

Concordia Seminary - Saint Louis

Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary

Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation

Concordia Seminary Scholarship

3-1-2005

The Confessional Liturgical Revival of Theodor Kliefoth and the Works of Liturgical Revision of the Preface in Nineteenth-Century Sweden: The Vitality of the Lord's Supper as Confessed in "He Alone is Worthy!"

Naomichi Masaki

Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, ir_masakin@csl.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholar.csl.edu/phd>



Part of the [Religious Thought, Theology and Philosophy of Religion Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Masaki, Naomichi, "The Confessional Liturgical Revival of Theodor Kliefoth and the Works of Liturgical Revision of the Preface in Nineteenth-Century Sweden: The Vitality of the Lord's Supper as Confessed in "He Alone is Worthy!"" (2005). *Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation*. 117.

<https://scholar.csl.edu/phd/117>

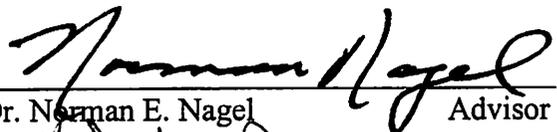
This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Concordia Seminary Scholarship at Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary. It has been accepted for inclusion in Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation by an authorized administrator of Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary. For more information, please contact seitzw@csl.edu.

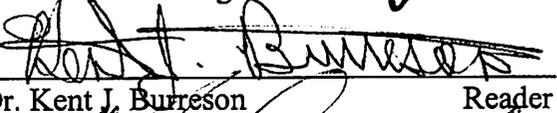
THE CONFSSIONAL LITURGICAL REVIVAL OF THEODOR KLIEFOTH
AND THE WORKS OF LITURGICAL REVISION OF THE *PREFACE*
IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY SWEDEN:
THE VITALITY OF THE LORD'S SUPPER AS CONFESSED IN
"HE ALONE IS WORTHY!"

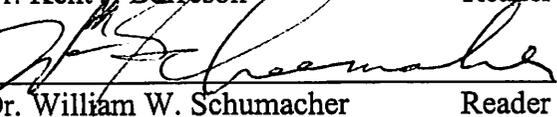
A Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of
Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,
Department of Systematic Theology
In Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

By
Naomichi Masaki
March 2005

Approved by


Dr. Norman E. Nagel Advisor


Dr. Kent J. Burreson Reader


Dr. William W. Schumacher Reader

To Yohko,
Yoshitomo, Satomi, and Emi

Our God, however, has His honor in this that for our sake He gives Himself down to the utmost depth, into flesh and bread, into our mouth, heart and bosom, and more, for our sake He suffers Himself to be dishonorably treated both upon the cross and altar.

Luther, *This Is My Body*, 1527

Likewise in the Mass we give nothing to Christ, but only receive from Him.

Luther, *Sermon on New Testament*, 1520

Such distribution and reception, δόσις and λήψις, is the way of all the means of grace.

Kliefoth, *Acht Bücher von der Kirche*, 1854

Allena han är värdig tack och lof!

(He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!)

Handbok för Svenska Kyrkan, 1894

CONTENTS

PREFACE	vii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	xi
ABBREVIATIONS	xv
CHRONOLOGY	xvi
ABSTRACT	xix
Chapter	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. THE CONFESSIONAL REVIVAL AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE CHURCH OF SWEDEN	11
The Historical Background: The Swedish Liturgical Heritage from the Reformation to the Nineteenth Century	12
The Theological Background: The Confessional Revival as Represented by Theodor Kliefoth	23
E. G. Bring Stands “Not on His Own Feet but on Kliefoth’s”	24
Theodor Kliefoth—An Introduction	30
Kliefoth’s Ecclesiology and Liturgical Theology	44
<i>Theorie des Kultus der evangelischen Kirche</i> (1844)	45
<i>Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung in den deutschen Kirchen lutherischen Bekenntnisses, ihre Destruction und Reformation</i> (1847)	57
<i>Acht Bücher von der Kirche</i> (1854)	81
<i>Liturgische Abhandlungen</i> (1858–1861)	101
3. THE LITURGICAL REVISION OF THE CHURCH OF SWEDEN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY	185
The Proposals for the Agenda of 1854/1855	185

The Agenda of 1894	210
4. THE LITURGICAL REVISIONS AS INFLUENCED BY AND EMBODYING THE THEOLOGY OF THE CONFSSIONAL REVIVAL	230
The Vitality of the Lord’s Doing in the Liturgy and into the Whole of the Christian Life	230
“He Alone Is Worthy of Thanks and Praise!” as an Embodiment of the Theology of the Confessional Revival Represented by Theodor Kliefoth	245
Concluding Remarks	258
5. CONCLUSION: HE ALONE IS WORTHY!	261
The Result of Our Inquiry	261
“He Alone Is Worthy!”	263
 Appendix	
1. THE METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS	270
2. AN EVALUATION OF KLIEFOTH’S ΔΟΣΙΣ AND ΛΗΨΙΣ AND SACRAMENTUM AND SACRIFICIUM THROUGH LUTHER’S WRITINGS	288
3. THE LITURGICAL REVISION IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY SWEDEN: A COMPARISON	322
4. THE STRUCTURE OF MAJOR SWEDISH LITURGIES	342
BIBLIOGRAPHY	345
VITA	378

PREFACE

It is reported that somewhere during the *Praefatio*, which begins the Canon of the Mass, great fear came upon Martin Luther as he was officiating for the first time in his life on 2 May 1507. He suddenly saw himself in the position of having to speak to God without a mediator. Knowing fully well how sinful and unworthy he was before God's majesty without Christ as his mediator, Luther wanted to run away from the altar and told this to the prior or novice master, who was assisting the new priest. Against his will he was instructed to continue.¹

Although this incident took place before the rediscovery of the Gospel, or rather before the Gospel discovered him, and in later years Luther disclosed a thoroughly evangelical sense of the *coram Deo*, this brief anecdote indicates his humble and serious attitude toward liturgy. Luther was brought up in the liturgy and lived in it. Daily he heard the *viva vox*, the living voice of Jesus in the liturgy, since his earliest boyhood. Luther was "unter den Schriften," under the word, at the receiving end of Christ's words. In fact, when he was ordained and throughout his life Luther continued to be a servant of the liturgy. For him the liturgy belonged to the Lord. It was not something we construct or make function and work, but it was His, the Lord's liturgy, His doing through His words bestowing what they say. Luther knew the liturgy by heart and also the Psalms therein with their direct engagement with the Lord. Such profound and joyful awareness of whose liturgy it is may be heard in his confession of Christ, his Lord and Savior. He confessed doctrine as homology.²

¹ WA 43: 381. 41ff; AE 4: 340–41; WATR 4: 180. 7–15 (#4174); AE 54: 325. Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther: His Road to Reformation 1483–1521* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1981), 70–76.

² Bryan D. Spinks remarks: "Luther retained throughout his life a deep religious impression from the old Latin service, which never allowed him to lose hold of the element of Mystery in the eucharist, nor to break altogether with the traditional forms of the church's worship." *Luther's Liturgical Criteria and His Reform of the Canon of the Mass* (Bramcote Notts: Grove Books, 1982), 13. Werner Elert also observes: "As we saw, Luther

The subject of our inquiry in this dissertation, the *Preface* in the Divine Service, takes place in such a context of our Lord's doing His service to us. We are interested in how the vitality of the Lord's Supper is embraced in the *Preface*. As we investigate the works of liturgical revision during the nineteenth century in the Church of Sweden, we may examine how our Lord is faithfully confessed or diminished there. Luther was convinced that "all heresy strikes at this dear article of Jesus Christ."³ This recognition is most applicable when one considers the place where His means of grace are going on. The *Preface* has to do with what sort of Jesus we end up confessing through it.

My interest in the liturgy first emerged while I was ushered from Lutheranism of a Norwegian pietistic tradition into that of a Confessional Revival tradition, when my eyes were opened to recognize the centrality of the means of grace in the life of a Christian and of the church. "Liturgy took hold of me" may be an adequate expression, because there the Lord Jesus speaks and deals with us, bestowing on us the precious gift of forgiveness of sins and, through it, also life and salvation. We no longer need to climb up the ladders of our works, emotions, or reason in order to reach Him. The gap of time and space is filled not by our attempts but by Jesus as He delivers to us His life-giving words, His body, His blood; and the forgiveness and life that are received go on bearing fruit in the daily walk of Christian vocation. It is all His doing, and a life found within His forgiveness.

As I began to consider the Lord's Supper's liturgy more carefully, what took hold of me was the *Preface* and its role in the liturgy as we may ponder on from earliest liturgies. As I

always had the actual Sacrament before his eyes. It was for him as for the whole Christian church since the days of the apostles an essential part of the spiritual life. . . . What the Bible says did not speak to him of what happened once in Corinth or Jerusalem, but of what he himself experienced under the constituting words of His Lord at every celebration of the Sacrament." *Eucharist and Church Fellowship in the First Four Centuries*, trans. Norman E. Nagel (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1966), 39–40.

³ WA 50: 267. 17–18; AE 34: 208. "So fechten alle ketzerey wider den lieben Artickel von Jhesu Christo."

followed the *Preface* along, I happened to come upon the striking Swedish way of speaking it. As I searched more, I discovered that this distinctive way of referencing the Lord, “He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!” emerged in the matrix of the nineteenth century during the so-called Confessional Liturgical Revival of Germany, particularly when Theodor Kliefoth of Mecklenburg strongly influenced the Swedish Church. This discovery prompted me to research further the historical emergence of the phrase, its theological background and contemporary significance, and to consider the liturgical theology and ecclesiology of Theodor Kliefoth himself.

A study of the *Preface* may be seen as an unimportant matter. But when liturgy is understood as our Lord’s doing, which evokes our homology, this small portion is not without theological significance. A good example from the history of the church may be found at Marburg when Oecolampadius urged Luther by paraphrasing *sursum corda* in the *Preface*, “Lift up your hearts!” saying that Luther should lift up his mind to Christ’s divinity and not cling to the humanity and flesh of Christ.⁴ Luther then replied by confessing that he did not know any God apart from Him who was born by the Virgin, suffered on the cross, and is distributed at the altar. Later, John Calvin also used the same *sursum corda* in a number of his writings, arguing that we should look up to heaven where our Lord is seated at the right hand of God. Pulled up by the Holy Spirit, Calvin insisted, our faith communes with the Lord there, not here on earth at the Lord’s table.⁵ Against such an understanding, Chemnitz insisted in his *De coena Domini* that *sursum corda* does not lead us away from the Lord at His table. Although they are not apparent

⁴ WA 30 III: 132. 21; AE 38: 46.

⁵ John Calvin, “The Form of Church Prayers 1542,” in Jasper and Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist: Early and Reformer*, 218; idem, “Short Treatise on the Lord’s Supper,” in J. K. S. Reid, trans. and ed., *Calvin: Theological Treatises* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1954), 163, 166; Irmgard Pahl, ed., *Coena Domini I: Die Abendmahlsliturgie der Reformationskirchen im 16/17. Jahrhundert* (Schweiz: Universitätsverlag, 1983), 360.

to the senses, we confess that Christ's body and blood are there in accordance with the Lord's words.⁶ A portion of the liturgy such as the *Preface* may be observed as a point through which different understandings of the Lord's Supper and of Christ are confessed.

How best the Lord's Supper may be confessed in the liturgy as the Gospel is the question every generation is given to reflect upon afresh. Because of the contemporary situation, in which the Lord's church is facing such developments as the ecumenical movement, the "evangelical catholic" ideal, so-called "eucharistic hospitality" and "intercommunion," the liturgical movement out of the Roman Catholics and the Anglicans, and various other influences from American Evangelicalism in the area of "worship," it may be beneficial to gain not only a historical knowledge of what took place in the Confessional Liturgical Revival of Germany and the nineteenth-century Church of Sweden in their liturgical revisions but also their theological assessment.

In this dissertation, we will explore the Swedish rendition of the phrase in the *Preface*, "He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!" Rather than going back to earlier centuries in search of the origin and development of the phrase in Greek and Latin, we will restrict ourselves to the Swedish period, considering also, of course, what came into the Swedish tradition from elsewhere, particularly from Germany. It is hoped that this presentation may contribute in a small way to the ongoing discussion of liturgy and Christian life, shedding light on many issues in the life of the church today.

⁶ Martin Chemnitz, *The Lord's Supper*, trans. J. A. O. Preus (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1979), 160. Cf., Theodor Kliefoth, *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung* (1847), 141.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Since this dissertation is the culmination of my graduate studies at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, there are many who have contributed to this work. To all of them I am deeply grateful and acknowledge here their special contributions. First and foremost, immeasurable thanks are due to my dissertation supervisor (*Doktorvater*), Dr. Norman E. Nagel, for all his profound Lutheran scholarship, wise counsel, patience, and evangelical guidance for many years. If there is any worth in this humble writing, it is because of “the way of the Gospel” that he ceaselessly instructed me with great care and articulation. The time I was privileged to spend with him since the end of 1997, first in St. Louis, then between Ft. Wayne and St. Louis, is no doubt one of the best periods in my life. The theological conversations centering on our Savior, His way of distributing the Gospel as gift, and our daily walk within His forgiveness will be treasured for many more years to come. I am also grateful to his wife, Betsy, for her love and support during my study with her husband and beyond.

Dr. Nagel’s supervision often took place with other Lutheran scholars in his study at the seminary on Friday mornings. I would like to express my thanks to two of the regular attendees in particular: Dr. Ronald R. Feuerhahn, professor of historical theology and seminary archivist, for offering constant encouragement and helpful suggestions and resources; and Dr. Albert B. Collver III, now pastor of Hope Lutheran Church in DeWitte, Michigan, for his friendship and mutual conversation and counsel on our projects.

Two deans of the graduate school at Concordia Seminary, first Dr. James W. Voelz and then Dr. Bruce G. Schuchard, with their administrative assistant Mrs. Marla Brewer, helped in many ways, from day-to-day counsel to arranging financial aid and adequate housing on campus.

As readers, Dr. Kent J. Burreson and Dr. William W. Schumacher provided further suggestions to polish this dissertation. Without the service and support of the libraries of Concordia Seminary in St. Louis and Concordia Theological Seminary in Ft. Wayne, it would not have been possible to engage in the research necessary for this work.

Since this work called for archival research in Sweden and in Germany, I would like to express here my deepest gratitude to all who rendered invaluable assistance to me. First, I would like to acknowledge Rev. Fredrik Fernbom of the University of Lund, who spent many hours discussing my work and who introduced me to the university, its faculty, libraries, archives, and even used-book stores; Dr. Oloph Bexell, professor of the University of Uppsala, who likewise spent hours listening to my project and offering invaluable insights, especially on U. L. Ullman; Dr. Bengt Åberg, professor emeritus of the University of Lund, who offered learned comments on Waldemar Rudin; Dr. Anders Jarlert, professor of the University of Lund, who discussed with me the historical circumstances of the nineteenth-century Church of Sweden; Dr. Bengt Hägglund, professor emeritus of the University of Lund, who described for me the “Great Faculty” tradition of the University of Lund and shared his concerns about the recent attempt at liturgical revision in the Church of Sweden in 2000; and Dr. Rune Södelund, professor of the University of Lund, who offered helpful insights on a wide range of doctrinal issues in the Swedish liturgies. Dr. Bertil E. Gärtner, Bishop of Göteborg, and Rev. Bo Branden, pastor of St. Laurentius Church in Lund, informed me of the current popular understanding of the *Preface* in the Swedish liturgy, Rev. Fredrik Sidenvall, pastor of Frillesås Church near Göteborg, and Dr. Rune Imburg, rector of *Församlingsfaculteten* in Göteborg, listened to my project and offered critical suggestions. Thanks also to Dr. Nils-Henrik Nilsson, secretary of the Liturgical Commission of the Church of Sweden; Mrs. Anna Karin Hermodsson, chief archivist of the

National Archive of Sweden in Stockholm; the Universities of Lund and Uppsala, their main university libraries, their archival departments, their manuscript departments, and their libraries of the theological faculties; the archival department at the headquarters of the Church of Sweden in Uppsala; and the private archives and libraries of Dr. Oloph Bexell in Uppsala and of Rev. Fredrik Sidenvall of Göteborg, without whose extended hospitality and assistance in gathering hard data the writing of this dissertation would not have been possible.

In Germany, during my archive research on Theodor Kliefoth, Dr. Peter Wurm, the chief archivist at *Landeskirchliches Archiv* in Schwerin, assisted me above and beyond the call of duty. He prepared almost all the printed works of Kliefoth that I had requested before my arrival at *Landeskirchliches Archiv*. He did not hesitate to render further assistance to me during a week-long visit in Schwerin. Dr. Martin Grahl, pastor of St. Paul's Church in Schwerin, spent many hours discussing the theology of Kliefoth with me. Dr. Grahl was prompted to write a dissertation on Kliefoth when he learned that the church he serves had been built in 1869 by Kliefoth himself as a second parish in the city of Schwerin in Mecklenburg. Pastor Johannes and Mrs. Brita Kopelke of Martin Luther's Congregation of the Independent Evangelical Lutheran Church (SELK) in Schwerin graciously hosted me during my stay in the city.

I would like to express my gratitude to President Dr. Dean O. Wenthe, Academic Dean Dr. William C. Weinrich, and Systematics Department Chair Dr. David P. Scaer of Concordia Theological Seminary for arranging for me a study leave during the fall quarter of the 2004-2005 academic year in order to write this dissertation.

Inexpressible thanks are due to my parents, Rev. Shigeru and Mrs. Masae Masaki, for all they have given me, their prayers, love, and generosity.

Finally, I dedicate this work to my wife, Yohko, for her unwavering support, encouragement, and sacrifice in innumerable ways throughout these challenging years, together with our three children, Yoshitomo Robert, Satomi Christine, and Emi Sophia.

Naomichi Masaki
Fort Wayne, Indiana
Commemoration of Martin Luther, 2005

ABBREVIATIONS

AC	Augsburg Confession
AE	<i>Luther's Works: The American Edition</i> . 55 vols. Eds. Jaroslav Pelikan and Helmut T. Lehmann. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1958–1967.
Ap	Apology to the Augsburg Confession
BSLK	<i>Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch lutherischen Kirche</i> . 11 th ed. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1992.
Ep	Epitome to the Formula of Concord
FC	Formula of Concord
KW	Kolb, Robert and Timothy J. Wengert, eds. <i>The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church</i> . Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000.
LC	Large Catechism
MG	J. P. Migne, ed. <i>Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca</i> . Paris: 1876–1891.
SA	Smalcald Articles
SC	Small Catechism
SD	Solid Declaration of the Formula of Concord
Tr	Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope
W ¹	<i>D. Martin Luthers Sämtliche Schriften</i> . 1st ed. Ed. Johann Georg Walch. 24 vols. Halle: Johann Justinus Gebauer, 1740–1753.
WA	<i>D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe</i> . 68 vols. Weimar: Hermann Böhlau und Nachfolger, 1883–.
WADB	<i>D. Martin Luthers Werke. Die Deutsche Bibel</i> . 12 vols. Weimar: Hermann Böhlau und Nachfolger, 1906–1961.
WATR	<i>D. Martin Luthers Werke. Tischreden</i> . 6 vols. Weimar: Hermann Böhlau und Nachfolger, 1912–1921.

CHRONOLOGY

The Mass of Olavus Petri	1531
Laurentius Petri's Church Order	1571
King John III, <i>Liturgia svecanae ecclesiae catholicae et orthodoxae conformis</i> (<i>Den Röde Boken</i>)	1576
The <i>Uppsala Möte</i>	1593
The Communion Office of Duke Karl	1602
The Swedish Church Agenda (1614 <i>Handbok</i>)	1614
The Swedish Church Agenda (1693 <i>Handbok</i>)	1693
The "Lindblom Catechism"	1810
The Swedish Church Agenda (1811 <i>Handbok</i>)	1811
The Prussian Union; C. Harm's <i>95 Theses</i>	1817
The Prussian Royal Agenda	1822
Löhe's <i>Agende für christliche Gemeinden</i>	1844
Kliefoth, Superintendent of the Diocese of Schwerin	1844
Kliefoth, <i>Theorie des Kultus in der evangelischen Kirche</i>	1844
Löhe, <i>Drei Bücher von der Kirche</i>	1845
The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod	1847
Kliefoth, <i>Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung</i>	1847
A Year of Revolution in All Major German States	1848
Kliefoth, a Member of <i>Oberkirchenrat</i>	1849
Kliefoth, a Member of <i>Eisenacher Konferenz der evangelischer Kirchenregierungen Deutschlands</i>	1852
Kliefoth, <i>Acht Bücher von der Kirche</i>	1854

The Swedish Church Agenda Proposal (1854 Bring Proposal)	February 1854
The Swedish Church Agenda Proposal (1854 Thomander Proposal)	December 1854
Kliefoth, <i>Liturgische Abhandlungen</i> (8 vols.)	1854–1861
E. G. Bring et al., <i>Swensk Kyrkotidning</i>	1855–1863
The Swedish Church Agenda Proposal (1855 Bring Proposal)	November 1855
The First Church Agenda of the LCMS	1856
Kliefoth, <i>Cantionale</i> (4 vols.)	1868–1880
Theodosius Harnack, <i>Liturgische Formulare</i> (3 vols.)	1871–1778
† Wilhelm Löhe	1872
Kliefoth, President of General Evangelical Lutheran Conference	1874
U. L. Ullman, <i>Evangelisk-Luthersk Liturgik</i>	1874–1885
† E. G. Bring	1884
Kliefoth, President of <i>Oberkirchenrat</i>	1886
† C. F. W. Walther	1887
The Swedish Church Agenda's Private Proposal by W. Rudin	1888
† Theodosius Harnack	1889
The Swedish Church Agenda (1894 <i>Handbok</i>)	1894
† Theodor Kliefoth	1895
Nathan Söderblom, Archbishop of Church of Sweden	1914
The Swedish Church Agenda (1917 <i>Handbok</i>)	1917
Intercommunion Established between Church of Sweden and Church of England	1922
Aulen, <i>Den allmänneliga kristna tron (The Faith of the Christian Church)</i>	1923
Lietzmann, <i>Messe und Herrenmahl</i>	1926
The Swedish Church Agenda Proposal	1926
Brilioth, <i>Nattvarden i evangeliskt Gudstjänstliv (Eucharistic Faith and Practice)</i>	1926

† U. L. Ullman	1930
Casel, <i>Das Christliche Kultmysterium</i>	1932
Jeremias, <i>Die Abendmahlsworte</i>	1935
The Swedish Church Agenda Proposal	1938
The Swedish Church Agenda (1942 <i>Handbok</i>)	1942
Dix, <i>The Shape of the Liturgy</i>	1945
<i>Mediator Dei</i>	1947
Reed, <i>The Lutheran Liturgy</i>	1947
Aulen, <i>För eder utgiven (Eucharist and Sacrifice)</i>	1956
<i>The Arnoldshain Theses</i> (published in 1958)	1957
<i>Service Book and Hymnal</i>	1958
Second Vatican Council	1962–1965
Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy	1963
<i>The Leuenberg Concord</i>	1973
<i>Lutheran Book of Worship</i>	1978
<i>Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry</i> by Faith and Order of WCC	1982
<i>Lutheran Worship</i>	1982
The Swedish Church Agenda (1986 <i>Handbok</i>)	1986
<i>The Porvoo Common Statement</i>	1992
Full Communion Established between The Evangelical Lutheran Church in America and The Episcopal Church	1999
<i>The Joint Declaration of the Doctrine of Justification</i> between LWF and RCC	1999
The Swedish Church Agenda Proposal	2000

ABSTRACT

Masaki, Naomichi. “The Confessional Liturgical Revival of Theodor Kliefoth and the Works of Liturgical Revision of the *Preface* in Nineteenth-Century Sweden: The Vitality of the Lord’s Supper as Confessed in “He Alone Is Worthy!” Ph.D. diss., St. Louis, Mo.: Concordia Seminary, 2005. 379 pp.

The vitality of the Divine Service of the Church of Sweden was enlivened during the second half of the nineteenth century. In this dissertation, the acclamation in the *Preface* of the Lord’s Supper, “He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!” which emerged through the works of the liturgical revision during that time, is taken as an illuminating point. Three questions are investigated: a historical discussion concerning the emergence of the phrase, a theological evaluation, and a consideration of its appropriateness for today.

While the most widely used English renditions such as “It is meet and right so to do” and “It is right to give him thanks and praise” speak of us, our thanksgiving and its appropriateness, the Swedish rendition “He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!” draws one’s attention not to ourselves but to the Lord. Here it is of the Lord and toward the Lord, and thus the root of what follows. Our investigation demonstrates that such a striking rendition was initially introduced by the Pastoral Committee of the Swedish Parliament in 1854 and officially adopted in the 1894 Agenda. It appeared at the time when the Confessional Liturgical Revival of Germany, particularly that of Theodor Kliefoth, had impacted leading members of the liturgical commission of the Church of Sweden, such as E. G. Bring, J. H. Thomander, and U. L. Ullman.

This dissertation introduces an important but less-known Lutheran theologian and churchman, Theodor Kliefoth, into an English-speaking world. His theology is characterized by giving and receiving (δόσις—λήψις), sacramental and sacrificial (*sacramentum*—*sacrificium*), the means of grace and the means of grace office (*Gnadenmittel* and *Gnadenmittelamt*), as well

as the office of the giver Christ (*Amt Christi*). Our study demonstrates that the phrase that emerged in the *Preface* is consistent with the confession of the Lord's Supper's liturgy of the Swedish churchmen who embraced the Confessional Liturgical Revival represented by Kliefoth.

Through the Swedish rendition, the *beneficium* way of the Lord's dealing with us in the Lord's Supper may be defended better and more clearly against being pulled in an anthropocentric direction.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

“The Lord be with you.” With these or similar words the liturgy of the Lord’s Supper has begun ever since the pre-Constantine era, and has continued through the ages in both East and West. We still hear in the liturgies of our days what Cyprian called the *Praefatio*¹ and what the current liturgical scholars tend to call the “Preface dialogue” or the “opening dialogue.”² In this dissertation we simply identify it as the *Preface*, making a distinction from what follows, customarily known as the *Proper Preface* or *Vere Dignum*.

The first word spoken and heard to begin the Holy Communion is the name of the Lord. To Luther, it was important to recognize that “it is the Lord’s Supper, in name and in reality, not the supper of Christians. For the Lord not only instituted it, but also prepares and gives it himself.”³ The way the Lord’s Supper’s liturgy sets out indicates that the Lord Jesus is serving in His Supper, giving out His gifts (Luke 22:27).

¹ Cyprian, *De dominica oratione*, 31: “Cogitatio omnis carnalis et saecularis abscedat nec quicquam animus quam id solum cogitet quod precatur. Ideo et sacerdos ante orationem *praefatione* praemissa parat fratrum mentes dicendo: *S u r s u m c o r d a*, ut dum respondet plebs: *H a b e m u s a d D o m i n u m*, admoneatur nihil aliud se quam Dominum cogitare debere” (emphasis added), in *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 3: 289. Here “orationem” denotes the *Vere Dignum* (οἱ Ἀληθῶς γὰρ ἄξιον ἐστὶ καὶ δίκαιον. . .), while “praefatione” designates the tripartite versicles. Cf., Walter Reindell, “Die Praefation,” in Karl Ferdinand Müller and Walter Blankenburg eds. *Leiturgia: Handbuch des Evangelischen Gottesdienstes*, vol. 2 (Kassel: Johannes Stauda, 1955), 455.

² The earliest surviving text is found in the *Apostolic Tradition*, which had been attributed to Hippolytus of Rome until recently. Paul F. Bradshaw, for example, casts his doubt on the date and authorship of the *Apostolic Tradition*. Paul F. Bradshaw, “Continuity and Change in Early Eucharistic Practice: Shifting Scholarly Perspectives,” in *Continuity and Change in Christian Worship*, ed. R. N. Swanson (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 1999), 1–17.

³ WA 23: 270. 8–10; AE 37: 142. *Dass diese Word Christi ‘Das ist mein Leib’ noch fest stehen, wider die Schwärmgeister, 1527.* “(Wir aber wissen,) das es Des HErn abendmal mal ist und heisst, und heisst nicht der Christen abendmal, Denn der herr hatts nicht alleine eingesetzt, sondern machts und hellts auch selbs, (und ist der koch, kelner, speise und tranck selbs).”

The *Preface* is not only one of the oldest parts of the entire liturgy, but the most stable portion as well.⁴ Christian Mohrmann notes: “That this dialogue occupied an important place in the liturgical consciousness of the faithful appears from the fact that the early Christian preachers allude to it again and again.”⁵ This is attested in the West already from the time of Cyprian. Robert Taft also recognizes the critical role of the *Preface* in early liturgy; its importance “should not be underestimated.” In a typical liturgy before the fourth century, the faithful confessed vocally only by means of such short acclamations, except perhaps for the responsorial psalmody between the readings.⁶

In recent years, variations in the translation of the *Preface* have appeared, most notably at the culmination of the *Preface*, the last words spoken by the congregation. For our purpose we present two of these currently used renditions (emphasis added):

⁴ Luther D. Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1947), 307–8; C. A. Bouman, “Variants in the Introduction to the Eucharistic Prayer,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 4 (1950): 100; Joseph A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, vol. 2, trans. Francis A. Brunner (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1951), 110; Reindell, “Die Praefation,” *Leiturgia* 2: 455; Robert F. Taft, “The Dialogue before the Anaphora in the Byzantine Eucharistic Liturgy, I: The Opening Greeting,” *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 52 (1988): 303.

⁵ Christine Mohrmann, *Liturgical Latin: Its Origins and Character* (London: Burns and Oates, 1957), 62.

⁶ The report of the liturgy in Pliny (c. 112) may fit well with the *Praefatio*: “a set form of words recited antiphonally to Christ as to God” (*Epistulae*, 10, 96, 7). “Carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere secum inuicem . . .” R. A. B. Mynors, *Plini Caecili Secundi: Epistularum Libri Decem* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), 339. William Melmoth renders this: “When they sang in alternate verses a hymn to Christ, as to a god.” *Pliny Letters, II* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935), 403. J. Stevenson translates it as: “and recite by turns a form of words to Christ as a god.” *A New Eusebius: Documents Illustrating the History of the Church to AD 337*, rev. by W. H. C. Frend (London: SPCK, 1987), 19. Henry Bettenson has: “and to recite a hymn antiphonally to Christ, as to a god” and footnotes that ‘carmen’ “generally translated ‘hymn,’ may mean any set form of words; here perhaps a responsorial or antiphonal psalm, or some kind of litany.” *Documents of the Christian Church*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 4. Jorg Christian Salzmann observes on this point that there are scholars who take this phrase to “refer to an antiphonal hymn or psalm, . . . prayers, . . . the prayers of the eucharist, . . . the saying of the baptismal creed, or . . . benedictions accompanying the creed on every Sunday” and lists those scholars in footnotes. “Pliny (*ep.* 10, 96) and Christian Liturgy—Reconsideration,” *Studia Patristica* 20 (1989): 390. S. L. Mohler suggests the reference of “the Shema and its accompanying ‘Benedictions.’” *Classical Philology* 30 (April 1935): 167–69. Pliny’s words are valuable at least on the following two points. In the early second century, we are informed that a set form of words were spoken antiphonally during the liturgy. Furthermore, such responsorial words were addressed not to the Father or the Trinity, but to Christ. This is evidenced by the early hymn $\Phi\omega\varsigma$ $\iota\lambda\epsilon\rho\nu$, which is directed also to Christ. The liturgy found in Hippolytus also focuses on Christ. Rudolf Stählin comments: “Im Grunde bleibt das ganze Gebet des Hippolyt streng im Rahmen des zweiten Artikels. Es ist ein rein christologisches Gebet, einem der christologischen Hymnen des Neuen Testaments vergleichbar.” *Leiturgia* 1: 22.

Common Service

The Lord be with you.
And with thy spirit.
Lift up your hearts.
We lift them up unto the Lord.
Let us give thanks unto the Lord, our God.
It is meet and right so to do.

ICET

The Lord be with you.
And also with you.
Lift up your hearts.
We lift them to the Lord.
Let us give thanks to the Lord our God.
It is right to give him thanks and praise.

The left-hand column represents the *Common Service* tradition in American Lutheranism found in *The Lutheran Hymnal* (1941), and the right-hand column is an ecumenical liturgical text out of the International Consultation on English Texts (ICET)⁷ found in *Lutheran Worship* (1982). The demand for further revision of the ICET text resulted in *Praying Together* by the English Language Liturgical Consultation (ELLC) of 1988. There, “It is right to give *him* thanks and praise” of ICET text is changed to “It is right to give *our* thanks and praise” (emphasis added).⁸

While those three widely used English renditions at the culmination of the *Preface* speak of us, our thanksgiving, and its appropriateness, there is a unique rendering, found in the Swedish liturgy, that draws attention not to ourselves but to the Lord: “He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!” Here this striking Swedish rendition is of the Lord and toward the Lord, and thus the root of what follows.

The Goal of This Study

The pursuit of this dissertation is related to this distinctive Swedish phrase in the *Preface*. We ask three questions concerning it.

First, we inquire how such a striking rendering was introduced into the Swedish liturgy and how it has been used in the later Swedish liturgies. Did the phrase come about accidentally?

⁷ International Consultation on English Texts, *Prayers We Have in Common*, 2nd rev. ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), 14.

⁸ English Language Liturgical Consultation, *Praying Together* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1988), 33.

What was the theological and liturgical discussion going on around it? Why did the people of Sweden sense the need for a change from the traditional Western rendering? What was the theological matrix in which such a change took place? Who were the main theologians and churchmen in the work of the liturgical revision? How did the church confirm the new rendition? How is it understood now by those who are gathered at the Divine Service? What is the freight in the continual use of this phrase today?

These historical discussions will furnish the data for the second and the main point of this study, a theological evaluation. The phrase in question will be examined in light of the Confessional Liturgical Revival of Theodor Kliefoth and his understanding of the Lutheran confession of the Lord's Supper and its liturgy. The Swedish churchmen who served in the work of liturgical revisions drew much of their thinking from Kliefoth's contribution.

Finally, the question of the appropriateness of the Swedish rendering in the Lord's Supper's liturgy will be considered, as well as an evangelical sensitivity to liturgical change in the Lutheran tradition. Much care and study and churchly consideration are called for in any of the ongoing works of liturgical revision. Our question, then, has to do with the aptness of the Swedish rendition in Lutheran liturgical theology and life.

This study attempts to plumb what it means to acclaim "He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!" at the crucial place where the Lord's Supper's liturgy begins. At this point, the service of preaching is over; the Lord's Supper now begins with these acclamations. All the foregoing in the liturgy up to this point may be observable as a prologue, preparation, prelude, and pointer. What is pointed to is the body and the blood of the Lord, on which the baptized who have been considered worthy by the Lord are invited to feast to receive the forgiveness of sins. This

investigation is not just the study of the liturgical text.⁹ Rather, the focus is on the Lord in His giving out of His body and blood through His liturgy in his *perpetuo mansura* church.¹⁰ This study will examine how the phrase “He alone is worthy!” may be an appropriate confession when the faithful are gathered at the very place where they hear their Lord’s words and eat and drink His body and blood.

The Present State of Research

There have been attempts to explain and interpret the *Preface* as a whole as well as each of the three versicles and responses included in it. We will give some accounts of those in chapter 4 to gather some appropriate benefit from the researchers who commented on the *Preface* as found in early liturgies of Greek and Latin. Although it is valuable to explore the *Preface* of the early centuries (we will give a summary of the results of those researchers’ investigations there), in this dissertation we will direct our attention to the Swedish rendition.

There have also been several studies on Theodor Kliefoth and his theological contributions. We will mention them in chapter 2.

No studies or dissertations have examined and investigated the emergence and development of the phrase “He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!” in the Swedish liturgy. Theological and liturgical analysis of this phrase has not yet been done. Yet in the liturgical life of the Church of Sweden, this rendering is already a part of the Lutheran piety.¹¹ It has been accepted as the most normal way to begin the Lord’s Supper, so that during this author’s visits to Sweden in the winter of 2001 and in the summer of 2002, the bishop emeritus Dr. Gärtner, local pastors, theological professors, church musicians, and laity alike expressed their thanks for being

⁹ Concerning the nature of liturgical language, see appendix 1 below.

¹⁰ AC VII, 1. “Item docent, quod una sancta ecclesia perpetuo mansura sit.”

¹¹ See appendix 3 below.

informed that the Swedish rendering of the *Preface* was strikingly dominical and acclamatory. Professor Dr. Oloph Bexell of the University of Uppsala and others indicated that such a study would be an appreciated contribution to the Church of Sweden.

Thesis and the Significance of This Study

The present author will argue the following thesis: The liturgical revision in the Church of Sweden during the nineteenth century, especially the emergence of “He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!” in the *Preface*, was influenced by the Confessional Revival as represented by Theodor Kliefoth, and is an embodiment of the theology of the Confessional Revival.

The phrase “He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!” was first introduced by the Pastoral Committee (the 1854 Thomander Proposal or 1854 TP) of the Swedish Parliament and officially adopted by the 1894 Agenda in the Church of Sweden. It appeared at the time when the Confessional Liturgical Revival of Germany, particularly that of Theodor Kliefoth, had impacted the leading members of the liturgical commission of the Church of Sweden, such as E. G. Bring, J. H. Thomander, and U. L. Ullman. The phrase in question fits well with the liturgical theology of Kliefoth, which is characterized by giving and receiving (δόσις—λήψις), sacramental and sacrificial (*sacramentum—sacrificium*), the means of grace and the means of grace office (*Gnadenmittel* and *Gnadenmittelamt*), as well as the office of the giver Christ (*Amt Christi*). It is consistent with the confession of the Lord’s Supper’s liturgy of the Swedish churchmen who embraced the Confessional Liturgical Revival.

The significance of this study extends further than the investigation of the emergence of this phrase. It introduces an important but less-known Lutheran theologian and churchman, Theodor Kliefoth, into an English-speaking world, even though in a limited scope in the areas of liturgiology and ecclesiology; it presents a Lutheran way with the liturgy as well as the vital

relation between liturgy and Christian life; and it offers a few suggestions concerning the ongoing work of liturgical revision.

It also gives implications concerning the difference between the Lutheran liturgical movement out of the Confessional Revival in nineteenth-century Germany and the ecumenically oriented liturgical movement out of Roman Catholics and Anglicans in the twentieth century.

The Method of Research

The emergence of our phrase will be sought historically on the basis of the available documents and works published in Sweden. The theological diagnosis and evaluation will be conducted in light of the theological backgrounds that influenced the members of the liturgical commissions of Sweden from the middle to the end of the nineteenth century. The liturgical analysis will be assisted by the textual studies of several nineteenth-century proposals and official texts in particular, as well as by those of the entire liturgical heritage and tradition of the Church of Sweden from the Reformation to the present day.

While the modern liturgical movement out of the Roman Catholic and the Anglican traditions first followed a method in the comparative religions, the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule*, and then more recently adopted contributions from the discipline of social science, most notably from the fields of ritual study and communication theory, our investigation will not be guided by such methodologies of liturgical studies.¹² The former approach was used when the major interest among liturgical researchers was to discover the origin and development of the liturgy of the Lord's Supper in general and of the so-called eucharistic prayer in particular. The latter method was utilized when the main question shifted to the relationship between liturgy and life, with a particular interest in what actually happens during the rite itself that then affects the

¹² See appendix 1 below.

social structure of the society that performs it. One of the common threads of these methodologies is that they reject or are not certain about the Lord Himself as the one who instituted Holy Communion and the one who is still the giver in the liturgy today.

The starting point for this dissertation is the Confessional Revival and the question of its fruitfulness in and coherence with the liturgical work in Sweden. In that work we shall take as an illuminating point the statement in the *Preface*, “He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!”

Source Materials

Sources for the historical portion of this investigation regarding the origin of the phrase “He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!” will largely be taken from documents and works acquired during the author’s trips to Sweden. They include liturgical texts, minutes, comments, and reports from the committees commissioned to revise the Church Agenda (*Handbok*), parliamentary pastoral committees, the church’s general synods, commentaries by bishops, dissertations, and other works written on related topics. All those materials are listed in the bibliography section at the end of this dissertation. Particularly important documents for this work have been acquired at the Department of Archive of the University (main) Library, Lund University, which are listed under “I. A. 1. Original Texts of the Divine Service of the Church of Sweden” and “I. A. 2. Documents Related to the 1854–1855 Proposals to the Agenda” in the bibliography. As will be discussed in chapter 3 below, Proposals to the Agenda from the years 1854 and 1855 are of the highest importance.

Concerning the works of Theodor Kliefoth, the resources at the *Landeskirchliches Archiv in Schwerin* have been most helpful. Although a few of Kliefoth’s most notable materials are found at libraries in the United States, it was indispensable to have an opportunity to have access to most of his works in one location, including materials that are very hard to get hold of in this country, such as a four-volume folio-size set of *Cantionale* and hymn books, prayer books, and

sermon collections edited and written by Kliefoth. Those materials are also found in the bibliography section under “II. A. Primary Sources.”

While others of the so-called Confessional Revival, such as Wilhelm Löhe and Theodosius Harnack, made some impact on the works of liturgical revisions in nineteenth-century Sweden, this study will limit itself to the liturgical contribution of Theodor Kliefoth as a representative of the Confessional Revival for three reasons. First, it is evident, as will be demonstrated below, that Kliefoth made the greatest impact among them on the life of the Divine Service of the Swedish Church in the nineteenth century when the phrase first emerged. Second, others have already engaged the contributions of Löhe and Harnack. Third, the author wishes to limit the scope of this study to the available resources.

Outline

After this introductory chapter, chapter 2 will set forth the historical and theological background that will be later shown as influential on and embodied in the works of liturgical revisions in the Church of Sweden. The historical portion of the chapter portrays the Swedish liturgical heritage from the Reformation up to the nineteenth century when our phrase emerged. The theological characteristics of each era become clear as one sees each Agenda as a fruit of the theological thinking of the given time. The theological portion of the chapter discusses and evaluates the works of Theodor Kliefoth concerning his confession of church and liturgy, because the major churchman behind the liturgical works in Sweden, E. G. Bring, was influenced particularly by Kliefoth. Chapter 3 will discuss the works of liturgical revision themselves during the nineteenth century in Sweden. This chapter considers two main periods. One centers around the Proposals to the Agenda of 1854 and 1855, and the other centers around the discussion of the Agenda of 1894. Chapter 4 will argue that the liturgical revisions, especially the rendering “He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!” was influenced by the Confessional

Revival as represented by Theodor Kliefoth, and that this phrase in the *Preface* is an embodiment of the theology of the Confessional Revival. The dissertation concludes with chapter 5, where some implications for evangelically sensitive liturgical revision will be discussed.

CHAPTER TWO
THE CONFSSIONAL REVIVAL
AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE CHURCH OF SWEDEN

The phrase in question, “He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!” was first introduced into the official Swedish liturgy in the 1894 Agenda.¹ But the first appearance of this phrase goes back to the proposal of the Agenda in 1854. Therefore, our discussion will draw attention to the works of liturgical revision from the middle to the end of the nineteenth century. In this chapter, we will set forth the theological background of such efforts of liturgical revision. Our discussion will center on the liturgical contributions of Theodor Kliefoth of Mecklenburg. However, we will preface it with a brief account of the history of the Church of Sweden from the Reformation up to the nineteenth century in order to locate the works of liturgical revision in question in the historical context of the Swedish liturgical heritage.²

¹ In Sweden, the official liturgies of the Lord’s Supper were published in the years 1531, 1571, 1614, 1693, 1811, 1894, 1917, 1942, and 1986.

