessioneller Bestimmtheit der Kirche*. Göttingen, 2014. p. 132-157. (Oberurseler Hefte Ergänzungsbände, 14).
- BARTH, A.; BOBSIN, O.; SINNER, R. von. Mobilidade religiosa no Brasil: conversão ou trânsito religioso? In: REBLIN, I. A.; SINNER, R. von. (ed.). *Religião e sociedade: desafios contemporâneos*. São Leopoldo, 2012. p. 231-268.
- BÖHME, G. *Atmosphäre: Essays zur neueren Ästhetik*. Berlin, 2013.
- BRAKEMEIER, G. “Somos igreja! Que igreja devemos ser?” Exigências eclesiológicas luteranas no contexto brasileiro. In: WACHHOLZ, W. (ed.). *Igreja e ministério: perspectivas evangélico-luteranas*. São Leopoldo, 2009. p. 95-105.
- DEEG, A. Leben auf der Grenze: Die Externität christlicher Identität und die Sprachgestalt kirchlicher Gottesrede. In: DEEG, A.; HEUSER, S.; MANZESCHKE, A. (ed.). *Identität: Bibliche und theologische Erkundungen*. Göttingen, 2007. p. 277-300. (BThS, 30).
- DEEG, A. *Das äußere Wort und seine liturgische Gestalt: Überlegungen zu einer evangelischen Fundamentalliturgik*. Göttingen, 2012. (APTLH, 68).



DEEG, A. Kirche aus dem Wort: Ekklesiologische Implikationen für eine Theologie des Gottesdienstes aus lutherischer Sicht. In: JEGGLE-MERZ, B.; KRANEMANN, B. (ed.). *Liturgie und Konfession: Grundfragen der Liturgiewissenschaft im interkonfessionellen Gespräch*. Freiburg et al., 2013. p. 180-196.

DEEG, A.; LEHNERT, Chr. Wir glauben das Neue: Zur Einführung. In: DEEG, A.; LEHNERT, Chr. (ed.). *„Wir glauben das Neue“: Liturgie und Liturgiewissenschaft unter dem Einfluss der völkischen Bewegung*. Leipzig, 2014. p. 9-15. (Beiträge zu Liturgie und Spiritualität, 27).

DEEG, A.; PLÜSS, D. *Liturgik: Lehrbuch Praktische Theologie 5*. Gütersloh, 2021.

DIE TAUFE: Entwurf zur Erprobung. Taufbuch für die Union Evangelischer Kirchen in der EKD. Agende III, Teilband 1 der VELKD für evangelisch-lutherische Kirchen und Gemeinden. Kirchenamt der EKD. Hannover, 2019.

DÖBRICH, W. *190 Jahre Kirche gestalten: Gemeinde, Ämter und Dienste in der Evangelischen Kirche Lutherischen Bekenntnisses in Brasilien*. Erlangen, 2015.

DOMSGEN, M. Zwischen einem „Mia san mia“-Gefühl und der Ahnung von der Nacktheit des Kaisers: Irritationen und Perspektiven kirchlicher Arbeit heute. PTh, v. 108, p. 287-311, 2019.

EICKELPASCH, R.; RADEMACHER, C. *Identität: Themen der Soziologie*. 4. ed. Bielefeld, 2013.

FAIX, T.; KÜNKLER, T. (ed.). *Handbuch Transformation: Ein Schlüssel zum Wandel von Kirche und Gesellschaft*. Neukirchen-Vluyn, 2021. (Interdisziplinäre Studien zur Transformation, 1).

FITSCHEN, K.; GROCHOWINA, N.; SCHUEGRAF, O. (ed.). *Lutherische Identität: Kulturelle Prägung und reformatorisches Erbe*. Gütersloh, 2023.

GLOCK, C. Y. *Toward a Typology of Religious Orientation*. New York, 1954.

HAMM, B. Die Emergenz der Reformation. In: HAMM, B.; WELKER, Michael. *Die Reformation: Potentiale der Freiheit*. Tübingen, 2008. p. 1-27.

HINAUS ins Weite – Kirche auf gutem Grund: Zwölf Leitsätze zur Zukunft einer aufgeschlossenen Kirche, mit Beschluss der zwölften Synode der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland auf ihrer siebten Tagung am 9. November 2020. Disponível em: https://www.ekd.de/ekd_de/ds_doc/zwoelf_leitsaetze_zukunft_kirche_ES_2021.pdf. Acesso em: 15 maio 2021.

HOFFMANN, M.; BEROS, D. C.; MOONEY, R. (ed.). *Radicalizando a Reforma: outra teologia para outro mundo*. São Leopoldo, 2017.



ILLENSEER, L. M. Liturgie in der IECLB: Vielfalt in der Einheit oder Einheit in der Vielfalt der IECLB? In: MISSIONEINEWELT (ed.). *Brasilien: Das Land, seine Geschichte und die Evangelische Kirche Lutherischen Bekenntnisses*. Neuendettelsau, 2021. p. 65-67. Disponível em: https://mission-einewelt.de/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/brasilienheft_2021_web.pdf. Acesso em: 21 maio 2021.