² The history of the Reformation in Sweden and the liturgical development are found in English in such secondary sources as Conrad Bergendoff, *Olavus Petri and the Ecclesiastical Transformation in Sweden 1521–1552: A Study in the Swedish Reformation* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965); idem, “The Unique Character of the Reformation in Sweden,” in *The Symposium on Seventeenth Century Lutheranism*, vol. 1 (St. Louis: Symposium on Seventeenth Century Lutheranism, 1962), 95–105; idem, *The Church of the Lutheran Reformation: A Historical Survey of Lutheranism* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1967); Louis Bouyer, *Eucharist: Theology and Spirituality of the Eucharistic Prayer*, trans. Charles Underhill Quinn (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968), 396–407; Yngve Brilioth, *Eucharistic Faith & Practice: Evangelical and Catholic*, trans. A. G. Herbert (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1930), 396–407; Jan Bygstad, “The Confessional Movements in the Scandinavian Countries,” *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 64 (July 2000): 163–81; Nils Forsander, *Olavus Petri: The Church Reformer of Sweden* (Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Book Concern, 1918); idem, “The Swedish Liturgies,” in *Memoirs of Lutheran Liturgical Association*, vol. 2 (Pittsburgh: The Association, 1907), 15–27; Toivo Harjunpaa, “Liturgical Developments in Sweden and Finland in the Era of Lutheran Orthodoxy (1593–1700),” *Church History* 37 (March 1968): 14–35; R. C. D. Jasper and G. J. Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist: Early and Reformed* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1990), 200–3; Sven Kjoellerstroem, “Lutheranism in Sweden,” in *The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church*, vol. 3, ed. Julius Bodensieck (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965), 2284–2304; E. I. Kouri, “The Early Reformation in Sweden and Finland c. 1520–1560,” in *The Scandinavian Reformation: From Evangelical Movement to Institutionalization of Reform*, ed. Ole Peter Grell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 42–69; Ingun Montgomery, “The
(continued next page)

The Historical Background: The Swedish Liturgical Heritage from the Reformation to the Nineteenth Century

The Beginning of the Reformation in Sweden

The introduction of the Reformation into Sweden coincided with the country's political and economic independence from the Scandinavian Union headed by Denmark. What distinguished the Swedish Reformation from the Reformation in, for example, Denmark and Norway, was that from the beginning of the sixteenth century Sweden had its own reformers. While little is known of the particular faith of the father of the new Sweden, King Gustav Vasa, who reigned from 1523 to 1560, he made use of three important figures to unite the country both politically and ecclesiastically. The first was Laurentius Andreae (1470–1552), who contributed to church polity and canon law. He placed the king not as the head of the church but as her helper, guardian, and defender. The second was Olavus Petri (1493–1552), who is normally ascribed the title of the father of the Reformation in Sweden. Olavus studied at the University of Wittenberg from 1516 to 1518. He brought back with him the evangelical zeal of Martin Luther

Institutionalization of Lutheranism in Sweden and Finland,” in *The Scandinavian Reformation: From Evangelical Movement to Institutionalization of Reform*, ed. Ole Peter Grell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 144–78; Robert Murray, *A Brief History of the Church of Sweden: Origins and Modern Structure* (Stockholm: Diakonistyrrelsens Bokfoerlag, 1961); Nils-Henrik Nilsson, “Eucharistic Prayer and Lutherans: A Swedish Perspective,” *Studia Liturgica* 27 (1997): 176-99; idem, “The Church of Sweden Service Book,” *Studia Liturgica* 31 (2001): 92-100; Luther D. Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy: A Study of the Common Service of the Lutheran Church in America* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1947), 110–26; Michael Roberts, *The Swedish Imperial Experience 1560–1718* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); idem, *The Early Vasas: A History of Sweden, 1523–1611* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968); idem, *Gustavus Adolphus: A History of Sweden 1611–1632* (London: Longmans, Green, 1953); Frank C. Senn, *Christian Liturgy: Catholic and Evangelical* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997), 393–479; idem, “Liturgia Svecanae Ecclesiae: An Attempt at Eucharistic Restoration during the Swedish Reformation,” *Studia Liturgica* 14 (1980–1981): 20–36; idem, “Liturgia Svecanae Ecclesiae: An Attempt at Eucharistic Restoration during the Swedish Reformation,” Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 1979; H. M. Waddams, *The Swedish Church* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1946); idem, “Recent Developments in Swedish Theology and Church Life,” *Church Quarterly Review* 124 (April–June 1937): 100–113; idem, *Church Quarterly Review* 124 (July–September 1937): 273–84; John Wordsworth, *The National Church of Sweden* (London: A. R. Mowbray, 1911); Eric Esskilden Yelverton, *The Mass in Sweden: Its Development from the Latin Rite from 1531 to 1917* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1920); and idem, *An Archbishop of the Reformation, Laurentius Petri Nericius Archbishop of Uppsala, 1531–73: A Study of His Liturgical Projects* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1959).

and became a prominent preacher and author. He translated the New Testament with Laurentius Andreae, translated Luther's postil, published a hymnal, and wrote a *Handbok* or Agenda. He is regarded as the father of Swedish literature as well, for until 1526 there were probably fewer than ten books written in Swedish. In that year the king moved the Catholic press to Stockholm and allowed only evangelical books to be published; of these Olavus was the primary writer. Although he seems to have applied more energy to preaching than to the Lord's Supper, his most lasting influence lies in his order of the Mass in Swedish published in 1531. Scholars usually trace Olavus's order of the Mass to Luther's *Formula Missae* of 1523 as well as to Döber's *Evangelische Messe* of Nuremburg in 1525. It is noteworthy that from the beginning of the Reformation, Olavus provided adequate vernacular services.

By the summer of 1529, the Mass in Sweden was conducted only in Swedish. But those who wished to keep the "old religion" rose in revolt against the king. This Catholic revolt was financially supported by the city of Lübeck, upon which King Vasa also depended. Gradually, the king shifted responsibility for the revolt to Laurentius Andreae and Olavus Petri. They were both deprived of all the important positions in the church and the country by 1531. In such circumstances the appointment of the new archbishop of Uppsala took place. Approaching also was the wedding of the king to Catherine of Saxony-Lauenburg, including her coronation as queen of Sweden. The chosen candidate for archbishop was Laurentius Petri (1499-1573), the third important Swedish reformer, who was the brother of Olavus and promoted by Andreae.

Laurentius became the first Lutheran archbishop of the country and served from 1531 to 1571. John Wordsworth refers to Laurentius as "the Cranmer of Sweden as Olavus was its Luther."³ Like his brother, he also studied at the University of Wittenberg, in the early 1520s.

³ Wordsworth, *National Church of Sweden*, 218. Kouri also considers that Laurentius was closest to Cranmer. "The Early Reformation in Sweden and Finland c. 1520–1560," 56.

His theological influences seem to have been Luther, whom he knew at Wittenberg, and Melanchthon, whose influence was introduced by Bugenhagen's Swedish counterpart, the Melanchthonian Georg Norman, who drafted the uncompleted Church Order in 1540.⁴

Laurentius continued to revise Olavus's Swedish Mass. That King Vasa took a more positive interest in the efforts to change the Swedish church in an evangelical direction made his effort easier; Vasa had a political ambition to join the Smalcald League in the late 1530s. Unlike Olavus, Laurentius took time to revise the Mass order. He reintroduced Latin in certain places, such as in the Introit, the Gradual, and the Apostles' Creed. He restored the pericope system and supplied collects for the Sundays of the Church Year. He defended the communion of both kinds against Rome and the use of wine against Calvinists. Such confession was necessary because when King Gustav Vasa died in 1560, his eldest son became king as Erik XIV (1560–68), and his theological position was Melanchthonian humanism and an unsacramental Lutheranism.⁵

Laurentius explains in his *Dialogue concerning the Changes in the Man* (written 1542, published 1587) that the eucharistic act is a response to the redemptive act of God in Christ. He repeats Melanchthon's division of propitiatory sacrifice and eucharistic sacrifice, and he promotes the latter.

Bugenhagen, Brenz, and Bucer also influenced him in practical matters of the church. Laurentius's Church Order of 1561 was modeled after that of Württemberg and Mecklenburg. This Church Order was not accepted by the parliament that met in 1562. It only became law nearly a decade later in 1571, when John III had succeeded Erik XIV, and then in a revised

⁴ In this never completed Church Order, Georg Norman repeatedly referred to the later edition of Melanchthon's *Loci*, but not once did he mention Luther. Kouri, "The early Reformation in Sweden and Finland," 63.

⁵ Montgomery, "The institutionalization of Lutheranism in Sweden and Finland," 146.

version. The chapter on the Lord's Supper in this edition was influenced by Melanchthon's *Augustana Variata*.⁶

The Liturgical Struggle around the "Red Book"

The king who succeeded Erik XIV was his younger brother, Vasa's second son, John III (1568–92). After the archbishop Laurentius Petri died, John III began to let his own liturgical ideal become known. In 1575 he appended *Nova Ordinantia Ecclesiastica* to Laurentius's Church Order of 1571. The following year he published *Liturgia svecanae ecclesiae catholicae et orthodoxae confirmis*, also known as *Den Röde Boken* (The Red Book) because of the color of its binding.⁷ This work is said to have been influenced by Petrus Fecht, John's secretary, who was a pupil of Melanchthon. "Return to the sources" was the motto of Fecht. In the Red Book, John III attempted to restore many discarded elements to Olavus Petri's Mass, which was kept revised by Laurentius Petri, without modifying its structure inherited from Luther's *Formula Missae*. The well-known marginal notes of the Red Book show how John III was very familiar with the liturgies from the early church. His quotations include, for example, the liturgies of St. James, St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, St. Ambrose, and St. Gregory. On the other hand, he never quoted Luther and the sixteenth-century reformers.

John's ideal of both faith and liturgy was that found in the first five centuries of the church. A fuller recovery of this heritage was thought to help the cause of church unity. He restored the Offertory and the Canon, and he introduced a lengthy post-*Sanctus* prayer. Latin and Swedish were placed side by side. In the *Verba Domini*, John inserted some extrabiblical words such as were found in the liturgies from the fourth and fifth centuries. For example, "he took the bread

⁶ Ibid., 147.

⁷ For a detailed analysis of the "Red Book," see Frank C. Senn, "Liturgia Svecanae Ecclesiae" (1979). Cf., Senn, *Christian Liturgy*, 418–45.

in his holy and worthy hands” and “he looked up to heaven.” According to Frank Senn, John’s sources in the Red Book included Mark Brandenburg 1540, Pflaz-Neuburg 1543, and the Book of Common Prayer, in addition to the patristic sources.⁸

John taught that the benefits of the communion were, first, the incorporation into Christ; second, the resurrection of the flesh; and third, the assurance of the forgiveness of sins.⁹ One may observe that the forgiveness of sin of which our Lord speaks in the *Verba Domini*, and which Luther prominently confesses in his catechisms, recedes to the third place. Senn interprets that John attempted to include in his order the themes of “the sacrifice of Christ, the self-offering of the Christians, the offering of the gifts of bread and wine, and the communication in the body and blood of Christ.”¹⁰ Senn also argues that John endeavored to do what Luther had grasped but never tried to integrate into his liturgical formulations. Luther’s thinking on the “eucharistic sacrifice” that Senn appeals to is *Ein Sermon von dem neuen Testament, d. i. von der Heiligen Messe* of 1520. Senn, as Gustaf Aulen and Yngve Brilioth before him,¹¹ highlights where Luther wrote that Christians offer themselves to God with the sacrament as they offer Christ to God and move Christ, giving Him occasion to offer Himself for them and offer them with Himself.¹²

Although John’s thinking did not immediately cause a dispute, his Red Book soon led to objections. Those who rejected it were called “anti-liturgists” and were suspended from the office. They were suspicious that John was trying to reintroduce Roman Catholicism. Such distrust had certain grounds. John had established the Royal College in Stockholm and placed Jesuits to train future pastors of Sweden on the basis of patristic study. John himself was married

⁸ Senn, *Christian Liturgy*, 470.

⁹ Cf., Brilioth, *Eucharistic Faith and Practice*, 250.

¹⁰ Senn, *Christian Liturgy*, 476.

¹¹ We will touch on a somewhat common interpretation of Luther’s 1520 work by early to middle twentieth-century Swedish theologians in appendix 3 below.

to the Catholic-Polish princess Catherine Jagellonica. He built for her a Catholic chapel in the palace staffed with court priests. Furthermore, the young Prince Sigismund was brought up in the Catholic faith.

The Decisions of the *Uppsala Möte* of 1593 and Its Aftermath

In such circumstances, Duke Karl, John's younger brother and Vasa's third son, expressed his opposition due to the Church Order of 1571. While the clergy of the duchy drew up the *Confessio Strengnesis*, which damned the errors of the liturgy in sharp terms, Karl, for his part, wrote to the Universities of Leipzig, Helmstedt, and Wittenberg for opinions on the Red Book and received from these faculties condemnatory answers. He was thus able to line up some of the leading German theologians against the liturgy. In 1581 the Augsburg Confession was published in Sweden for the first time, translated by Petrus Johannes Gothus and published in Rostock.

In 1587 Prince Sigismund was elected as King of Poland, and the expectation was that he would be King of Sweden after John III. John died in November of 1592. In the absence of Sigismund, a secret council encouraged Karl to summon the clergy to a synod in Uppsala. The decisions of this *Uppsala Möte* of March 1593 mark a turning point in the history of the Church of Sweden.

The *Uppsala Möte* resolved firstly that the church should abide by the word of God as contained in the Holy Scriptures, which need no further interpretation by the Fathers or others. This resolution was aimed specifically against the patristic ideal of John III. Secondly, the synod officially accepted the unaltered Augsburg Confession of 1530 for the first time, along with the three ecumenical creeds. It also added the Church Order of 1571. Thirdly, the synod rejected

¹² WA 6: 369. 3–18; AE 35: 99.

the Red Book and all its implications for doctrine, ceremonies and discipline, and strictly forbade its use. The synod also rejected the errors of the Sacramentarians, Zwinglians, Calvinists, and Anabaptists, and all other heretics by whatever name they were known. The victory at Uppsala in 1593 was the victory of Lutheran orthodoxy both doctrinally and liturgically. Harjunpaa observes that while Olavus and Laurentius Petri were leaning toward Melancthonian humanism, the second generation Lutherans were more confessional, trained at Rostock under David Chytraeus.¹³

Karl was not much pleased with the Uppsala Resolution. He expressed his skepticism about *manducatio indignorum* and depreciated the ceremonial dimension of the Lord's Supper. In 1602, Karl had published his own liturgy to which the clergy kept objecting for its Calvinistic and the Sacramentarian orientation, and used the *Confessio Augustana* as their defense. Karl refused to be bound by the Uppsala Resolution. The clergy regarded him as a Philippist or crypto-Calvinist. What was perceived by them was a conflict between crypto-Calvinism and orthodox Lutheranism, which was "in reality a clash between an older Philippist, humanist theology and the new, gnesio-Lutheran theology."¹⁴

Such were the liturgical circumstances when Karl was finally crowned in 1607 as Charles IX. But previously in 1602, Karl had published his own liturgy to which the clergy kept objecting. In it the *Verba* are treated merely as a record of a historical event and are repeated five times. "His worthy body and blood *in* bread and *in* wine" was changed to "*the sacrament of* his worthy body and blood *with* bread and wine" (emphases added). The Collect of the Day was

¹³ Harjunpaa, "Liturgical Developments in Sweden and Finland," 17. Just as the Swedish churchmen at this time were indebted to the Lutheran teaching at Rostock, we will observe later that a number of pastors in the nineteenth-century Sweden were influenced by the Confessional Revival of Theodor Kliefoth who was also active in the same Mecklenburg region in Germany, especially at Schwerin. Rostock seems to have always been a natural place of Swedish contact with Germany. Conrad Bergendoff comments that Olavus Petri should have received a Low-German influence to his Mass in Swedish also via Rostock. *The Church of the Lutheran Reformation*, 96.

¹⁴ Montgomery, "The institutionalization of Lutheranism in Sweden and Finland," 164.

omitted. The pericope system together with the observance of the Church Year were abolished. This liturgy was never approved by the church. Karl then withdrew his proposal. Although crowned in 1607 as Charles IX, in 1609 he suffered a stroke and never fully recovered.

The Swedish Liturgy during the Lutheran Orthodoxy

Gustavus Adolphus succeeded his father, Charles IX, in 1611. During his reign Sweden entered the Thirty Years War and, together with the evangelical German territorial states, fought for the survival of evangelical churches. The new *Handbok* (Agenda) was approved and printed in 1614. It conscientiously carried out the decisions of Uppsala. It remained in use until 1693, when a minor revision was made that was used in Sweden until 1811 and in Finland until 1886. It is the 1614 liturgy that had a profound influence upon the Church of Sweden throughout the era of Lutheran Orthodoxy.

The attempts of liturgical revision by Johannes Matthiae Gothus, the bishop of Strängnäs, are worth mentioning. Like John III, he had strong patristic interests. For him the Holy Communion was the Sacrament of Christian unity both within the parish and the whole church. He preferred to stress the ancient Creeds rather than the Lutheran Confessions. His orientation was toward what was common in the Lutheran, Reformed, and Anglican churches. He made use of non-Lutheran sources for his liturgical revision, including a Calvinistic Church Order of the Bohemian Brethren, the Reformed Palatinate liturgy, and the Book of Common Prayer. Gothus stressed the Sunday observance strongly and proposed to celebrate the Holy Communion only six times a year.

His proposal was never officially accepted. Nevertheless, he used it in his own diocese. One of the most important consequences of this and similar incidents was the official acceptance of the whole Book of Concord as the official doctrinal norm of the Church of Sweden in 1668.

From the reign of Gustavus Adolphus (1611–32) to the death of Charles XII in 1718, Sweden was one of the foremost European powers, and its territorial expansion was the greatest in her history. While most of the conquered territories had already embraced the Lutheran faith, where this was not the case Lutheranism became the only official confession. Charles XI (1658–96) stressed and implemented the most intense policy of uniformity within the church. The new Church Law was approved in 1686, and the new Agenda was completed in 1693, which differed only in some minor details from the Agenda of 1614 in terms of the liturgy of the Divine Service as mentioned above. The clergy were now strictly forbidden to make any changes of their own in the prescribed rites and ceremonies of the church.

In this way, liturgical uniformity was achieved, but at the cost of a gradual reduction of the rich heritage of the Reformation period. The decrease in the frequency of the Lord's Supper on Sundays may indicate a setback in the sacrament-centered devotional life of the church.

The Enlightenment's Influence and the Attempt to Recover the Evangelical Liturgy in the Nineteenth Century

The revised Agenda in 1811 is recognized by Brilioth, Reed, and others as the lowest point in Swedish liturgical history.¹⁵ One of the two lections was cut out, and the Apostles' Creed became the only creed to be used. In the *Preface*, the third versicle, "Let us give thanks to the Lord," and its response, "It is right and proper," as well as what followed were cut out so that immediately after the *sursum corda* the *Verba* followed. The "Hosanna" and "the Lord Sabaoth" were removed as an intolerable Hebraism. The Agenda of 1811 did little more than legalize the

¹⁵ Brilioth, 262; Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, 120; Oloph Bexell, *Liturgins Teologi hos U. L. Ullman*, *Bibliotheca Theologiae Practicae*, no. 42 (Stockholm: Författaren och Kyrkovetenskapliga Institutet, 1987), 40; Sven Kjällerström, "Kyrkohandbok," *Nordisk Universitetes-Tidskrift* 2 (1955): 640. Kjällerström in the last-mentioned work characterized the 1811 Agenda as "the downhill of the climax" in the history of the Swedish liturgy.

practice, which had in large measure already become general, as indicated by efforts to remove the liturgical year that had been going on since 1772.

The Constitution of 1809 had rescinded the requirement of religious unity in doctrine and liturgy. The king was prohibited from violating the conscience of any person. Archbishop Jacob Lindblom, who had published the official catechism in 1810, the so-called “Lindblom Catechism,” was also responsible for this 1811 liturgy. Dick Helander has demonstrated how this 1811 Agenda influenced the Prussian Agenda of 1822.¹⁶

There were a number of groups within the Church of Sweden who were not pleased with the 1811 liturgy. They were the so-called “Readers” who held meetings together to read the Bible and Luther’s writings, particularly in the northern part of the country; other pietistic groups who were influenced by the Moravian and the Rosenius movements; “traditionalists” who wanted to recover the 1693 liturgy; and another important movement centered on Henrik Schautau (1757–1825), the dean of the Cathedral at Lund. Schautau too represented pietistic orientation while opposed to all conventicles, even to organizations within the parish, and he concentrated on an integral congregational life. He also was not in favor of the 1811 Agenda.¹⁷

In these liturgically loosened circumstances a committee was appointed by the king and the parliament in 1852 to make a proposal for a revised Agenda. Among the members of this commission, Ebbe Gustaf Bring (1814–84)¹⁸ stands out as the leader, who inherited much from

¹⁶ Dick Helander, “Svenska Kyrkohandboken 1811 och Preussiska Agendan 1822,” in *Från Skilda Tider: Studier Tillägnade Hjalmar Holmquist* (Lund: Håkan Ohlssons Boktryckeri, 1938), 225–46.

¹⁷ “Towards the end of the 18th century the theological climate changed completely and the predominant orthodox confessionalism was replaced by religious individualism and rationalistic moralism.” Carl Henrik Lyttkens, *The Growth of Swedish-Anglican Intercommunion between 1833–1922*, trans. Neil Tomkinson and Jean Gray (Lund: Gleerups, 1970), 151.

¹⁸ E. G. Bring is often labeled as the leader of the “high-church school of Lund.” Unlike the same characterization within the Anglican tradition, the “high-church” label of the Lund school referred to the Neo-Lutheran orientation of the Confessional Revival of Germany. The Lund school with E. G. Bring as the leader was characterized as such most likely by their opponents, probably at a later time when church fellowship was established with the Anglican Church.

the so-called Confessional Revival and its consequence in the liturgical renewal of Theodor Kliefoth. The proposal was completed in 1854, but did not become an official Agenda. The Church Agenda contains much more than the liturgy of the Lord's Supper. The time had not yet come to overcome, as a church, the impoverishment done to the Agenda in 1811. Later on this same committee was entrusted to revise the 1810 "Lindblom Catechism." This new catechism was published in 1878 and has been in continual use to today.

An important legal change occurred in 1865. Previously the Swedish parliament was an assembly of four estates: nobles, clergy, citizens, and peasants. But now it consisted of an upper and a lower house. Previously the Agenda had to be passed by the whole parliament after being passed by the House of Clergy. But now the House of Clergy was replaced by the *Kyrko-Möte*, the Church synod. The *Kyrko-Möte* consisted of about seventy members of whom half were clergy and half laity, all the bishops being *ex officio* members. On such churchly matters as the new translation of the Bible, the hymnal, the catechism, and the Agenda, the decision of the *Kyrko-Möte* became the law, without going through the parliament.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, there appeared a very influential liturgiologist, U. L. Ullman (1837–1930), the bishop of Strängnäs. He was heavily influenced by Kliefoth, Theodosius Harnack, and Wilhelm Löhe. His major work, *Evangelisk-Luthersk Liturgik* (1874–85), was a fruit of his eleven years of labor. This was the only work on the liturgy and liturgical theology of his generation and continued to be used as a textbook until 1923. The Agenda of 1894 was largely a labor of Ullman and under his leadership.

At the *Kyrko-Möte* of 1893, another important decision was made along with the approval of Ullman's proposal. There was a controversy over the Book of Concord between those who insisted on keeping only the Augsburg Confession and those who wanted to keep the full Book of Concord. The decision by a narrow margin was in favor of the latter. Gottfrid Billing (1841–

1925), the bishop in Västerås, later in Lund, was the champion of this cause and Ullman sided with him.

The Agenda of 1917 added some minor revision.¹⁹ In 1936 Hermann Sasse spoke of this 1917 liturgy as embodying “the rich liturgical heritage which Lutheranism had preserved in the purified Mass of the Catholic Church and which is *perhaps found in its purest form today in the Church of Sweden*” (emphasis added).²⁰

Summary

The liturgies of 1531, 1571, 1576, and 1602 were each the work of one prominent person, while all later revisions were worked out by the appointed committees. The primary liturgical and theological influence from outside came from Germany. Each liturgy showed evidence of the theology of those who helped to revise it.

By rejecting the “liturgical movement” of John III on the one hand, and the Calvinistic orientation of Charles IX on the other, the Swedish liturgical heritage by and large stayed loyal to its own Reformation heritage, though the question remains on what ground one should consider the Swedish liturgical heritage as Lutheran. Through various controversies the Augsburg Confession was officially adopted, while the whole Book of Concord was accepted less than a century later.

The Theological Background: The Confessional Revival as Represented by Theodor Kliefoth

Thus far, we have discussed the nineteenth century within the context of the Swedish liturgical heritage since the Reformation. We now come to the central point of this chapter, the

¹⁹ The revision toward the Agenda of 1917 was initiated because of the publication of the new translation of the Bible. Nilsson, “The Church of Sweden Service Book,” 93.

²⁰ Hermann Sasse, *Here We Stand: Nature and Character of the Lutheran Faith*, trans. Theodore G. Tappert (continued next page)

theological background of the works of liturgical revision. We will first introduce the theological thinking of E. G. Bring, who was the chief theologian for the work. Then we will spend the rest of the chapter introducing and examining the works of Theodor Kliefoth, who was influential on Bring's theology and work.²¹

E. G. Bring Stands "Not on His Own Feet but on Kliefoth's"

We observed that the first half of the nineteenth century in Sweden witnessed a shared unhappiness over the so-called "Enlightenment liturgy" of 1811. In such a context the liturgical commission was appointed in 1852 by the king and the parliament. The members were Johan Albert Butsch (bishop in Skara), Thure Annerstedt (bishop in Strängnäs), Anders Erik Knös (professor of exegesis and the dean at Uppsala), Carl Olof Björling (dean and later bishop in Västerås), Ebbe Gustaf Bring (professor of pastoral theology at Lund, later bishop in Linköping), and Thure Wensjoe (court chaplain).

Lars Eckerdal has pointed out that E. G. Bring was responsible for the committee's theological consideration of the proposal of the Agenda submitted on 6 February 1854 (hereafter 1854 Bring Proposal or 1854 BP). It was Bring who had formulated and drafted the motivating motif section of the proposal, which we will consider in the next chapter.²²

Bring was at that time professor in pastoral theology in Lund and would some years later become bishop in Linköping (1861–84). In the summer of 1851 he had made a study trip to Germany, visiting many universities to hear lectures and having intimate conversations with a number of the leading figures among the Lutheran theologians. They included Kliefoth, Stahl,

(Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1979), 19.

²¹ Cf., Oloph Bexell, *Liturgins Teologi hos U. L. Ullman*, *Bibliotheca Theologiae Practicae Kyrkovetenskapliga Studier*, no. 42 (Stockholm: Författaren och Kyrkovetenskapliga institutet, 1987), 43.

²² Lars Eckerdal, *Skriftermål som nattvardsberedelse: Allmänt skriftermål i svenska kyrkans gudstjänstliv från 1811 års till 1942 års kyrkohandbok*, BTP, no. 23 (Lund, 1970), 54. See also Oloph Bexell, *Liturgins Teologi hos* (continued next page)

Delitzsch, Harless, Hofmann, Höfling, Thomasius, Löhe, and others, many of whom he had known through their writings.²³ Bring wrote a number of letters from Germany to his wife, in which we are informed what he thought about them. It is evident that Bring received an immense influence from Kliefoth, whom he called “the dear, splendid Kliefoth.”²⁴ Kliefoth would become the chief teacher of Bring and the so-called Great Faculty of Lund.

Together with a couple of his colleagues, Vilhelm Flensburg (later bishop in Lund, 1865–97) and Anton Niklas Sundberg (later bishop in Karlstad, 1864–70, then archbishop, 1870–1900), Bring started *Swensk Kyrkotidning* in 1855, which was published during a period of ten years and became the organ for the so-called Lund Highchurchship (*lundhögkyrkligheten*).²⁵ Although this characterization of “high church” evokes the term used within the Anglican tradition, in Sweden it refers to the neo-Lutheran orientation out of the Confessional Revival in Germany. Brilioth has observed that Bring “followed in the steps of the German movement headed by Kliefoth and Löhe,”²⁶ and according to Reed the liturgical movement of the nineteenth century under the leadership of Kliefoth and Löhe “swept across to Sweden and enlisted the energies of the members of the Lund school and others in that country.”²⁷ These observations are supported by a Swedish church historian, Anders Jarlert, who notes that the theological faculties of Lund and Uppsala, normally characterized as “high church” and “low

U. L. Ullman (Stockholm: Författaren och Kyrkovetenskapliga Institutet, 1987), 43.

²³ On this point, see Sven Kjällström, “Sätt till att ordinera en vald bishop 1561–1942,” *Bibliotheca Theologiae Practicae*, no. 33 (Lund, 1974), 154f.

²⁴ “den käre, präktige Kliefoth,” Kjällström, “Sätt till att ordinera,” 154. When Bring was in Germany in the summer of 1851, Theodosius Harnack was still not there in Erlangen to teach, for his period at Erlangen was 1853–1865. Löhe was known at that time only for his diaconate program.

²⁵ Its theology has been an object of a comprehensive analysis by Erik Wallgren in his book, *Individen och samfundet: Bidrag till kännedomen om samfundstänkandet i Swensk Kyrkotidning 1855–1563*, STL, no. 16 (Lund, 1959).

²⁶ Brilioth, *Eucharistic Faith and Practice*, 262.

²⁷ Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, 122.

church,” respectively, were *both* inspired by confessional theology from Germany at this time.²⁸ Whether designated as “high church” or “low church,” the Confessional Revival of Germany had enormous consequences in Sweden.²⁹

The influence of this neo-Lutheran theological school of Lund was spread not only in the Lund area but in the whole of Sweden. This took place not only because of the publication of the *Swensk Kyrkotidning*, but also because in ten years all three journal founders became bishops; one of them, Sundberg became Archbishop of Sweden for three decades (1870–1900).³⁰ The influence was felt among pastors as well as scholars. This means that the 1894 Agenda, which introduced our phrase officially, under the leadership of U. L. Ullman, was created during a time when neo-Lutheran theology was strong, through the guidance of Archbishop Sundberg. In fact, Sundberg himself served with Ullman in the committee to revise the Agenda.

In the first volume of the *Swensk Kyrkotidning*, Bring wrote a lengthy article, “Concerning the Church” (*Om kyrkan*).³¹ Beneath this title of the article, Bring wrote in parenthesis: “according to Kliefoth, *Acht Bücher von der Kirche*, 1st volume, Schwerin and Rostock, 1854.”³² His introductory words to the article as well as to the journal would explain his subscript:

There are full of reasons to begin a church journal (*en kyrkotidning*) with a statement which explains on what basis it understands the nature and essence of the church. It seems

²⁸ Anders Jarlert, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, vol. 6: *Romantikens och liberalismens tid* (Stockholm: Verbum Förlag, 2001), 179. Also Carl Henrik Lyttkens, *The Growth of Swedish-Anglican Intercommunion between 1833–1922*, trans. Neil Tomkinson and Jean Gray (Lund: Gleerups, 1970), 157: “. . . in spite of the antagonism, these two schools (i.e., the “High Church school” at Lund and the “Low Church” at Uppsala) had a common background, viz. German neo-Lutheranism.”

²⁹ Ernst Haack, “Theodor Friedrich Dethlof Kliefoth,” *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 51 (Leipzig: Verlag von Duncker & Humblot, 1906), 225.

³⁰ Cf., Kjällerström, “Sätt till att ordinera,” 153; Lyttkens, *The Growth of Swedish-Anglican Inter-communion*, 177.

³¹ Bring’s articles in the *Swensk Kyrkotidning* are found in volume 1 (1855), 1–20, 70–82, 161–70, volume 2 (1856), 49–61, 81–88, 369–84.

³² As will be discussed later, the second part or volume 2 of Kliefoth’s *Acht Bücher von der Kirche* was never published. This means that only the first four books on the church appeared in the book that Bring et al. were considering.

doubly necessary to give a definite statement in the present time precisely when many opinions concerning the church are being circulated with mutual misunderstanding and often without clarity. As we are now considering to make our confession, we are happy to be able to do this under the guidance of the above-mentioned splendid work, with whose fundamental view we are in complete agreement. The subjects which we aim to say can most appropriately be touched on in four particular articles, which correspond to the four books of Kliefoth that are contained in the first volume of his work being published at the present.³³

Here Bring, with Sundberg and Flensburg, explains that the purpose of publishing this journal is to discuss the issues of the church, her nature and essence. Before they begin to write about the various problems of the church, they desire to explain their point of view on the church as their confession. They say they are “in complete agreement” with the ecclesiology of Theodor Kliefoth. Furthermore, the four parts (articles) of their “Concerning the Church” followed the first four books in Kliefoth’s *Acht Bücher von der Kirche* in outline.³⁴ We observe here how Bring and his colleagues were convinced of and impressed by the ecclesiology confessed by Kliefoth. *Swensk Kyrkotidning* was first published only one year after the publication of Kliefoth’s *Acht Bücher*. As we expect, Bring’s “*Om Kyrkan*” may be read as a summary of Kliefoth’s book, and indeed it is.

³³ E. G. Bring, “Om Kyrkan,” *Swensk Kyrkotidning* 1 (April 1855): 1.

³⁴ Compare the titles of each of the eight books on the church by Kliefoth, of which only first four have been written and published, and the titles of the four articles in Bring’s “Concerning the Church” in *Swensk Kyrkotidning*.

Kliefoth’s *Acht Bücher*:

Book 1	Concerning the Kingdom of God in the Time of the Church
Book 2	Concerning the Means of Grace and their Office
Book 3	Concerning the Congregation and her Service
Book 4	Concerning the Church, her Order and her Governance
Book 5	Concerning the Development of the Church and her Law
Book 6	Concerning the Development of the Church with respect to Space
Book 7	Concerning the Development of the Church with respect to Time
Book 8	Concerning the Consummation of the Church

Bring’s four-part article in his “Concerning the Church”:

Part 1	God’s Kingdom as Church
Part 2	The Means of Grace and their Office
Part 3	The Congregation and the Service
Part 4	Concerning the Church Order and the Church Government

Kliefoth was quite evidently attractive to Bring in his ministry in Lund. Kliefoth was a leader of the Confessional Revival in Germany. He was not at a university, but was a pastor, preacher, theologian, and bishop. He was full of vital Lutheran theology and liturgiology. He had great ability to reorganize the church after the revolution that swept across Europe in the middle of the century (1848). Moreover, he was fighting the similar battle as Bring—how to recover the life of the church and her Divine Service from the defects that had come through pietism and the Enlightenment. The pure administration of the means of grace was the point by which Kliefoth judged both Roman and Reformed churches.³⁵

We only highlight some of the emphases in these articles, in order that we may compare and verify the theological “agreement” of Bring with Kliefoth, which we will consider at length below.

The first part (article) of Bring’s essay has to do with God’s work of salvation. Bring traces this history beginning with the creation of the world and continuing through the fall, the incarnation of Christ, His suffering, death, resurrection, ascension, and session at the right hand of God, the sending of the Holy Spirit, and then the consummation. Bring locates the time of the church between the time of revelation and the time of fulfillment. While the time of revelation stretches from the first promise of salvation to the word becoming flesh and living among us, the time of the church extends from the Lord’s first coming to His return, during which the world is gathered to the Lord and His salvation through evangelistic preaching.³⁶ As Luther did in his *Against the Heavenly Prophets* and elsewhere,³⁷ Bring makes a distinction between Christ’s work of salvation accomplishment and His work of salvation distribution. The Lord’s ascension

³⁵ Theodor Kliefoth, *Acht Bücher von der Kirche* (Schwerin and Rostock: Stiller’schen Hofbuchhandlung, 1854), 117.

³⁶ Bring, “Om Kyrkan,” *Svensk Kyrkotidning* 1 (April 1855): 3.

³⁷ WA 18: 203. 27–35; AE 40: 213–14.

is located in the intersection between them, as is evidenced in the ascension mentioned at the end of the Gospels and at the beginning of the Book of Acts.³⁸ Ascended to heaven, Christ is everywhere present. He continues His activity on earth. “The word ‘He dwelt among us’ (Jn 1:14) changes through the ascension only to this: ‘He is near with us all the days to the end of the world’ (Mt 28:20).”³⁹ Christ is the Lamb who has died and now lives in the midst of the throne of God. He also distributes His salvation now on earth, by sending the Holy Spirit, who is the Spirit of life and the Spirit of revealing and announcing the word and work of salvation. The work of the Spirit is always bound to Christ.

Such confession of the church as the place of the Lord’s work of salvation distribution, which Bring expounded in his first part of the article, is followed in the second part by the confession of the means of grace and their office. The church is created by God; it is not a mere association of individuals coming together and thus making the church, but rather is a corporate living organism with members. The church is not constituted associably through man’s decision and will, but through the means of grace sacramentally. Bring confesses the means of grace with a citation from the Smalcald Articles III, 8.⁴⁰ The church is a divine grace-institution (*gudomlig nådesanstalt*), where the means of grace are *given out* (δόσις) and *received* (λήψις).⁴¹ Christ has instituted both the means of grace and the office that distributes them. The distinction between those who give and those who receive the means of grace is not a later development in the church, but rather is the design and institution of Christ Himself.⁴² The task of the office (*embete* [=*ämbete*]) is nothing other than the distribution of the means of grace by way of preaching the

³⁸ Bring, “Om Kyrkan,” 11–12.

³⁹ Ibid., 12–13.

⁴⁰ *Svensk Kyrkotidning* 5 (June 1855): 71.

⁴¹ Bring repeats the words “giving” and “receiving” quite often in his second part of the article. “Om Kyrkan,” *Svensk Kyrkotidning* 5 (June 1855): 70–80; 6 (June 1855): 81–96; 11 (September 1855): 161–70.

word and administering the sacraments.⁴³ The man in the office is a man sent by Christ to do this task.

It was because of such convictions as evidenced in the *Swensk Kyrkotidning*'s program that Bring was labeled as standing not "on his own feet, but on Kliefoth's."⁴⁴ This designation was applied not only to Bring but naturally also to his two colleagues, Flensburg and Sundberg.

Theodor Kliefoth—An Introduction

We now turn our attention to Theodor Kliefoth, who had such an immense theological and liturgical influence on Bring. Despite his leading role within the Confessional Revival of nineteenth-century Germany, Kliefoth is still not well known in the American Lutheran scene today. This is largely due to the fact that his massive writings have not yet been translated into English.⁴⁵

What follows here may serve to do something toward making this hero of the Confessional Revival more widely known. The attempt will be made to identify what enlivens and integrates his theology. This may then serve as a resource for recognizing what may be antiphonal responses in Sweden's liturgical revival.

⁴² *Svensk Kyrkotidning* 11 (September 1855): 161–63.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 164.

⁴⁴ Ernst Newman quotes this phrase, which appears repeatedly in E. G. Bring's biographical notes, from Gottfrid Billing, *Biskopen m. m. Ebbe Gustaf Bring* (Lund: 1886), 59. The label may have been given by Bring's opponents. Ernst Newman, *Svensk Högkyrkklighet, Lågkyrkklighet och Frikyrkklighet: Kyrkohistoriska Studier* (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1932), 232.

⁴⁵ The only English translation as far as this author is aware so far is "General View of Divine Worship as Held by the Lutheran Church," trans. B. M. Schmucker, *The Evangelical Review* 24 (April 1855): 576–94. This article is a translation of pages 8–31 of *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung in den deutschen Kirchen lutherischen Bekenntnisses, ihre Destruction und Reformation* (Rostock and Schwerin: Verlag der Stillerschen Hofbuchhandlung, 1847). G. F. Spieker wrote an article, "The Sacrificial Idea in Christian Worship," in *Memoirs of the Lutheran Liturgical Association*, vol. 3 (1900–1901), 89–100. At the end of his article, Spieker notes: "Principal Source: Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen*."

Biographical Sketch

Theodor Friedrich Dethloff Kliefoth was born on 18 January 1810, the son of a pastor, Johann Christoph Kliefoth (1772–1869).⁴⁶ Having finished gymnasium in Schwerin, he studied theology at Berlin (1829–30) and Rostock Universities (1830–32). Kliefoth mentions two professors from his time in Berlin: Neander and Schleiermacher.⁴⁷ In 1832–33 he served as a candidate in the neighborhood of Waren, and then in 1833 he was called as instructor for the young man who would later become the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg, Friedrich Franz II. To this end, he first went to Berlin to be trained, then began his duty in Ludwigslust, where the Duke's palace was, and finally went to Dresden with the young Friedrich Franz (1837–39).

In 1839 he published his first book, *Einleitung in die Dogmengeschichte*, and for this work he was awarded a Doctor of Philosophy from Rostock University in the same year (18 October 1839). When Friedrich Franz was confirmed (December 1839), Kliefoth returned to Mecklenburg. After ordination he was called as pastor in 1840 to Ludwigslust. The same year he was married to Agnes Luise Alexandrine Walter, a daughter of the senior preacher of Ludwigslust, Friedrich Karl Ernst Walter; they would have seven children. When Agnes died in 1866, Kliefoth married her sister, Gertrud Wilhelmine Christiane Elisabeth Walter.⁴⁸ Within a

⁴⁶ Kliefoth is not unrelated to The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod. One of the prominent leaders of the synod in the early years, Friedrich August Crämer, who was “Lutheran scholar, pioneer missionary among the Indians, pastor, professor (seminaries at Ft. Wayne, St. Louis, and Springfield) and president (Springfield) for 41 years,” according to a bronze tablet featuring his profile which now rests in Concordia Theological Seminary's archive, was ordained into the Office of the Holy Ministry by Kliefoth at the Cathedral Church in Schwerin on 4 April 1845. Lawrence Rast Jr., “Friedrich August Crämer: Faithful Servant in Christ's Church,” *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 64 (January 2000): 50, 60. Schwerin frequently also sent financial support for the ongoing work of the LCMS.

⁴⁷ Cf., Ernst Haack, *Theodor Kliefoth: Ein Charakterbild aus der Zeit der Erneuerung des christlichen Glaubensleben und der lutherische Kirche im 19. Jahrhundert* (Schwerin: F. Bahn, 1910), 70.

⁴⁸ A forty-six page booklet of Kliefoth's family tree was published in 1909. *Stammbaum im Großherzogtum Mecklenburg–Schwerin entsprossenen Kliefoth'schen Familie* (Sieburg: W. Reckinger). According to this booklet on page 4, Kliefoth had three sons and four daughters. Adolf (b. 1847) was pastor and seminary professor, Hugo (b. 1849) was Higher Church Council's official (*Oberkirchenratskanzlist*), and Theodor (b. 1859) was pastor in Roseville Macomb, Michigan and Johnsson Creek, Wisconsin. Out of four daughters, Klara (b. 1842), Bertha (b. 1845), and Henriette (b. 1854) were married with pastors. Gertrud (b. 1851) lived with her stepmother in Schwerin. (continued next page)

few years, his sermons were published in a series of books. He founded a mission society, built schools for neglected children, and already occupied a leading position in the territorial church.

In 1844 he succeeded his father as Superintendent of the Diocese of Schwerin. He also became the preacher of the cathedral there. Again, a collection of his sermons was published out of his sermons preached at the cathedral (more than 10 volumes). On 11 March 1847, he was awarded an honorary Doctor of Theology from the University of Königsberg and a few days later, on March 15, the same also from the University of Rostock. Martin Grahl states that Kliefoth's life and the formation of the new structure of the territorial church may not be separable. From the examination for ordination to the formation of the higher church council (*Oberkirchenrat*), and from the development of the church constitution to the liturgical reorganization, Kliefoth was the leader.⁴⁹

In 1848 he became a chairman of the newly formed *Kirchenkommission*. The same year Kliefoth took part in the dialogue in Leipzig that, in contrast to the church congress of Wittenberg, was seeking to bring together only the Lutherans among the evangelical churches. Kliefoth's paper on the question of the church constitution was accepted as the program. The next year, Kliefoth became a member of the *Oberkirchenrat*, which provided and exercised the autonomy of the church from the state "in sacra." Since 1852 he represented the territorial church of Mecklenburg in the Eisenach Conference of the Evangelical Church Governance of Germany (*Eisenacher Konferenz der evangelischer Kirchenregierungen Deutschlands*). In 1853 he declined a call to Dresden, for which his duke was thankful. From 1854 to 1859 he published the *Kirchliche Zeitschrift* together with Professor Dr. Otto Mejer of Rostock University, and then

The present author is grateful to the *Landeskirchliches Archiv in Schwerin* and its head archivist Dr. Peter Wurm for providing a copy of this booklet.

⁴⁹ Martin Grahl, "Verklärung: Die Konzeption der Heilsgeschichte bei Theodor Kliefoth" (D. Theol. diss., University of Rostock, 2001), 7.

from 1860 to 1864 he published the *Theologische Zeitschrift* along with Professor Dr. A. Dieckhoff of Rostock University.

Ernst Haack comments that Kliefoth “gradually became the representative of all Lutheran-minded people, and not only from territorial and free churches of Germany, but also from Sweden and America people turned to him for opinion (*Gutachten*) on the burning problems of the church.”⁵⁰ We are attempting to record one of Kliefoth’s overseas influences in this dissertation. In 1894 he retired from the *Oberkirchenrat*, of which he was then the president (since 1886). The following year he died. Kliefoth was buried at the newly furnished “Old Graveyard” in Schwerin right behind the chancel of the Graveyard Chapel. The grave stone, which this author visited, reads: “Here rests in God Oberkirchenrat’s President, Doctor of Theology Theodor Kliefoth, born on 18 January 1810, died on 26 January 1895—The thankful clergy of the territory” (*Die dankbare Landesgeistlichkeit*). The Scripture is from Daniel 12:3: “Those who are wise shall shine like the brightness of the firmament” (*Die Lehrer werden leuchten wie des Himmels Glanz!*).

Kliefoth’s Published Works

Kliefoth’s works include the following:

- What benefits may the soul carer [pastor] expect from the study of the history of dogma? (1833).
“Welchen Nutzen darf sich der Seelsorger aus dem Studium der Dogmengeschichte versprechen?” *Kirchen- und Schulblatt* 2, no. 2 (1833): 33–120.
- Concerning the present viewpoint of the Lutheran dogmatics (1833).
“Über der heutigen Standpunkt der lutherischen Dogmatik.” *Kirchen- und Schulblatt* 2, no. 3 (1833): 1–74.
- Concerning the elders (1834).
“Über die Presbyterien.” *Kirchen- und Schulblatt* 3, no. 3 (1834).

⁵⁰ Ernst Haack, “Theodor Friedrich Dethlof Kliefoth,” in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* vol. 51 (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1906), 225.

- History of dogma (1839).
Einleitung in die Dogmengeschichte. Parchim und Ludwigslust: D. C. Hinstorffschen Hofbuchhandlung, 1839.
- With respect to the clergy and the teaching profession of the superintendentship of Schwerin (1844).
“An die Geistlichkeit und den Lehrstand der Superintendentur Schwerin.” Hamburg: Inaugural Script, Schwerin, 1844.
- Theory of cultus (1844).
Theorie des Kultus in der evangelischen Kirche. Parchim und Ludwigslust: Hinstorff’schen Hofbuchhandlung, 1844.
- Concerning sermon and catechesis yesterday and today (1846).
“Über Predigt und Katechese in der Vergangenheit und in der Gegenwart.” *Meckl. Kirchen- und Zeitblatt 2* (1846): 1–55, 169–245.
- Liturgical papers (1845–47).
Liturgische Blätter für Mecklenburg. Ed. Kliefoth. Schwerin and Rostock: Stillerschen Hofbuchhandlung, 1845–47.
- Origin of the Divine Service (1847).
Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung in den deutschen Kirchen lutherischen Bekenntnisses, ihre Destruction und Reformation. Rostock and Schwerin: Stillerschen Hofbuchhandlung, 1847.
- Theses toward the question of constitution (1848).
“Thesen zur Verfassungsfrage.” *Meckl. Kirchen- und Zeitblatt*, 45ff. (1848).
- Our task (1848).
“Unsere Aufgabe.” *Zeitblatt für die evangelische-lutherische Kirche Mecklenburgs*, 1848.
- Against Rome, a testimony in the sermons (1852).
Wider Rom Ein Zeugni in Predigten. Three sermons. Schwerin and Rostock, 1852.
- The consecration of marriage (1853).
Die Einsegnung der Ehe. Schwerin, 1853.
- Baptism (1853).
Die Taufe. Schwerin, 1853.
- Liturgical essay, vol. 1: the consecration of marriage, concerning the funeral, concerning the ordination and introduction (1854).
Liturgische Abhandlungen 1: Die Einsegnung der Ehe, Vom Begräbniß, Von der Ordination und Introduction. Schwerin and Rostock: Stiller’schen Hof-Buchhandlung, 1854.
- Eight books on the church (1854).
Acht Bücher von der Kirche. Schwerin and Rostock: Stiller’schen Hofbuchhandlung, 1854.
- To the esteemed theological faculty at Göttingen (1854).
“An die hochwürdige theologische Facultät der Georg Augustus Universität zu Göttingen.” *Kirchliche Zeitschrift* (1854): 1–77.

- Baptism ritual (1855).
Taufritual. Schwerin, 1855, 8 pages.
- Republishing of *Kirchenordnungen* of 1602/1650 (1855).
Revidierte Kirchenordnung: Wie es mit Christlicher Lehre, Reichung der Sacramenten, Ordination der Diener des Evangelii, ordentlichen Ceremonien in der Kirchen, Visitation, Consistorio und Schulen: Im Hertsogthumb Mecklenburg etc. gehalten wirdt. Schwerin: A. W. Sandmeyer, 1855.
- The explanation for theological faculty at Göttingen concerning the present crisis of the ecclesiastical life (1855).
“Die Erklärung der theologischen Fakultät zu Göttingen in Veranlassung ihrer Denkschrift ... über die gegenwärtige Krisis des kirchliche Lebens.” *Kirchliche Zeitschrift* (1855): 95–171.
- The Göttingen theological faculty and the Lutheran ‘faction’ (1855).
Die Göttinger theologische Fakultät und die lutherische ‘Partei. Two articles from *Kirchliche Zeitschrift*. Schwerin and Rostock, 1855.
- The forthcoming Prussian territorial synod (1856).
“Die bevorstehende Preussische Landessynode.” *Kirchlichen Zeitschrift*, 1856.
- Liturgical essays, vol. 2: confession and absolution (1856).
Liturgische Abhandlungen, vol. 2: Die Beichte und Absolution. Schwerin: Stiller’sche Hof-Buchhandlung, 1856.
- Liturgical essays, vol. 3: confirmation (1856).
Liturgische Abhandlungen, vol. 3: Confirmation. Schwerin: Stiller’sche Hof-Buchhandlung, 1856.
- “Scriptural Proof” against Hofmann (1858-59).
Der Schriftbeweis des D. J. Chr. K. v. Hofmann. Schwerin: Stiller’sche Hofbuchhandlung, 1860. First appeared in *Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 1858–59.
- Origin of the Divine Service, second edition, 5 vols. (1858–61). They are also titled as Liturgical essays, vols. 4-8, at the same time.
Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung in den deutschen Kirchen lutherischen Bekenntnisses, ihre Destruction und Reformation. Schwerin: Stillerschen Hof-Buchhandlung, 1858–61. Also *Liturgische Abhandlungen*. Schwerin: Stiller’sche Hof-Buchhandlung, 1858–61. Vol. 4 (1858), vol. 5 (1859), vol. 6 (1859), vol. 7 (1861), vol. 8 (1861).
- Daily lectionary from the Old and New Testaments according to the church year (1859).
Lesestücke aus dem Alten und Neuen Testament auf alle Tage des Jahres nach Maßgabe des Kirchenjahres. Schwerin: Stiller’sche Hofbuchhandlung, 1859. This work went through several editions.
- Toward History of the Litany (1861).
“Zur Geschichte der Litanei.” *Güstrow, N. Mecklenburg Kirchenblatt* (1861): 85-131.
- Concerning the relation of the territorial lord as possessor of ecclesiastical power to territorial authority (1861).
“Über des Verhältnis der Landesherren als Inhaber der Kirchengewalt zu ihren Landesbehörden.” *Theologische Zeitschrift* 2, no. 5 (1862): 623–83.

- Symbolism of numbers in Scripture (1862).
 “Die Zahlensymbolik der Heiligen Schrift.” *Theologische Zeitschrift*, 1862.
- Commentary on Zechariah (1862).
Der Prophet Sacharjah. Schwerin: Stiller’schen Hof-Buchhandlung, 1862.
- Two political theologians: Dr. Daniel Schenkel in Heidelberg and Dr. J. Chr. K. von Hofmann in Erlangen (1864).
Zwei politische Theologen Dr. Daniel Schenkel in Heidelberg und Dr. J. Chr. K. von Hofmann in Erlangen. Schwerin, 1864.
- Commentary on Ezekiel (1864).
Das Buch Ezechiels. Rostock: Hinstorff’sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1864.
- Response to the explanation of the Erlangen professors Thomasius, Delitzsch, Harnack, Schmid and Frank (1865).
Erwiderung auf die Erklärung der Erlanger Prof. Thomasius, Delitzsch, Harnack, Schmid und Frank. Schwerin, 1865.
- Lectionary for morning and evening service by order of the German Evangelical Church Conference in Eisenach (1866).
Lectionar für tägliche Morgen- und Abendgottesdienste im Auftrage der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenkonferenz in Eisenach. Schwerin, 1865.
- What does the Article 7 of the Augsburg Confession call for with regard to the church governance of the Lutheran Church? (1868).
Was fordert Art. 7 der Augsburgischen Konfession hinsichtlich des Kirchenregiments der lutherischen Kirche?: Vortrag gehalten auf der Allg. Lutherischen Konferenz im Juli 1868 von Oberkirchenrat D. Kliefoth Schwerin. Cassel: Pillardy & Augustin, 1868.
- Commentary on Daniel (1868).
Das Buch Daniels. Schwerin: Sandmeyer, 1868.
- Cationale, 4 vols. (1868–80).
Cationale für die evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirchen im Großherzogthum Mecklenburg-Schwerin. 2 Theile, 2 Abtheilungen. Schwerin: Sandmeyer, vol. 1, part 1 (1868); vol. 1, part 2 (1880); vol. 2, part 1 (1875); vol. 2, part 2 (1887).
- The Prussian state and church (1873).
Der preuß. Staat u. die Kirchen. Leipzig: Dörffling u. Franke, 1873.
- Commentary on Revelation (1874).
Die Offenbarung des Johannes. Leipzig: Dörffling und Franke, 1874.
- Common prayer book (1883–84).
Allgemeines Gebetbuch, 1883–84.
- Christian eschatology (1886).
Christliche Eschatologie. Leipzig: Dörffling und Franke, 1886.

In addition to these works, there are collections of sermons composed of at least ten volumes in two series, one from his sermons at the parish in Ludwigslust⁵¹ and the other at the cathedral in Schwerin.⁵² Each volume arranged his sermons according to the church year. Grahl counted 259 published sermons in those volumes.⁵³

Also Kliefoth published more than seventy hymns. He was a theological consultant in designing the second parish in Schwerin, St. Paul's Church.⁵⁴ He was involved in the life of the

⁵¹ Although there is a possibility of not collecting all volumes, the present author found at the *Landeskirchliches Archiv in Schwerin* three books of Kliefoth's sermon collections from those years, published in 1841, 1843, and 1846. The first one is *Das Zeugniß der Seele: Zwanzig Predigten, in der Gemeinde zu Ludwigslust gehalten von Dr. Th. Kliefoth, Prediger zu Ludwigslust* (Parchim and Ludwigslust: Hinstorff, 1841). Twenty sermons are contained from the years 1840 and 1841. There were reprints of this work from 1844 and 1853 at the archive. The second one is *Predigten, in der Gemeinde zu Ludwigslust gehalten von Dr. Th. Kliefoth, Prediger daselbst* (Parchim and Ludwigslust: Hinstorff, 1843). Thirty sermons in all from the years 1841 and 1842. This second volume were republished at least in the years 1847 and 1856. The third one is *Predigten, in der Gemeinde zu Ludwigslust gehalten von Dr. Th. Kliefoth, jetzt Superintendenten und erstem Domprediger zu Schwerin* (Parchim and Ludwigslust: Hinstorff, 1846). This work contains thirty six sermons from the years 1843–1844. There was a 1853 reprint of this third volume at the archive. Such numbers of editions indicate that Kliefoth's sermons were widely read.

⁵² Again, there may be some overlooked materials, but at the *Landeskirchliches Archiv in Schwerin* the present author had access to five volumes of the sermon collections. They are numbered as volume 4, part 1 (1854), volume 4, part 2 (1855), volume 4, part 3 (1857), volume 5, part 1 (1858), volume 5, part 2 (1859). The title of those volumes is the same, *Predigten in der Domkirche zu Schwerin gehalten von Dr. Th. Kliefoth, Oberkirchenrath* (Schwerin and Rostock: Stiller). Volume 4, part 1 contains twenty six sermons from the years between 1844–53, volume 4, part 2 has twenty nine sermons from the years between 1845–53, volume 5, part 1 has twenty eight sermons from the years between 1854–57, and volume 5, part 2, with twenty two sermons from the years between 1854–57 again. There exist publications of Kliefoth's occasional sermons from time to time.

⁵³ Grahl, 371–77. The present author owns seven of those volumes. At the *Landeskirchliches Archiv in Schwerin* there were most of those volumes collected. But unfortunately because of the unusual volume numbering system, we relied on the counting of Grahl here.

⁵⁴ The details of the theological meaning of the architecture, especially the stained glass windows, are described by Grahl in his dissertation, pp. 1–6, 306–16, and 379. See also Martin Grahl, "Die Schweriner St. Paulskirche: Eine Führung aus theologischer Sicht," in *Die Schweriner St. Paulskirche und ihre Orgel: Festschrift aus Anlaß der Wiedereinweihung der restaurierten Friese-Orgel von 1869 zum 130jährigen Bestehen von Instrument und Raum*, ed. Christian Skobowsky commissioned by the St. Paul's Congregation of Schwerin (Schwerin: Verlagsgruppe, 1999), 27–34; idem, "Theodor Kliefoth—Theologe der Kirchenbaukommission," *Die Schweriner St. Paulskirche und ihre Orgel*, 35–40. On the Apostles Peter and Paul's day, 29 June 1869, St. Paul's Church was dedicated. St. Paul's Church was newly built when the Grand Duke's residence moved from Ludwigslust back to Schwerin, and when the interest to build a tower for the cathedral church was raised. The St. Paul's Church was built in the western side of Schwerin using the amount of money left to use for building the tower of the mother church of Schwerin. At the dedication service, Kliefoth was the liturgist and preacher. There the new Mecklenburg Agenda, the aforementioned *Cantionale*, was introduced. Kliefoth gave several characteristic features to the architecture of St. Paul's. For example, the baptismal font which stands in the chancel had four sides. The symbolism was not taken from the traditional four Gospels but from Ezekiel. This may indicate that Kliefoth viewed the church as the new promised temple, which is there from the time of the sacrifice of Christ to the
(continued next page)

church by way of publishing a Church Order,⁵⁵ a daily lectionary, a prayer book, and a hymnbook.⁵⁶ His above-mentioned *Cantionale* of four volumes in folio size contains rich liturgical resources such as the order of service of all Sundays, daily services, prayers, and Lutheran music.⁵⁷ Kliefoth never tired in preparing liturgical resources for the church.

Kliefoth wrote and published on wide-ranging topics. His interest ranged from the history of dogma to liturgy, pastoral care, ecclesiology, church governance, and exegetical works. He

consummation. The space was designed in the way of the temple. The altar area is square, and the congregational area was designed in the proportion of one to two rectangular. Inside of the communion rail was designed as the Holy of Holies, and the sanctuary area was designed as the Holy Place, according to the designation in Ezekiel. Above the altar there are three pieces of large picture boards. At the center there is a picture of crucifixion. This corresponds to Kliefoth's understanding of the sacrifice, on which the Christian Divine Service bases. God has replaced all the Old Testament sacrifice with Christ's once and for all atonement. Surrounding this crucifixion picture are the Incarnation of Christ on the left hand side and His resurrection on the right. Above the altar there are three sets of massive stained glass. See Grahl's description of them in his dissertation. We will simply mention that exactly above the crucifixion picture is a large stained glass of Jesus at His Transfiguration. Grahl picked up the centrality of this picture of the Transfiguration as his understanding of Kliefoth's theology.

⁵⁵ We will discuss about it later when we deal with Kliefoth's ecclesiology, but here we note that in Mecklenburg, the original Church Order prepared by Philipp Melanchthon in 1552 (see Karl Schumartz, *Kirchengeschichte Mecklenburgs*, vol. 2: *Reformation und Gegenreformation* [Schwerin: Friedrich Bahn, 1936], 78) was not well received so that it was revised by David Chytraeus in 1602. The major difference between 1552 and 1602 editions is the addition to the latter concerning the theological issues discussed in the Formula of Concord. When many copies of the 1602 edition were lost during the Thirty Years War, it was republished in 1650. At the time of Kliefoth, this 1650 Church Order was still effective and binding, although people had stopped caring about it during the era dominated by Pietism and Rationalism, just as people were worshipping not using the official hymnal or the church year. Kliefoth republished in 1855 this edition of the Church Order with his preface, which continued to be valid until 1927.

⁵⁶ Hymns are lined up according to the order as follows: I. For the daily use; II. Festival hymns (i.e., according to the church year); III. Church and the Means of Grace, a) Catechism hymns (i.e., according to six chief parts), b) Station hymns (i.e., on Christian vocation); IV. Order of Salvation (i.e., hymns in various needs); V. The Last Things; VI and VII. Appendices (including prayers, lectionary, Luther's Small Catechism). Such order and content of the hymnbook reflects evangelical confession according to Luther and the Lutheran Confessions.

⁵⁷ Indeed, these four volumes of *Cantionale* should be considered as a major contribution in the field of Lutheran liturgical heritage and certainly as a culmination of Kliefoth's liturgical revisionary work. Kliefoth and the music director Otto Kade attempted and succeeded in the recovery of the liturgy of the time of the Reformation in a new form and appreciation. What had been sung in Latin in the years around 1600 were provided with new translations. It paid high esteem not only to the Reformation hymns but also the entire liturgy of that time. *Cantionale* restored the liturgical treasure of the Reformation and gave them new life. There were forty-nine sources consulted from the years 1524–1558. Where Kliefoth found only Latin texts, he carefully translated them and only rarely Kade composed new melodies for them. The text settings were carefully compared with the modern word usage and adjusted them. Where the Vulgate was used and the meaning of the original language was left secured, they were revised. Where German texts were in conflict with the melody, the melody was adjusted. As far as the church year, Kliefoth reintroduced the Epiphany celebration, and the Commemoration of the Reformation and the Day of harvest Thanksgiving became the fixed Sundays. An interesting note remains: "After all, it was only said that the whole communion service took no more than one and a half to two hours. The congregation would be tired in the worst case. But this is not to be afraid of if the sermon is no more than three quarters of an hour and the

(continued next page)

was also responding to burning theological issues and questions of the day.⁵⁸ Yet he never occupied a professorship at a university.⁵⁹ He was a much-loved preacher as well as a pastor and a bishop (superintendent) of Schwerin, Mecklenburg, and his Lutheran confessional leadership was much called for beyond his territorial church. Kliefoth was not an academician, although he received three doctorates. He was speaking to the church and was addressing churchly situations. Theology for Kliefoth was not for mere academic exercise or private scholarship, but for the life of the church. For him doctrine and liturgy belonged together. According to Herman Sasse, Kliefoth was the most important Lutheran episcopal figure in Germany.⁶⁰ John Kleinig considers him to be one of the greatest churchmen of the nineteenth century.⁶¹

Secondary Literature

There is a certain amount of secondary literature available with regard to Kliefoth's life and contribution. Biographical profiles include articles by Carl Mensel (1894),⁶² Ernst Haack

endless hymns were not sung" (*Cantionale*, vol. 1, part 1 [1868]: 35).

⁵⁸ Kliefoth was facing such questions as the Enlightenment's and pietism's effects on the liturgy, the union of Lutherans and the Reformed, the question on the nature of the church, the church governance issues after the revolution of 1848, the Erlangen theology, a question of non-denominational missions, historical-critical exegesis, progressive ideology, chiliasm, kenotic doctrine, etc.

⁵⁹ H. Stoll quotes Kliefoth's words of 30 December 1886: "when I was young, I had it in my head to become a professor of theology, especially in the area of church history. . . but God took my life in a totally different direction." H. Stoll, *Theodor Kliefoth als Kirchenführer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1936), 13.

⁶⁰ Hermann Sasse, "Der Ausgang der lutherischen Erweckung das 19. Jahrhunderts," in *In Statu Confessionis* (Berlin/Schleswig-Holstein: Die Spur, 1976) 2:167.

⁶¹ John Kleinig writes: "It is indeed a rare gift, for it combines qualities that do not usually coexist in the same person. Such a person blends theological acumen with organizational ability, spiritual discernment with liturgical flair, personal warmth with sober judgment, passion with pragmatism, a large vision with an ability to pay close attention to details. Theodor Kliefoth had this charisma in rich measure. . . . He knew that leadership in the church had to do with liturgical oversight and guidance in worship. That is what set him apart from his peers. They offered theological and pastoral leadership in troubled times; he gave liturgical leadership as well." "The Liturgical Heritage of Theodor Kliefoth" in *Lord Jesus Christ, Will You Not Stay* (Houston, TX: The Feuerhahn Festschrift Committee, 2002), 105–6.

⁶² Carl Mensel, ed., "Theodor Friedrich Dethloff Kliefoth," in *Kirchliches Handlexikon*, vol. 4, 11–13 (Leipzig: Justus Naumann, 1894).

(1901, 1906, 1910),⁶³ H. Stoll (1936),⁶⁴ and Friedrich Wilhelm Kantzenbach (1980, 1990).⁶⁵

There are a number of church historians who have depicted Kliefoth. We may note at least F.

Lichtenberger (1889),⁶⁶ N. P. Williams and Charles Harris (1933),⁶⁷ Karl Schmaltz (1935–50),⁶⁸

Emanuel Hirsch (1954),⁶⁹ Kenneth Scott Latourette (1959),⁷⁰ and Claude Welch (1972).⁷¹

Friedrich W. Kantzenbach (1968)⁷² and Walter H. Conser, Jr. (1984)⁷³ have treated

Kliefoth as a representative of neo-Lutherans. Others have examined specific aspects of

Kliefoth's contributions, such as Niklot Beste on Kliefoth's preaching (1951),⁷⁴ W. Schnoor on

⁶³ Ernst Haack, "Theodor Friedrich Dethlof Kliefoth," in *Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirchen*, vol. 10 (1901), 566–75; idem, "Theodor Friedrich Dethlof Kliefoth," in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 51 (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1906), 218–28; idem, *Theodor Kliefoth: Ein Charakterbild aus der Zeit der Erneuerung des christlichen Glaubensleben und der lutherische Kirche im 19. Jahrhundert* (Schwerin: F. Bahn, 1910). Haack was an important figure after Kliefoth in Mecklenburg as a member of *Oberkirchenrat*. At the head quarter of the territorial church of Meckleburg, a huge portrait of Haack was hung on the wall of the board room along with Kliefoth and Grand Dukes that they served.

⁶⁴ H. Stoll, *Theodor Kliefoth als Kirchenführer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1936).

⁶⁵ Friedrich Wilhelm Kantzenbach, "Theodor Kliefoth," in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 12, 65–66 (Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 1980); idem, "Theodor Kliefoth," in *Theologische Realencyclopädie*, vol. 19, 268–71 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1990).

⁶⁶ F. Lichtenberger, F., *History of German Theology in the Nineteenth Century*, trans. and ed. W. Hastie (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1889).

⁶⁷ N. P. Williams and Charles Harris ed., *Northern Catholicism: Centenary Studies in the Oxford and Parallel Movements* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1933).

⁶⁸ Karl Schmaltz, *Kirchengeschichte Mecklenburgs*, 3 vols. (Schwerin and Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1935–52).

⁶⁹ Emanuel Hirsch, *Geschichte der Neuern Evangelischen Theologie: im Zusammenhang mit den allgemeinen Bewegungen des europäischen Denkens*, vol. 5 (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1954). Hirsch regularly speaks of Kliefoth as a reprecinator just as Hengstenberg, Stahl, and Vilmar were.

⁷⁰ Kenneth Scott Latourette, *Christianity in a revolutionary Age: A History of Christianity in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, vol. 2: *The Nineteenth century in Europe: The Protestant and Eastern Churches* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959).

⁷¹ Claude Welch, *Protestant Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, vol. 1 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1972).

⁷² Friedrich W. Kantzenbach, *Gestalten und Typen des Neuluthertum* (Gütersloh: Verlagshaus G. Mohn, 1968).

⁷³ Walter H. Conser, Jr., *Church and Confession: Conservative Theologians in Germany, England, and America 1815–1866* (Mercer: Mercer University Press, 1984).

⁷⁴ Niklot Beste, "Theodor Kliefoth als Prediger," in *Viva Vox Evangelii: Eine Festschrift für Landesbischof D. Hans Meiser zum siebzigsten Geburtstag am 16. Februar 1951* (München, Claudius-Verlag, 1951), 21–28. Rev. Beste greeted with the present author when he visited the *Landeskirchliches Archiv in Schwerin*. The archive was located next to the head quarter of the territorial church of Mecklenburg. At the time of this author's visit, Rev. Beste was serving as bishop.

Kliefoth's doctrine of the church,⁷⁵ Joachim Heubach on his theology and practice of confession and absolution (1960),⁷⁶ Martin Ohst on Kliefoth's thinking on the history of dogma (1992),⁷⁷ and most recently John W. Kleinig on Kliefoth's liturgiology.⁷⁸

As far as doctoral dissertations are concerned, Kliefoth was one of the major figures in Holsten Fagerberg's treatment of the confessional theology of the nineteenth century among Lutherans (1952).⁷⁹ Walter Richard Bouman includes Kliefoth in his discussion of the ecclesiological question among Lutherans in the nineteenth century (1962).⁸⁰

Worthy of particular mention are two dissertations in which Kliefoth's work is presented. One is by Günther Kehnscherper, who wrote his "Das Wesen der Kirche nach Theodor Kliefoth" in 1953 at Leipzig with Dr. Ernst Sommerlath as his advisor. Kehnscherper examines Kliefoth's ecclesiology, having his main source in Kliefoth's *Acht Bücher von der Kirche*. The other is the latest work on Kliefoth by the already-mentioned Martin Grahl, "Verklärung: Die Konzeption

⁷⁵ W. Schnoor, "Kliefoths Lehre von der Kirche," *Evangelische-lutherische Kirchenzeitung* (15 June 1951): 165–68.

⁷⁶ Joachim Heubach, "Das Verständnis des Schlüsselamtes bei Löhle, Kliefoth und Vilmar," in *Bekennnis zur Kirche: Festgabe für Ernst Sommerlath zum 70. Geburtstag* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1960), 313–24.

⁷⁷ Martin Ohst, "Theodor Kliefoths 'Einleitung in die Dogmengeschichte': Ein Beitrag zur Genese des 'Neuluthertums,'" *Kerygma und Dogma* 38 (January/March 1992): 47–70.

⁷⁸ John Kleinig, "The Liturgical Heritage of Theodor Kliefoth," in *Lord Jesus Christ, Will You Not Stay* (Houston, TX: The Feuerhahn Festschrift Committee, 2002), 105–20. Kleinig's contribution on Kliefoth's liturgical theology is quite helpful, because apart from Conser's work mentioned above Kleinig's article was one of the long-awaited introductions of Kliefoth into the English-speaking world. We may note, however, that a number of liturgical scholars have mentioned Kliefoth's contribution, either positively, as Hermann Sasse ("Ecclesia Orans," *Logia* 2, no. 2 [1993]: 33), or negatively, as Yngve Brilioth (*Nattvarden i Evangeliskt Gudstänstliv*, 2nd. ed. Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1951), 195–96; idem, *Eucharistic Faith and Practice: Evangelical and Catholic*, trans. A. G. Herbert [London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1930], 131). Rudolf Stählin refers to Kliefoth in his essay on the history of Christian worship: "Everywhere there was a recovery of the sixteenth century divine service. But such remained only without any serious effort to regain the restorationist without penetrating new insights and early Christian understanding of the liturgy. . . ." (Karl Ferdinand Müller and Walter Blankenburg ed., *Leiturgia: Handbuch des evangelischen Gottesdienstes*, vol. 1 [Kassel: Johannes Stauda, 1954]: 77). We will test out whether Stählin's estimation would stand or not as we will examine Kliefoth's writings below.

⁷⁹ Holsten Fagerberg, *Bekennnis, Kirche und Amt: In der deutschen konfessionellen Theologie des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Boktryckeri, 1952).

⁸⁰ Walter Richard Bouman, "The Unity of the Church in 19th Century Confessional Lutheranism," D. Theol. diss., University of Heidelberg, 1962.

der Heilsgeschichte bei Theodor Kliefoth,” which he wrote at the University of Rostock in 2001. Unlike other works on Kliefoth, Grahl makes a major effort to examine Kliefoth’s contributions as a whole, assessing most if not all of the works and writings of Kliefoth.

When it comes to judging Kliefoth, there are a variety of opinions about his theological and ecclesiastical contributions. The titles “church dictator” or even “pope” were attributed to him.⁸¹ But these were labels from his liberal opponents who hated Kliefoth because of his defense against parliamentary intrusion into churchly matters. As will be indicated later when we discuss Kliefoth’s ecclesiology, he was neither bureaucratic nor hierarchical. His style of leadership was not businesslike nor autocratically centralized.

On the other hand, F. Lichtenberger suggests that “the most remarkable product of the new Lutheran School is without question the work of Kliefoth on the Church.”⁸² Claude Welch maintains: “the movement came closest to the ideal of a pure Lutheran reprimation under Kliefoth and Philippi, at the time giving Mecklenburg a reputation as the most intolerant church in Germany.”⁸³

As sometimes takes place, an evaluation of a theologian can depend on one particular source, upon which all others build their judgment without examining the primary sources very seriously. In the case of Theodor Kliefoth, Ernst Haack’s several biographical writings on Kliefoth seem to have served this purpose. It seems that Karl Schmaltz, Friedrich Kantzenbach, and others have followed Haack. Or perhaps their views may be seen as resulting from the widespread thesis that all theologies of the nineteenth century have Hegel and Schleiermacher as sources.

⁸¹ The charge of “church dictator” occurs in Walter Nigg, *Kirchliche Reaktion* (Leipzig: Beck, 1939), 57. Schmaltz wrote: “Very many esteemed him, still more hated him, many loved him, all feared him.” *Kirchengeschichte Mecklenburg*, 3: 441.

⁸² Lichtenberger, *History of German Theology in the Nineteenth Century*, 435.

It is interesting to compare the views of Haack and Schmaltz on Kliefoth with that of Martin Grahl. Haack's biography of Kliefoth indicates that he praises Kliefoth very highly, as he puts him in a group that includes Vilmar, Stahl, Thomasius, Krabbe, von Harleß, Löhe, Ludwig Harms, Wichern, Philippi, von Hofmann, and Delitzsch.⁸⁴ According to Haack, Kliefoth had a conversion experience during his first study years at Berlin. Haack assesses this experience as turning from rationalism to the "neue Theologie," that is, turning from Schleiermacher to the direction of the Lutheran Confessions.⁸⁵ Still, Haack makes the judgment that Kliefoth's *Theorie des Kultus* (1844) was subjectively Schleiermacherian;⁸⁶ but this was later changed. "His scholarly teacher was Schleiermacher and especially the great philosopher Hegel."⁸⁷ For Haack, Kliefoth followed the simple dialectic of Hegel in his *Einleitung in die Dogmengeschichte* (1839).

Schmaltz echoes this estimation by Haack in his third volume of *Kirchengeschichte Mecklenburgs* (1952). He also thinks that Kliefoth's *Dogmengeschichte* is clearly under the influence of Hegel. With respect to the aforementioned *Theorie des Kultus*, Schmaltz says it is "echt schleiermacherisch."⁸⁸ According to Schmaltz, Kliefoth had a theological break in his inaugural address as superintendent of Schwerin (1844) and in his writing against the Göttingen faculty (1854–55). The shift was from being a disciple of the awakening movement to seeking the renewal of the Lutheran Orthodoxy. "The change was completed in the stormy year of 1848

⁸³ Welch, *Protestant Thought in the Nineteenth Century* 1: 195.

⁸⁴ Haack, *Theodor Kliefoth: Ein Charakterbild*, 2.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 121 ff.

⁸⁶ Schleiermacher's view on worship as an act of *presentation* is found in *Die christliche Sitte*, in *Friedrich Schleiermacher's sämtliche Werke* 1/12, ed. Ludwig Jonas, 2nd ed. (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1884), 506–706 (especially 599–620); *idem, Die praktische Theologie*, in *Friedrich Schleiermacher's sämtliche Werke* 1/13, ed. Jacob Frerichs (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1850), 68–82. See also Peter Cornehl, "Theorie des Gottesdienstes—ein Prospekt," *Theologische Quartalschrift* 15, no. 9 (Tübingen 1979): 178–95.

⁸⁷ Haack, *Theodor Kliefoth*, 232.

⁸⁸ Schmaltz, *Kirchengeschichte Mecklenburgs* 3: 352.

and the following years.”⁸⁹ Schmaltz considers Kliefoth a catholicizing Romanist together with Löhe and Vilmar.⁹⁰ The word *liturgy* automatically gives him a negative frisson.⁹¹

In contrast to these prevailing views of Haack, Schmaltz, and others who followed them,⁹² Grahl argues first that all Kliefoth’s remarks on pietism are negative.⁹³ Kliefoth was reacting against Hegel; he was not his pupil. Kliefoth is free from a theory of development. Also, Grahl argues that the view that Kliefoth’s *Theorie des Kultus* was dependent on Schleiermacher is “not compelling.” Kliefoth was supposed to have viewed the church essentially as the self-projection of the believers. But such thinking does not appear even in an early work such as *Theorie des Kultus*. Also, Kliefoth’s theological direction was not the same as that of the Erlangen school.

This author tends to agree with Grahl’s estimation on Kliefoth based on his limited and particular scope of focus in this dissertation concerning Kliefoth’s liturgical thinking. In his reading of Kliefoth he sees little influence by Schleiermacher or Hegel even in Kliefoth’s early works such as *Theorie des Kultus*. Our task here is to examine some of Kliefoth’s key writings in order to understand how he affected E. G. Bring and the work of liturgical revision in the second half of the nineteenth century in Sweden.

Kliefoth’s Ecclesiology and Liturgical Theology

Since E. G. Bring, supported by his colleagues, wrote a series of articles on the church in the newly published *Swensk Kyrkotidning* on the basis of Kliefoth’s *Acht Bücher von der Kirche*, as we have observed above, and since he also wrote his liturgical thinking as a representative of

⁸⁹ Ibid., 354.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 391.

⁹¹ Ibid., 407.

⁹² Stoll, *Theodor Kliefoth as Kirchenführer*, 14; Bexell, *Liturgins Teologi hos U. L. Ullman*, 37; Kleinig, “The Liturgical Heritage of Theodor Kliefoth,” 109.

⁹³ Martin Grahl, “Verklärung: Die Konzeption der Heilsgeschichte bei Theodor Kliefoth,” 12.

his committee, as we will see later in the next chapter, we will investigate Kliefoth's ecclesiology and liturgical theology in his primary works on these articles of doctrine. We will engage the following four writings in particular, which represent Kliefoth's major works on the church and on the liturgy:

- *Theorie des Kultus in der evangelischen Kirche* (1844)
- *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung in den deutschen Kirchen lutherischen Bekenntnisses, ihre Destruction und Reformation* (1847)
- *Acht Bücher von der Kirche* (1854)
- *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung in den deutschen Kirchen lutherischen Bekenntnisses, ihre Destruction und Reformation*, second edition, 5 volumes (1858–61); *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, Schwerin (1858–61): vol. 4 (1858), vol. 5 (1859), vol. 6 (1859), vol. 7 (1861), vol. 8 (1861)

***Theorie des Kultus in der evangelischen Kirche* (1844)**

The first major work on liturgical theology by Kliefoth was *Theorie des Kultus in der evangelischen Kirche*. Although this piece was written while he was still at the parish in Ludwigslust as preacher, the year of publication matches the time when he was appointed as superintendent and cathedral preacher of Schwerin. We note that already from this early period of his ministry, Kliefoth was seriously considering the life of the Divine Service. Liturgy did not occupy a marginal place for him as in Schleiermacher, but was at the center of his theological and ministerial thinking. Yet Kliefoth's aim for this book was modest. He did not intend to present a master plan to be used in the work of liturgical reform of the territorial church of Mecklenburg. Rather, as he wrote in the foreword, he was seeking to clarify for himself what he was and did as a servant (minister) of the cultus.⁹⁴ Kliefoth recognized that it is not we who run

⁹⁴ Theodor Kliefoth, *Theorie des Kultus in der evangelischen Kirche* (Parchim and Ludwigslust: Hinstorff'schen Hofbuchhandlung, 1844), iii. In the same foreword, Kliefoth apologizes in advance for not giving citations every time something will be quoted. His rationales were: (1) citations would cut off the thought process of the reader, (2) they would give an unfair view of the author, and (3) they would focus more on the authors, and (continued next page)

the liturgy. Rather, he confessed that he was merely a servant of the liturgy. Kliefoth's desire was to be faithful to his ordination into the Office of the Holy Ministry.

Our task here is not to give a thorough account of this book, but to present Kliefoth's characteristic thinking concerning the liturgy and the church in relation to our topic of investigation. Part of the question will include whether the portrayal given by Haack, Schmaltz, and others who followed them may be demonstrated: is this work largely an expression of the influence of Schleiermacher (and Hegel) on Kliefoth?

The outline of this 256-page book is as follows:

Introduction (§1–9)

- I. The Concept of the Cultus (§10–51)
 - 1. The Church (§11–31)
 - 2. The Congregation (§32–41)
 - 3. The Cultus (§42–51)

- II. The Structure of the Cultus (§52–147)
 - 1. The “Kolenten” (§53–63)
 - 2. The Elements of the Cultus (§66–135)
 - a. Sermon (§73–97)
 - b. Cultus Act (§98–122)
 - c. Prayer (§123–35)
 - 3. Time and Place of the Cultus (§136–47)

- III. The Construction of the Cultus (§148–221)
 - 1. The Cultus-Act (§148–84)
 - a. The Gottesdienst (§154–60)
 - b. The Churchly Act (§161–84)
 - 1) Baptism (§162–68)
 - 2) Confirmation (§169–72)
 - 3) Lord's Supper (§173–78)
 - 4) Marriage (§179)
 - 5) Funeral (§180–82)

not the thoughts of the author. Here we note several things. First, Kliefoth did not intend to write this book for the academic purposes. Second, we observe the desire of Kliefoth to discuss issues rather than to introduce a polemical piece against someone. Third, we regret for our purposes that it became difficult for a researcher to trace the sources of Kliefoth's thinking.

2. The Cultus-Cycle (§185–203)
 - a. The Cycle of the Church Year (§186–200)
 - b. The Cycle of Man’s Life (§201–203)
3. The Cultus as the Matter of the Territorial Church (§204–21)
 - a. The Congregational Association (§205–11)
 - b. The Church Governance (§212–21)

Conclusion (§222)

Kliefoth’s Fundamental Understanding of the Liturgy. The pastoral nature of this book is evidenced as Kliefoth opens by observing the contemporary situation of the church. He sees the decline of church attendance in many locations. He also diagnoses that the deterioration of the church has to do with the theological circumstances, which had originated in theological trends and flowed into the congregation through well-educated people.⁹⁵ Kliefoth enumerates neology, autocracy, rationalism, indifference, and the effect of the revolution.⁹⁶ Their entrance into the church has resulted in the paralyzation of the life of the Divine Service. For Kliefoth, liturgy is not the point of departure. It goes with doctrine and the church’s confession of Christ, whether positively or negatively. Under such circumstances, Kliefoth considers “the mission of our time” concerning the Divine Service as making the old things new.⁹⁷

In the midst of the nineteenth-century theological climate, Kliefoth confessed that the foundation of all Christian cultus⁹⁸ was found in the Scripture, on whose ground the “invasion” of unchristian things into the cultus, according to Kliefoth, could be resisted. On the other hand, Kliefoth acknowledged that the New Testament contains neither the prescription of cultus nor a

⁹⁵ Ibid., 1.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 3–5.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 3.

⁹⁸ By the term “cultus,” Kliefoth means what we may now call Divine Service as a whole which include prayers, hymns, sermon, sacrament, etc. Kliefoth, *Theorie des Kultus*, 10. In later documents that we will examine, Kliefoth does not use this word, but instead employs the language from the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, sacramental and sacrificial. By the word “cultus” then, Kliefoth included both sacramental and sacrificial.

developed form of it, nor statements which can be considered principles for a theory of the cultus so that we may turn to it in order to see how our cultus must be.⁹⁹ Rather, Christ left for the church to exercise evangelical freedom concerning the cultus so that the needs of the time, place, and occasion may be taken into account. In other words, Kliefoth opposed the idea of “creating a theory of the cultus *a priori*.”¹⁰⁰ One cannot arbitrarily make ideal cultus by applying “abstract principles,” “general ideal,” or “calculated deliberateness.” If this were going to be the case, Kliefoth acknowledged, the title of the book *Theorie des Kultus* would be better avoided.¹⁰¹

If the cultus is not coming out of a theory *a priori*, where does it come from? Kliefoth pointed out that it originates in Christ, His life and His spirit. The ideal cultus created by abstract principles is “unhistorical.” But the “the inherited cultus” is not only historical, but it has Christ, out of whom it emerged and grew.¹⁰²

Christ, Church, and Cultus. As we have observed, for Kliefoth liturgy emerged and grew from Christ, yet a prescribed form of the Divine Service was not given by Christ as Law. Evangelical freedom is exercised by the church, while confessing that Christ is still the subject of the Divine Service. This thought becomes clearer when Kliefoth discusses the relation between Christ, church, congregation, and cultus. Kliefoth proceeds to indicate “how the church is from Christ, how the congregation is from the church, and how the cultus is from the congregation.”¹⁰³ He confesses Christ as he confesses the church and the cultus.

Kliefoth does not confess the church without going through the whole account of salvation. This feature will be seen in other works by Kliefoth that we will discuss in this section,

⁹⁹ Kliefoth, *Theorie des Kultus*, 6.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 7–8.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 8–9.

especially his *Acht Bücher von der Kirche* and the second edition of *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung*, or the *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, volumes 4 to 8. He starts with the creation account, then continues with man's fall into sin, God's desire for man to return and live, the gift of the words of Law and promise, the coming of His Son, His ministry on earth, His teaching, His suffering, death, resurrection, and ascension, and the sending of the Holy Spirit. Christ left the Scripture and the sacrament as legacies and testimonies that He remains present with the faithful on earth. Where He touches with His Spirit, imparts and gives His forgiveness and people receive it, there is the church. Our entrance into the church takes place as the interplay of Christ's giving and our receiving.¹⁰⁴

Kliefoth says: "if one considers the church from this side of her emergence, it is purely the work of Christ."¹⁰⁵ The church emerges "not through a spontaneous coming-together as a free association of her members, but she is gathered by Christ." She stands as thoroughly inactive, permitting things to happen to her. The only action of the church is that she "receives what Christ gives." Therefore, there is a "relation of giving and receiving."¹⁰⁶ Here we observe that Kliefoth's confession of the church is against Schleiermacher. Instead of our activity of assembling with like-minded religious people, Kliefoth stresses the office of Christ, His work of salvation as well as of gathering the church. What becomes clearer and central in Kliefoth's later documents, the motif of the Lord's giving and our receiving, is already found in this early writing.

Kliefoth makes a distinction between church (*Kirche*) and congregation (*Gemeinde*). For Kliefoth, the church is a place of Christ's giving and our receiving. She is Christ's institution

¹⁰³ Ibid., 15.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 15–17.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 17.

where the works of edification and missions take place. The church is defined by the means of grace and the office of Christ. The congregation, on the other hand, is found concretely in time and space.¹⁰⁷ Thus, it is in fact difficult to make a distinction between Kliefoth's understanding of the church and of the congregation, because Christ's giving and our receiving does not take place without having a particular time and location. Kliefoth does not have an hierarchical understanding of the church that would stand above congregations. He does not confess the church abstractly. Rather, the distinction between church and congregation is a way for Kliefoth to explain what is unchanging, namely, the church as the location where the Lord's giving and our receiving take place, and what may be changing, that is, the cultus having different manifestations depending on time, place, occasion, and particular need.¹⁰⁸ As Kliefoth talks about the life of Christ as "an electric stream," which flows to individuals through the church where giving and receiving take place,¹⁰⁹ Kliefoth's emphasis lies in the vivid and dynamic confession of the church rather than a static and cold one. What is central in Kliefoth's ecclesiology is the means of grace and their distribution and reception. Kliefoth confesses the church as the point number two. The point of departure is the means of grace, His giving, and this is followed by our receiving.