KIRST, N. Renovação litúrgica. *Tear – Liturgia em Revista*, v. 24, p. 5-16, 2007.

LENSKI, D. „Die Kirche unserer Väter“: Deuschtumskonstruktionen in der Chile-Synode und der Deutschen Evangelischen Kirche in Chile. Göttingen, 2021. (Arbeiten zur Kirchlichen Zeitgeschichte, Reihe B., 80).

LIVRO de Culto. Ed. Rubem R. Martini. São Leopoldo, 2003.

LÖHE, W. *Die Kirche in der Anbetung*: Teilband 1: Agende für christliche Gemeinden des lutherischen Bekenntnisses. Neuendettelsau, 1953.

LUTHER, M. Eyn trew vormanung Martini Luther tzu allen Christen, sich tzu vorhuten fur auffruhr unnd emporung. In: WA, v. 8, p. 676-687.

MANUAL do Culto. São Leopoldo, 1964.

MEYER-BLANCK, M. *Liturgie und Liturgik*: Der Evangelische Gottesdienst aus Quellentexten erklärt. 2. ed. Göttingen, 2009.

MEYER-BLANCK, M. Bibel und Predigt aus homiletischer Sicht. In: DEEG, A.; NICOL, M. (ed.). *Bibelwort und Kanzelsprache*: Homiletik und Hermeneutik im Dialog. Leipzig, 2010. p. 31-46.

MEYER-BLANCK, M. Freiheit der Mitteilung und Darstellung: Das Verhältnis von liturgischer und kirchlicher Ordnung anhand der Entstehung der preußischen Agenden von 1822 und 1895. In: MEYER-BLANCK, M. *Agenda: Zur Theorie liturgischen Handelns*. Tübingen, 2013. p. 15-54. (Praktische Theologie in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 13).

MÜHLHAUPT, E. (ed.). *D. Martin Luthers Evangelienauslegungen*: Bd. 2: Das Matthäusevangelium (Matthäus 3–25). 4. ed. Göttingen, 1973.

MÜLLER, O.; PICKEL, G.; POLLACK, D. Kirchlichkeit und Religiosität in Ostdeutschland: Muster, Trends, Bestimmungsgründe. In: DOMSGEN, M. (ed.). *Konfessionslos – eine religionspädagogische Herausforderung*: Studien am Beispiel Ostdeutschlands. Leipzig, 2005. p. 23-64.

PRIEN, H.-J. *Formação da Igreja Evangélica no Brasil*: das comunidades teuto-evangélicas de imigrantes até a Igreja Evangélica de Confissão Luterana no Brasil. São Leopoldo e Petrópolis, 2001.



- PRONTUÁRIO do Culto Evangélico-Luterano (Handreichung für den Gottesdienst). 3. ed., Vitória, 1981.
- RASCHZOK, K. Die notwendige Fortsetzung des agendarischen Erneuerungsprozesses: Ergebnisse einer Ausschussarbeit. In: MEYER-BLANCK, M.; RASCHZOK, K.; SCHWIER, H. (ed.). *Gottesdienst feiern: Zur Zukunft der Agendenarbeit in den evangelischen Kirchen*. Gütersloh, 2009. p. 9-25.
- RASCHZOK, K. Traditionskontinuierlicher Gottesdienst: Eine terminologische Neuschöpfung und ihre Begründung. *Quatember*, v. 77, p. 205-213, 2013.
- RASCHZOK, K. *Lutherische liturgische Identität: Zur Phänomenologie des liturgisch-räumlichen Erlebens*. Leipzig, 2020.
- SCHEIBEL, J. G. *Luthers Agende und die neue Preußische: Genaue Vergleichung Beider nebst ausführlichen Eroerterungen der Geschichte der lutherischen Agenden in Deutschland und der Wittenberger Concordie von 1536, als Pruefung der Schrift „Luther in Beziehung auf die evangelische Kirchenagende in der königl.-preuß. Lande, 2. Aufl. Berlin 1834“*. Leipzig, 1836.
- SCHMITZ, H. *Atmosphären*. Freiburg, 2016.
- TAUFBUCH: Agende für die Evangelische Kirche der Union. Bd. 2, im Auftrag des Rates hg. von der Kirchenkanzlei der Evangelischen Kirche der Union. Berlin/Bielefeld, 2000.
- THE LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION. Lutheran Identity Process: Phase I, Full Report and Lessons Learned. Geneva, 2020. Disponível em: https://www.lutheranworld.org/sites/default/files/2020/documents/2020_dtmj_addis_ababa_lutheran_identity_consultation_a4_en.pdf. Acesso em: 19 ago. 2023.
- VAILLANCOURT, J.-G. From Five to Ten Dimensions of Religion: Charles Y. Glock's Dimensions of Religiosity Revisited. *Australian Religious Studies Review*, v. 21, p. 58-69, 2008.
- WELLNITZ, B. *Deutsche evangelische Gemeinden im Ausland: Ihre Entstehungsgeschichte und die Entwicklung ihrer Rechtsbeziehungen zur Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland*. Tübingen, 2003.
- ZIMMER, M. A. *Assimilação e organização religiosa: como as igrejas étnicas lidam com a assimilação estrutural de seus membros*. Blumenau, 2014.