While Kliefoth continues to discuss the centrality of Christ in his confession of the church, he articulates the common tasks that the Lord has given to the church. They are summarized as mission and edification, which Kliefoth expounds at length.¹¹⁰ The Lutheran Confessions, catechism, church order, and liturgy are named as the common possession of the church, being

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 34.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 72.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 39.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 26–31, 58.

the foundations and presupposition of the church's mission and edification.¹¹¹ Kliefoth explains that the cultus is not the place of the church's activity of preaching to the heathens, aiming at the conversion of the unbelievers, but the locus of her activity of the edification of the congregation.¹¹²

The Relation between Clergy¹¹³ and Congregation. Kliefoth says that the cultus is “a work of Christ and a work of the congregation at the same time,” in which Christ works only through the congregation and the congregation works only out of the Spirit of Christ.¹¹⁴ It is interesting to note that while he talks about Christ and a congregation, he does not here mention the pastoral office.¹¹⁵ As he expounds on the relation between clergy and congregation, the centrality of Christ permeates his discussion. Here is his characteristic way of describing it:

The church is neither an aristocracy nor democracy, but simply monarchy, in the sense that neither the clergy is the Lord of the congregation nor the congregation the Lord of the clergy, but that Christ is the Lord of both.¹¹⁶

In confessing Christ as the Lord of the church, Kliefoth first explains the oneness of clergy and congregation. Both clergy and congregation stand on the same foundation, which is Christ.¹¹⁷

¹¹¹ Ibid., 30–31.

¹¹² Ibid., 42–43.

¹¹³ Kliefoth keeps using the word “der Geistliche,” which in this dissertation is translated as “clergy” or “clergyman.”

¹¹⁴ Kliefoth, *Theorie des Kultus*, 43.

¹¹⁵ Such a way resembles Augsburg Confession Article V. While the title of this article is the *Predigtamt*, its content focuses on the work of Christ to bring about faith by giving His Spirit through Gospel and the sacrament. AC V indeed confesses that Christ instituted the Office of the Holy Ministry, but the focus of this article is neither on the pastor nor the pastoral office, but on Christ and His service.

¹¹⁶ Kliefoth, *Theorie des Kultus*, 61. Cf., Ibid., 66. It is not hard to imagine what implications were there at the time of Kliefoth by this saying. The territorial church of Mecklenburg had the Grand Duke as the head of the church and state. The church was threatened by the unionists and liberal theologians. The effects of both pietism and the Enlightenment were still strong. These words of Kliefoth may serve to weaken a generally-accepted image of Kliefoth as a churchly dictator.

¹¹⁷ Kliefoth, *Theorie des Kultus*, 67.

Both are in Christ, one in the One Lord, under whom both bend their knees.¹¹⁸ Both are one in the common confession and in Christian life.¹¹⁹ Both are equally “pious, holy and spiritual.”¹²⁰ Both would engage in the common activities of missionary work or works of charity. From a worldly standpoint, clergy are not necessarily the most educated and most competent people, and if they were the case it would perhaps be by accident.¹²¹ With such an explanation, Kliefoth in effect denies a Roman Catholic’s understanding of the Mass and the priesthood.

Then what is a difference between clergy and congregation? Kliefoth says:

The only thing that the clergy is given as another position distinct from every other member of the congregation is only this thing, that he alone is authorized to undertake a series of cultus-acts, to give out the sacrament, to conduct matrimony, to teach publicly, etc.¹²²

Kliefoth’s thinking on clergy-congregation relationship, therefore, goes together with his confession of giving and receiving. Who the clergy are is defined by Kliefoth liturgically. A clergyman is not a mediator of the congregation before the Lord. He is merely the Lord’s instrument for the sake of His giving.

Then how does a clergyman bear his office? Kliefoth says: “the clergy bears his office not only through the will of the congregation, but exactly by the grace of his God and Savior.”¹²³ He also says: “he [clergy] appears not as the employee of the congregation but exactly as the one called by Christ, thus his deed is not bound by the norm prescribed by the congregation.”¹²⁴

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 62, 68.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 64.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 62.

¹²¹ Ibid., 63.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid., 64.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 66.

Here we observe that three important aspects of Kliefoth's thinking about the Office of the Holy Ministry are involved. First, Kliefoth argues that a clergy is a servant of the congregation.¹²⁵ A clergyman does not come from outside of the church. As Kliefoth confessed it before, a clergyman is a part of the Lord's congregation. If a phrase that Kliefoth does not use at this particular place may be employed, for the sake of clarification, a clergyman is first of all a member of the royal priesthood. Kliefoth goes so far as to say that the "authority" to give out the sermon¹²⁶ and the sacraments has originally been given to every member of the congregation. Yet, as a congregation such authority is transferred or entrusted to a clergyman.¹²⁷ Because of this, when a clergyman teaches, blesses, baptizes, and gives out the sacrament, it is the congregation itself through the clergyman's hand and mouth that does them.¹²⁸

Second, while he extols the congregation in this way, Kliefoth confesses the Christological aspect of the Office of the Holy Ministry. He says:

The same Christ, who enlivens and gathers the congregation, is the same Christ who raises and develops in one of her members of the congregation the gift which is particularly necessary for the cultus-function. . . . The congregation is not a provider of the authority, but it is Christ's call of that one into the office.¹²⁹

Therefore, if the congregation baptizes, teaches, and blesses marriage, it is Christ who carries out these things through her hand. If the congregation transfers/entrusts these acts to the clergyman,

¹²⁵ Ibid., 63.

¹²⁶ For Kliefoth, a sermon is not a narration or story-telling about Christ. It is an address and declaration by him. A sermon is a place where Christ speaks to the congregation. Kliefoth also emphasizes the importance of the preacher to be well-informed in dogmatics. Cf., Kliefoth, *Theorie des Kultus*, 81–83.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 63–64. Here Kliefoth uses the word "übertragen," which may be translated either to transfer or to entrust depending on the context.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 64.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 65.

then he is not only the servant of the congregation but also of Christ. He is not only an instrument of the congregation but also of Christ.¹³⁰

What is a consequence of Kliefoth's understanding of the clergyman as a servant of the congregation and a servant of Christ at the same time? It means that the congregation may not arbitrarily prescribe what a clergyman should or should not do. For example, she cannot entrust to a clergyman only an administration of the sacrament, but not teaching and preaching the Gospel.¹³¹ Similarly, the clergyman may not act freely according to what he likes and desires either. He does only what Christ has given him to do.¹³² "Neither the clergy is the Lord of the congregation nor the congregation the Lord of the clergy, but that Christ is the Lord of both," as we quoted above.

Third, such relation between the clergy and the congregation takes place only when both share the identical "spirit of Christ." Only then a collision between them may be avoided.¹³³ If a clergyman or a congregation or both fail to see Christ as Lord, the situation becomes "unhealthy" and "unchristian."¹³⁴ However, Kliefoth acknowledges that there is no "pure congregation here on earth."¹³⁵

A Liturgical Consequence of the "Healthy" Relation between Clergy and Congregation. The oneness of clergy and congregation for Kliefoth is manifested in the liturgy as congregational singing. Here "the entire congregation appears as acting together."¹³⁶

¹³⁰ Ibid., 65, 71.

¹³¹ Ibid., 65.

¹³² Ibid., 65.

¹³³ Ibid., 66.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 67.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 66.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 70.

Along with the congregational singing, Kliefoth advocates not a twofold but a threefold activity in the liturgy. In other words, the Divine Service proceeds not merely as the Lord's giving through a clergyman and our receiving, but also with congregational responding. Kliefoth gives examples of this "third act" as congregational responses to *Benediction* or *Pax Domini* and in the simple word "Amen." A cultus without such congregational responses would make a clergyman be the "hierophant" (the highest priest in the mystery ritual in ancient Greece), in other words, a clergyman "predominant" in "unhealthy" service.¹³⁷

Summary and Evaluation. In this first liturgical work, *Theorie des Kultus*, Kliefoth puts forward his foundational understanding of the Divine Service. As he speaks about the liturgy, he confesses Christ, His means of grace, His church, His people, and His Office of the Holy Ministry. In doing so, he dismisses the notions of not only Roman Catholics and the Reformed, but also the Enlightenment, pietism, Schleiermacher, neology, and all who put the Scripture as secondary.

Kliefoth observes the connection between false theology and the deterioration of the church and her liturgical life. He confesses that the foundation of all liturgy is the Scripture, yet acknowledges that the New Testament does not give any prescription for the liturgy or a developed form of it. It does not propose principles of liturgy for us to follow. Rather, Christ is the source of the liturgy, out of whom it emerged and grows. And He gave evangelical freedom concerning the liturgy to take into consideration the particular needs and concerns of various times and locations.

The church is not an assembly of our coming together, but is gathered by Christ as He gives His Spirit. The cultus is the place where Christ distributes His word and sacrament. In

¹³⁷ Ibid.

order to do so, He raises and calls a clergyman out of His congregation. Kliefoth is very careful in confessing the Office of the Holy Ministry. He avoids the dangers of both clericalism and congregationalism. He confesses Christ as the Lord of the church. His way of describing the relation between clergy and congregation may be seen as not altogether clear yet. For example, Kliefoth says that when a clergyman preaches and baptizes, he does so as the mouth and hand of the congregation. And when the congregation does the same through a clergyman, she does so as the mouth and hand of Christ. While Kliefoth acknowledges the place of the congregation as the Lord's instrument to "entrust/transfer" the authority to preach and distribute the sacrament, his emphasis is still not on Christ's call and ordination, as he would say more clearly in his later writings.

Yet through and through Kliefoth extols Christ and His centrality. It is the Lord's church. He gathers His people. He continues to give out His word and sacrament for the further building up of the congregation. He raises and calls His minister as His servant. The content of His minister's service is determined neither by the will of the congregation nor by the wish of the clergyman, but again by Christ.

Finally, when it comes to a liturgical consequence, we observe Kliefoth's stress on reciprocal singing and speaking between a clergyman and a congregation. While he is aware of the fact that it is Christ who speaks and gives out His sacrament to the congregation, since it is through the clergyman that He does this, Kliefoth attempts to make sure that the minister is not seen as a predominant person in the liturgy. The reciprocal speaking between clergy and congregation has such a background.

In the three other works by Kliefoth that we will observe, we will find out what remains unchanging and what may become different in his confession of the liturgy and of the church.

Such observations will then serve as a resource for recognizing what went into the liturgical revival in Sweden.

***Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung in den deutschen Kirchen
lutherischen Bekenntnisses, ihre Destruction und Reformation (1847)***

As mentioned earlier, Kliefoth was awarded three doctorates. A Doctor of Philosophy degree came from the University of Rostock shortly after his first book, *Einleitung in die Dogmengeschichte*, was published in 1839. The other two, both Doctors of Theology, were awarded by the University of Königsberg and the University of Rostock in 1847 for his liturgical scholarship and leadership including the publication of a series of *Liturgische Blätter für Mecklenburg (1845–47)*¹³⁸ and the work examined in this section, the first edition of *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung* of 1847. By the time of the publication of the latter, Kliefoth had already been serving as superintendent of the Diocese of Schwerin (since 1844). He would soon become chairman of the newly-formed *Kirchenkommission* (1848), and the following year a member of the *Oberkirchenrat* (1849). Kliefoth's life and work had become an integral part of the new structure of the territorial church of Mecklenburg. It may be observed that a series of Kliefoth's liturgical scholarship and publications are part of the preparation toward the revision of the church order.

Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung is divided into three parts; each part represented in the full title of this book. According to Kliefoth's own description in the foreword, part 1 has to do with the description of the older order of the Divine Service in the German churches of the Lutheran Confessions (*Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung in den deutschen Kirchen lutherischen Bekenntnisses*). Kliefoth here deals with the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

¹³⁸ Theodor Kliefoth ed., *Liturgische Blätter für Mecklenburg* (Schwerin and Rostock: Stillerschen Hofbuchhandlung, 1845–47).

Kliefoth recognizes that the history of the origin of the order of the Divine Service in the churches of the Lutheran Confessions came out of the conflict with Roman Catholic Church on the one hand and the Reformed Church on the other. He says that these contrasts always need to be considered. Part 2 is on its destruction (*ihre Destruction*), where he talks about how the original Divine Service was changed and cut off during the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries. Part 3 is concerned with its “reformation,” which Kliefoth considered as the task of his own generation (*und Reformation*).¹³⁹ The outline of this book, with page numbers, is as follows:

-
- I. The Older *Gottesdienstordnung* in the German Churches of the Lutheran Confession
 - A. The General Principles of the Lutheran Church in *Gottesdienst* (8–31)
 - B. The Church Year in the Lutheran Church (32–79)
 - C. The Construction of the Individual Congregational *Gottesdienst* (80–187)
 - II. The Destruction (188–225)
 - III. The Reformation (226–45)
-

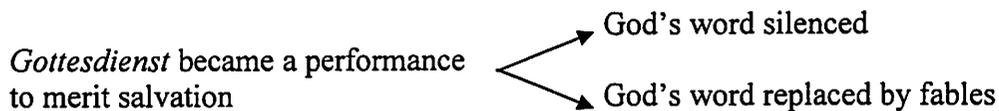
Amt Christi. Kliefoth’s starting point in this work was Luther’s *Von Ordnung des Gottesdienstes in der Gemeinde* (1523), in which Luther observes a parallel between *Predigtamt* and *Gottesdienst*.¹⁴⁰ Both the Office of the Holy Ministry and the Divine Service came from Christ. Both had been corrupted before the Reformation; the Preaching Office became priestly tyrants, and the Divine Service was corrupted by silencing God’s word, by replacing it with wicked fables, and by becoming a performance to merit salvation. Both have been restored by the Reformation, and not abolished because of their corruption. In *Die ursprüngliche*

¹³⁹ Theodor Kliefoth, *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung in den deutschen Kirchen lutherischen Bekenntnisses, ihre Destruction und Reformation* (Rostock and Schwerin: Stillerschen Hofbuchhandlung, 1847), 5–6.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 8. Kliefoth’s Luther reference is found in WA 12: 35. 2–9; AE 53: 11.

Gottesdienstordnung Kliefoth draws an outline from this work of Luther and expands it as a historical commentary. While for Luther the chronology was (1) the origin in Christ, (2) the destruction, and (3) the Reformation, Kliefoth adds two more to the outline; (4) the destruction (again in the eighteenth century), and (5) the restoration (nineteenth century).

Kliefoth points out that Luther's three points mentioned above concerning the destruction of the Divine Service prior to the time of the Reformation—that is, (1) God's word silenced, (2) fables replaced God's word, and (3) the Divine Service had become a performance—are reduced to only one.¹⁴¹ He considers the third one to be the source of the first two:



That the Divine Service having become a performance has to do with the office of Christ. In other words, Kliefoth's diagnosis is that the destruction of the Divine Service takes place when the office of Christ is disregarded. The *Amt Christi* had been substituted by the church's own work, in the case of the medieval Roman Catholics. The Lord's Supper is the place where the Lord bestows the fruit of His sacrificial death to His congregation by giving them to eat and to drink His body and blood. But the Roman Catholics changed it to be the place where the body and blood of the Lord are produced by the hand of her priest, who offers them before God as a daily offering. In this view, Rome never drew near to God in her *Gottesdienst* as receiving something from Him, as needing to learn and to be fed, but as always going away from the treasure in doing works before God. Because of such a change, the preaching became less frequent, and was even omitted.

¹⁴¹ Kliefoth, *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung*, 9.

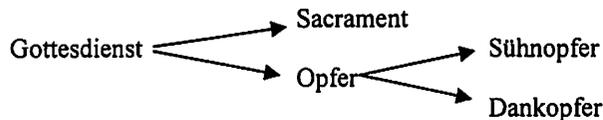
Kliefoth observes there are three more things happened in the medieval Roman Catholic Church. First, only the priest actually performed the liturgy while the congregation looked idly on. Second, people stayed away from drinking of the Lord's blood. Third, they withdrew from the gifts of the Lord in the Divine Service and sought to bring her gifts to Him.¹⁴²

Sacramentum and Sacrificium. Kliefoth discerned with the medieval Roman Mass as an example of a crucial matter: a problem arises when there is a refusal of the gift the Lord is giving (*Amt Christi*). This Christological diagnosis is expounded by him from a different angle: a proper distinction between *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*.

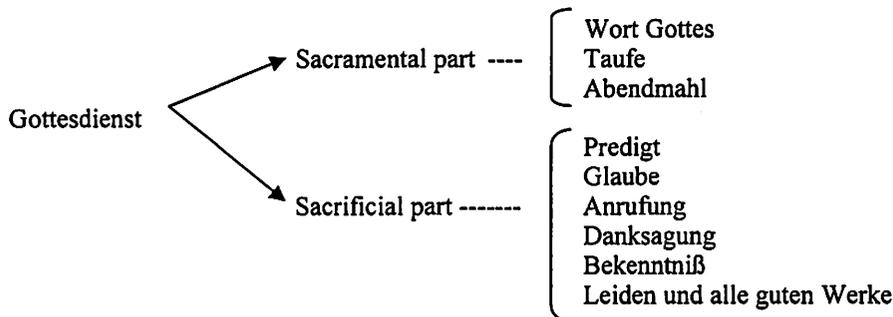
A source of Kliefoth's thinking on *sacramentum* and *sacrificium* in this work is the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, Article 24.¹⁴³ He says that the distinction between

¹⁴² Ibid., 10.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 12. The definition of the *sacramental* and the *sacrificial* follow the Apology's description. The *sacramental* is every ceremony or act in the *Gottesdienst*, in which God bestows on us the blessing, forgiveness, etc. The *sacrificial* is every ceremony or service in which we offer to God His glory. The sacrificial is divided into two: *Sühnopfer*, propitiatory sacrifice, and *Dankopfer*, sacrifice of thanksgiving.



The propitiatory sacrifice atones for guilt and punishment and secures reconciliation with God and forgiveness of sins. The sacrifice of thanksgiving does not merit the forgiveness of sin, but offers to God in gratitude for that and all His other blessings. The propitiatory sacrifice was completed by Christ alone in His death (Heb 10:4–10). Therefore, what remains for us now is this:



sacramental and sacrificial should never be overlooked. The lack or weakness of this would result in the Divine Service found in the Roman Catholics and in the Reformed Church.¹⁴⁴

Kliefoth teaches that the leading and controlling idea in the Lutheran Divine Service is the sacramental nature of it.¹⁴⁵ The Lord is essentially and actively present in the Divine Service of the congregation, in which He gives Himself and His grace-gifts to her in His word and sacrament.¹⁴⁶ His word and sacrament are the vehicles the Lord has ordained to serve as the bearers of His Spirit and the means of His grace. Through preaching and the administration of the sacrament the Lord gathers a church out of the midst of the world. The means of grace, therefore, are the most essential part of the Divine Service.

The word and sacrament are efficacious, so that when they are preached and administered the church must grow up, be it great or small.¹⁴⁷ Such growth is seen in the entire life of a Christian, which centrally includes the Divine Service. Receiving the Lord's gift, the congregation receives its life from the Lord. This life necessarily shows itself forth in its influence upon their life in all the fruits of good works (sacrificial) and in its influence on their Divine Service in supplication, thanksgiving, hymns, music, vows, and confession (sacrificial).¹⁴⁸

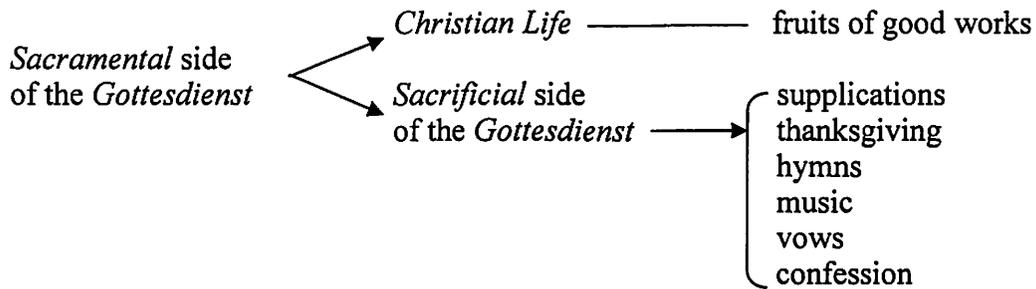
¹⁴⁴ Kliefoth, *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung*, 12–13.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 15.

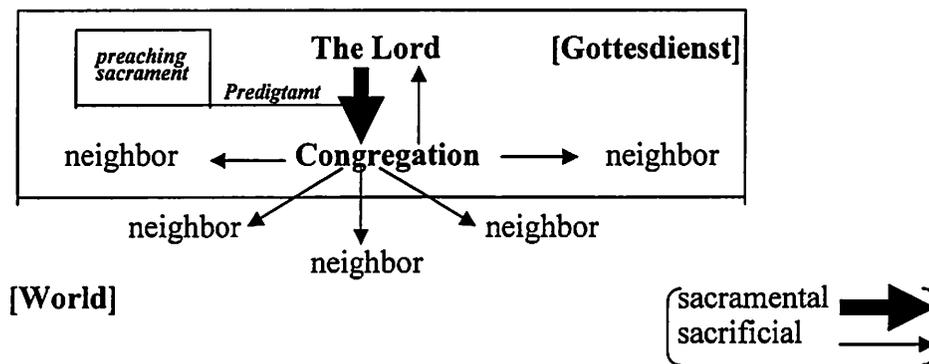
¹⁴⁶ “Daß die Herr in den Gottesdiensten seiner Gemeinde wesentlich und wirksam gegenwärtig sei, und daselbst sich und seine Gnadengaben der Gemeinde gebe in seinem Wort und Sacrament.” Kliefoth, *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung*, 13. Here, a biblical citation is from Matthew 18:20.

¹⁴⁷ Kliefoth, *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung*, 15.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*



The Lord gives out His forgiveness and life (gifts–sacramental). The congregation draws near to her Lord with prayer (sacrificial). The congregation goes from the Lord’s presence with thanksgiving (sacrificial). The more the Lutheran Church has kept this sacramental side of God’s imparting activity high, pure, and unspoiled, the richer has she been able to develop her sacrificial side.¹⁴⁹ The sacrificial side is not found independently by itself, but only in connection with the sacramental, out of which it grows.¹⁵⁰ Thus the sacrificial can only proceed from the sacramental, and the sacramental must necessarily produce the sacrificial. This thinking of Kliefoth, which would play a vital role in the Swedish churchmen of the nineteenth century, as we will see below, may be pictured as follows:



¹⁴⁹ Kliefoth particularly mentions an example of the richness of the sacrificial side of the *Gottesdienst* in the body of hymns and the musical wealth of the Lutheran Church. Kliefoth, *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung*, 16.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 17.

Predigtamt. God's word must be expounded in the preaching and the sacrament must be administered, eaten and drunk. In order for this Lord's giving and congregation's receiving to go on, Kliefoth says, that the *Predigtamt*, the Office of Preaching, is arranged.¹⁵¹ Again, Kliefoth critiques the Roman Catholics, arguing that they omitted the dynamics of giving and receiving. In the Lutheran Church God's word is never read without exposition of it (preaching). The Lord's Supper is never held without communicants receiving the body and blood of the Lord. The lack of preaching went into the monastery, while the Lord's Supper without communicants resulted in the private Mass.¹⁵² As far as Kliefoth is concerned, there is no *Gottesdienst* without hearers and communicants who receive what the Lord gives. In other words, there can be no gifts unless there is the Lord who gives them and there is a congregation who receives them. Kliefoth's critique of the medieval Roman Mass, therefore, has to do with both giving—receiving dynamics and the *Predigtamt*. Since the sacramental nature of the Divine Service was deteriorated in Rome, the office which delivers sermons and the Lord's Supper had also been destructed. Kliefoth is convinced that the Lutheran Reformation has restored both.

Kliefoth also maintains that the *Predigtamt* is located in a unique position. It stands within the congregation on the one hand; it also stands over against and toward the congregation on the other. The preacher is a member of the royal priesthood; yet he is called by Christ to be His mouth and hand. So, Kliefoth says that the sermon and the administration of the sacraments stand also in the middle position, as the *Predigtamt* does. The word of God and the sacrament in themselves are "purely sacramental in their nature," but when the church joyfully proclaims the word of salvation to her own members and to the world, such act is "opfert das Evangelium Gottes" of Romans 15:16. The sermon is sacramental in so far as it is an objective

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Ibid.

announcement of God's word, but our confession, comforting and exhorting works in the preaching are sacrificial in their nature. Similarly, the sacrament itself is purely sacramental, but all prayers, thanksgiving in receiving the sacrament are sacrificial. The congregational singing is also sacramental and sacrificial at the same time because the content of the hymn, at least in the Lutheran Church, is the announcement of the Lord.¹⁵³ Such a view of Kliefoth is a reflection of the Apology 24 again.

Criterion of Lutheran Liturgical Thinking. Kliefoth observes that Rome departed from Scripture and the ancient form of the Mass. While much of the external form had been retained, they gave it a new meaning. On the other hand, the Reformed tradition did not examine the medieval Roman Catholic form of the Divine Service, but gave it sweeping rejection and so detached itself from the history of the church. Lutherans do differently, according to Kliefoth. The criterion for the reformation of the liturgy was not the external form, but the doctrine.¹⁵⁴ On this basis she is able to judge what has been handed down either to hold fast that which is good, or to perfect that which was incomplete, or to pass by that which was unsuitable, or to reject that which was false.¹⁵⁵ Unlike the Reformed tendency that separated itself from the church universal, the Lutheran Church attempts to restore to the original purity those elements which in the middle ages were overshadowed, altered and robbed of their true meaning. She treasures them up, and thereby preserves the togetherness with the early church and the church of all ages.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵³ Ibid., 17–18.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 11–12. Cf., Bryan Spinks, *Luther's Liturgical Criteria and his Reform of the Canon of the Mass*, Grove Liturgical Study, no. 30 (Bramcote, Notts.: Grove Books, 1982).

¹⁵⁵ Kliefoth, *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung*, 18.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 19.

However, Kliefoth adds that it will be a huge mistake to recognize that what Lutherans did was merely a revision of the Roman Catholic liturgy by way of a patchwork. The controlling criterion of the Lutheran liturgical thinking was, again, not form but doctrine.¹⁵⁷ According to Kliefoth, the doctrine— that is, the profound understanding of the Gospel—gives a direction to the form.¹⁵⁸ We may paraphrase Kliefoth here to maintain that the Lutheran liturgical revision takes place not by way of outward imitation and adoption of what others are doing or rejection of them. But a Lutheran first goes to the Gospel, and from that center and heart of the Lord's speaking and giving His means of grace he diagnoses a given liturgy at hand to discern richness or impoverishment as he engages in a work of liturgical revision in an evangelical way.

Thus for Kliefoth, the doctrinal criterion is not a static one, but is what takes place dynamically in giving and receiving. This is why Kliefoth places the doctrinal criterion side by side with three essential aspects: (1) sacramental, (2) sacrificial, and (3) *Predigtamt*. As we will see later, Kliefoth's thinking on how to discern the liturgy was also very important aspect of liturgical revision in Sweden in the nineteenth century. In the case of Rome, Kliefoth observes, they fall short in all three areas.¹⁵⁹

Active Participation of the Congregation. Kliefoth observes that the vitality brought out of the Reformation into the Lutheran Divine Service are (1) preaching, and (2) the participation of the congregation in the Divine Service.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 19–20.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 18.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 19–20. By the way, Kliefoth's critique of the Eastern Orthodox liturgy is that it is completely marked by the drama, so that the Lord's Supper is replaced by such a concept and character. The distinction between *sacramentum* and *sacrificium* becomes more difficult to recognize and to distinguish. Kliefoth, *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung*, 104–105, 110–11.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 20.

Kliefoth spends some space to expound on the latter point. For Kliefoth, the congregational participation means first and foremost hearing of the word of the Lord and receiving His body and blood. The stress is not on what we do, but on the receiving of the Lord's gifts.¹⁶¹ Secondly, such hearing and receiving what the Lord gives prompts an another active participation (*eine active Beteiligung*): congregational singing and responsive singing. When this point is neglected, Kliefoth says, the "one instead of all" practice of Rome creeps in.¹⁶²

This way of active participation of the congregation is different from the theory and slogan of the maximum participation of the laity by Odo Casel and Gregory Dix, as we will see in appendix 1 below. Their theories are based on denial or uncertainty of the Lord's institution of the Lord's Supper (higher criticism) and failure to properly distinguish between Law and Gospel (The Divine Service as our eucharist, "something we do" [LC 5, 7]).

Kliefoth's thinking of active participation of the congregation comes from a totally different source as we observed above. He explains it by critiquing Zwingli's thought. By presenting a lengthy citation of Zwingli's words Kliefoth demonstrates how Zwingli thinks that the sacraments not only do not bestow grace but do not even convey it. For Zwingli, the gift of forgiveness is bestowed by the Holy Spirit and so is received immediately by man's spirit. Kliefoth asserts that for Zwingli and other later Reformed tradition, word and sacraments are not the means of grace. The Divine Service is not the place where the Lord actually bestows His gracious treasures of forgiveness to His people. Rather, it is where they are received by an immediate inward communication between the Holy Spirit and "my" spirit. Therefore, if the presence of the Lord in the Divine Service is talked about at all, it is possible only in so far as

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Ibid.

believers bring Him and His Spirit there in their hearts. When the Lord's participation in the Divine Service is spoken of by them, it simply means His reception of the sacrifices of the congregation and not His giving.¹⁶³

Kliefoth states again that the sacrificial grows only out of the sacramental, and yet the Reformed Divine Service is occupied by the sacrificial both in preaching and in the Lord's Supper. In the Lord's Supper what the congregation does is emphasized, such as remembrance of Jesus and showing forth of His death. This is why, Kliefoth observes, they prefer the name of "eucharist" to talk about the Lord's Supper. Because the Reformed thus cut themselves off from the source, from which God's people must ever derive strength to sing, praise, pray, and give thanks, they display a very imperfect development of the sacrificial, evidenced in the poverty of their hymns. The participation of the congregation in the Reformed Church is carried out more in the sphere of government rather than in the gift bestowing Divine Service.¹⁶⁴

Kliefoth's accent on the active participation of the congregation by way of responsive singing prompted him to assert the importance of using a vernacular language and of the involvement of the entire congregation in the Divine Service.¹⁶⁵ What is more, a fixed text and consistent liturgy become vital for evangelical Lutherans because of the lively giving—receiving of the *sacramentum* that prompts lively confessing/acclaiming of *sacrificium*. In this way, Kliefoth promotes a fixed text in the liturgy, not merely out of his desire to have uniformity but out of his interest in how the distribution of the Gospel creates congregational response. Here is another example of the way how Kliefoth always goes to the heart of the matter, the Gospel, the means of grace distribution.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 26.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 27.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 21.

Because of its importance, Kliefoth further explains his concern for the fixed liturgy. First, he says: “the more clearly the Lutheran Church distinguished between sacramental and sacrificial in the Divine Service, and the more she felt the danger of radical errors in confounding them and overlooking this distinction, the less she was inclined to leave the arrangement of these elements to the accident or preferences of single congregations and preachers.”¹⁶⁶ Particularly, where the participation of the congregation in responsive singing has not been customary, a careful provision is quite necessary.¹⁶⁷ Second, Kliefoth advocates the fixed liturgy for the pedagogical reasons, citing Luther’s *Deutsche Messe* of 1526.¹⁶⁸ A fixed form of the Divine Service is good for familiarity so that the congregation may have a “natural and at home feeling.”

An Evangelical Way in the Work of Liturgical Revision. Kliefoth observes that all the church orders of the Reformation contain the notion of liturgical freedom, while the “decency and order” are also expressed.¹⁶⁹ Kliefoth cautions that what they say is not that ceremonies are non-essentials and a matter of adiaphoron. According to him, Lutherans took the form of the Divine Service very seriously, which is evidenced by making a distinction from the order of the Roman Catholics on the one hand and from the order of the Reformed Church on the other. The Article 10 of the Formula of Concord did not take the liturgical form as an adiaphoron; the core error was that the Roman Catholics attributed to their ceremonies power to cancel sin and to justify sinners before God.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 22.

¹⁶⁸ Kliefoth’s Luther citations come from the Walch Edition of Luther’s works, that is, W¹ 10: 283. This is found in WA 19: 97. 3–11; AE 53: 80.

¹⁶⁹ Kliefoth, *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung*, 23.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

Kliefoth is fully aware of the controversy around Karlstadt in the sixteenth century.¹⁷¹ He is sensitive that even the way of introducing something new in the liturgy needs to follow an evangelical way. Because Lutherans abide with a proper distinction between the sacramental and the sacrificial, they stay away from “preference and arbitrariness, dislike and contradiction, and the love and mania for change, innovation and novelty.”¹⁷² According to Kliefoth, Lutherans took 1 Corinthians 14:33 not in the sense of a right of the congregations or individual preachers to shape or alter the liturgy but in the sense of binding themselves to the decision of the church in general, insisting on uniformity of ceremonies and forbidding all arbitrary alterations. We must guard ourselves from the love of innovation. “Nor should we, except in the case of urgent necessity, without the best reason, seek to alter, renew, abbreviate, extend, increase or diminish anything in the ceremonies of the church, or inconsiderately to forsake an ancient, admirable, useful received practice, and confessedly innocent custom, in order to adopt ceremonies and church services formed and introduced only lately.” Kliefoth regards such a practice represented by Karlstadt as “*der Calvinisten Schwärmerei*,” saying that we “should not give way to the enthusiasm of Calvinism that does not understand peace and harmony.” Kliefoth concludes by observing that the divergence of the liturgies of the different territorial churches from each other is not greater than the liberty which each territorial church allowed within its own boundaries.¹⁷³

Temple Cultus, Synagogue Service, and Christian Liturgy. So far, we have examined Kliefoth’s basic liturgical thinking from the first part of the book. Acknowledging some redundancy, we will articulate here some of the important things, in the remaining parts of the

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 24.

¹⁷² Ibid., 23.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 23–25.

book, that are relevant to our investigation. First, in this section, we will see what Kliefoth would expand later in his second edition of *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung* concerning the biblical foundation of the Divine Service.

For Kliefoth, “the Lutheran Church knows no complete Divine Service without the celebration of the Lord’s Supper, and this is in agreement with the entire church.”¹⁷⁴ In order to show this, Kliefoth compares the New Testament Divine Service of the church with the Mosaic tabernacle/temple cultus and the synagogue service.

On each Sabbath day, God gave to the people Law upon their prayer. The Law worked recognition of the guilt. Before the blessing was to be announced, there were sacrifices to be offered according to the institution of God. Such sacrifices did not accomplish the atonement but served as the prophetic picture of the future effective sacrifice. At the heart of the temple cultus, therefore, was the promised sacrifice.

Kliefoth mentions two things in particular which characterized a change in the synagogue service from the temple cultus. First, because there were no more Levites, the singing by the Levitical choir was replaced by the congregational psalm singing. But far more important than this was the second point: the lack of sacrifices. The synagogue was not the place of sacrifices because the only place of the sacrificial services was the temple. If in the temple cultus the promise of THE sacrifice had served as the Gospel to reconcile the conscience that had been smashed by the word of the Law, what comfort would the penitent receive in the synagogue service where there was no sacrifices? Kliefoth’s understanding at this point was that the reading of and preaching from the Prophets served to bring consolation to the congregation by, again, pointing to Christ.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 81.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 81–82.

The Christian Divine Service is connected with the temple cultus and the synagogue service, but drastically different from both. The sacrifice, which is effective for all time, has been brought to Golgatha. In Christ the promised word of the Prophets was fulfilled, and the atonement has been accomplished. The Christian congregation continued to read from the Law and the Prophets. But they did it with a change. The Lord said: "This Scripture has been fulfilled before your ears" (Luke 4:21, as also Acts 13). The preaching of the New Testament church was an extension of this word of the Lord.¹⁷⁶ The εὐαγγελίζειν was now made known. Furthermore, the Lord has also instituted and ordained the Lord's Supper in order to give out the fruit of His sacrificial death. Here, Kliefoth connects preaching and the Holy Communion by citing St. Paul in 1 Corinthians 11:26. "As Paul had connected them together when he said that he who eats the Lord's body and drinks His blood should always proclaim His death at the same time. So there was not only the proclamation of the death of the Lord but also the tasting [eating and drinking] of it."¹⁷⁷

Interestingly, Kliefoth compares his understanding of the reading from the Torah in the Old Testament service with the Epistle reading of the Christian Divine Service, in that through the word of the Epistle God smashes the conscience and kindles it for the love of His Son. Then God gives His Son both in the word of the Gospel and under the sacrament, explains Kliefoth, and "the congregation receives both, preaching on the one hand and the eating and drinking on the other."¹⁷⁸

We observe that throughout his presentation, Christ and His atoning sacrifice on the cross as well as His distribution of the fruits of the cross in preaching and the Lord's Supper are

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 83.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 85.

central. Also emphasized was the distinction between Law and Gospel. In other words, the forgiveness of sins is found at the heart of Kliefoth's discourse.

Further Notes on Liturgical Responsive Singing. Kliefoth maintains that what he extolled in the Lutheran Reformation in contrast to the medieval Roman Mass, that is, the participation of the congregation in liturgical and responsive singing, was found already in the Old Testament service and in the synagogue. The New Testament witnesses that such responsive singing was found also in the early Christian congregations.¹⁷⁹

Kliefoth faults the Reformed Church for putting the hymn to the sacrificial side. The Lutheran Church is freer. The congregation brings not only their petition and thanks to God but she preaches to herself, encouraging, comforting, exhorting, etc. also in the same hymns. Kliefoth explains that there are in the old Lutheran hymnals predominantly sacramental hymns in which the achieving and bestowing of salvation are objectively proclaimed, and also sacrificial hymns which offer petitions and thanks from the heart.¹⁸⁰ Here again, Kliefoth describes hymns in terms of a distinction between *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*.

Kliefoth's Thinking on the *Preface*. Kliefoth acknowledges that the Lord's Supper had never been held since the beginning of the church without the congregation first saying thanks. Kliefoth believes that such a procedure had come from the account in the New Testament: "He took the bread, gave thanks, broke," The older Lutheran church orders included the *Preface*, the *Vere Dignum*, and the *Sanctus*, following the Western tradition of the church.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 101.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 123–24.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 139. As we will see later, Luther never took the Lord's example of giving thanks as a mandate for the church to give thanks at the Lord's Supper.

How does Kliefoth speak about the *Preface*? By and large, his description of each portion of the Divine Service in this book remains descriptive and narrative rather than unpacking its theological depth and meaning. However, we observe two things here. First, Kliefoth regards it important to recover the *Preface* which had been dropped. He was prompted to this consideration when he emphasized the giving and receiving in the Divine Service. The *Preface* is exactly one of the places in the liturgy where the participation of the congregation in responsive singing takes place. Kliefoth notes that in the early church the congregation responded to the words of the minister in the *Preface*, but later, both in Greek and in Roman Churches, the choir took over the responses. The Lutheran Church recovered the *congregational* response. Where the Latin *Preface* was still used and sung by the choir, the German translation followed it. When an exhortation to the communicants was found necessary, which the preacher had read from the altar before the communion, it occupied the time and the place of the *Preface*. Yet, in the Lutheran Church the *Preface* never disappeared. The older church orders speak of having both the exhortation and the *Preface*, exchangeably or side by side, as long as time allowed.¹⁸² Kliefoth encourages the use of the responsive *Preface* even by mentioning the liturgy of the Reformed, who omitted the responsive singing elsewhere but retained the *Preface*, although it was for the dogmatic reason of their understanding of the *sursum corda*.¹⁸³

Second, Kliefoth explains the received text of the *Preface* from the Western tradition in the way of *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*. “*Sursum corda!*” is an invitation of the clergy, which is responded to by the congregational “*Habemus ad Dominum*” which shows her readiness. Then

¹⁸² Kliefoth, *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung*, 140–41.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 141. See pp. ix–x above.

the clergy bids further, “*Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro!*” which is responded by the congregation, “*Dignum et justum est.*”¹⁸⁴

In this way, the Lord’s Supper’s liturgy begins with the words of the minister who is there called by Christ to administer the Lord’s Supper. It begins with the words of the Lord’s invitation (*sacramentum*), to which the congregation responds (*sacrificium*). The *Vere Dignum* and the *Sanctus* are both *sacrificium* and *sacramentum* at the same time. They are the words of thanks to the Lord (*sacrificium*). But the content of those words (portion of salvation history found in the *Vere Dignum*, or the *Sanctus* which is taken from Isaiah 6:3, or Luther’s *German Sanctus* taken from Isaiah 6:1–4) proclaim what the Lord has done and is doing for His people (*sacramentum*). The interplay of *sacramentum* and *sacrificium* flows into the Words of Institution, which is purely *sacramental*.

Theological Evaluation of the “Destruction” of the Liturgy during the Eighteenth Century. We have heard Kliefoth’s diagnosis of the liturgical situation among the medieval Roman and the Reformed traditions in the sixteenth century above. His theological evaluation of the eighteenth century will further reveal Kliefoth’s liturgical thinking.

The effect of the Thirty Years War is mentioned as of historical significance,¹⁸⁵ yet Kliefoth’s discussion centers in the common error that is found in two opposing theologies; He talks about what happened within the Lutheran orthodoxy on the one hand, and what took place in pietism on the other. What Kliefoth discerns as a common thread in both is a lack of the dynamic flow of the Lord’s giving and our receiving, *sacramentum* into *sacrificium*. In essence, therefore, both some of the orthodox Lutherans as well as pietism fell into the realm of the Law in terms of the life of the Divine Service.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 139.

First, Kliefoth discusses what may be found among some Lutherans since the first half of the seventeenth century. In a word, that is a “false objectivity.”¹⁸⁶ “So long as the breath of a free living faith runs through the Lutheran Divine Service,” “so long as the subjectivity of the *sacrificium* stays opposite to the objectivity of the *sacramentum* in right boundaries, and the practice remains in conformity with the doctrine,” the song and praise come out of the heart of the congregation every day anew. But such was not the case among some Lutherans because of “the overestimation of the church system and the church order” that affected the one-sided emphasis on the objective *sacramentum*.¹⁸⁷ Here Kliefoth does not consider it wrong to have a predominance of the *sacramentum*. If that were so, he would contradict himself in this book. What he observed as regrettable is the killing of the dynamic flow of the *sacramentum* into *sacrificium*. The Gospel became static and lifeless. In essence, the Gospel was turned into the Law.

Second, in Spener and pietism Kliefoth observes the similar thing from the opposite sides. He says, “in Spener the Catholic elevation of the *sacrificium* over *sacramentum* is not missing.”¹⁸⁸ Kliefoth comes to the heart of the matter when he observes, “nothing is more against Lutheran principle than that the *sacrificium* stands independently from *sacramentum*.”¹⁸⁹ With Spener, the Reformed sphere had been transferred into the Lutheran Church. There the *sacrificium* has the predominance.¹⁹⁰ Previously Kliefoth perceived similarity between the

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 188–92.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 193.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 194.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 197.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

Roman Catholics and the Reformed. Now he puts pietism with the Roman Catholics as well as pietism with the Reformed.

What are some of the effects of pietism in the Lutheran Divine Service? Kliefoth says that in pietism confession was considered higher than absolution, the ancient sacramental liturgical portion was forgotten in exchange for the subjective hymns, the pericope system with the church year was changed into free choice of the text, the instruction of the people was substituted with the subjective uplifting and development, and thus the anti-church tendency became obvious.¹⁹¹ Kliefoth explains that such tendencies came into Mecklenburg since 1730.¹⁹²

Kliefoth's diagnosis of pietism does not stop here. He connects Spener and pietism with historical indifference.¹⁹³ The pietistic direction stood against objective instruction and *sacramentum*. It was against Scripture and doctrinal interest because their faith does not come from the word of God but out of one's own thought and feeling. When such tendencies prevail, there can be no sense to have the church year, there can be no Divine Service where an bestowal of the revelation of the word of God to the congregation takes place through the exposition of the Scripture and administration of the sacrament. The edification of the people then falls away. There is nothing to learn from the cultus because one already has it out of his own reason and strength. Then, there is no use of the sacrifice on Golgatha or the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Of course, hymns, liturgical portions, formulated prayers, etc., in short, the entire Divine Service deteriorated: preaching, the Lord's Supper, catechesis, church year, liturgical

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Ibid., 201.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 206–207.

chant, historic versicles (responsive singing) and prayers, ancient and catholic doctrine, and indeed also Calvary itself.¹⁹⁴

As Kliefoth was sharply critical of the medieval Roman Catholic Mass and the Reformed service, so he is also critical of the so-called “dead orthodoxy” and pietism. At the center of his theological evaluation and diagnosis lies his profound understanding of the Gospel which is expressed in the dynamic relation of giving and receiving, and of *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*. In all of his comments, Kliefoth, in effect, is articulating this liturgical criterion which he has expounded in this book.

Some Proposals for Change. Toward the end of *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung*, Kliefoth lists some areas of the liturgical life where he sees a need for change. He talks about the church year,¹⁹⁵ regular Lord’s Supper,¹⁹⁶ forming of the service other than the communion service,¹⁹⁷ active participation of the congregation,¹⁹⁸ revival of the early church’s liturgical portions,¹⁹⁹ improvement in the selection of hymns,²⁰⁰ and the structure of the Divine Service.²⁰¹ In this section, we note two points particularly related to our investigation.

In the first place, let us consider the active participation of the congregation in the liturgy. Kliefoth argues again that the entire history of the Christian liturgy furnishes the evidence for congregational participation. Any one-sided procedure is not enough. The church’s hymn singing is one-sidedly congregational, and a sermon is one-sidedly from the preacher to the

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 207–209, 215, 224.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 229–32.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 232–33.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 233–35.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 235–39.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 239–41.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 241–43.

congregation. In both cases a refreshing and enlivening contact between the preacher and the congregation does not take place. Thus, the responsories, the exchange-singing and the responsive chanting are foremost places for Kliefoth's suggestions of congregational participation. In fact, Kliefoth specifically mentions the *Preface*, along with litany and *Te Deum*, as evidence that the early church indeed supplied responsories. We may note especially that he says that one of the tasks of the revised agenda was to accommodate these responsories.²⁰²

In the second place, related to the recovery of responsive singing is the revival of the early church's liturgical portions. Kliefoth's suggestion was to use the ancient or received form and text rather than creating something new. He says: "it is much better to attach what had already been given historically and tested through many centuries than to press new things from the bottom."²⁰³ Such thinking gave a direction for his liturgical revision of the *Preface* as we will discuss later.

Summary and Evaluation. As we compare this *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung* of 1847 with his earlier work *Theorie des Kultus* of 1844, we note certain changes as well as a deepening of his thought. In 1844 Kliefoth was using the language of cultus (*der Kultus*) and clergyman (*der Geistliche*); in the work we examined in this section from 1847 he uses the word *Gottesdienst* and *Predigtamt* instead. When he talked about the clergyman in 1844 Kliefoth frequently used the language of *übertragen* (to entrust, to transfer). Such a word and notion is markedly absent in this 1847 work. Although Kliefoth does not write much about it, the *Predigtamt* is confessed as having Christ as its origin. While he did not deny it in his earlier

²⁰¹ Ibid., 243–45.

²⁰² Ibid., 236.

²⁰³ Ibid., 239.

work of 1844, in 1847 Kliefoth never mentions the role of the congregation concerning the authority of distributing the means of grace or of entrusting or transferring them to a clergyman.

What stands out as central and as certainly deepened from the 1844 work in *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung* was Kliefoth's characteristic understanding of the Lord's giving and our receiving. Kliefoth had mentioned it in *Theorie des Kultus*. But he did not make use of the words *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*.

We observed that Kliefoth's critique of the medieval Roman Mass from the standpoint of the *Amt Christi*, *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*, the means of grace, and the *Predigtamt* were similarly applied in his assessment of the Reformed, "dead" orthodoxy, and pietism. Central to his analysis was that the dynamics of the *sacramentum* and *sacrificium* have been damaged, and so lost was the centrality of the Lord's gift giving. *Sacrificium* can only proceed from *sacramentum*, and the *sacramentum* produces the *sacrificium* both within the Divine Service and without it into the daily walk of a Christian vocation. *Sacrificium* does not exist independently, detached from *sacramentum*. This was why Kliefoth did not favor the title "eucharist" for the Lord's Supper, putting it as a word preferred by the Reformed. Such vital relationship between the *sacramentum* and *sacrificium* for Kliefoth was nothing other than his understanding of the Gospel.

Out of this understanding the dynamics of *sacramentum*—*sacrificium* flow to other points mentioned by Kliefoth. For example, his assertion that the criterion of liturgical work in the Lutheran Church has to do with doctrine. Yet, when he mentioned doctrine, it was not a static or abstract idea and concept. The Lutheran Church revises the liturgy not by doing a superficial patchwork but by way of going to the heart of the Gospel, the Lord's giving of his means of grace. Impoverishment in the liturgy is diagnosed from this point of *sacramentum*—*sacrificium* dynamics. The participation of the congregation was discussed also from the *sacramentum*—

sacrificium standpoint. The congregation participates in the liturgy chiefly in hearing and receiving, and only secondarily by responsive and reciprocal singing because the gift which is received prompts praise, thanks, and confession of the Giver Lord. Kliefoth insists on the use of the vernacular language and a fixed liturgy. But they are again for the sake of the proper participation in *sacrificium*.

As mentioned, in *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung*, Kliefoth developed further his emphasis on the responsive singing. Now Kliefoth mentions the *Preface* as one of the most important examples of an exchange between the minister and the congregation. The *Preface* as a whole belongs to *sacrificium* for Kliefoth. Yet, within the *Preface*, a pastor's address and invitational words belong to *sacramentum*, and congregational words to the pastor belong to *sacrificium*. Kliefoth was faithfully abiding with what his church had received from the Latin liturgy. He made a major effort to simply recover the *Preface* which had been lost. Kliefoth's faithfulness to the Latin original shows in his short explanation of the *Preface*. He did not exhort his people to make an effort to raise their hearts to the Father upwardly in his explanation of "*Habemus ad Dominum,*" as an awkward English translation that came from Thomas Cranmer suggests to do in "we lift them up unto the Lord." But unlike the Swedish churchmen in the middle to the end of the nineteenth century, as we will see in the next chapter, Kliefoth does not seem to have taken the last words of the congregation in the *Preface* as an acclamation to the Lord. Kliefoth again stayed faithful to the received text "*Dignum et justum est.*" Kliefoth knew that the acclamation was found in the *Vere Dignum* and especially the *Sanctus*. That Kliefoth spends little space for theological explanation of the *Preface* and other portions of the liturgy of the Lord's Supper would indicate that his major contribution at this point in terms of the restoration of the evangelical Lutheran liturgy was to recover the *Preface* and the responsive chanting there between pastor and the congregation. Kliefoth had all the theological rationales to

suggest this, because such a practice came from his profound understanding of the Gospel in the way of *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*.

Acht Bücher von der Kirche (1854)

When Kliefoth published the first half, or the only volume, of *Acht Bücher von der Kirche* in 1854, he was already a member of the *Oberkirchenrat*, the Higher Church Council of the territorial church of Mecklenburg. Also at the time of this book, works bearing the title “*Bücher von der Kirche*” had already been published by Löhe²⁰⁴ and Delitzsch.²⁰⁵ It was a controversial era with a question of union between Lutheran and Reformed Churches at hand. Kliefoth had already designated his time as the time of the church in his *Einleitung in die Dogmengeschichte* of 1839. Around the time of the publication of *Acht Bücher von der Kirche*, Kliefoth himself was engaging in a polemic against the theological faculty of the University of Göttingen who supported the Prussian Union.²⁰⁶ In such a context in the aftermath of the revolution, Kliefoth discusses the doctrine of the church with “fear.” The sense of Kliefoth’s anxiety (*Besorgniß*) came, however, not from the situation in which he found himself in the changing society, but from the awareness that in discussing the Lord’s church he was dealing with the life of Christ. For him, the subject of the church was thus “overwhelming.”²⁰⁷

As many of his other books and writings, *Acht Bücher von der Kirche* was not written with scholarly readers in view. Rather than focusing on theologians at universities, Kliefoth

²⁰⁴ Wilhelm Löhe, *Drei Bücher von der Kirche* (Stuttgart: Sam. Gott. Liesching, 1845).

²⁰⁵ Franz Delitzsch, *Vier Bücher von der Kirche: Seitenstück zu Löhe’s drei Büchern von der Kirche* (Dresden: J. Naumann, 1847).

²⁰⁶ See Theodor Kliefoth, “An die hochwürdige theologische Facultät der Georg Augustus Universität zu Göttingen,” *Kirchliche Zeitschrift* (1854): 1–77; idem, “Die Erklärung der theologischen Fakultät zu Göttingen in Veranlassung ihrer Denkschrift. . . über die gegenwärtige Krisis des kirchlichen Lebens,” *Kirchliche Zeitschrift* (1855): 95–171.

²⁰⁷ Theodor Kliefoth, *Acht Bücher von der Kirche* (Schwerin and Rostock: Stiller’schen Hofbuchhandlung, 1854), v.

attempted to attract a wider audience. Just as his liturgical writings, this work has also affected beyond the boundary of Mecklenburg. Kliefoth's theological insight left an important imprint on E. G. Bring and his colleagues, thus also in their liturgical revisionary work in Sweden.

Out of eight books, only the first four got written. These we find in this book. The remaining four books never appeared.²⁰⁸ The structure of this 510-page book is as follows:

Foreword	
Introduction	
Epitome (pp. 5–30)	
Book 1: The Kingdom of God in the Time of the Church	(§1–12; pp. 34–131)
Book 2: The Means of Grace and their Office	(§13–18; pp. 132–231)
Book 3: The Congregation and her Service	(§19–26; pp. 232–352)
Book 4: The Church, her Ordnung, and her Governance	(§27–34; pp. 353–510)

Book 1: The Time of the Church. Prior to the main portion of the book, Kliefoth attaches an epitome, in which he summarizes all thirty-four sub-sections of the book into just twenty four pages. Here we first go to the Book 1 portion of this short section in order to learn of Kliefoth's thinking on the time of the church.²⁰⁹

First, the church is located by Kliefoth in the course of salvific events in Christ, starting with creation, fall, *proto-evangelium*, the incarnation, etc. (§1–12). It is God who creates the church. Kliefoth writes, “through the manifestation of the Son of God in the flesh, His death and His resurrection which was fulfilled in His ascension the divine work of reconciliation has been

²⁰⁸ The last four books were supposed to treat the development of the church as follows:

- Book 5: The Development of the Church and her Law
- Book 6: The Development of the Church with respect to Space
- Book 7: The Development of the Church with respect to Time
- Book 8: The Consummation of the Church

accomplished” (§6).²¹⁰ Then Kliefoth says: “the salvation is finished but the cure of the world is not yet finished because the righteousness of the world comes only through the work of the Lord’s reconciliation” (§7).²¹¹ Kliefoth elaborates the Lord’s ascension and writes: “the meaning of the Lord’s ascension for the creation of the church is based on the fact that through it the God-man, who was manifested, died, resurrected, may be outside of the restriction of space and time so that He may be personally present and active in the whole world” (§9).²¹² After the Son has redeemed the world, the Holy Spirit who is sent by the Father and the Son works to bring the world and the people back to the original, sacred life situation (§10).²¹³ Kliefoth emphasizes that the Lord’s ascension and Pentecost worked together to create the church. In other words, the exalted Lord and the poured-out Holy Spirit may not be separated from each other in building up the church. The head of the church is the Lord Jesus. The church is the place into which His life flows (§11).²¹⁴

In the main body of *Acht Bücher*, Kliefoth expounds what he surveyed above. His thinking of the location of the church in history becomes clearer when we observe his division of history into three periods. The first period is called the Time of Revelation, while the second period is the Time of the Church and the third period being the Time of Consummation. Kliefoth says:

The first aeon was the time of revelation, which extended from the first promise of the Lord to His appearing in the flesh: in it came the Lord and His salvation in the world. The second aeon is the time of the church, which extends on from this time of the Lord to His return: in it the world comes to the Lord and His salvation through the preaching of the

²⁰⁹ Kliefoth, *Acht Bücher von der Kirche*, 7–15.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 11.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 12.

²¹² *Ibid.*, 13.

²¹³ *Ibid.*

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 14.

Gospel. The third aeon will be the time of consummation, which will begin with the return of the Lord: in it the Lord and His new man in a new world will be there.²¹⁵

In this way, Kliefoth defined the time of the church as the period when the means of grace are distributed, when the Lord gathers His people through them. Kliefoth confesses that the church is both “the product and means of calling, justifying, and sanctifying.”²¹⁶ The church is “not identical with the Kingdom of God, but the Kingdom of God in a certain time, phase and form.”²¹⁷

We observe two things. In the first place, Kliefoth’s outline of the account of salvation moves fundamentally according to the structure of the Augsburg Confession Articles 1 to 12, which has a sequence as follows: God and creation, man’s fall and original sin, the incarnation of Christ and His accomplishment of salvation through death, resurrection, ascension and sending of the Holy Spirit, justification of the sinner before God, the office which distributes sermon and sacraments, man’s grateful living as a fruit of forgiveness, church as believers and the place where the Gospel and the sacraments are preached and given out, Holy Baptism, the Lord’s Supper, and Holy Absolution. This sequence may be characterized as Christo-centric, justification-centered, or the means of grace theology. Whatever one would label it, it is remarkable to note that Kliefoth confessed Scriptural doctrine straightforwardly in the midst of a variety of nineteenth-century theologies which twisted or denied any one of those articles of faith. Just as each article of the Augsburg Confession contains both positive and negative statements, so Kliefoth in the course of confessing the church in the sequence of God’s work of salvation mentions what he does not confess. Frequently he mentions the errors of Pelagianism, Semi-Pelagianism, Manichaeism, Gnosticism, pantheism, deism, and “modern” theology

²¹⁵ Ibid., 49. Cf., Ibid., 1.

²¹⁶ Ibid., 122. Cf., Ibid., 15.

²¹⁷ Ibid., 33.

which obviously included an emphasis of development and progress, incarnation as the moment of salvation, the notion of *Heilgeschichte* of von Hofmann, and denial of the doctrine of original sin, Christ's atonement, justification, etc.

In the second place, in locating the church as the place and time of the distribution of the salvation which has been accomplished by the Savior, Kliefoth's ecclesiology and his liturgiology come together. The church is confessed concretely, not abstractly. She is essentially Christ's working place. He serves man through the means of grace. And as we saw, for Kliefoth, to talk about the means of grace is to discuss liturgy.

Another way to observe the connection between ecclesiology and liturgy is to see them in light of the life of Christ. Kliefoth speaks of "body" and "vine" from John 15 and 1 Corinthians 12:12, asserting that into the congregation the life of the Lord has been brought through the means of grace.²¹⁸ The church is not a static entity or social gathering from below. Rather, she is alive because of the life of Christ she receives.

Kliefoth also says: "As the died, resurrected and ascended, the Lord is the fulfiller of salvation and the conclusion of revelation, and as the ascended and the giver of the Spirit, He is the beginner, governor, and fulfiller of the church."²¹⁹ Kliefoth observes that the event of Pentecost is the opposite of the Tower of Babel.²²⁰ The Spirit begins to unite man in the church. When a sinner is justified and God's salvation is received, the ability of speech is also restored so that he may now speak in the Divine Service.

²¹⁸ Ibid., 125ff.

²¹⁹ Ibid., 89.

²²⁰ Ibid., 89, 103.

The importance of the life of Christ is but an example of how seriously Kliefoth regards Good Friday, Easter, Ascension and Pentecost. In Mecklenburg, Kliefoth restored the church year which had been dropped because of the influence of the Enlightenment and pietism.

Book 2: *Gnadenmittel*, δόσις and λήψις, *Gnadenmittelamt*. In the second book, Kliefoth begins where he left off in the first book. He draws a line between the sending of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost (Acts 2:1–13) and a sermon delivered by the Apostle Peter (Acts 2:14ff.).²²¹ For Kliefoth the salvation-creating activity of the Triune God ends when the Lord sends His Spirit. On the other hand, the salvation-bestowing activity of the same begins with the preaching of Peter, which results in baptism and the Lord's Supper (Acts 2). Both are exclusively the Lord's work alone, without man's contribution at all.²²² "The Triune God bound Himself to the means of grace (*Gnadenmittel*) of the words, baptism, and the Lord's Supper to give out the salvation which was prepared by Christ's death and resurrection."²²³ He has bound all His redeeming activity of the Time of the Church in the means of grace which He has given. He now gives salvation to man through man, using man's mouth and man's hand. It takes place in the way both audible and visible, in space and time. Nevertheless, this mediated act of man is only instrumental. It is all God's doing²²⁴ (thus far §13).

Strictly speaking, the means of grace are given exclusively for the Time of the Church. They originate with and out of God's salvation-creating and church-creating activities, and not before. The means of grace receive the content of salvation out of the salvation-creating acts of

²²¹ Ibid., 15.

²²² Ibid., 16. We may recognize that between the sending of the Holy Spirit and the sermon preached by Apostle Peter on the Day of Pentecost was the line Kliefoth drew to separate the Time of the Church from the Time of Revelation.

²²³ Kliefoth, *Acht Bücher von der Kirche*, 15.

²²⁴ Ibid., 16.

God²²⁵ (§14). We will see how Klieforth further clarifies this point below in his *Liturgische Abhandlungen*. What he explains on the origin of the Christian Divine Service there overlaps what he says here on the origin of the means of grace.

In the next subsection (§15), Klieforth explains the uniqueness of each means of grace and their commonality in a way which recognizes a certain continuity in the Time of the Church from the Time of Revelation. The Lord's *works* of revelation and salvation-creation, which had concluded in the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, and His *words* of revelation, salvation-creation, and salvation-bestowal which had been fulfilled in a series of preaching of the Apostles, are now both embraced in the *words* of Scripture and preaching and the *work* of sacraments.²²⁶

Word and sacraments are distinct from each other on the one hand, they belong together on the other. For example, when the word is found together with baptism, it is a missionary, catechetical, and calling word because it has the purpose of μαθητεύειν, the birth of the new man, and the gathering of the church. When the word is together with the Lord's Supper, it serves as the feeding word because the purposes there are the upbringing of the man who had been born by God in baptism, the preservation of the church, and the nourishment of the baptized and of the body of Christ.²²⁷

Klieforth calls word, baptism, and the Lord's Supper as the "triad of the means of grace." They are the means of Christ's giving of His life to the church, procreating, developing, and consummating the new life.²²⁸

Klieforth, then, goes on to introduce a new phrase of δόσις and λήψις²²⁹ in subsection §16 in the following way:

²²⁵ Ibid., 16–17.

²²⁶ Ibid., 17.

²²⁷ Ibid.

Since God wants to deal with man through man mediated by the means of grace, so such God's dealing through means of grace calls for one set of deeds laid out to each other as administration and acceptance (*Darreichung und Entgegennahme*), distribution and reception (*Austheilung und Empfang*), δόσις and λήψις. Man's mouth or man's hand must stretch them out (*porrigiren*)²³⁰ and man's ear or his another sense must receive them. Such δόσις and λήψις is the way of all the means of grace. Each is effective, however, in different ways.²³¹

Through this distinction between δόσις and λήψις, Kliefoth brings a clear expression that God deals with man through the means of grace, but he guards such working of the Lord from a magical event. Kliefoth is well aware that the Lord's gift is resistible. There is a possibility of faith or unbelief, mere outward hearing or outward and inward λήψις. However, what is most important here is the confession of Kliefoth that the Lord's gracious word and work come only from outside with His initiative.

The confession of *externum verbum*²³² is alluded to in another way also when Kliefoth makes a distinction between the spoken word of God and the written word of God. He says: "The Lord knows very well (John 5:39) that a Scripture is and has power, ... but His mandate given to the church does not say that the Scripture should be circulated and read, but that the word of God should be preached and learned."²³³

The certainty of the means of grace is evangelically and externally explained by Kliefoth in the following way: "In the Lord's Supper one must give out bread and wine according to the Lord's mandate and another must eat and drink; in baptism one must baptize with water to

²²⁸ Ibid., 18.

²²⁹ Although δόσις and λήψις is a new phrase in *Acht Bücher*, Kliefoth had been presenting the same insight using different terms in his liturgical writings that we investigated above, such as the Lord's giving and our receiving or *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*.

²³⁰ Here Kliefoth's use of the word *porrigiren* reflects AC 5.

²³¹ Kliefoth, *Acht Bücher von der Kirche*, 18.

²³² Cf., AC 5.

²³³ Kliefoth, *Acht Bücher von der Kirche*, 179.

another in the name of the Trinity and the latter must let it take place.”²³⁴ These words indicate that with δόσις and λήψις of the means of grace comes the one who gives and the other who is given to. Kliefoth expounds on this theme in the next subsection, §17.

Kliefoth maintains that “through the δόσις and λήψις of the means of grace a distinction of giving and receiving, the giving one and the receiving ones, is established.” But, he continues, “God did not intend such a distinction to be floating.” What, then, did God do? Here Kliefoth discusses the means of grace office. In order to hear Kliefoth clearly, we give a lengthy citation:

For the administration of the means of grace with the church and for the durability of the same, God has instituted an office of the means of grace (*Gott . . . ein Amt der Gnadenmittel gestiftet*). This office does not arise through the general Christian calling of all, but through the special call which mandates a sure service (*Dienst*) of the means of grace. The means of grace office (*Gnadenmittelamt*), therefore, exists not only according to the will of God but also through the act of God, and not through the development of the church but through the arrangement and institution of God (*durch Stiftung und Einsetzung Gottes*). In other words, God has given the church the means of grace and the mandate (*das Mandat*) to administer the same. Both are the arrangement of God. And so that such mandate of administration may be carried out, God has instituted and maintained the ordained office (*ordentliches Amt*). Consequently, although the congregation offers the individuals for the office and the individuals prepare for the office at the hand of those who form them in the churchly context and the church exercises the *vocatio mediata* through her organs, it is truly God Himself doing them all. He preserves the means of grace office (*Gnadenmittelamt*). He always awakens and prepares the individuals for the service of the same and through the church He puts members into the office (*ins Amt*) and gives them to the congregation. The importance and authority of this office is that the δόσις of the means of grace is entrusted to the office. For this reason, the office is not the third or fourth means of grace, neither can it be a creation of the new means of grace, strengthening it or making it complete. Rather, the office is an instrumental service (*ein instrumentaler Dienst*) for the means of grace and is itself strong through the same alone. The office, however, is not out of the human or social order but out of the divine order. . . . The means of grace office calls for the faithfulness, aptitude, wisdom, and personal piety by the one who bears the office. However, it is not the case that the efficacy of the office depends on the personal quality of the bearer. Precisely, it is not in the person but in the means of grace that such efficacy of the office lies. Finally, the church is the whole possessor of the means of grace office, who supports the person in the office by providing the gift of a living.²³⁵

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ Ibid., 18–19.

Here, we observe at least the following five important points to consider. First, the means of grace office (*Gnadenmittelamt*) is not a human arrangement or something that had developed over the course of the church history. Rather, it is instituted by the Lord just as the means of grace have been. Here Kliefoth refers to John 20:21–23 as well as Matthew 16:19 and 18:15–18.²³⁶ He also describes how the office came into being in a sequence of events:

Concerning the sequence of events, we can simply say together with our old church order: The Son of God Himself has been the first preacher of the Gospel; but before His departure He gave another arrangement; He mandated the Twelve the administration of the means of grace, whom He had chosen out of those whom His Father has given Him; and these men had been mandated by virtue of their apostolic authority for the establishment of the same, put pastors and elders and set up the presbytership. This is the simple sequence of events.²³⁷

Earlier we observed that the language of “*übertragen*” appeared in the *Theorie des Kultus* of 1844 but not in the *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung* of 1847. We also noted that “*übertragen*” may be translated either as “to transfer” or “to entrust” depending on the context. In *Acht Bücher*, this word is not found. Instead of emphasizing the role and place of the congregation, Kliefoth here accents the progression from the Lord, to the Twelve, and to the pastors and their office.

The term “*Gnadenmittelamt*” is a vital way of confessing the Office of the Holy Ministry. The construction of the word is very German and instructive. The most important part of this word is grace (*Gnade*). It is of the Lord which flows from Calvary. The second significant thing is the confession of the means (*Mittel*). The Lord does not give us His grace directly but through the means He instituted. Lastly, there is an office (*Amt*), the office which distributes the means of grace. The office is attendant and instrumental. This is the way to confess the centrality of the Lord and His service.

²³⁶ Ibid., 206, 206–208.

²³⁷ Ibid., 192.

The Lord has instituted one office of both the preaching of the word and the giving out of the sacrament. Kliefoth explains that this *Gnadenmittelamt* is called with different names, such as “teacher,” “preacher,” “house-steward of God” which distributes the secret and treasure of grace of the house of God, “messenger” who brings to man the joyful message of the Gospel, “servant and minister of the Lord” who waits on the Lord’s Supper, and “fisher of man” who draws the net of the means of grace through the ocean of the world.²³⁸

The distinction between not only the giving and receiving but also of the giving one and the receiving ones is inherent in the nature of the means of grace for Kliefoth. For the Lord’s gift to be bestowed and distributed, the one who gives it out and the other who is given to are called for.²³⁹ No man can lay out the means of grace to or by himself. He cannot put sacrificial before the sacramental nature of the means of grace. Kliefoth further asserts: “there can be no time or condition or place where the contrast of the giving one and the receiving ones does not run in the church.”²⁴⁰

The Lord does not want the distinction between the giving one and the receiving ones to be floating, according to Kliefoth.²⁴¹ Here Kliefoth excludes a *collegium* system of pietism. He also rejects the idea that the *Gnadenmittelamt* comes out of the universal priesthood in the New Testament where everyone according to his discretion preaches and distributes the sacraments. “If anyone takes upon himself (or qualifies himself for) the sermon and the distribution of the sacrament in an uncalled manner, he will pay his own soul with the damage.”²⁴² In the chapter

²³⁸ Ibid., 201.

²³⁹ Ibid., 187.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 189.

²⁴¹ Ibid., 18, 191.

²⁴² Ibid., 203.

on ordination in the first volume of *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, which was published in the same year as *Acht Bücher*, Kliefoth left the following words:

(if) the *Gnadenmittelamt* were comprehended as a product and as an organization of the universal priesthood of all Christians, then the Lord would have instituted only a function of the means of grace administration but not a certain person entrusted for this as minister.²⁴³

Second, Kliefoth confesses that it is the Lord Himself who puts a man into the *Gnadenmittelamt*. And it is a continual work of His creation. He says: “The preservation of the *Predigtamt* is not to be considered as work once created and now the church is further living by herself, but as continual divine creation of the same. God gives and places shepherd and teacher continuously in the spiritual office preserved by Him through the mediation of the church.”²⁴⁴

The making of a pastor calls for a certain process. In the Lutheran Confessions we hear a process of examination, election, call, and ordination.²⁴⁵ Kliefoth even includes the time before examination of the candidate in such a process, saying that the Lord “always awakens and prepares the individuals for the service of the means of grace office.”²⁴⁶ But the point of all is this, that the entire process is “truly” the work of the Lord Himself. It is Christ who puts a man into the office.²⁴⁷

Third, we see Kliefoth emphasizing the nature of the service of the *Gnadenmittelamt* as an “instrumental service.”²⁴⁸ The *Gnadenmittelamt* is not another means of grace, but it serves the means of grace. Thus, the pastor is not the head or lord of the church. The means of grace is

²⁴³ Theodor Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, volume 1: *Die Einsegnung der Ehe, Vom Begräbniß, Von der Ordination und Introduction* (Schwerin and Rostock: Stiller’schen Hof-Buchhandlung, 1854), 341.

²⁴⁴ Kliefoth, *Acht Bücher von der Kirche*, 200–201.

²⁴⁵ For example, Tr., 70, 72.

²⁴⁶ Kliefoth, *Acht Bücher von der Kirche*, 19.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 19, 203.

simply entrusted to the office.²⁴⁹ The point of Kliefoth's stress on the "instrumental service" is that it is the Lord who is actively doing the ministry. In this context, Kliefoth stays away from talking about the person in the office. He discusses the office.²⁵⁰ Together with it he sets forth Christ. Here are some examples.

We should hear the word of God out of the mouth of the office and receive the sacrament out of the hand of the same as out of the hand and mouth of the Son of God Himself. We should seek at the *Predigtamt* doctrine, absolution, comfort, (and) blessing. We should let ourselves be rebuked by the same for the sake of our sins.²⁵¹

The deed of the office is not that of the ceremonial law . . . but it is an instrumental deed . . . The Triune God Himself teaches, baptizes, feeds and gives salvation and blessing through the means of grace, whose mouth and hand is the office.²⁵²

The word is comprehended according to the need of the hearers in all forms of sermon, catechesis, absolution, benediction, the sacrament formed liturgically . . . the Lord does this. . . . The office only gives out what God gives in the means of grace.²⁵³

The *Gnadenmittelamt* preaches and baptizes and in doing so it gathers the assembly; the means of grace office preaches and administers the sacrament of the altar and doing so it feeds the congregation; thereby it defends the true doctrine of the Gospel and rebukes the false doctrine, plants the good and blots out the bad; and the effect of all these deeds is always that it binds or loosens.²⁵⁴

Fourth, while Kliefoth talks about the "faithfulness, aptitude, wisdom and personal piety" of the bearers of the office, he carefully avoids the notion that the efficacy of the work of the

²⁴⁹ Here Kliefoth does not use the language of *übertragen* for entrusting. The word used here is *(an)vertrauen*.

²⁵⁰ In extolling the office rather than the person who is put there in the office, Kliefoth confesses the doctrine of the Office of the Holy Ministry together with Luther. For example, in his "An Open Letter to Those in Frankfurt on the Main, 1533," Luther writes: ". . . such honor should come not to the person but to the office [*Amf*] and to the Word of God." Trans. by Jon D. Vieker, *Concordia Journal* 16 (October 1990), 347. ". . . Sinternal solch ehre nicht der person, sondern dem ampt und dem wort Gottes geschicht." WA 30 III, 571. 2–3.

²⁵¹ Kliefoth, *Acht Bücher von der Kirche*, 209.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, 202.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 451.

Gnadenmittelamt depends on such personal quality of the office bearers.²⁵⁵ Through and through Klieforth rejects any hierarchy in his understanding of the *Gnadenmittelamt*.

Finally, Klieforth teaches that there are at least four things involved when he speaks of the church as the possessor of the *Gnadenmittelamt*.²⁵⁶ First, the church offers God persons for the office out of her members. Second, she exercises the *vocatio mediata*. Third, she supports the livelihood of the office bearers through her gifts and other means. And fourth, she looks after the faithfulness of the person in the office in word and sacrament.²⁵⁷

In Book 2, Klieforth introduced the words δόσις and λήψις for the first time. He focused on the side of δόσις and expounded the relation of the means of grace, means of grace office, and the person in the means of grace office. As in Book 1, here too, Klieforth's discussion centered in Christ and His service for us.

Book 3: Gift and Task of the Congregation. While the discussion in Book 2 centered on the δόσις of the Lord through the *Gnadenmittel* using His *Gnadenmittelamt*, in Book 3 Klieforth engages the topic of λήψις and elaborates on the gift and task of the congregation.

Klieforth begins the third book by pointing out how feminine in nature a congregation is. The congregation receives what is given, she bears fruits, and she is a bride in relation to her bridegroom, the Lord.²⁵⁸ The church does not depend on the faith of the individuals but on the preaching of the word and the administration of the sacrament. Klieforth writes:

It does not mean: where two or three faithful are, there is congregation; on the contrary it means: where God works through the means of grace, there are the faithful and so the congregation. Whether congregation of God is there depends on whether word and sacrament are there; but whether Cajus and Sempronius belong to the congregation

²⁵⁵ Ibid., 19.

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., 208.

²⁵⁸ Ibid., 240–41.

depends on whether and how they have faith. The δόσις of the means of grace makes the congregation, the λήψις only makes the individuals the member of the same.²⁵⁹

In this way, faith is never glorified by Kliefoth as the origin or cause of the congregation. Faith is never autonomous. With the feminine imagery and the word λήψις, Kliefoth shows faith as a result of the Lord's prior work of δόσις through the means of grace.

Although λήψις depends on δόσις, the right administration of the means of grace does not automatically bring about a flourishing congregation.²⁶⁰ Here it appears that Kliefoth abides with the Augsburg Confession Article 5 without mentioning it, that the result of the Lord's work of δόσις belongs to Him alone, "where and when it pleases Him."

Kliefoth maintains that an external reception and an internal reception, or hearing and receiving should both be there.²⁶¹ While he rejects the idea of pietism which reduces the true church to the congregation of true believers, Kliefoth also warns against hypocritical or nominal Christians. Kliefoth summarizes: "So far as word and sacrament are received in faith, so far the congregation of the saints go."²⁶²

The gift of the Christian is the universal priesthood (1 Peter 2:9, Rom 12:1). Kliefoth points out the contrast of the priesthood in the New Testament to that of the Old Testament. Presupposition is the sacrificial death of Christ and that Christ alone is the true High Priest for both Old and New Testament people. The Old Testament priests had a double task, according to Kliefoth: sin and atoning sacrifice, and praise and thanks sacrifice. But through the appearing of the Lord, through His death and resurrection, a change took place. The atoning sacrifice has been completed and, therefore, ceased, but the praise and thanks sacrifice have not. The genuine

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 241.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., 249–54.

²⁶¹ Ibid., 254–71.

²⁶² Ibid., 280.

priesthood is now granted to the new people of God as His gift.²⁶³ God gives us spiritual and natural gifts, lives, goods, strength, and comfort. Out of these gifts from God arise praise-sacrifice and thank-sacrifice. They are expressed in prayer (*Gebet*) and good works (*Wohlthun*) to the neighbor.²⁶⁴

Here Kliefoth begins to talk about the second office in the church, which he calls simply “congregation’s office (*Gemeindeamt*)” or with a more distinguished term “office of deacon (*Diakonie*).”²⁶⁵

Gnadenmittelamt ——— baptism, sermon, the Lord’s Supper, blessing, etc.
Diakonie (Gemeindeamt) — prayer, good works

For Kliefoth, the office of deacon is not a special office limited to only certain members of the congregation. All the baptized are priests and deacons. Their office is to pray and do good works. As the *Gnadenmittelamt*, so also the *Gemeindeamt* is by God. The latter is born from God through word and faith. But contrary to the *Gnadenmittelamt*, the *Gemeindeamt* is not instituted by the Lord immediately.²⁶⁶

The task of the deacon is not limited to the care of the sick and the poor. It takes place in every station of life, Christian vocation.²⁶⁷ Within the Divine Service, then, the responsive singing and versicles may be seen as an exchange between the *Gnadenmittelamt* and *Diakonie*. Liturgy is not a performance or show of the clergy, nor a eucharistic performance of the

²⁶³ Ibid., 281–86.

²⁶⁴ Ibid., 24, 288ff.

²⁶⁵ Ibid., 25, 300, 297–318.

²⁶⁶ Ibid., 317.

²⁶⁷ Ibid., 299.

congregation, but the place where the Lord and His assembly speak to each other: His giving, our receiving, then our acclamation of Him.

Such relation is not possible theologically in Rome and in the Reformed. According to Kliefoth, in the Roman Church the *Diakonie* has vanished into the *Gnadenmittelamt*. The congregation cannot bring their prayer and sacrifice before the eternal High Priest by themselves but only through the *manum sacerdotis*. God's work has become church's work. The priesthood of the believers has vanished into the sacerdotal office.²⁶⁸ On the other hand, in the Reformed Church and *collegium* system of pietism, the *Gnadenmittelamt* became eucharistic office of priests which is derived from the universal priesthood.²⁶⁹ In both cases, the *Gnadenmittelamt* as well as universal priesthood are not upheld.

Kliefoth maintains that the work of the *Gnadenmittelamt* is hardly a priestly business, whereas the priestly office of the believers (*Priesteramt der Gläubigen*) is. Truly both are from God. If both offices are mingled, mission and edification, what Kliefoth had said earlier as common tasks of the baptized, will be damaged.²⁷⁰

Book 4: Church Governance. The issue of the church governance is not immediately related to the subject of our investigation. But it was for E. G. Bring and his colleagues in Sweden. This was included in their acknowledgement of Kliefoth as a leading resource for them.

In Kliefoth's view of the church order (*Kirchenordnung*) he speaks of its τάξις, which inheres in its locatedness.²⁷¹ Despite a particularity of a given church order for different time,

²⁶⁸ Ibid., 301. Cf., Ibid., 25.

²⁶⁹ Ibid., 302. Cf., Ibid., 25.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., 309–10.

²⁷¹ Kliefoth speaks of τάξις and κληρος in §27 and §28. He uses the word τάξις and *ordo* interchangeably in (continued next page)

place, and need, Kliefoth maintained that there is catholicity and ecumenicity in the church order. It “must have the order of salvation (*die Heilsordnung*), and the administration of the order of salvation is to be churchly ordered.”²⁷² Also in the church order he made a distinction between what originates in God and what came out of man, just as he did the same in liturgy.

Kliefoth states that neither should the church influence the state, nor the state the church, nor is it any slight matter if both blend with each other. They are both divine institutions, and it is therefore important to define their relation to each other.²⁷³ Kliefoth says: “church and state are like Gospel and Law to each other.”²⁷⁴ Church governance and state governance must work together, but may not intrude into each other’s tasks. Such thought is reflected in the creation of the Higher Church Council (*Oberkirchenrath*).

Kliefoth understood that the church order is more than an order of inner management. It is an important aspect of the picture of the church that the Lord has revealed to us. Here, Kliefoth particularly has τάξις in mind.²⁷⁵ For him, the episcopal system would mix the offices, and a renunciation of church law would result in ineffectiveness.

discussing the stations of Christian life such as the τάξεις of pastors, fathers, married people, masters, students, etc. Kliefoth, *Acht Bücher von der Kirche*, 357. In each of living, there is given a κληρος, the *Aufgabe*. *Acht Bücher*, 359. There are *vocatio generalis* and *vocatio specialis*. *Acht Bücher*, 361. As each Christian lives his or her life according to the *vocatio specialis*, there is a common vocation, which Kliefoth explains as the conversion of the world and the edification of the Christians. Here he includes not only the distribution of the means of grace but also prayers and good works of Christians. The mandate in Matthew 28:19–20 and Mark 16:16 was specifically given to the Apostles, and all Christians share the common task of conversion and edification according to each one’s κληρος in their τάξεις. *Acht Bücher*, 362–66. The church order has its purpose in giving a norm to each member of the church in one’s τάξις to do the common task mandated by God according to one’s own station of life. It thus results in a “*äußerlich geordneten Status*.” *Ibid.*, 382. In this way, Kliefoth speaks of the church not as individualistic disordered society but as called by God through His means of grace, each member placed with a Christian vocation, serving the Lord and with each other with the gifts which he or she continues to receive from the Lord.

²⁷² Kliefoth, *Acht Bücher von der Kirche*, 385.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, 421–24.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 432.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 450–51.

The church order, for Kliefoth, does not serve to build bureaucracy or hierarchy or even papacy. It serves to let Christ govern in the church. This is why salvation order should have precedence over a church order.

Summary and Evaluation. Although Kliefoth never completed the second volume of *Acht Bücher*, he has made his confession of the church very clear. In all four books that exist what stands out as characteristic is that his ecclesiology is a means of grace centered ecclesiology.

The confession of the means of grace had been expressed in different ways. In his *Theorie des Kultus* of 1844, Kliefoth was presenting his view as the Lord's giving and our receiving. In *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung* of 1847, he developed his thought around *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*. In this *Acht Bücher von der Kirche* of 1854, Kliefoth's characteristic words are, first and foremost, δόσις and λήψις. Kliefoth did not use *sacramentum*—*sacrificium* terminology probably because those terms specifically talk about what takes place within the Divine Service. Here, Kliefoth's task was to present his confession of the church. By using δόσις and λήψις Kliefoth confessed not only the Lord's giving and our receiving but also the distinction between the giving one and the receiving ones. Such distinctiveness led him to use what we may call the second and third characteristic words he uses in *Acht Bücher*, *Gnadenmittelamt* and *Diakonie* (*Gemeindeamt*).

For the Time of the Church the Triune God has bound Himself to word and sacrament. He it is who works through them. The church is the location and working place of her head Christ. The liturgy, therefore, is not an unimportant or trivial matter or placed somehow lower than doctrine, confession, or missions, but it is precisely the central piece of the life of the church. It is important to recognize that those two offices in the church, *Gnadenmittelamt* and *Diakonie*, for Kliefoth, derive from the liturgy. He defines the church by way of liturgy. The doctrine of

justification may not be talked about without liturgy. Church and liturgy are not to be separated from each other.

By making a clear distinction between giving and receiving and the giving one and the receiving ones, Kliefoth extolled both offices of *Gnadenmittelamt* and *Gemeindeamt*. According to Kliefoth, only those who make a distinction between the two may uphold both offices appropriately as the Lord had intended.

As the church was confessed in the way of the means of grace, so the Office of the Holy Ministry was confessed by way of the means of grace. The same is with the office of deacons. Even the “third” office of the church governance was guided by the means of grace. The task of the office of the church governance was to liberate the church from the tyranny of both sacerdotalism and congregationalism. It is the Lord Christ who is the head of the church. The proper church governance protects the church from the intervention of the state which would disturb the flow of the means of grace.

Kliefoth’s ecclesiology and liturgiology are interrelated because of the centrality of the means of grace. During the Time of the Church, our Lord continues to distribute the fruit of the cross to man through the means of grace (δόσις). The Lord brings forgiveness and life to the sinner through the mouth and hand of the man in the *Gnadenmittelamt*. Those who have received His gifts (*Diakonie, Gemeindeamt*) are prompted to live a life of prayer and service (λήψις). The church is the location of the Lord’s δόσις and our λήψις. Through the church the liturgy goes on.

How profoundly the foregoing influenced E. G. Bring and his colleagues we have heard acknowledged in the introduction of *Swensk Kyrkotidning*. We have noted particularly what Kliefoth said of the church, liturgy, the Lord’s Supper, the Office of the Holy Ministry, the office of the congregation, and the evangelical way to treat the issues of the church that he was facing.

Liturgische Abhandlungen (1858–1861)

The breadth of scholarship in *Theorie des Kultus* (1844) and *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung* (1847) had established Kliefoth as a liturgical scholar and an expert in the history and content of the Lutheran Church orders. This expertise led to the choice of him as regular keynote speaker in the annual liturgical conferences from 1852 to 1862. Kliefoth was involved in the Eisenach Church Conference from 1852 to 1872 and in establishing the General Evangelical Lutheran Conference in 1862, of which he was the president since 1874 after the death of Harleß.²⁷⁶ At the prime time of his responsibilities in the church, Kliefoth wrote *Liturgische Abhandlungen*. Although the last five volumes of this work that we are concerned with were published in 1858–61, that is, after the work of liturgical revision with E. G. Bring (1854–55), we still need to examine this document, not only to enrich our understanding of Kliefoth but also to make certain to know how this work was a part of Kliefoth's influence on another important Swedish liturgiologist toward the end of the nineteenth century, U. L. Ullman.

There are some confusing factors in this work. First, two titles coexist side by side. Second, as in Kliefoth other's works such as *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung* (1847) and *Acht Bücher von der Kirche* (1854), there is no table of contents to guide the reader through. Therefore, before we examine the content of this work we will attempt to clarify these matters.

As far as the title is concerned, the foreword of those volumes indicate that Kliefoth intended to present here a second and enlarged edition of his work that we examined above, *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung in den deutschen Kirchen lutherischen Bekenntnisses, ihre Destruction und Reformation* of 1847. The first edition was a one-volume work with 256 pages. Now it grew to five volumes, a total of 2,294 pages. Then we find the second title in the same

²⁷⁶ This General Evangelical Lutheran Conference had an international meeting in Lund in 1901. Oloph
(continued next page)

works, *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, volumes 5 to 8. It shows that the second and enlarged edition of *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung* has been incorporated into *Liturgische Abhandlungen* series. Kliefoth explains a simple reason for this: “because the content and goal of these volumes are associated with these *Abhandlungen*.”²⁷⁷ In this section, in order to avoid confusion we will use the latter title to designate this work of Kliefoth.

With respect to the structure of this work, the arrangement of the material is hard to follow because the various sections and subsections are not set out clearly and consistently. The original foreword from 1858 indicates that Kliefoth had intended to enlarge the first edition into three volumes with the following themes:

- I. The Divine Service of the Old Testament, the New Testament, and Early Church until Cyprian
- II. The History of the Divine Service of Medieval Rome
- III. The History of the Divine Service in the Lutheran Church in Germany²⁷⁸

But instead of three, the works grew into five volumes. The *Liturgische Abhandlungen* fall into two main parts. The first three volumes cover occasional, pastoral services,²⁷⁹ while the last five volumes deal with the order of the Divine Service. Our attention will be limited to the last five volumes. The table of contents would look like as follows:

Bexell, *Sveriges Kyrkohistoria*, vol. 7: *Folkväckelsens och Kyrkoförnyelsens Tid* (Stockholm: Verbum, 2003), 136.

²⁷⁷ Theodor Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, vol. 4 (Schwerin: Stiller’sche Hof-Buchhandlung, 1858), ii–iii.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, ii.

²⁷⁹ The contents of the first three volumes are: vol. 1: Marriage, Burial, Ordination; vol. 2: Confession and Absolution; and vol. 3: Confirmation. That one whole volume (512 pages) was dedicated to confession and
(continued next page)

Volumes	Content	Pages
4 (1858)	General Introduction I. Divine Service in the Scripture 1. The Divine Service in the Old Testament 2. The Divine Service in the New Testament II. Divine Service in the Early Church	1-4 7-268 17-175 175-268 269-478
5 (1859)	III. Roman Medieval Liturgy 1. The Eastern Liturgy 2. The African Liturgy 3. The Liturgy of Milan 4. The Spanish Liturgy 5. The Gallican Liturgy a. Until 450 AD b. From 450 to 600 AD c. From 600 to 750 AD	28-119 118-227 227-255 255-324 324-462 342-366 366-416 416-462
6 (1859)	6. The Roman Mass a. Until 500 AD b. From 500 to 750 AD c. After 750 AD	4-64 64-244 244-442
7 (1861)	IV. Lutheran Divine Service 1. The Formation and Shape in the 16th and 17th centuries a. The Liturgical Principle of the Lutheran Church b. The Church Year in the Lutheran Church	5-310 310-519
8 (1861)	c. The Liturgical Construction of the Divine Service (1) Main Service for Sundays and Feast Days (2) Minor Services 2. The Destruction in the 18th century 3. The Reconstruction in the Present	1-164 164-206 207-276 277-388

We may recall the table of contents of the first edition of *Die ursprüngliche*

Gottesdienstordnung:

- I. The Older *Gottesdienstordnung* in the German Churches of the Lutheran Confession
 - A. The General Principles of the Lutheran Church in *Gottesdienst*
 - B. The Church Year in the Lutheran Church
 - C. The Construction of the Individual Congregational *Gottesdienst*
- II. The Destruction
- III. The Reformation

absolution (vol. 3) indicates how important he considered it.

As we compare the two above, it is clear that what Kliefoth enlarged includes the pre-Reformation liturgical history, beginning with the Old Testament, continuing on through the New Testament, early church, then on to the medieval church. Kliefoth notes the rationale for this when he writes that the Lutheran Divine Service may be understood only when we go back to the history of the Divine Service prior to the Reformation, beginning with the Scripture.²⁸⁰

The scope of the project in these volumes of *Liturgische Abhandlungen* is enormous. We will attempt to present some pattern in the whole of this work. We will pass over much of the early to medieval liturgical history that is not so directly relevant for our purposes. More attention will be given to his understanding of the Divine Services in the Scripture and especially in the New Testament.

The Divine Service in the Scripture. Before getting into the Divine Service of the Old and New Testaments, Kliefoth gives an overview of the Divine Service in the Scripture. The point of departure is his observation of what he calls *Opferverhältniß*. At first, one may suspect this starting point, being uncertain whether Kliefoth was taking the approach of *die religionsgeschichtliche Schule* as many other modern liturgical scholars do. But such was not the case. His train of thought proceeds as follows:

- Cultus/*Gottesdienst* is an absolutely central activity of any religion.
- In most religions, cultus is merely a way of man's thanksgiving to God.
- On the contrary, for the "true religion" it is reciprocal acts of God and man to each other. This Kliefoth calls *Opferverhältniß*.
- It is not merely man's dealing with God but first and foremost God's dealing with man. God gives and imparts Himself and His gift to man, and man receives such a gift in prayer and thanksgiving, and devotes and submits all his life to his God in return.²⁸¹

²⁸⁰ Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, 4: i.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 7.

Two things may be observed here. First, his point of departure of “religions” in general was put negatively, in order to contrast with the only true relation between God and man. Second, we note that his new word, *Opferverhältnis*, expresses similar thoughts as his characteristic words and phrases that we noted earlier in this chapter, namely, the Lord’s giving and our receiving (1844), *sacramentum* and *sacrificium* (1847), and δόσις and λήψις (1854).

Kliefoth observes then that this *Opferverhältnis* is found already in the creation and preservation of man. He does not start with the New Testament for this, but goes all the way back to the creation account of the Old Testament. God gave man His eternal life and all His holy gifts. Man gives himself back to Him, his life and his soul, his thanks and his works, offering up his entire person to God with heart, mouth, and hand. God continues to give man His gifts, etc. In this way, this reciprocal *Opferverhältnis* describes the relation throughout man’s entire life of what is received from God, and how this lives in prayer and praise offered to Him, and in service in one’s calling to the neighbor. A prayer-sacrifice, work-sacrifice, gift-sacrifice are particular activities of what goes on in his entire life.²⁸²

However, such an *Opferverhältnis* is wrecked by sin. Man’s fall into sin broke it with guilt, impurity, and shortness of righteousness.²⁸³ It is here that Kliefoth discusses the atonement. The atonement becomes the central point in his discussion of the liturgy and the Divine Service both of the Old and New Testaments. The problem of man that Kliefoth sees is not human creatureliness but his sin. The solution is not spoken of in a language of immortality or divinization, but in a language of atonement and forgiveness. Christ as the Savior from sin, therefore, is located at the center of Kliefoth’s attention and confession of the theology of the Divine Service and liturgy.

²⁸² Ibid., 7–8.

In order for man to be restored to the original *Opferverhältnis* again, his sin must be removed, the divine satisfaction be achieved, and the atonement for sin take place first. Kliefoth dismisses the options of (1) God's ignoring and overlooking of man's sin, as if man never sinned, (2) God's acting against man, which would be His acting against His creation and the instantaneous death of man, and (3) God's concluding in Himself that man's sin is forgiven, which would give no certainty to man.²⁸⁴ "Man must have the actual thing before his eyes."²⁸⁵ Thus, another life should be there in the place of the life of a sinner. A substitutional life is needed. But a sinful man is incapable of making his own atonement.²⁸⁶ God alone can provide for man a substitution, an atonement, without which no restoration of *Opferverhältnis* takes place.

Therefore, God Himself prepared the atonement, gave the means and instrument of atonement, which is Himself, allowed the atonement to be fulfilled, and declared its effectiveness and validity (*Gültigkeit*) to man, ratifying and accepting the substitution.²⁸⁷

Kliefoth observes that outside of the Old and New Testaments, man has directed himself into a cloudy and darkened awareness of God. They are in need of the blood atonement, but God did not give the heathen any vicarious sacrifice. For this reason all their worship are self-chosen, and a false worship.²⁸⁸

In all the *Gottesdienst*, the atonement-sacrifice is the central point. What is wrong in paganism is that they do the cultus where God has not given any vicarious sacrifice. For this

²⁸³ Ibid., 8.

²⁸⁴ Ibid., 9–10.

²⁸⁵ Ibid., 10.

²⁸⁶ Here Kliefoth intimates that he will speak against von Hofmann's atonement theory. This he then does later.

²⁸⁷ Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, 4: 11.

²⁸⁸ Ibid., 12.

reason all their cultus is self-chosen, that is, false worship. On the other hand, God has given the means of atonement in the Old and New Testaments. He gave His own and only Son for this purpose.

After Christ has brought the atonement-sacrifice for the sins of the world, since this sacrifice avails (*gültig*) once for all, it now requires no more means of atonement (*Sühnmittel*) and atonement-sacrifice (*Sühnopfer*). Rather, the only remaining need is that God proclaims and administers to men in word and sacrament the completed work and salvation of His Son on the one hand, so that man may take hold of it in faith in Christ.²⁸⁹ When the communion between God and man is thus restored, the reciprocal life-giving can take place again; God imparts to the reconciled man all His life and holy gift, and man in return gives back to his reconciled God all his life in praise and glory.²⁹⁰ Thus, the Christian Divine Service of the New Testament has no more atonement-sacrifice to be there or to be created. It is founded completely on the once-given atonement-sacrifice of Christ. On that basis God deals with man through His word and sacrament by giving forgiveness, justification, reconciliation and sanctification. Man receives such gift of life and in faith deals with God in prayer and thanks, praise and glory, and confession and good works.²⁹¹

But such was not the case before the day of Calvary. God prepared the coming of the Son through promise, and giving of the Law. God gave the Divine Service first in the household, then with the Law to the entire congregation of His people. Unlike in the New Testament period, God dealt with man not on the basis of the reconciliation which has already taken place in Christ,

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

²⁹⁰ By the language of "the reciprocal life-giving," Kliefoth does not mean God and man as equal partners, as if God's life and man's life had the same weight, and as if man were able to give his life to God on his own initiative. Rather, Kliefoth confesses that the life that man has is only what he receives from God. He also confesses that the life from God enlivens not only some portions of man's living but the whole of his daily walk.

²⁹¹ Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, 4: 13.

but on the ground of a future reconciliation to come. In other words, the ground of their Divine Service was not the Savior who has come, but it was the promise, a confident hope of Him who is to come. Because of this, this Divine Service was essentially pedagogic. God gave His people Israel the blood of the animals for atonement for their sin, and their sacrifice of praise and thanks, etc. were there on the basis of this atonement. Of course, the blood of the animal did not take away the sin by itself, for the life of the animal would not be suitable for the life of man which fell into death. Rather, the bloody sacrifice of Christ did it. His sacrifice took place in a particular time and place, but this was also an eternal matter, a timeless act, so that Christ's sacrifice affected not only the time after Christ but also before it. The animal sacrifice in the Old Testament in itself had no atoning power, but it received it backward from the blood of Christ.²⁹²

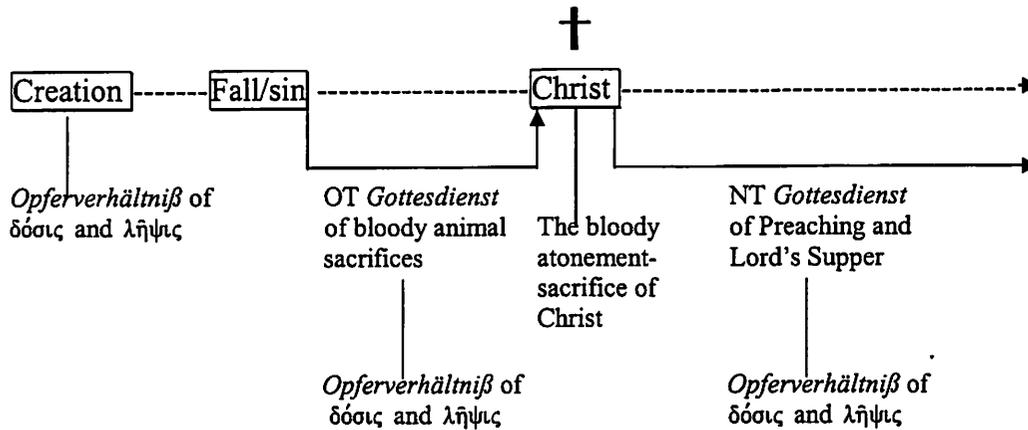
Kliefoth then summarizes a contrast between the Divine Services of the Old and the New Testaments. First of all, there is a contrast between the blood of the animals (the Old Testament) and the blood of Christ (the New Testament) as we observed above. Second, the atonement in the Old Testament was effected backward from the blood of Christ, while the atonement in the New Testament is affected by the blood of Christ already shed on the cross. Third, while the bloody animal sacrifices constituted the chief part of the Divine Service in the Old Testament, in the New Testament preaching and the Lord's Supper make up the chief parts of the Divine Service. Fourth, in the Old Testament Divine Service the bloody sacrifices was repeated in order to point forward to their future fulfillment in Christ's sacrifice, but in the New Testament Divine Service there is no bloody sacrifice any more. Fifth, we may point to the contrasts of prophecy (the Old Testament) and fulfillment (the New Testament), as well as shadow (the Old Testament) and substance (the New Testament). Sixth, while God gave the Divine Service exactly in the Old Testament both atoning and eucharistic sacrifices, the church in the New Testament

²⁹² Ibid., 13–15.

developed the Divine Service freely on the basis of Christ's sacrifice and the New Testament data, which include the Lord's mandate and institution of preaching, baptism, and the Lord's Supper. Finally, the value of knowing the Old Testament Divine Service is this: "If the church appropriates the Old Testament Divine Service without having been profited by the mediation of the New Testament, and without taking note of how the forms and institutions of the Old Testament Divine Service have been a) fulfilled by Christ, b) abolished by Him, and c) changed because of Him, such Divine Service will essentially fall back to the shadowiness of the Old Testament." On the other hand, "if the church ignores the Old Testament Divine Service altogether, she will be deprived of the institution which was established by God Himself in the Old Testament and the constitutive data of the New Testament Divine Service will not be understood, so that the full and living formation of the Divine Service will not take place."²⁹³

From the foregoing, we may observe how Kliefoth's understanding of the Divine Service in the Scripture is shaped by the centrality of Christ's atoning sacrifice on Calvary. The operative benefit of the sacrificial death of the Lord is distributed by Him already through the precisely prescribed Divine Service of the repeated bloody animal sacrifices of the Old Testament, while in the New Testament the benefit of Calvary is distributed through preaching and the sacrament. What runs together with the centrality of Christ's atonement is the *Opferverhältniß* between God and man. Kliefoth's thought here may be expressed in the following way:

²⁹³ Ibid., 15–16.



We recall Kliefoth's explanation of Pentecost in his *Acht Bücher* where he recognized a reversal of the incident of the Tower of Babel in the event of Pentecost.²⁹⁴ The Lord has restored our speech. When He opens our mouth, it is possible for us to declare His praise. Thus, when the sin is forgiven because Christ bore our sin on the cross, we are restored to the *Opferverhältniß*; we who were speechless in the Law are now given to speak back to Him in the Gospel.

The Divine Service of the Old Testament. Kliefoth organizes his consideration of the Divine Service in the Old Testament around the following three features: (1) the people (*die handelnden Personen*), (2) the place (*die Cultus-Stätte*), and (3) the undertakings (*die Handlungen*), that are involved in the Divine Service.

The People. People involved in the Divine Service of the Old Testament were exclusively the people of Israel, the people of Law and promise, the offspring from the descendants of Abraham. Apart from the exceptional circumstances (Gen. 17:12), the community of this people was connected by way of birth. God has bound His promise with the circumcision. He gave the

Passover, which was repeated annually, to preserve His people. Such people were a priestly, holy, and elected people of His possession (Ex 19:3–6).²⁹⁵

It was ordained by God and requested by people themselves (Deut. 5:23–31, Num. 16:5) that there be priests קֹהֲנִים. Priests were the ones who draw near to God in the place of the people and bring the people close to God. They were the ones who mediate between God and people. They were the ones who deal with people in the name of God. They deal with God in the name of the people (Ex 19:22). The priesthood bore their sin, and a high priest bore the sin of the priests. These priests were not capable of mediating between God and people by themselves, but they received power for themselves and for their mediating activities backward by the true High Priest, Christ, who in the end created a genuine people by His own sacrifice. To the priesthood God chose the offspring of Aaron (Ex 28:1, Lev. 10, Deut. 18:5).²⁹⁶

In this way, God assembled His people of Law and promise through circumcision. He preserved them through the Passover and other sacrifices under the mediation of the Aaronic priesthood. Characteristic in the Old Testament Divine Service, then, is that God did not deal with His people directly, but only through the mediating service of the priests. Kliefoth characterizes such Divine Service of the Old Testament as “representational and determinate” (*repräsentativ, drastisch*)²⁹⁷

The Place. In the New Testament God determined to deal with man where His word is proclaimed and His sacrament administered, as we will observe more later. This did not require only one location, but wherever preaching and sacrament are going on. In the Old Testament,

²⁹⁴ Kliefoth, *Acht Bücher von der Kirche*, 89, 103.

²⁹⁵ Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, 4: 17–18.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 19.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 19–20.

however, God resolved to deal with His people through the mediation of the priesthood. It was impossible for the priesthood to be available everywhere. Thus, the Divine Service was bound to one location. God gave the place of the tabernacle, and later the temple as such a location (Ex 25, 2 Sam. 7, 1 Kgs 5ff.). He moved His holiness into it and into its holy of holies (Ex 40:34, Lev. 16:2, 1 Kgs 8:10–11). There God desired to dwell among them (Ex 25:8), to dwell with His people in one dwelling, and likewise under one roof (Ex 26:6, 11). There He desired to assemble together with Israel (Ex 29:42, 30:6, 36), in order to speak to them (Ex 25:22), and to bear witness Himself to them (Num. 9:15, 17:7, 18:2). On the other hand, people were directed to bring their sacrifices, their atoning sacrifice and gift sacrifice, to the tabernacle or the temple and no other place, in order that their sins may be taken away and they may be holied. Thus, the tabernacle and the temple were not merely a place of adoration and worship where the people assembled by their initiative, but a true place of the Divine Service. It was the tent of meeting and of testimony, where God came together with Israel and let Himself be found by His people, where He wished to speak to Israel and to make His holiness holying, where His name should be, and where He wishes to hear the prayer with favor (Ex 29:42, 1 Kgs 8:29).²⁹⁸

Because Kliefoth will later mention it in his discussion of the New Testament Divine Service, we will hear about his explanation of the layout of the tent of meeting.

The layout of the tent of meeting corresponds to the purpose and the people involved in the Divine Service. In the holy of holies Yahweh dwelled for the benefit of Israel. In the surrounding outer court people assembled in order to draw near to Yahweh. And in the holy place, which was in the middle, Yahweh and the people met together through the mediation of the priesthood and its service. In addition, the holy of holies, the holy place, and the outer courts

²⁹⁸ Ibid., 20–21. Here, Kliefoth is dismissing the notion of the Divine Service held by Rome and the Reformed alike without mentioning them.

corresponded to the high priest, priests, and common people. It did not mean that the people had been excluded from the holy of holies in every sense, or that Yahweh was absent in the outer court. Rather, it was a place of dwelling together, a sanctuary (Ex 26:6). Through the entire sanctuary God's dealing with His people and His people's dealings with Him took place. The high priest was allowed to enter the holy of holies in the name of the people and for himself; God was also in the outer court to receive the bloody sacrifices and to remove sins from the people. But in terms of the complete dwelling of God and people, there was an inner division and separation, so that God had a place in the holy of holies on the one hand, and people had their place in the outer court on the other. This arrangement was there in order that God and people may relate to each other from there and to meet together with this reciprocal relation in the holy place through the mediating service of the priests.²⁹⁹

Kliefoth then explains each of those three divisions. First, he expounds on the holy of holies in a way of Law and Gospel. Included in the ark were the tablets of the Decalogue, in which God revealed to His people His righteousness, as the first characteristic component of the old covenant, and bore witness to it. For this reason, this ark was called the ark of the covenant and of testimony. Over this ark, where man's sin is exposed and uncovered by the Law, was located the *Kapporeth*, the mercy-cover (*der Gnadendeckel*), or the mercy-throne (*der Gnadenthron*). It told of the grace which forgives and blots out sins. God testified it to Israel through the promise; He effected it through the sacrifice. Over both, the ark and the *Kapporeth*, were the cherubim who witnessed to the Lord's presence, He who had His own abode there. From the *Kapporeth*, between the cherubim He wished to speak with Israel (Ex 25:22). Only the high priest was allowed to step into this holy of holies once a year. The place was veiled in a cloud of smoke so that the brightness of God would not kill him. He brought the blood of the

²⁹⁹ Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, 4: 21, 24.

highest atoning sacrifice in order to sprinkle the *Kapporeth* with it to make atonement for the sins of himself and the people. In this way, God dwelled and was enthroned in the holy of holies between Cherubims as the God of righteousness and of grace. God reconciled His people through the sacrifice brought by the high priest.³⁰⁰

In the outer court, there was a basin with water, from which the priests washed their hands and feet before engaging in the service of sacrifices or before stepping into the holy place (Ex 30:18–20). But the most important instrument in the outer court was the altar for the burnt offering. The altar is not something man builds out of his choosing, but it is the place which God mandates and consecrates (Gen. 8:20, 26:25, 35:1, 2, 7, Ex 17:15). The most explicit word of God concerning the mandate and erection of the altar is found in Exodus 20:24. Israel must not make an image of God because their God Himself speaks. But an altar must be built, and at this place God wills to bring into remembrance His name; there God wills to come to Israel and to bless them. The place of God's coming to remember His grace and to bless His people was first and foremost the altar. What the holy place as a whole meant as the place of God and people coming together was concentrated on the altar.³⁰¹

With the altar comes the fire. This fire was given by God, the eternal fire, the fire of God and His Spirit (Lev. 9:24). The fire on the altar was used for lightening, consumption, elimination, purification, and carrying-frame to heaven. The Old Testament altar was a place to which God had promised to come with His grace and to which people drew near to Him. On this altar all the sacrifices were to take place. To this place is attached the atonement. The bloody atoning sacrifice, burnt sacrifice, and peace offering all took place there. There should be absolutely no bloody sacrifice to take place elsewhere (Lev. 17:1–8).

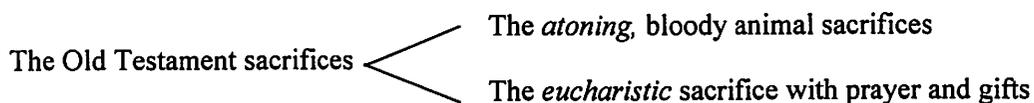
³⁰⁰ Ibid., 22.

³⁰¹ Ibid., 23–24.

In addition to the washing and sacrificing, the outer court was the place for things that took place both before and after the sacrifices. It was the place for the bringing of the sacrificial victim, the laying on of hands, and the slaughtering. It was also the place of eating of the flesh of the sacrifice after the sacrifice was concluded.³⁰²

To the holy place, only the priests were permitted to enter. In them the holy people appeared while people were allowed to look in only through the open curtain. No bloody sacrifice may take place there. The atonement, reconciliation, and purification were not the arrangement for the holy place. Rather, it presupposed the holy of holies. There were the altar of incense sacrifice, candlestick, and the table of showbread, and the like. While at the outer court the service for atonement takes place, in the holy place people brought the eucharistic sacrifice through the priest. In this sacrifice God joined Himself with His people in prayer. People brought to their God faith, prayer and the fruits of good works. All of these presupposed the importance of the outer court.³⁰³

The Undertakings. The Old Testament Divine Service, which was undertaken in the holy place, consisted virtually only in sacrifices. All the Divine Service undertakings and festive celebration and custom were attached to the sacrifices and were grounded on them. The Old Testament sacrifices may be arranged in two types:



Through the atoning sacrifice, the forgiveness of sin, God's satisfaction and communion were achieved. In the eucharistic sacrifice God and man dealt with each other in reciprocal life-

³⁰² Ibid., 24–25.

giving, after the reconciliation has taken place.³⁰⁴ The atoning sacrifice always preceded the eucharistic sacrifice. The former was the basis for the latter.³⁰⁵

The atoning sacrifice has three distinctive forms. Chiefly for the forgiveness of sin, sin or guilt sacrifice was offered. A burnt offering, according to Kliefoth, was for the restoration of the divine satisfaction. And peace offering was for the restoration of His people in God's community. Those three "moments" of sacrifice together constituted one atoning sacrifice.³⁰⁶ Kliefoth goes on into the details of all aspects of the Old Testament Divine Service undertakings such as burnt sacrifice,³⁰⁷ peace sacrifice,³⁰⁸ the holy place,³⁰⁹ the holy day,³¹⁰ the Passover,³¹¹ the Day of Atonement,³¹² the Divine Service at the time of David, Ezra and Nehemiah,³¹³ and the appearance of the synagogue,³¹⁴ etc. We will focus our attention here on the sin sacrifice, through which we may observe Kliefoth's characteristic understanding of the Divine Service in the Old Testament.

The animal used for the atoning sacrifice had to be not only a pure one, but also a domesticated animal (ox, sheep, goat, and pigeon). Man brings to God the best animal, four-footed, seven days old. The priest also needed to be a man of least blemish. This animal is

³⁰³ Ibid., 26.

³⁰⁴ See footnote no. 290 above.

³⁰⁵ Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, 4: 27.

³⁰⁶ Ibid., 28.

³⁰⁷ Ibid., 71ff.

³⁰⁸ Ibid., 75ff.

³⁰⁹ Ibid., 114ff.

³¹⁰ Ibid., 123ff.

³¹¹ Ibid., 148ff.

³¹² Ibid., 163ff.

³¹³ Ibid., 170ff.

³¹⁴ Ibid., 172ff.

brought to the altar in the bloody sacrifice, slaughtered, its blood sprinkled to the altar, its fleshly part burnt on the altar, portions eaten in holy community.³¹⁵

The purpose of the sin sacrifice—that is, the forgiveness of sin—is stated in Lev. 4:20, 26, 31, and 33. Kliefoth emphasizes that the forgiveness of sin was not there only symbolically through the sacrifice; rather, it actually happened through the sacrifice. The important word here is *כִּפֶּה* (to cover, to atone, and to provide reconciliation). What is “covered” was always sin (Ps. 65:4) or the sinner (Lev. 4:20), or sin and its results (Lev. 4:35). If another thing, such as the holy of holies and the holy place, seemed to be the objects to be “covered,” it concerned only the sin of the people which contaminated them (Lev. 16:16–33). Thus, what are to be covered were people and their sin. God Himself mentions that sin needs to be covered (Deut. 21:8). When a priest declares that sin is covered or atoned, he speaks in the place of God. Also the sin is covered “before the face of God” (Lev. 5:18, 26). When sin is covered, God turns His wrath away and the head of the sinner is freed of it (Ps. 78:38, Lev. 4:26, 15:15, 30, Num. 6:11). When sin is covered, then, the sinner is free from his sin and guilt. In this way, sin is forgiven. It takes the animal to be sacrificed and died; its blood is to be shed and its flesh is to be burned and eaten.³¹⁶

How does the animal relate to the sinner whose sin is covered? Kliefoth says that the sacrificial animal took the place of the sinner on account of his guilt. Here Kliefoth elaborates contrary views of his contemporaries such as Bähr, Kurtz, and von Hofmann.³¹⁷ Particularly distressing for Kliefoth was the idea of von Hofmann, who says: “the sacrificial animal in no way substitutes for a man.” Kliefoth argues that von Hofmann’s idea is not scriptural, at least

³¹⁵ Ibid., 29–30.

³¹⁶ Ibid., 30–31.

³¹⁷ Ibid., 31–34.

on the following three points. First, it is not correct to say that the atoning sacrifice is fundamentally man's bringing to God. Such is for Kliefoth only an eucharistic sacrifice. Second, it is wrong to believe that man can pay for his sin. And third, it is not scriptural to say that man through his own performance would do good to the sin, so that he himself substitutes for the sinner before God, he himself mediates God, and he himself atones. Kliefoth's diagnosis of von Hofmann's idea is that for von Hofmann the sacrifice of Christ does not avail. Scripture does not permit us to say that we have brought to God Christ whom we give as a payment for our sin. On the contrary, the New Testament speaks of Christ not only as the High Priest who brings the sacrifice but also the sacrifice brought by Himself. Christ is the fulfillment of all the bloody sacrifices of the Old Testament. By means of the bloody death suffered by Him, He placed Himself as the annual propitiation sacrifice (Jn 11:49ff., Heb. 9:11ff.), the sin and atoning sacrifice (Rom. 3:24–25, Heb. 13:10ff.), the consecration sacrifice of the priest (Rev. 7:13ff.), the Paschal Lamb (Jn 19:36, 1 Cor. 5:7, Rev. 5:9, 13:18, 1 Pet. 1:18–19), the covenant sacrifice (*Bundesopfer*) (Heb. 9:18), every sacrifice and atoning sacrifice (Eph. 5:9), each sacrificed lamb (Jn 1:29), and all the bloody sacrifices (Heb. 9:11). Thus, a view of the Old Testament sacrifice is never right if the sacrifice of Christ is not connected with it. Rather, the Old Testament always gives only the pattern, while the New Testament gives the complete shape. What is more, from the sacrifice of Christ one gains not only the general understanding of the Old Testament sacrifices, but particularly the relation between the animal and the person who is sacrificing. It is a substitution.

With this, Kliefoth gets into the exposition of ἀρχειν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν (Jn 1:29, cf., 1 Jn 3:5). Here Christ is said to bear the sin of the world. Kliefoth denies the interpretation by von Hofmann, who claims that here the Evangelist talks about the priestly activity of Jesus. Kliefoth says that Christ bears the sin of the world as the sacrificial lamb. Sin is a weight and burden. It

creates weight and burden because it works guilt, punishment, evil, and death. Christ bore the sin of the world and thus took away the sin. He, in His sacrifice, has loaded and borne on Himself the weight and freight which the world had created through its sin. And such bearing was not something mere external. According to Col. 2:14 God has canceled Israel's and our bond out of the world, since He "nailed it to the cross." But what was crucified was not the bond but Christ, so the bond must be crucified in Christ. The cross was the altar (Heb. 9:28, 1 Pet. 2:5, Jas 2:21, Heb. 7:27). To "bear" is exactly "to bring upon the altar." It is **הִקְרִיב**,³¹⁸ the same act mentioned in the Old Testament dealing in a sacrifice, in which the blood of the sacrifice-animal was poured on the altar and through it God was brought near. Hebrew 9:28 says that sin was laid on Christ in order that He in Himself bore it on the altar before God, although in His second appearance He will return as "outside of union" (*χωρίς*) with sin. 1 Pet. 2:24 indicates that as the life of the Lord was dead, sin also dies in us. Rom. 6:6 states that our old man was crucified with Christ, and Rom. 7:4 says that we have died through the body of Christ. According to all these passages, Kliefoth says, the bearing of sin has not been an outward thing, but He had borne it "in Himself," "in His blood," and "in His body." They teach the relationship between our sin and our sinful person on the one hand, and His sacrificed body, His sacrificed blood, and His person in His death on the other. Our sin has been put on Him, borne before God. Our guilt has been nailed to the cross in Him, killed in His death. Our sinful person has been brought near to God in His blood. Christ has loaded and borne the weight of sin of the world on Him, so that He has joined Himself with it.³¹⁹

Although Christ bore the sin of the world, He remained "blameless and spotless" as the Lamb of God (1 Pet. 1:19). When He bore the weight of sin, He did it voluntarily. He

³¹⁸ Hif. Inf. of **הִקְרִיב** (to draw near, to approach), to bring (near), to offer.

voluntarily laid down His life for His sheep (Jn 10:15). He has not joined either in our sin and guilt or in our punishment, in our evil, poverty, and death. He has voluntarily joined in the punishment, in the judgment, in the poverty, in the damnation, and in the death.

The result of His voluntary entrance into our punishment is that we are now exempt from these and do not need to bear them any more. We were wounded through our sin, covered with the curse of the guilt by Law, fallen into death, but He is not. Through His wounds we were saved (1 Pet. 2:24), because the guiltless became for us guilty of a curse with the result that we who are guilty became guiltless of curse (Gal. 3:13). We who were enslaved to death have been made free through His death (Heb. 3:14). Therefore, He has borne suffering and death not merely for our sake, nor for us to be good; rather, He did it nothing other than in our stead, in the place of us. Christ has born the weight of the sin of the world in such a way that although He was and remained unentangled with sin and guilt personally, nevertheless, He has voluntarily in our place joined with each sin and guilt which has merited punishment and evil judgment.³²⁰

Furthermore, Christ has not only substituted for us, in the place of us, but He has also done it before God. His voluntary suffering and death was at the same time the will of the Father (Heb. 10:5). Despite our sin God willed to declare us righteous in His Son, and this cannot take place in any other way than as a gift. When God had His Son step into our punishment and suffering in our stead, He demonstrated not only grace for us but also righteousness. We are justified in the way of gift by which we remain “ethical beings.” Out of His freedom God arranged His dear Son to stand for our sinfulness, took away our guilt from us, suffered

³¹⁹ Ibid., 34–36.

³²⁰ Ibid., 36–37.

punishment in the place of us, and He has accepted this sacrifice and declared it effective and weighty. He caused it to be a sweet aroma of His satisfaction and pleasure (Eph. 5:2).³²¹

Precisely because it has been accepted by God as the true atonement and as sufficient satisfaction (*Genugthuung*) (1 Jn 2:1–2, Rom. 3:25), it now affects as follows. First, there is no enmity between God and us (Eph. 2:13–16). God now views us not in our unworthiness but in His Son, so that He does not reckon our sin (2 Cor. 5:19). Second, in that way we are freed from judgment and punishment, devil and death. Christ’s suffering and death, therefore, is our ἀπολύτρωσις, our redemption (Eph. 1:7, Heb. 2:15). Man does not have anything as ἀντάλλαγμα, something given in exchange for his life (Mt 16:26). But Christ, He Himself, His blood, His given-up life is λύτρον and ἀντιλύτρον (1 Pet. 1:19, Mt 20:24, 1 Tim. 2:6, Rev. 5:9), the ransom. Indeed, such ransom is something that has not been acquired by us, but by Him, in our place, and for us. Third, we are now at peace with God again (Col. 1:10). We ourselves had to be the object of His wrath, but in His dear Son, for the sake of His blood, we find ourselves accepted by Him as the object of His pleasure and satisfaction (Heb. 10:10).³²²

Kliefoth then turns his attention back to the Old Testament. If we now look back at the Old Testament bloody sacrifice through the sacrifice of Christ, Kliefoth deliberates, the first place to which our attention goes is Isaiah 53. The entire Isaiah 53 speaks about the future Christ who would appear in the New Testament. Christ is compared with a sacrificial lamb, not because the lamb is an example of patience or forbearance but because Christ was to be made the guilt sacrifice (Isa. 53:10). Here the fundamental idea of יָגֵן נֶפֶשׁוֹ (to bear sin), ἀῖρειν τήν ἁμαρτίαν, is stated in Isa. 53:5 that “our punishment” is “on Him” יִלְגֵּם. Also His relationship to us sinners is described as the stepping into our place in substitution for us. He is the Righteous

³²¹ Ibid., 37-39.

One (Isa. 53:11), but because of our sin and guilt He is stricken and was carried out from the land of the living. He bore our sin, guilt, punishment, sickness, pain, and sorrow. But His punishment and suffering bring to us salvation (Isa. 53:5). And by it, therefore, He poured out His life to death. He was counted among the sinners. He bore the sin of many. Thereby, “He interceded for the sinner” לְפָשְׁעִים יִפְגִּיעַ (Isa. 53:12). Here is found, literally, the idea of substitution (*der Begriff der Stellvertretung*). His intercession did not take place as something accidental. Rather, His intercession is asserted as self-giving (Isa. 53:11). Also God’s counsel was at work (Isa. 53:6). Thus, everything found in Isaiah 53 is attributed to Christ, because He is the sacrifice and the sacrificial Lamb. It does not allow us to conclude wrongly that the Old Testament is concerned only with the animal sacrifice; it directs us to Christ.³²³

Concerning the sin sacrifice, the ram (he-goat) bears the guilt of the congregation. The weight of sin and guilt of the one who brought the animal was given to the ram (Lev. 16:22); עָלָיו “on it (him).” The priest was to confess all the guilt and sins of the congregation and to give them “on the head” עַל רֹאשׁ of the he-goat. And then the he-goat was to bear all this guilt on it (him) עָלָיו into the wilderness. In this way, the weight of sin of the one brings the sacrifice was handed down to the sacrificial animal.

Such a procedure was also consistent in the case of the paschal lamb (Ex 12:11–13), that was also a bloody atoning sacrifice. God intended to plague Egypt through the death of their firstborns. This judgment fell on Israel as well, because she was also unclean. But in order to spare Israel, God gave a lamb to each household to sacrifice, and let them paint (cover) their doors with its blood. Where God saw the blood He passed over His judgment and spared them.

³²² Ibid., 39–40.

³²³ Ibid., 40–41.

Therefore God gave the lamb for atonement, laid on it the sin of Israel and their well-deserved judgment. God saw this blood of the firstborn, accepted it, and thereby passed by the people of Israel and spared them. The meaning of substitutional sacrificial animal is also manifested here. It was the blood, the given-up life of the sacrificial animal, with which God spared the one who brought a sacrifice and made atonement for (covered) sin.³²⁴

Of course, such substitution of the sacrificial animal was not able to effect all this atonement if God Himself had not ordained it and accepted it. Kliefoth shows that we have God's word which says, "I have given it to you," recorded three times (Lev. 10:17, 16:22, Ex 12:11). We also read that God would accept the animal's blood for atonement (Gen. 3:21, 4:2, 8:20, 22:7, 13, Lev. 17:11). Leviticus 17:11 explains how the blood of the animal is associated with the life of the animal. The blood atones not as the blood but as the life. The medium of atonement is the life of the animal. This passage also teaches that as long as the animal is alive there is no atonement. First, the life needed to be given up in its blood, in its death. Second, this given-up life would not atone if God would not accept such a substitution and let it be effective. The poured-out blood and in it the substitutional given-up life of the animal must come "on the altar," that is, before God. It must be brought there, and it must be accepted by Him.³²⁵

In this way, Kliefoth explains how the relationship between the sacrificial animal and the person who brought it in the Old Testament corresponds to Christ and the sinner in the New Testament.

Conclusion. As mentioned above, Kliefoth further explains the Old Testament Divine Service in a rather detailed fashion. In this section of Kliefoth's understanding of the Old Testament Divine Service, we have attempted to let Kliefoth speak for himself with our

³²⁴ Ibid., 43–44.

summary of his writing. We did it this way not only because the section of the Old Testament Divine Service was a new addition in this second edition of *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung*, which is also known as a part of *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, but also because so far as we can gather no articles or monographs on Kliefoth's understanding of the Old Testament Divine Service have been published in English thus far.

Kliefoth's description of the Old Testament Divine Service will be important as we will examine his understanding of the New Testament Divine Service in the next section. There we will again let Kliefoth speak for himself by way of our summary for the same reason as stated above. His view of the Old Testament Divine Service is Christological and in the way of *Opferverhältniß*. He distinguishes himself from both Roman and Reformed approaches to the subject. He also engages in the discussion with his contemporaries. But above all, his way is a biblical exposition.

When this author visited St. Paul's Church of Schwerin in the summer of 2002—the church architecture for which Kliefoth gave theological consultation—there was Kliefoth's portrait in the sacristy. Underneath his portrait, there was a hand-written scriptural passage which Kliefoth wrote by himself together with his own signature. The passage was from Hebrews 8:1–2, which speaks of Christ in the language of the Old Testament Divine Service. Unlike many liturgical scholars of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, Kliefoth understood the work of Christ liturgically in light of the Old Testament. And he was Lutheran as he approached the Old Testament Divine Service through Christ.

The Divine Service of the New Testament. The Old Testament Divine Service was a direct divine institution. It was not to be abolished arbitrarily but by one exception, fulfillment.

³²⁵ Ibid., 44–45.

According to the New Testament, Christ received the content of the Old Testament; He carried it out. Christ is the end of the Law (Rom. 10:4). But here, Kliefoth cautions that we are not to be left only with the negative side. Kliefoth points out that there are three ways that the New Testament Divine Service is to be viewed in light of the Old Testament Divine Service. First, all the Old Testament Divine Service institutions that have been fulfilled in Christ retired in the New Testament. For example, there is no earthly high priest any longer because the High Priest is Christ. Second, the retired Old Testament Divine Service institutions are replaced in the New Testament by “something higher and perfect” by virtue of the work of Christ. For example, there is no sin sacrifice any longer. But we are given the Lord’s Supper. Third, there are Old Testament Divine Service institutions which were fulfilled by the appearance of Christ but not in an absolute sense. There are still some things to be waited for which will be fulfilled in Him only by His second coming. In the New Testament Divine Service such things take place in the new dimension determined by Christ. For example, the promised world-rest in the Sabbath is still not realized. But the beginning of the new creation is already here with us, which is expressed in the New Testament Divine Service as Sunday.

In all of these the central point is the work of Christ. Kliefoth explains that the three days of His suffering, death, and resurrection effected two things. On the negative side, in these three days Christ actually broke off the temple and the temple services (Jn 2:19, Mt 26:61, Mk 14:58). On the positive side, He set up a new temple and a new temple service. According to Kliefoth, God’s deed of these three days contains all the “constitutive moment” of the Christian Divine Service; it has produced preaching and the Lord’s Supper, Sunday and Church Year, etc.³²⁶

In the section of the New Testament Divine Service which follows, Kliefoth engages this subject rather thoroughly. His text is, of course, the New Testament, especially the Gospels and

the Book of Acts, although the rest of the New Testament documents are also used. He inquires what the New Testament Divine Service looks like as it was instituted by Christ and carried out by His Apostles.

The Negative Side—Abolition. The temple service was abolished by Christ's sacrificial death. Since the Fall, the atoning sacrifice was the foundation of all the Divine Services. The imperfect animal sacrifices pointed to Christ's sacrifice as a prototype. Christ was not only the victim in His sacrificial death but His death in bearing the sin of the world was, at the same time, a voluntary one. He bore not only the sin of Israel but of the world. He is not only the sacrifice but also the high priest, indeed the true High Priest (Heb. 7:26), who brought His own world-atoning blood not into a holy of holies made by hands but into the heaven itself before God (Heb. 9:12). And God accepted this sacrifice because He has ascended to God in His transfigured flesh and God has put Him to His right hand far differently from the burnt sacrificial animal. Finally, He fulfilled Himself in His sacrifice the Old Testament bloody sacrifice completely. He is the right sin sacrifice, burnt sacrifice, and peace sacrifice. In Him alone all people are to seek and find the forgiveness of sin, God's satisfaction and pleasure, and divine community. From this it follows that not only the Old Testament bloody sacrifice but also the entire temple services ceased. In the Christian Divine Service, therefore, there is no more bloody atoning sacrifice to be offered.³²⁷

The Positive Side—Christ's Institution. Kliefoth brings up the Passover sacrifice of the Old Testament in order to contrast it with what took place because of the death of Christ. The first Passover created Israel as the priestly people of God's possession, in which it effected their

³²⁶ Ibid., 175–77.

³²⁷ Ibid., 177–78.

exemption from judgment and their liberation out of the slave house of Egypt. Through the annual repetition it preserved Israel as the people of God. The death of Christ, together with His resurrection, on the other hand, had the same effect in a more splendid way. It worked an exemption not from the plagues of Egypt but from all God's judgments, and redemption not from Pharaoh and the Egyptians but from the world and the power of the devil. In His resurrection the Lord has made the beginning of a new humanity. The Lord's death and resurrection was, therefore, not only the abolition of the Old Testament Passover feast, but a new first Passover, the creation of a new people of God, a new creation.³²⁸

For the more splendid and perfect new Passover, the more splendid new Divine Service was created by the Lord. The first Passover was only for the offspring of Abraham, only for the chosen Israel. On the contrary, the new Passover is for the entire world (Acts 10:34). In the Old Testament people were accepted into the community of God's people only by way of procreation. They were then sanctified by circumcision, and preserved by the Levitical purification and the obedience of the Law. In the New Testament, it is not by way of birth but only by rebirth that people are received into God's community (Jn 3:5). People are maintained as God's people not by Levitical purification and obedience of the Law but by faith and sanctification of the Spirit. In the Old Testament God dealt with His people through priests, but in the New Testament the Lord Himself is the High Priest.³²⁹

The Means of Grace. In the Old Testament Divine Service there was also a process of repentance and faith within the people of God. For example, in the sacrificial atonement one was to bring the animal and lay his sin on it. With the slaughtering he was to confess himself that his sin was given to the animal to death and that he died with it spiritually. When the blood of the

³²⁸ Ibid., 178-79.

sacrifice was brought to the altar and the smoke of its flesh ascended to heaven he was told that in this sacrifice he was accepted by God again because of His pleasure in grace. And this divine satisfaction led to the certainty of the restoration into the community of God, His people, as he ate its flesh in the fellowship with the holy people. In the New Testament such internal process gets deeper because Christ was sacrificed. One's sinful nature is consumed not by the fire of the Old Testament altar, but by the fire of the Holy Spirit.

Repentance and faith are to be created and ongoingly renewed, but the subjective process takes place only as a result of a previous objective divine arrangement. The death and resurrection of the Lord must enter into the people ongoingly in their time to create and renew repentance and faith in them. In the Old Testament, there were daily sacrificial services which pointed to Christ. But since He has fulfilled the services and there is no more atoning sacrifice, the Lord has attached the effective power of His death and resurrection in His word and in His sacraments. The Lord has instituted the preaching of the word and the administration of the sacraments for His church.³³⁰

The Preaching of the Word. The word of God was already given before the death and resurrection of the Lord, but only through the completed salvation in Christ it received its full content and full strength. The word of the cross, the Gospel, is a life-giving and life-preserving word (1 Cor. 1:18). The word carries the forgiveness of sin, life and salvation (Jas 1:18). This is why the mandate of preaching was given only after the resurrection of the Lord (Mk 16:15, Lk 24:47).

In the Old Testament, although the word of God was indeed given and handed down by the prophets, still no direct use of it was made in the Divine Service. God dealt with people, rather,

³²⁹ Ibid., 179–80.

by circumcision and sacrifices, etc. In the New Testament, on the other hand, God deals with people not through the sacrifice itself completed by Christ but through His word, which proclaims and bestows the sacrifice of Christ and His fruit of grace. As a result, the word of the cross assumed the place in the Divine Service, which the atoning sacrifices occupied in the Old Testament.³³¹ This last point becomes important as Kliefoth later considers the order of the Divine Service of the New Testament.

Baptism. The Lord gave us baptism in addition to the word as the means of grace. It replaces the Old Testament circumcision. Through word and baptism, which is to be received in repentance and faith, one is brought into the people of God (Mk 16:15–16). Baptism was instituted by the Lord as the bath of rebirth out of the power of His death and resurrection (Rom. 6:4).³³²

The Lord's Supper. As the Passover meal was given to preserve the community of God's people, so the Lord has given for the New Testament people the Lord's Supper in addition to word and baptism.³³³

The Abolition of the Passover. The slaughtering of the paschal lamb fell on Friday, that is, before the sunset of Friday (Ex 12:6). But the Lord slaughtered and ate the Passover not with the entire people in the evening of Friday but already on Thursday. Christ died on Friday, at the legitimate hour of the Passover. He was laid in the grave on the great Sabbath, and rose again early on Sunday.

³³⁰ Ibid., 180–82.

³³¹ Ibid., 182–83.

³³² Ibid., 183–84.

³³³ Ibid., 184.

Kliefoth expounds the significance of this timetable. It is not contradictory that the Lord let the Passover be prepared on the first day of the sweet bread (Mt 26:17), because the first day of the sweet bread was the day of slaughtering. If the Lord held the Passover on Thursday after sunset and the people held the Passover on Friday before the sunset, then both celebrated the Passover on the same day. However, there are some deviations to be noted in Christ's Passover. First, against the prescription of Deut. 16:2, 5, 6, the Passover lamb was slaughtered not at the holy place. Second, against Deut. 16:7, He did not eat it at the holy place but in a private house. In this last Passover, which He observed with His disciples, He separated Himself from people, temple, and its altar, as also from the holy hour and place of the old Passover. Kliefoth interprets this on the ground that the Son of Man is the Lord of the Sabbath, not its servant. He further explains that the Lord observed the Passover at the different time because, firstly, He knew that He was going to be crucified at the legitimate hour of the Passover (Mt 26:2, 5, 18) as the fulfillment of the Old Testament Passover. Secondly, He still desired to eat the Passover meal with His disciples (Lk 22:15), which left Him to choose the earlier hour. Thirdly, He knew that the temple was no longer the place of God's dwelling any longer; the place was where the Son of God was and where He gave Himself. This the legitimate authority of Israel rejected. And fourthly, the Lord knew that His death resembles the first Passover sacrifice as held in Egypt; in the Lord's Supper it would work forth as the first Passover.

The last point leaves some implications. This last Passover was held in a private house just as the first Passover in Egypt was held in private houses. Just as at the first Passover all the Israel were priestly people, so with the institution of the Lord's Supper the universal priesthood is better expressed than the Passover held at the temple. Also just as the first Passover meal was held before the Passover of the Yahweh, the Lord's Supper was instituted and eaten in anticipation of the Lord's death on the cross. In this way, the last Passover was held in

separation from the community, hour, and location of the old Passover. The old Passover is now abolished; Christ instituted the Lord's Supper.³³⁴

From the Last Passover to the Institution of the Lord's Supper. Kliefoth then elaborates the sequence of events at the table found in Luke 22:14–20. In his careful analysis of the text, Kliefoth dismisses an option that the Lord first came to the bread of the Lord's Supper at the eating of the Passover, then to the wine of the Passover; finally, after the eating of the Passover He instituted the cup of the Lord's Supper. Instead, he settles with the sequence that the Lord first ate with His disciples the old covenant meal, then as the mediator of the new covenant He made the covenant community and for this made a new meal. Kliefoth warns his readers not to impose upon the text later forms of the Passover meal which came out of the Rabbinic-Talmudic tradition. He then describes the meaning of the saying that the Lord would not eat of the Passover again until it is fulfilled in the Kingdom of God (Lk 22:16). He takes the Kingdom of God here as that of the consummation. The Lord has here terminated the old Passover meal. Between His death and the consummation He will be with His disciples by giving *to* them to eat and drink but not by eating and drinking *with* them. Only at the consummation, the Lord will eat and drink *with* His people.³³⁵

"He Took Bread/Wine, Thanked, Blessed, Gave." Kliefoth now comes to the institution of the Lord's Supper. While he does not deny that in John 6 the Lord taught the subject of the Lord's Supper, Kliefoth goes to the synoptic Gospels and Paul in 1 Cor. 10 and 11 to understand the Lord's institution of the Holy Communion. He also adds 1 Jn 5:6–8 as speaking of the Lord's Supper.

³³⁴ Ibid., 184–87.

³³⁵ Ibid., 188–91.

First, Kliefoth maintains that according to Matthew “the bread” which the Lord took was the bread of the *Minchah* מִנְחָה. He took it from the unleavened Passover bread. This bread was eaten by all the members of the people at the Passover. The wine was the drink sacrifice of the *Minchah*, which had been drunken by all at the Passover (Lk 22:17). Thus the Lord took the “elements” of the Lord’s Supper from the food sacrifice and drink sacrifice, in which the Israel brought before God their entire life with thanksgiving. The one who brought them was the father of the household, who served as priest.

With this background, Kliefoth observes a difference between εὐχαριστήσας and εὐλόγησας. According to all four accounts of the institution of the Lord’s Supper, we are informed that the Lord both *thanked* and *blessed* bread and wine. The meaning of thanks is that the Lord brought the sacrifice of bread and wine with thanks prayer. Quite different is the blessing. The blessing always has a distinct content in the Scripture. It is not merely a wish. With blessing the Lord joined bread and wine with His flesh and blood. Through it the *unio sacramentalis* took place, according to Kliefoth. Kliefoth acknowledges that we are not informed as to what form of blessing the Lord used, whether the Lord spoke the separate words of blessing in addition to the thanks prayer, or He attached related words to the conclusion of the thanks prayer, or spoke for this purpose nothing other than the following words, “this is my body,” etc. But Kliefoth says that the last option is most probable. He firmly understands that the Lord’s words “this is my body,” “this is my blood” describe the content of the blessing.

Another distinction is also observed by Kliefoth, that is, between “taking” and “giving.” What the Lord “took” was bread and wine, but what He afterwards “gave” with the same was something entirely different. With the thanks, the Lord is the father of the household who sacrifices thanks in the name of His house congregation. From the moment of the blessing on, He is the Lord who puts on the earthly elements the eternal good as His gift to man. Until the

thanks, He inclusively deals before God in the name of man. From the blessing on, He deals with man as God. The thanks and what preceded were the *sacrificium*, eucharist, that is, man's sacrifice. But the blessing and what followed were *sacramentum*, divine dealing toward man. According to Kliefoth, failure to observe this change resulted in the Roman doctrine of the Lord's Supper which took thanks as synonymous with the blessing on the one hand, and in the Reformed doctrine of the Lord's Supper which took the blessing as synonymous with the thanks.³³⁶

The Body of the Lord. Kliefoth cites Luke who adds to the "body," "which is given for you." Kliefoth understands these words as designation that the body of the Lord is sacrifice flesh. Certainly, Kliefoth is aware of the freight of ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν as "in the place of you." He says: "the sacrifice is not located in the Lord's Supper but in the death on Golgatha." In the Lord's Supper, then, we are given to eat the body of this sacrifice which was killed for us on the cross by the violent slaying.

According to the Law all the fat portions of the sacrifice flesh that were to be eaten were burnt by God. From this Kliefoth interprets that Christ sacrificed Himself not through fire but through the eternal Spirit of God for sweet aroma. In His flesh He entered into the holy of holies of heaven, that is, He was resurrected, transfigured, and elevated (Eph. 5:2, Heb. 9:14, 24). So in the Lord's Supper we receive to eat the body of the Lord which is not merely dead but resurrected from the dead, not merely sacrificed but also accepted by God as the sacrifice of satisfaction.

The Lord's sacrifice corresponds to the first Passover, for only at the first Passover and at the sacrifice of Christ the body of the sacrifice remained uncut into pieces, and the entire body

³³⁶ Ibid., 191-94.

was eaten. All other sacrifices and at the annual Passover the fat portions were rarely burnt, and only a part of the sacrifice was eaten. According to Kliefoth, therefore, John 19:36 points to Exodus 12:46. The body of the Lord to be eaten in the Lord's Supper is constantly called in the New Testament not σάρξ but σῶμα. Not flesh or fat portions of the true Passover Lamb are we given to eat, but the entire body of the same which remains uncut into pieces, so that we who are many are one body, having eaten from one Body (1 Cor. 10:17).³³⁷

The Blood of Christ. Kliefoth goes through all four accounts of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and Paul concerning the Lord's words on His blood in the Lord's Supper. All four accounts "complement each other." Yet in Matthew, "all are contained": "the blood of the new covenant which is shed for many for the forgiveness of sin."³³⁸ The blood of Christ here is, first of all, the sacrifice blood. It points more to the blood of Christ shed on the cross rather than the blood drunk at the Lord's Supper. If the sacrifice blood was sprinkled on the altar, carried into the holy of holies, and brought before God, then Hebrews 9 tells us that it was how the High Priest Jesus also did with His blood, which Jn 6:51, 53–56, and 61 already referred to it. Accordingly, Kliefoth asserts that the blood of Jesus is not only sacrifice blood but sacrifice blood which was accepted by God. It is not only the shed blood but the blood of the One who became alive again. It is the blood of the Lord who was transfigured with the body to the "new sap of life" (*zum neuen Lebenssaft gewordenen Blut*).³³⁹

The blood is furthermore the blood "of the covenant," that is, the blood which instituted and preserved the covenant of sacrifice. Kliefoth observes that in all the Old Testament

³³⁷ Ibid., 194–95.

³³⁸ Kliefoth's text has "des Bundes" instead of "des Testaments" of the traditional Luther Bibel. Kliefoth may have simply used the existing text of the day. Or Kliefoth's use of the word "covenant" was intentional. In either case, Kliefoth's explanation in this section indicates that he was expounding διαθήκη.

³³⁹ The language of "sap" will also appear in our discussion of the liturgical revision in Sweden in the next (*continued next page*)

sacrifices such character of the covenant was found only in the Passover sacrifice, so that he maintains that the blood of the Lord is the Passover sacrifice blood. The blood of Jesus is a “new” covenant. The covenant which was instituted and preserved by this blood is, therefore, the “new” Passover. Here Kliefoth notes as important when he says: “the new thing of this sacrifice and of this covenant consists in this that it is ‘for the forgiveness of sin.’” The old covenant of the old Passover brought Israel deliverance from the plague of Egypt and the deliverance from the slave house. It was a covenant of Law and promise. But the new covenant of the new Passover is for the eternal redemption of mankind, a covenant of grace. The blood is the sacrifice drink which is given in the Lord’s Supper. It is the blood which was shed on Golgatha once for all, taken into heaven, and instituted and preserved a new covenant of eternal redemption. Here something is absolutely new. The Old Testament knew of sacrifice food, but knew nothing of sacrifice drink. Moreover, the blood was completely forbidden to drink in the Old Testament because God gave blood for atonement. Not once the wine of the drink sacrifice was drunk because it had a symbolic relation to the blood and soul of man. Here, however, the Lord joined with wine of the drink sacrifice His shed blood as sacrifice, and gives us to drink. This unheard of thing is certainly explained in John 6.³⁴⁰

The Holy Communion. In the flesh of the sacrifice and in its blood both halves of the sacrifice animal represent its entire life. Together they make up its whole person. In the Lord’s Supper not only the entire flesh, the σῶμα of Christ, but also His blood are given us to partake, so that the entire Christ, who is given for us in His death and transfigured for life according to His entire person with entire merits, are given to us. He who eats His flesh and drinks His blood remains in Him and He in him (Jn 6:56).

chapter.

The Lord's Supper is the "overwhelmingly surpassing fulfillment of all the Old Testament sacrifice meals." Kliefoth thinks that for this reason Luke and Paul emphasized intentionally and explicitly that the Lord gave the blood in the cup to drink μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνῆσαι, after the eating of the body. In the Old Testament sacrifice the proceedings with the blood preceded the eating of the flesh. The Lord's Supper, however, is not the sacrifice but the sacrifice meal, and this New Testament sacrifice meal is opposite to the Old Testament sacrifice meal in a sense that the drinking of the blood came after the eating of the body. Kliefoth here condemns the withdrawal of the cup in the Roman Catholics. The Lord gave us both His body and His blood with specific importance of each.

In the receiving of His body and blood, we are in communion with Him; we receive communion in His body, we receive communion in His blood (1 Cor. 10:16). He who eats the Lord's flesh and drinks His blood is in the Lord and the Lord in him (Jn 6:56). Communion is with the Son. But it is also with the Father at the same time (1 Jn 4:15). Also the communion with the Lord is also at the same time the communion of the Holy Spirit (1 Cor. 6:17, 12:13). The Lord's Supper places us in communion with the Triune God. Those who eat and drink are also put in communion with each other, because the bread is one, the body of the Lord is one, so also the many who eat the one body are one body in one Lord (1 Cor. 10:17). The Lord's Supper is *communio* in this sense. In the old covenant the communion of God and His people was given through the circumcision. His people were preserved as one body through the Passover meal. In the new covenant, the communion with God is given through baptism into the death of Christ. It is preserved through the spiritual and sacramental eating and drinking of the Lord's Supper (1 Cor. 10:3, 4).³⁴¹

³⁴⁰ Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, 4: 195–97.

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 197–99.

The Administer of the Lord's Supper. Kliefoth emphasizes that he who administers the Lord's Supper is the Lord Himself, not only at the institution of the Holy Communion but also at all the Lord's Suppers ever since. "We may not be permitted to overlook that at each repeated Lord's Supper, the Lord is the administer." "He let the Passover wine be given to each other, but the Lord's Supper's wine, His blood, He Himself gave them."³⁴²

The Universal Priesthood. Kliefoth thinks it important to observe that Matthew who wrote for Jewish Christians added the words, "you all drink from." Here, for Kliefoth, it contains an explanation that all Christians are priests over against the Levitical priesthood. At the sacrifice meal only priests were allowed to take part in it. But in the new covenant, because in the blood of this sacrifice all received the holiness, and thus, all are at the entrance of the holy place, all are priests, and all without discrimination take part in the sacrificial meal. According to Kliefoth, it is significant to observe that the expression "all" is added precisely to the drinking of the blood. As we saw, the sacrifice blood drinking indicated the prime phrase of the blessing of the new covenant over against the old covenant. The common people are emphasized over against the Levitical priesthood.³⁴³

"This Do in Remembrance of Me." Paul and Luke speak of the partaking of the Lord's body, "This do in remembrance of Me." Paul adds these words also to the partaking of His blood. This phrase teaches two things, according to Kliefoth. First, it teaches explicitly that the Lord's Supper is to be repeated in the church until the Lord's return (cf., 1 Cor. 11:26). Kliefoth makes it clear that while the Passover consisted of Passover sacrifice and Passover meal, and both are to be repeated, the Lord's Supper is not sacrifice but only sacrifice meal, and only the

³⁴² Ibid., 199.

sacrifice meal is to be repeated. Also the first Passover and the repeated Passover had atoning and preserving power respectively in themselves. But in the Lord's Supper the preserving power does not lie in itself but backwardly in the once brought sacrifice on Golgatha. Therefore,

Kliefoth stresses:

The later Lord's Supper is not essentially different from the first Lord's Supper. The only difference is that the Lord's Supper is administered the first time by the Lord Himself but the rest of the time through His minister; and this distinction is undone, as we saw, that the Lord Himself is always the actual administer in the Lord's Supper, and His minister does only instrumental service.³⁴⁴

Second, the phrase "This do in remembrance of Me" presupposes baptism and the hearing of the preached word (1 Cor. 11:26) in those who receive His body and blood (1 Cor. 11:27–29). The Lord's Supper is instituted not for the beginning of the Christian life but for the spiritual nourishment of the Christians who discern His body. Matthew 28:19 joined baptism with the word. Similarly, the account of the Lord's Supper is joined it with preaching.³⁴⁵

Eucharistic Sacrifice. Thus far, Kliefoth observes that in the New Testament the word of God, baptism, and the Lord's Supper are the means through which God deals with His people. Through these means God brings about repentance and faith to people, so that they are born again, justified, converted, enlightened and holied. When the Lord has thus given His gifts to people, they now want to thank their Lord, bringing sacrifices of their thanks.

To describe such thanksgiving, Kliefoth discusses the Old Testament eucharistic sacrifices. The bringing of the first fruit, tithe, first born, etc. is dismissed by Kliefoth as not fitting with the New Testament. Kliefoth also acknowledges that there was in the Old Testament an idea of obedience to the Law as to its minimum. But Christians wish to submit all things to God

³⁴³ Ibid., 200.

³⁴⁴ Ibid., 201.

³⁴⁵ Ibid., 200–201.

because they have been given by the Lord everything, even Himself. Furthermore, Kliefoth observes that in the Old Testament gifts were brought to the holy place, and then they were utilized for the maintenance of the holy place and the priests. These gifts are given to God Himself, but because He does not need them for Himself He directs them to be used for the preservation of His holy place and His holy people. According to Kliefoth, this fundamental thinking remains in the New Testament; it was only widened. The entire life of a Christian is to serve God in the service of the brethren.³⁴⁶

Kliefoth then points out that we should not avoid the language of “sacrifice” simply because it may “smell Roman Catholic.” The atoning sacrifice has been fulfilled by Christ, but the eucharistic sacrifice continued to develop in the New Testament. We are permitted to approach and serve God priestly by grace (Heb. 12:28), so we now bring praise sacrifice through Christ (Heb. 13:15–16), giving our entire life in faith to God (Mk 12:44). The true New Testament thanks sacrifice, through which the faithful answer to the atoning sacrifice of Christ, consists in, therefore, that the entire life is to be His service. But one does not live his entire life at every moment. Thus, every moment of the life of a Christian is a manifestation of a life of service (Rom. 12:1, 6:13, Phil. 2:17, 4:18, Heb. 13:16, 1 Pet. 2:5ff.).

The arena of this thanks sacrifice of the Christian is the life itself in its entire range. Where the Christian stands and goes, he is to serve God as priest. How is such a service displayed within the Divine Service? Kliefoth says on the one hand that the fruits of *lips*, that is, prayer, confession, praise, and thanksgiving may be found immediately in the Divine Service. In it petition, thanksgiving, and confession are brought and prayers of the individuals are collected in the congregational prayer. For this reason, for Kliefoth the congregational prayer is an essential part of the New Testament Divine Service. On the other hand, the fruits of *works* never enter

³⁴⁶ Ibid., 202–205.

into the Divine Service directly. According to Kliefoth, it has a place only symbolically. To the Lord we are indebted to give back our whole life. But He does not need our gifts Himself. Also we are, in fact, able to give Him absolutely nothing. So He substituted Himself with the needy among people as the objects of our return, and so He directs us to do the service what we have to do to Him to the people in need of bodily and spiritual support (Mt 25:40). Such fruits of works are represented and expressed in the giving of gifts in the New Testament Divine Service. In the liturgy, therefore, the giving of gifts is found next to prayer. For Kliefoth, such a gift-giving would be to fall back to the Old Testament symbolism. Nevertheless, a distinction was made by Kliefoth that the giving of gifts in the New Testament Divine Service is never to earn grace in the way of the Law.³⁴⁷

When Jesus instituted the Lord's Supper, He used bread and wine of the Passover bread and Passover wine, that is, food sacrifice and drink sacrifice. These gifts represented the whole life of the priestly holy people, as we saw earlier. As the father of the household the Lord brought a thanks sacrifice in these gifts and spoke thanks prayer over these gifts. He blessed them, and gave them as His body and blood to His disciples. Kliefoth sees in this an example of Christians to follow in the Divine Service of the Lord's Supper. Prior to the service of the Lord's Supper, Christians are to bring eucharistic sacrifice to the Lord both through the fruits of lips and the fruits of works.³⁴⁸

On the one hand, Kliefoth teaches that such a sequence is not an external Law to have to follow. For him, it is what it is because of the nature of things. Even without the eucharistic sacrifice the Lord's Supper is the Lord's Supper. The Lord indeed took the Passover bread and Passover wine at the institution of the Lord's Supper, but the use of such bread and wine has

³⁴⁷ Ibid., 205–207.

³⁴⁸ Ibid., 207–210.

nothing to do with the dignity of the Lord's Supper. Kliefoth says that even if He had not taken sacrifice bread but common bread it would have been the sacrament. Not because it was the sacrifice bread before but because of the Lord's words of blessing the bread and wine are His flesh and blood. Kliefoth writes:

Likewise, our prayer and thanks, our eucharistic sacrifice will do nothing at all for the Lord's Supper to be the Lord's Supper. Not our prayer and action but the Lord's word and blessing alone make the Lord's Supper. The Lord's Supper is neither entirely nor partly a sacrifice brought by us, but entirely, exclusively and one-sidedly the Lord's gifts to us.³⁴⁹

What then prompted Kliefoth to speak of the eucharistic sacrifice which is to precede the Lord's Supper? Why does he like the idea that before we commune we bring and yield to God prayer and thanks, indeed our whole life? He says:

A simple ground is this that the Lord's Supper is not sacrifice but sacrifice meal. The sacrifice meal, however, can only be participated in by him whose sins are taken away and who is thereby holied, so that he may approach to God priestly, bringing before Him his *Minchah*. Thus, before we could proceed to the Lord's Supper we must previously be put into the sacrificial death of Jesus through repentance and faith.³⁵⁰

As we will see later, Kliefoth's thinking cannot be considered in light of the development of the twentieth century which requires for the church to have the so-called Eucharistic Prayer and to include the Lord's words of institution in such a prayer. From the background of the Old Testament Divine Service and a careful exegesis of the texts in the New Testament, Kliefoth observes that the Lord's Supper is for those who have been brought to repentance and faith through preaching and baptism. Our eucharistic sacrifice is never considered as Law to have to fulfill and obey. It comes out of the Lord's gift which have been given and received: δόσις and λῆψις.

³⁴⁹ Ibid., 210.

³⁵⁰ Ibid., 210–11.

The Constitutive Elements of the New Testament Divine Service. From the foregoing, Kliefoth now presents “the constitutive elements of the New Testament Divine Service in distinction from the Old Testament Divine Service.” In the place of the bloody atoning sacrifice, there is the proclamation of the death of Jesus, because in His death the atoning sacrifice was fulfilled. Through the word of the cross arises repentance and faith, so that there are not tithe, first fruits and bread and wine but the eucharistic sacrifice of the fruits of lips in the praise of God and the fruits of works in the service to the neighbor. Christians then approach to God priestly, taking hold of the death of Christ. They do not eat the sacrifice meal of the flesh of the bloody sacrifice of the Old Testament that had been abolished, but the Lord’s Supper, the body and blood of the Lord for peace and life. Thus, the New Testament Divine Service looks as follows:

The Constitutive Elements of the New Testament Divine Service

- ❶ Preaching, that is, the proclamation of the word of God
- ❷ The eucharistic sacrifice of the fruits of lips and of works
- ❸ The Lord’s Supper

The Christian Divine Service consists in this, that God gives birth to man into His people through baptism and word, and He deals with man through word and the Lord’s Supper. This man in return lives before God in repentance and faith, prayer and confession, thanksgiving and active self-giving.³⁵¹

The above thinking of Kliefoth may propose a reconsideration of, or at least throw an alternative light on, what is normally considered a two-fold structure of Christian Divine Service

³⁵¹ Ibid., 211–12.

as the service of the word and the service of the sacrament. The prayer of the church and the bringing of offering in the middle of the service are considered to be attached sometimes more closely to the service of the word, and other times more to the service of the sacrament. The opening portions of the service of the sacrament, such as the *Preface*, the *Vere Dignum*, and the *Sanctus*, may all be considered together as eucharistic sacrifice. In Kliefoth's thinking, such eucharistic sacrifice is prompted by the preaching of the death of the Lord. It is a result of repentance and faith that the Lord gives through the word. The heart of our acclamation, the fruits of our lips, is Christ who was sacrificed in the place of us. The focus of our giving, the fruits of our works, is our neighbor, where Christ locates Himself there to receive our service. What is not found here in the eucharistic sacrifice is ourselves. The attention of the baptized is outside themselves, not inside. It is first of all toward the Lord. We will consider how these things are expressed in the Swedish liturgies in chapter 3 below.

The Difference between the Divine Service of the Old and New Testaments. Kliefoth goes on to compare the Divine Services of the Old and the New Testaments in terms of people, place, and time.

The People. First, the membership of the New Testament people of God is not bound to Israel's lineage and circumcision any more because God accepts all men out of all kinds of people (Acts 10:35) through His word and baptism. They are holied through the blood of Jesus and are given the privilege to enter into the holy place, and to the mercy seat (Heb. 4:16, 10:19). The imagery is that of the mediating work of priests. The New Testament people of God are truly a people of priests (1 Pet. 2:9). Each of the New Testament people of God does not need priests any longer. The Old Testament Levitical priesthood has no place in the New Testament. All Christians are not without the high priest, however, because they have the eternal High

Priest. Only because and so long as they belong to Him, the King, are they themselves royal priests (1 Pet. 2:9), not needing any human mediation (the universal priesthood). With regard to the holiness and also the access to the Father, all the faithful are equal to each other.

In the Divine Service Christians do not meet with each other among themselves, but God meets with them in order to give them word and sacrament. For this reason, the Lord has instituted the *Predigtamt*, “an office which preaches the word and administers the sacrament in God’s name.” Such *Predigtamt* is then no priesthood, for he who is in the office does not carry higher holiness than other Christians, nor does he do the work of the mediation. The mediating person is not he who is put into the office in his instrumental activity of preaching and administration of the sacrament, but solely Christ who works high priestly. The Lord ordained and arranged the *Predigtamt* for the administration of His word and sacrament so that the congregation may receive His gifts. He designed that this office be filled by the church with men. In the days of His flesh He not only assembled a congregation but also selected His Apostles out of it. The Apostles then handed on the service of the word and the sacrament to other faithful and devoted men.³⁵²

The Place. Second, concerning the location of the Divine Service, we have the definite words of the Lord concerning the temple not to be the place of service any longer (Jn 4:21, Mt 12:6, Jn 2:19, Mk 14:58, 13:2). With the temple the altar also naturally falls. Not shadowy fire of the altar but the fire of the Holy Spirit itself is burning in the Divine Service of the Christians. In the New Testament it can only be a place of the true Divine Service where God gives Himself and His grace through word and sacrament. Thus, the location of the Divine Service is not primarily a place where Christians come together but where His word is preached and His

³⁵² Ibid., 212–15.

sacraments given out. He bound His grace-presence to that place. From the time of Christ no place on earth is in itself holy and a place of divine gracious presence. Only where God's word is proclaimed and His sacrament administered is there the place of the Divine Service.

With these, then, the threefold place of the Old Testament Divine Service also fell. Since the curtain was torn apart through the death of Jesus (Mt 27:51) God dwells not in a separated holy of holies any more but the place of the *Schekinah*, Cherubim, and *Kapporeth* are, from that time on, occupied by word and sacrament, which are there in the midst of the New Testament people. The New Testament people do not stand in the outer court any longer; this was abolished along with the bloody service. Their feet having been washed in baptism, clothed in the priestly pure garment of salvation, they enter into the holy place, bringing new sacrifices. In this way, the only place which has remained is the holy place, which is everywhere where God walks among His people in His word and sacrament and where His people sacrifice their prayer to Him. Indeed, these people themselves are called the holy place, the temple (1 Cor. 3:16, 17).

It comes as a surprise when we recognize that for Kliefoth the candlestick of the holy place was the prototype of the service of the word in the New Testament congregation, the smoke-altar being the prototype of the prayer sacrifice, and the permanent *Minchah* of the showbread table being the prototype of the sacrifice of the fruits of works, while eating of the sweet bread pointing to the Lord's Supper. In the New Testament God actually gives the light of His word to the congregation, replacing the candlestick of the Old Testament; the congregation actually brings the fruits of their lips and of their works, and God accepts such sacrifice. God actually feeds His congregation under bread and wine with true sacrifice meal. Thus, while the entire remaining temple service falls, the service of the holy place remains. However, what it gave only in the form of symbolic undertaking and priestly performance appear in the New Testament Divine Service as the actual dealing of God with His congregation. It is written in Heb. 9:1, 2ff.

that the service of the holy place was terminated in the New Testament according to its eternal form, but passages as Heb. 10:19, Rev. 1:12, 13, 20, 5:8ff., 8:3ff., and 1 Cor. 10:16ff. indicate that the Divine Service of the Christians are the fulfillment of the service in the holy place.³⁵³

The Time. Third, with regard to the time of the Divine Service, Kliefoth explains what had been abolished and what had been given anew. On the one hand, the Old Testament Sabbath rest (the seventh day) and the entire feast calendar had been terminated. What the Sabbath rest meant was fundamentally accomplished in Christ. The peace is not something we should work hard on or to wait for, but is already brought about through the exercise of the word of God and use of the sacrament. The Lord declared the termination of the Sabbath and the Sabbath rest (Mt 12:8, Mk 2:27, Col. 2:16ff.). And with it the institution of the Sabbath month, Sabbath year, and Jubilee year fell, and so also the feasts of first fruits and of harvest. The time of the harvest was already there (Jn 4:35), and Christ is the first fruit of the new creation (1 Cor. 15:20ff.) who is followed by Christians (Jas 1:18, Rev. 14:4). There is not more futuristic, eschatological meaning of the feasts in the Old Testament sense. Furthermore, the memorial meaning of the feasts also ceased because the Kingdom of God stands not on God's deed of salvation from Egypt and the inauguration into Canaan, but on the death and resurrection of Jesus. The Lord abolished the Passover feast as we saw. The Day of Atonement discontinued after its fulfillment on the day of Golgatha.

Such termination of the entire Old Testament feast calendar (Gal. 4:10, Col. 2:16ff.) carried the origin of the new calendar, according to Kliefoth. In the place of the Old Testament Sabbath rest the preaching of the word, prayer, and the use of the sacrament were positioned in the New

³⁵³ Ibid., 215–17.

Testament congregation. The use of the means of grace takes place at a certain location and at a certain time.

There are two important moments concerning the church calendar of the New Testament. First, instead of the seventh day, the Sabbath day, and its related calendar, the eighth day, the first day, the beginning of the new era has entered in with Christ. The Sabbath was exchanged by Sunday. While the Sabbath was celebrated by resting, the Sunday is celebrated by the use of the means of grace. Also the eschatological meaning of the eighth day in the Old Testament has been fulfilled in Christ so that the first fruit of the new creation, time, and world, namely the resurrection of the Lord, took place on the eighth day or the first day, on Sunday after the Sabbath. The Lord walked among His assembled disciples on the days after His resurrection precisely on Sunday. On the Resurrection Sunday He Himself walked twice in the middle of His people (Lk 24:13–35, 24, 36–43, Jn 20:19–23). And in the way of the Divine Service He preached to them and administered the Lord’s Supper for them (Lk 24:27, 45ff., 30, 35). Also the appearance to Thomas took place on Sunday (Jn 20:26–29). His appearance finally did not fall on Sunday (Jn 21), but here the disciples waited for Him; they were not assembled. The meal at that occasion is indicated with the word ἀριστόν, breakfast, which is not used for the Lord’s Supper in the New Testament. So this narrative of His appearance confirms that Sunday as the eighth day and the first day, the day of His resurrection, and the day of the Lord, as the day on which the Lord designated to walk among His people, distributing among His assembled people the means of grace.

Second, in the Old Testament the entire feast year was regulated according to the Passover. But now on the Passover slaughter day the Lord died, on the Great Sabbath Day he lay in the grave, and on the first or the eighth day He rose. During the fifty days of holy time He still appeared to His disciples, then He ascended into heaven, and on the feast of the first fruit bread

the pouring of the Spirit took place, bringing the first fruits of the church of God. In this way, the series of days of the church year was founded on the historical facts of our salvation.³⁵⁴

The Temple or the Synagogue Services as the Foundation for the New Testament Divine Service. Kliefoth believes that he has thus sufficiently demonstrated that the foundation of the New Testament Divine Service is related to the temple service and not the synagogue service. The relation that Kliefoth considers between the temple service and the New Testament Divine Service is not by way of external imitation but an organic wholeness of theological comparison. He sees what was there in the temple service as a prototype which was fulfilled in Christ. Such fulfillment in turn gave a new form of the Divine Service of the New Testament. The synagogue service has only a subordinated position for Kliefoth. When one considers the constitutive elements of the New Testament Divine Service, the word of God and the sacrifice of prayer and of works are indeed found in the synagogue service. But there is nothing at all in the synagogue as the Lord's Supper. Here Kliefoth points out as quite indicative for the Reformed Church, in that it does not reckon the Lord's Supper as the Divine Service, and has therefore attempted to derive their liturgical form from the synagogue.³⁵⁵

The Divine Service during the Apostolic Time. Kliefoth then considers what the Divine Service looked like in the post-Pentecost era. The Pentecost congregation was gathered by the preaching and baptism (Acts 2). Those who were baptized “held to the διδαχῆ τῶν ἀποστόλων, to the κοινωνία, to the κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου, and to the προσευχαίς” (Acts 2:42). Kliefoth then asks how the three constitutive elements of the Divine Service, which he drew from the Scripture thus far, relate to the four things found in this text. He notes that the “breaking of the bread” can

³⁵⁴ Ibid., 217–22.

³⁵⁵ Ibid., 222–23.

indicate nothing other than the Lord's Supper, and the "doctrine of the Apostles" includes the entire revealed word of God, that is, Law, Prophets, Gospels, and Apostles' teaching. Also "prayer" is always the answer to the gifts of God when received. Prayer is found in the Divine Service not only as an independent element but also together with other Divine Service undertakings, such as "doctrine" and "breaking of the bread." Kliefoth understands that this is why προσευχαίς is particularly mentioned in this text. So the question comes down to what the κοινωνία is. More specifically, the question is whether κοινωνία is identical with the eucharistic sacrifice of the fruits of lips and of works.

Kliefoth learns from Rom. 15:26, 2 Cor. 8:9, 9:13, and Heb. 13:16 that the love gift is called a κοινωνία. According to 1 Cor. 16:1–2 such a collection took place on Sunday in the Divine Service assembly. It was used to support presbyters. Paul also received from the congregation at Philippi a support for his life sustenance (Phil. 4:15–18). Kliefoth concludes from these passages that the κοινωνία in the Divine Service of Acts 2:42 is a collection of love gifts for the bodily and spiritual needs of the congregation.

Kliefoth demonstrates that such an understanding is strengthened further by learning why the love gift was called κοινωνία. Κοινωνία is called "participation" (*Theilnehmung*) and "communion" (*Gemeinschaft*) in 1 Jn 1:3 and Rom. 12:13. On the one hand, the preaching of the word places the faithful into the communion with the Lord, and through Him with the Father, as also with each other. Such a communion then goes on to move into love and work, among which the gifts for bodily and spiritual needs of the brethren are certainly first and foremost. On the other hand, the giver in giving and the receiver in receiving become united (2 Cor. 8:13–15). The word κοινωνία is therefore appropriate, according to Kliefoth, to designate the love gifts. Furthermore, according to Rom. 12:12–13 and Heb. 13:15–16, the praise and thanks sacrifice of the Christians, who have been consecrated as priests by the atoning sacrifice of Christ, are

connected with prayer, love gifts, and works of charity. When one is put into the communion with God through faith in the Gospel he cannot but bring prayers and gifts. The giving of love gifts is accompanied by intercession, and the receiving of love gifts produces thanks prayer (2 Cor. 9:11–15) Prayer and love gifts help each other for the common purpose. As we know from 1 Tim. 2:1–10, the apostolic church had common prayer of the church. Kliefoth argues that Acts 2:42 included both *κοινωνία* and *προσευχᾶς*.

What is more, Heb. 13:15–16 puts prayer and love gifts among the common concept of sacrifice that is brought by the priestly people of Christians. The love gift which is elsewhere called *κοινωνία* is called sacrifice in Acts 24:17. Paul uses the language of sacrifice to denote a gift which he received from the congregation. According to all of the foregoing, Kliefoth concludes that the expression, *κοινωνία*, in Acts 2:42 consists in prayer/common prayer of the church on the one hand, and in the collection of love gifts for the bodily and spiritual needs of the congregation on the other. They are eucharistic, praise and thank sacrifice of the congregation.³⁵⁶

The Order of the Divine Service in the Apostolic Church. Concerning the question of the actual order of the Divine Service in the apostolic church, Kliefoth acknowledges but rejects the tendency of Roman Catholics that the exact order of Mass is found as divinely established. He also considers it incorrect that there were only orderless services in the apostolic church as the Reformed tend to suppose. On the basis of 1 Corinthians 14:40 Kliefoth understands that the Divine Service of the apostolic church was not “a house of enthusiasts” of maximum disorder but there was a decent form and order for the congregational Divine Service. Yet, he is not interested in finding speculatively an exact form of the Divine Service. Rather, he stays satisfied

³⁵⁶ Ibid., 224–30.

with the Scripture that there were preaching of the word and the Lord's Supper instituted by Christ.³⁵⁷

Kliefoth does not support the idea proposed by Theodosius Harnack that there were two distinctive forms of the Divine Service in the apostolic church: one in a Jewish Christian Divine Service and another in a Gentile Christian Divine Service.³⁵⁸ He does so because outside of Jerusalem the Jewish Christians never had another Divine Service than what Gentile Christians had, and that the Divine Service in the Epistles of James and to the Hebrews had no other form of the Divine Service than what is found in the Epistle of Corinthians. Instead, he acknowledges the two periods of the Divine Service development: the first of which runs to the death of James (Acts 12), and the second of which passed over to the foreign country while there still was a congregation in Jerusalem (Acts 19:21, 20:16, 21:23ff., 24:11). The Divine Service in the first period looks like what we observed in Acts 2:42. Then in Acts 2:46 we find a twofold gathering: the congregation which held gatherings in Jerusalem in the temple, and the congregation in the private houses.

The gathering at the temple took place daily (Acts 2:46), more than once a day, likely in connection with the prayer hours (Acts 3:1, 22:17), that had been shaped out of the daily sacrifices of evening and morning (Acts 3:1, 9:30, 16:25, 22:17). This assembly took place at the Hall of Solomon (Acts 3:11, 5:12). As the first miracle of the Apostles aroused the hostility of the Jewish authorities, this assembly was killed so that a prayer assembly was held in private houses (Acts 4:1ff., 4:23, 24, 31). But already in Acts 5:12 the assembly appeared in the Hall of Solomon again, and it remained there despite the new opposition (Acts 5:17ff.). After the persecution in which Stephen died and the congregation was scattered throughout Judea, Galilee,

³⁵⁷ Ibid., 230–31.

³⁵⁸ Kliefoth refers to Theodosius Harnack, *Der christliche Gemeindegottesdienst im apostolischen und* (continued next page)

and Samaria, we find that there is no mention of the assembly of the whole congregation in the temple any more, because the charge against Stephan was exactly on blasphemy of the temple (Acts 6:13–15, 7:44–53). Christians gathered in the private houses since that time (Acts 12:12). Later we see some Christians gathered in Jerusalem, but such was not the whole congregation (Acts 18:21, 20:26, 21:23ff., 22:17, 24:11).

Kliefoth observes that the assembly at the temple functioned for two purposes at the same time. On the one hand, there was a common prayer (Acts 3:1, 22:17) and the preaching of the word (Acts 5:42), which served for the edification of the Christians. On the other hand, such preaching of the word served as a missionary preaching to the Jews who were visiting the temple. When the assembly was enlarged the Apostles formed a particular office of deacons to hand over the distribution of the love gifts to the poor and the care of the same. But the Apostles still kept the service of word and prayer (Acts 6:2–6). The congregation was scattered because of persecution (Acts 9:31). While the Apostles still kept their residence in Jerusalem (Acts 8:1ff.), the office of elders were instituted for the sake of the scattered congregations so that they may serve there with the word and prayer (Acts 11:30). Paul carried the institution of the elders also in the congregation gathered from the Gentiles (Acts 14:23, 20:17).

The second way of the assembly was held at the private houses *κατ' οἶκον* (Acts 2:46). Kliefoth explains that the difference between the temple assembly and the house assembly was not a contrast between public and private in the sense of closed conventicles. Rather, the distinction is to be understood from the relationship of the Christian congregation with the people of Israel and their public life. The temple congregation was public because the Christian congregation was in touch with the people of Israel, their public life, and their worship. The house assembly did not have such external contacts. Although Christians gathered in different

alkatholischen Zeitalter (Erlangen: Theodor Bläsing, 1854), 73.

houses, they remained one churchly community because of one word of God and one body and blood of the Lord.

What was undertaken in this house assembly? As Acts 2:46–47 indicates there were the Lord's Supper, a common meal in connection with the Lord's Supper, and prayer in the form of hymns (cf., Jas 5:13). In addition, there were preaching of the word (Acts 5:42) and the bringing of love gifts (Acts 4:35, 37). Such assembly could last many hours (Acts 5:7).

How often were the house assemblies held? According to the Book of Acts, there were daily assemblies where the Apostles proclaimed the Gospel, not only in the temple but also in private houses (Acts 2:42, 5:42, 20:20). But the Lord's Supper was reserved only on Sundays.

Wherever Paul went, he turned to the synagogues for the purpose of missionary preaching (Acts 9:20, 13:5, 14:1, 17:1, 18:19), just as the Lord had first done so. There were proselytes from other religions who called for further instruction of Christian doctrine outside of the synagogue assembly. Paul spoke in public places (Acts 17:17, 18, 22). Paul always had to withdraw from the community with the synagogue after a short or long period of time; the converted Jews and Gentiles then separated from the synagogue and its service (Acts 19:9). There were thus missionary preaching and assemblies, but still there was no actual Christian Divine Service. There were reading of the Scripture of the Old Testament, prayer and hymns (1 Tim. 4:13, 2:8, Jas 5:13). While an assembly for missionary purposes is described in Acts 19:9, a different kind of congregation, the Lord's Supper's assembly, is mentioned in Acts 20:7–11, as also in 1 Cor. 11:17–34. There the chief purpose was the Lord's Supper (1 Cor 11:20, 23, Acts 20:7). But in addition to the Holy Communion, the proclamation of the doctrine was also there (Acts 20:7, 9, 1 Cor. 14:26ff., 1 Cor. 11:26). Furthermore, at least for the first half of the apostolic period, the Lord's Supper was combined with a common meal (1 Cor. 11:21–22). Naturally, prayer was there (1 Cor 14:13–17) as well as the service of the lips and of works (Heb.

13:15–16). The doctrine Divine Service was held daily (Acts 19:9) and the Lord’s Supper’s service was held every Sunday (Acts 20:7, 1 Cor. 16:2). The Epistle of the Pliny shows only Sunday Divine Service. Revelation 1:10 states emphatically that Sunday is the day belonging to the Lord ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα. It was the day of τὸ κυριακὸν δεῖπνον. And the houses of the members of the congregation would have been the locations of such Divine Service (Acts 18:7, 1 Cor. 16:19, Rom. 16:5, 23, Philem. 2, Col. 4:15, Phil. 4:22).

To summarize, in the apostolic congregation of the Gentiles two ways of Divine Service assemblies took place. First, there was daily doctrine Divine Services in which the imparting of doctrine and prayer were found. The newly converted and strangers also attended it. Second, there was the Lord’s Supper Divine Service at the evening of Sundays in which were found the imparting of doctrine, bringing of prayers and gifts, common meal, and the Lord’s Supper.³⁵⁹

The Lehract. Finally, Kliefoth takes a final look at each of the three components of the Divine Service in the New Testament. According to 1 Tim. 4:13, the first portion of the Divine Service, that is, the imparting of doctrine, consisted of oral reading of the Scripture, preaching, exposition and application of the Scripture, and exhortation. The public reading of the Scripture was first of all the reading of a section of the Old Testament, Law and Prophets (Rev. 1:3, Acts 13:15), as was customary in the synagogue. But these were not enough for the Christian congregation. Besides the reading and exposition of the Old Testament there was an apostolic proclamation which pointed to the Old Testament prophesy fulfilled in the New Testament. Paul demanded that his epistles be read during the Divine Service (1 Thess. 5:27, Col. 4:16). He placed the apostolic proclamation on the same standing as apostolic epistles. Kliefoth comments that it comes as no surprise that the New Testament Scriptures originated from their use in the

³⁵⁹ Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, 4: 231–50.

Divine Service. The reading of the written word of God and the exposition of the word of God were joined in the apostolic congregation, calling to mind the divine deed of salvation, instructing, exhorting (Acts 20:7ff., 1 Cor 14:26ff.).

Women were not to preach and teach in the congregation (1 Tim. 2:11–12, 1 Cor. 14:34–35). Also there was a warning that not many should be in the teaching office because of accountability (Jas 3:1). The public teaching in the congregation belonged to the office of the elder (*Amt der Presbyter*). The offices of elder and of deacon were there in the congregations of Jerusalem and Judea. They were also found in the Gentile congregations. The deacon is mentioned in 1 Tim. 3:8–10, 12–13, and Phil. 1:1. But as far as the deacon's function in the Divine Service is concerned, such as was found in the later churches, Kliefoth maintains that there is nothing found in the New Testament. Together with deacons (*Diaconen*) there were deaconesses (*Diaconissinen*) in the Gentile congregations (1 Tim. 3:11, 5:9–16, Rom. 16:1). Kliefoth observes that James in Jerusalem was acting as the later office of bishop (Gal. 1:19, 2:9, 12, 1 Cor. 9:5). He understands that the angels of the congregation in Rev. 1:20ff. may be understood as bishops.

In Asia Minor, Paul and Barnabas put elders into the congregations (Acts 14:23). Paul directed Titus to do the same in the congregations in Crete (Titus 1:5). In addition, elders were referred to in 1 Tim. 4:14, Phil. 1:1, Jas 5:14, and Heb. 13:24. The congregations were commanded to provide for them in their bodily need (Gal. 6:6, 1 Tim. 5:18), and to love, honor and be obedient to them (1 Thess. 5:12, 1 Tim. 5:18, Heb. 13:17). At a later time Peter and John called themselves elders (1 Pet. 5:1–2, 2 Jn 1, 3 Jn 1). In the Revelation, twenty-four elders represent the entire church (Rev. 4:4, 5:8ff.). To this office of the elder (*Presbyteramt*) the office of public proclamation of the doctrine in the congregation was handed over (1 Tim. 3:1–7, Titus 1:6–9, 1 Pet. 5:1–4). The office bearer was required to be competent in feeding the congregation

(1 Thess. 5:12, 1 Tim. 5:17); he should be able to teach and exhort also as the house steward of God (Gal. 6:6, 1 Thess. 5:12, Heb. 13:17).³⁶⁰

The Opferact. With lections and preaching of the *Lehract*, prayer and hymns were joined (Eph. 5:19, Col. 3:16, Jas 5:13, 1 Cor. 14:25–26). There was an ongoing use of hymns in the apostolic congregations. Eph. 5:19 and Col. 3:16 indicate that hymns had a sacramental meaning so that the congregation taught, comforted, and exhorted one another in singing. Also the form of reciprocal singing or responsive versicles are found in Rev. 4:8ff., 5:9ff. Such responsive chanting (*Wechselgesang*) had certainly the Old Testament precedent in psalm singing. The proclamation of the doctrine and hymns were closely connected with each other (Col. 3:16). Thus, hymns were a part of the Divine Service as was prayer.

As we observed earlier with Acts 2:42, what was called by the term, κοινωνία, were the bringing of the fruits of lips and of the fruits of works. Prayers appeared there as a secondary element, accompanying the proclamation of the doctrine and the Lord's Supper. But the sacrifice of prayer, the common prayer of the church, was not to be omitted in the Divine Service (1 Tim. 2:1ff.). Such common prayer of the church was the task of the office of the elder (Rev. 4:4, 5:8–10). Representing the entire church the elders bring to God through Jesus the prayer of the whole church in her name and in her place. With this practice the universal priesthood is not diminished, according to Kliefoth. The elder in prayer is not the teacher and the administrator of the means of grace, but he represents the congregation, being their mouth, collecting all the prayers, and bringing them before God. This is why the congregation responded with "Amen" (1 Cor. 14:16, Rev. 5:14, 19:4) and "Hallelujah" (Rev. 19:4).

³⁶⁰ Ibid., 251–56.

The bringing of the love gifts also belonged to the Divine Service as praise and thanks sacrifice did (1 Cor. 16:1–2, Gal. 2:10). The holy kiss from men to men and from women to women was also a part of *κοινωνία* (1 Thess. 5:26, 1 Pet. 5:14, 1 Cor. 16:20, 2 Cor. 13:12, Rom. 16:16).³⁶¹

The Abendmahlact. In the Gentile congregation the Lord's Supper was joined with a common meal (1 Cor. 11:22–23, 33, 34, Jude 12). Gradually, the common meal was separated from the Lord's Supper.

Concerning the Lord's Supper itself in the apostolic congregations we read in Acts 20:7ff., 1 Cor. 10:16–18, and 1 Cor. 11:23–30. 1 Cor. 11:23–35 indicates that a careful instruction of the Lord's Supper was retained. The elements of the Lord's Supper were blessed (1 Cor. 10:16). The breaking was not the breaking of the body of Christ, which the New Testament does not talk about. It was for the sake of distribution and communion (1 Cor. 10:16–17). Paul administered the Lord's Supper, according to Acts 20:11. The administration of the Lord's Supper belonged to the office of the elder. Elders also partook the Lord's Supper themselves.³⁶²

The Lord's Supper Divine Service of the Apostolic Congregations. Nowhere in the New Testament is the sequence or order of the Lord's Supper Divine Service described. From the foregoing observation in the New Testament, Kliefoth points to what may be seen as possibly the case. The Lord's Supper was at the end (1 Cor. 11:20ff.), preceded by the common meal. Because the food for the common meal was brought up through the gift sacrifice, the bringing of prayers and gifts preceded the common meal in return. In Acts 20:7 preaching preceded the Lord's Supper, also the bringing of prayers and gifts. And reading of the Scripture preceded the

³⁶¹ Ibid., 256–61.

³⁶² Ibid., 261–64.

delivery of the sermon. Thus, Kliefoth observes that the sequence of the Divine Service looks exactly the same as in Acts 2:42, with an exception of prayer at the end of the list; it is because prayer makes up not only a peculiar undertaking but is also found in each of the other undertakings.

In thus sketching the picture of the Lord's Supper Divine Service of the apostolic congregations we may observe that every Sunday the congregation came together for the chief Divine Service. First of all, with accompanying hymns and prayers the Holy Scripture of the Old Testament and also of the New Testament Scriptures were read. Then the elders delivered doctrine through preaching. Secondly, beginning or concluding with the kiss of love, the gifts were brought with the common prayer of the church for the support of the faithful congregations and the poor in the congregation, for the support of the ministers of the church, for provisions for the common meal, and for the Lord's Supper. Elders prayed, the congregation responded, and the gifts were received. Then in conclusion, thirdly, the common meal and the Lord's Supper were held. The elder blessed the elements and distributed. He also ate and drank the body and blood of the Lord himself. Kliefoth summarizes these three portions of the Divine Service as follows:

The Lord's Supper Divine Service of the Apostolic Congregations

- ❶ The *Lehract* – lections, preaching
- ❷ The *Opferact* – bringing of prayers and gifts
- ❸ The *Abendmahlect* – common meal, the Lord's Supper

Besides this Lord's Supper Divine Service, there were also daily services, which consisted in teaching of the doctrine and prayer.

In terms of the inception of a Christian church year or Christian feasts, Kliefoth acknowledges that there is no discussion in the New Testament. The impulse of Easter is given in 1 Cor. 5:8. And Sunday was an important day.³⁶³

Concluding Remarks by Kliefoth. Kliefoth summarizes: “This is all that we know about the New Testament cultus.” He warns against the Reformed tendency to find no liturgical formation and formulation in the New Testament on the one hand, and against the Roman Catholics’ inclination to find there all the ordered liturgy in the most exact way. The life of the apostolic congregations was neither “the sweet anarchy of a spiritually raving self government” nor with “the external order prescribed to the smallest things.” Kliefoth reflects that it is a divine providence that “we know so much and not more.” In the apostolic Divine Service there was no more external Law to have to follow. We have enough in what we know from the New Testament concerning the Divine Service. Kliefoth would confess not more and not less of the liturgy. It is the Lord’s where He is giving out His gifts through the means of grace. If this Lord-centeredness slips, what happens may then be recognized by reference to human control which counters His gifts and their freedom which He gives to His church.³⁶⁴

The Divine Service during the Time between the New Testament and the Reformation. Through the rest of the fourth volume of *Liturgische Abhandlungen* to the end of the sixth volume, Kliefoth deals with the liturgical development in the early church, from the post-apostolic time until the medieval Roman Mass. What characterizes his treatment of the early to medieval liturgies of East and West is first of all his direct working with the original sources, just as he did the same extensively in his discussion of the Divine Service of both Old

³⁶³ Ibid., 264–66.

³⁶⁴ Ibid., 266–68.

and New Testaments as we examined above. Secondly, Kliefoth demonstrates throughout his discussion of the history of liturgy that the criterion for liturgy is not an ideal form at the time of the early Christians. The criterion for the assessment of the shape of the Lord's Supper was not external form but the agreement with the words of institution of our Lord. Thirdly, Kliefoth observes each form of the liturgies in this period between the New Testament and the Reformation through the lens of the threefold structure of the Divine Service which he found in the New Testament. In this way, Kliefoth has an essential perception of the Lord's Supper's liturgy from the Scripture on the basis of which he saw the early to medieval liturgies. In this section, we will overview some features of Kliefoth's observations of the liturgical development.

Kliefoth notes in *the Epistle of Barnabas* that the meaning of the Sunday is understood as the eighth day in the sense of the new beginning.³⁶⁵ He finds in Clement the explanation of the priesthood of all believers. Since the elders are not themselves the mediator, they are leading "liturgists," ministers of Christ.³⁶⁶

In his summary of the Apostolic Fathers, Kliefoth notes that already there is a first sign of a deviating development of the liturgy, for example in the additional sacraments in the houses and the beginning of the connection of *κοινωνία* with the Lord's Supper.³⁶⁷ Kliefoth notes that with Irenaeus the Lord's Supper begins to blur the boundary; for him the consecration is regarded as sacrifice.³⁶⁸

Kliefoth engages extensively in the works of Tertullian. He questions when prayer and gift for the forgiveness of sins are "sacrificed." Also he notes that with Tertullian the hope for the

³⁶⁵ Ibid., 269–70.

³⁶⁶ Ibid., 270–73.

³⁶⁷ Ibid., 323–24.

³⁶⁸ Ibid., 332.

salvation of the dead was increasing. He saw *sacrificium* being emphasized more and more.³⁶⁹

The body and blood of the Lord was seen as sacrifice, so that *sacramentum* and *sacrificium* were mingled. Eucharistic sacrifice was blended with the sacrifice on Calvary.

“The feast of the Lord’s Supper is an operation which brings together the body of the Lord.”³⁷⁰ Such divergence Kliefoth sees further in Cyprian, for whom “the sacrifice, prayer, petition are the essential center of the office of the church.”³⁷¹ While a priest for Tertullian was someone who collected the priestly tasks of the congregation, for Cyprian a priest is instituted by God as the mediator of grace who accomplishes the work instituted by God. The priests have become the mediator of grace. For Cyprian the office is no longer “the servant of Jesus Christ, distributing the word and sacrament.”³⁷² Kliefoth, therefore, observes that in Cyprian *δόσις* and *λήψις* are confused. Kliefoth regards Cyprian’s use of “celebration (*celebrare*)” as an evidence of this when he says that the Lord’s Supper is “celebrated.”³⁷³ For Kliefoth, this term is an expression of *sacrificium*. The Lord’s Supper is changed from *sacramentum* to *sacrificium*.³⁷⁴ For Cyprian, “the Lord’s Supper is first of all the presentation of the body and blood of Christ before God.”³⁷⁵ The Lord’s Supper became a work and means given to the priest which he was able to apply for others, also in their absence, for the forgiveness of sins and attainment of grace.

³⁶⁹ Ibid., 389–90.

³⁷⁰ Ibid., 395. “Die Abendmahlsfeier eine Operation sei, den Leib des Herrn zu conficiren.”

³⁷¹ Ibid., 396. “Das Opfern, Beten, Fürbitten das eigentliche Centrum des Amtes der Kirche.” This Kliefoth notes of Cyprian out of his reading of Cyprian’s *Ep.* LXVIII, S. 165. 167; LXIV, S. 156; LIV, S. 110; LXVI, S. 160; and X, S. 30.

³⁷² Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, 4: 398–401.

³⁷³ Ibid., 404–5.

³⁷⁴ Ibid., 405.

³⁷⁵ Ibid., 414. “Dem Cyprian dagegen ist das Abendmahl zunächst Darbringung des Leibes und Blutes Christi vor Gott.”

With Origen Kliefoth observes that the *κοινωνία* has lost its particular part in the Divine Service. An important change was the incorporation of the petition into the Lord's Supper's liturgy.³⁷⁶ The threefold structure of *Lehract (sacramentum)*, *Opferact (sacrificium)*, and *Abendmahlect (sacramentum)* that Kliefoth observed in the New Testament began to be loosened by this time.

After occupying himself with the early liturgies of the Eastern Church in one chapter, Kliefoth moves on to the African liturgy where he examines Augustine's understanding of the sacrament.

According to Kliefoth, Augustine comprehends the Divine Service entirely from the subjective side. The language of *sacramentum* and *sacrificium* were both applied to such an understanding. The Divine Service for Augustine is a one-sided act of men to God.³⁷⁷ "Sacrifice is actually all that man does in order to obtain his life's communion (*Lebensgemeinschaft*) with God."³⁷⁸ His general concept of the sacrament is as follows: "every visible and real description of spiritual and divine things are sacrament."³⁷⁹ A sacrifice is a sacrament as an act directed to God. A sacrament is not only the act of God but also each act of man so long as a *sacrum signum* happens in relation with God.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁶ Ibid., 433.

³⁷⁷ Theodor Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, vol. 5 (Schwerin: Stiller'sche Hof-Buchhandlung, 1859), 121.

³⁷⁸ Ibid., 122. "Opfer ist eben jenes Alles, was der Mensch thut, um seine Lebensgemeinschaft mit Gott herbeizuführen und zu erhalten." "Verum sacrificium est omne opus, quod agitur, ut sancta societate inhaeremus deo, relatum scilicet ad illum finem boni, quo veraciter beati esse possimus." Kliefoth's source is from *Contr. Faust. Man.* XX, 21.

³⁷⁹ Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, 5: 123. "Jede sichtbare und reale Darstellung geistlicher und gottlicher Dinge ist ihm Sacrament: (sacramenta) signacula quidem rerum divinarum sunt visibilia, sed res ipsae invisibiles in iis honorantur." The citation is from *De catech. rud.* 26.

³⁸⁰ Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, 5: 124.

For Augustine, “the sacrificial death of Christ is the most true *sacrificium* (das *verissimum sacrificium*), the most perfect sacrifice (das *perfectissimum sacrificium*).”³⁸¹ For Augustine, the sacrificial death of Christ appears as eucharistic self-offering, but not as the gift of the Father.³⁸² His sacrifice is connected with ours in this way: “The mediating then lies in this that He took our sinful and infirm human nature, and as our head gathers us all up together and offers us to God, so that now for our part we need only to cling through faith in Him in order to sacrifice ourselves to God; with this the moment of atonement comes, the punishment in the background.”³⁸³ Liturgy also belongs to such sacrifice for Augustine, according to Kliefoth’s assessment. The liturgical celebrations for Augustine were our remembrance of God’s deed and our thanks for it, which is the opposite of Kliefoth’s understanding of *anamnesis*. For Augustine, therefore, the Lord’s Supper is understood as man’s self-sacrifice (self-sacrifice) to God. “So Augustine makes a reversal of all the *sacramentum* in the Divine Service into *sacrificium*, which we found with Cyprian.”³⁸⁴

But such is only a half of Augustine’s understanding of the Divine Service, says Kliefoth. “We see perhaps that Augustine comprehends all the sacrifices of Christians, prayer, charity, etc. as gifts of the Christian to God, but not that he grasps them as the Christian’s giving back to God.”³⁸⁵ Therefore, something is “missing” in Cyprian and Augustine, according to Kliefoth. *Sacrificium* is only prompted by *sacramentum* and cannot exist apart from or previous to

³⁸¹ Ibid., 126.

³⁸² Ibid.

³⁸³ Ibid., 127. “Das Mittlerische liegt dann eben darin, daß er unsere sündlich gebrechliche Menschennatur annimmt, in derselben als unser Haupt uns Alle zusammenfaßt, und uns so Gotte ergiebt, so daß nun wieder wir uns nur durch den Glauben in Ihn zu fassen brauchen, um uns in Ihm Gotte hinzugeben; dabei treten aber die Momente der Sühne, des Strafleidens u. f. w. in den Hintergrund.”

³⁸⁴ Ibid., 130. “So kommt Augustin zu derselben Umsetzung alles Sacramentalen im Gottesdienst ins Sacrificielle, die wir bei Cyprian fanden.”

³⁸⁵ Ibid. “Wir sehen wohl, daß Augustin alle jene Opfer der Christen, Gebet, Wohlthätigkeit u. s. w. als Hingabe der Christen an Gott faßt, aber nicht daß er sie als Wiedergabe der Christen an Gott faßt.”

sacramentum. But for Augustine, the Lord's Supper was "a self-offering of the church."³⁸⁶ "The Lord's Supper is the act, in which the Lord brings His church to God, or in which the church gives herself to God through the eternal High Priest."³⁸⁷

Kliefoth deals with the liturgy of Milan after the African liturgy although Ambrose is older than Augustine. Kliefoth values the role Ambrose played for the church's songs in the Western Church. He has not only written hymns but also introduced the antiphon into the Western Church. Ambrose had Psalm 43 and 23 as an entrance hymn, both having allusion to the Lord's Supper.³⁸⁸ However, Kliefoth sees further deviation of the liturgy in Ambrose. He pays attention to Ambrose's use of the idea of *hostia*. For example, he quotes: "The altar is the locus where Christ is *hostia*."³⁸⁹ "The eucharistic sacrifice is a work of man through which he acquires God's grace."³⁹⁰ The Lord's Supper is an image of the intercession of Christ with God. "Thus the Lord's Supper is understood that the priest sacrifices Christ as the *hostia* on the altar *pro populo* for the forgiveness of sins on the basis of the sacrifice of Golgatha."³⁹¹ Here there is a new understanding of the office as well. The bishop "exercises" the power of the keys received by God "not through the administration of the means of grace but rather through the sacerdotal intercession."³⁹² As Elijah called fire from heaven by his prayer, so the priest can effect forgiveness.³⁹³

³⁸⁶ Ibid., 139.

³⁸⁷ Ibid. "... das Abendmahl ist also der Act, in welchem der Herr seine Kirche Gotte darbringt, oder in welchem die Kirche durch ihren ewigen Hohenpriester sich Gotte ergiebt."

³⁸⁸ Ibid., 237–42.

³⁸⁹ Ibid., 231. "Der Altar ist ihm der locus ubi Christus hostia est." The citation is from *Ep. 85 ad soror*.

³⁹⁰ Ibid. "Das eucharistische Opfer ist ihm also ein Thun des Menschen, durch welches er sich Gottes Gnade erwirbt."

³⁹¹ Ibid., 233. "Also besteht das Abendmahl darin, daß die Priester Christum als die hostia auf dem Altar pro populo zur Vergebung der Sünden opfern auf Grund des Opfers von Golgatha."

³⁹² Ibid., 233–34.

³⁹³ Ibid., 234.

Kliefoth notes a change of interpretation of the altar in the Mozarabic liturgy. Here his source is the work by Isador. The linen cloth for covering the things of the Lord's Supper reminds us of the linen cloth of Jesus. The interpretation of the things used for sacrifice in the Old Testament testifies to the *vasa sacra*. The metal is the prescribed material. Isador said that as Moses provided for the Lord a tent and Solomon a temple, so we prepare an altar for Christ to consecrate.³⁹⁴

In the Spanish Mass Kliefoth sees a development toward the Roman Mass. For example, the clergy received communion in the chancel while the laity in the nave.³⁹⁵ The idea of the sacrifice of the Mass is developing as Kliefoth observes three steps of the Mass. The first step is the presentation of the sacrifice: *Offertorium*. The second step is the production of the sacrifice in the consecration. And the third step is the immolation, the realization of the sacrifice.³⁹⁶ The Lord's Supper is turned from *sacramentum* to *sacrificium*.

Finally, we will briefly note Kliefoth's account of the medieval Roman Mass. To this he devotes one entire volume.³⁹⁷ His critique naturally goes to the sacrifice of the Mass. In the middle of the eighth century the Roman Mass won the place of the standard Mass in the Western Church.³⁹⁸ The sermon was left out, the reading of the Gospel only announced the church year. The *Offertorium*, which Kliefoth called the sacrificial middle point of the Divine Service, disappeared. Bread and wine were no more than the gift of creation and the offering of the Lord's Supper's elements. There came a separation between the communion of the clergy and the communion of the laity. "The chief thing" was that "the body of the Lord is sacrificed to

³⁹⁴ Ibid., 283–84.

³⁹⁵ Ibid., 286.

³⁹⁶ Ibid., 321–24.

³⁹⁷ Theodor Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, vol. 6 (Schwerin: Stiller'sche Hof-Buchhandlung, 1859).

³⁹⁸ Ibid., 217.

God for the living and the dead.”³⁹⁹ Consequently, we find in the Roman Mass “the form of the theory of the sacrifice of the Mass.”⁴⁰⁰ With Gregory we find an introduction of the sacrifice of the Mass as the imitation of the sacrificial death of Christ. In the silent Mass of the ninth century the sermon does not have a firm place in the Divine Service.⁴⁰¹ The priest became similar to the priest in the Old Testament. A new step was set up by the doctrine of the transubstantiation, which was to Kliefoth a natural result of the sacrificial understanding of the Roman Mass.⁴⁰² Frequently the priest communed by himself. It was felt that the laity does not need to commune. The congregational Divine Service became a show or spectacle.⁴⁰³

The Divine Service of the Lutheran Church. Kliefoth realizes that the Lutheran Church stands in tension against the errors and misuses among the medieval Roman Catholics on the one hand, and against the new errors of the Reformed Church on the other. For him, doctrine, confession and the liturgy belong together. Liturgy and its order depend on the doctrine from the Lord and its faithful confession given by Him. Kliefoth’s task in this section is to present how the liturgy was restored when doctrine and confession were recovered at the Reformation, how it has once again deteriorated through pietism and rationalism, both of which have “the principle of subjectivism in orientation,” and how the church should rebuild the liturgy out of the Gospel in his time of the nineteenth century.⁴⁰⁴

Because Kliefoth presents the Lutheran liturgy in a historical continuation of his consideration in the previous three volumes of the *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, he begins the

³⁹⁹ Ibid., 219.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., 220.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., 280ff.

⁴⁰² Ibid., 324ff.

⁴⁰³ Ibid., 340.

⁴⁰⁴ Theodor Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, vol. 7 (Schwerin: Stiller’sche Hof-Buchhandlung, 1861), 1–2.

exposition of the Reformation Divine Service with a critique of the Roman Mass. For this reason, the basic source of his consultation is Luther's anti-Roman writings of the late 1510s and early 1520s. Yet, as we will see later, he observes that his fundamental critique against the Roman Mass is also applied to his diagnosis of the Reformed Divine Service. For Kliefoth, the understanding of the nature and purpose of the Divine Service is always conditioned by "the means of grace and their giving out and reception, thus by preaching of the word, distribution of the Lord's Supper, and faith to receive them."⁴⁰⁵

The first writing of Luther that Kliefoth refers to is his "*Die zehn Gebote dem Volk zu Wittenberg gepredigt*" of 1518 where Kliefoth stresses the importance of hearing the sermon.⁴⁰⁶ Although every day is equally holy for Christians, Luther urges the right observance of Sunday for the sake of the weak. No Mass is to be held without the preaching of the Gospel. Luther bases his emphasis on the sermon on 1 Cor. 11:25–26 where he challenges the Private Mass. Kliefoth comments that the Divine Service includes "the proclamation and hearing of the Gospel, with the giving out and receiving of the means of grace." The next reference of Luther comes from his "*Sermon von dem hochwürdigen Sacrament des heiligen wahren Leichnams Christi und von den Bruderschaften*" of 1519.⁴⁰⁷ The only thing that Kliefoth draws from this work is that the communion should be held under both kinds. Then, he proceeds to "*Von der babylonischen Gefangenschaft (De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium)*" of 1520,⁴⁰⁸ where Kliefoth notes Luther's argument against not only communion under one kind and the theory of transubstantiation, but also his main point of critique that the Mass is not "*ein satisfactorisches*

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid., 5.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid., 12–13. Luther's reference is from W¹ 3: 1786ff., which is found in WA 1: 436–47.

⁴⁰⁷ Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, 7: 13. Luther's reference is W¹ 19: 522ff., which is found in WA 2: 742–58; AE 35: 49–73. For Brilioth this document was of primary importance. See appendix 3 below.

⁴⁰⁸ Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, 7: 13–14. Luther's reference is found in WA 6: 497–573; AE 36: 11–126.

Opfer.” Kliefoth notes that Luther expounds this critical last point in “*Sermon von dem neuen Testament, das ist von der heiligen Messe*” of 1520.⁴⁰⁹ Because this writing gave Kliefoth his basic distinction of δόσις and λήψις, we will here cite Kliefoth’s reflection on the words of Luther:

Here he (Luther) makes a distinction in the Mass. On the one hand, (there is) the testament or sacrament which we do not sacrifice, and on the other hand, (there is) the sacrifice which we bring and give in our prayer. God’s word and work, however, must precede the work of man, before man can do work before God. Consequently, the Mass is not a sacrifice, which man brings to God, but a testament through which the Lord grants us an unspeakable treasure, the promised forgiveness of sin. All this is now turned around in the Roman Mass. It has been made a *sacrificium* out of the *sacramentum*: “what the Mass is to do we give to ourselves and would ourselves do; what we should do we give the Mass to do.” We must, however, let the Mass remain a sacrament, otherwise we lose the Gospel, Christ, comfort, and all grace of God. On the ground of this deduction he demanded then the communion under both forms, blamed customary low speaking of the words of institution, the testament’s words in the rite of the Mass, and wished for the Mass in German.⁴¹⁰

In this way, Kliefoth notes that Luther’s liturgical reform was based on doctrine. While he was at the Wartburg castle there was a burst of action in Wittenburg. Kliefoth here traces at length how the Augustinian monks abolished the Mass in their cloister church, and how Karlstadt seized the leadership in the affair, and how Melanchthon also came on the scene. At stake were the practical questions such as the private Mass, the adoration of the host, the elevation, and the demand of both kinds. Frequently Kliefoth gives his diagnosis of the activity of Karlstadt as following “abstract principles” in his reforming the Mass.⁴¹¹

Luther stepped in first through his writing, “*Vom Mißbrauch der Messe*” of 1522.⁴¹² Kliefoth comments from this work that neither are the clergy sacrificing priests nor the Mass a

⁴⁰⁹ Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, 7: 14. Luther’s reference is W¹ 19: 1265ff., which is found in WA 6: 353–78; AE 35: 79–111.

⁴¹⁰ Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, 7: 14.

⁴¹¹ *Ibid.*, 15–16.

⁴¹² *Ibid.*, 18–19. Luther’s reference is W¹ 19: 1304ff., which is found in WA 8:482–553; AE 36:133–230.

sacrifice; all Christians have the common priesthood while the priesthood of the Roman Church mediates the body of the Lord to be effective sacrifice for sin. The sacrifice took place on Calvary. We should follow the Lord's words of institution of the Lord's Supper. Thus, Kliefoth continues to comment that the Mass without communicants is contrary to His institution.

When Wittenberg was more troubled with riots following Karlstadt's enmity with the authorities, etc., Luther again stepped in with the *Invocavit Sermons*.⁴¹³ At the same time, his "*Meinung von beiderlei Gestalt des Sacraments zu nehmen und anderer Neuerung*" also appeared (1522).⁴¹⁴ In them Luther approved the reform of the Mass in Wittenberg on the one hand, such as the abolition of the sacrifice of the Mass, of the private Mass, of the compulsory fasting, of adoration of the images, etc. But on the other hand, he rebuked strongly that the way those reforms were introduced was in the way of the Law, binding of conscience and depriving of the freedom in the Gospel. "It was not done in an orderly way." Luther attempted to restore the order, while he was not intending to set up again an evangelical Mass in the way of papacy. He exhorted preaching the Gospel in the Mass, especially the words of institution, concentrating on His words "this is my body, given for you; this is my blood, shed for you." He was mindful of the weak in conscience.⁴¹⁵

As we will see later, how Luther approached the liturgical reform in an evangelical way as opposed to the legalistic way of Karlstadt and others would be an important guide for both Kliefoth and the Swedish churchmen.

⁴¹³ Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, 7: 25–26. Luther's reference is W¹ 20: 62ff., which is found in WA 10 III: 1–64; AE 51: 67–100.

⁴¹⁴ Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, 7: 25–26. Luther's reference is W¹ 20: 101ff., which is found in WA 10 II: 11–41; AE 36: 231–67.

⁴¹⁵ Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, 7: 25–27.

Kliefoth notes that only in 1523 Luther ventured to take another step by publishing, first, “*Von Ordnung Gottesdiensts in der Gemeinde*,”⁴¹⁶ and then, his “*Formula missae et communionis pro ecclesia Wittenbergensi*.”⁴¹⁷ In both works, Kliefoth observes that Luther worked with the liturgy “in order to correspond to the Gospel.” Still, Luther did not intend to push for liturgical uniformity in these works. Kliefoth inserts the words of Luther from 1525 in his “*Wider die himmelischen Propheten, von den Bildern und Sakrament*”: “We are neither papistic nor Karlstadtian, but free and Christian.... For in the cloister we have had Mass without chasuble, without elevation, simple to the simplest, as Karlstadt commends Christ’s example. On the other hand, in the parish we still have chasuble, albs, altar, elevation, so long as it is asked of us.”⁴¹⁸ Finally, after Luther published “*Von dem Greuel der Stillmesse, so man den Kanon nennet*” in 1524 (1525) and submitted a detailed critique of the Roman canon of the Mass,⁴¹⁹ he made his “*Deutsche Messe und Ordnung Gottesdiensts*” available at the beginning of 1526.⁴²⁰ Kliefoth notes that this *Deutsche Messe* was more influential in northern and middle Germany than the *Formula Missae*.

From the foregoing, we observe that Kliefoth’s background in his liturgical reform was grounded first of all in Luther’s critique of the medieval Roman Mass which is found in his writings between 1518 and 1526.

⁴¹⁶ Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, 7: 27. Luther’s reference is found in WA 12: 35–37; AE 53:11–14.

⁴¹⁷ Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, 7: 27. Luther’s reference is found in WA 12: 205–20; AE 53: 19–40.

⁴¹⁸ Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, 7: 28. Luther’s reference is from W¹ 20: 251, which is also found in WA 18: 112. 34–113. 8; AE 40: 130.

⁴¹⁹ Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, 7: 28. Luther’s reference is W¹ 19: 1459ff., which is also found in WA 18: 22–36; AE 36: 307–28.

⁴²⁰ Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, 7: 28–29. Luther’s reference is found in WA 19: 72–113; AE 53: 51–90.

Then, he gives an account how the liturgical reform took place among the Reformed, particularly under Zwingli and Calvin.⁴²¹ Kliefoth evaluates that for the Reformed all the Old Testament sacrifices are merely outward, pedagogical ceremony. Lutherans, by contrast, stick to the effectiveness of those Old Testament sacrifices also. They were more than mere promise but they acquired their power retrospectively through the single atoning sacrifice of Christ.⁴²² In this way, as he did against Rome, Kliefoth talks about the sacrifice of Christ against the Reformed. For him, Christ as “this sacrifice alone” for our sin is so important that he quotes “worthy is the Lamb” of Rev. 5:12 together with Jn 1:29 and 1 Pet. 2:24.⁴²³ Kliefoth defends Lutheran liturgical thinking by saying: “Rather, they preserved the Lord’s Supper of the Lord Jesus as a testament or sacrament, which the Lord had mandated and given His church at His departure, so that if they do this, there He, truly He Himself, bestows what He had won and obtained through His sacrificial death, forgiveness of sin, life, and salvation.”⁴²⁴ Kliefoth quotes numerous passages from the Apology of the Augsburg Confession Article 24 and Chemnitz’s *Examen*, as he consults the original sources of the Reformed confession, to engage in a theological diagnosis.

Kliefoth explains two foundational liturgical factors which he drew from Luther and the Lutheran fathers. One is a distinction between *sacramentum* and *sacrificium* together with the division within *sacrificium*, that is, *sacrificium propitiatorum* and *sacrificium εὐχαριστικόν*. Another is the understanding that the Divine Service is for the congregation. “The Mass should be a communion.”⁴²⁵ Kliefoth explains:

⁴²¹ Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, 7: 29–54.

⁴²² *Ibid.*, 59.

⁴²³ *Ibid.*, 61–63.

⁴²⁴ *Ibid.*, 56.

⁴²⁵ *Ibid.*, 79. Kliefoth’s reference is found in AC 24: 34 (German text). “Dieweil nun die Messe nicht ein
(continued next page)

There should be one in the Divine Service who distributes word and sacrament according to the Lord's mandate, and also a congregation which receives grace benefits with faith from the distributed word and sacrament of the Lord. This congregation is thus gathered together and the Divine Service should go on and its undertakings proceed in the reciprocal sequence of such δόσις and λήψις. The medieval church had removed this congregation-ness of the Divine Service through their sacrifice of the Mass.⁴²⁶

The Reformed, according to Kliefoth, did not preserve either of those two points. There was no distinction between *sacrificium* and *sacramentum*; and the Divine Service was not essentially *communio*, a reciprocal undertaking of δόσις and λήψις.⁴²⁷ They let the Holy Spirit float. On the other hand, in the Lutheran Church: "the Lord gives us what He had purchased on the cross for us in the means of word and sacrament, and we are to receive what cannot or ought not take place without faith."⁴²⁸ Kliefoth cites Luther here: "Not that faith itself reconciles but it lays hold of and gains the atonement which Christ has done for us."⁴²⁹ For Kliefoth, "faith is nothing but the submitting reception and acceptance of the grace that is bestowed on us in the sacrament, so that all its importance and effects come to faith not by itself, by its own achievement and its own worth, but exclusively by the salvation object (*Heilsobject*) which it grasps as the hand."⁴³⁰

Kliefoth's critique of the Reformed liturgy is summarized in the following statement: "The difference of the Reformed's procedure of the Reformation from that of the Lutheran could be defined briefly, that the Reformed constantly put the abstract reverse of what Rome put forth, but that they do not seek and find the higher position as the Lutherans." Consequently, for Rome the Mass "is an atoning sacrifice brought by the priest for the congregation," but the Reformed make

Opfer ist für andere, Lebendige oder Tote, ihre Sünde wegzunehmen, sondern soll eine Kommunion sein."

⁴²⁶ Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, 7: 79–80.

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*, 80.

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*, 77.

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.* Luther's reference is W¹ 19, 1366 ("Vom Mißbrauch des Messe, 1522"), which is also found in WA 8: 519. 19–20; AE 36: 177.

a similar error from the other side. For them, “the Mass is a eucharistic sacrifice brought by the congregation.” What both of them do not have is “the higher life-filled truth that the Mass is sacrament, distribution and reception of the sacrament.”⁴³¹ The Reformed do not understand “that all Divine Service must be first and foremost *sacramentum*, the distribution of the divine goods of grace from God on account of the means and ways that God ordained for men; they do not understand this because they know no means of grace”⁴³² Kliefoth lets Zwingli speak for himself that word and sacrament do not give anything, as he has let Calvin express the view that sacrament does not make faith but faith makes sacrament.⁴³³ Kliefoth also critiques a “recent” development which views the Divine Service as an expression of the congregational activity of “piety, through common worship, confession, praise, thanks, and prayer.” For him, such a position is one-sidedly subjective.⁴³⁴

Kliefoth maintains as he did in his exposition of the New Testament Divine Service that the three essentials in the Lutheran Divine Service are preaching and hearing of the word of God, giving out and receiving of the sacrament, and congregational common prayer. The first two are essentially *sacramentum* while the third is *sacrificium*.⁴³⁵ Without each of the three components, there is no complete Divine Service.

In the Divine Service the Lord and His congregation come together. It is for the Lord to give word and sacrament. There He also receives from the congregation, which has received His gift in faith, their eucharistic sacrifice. When such distinction of *sacramentum* and *sacrificium* is

⁴³⁰ Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, 7: 77.

⁴³¹ *Ibid.*, 80.

⁴³² *Ibid.*, 81.

⁴³³ *Ibid.*, 82–86.

⁴³⁴ *Ibid.*, 86ff.

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.*, 100–101.

lost, the church falls back to the Roman Catholics. This is exactly what happened to the Reformed. By not distinguishing the two, they turned *sacramentum* to *sacrificium*.⁴³⁶

Kliefoth maintains, however, that a distinction between *sacramentum* and *sacrificium* does not mean that they are separated from each other. Rather, they are dynamically interconnected. Both are bound together in “*der lebendigen gottesdienstlichen Action*” by “δόσις and λήψις.” Also, it is not always the case that *sacramentum* belongs to clergy and *sacrificium* to the congregation. The congregation sings the word of God (*sacramentum*) and the clergy collect the petitions of the congregation and pray (*sacrificium*).⁴³⁷

While the Lutheran view is that the Lord Himself gives His word and sacrament through the hands and mouth of His minister, who deals with the congregation in the name of the Lord and in the stead of the Lord, the Reformed do not share such an idea. In the Reformed Church, therefore, preaching is essentially “the self-testimony of the one who preaches,” and the Lord’s Supper is fundamentally “the thanks feast of the congregation.” The Divine Service for them is essentially “man’s dealing before God” and “not God’s dealing with man.”⁴³⁸ What is in common in the Roman Catholic and the Reformed Divine Service is that both consider the Divine Service one-sidedly, the sacrifice of the Mass for Rome and an eucharistic sacrifice for the Reformed. In both the Divine Service is man’s act before God. The only difference is that among the Roman Catholics human priests alone are active, while among the Reformed the congregation alone is active.⁴³⁹ Kliefoth’s evaluation of the Divine Services of Rome and the Reformed is consistent. He views them both from the standpoint of the means of grace and its δόσις and λήψις.

⁴³⁶ Ibid., 101.

⁴³⁷ Ibid., 102–103.

⁴³⁸ Ibid., 106–107.

Before he writes on the actual order of the Divine Service, Kliefoth gives attention to other related subjects. He speaks about sacred place and sacred time, candles, bell and the theological importance of the church architecture. He objects to the Reformed view of liturgical order as an adiaphoron and as “against Christian freedom.” He says that their view of authority residing in believers is “subjectivism, the spirit-filled individualism,” which is not based on the freedom according to the New Testament.⁴⁴⁰ For him, “the Christian freedom consists in the surrendering under the word of God.”⁴⁴¹ As Luther said, we are and should be servants of our neighbor out of the Christian freedom of love. The order of liturgy is not to be considered legalistically. The subjective freedom submits to the order as it serves love.

Liturgy and churchly order do not correspond with the word and sacrament themselves but their communication, according to Kliefoth. Then, who has the *ius liturgicum*, “the right of liturgical arrangement”? Kliefoth’s view is expressed in the words, *tota ecclesia*. It consists of not only the various offices and members of the present church, but also the members who have gone before.⁴⁴²

Kliefoth devotes much space to church music, hymns, and the church year. His thought on the church year in this document may be summarized in his own words as follows:

The ancient church had built the year of the Lord on the basis of salvation history: Sunday was the regular day of the Divine Service because it was the day of the Lord and the day of His resurrection. The times and days of feast had their basis the great deeds of salvation, such as the promise of the Lord, His birth, suffering, death, resurrection, ascension, and sending of the Spirit. Such prompting force for building (the church year) had also given rise to the pericope system and the variations of the liturgical prayer according to the days and times. The year of the Lord had such significance that the great deeds of God for

⁴³⁹ Ibid., 108–109.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid., 171–72.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid., 184.

⁴⁴² Ibid., 201–202.

redemption, that had happened formerly, were there present with the congregation: these great deeds of salvation were there in a living way in the present congregation.⁴⁴³

Kliefoth also tells of Sunday as the eighth day, as also the fifty days of Easter as $7 \times 7 + 1$, which symbolizes the history until completion. In the Christian church year, which had the Old Testament precedent in terms of counting days according to the deeds of our Lord's salvation, "I learn to accept the salvation history as my redemption."

Finally, we will hear Kliefoth's comment about the order of the Divine Service in the last volume of *Liturgische Abhandlungen*.⁴⁴⁴ The order as a whole follows the historic three parts Divine Service order of *der Act der Lectionen und Predigt, der Act der Gebete und Oblationen, and der Abendmahlsact*.⁴⁴⁵

Kliefoth understands the first three steps at the beginning of the Divine Service with the theme of grace. In the *Introit* word and work of grace is announced briefly by the pastor to the congregation; what the God of salvation has for her on this particular day. The congregation calls upon the Triune God and His mercy in the voice of the *Kyrie* for such grace that was just proclaimed and offered to her. The pastor points to the grace and salvation by intoning the *Gloria in excelsis deo*, and the congregation lays hold of it as she sings the praise song of the angels in *Et in terra*.⁴⁴⁶ Kliefoth has a limited use of Psalms in the chief Divine Service because he places Psalms more fully in weekday services.

While the pastor faces the altar during the *Introit, Kyrie* and *Gloria*, he turns to the congregation for the *Salutation*, "The Lord be with you," to which the congregation responds, "and with your spirit." In the medieval Mass there were numerous occurrences of the *Salutation*,

⁴⁴³ Ibid., 350.

⁴⁴⁴ Theodor Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, vol. 8 (Schwerin: Stiller'sche Hof-Buchhandlung), 1861.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid., 5.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid., 17–21.

but the Lutheran Church kept it only in two places. One is here, at the beginning of *der Act des Wortes*, and another one is at the beginning of *der Communionact* before the *Preface*. The pastor faces the altar when he prays a *Collect*, which is responded by the congregation with “Amen.” In the Divine Service a *Collect* is prayed twice with the same format and different content. One is here, and another one is after the Lord’s Supper where the congregation thanks the Lord for the gift they have just received. Through the *Collect*, which the pastor prays, the congregation gets ready to hear the word and work of God which have been announced in the *Introit*.⁴⁴⁷

The reading of the pericope is the act of the Office of the Holy Ministry toward the congregation (*der amtlichen Handeln an der Gemeinde*).⁴⁴⁸ The pastor may read from the lectern or from the pulpit, or he may read it from the altar, which is “the most ordinary case.” When visited, the present author noticed that St. Paul’s Church of Schwerin that Kliefoth designed did not have a lectern. This indicates that Kliefoth preferred to have the Scripture read from the altar.⁴⁴⁹ Between the Epistle and the Gospel there may be the *Gradual*, *Sequence Prose*, *Tractus*, or a Hymn.⁴⁵⁰

Then the Creed (or *Te Deum* or Luther’s creedal hymn) follows, after which a sermon is preached. The sermon is an exposition and proclamation of the word of God given for the particular day, which is to be received by faith. Kliefoth maintains that a sermon is to be preceded by the Creed because a sermon focuses on the Gospel of that particular day and it should be understood only from the analogy of the faith which is confessed in the Creed.⁴⁵¹ The individual proclamation is to be understood in connection with the whole faith.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid., 27–29.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid., 27, 32.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid., 32.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid., 32–34.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid., 43.

So *der Act der Lectionen und Predigt* flows in the sequence of Introit, Kyrie, Gloria, Salutation, Collect, Epistle, Gradual, Gospel, Creed and sermon. Kliefoth divides this *der Act der Lectionen und Predigt* into three sub-parts as follows:

Introit	}	The First Part
Kyrie		
Gloria		
Salutation		
Collect		
Epistle	}	The Second Part
Gradual		
Gospel		
Creed	}	The Third Part
Sermon		

Kliefoth then explains those portions with the distinctions of *sacramentum*—*sacrificium*, δόσις—λήψις, and Law—Gospel. For example, in the first subpart above, the object of the day is announced through the *Introit*, and the congregation offers repentance in order to ask for the object of the day, that will be given through the word, and to receive it in repentance and faith (the *Kyrie*, the *Gloria*). The pastor speaks in the name of the congregation, as he also proclaims to her the coming of the Lord with His grace and gift (the *Gloria*, the *Salutation*). The congregation in turn wishes the pastor the Spirit of the Lord so that he may ask the Lord rightly for His grace (the *Salutation*). The pastor prays, in which the congregation’s prayer is brought to the Lord. With “Amen” she knows that the Lord will give the fruits of salvation in His word (the *Collect*). In these first subpart, there are both Law and Gospel. The direction in general is that of the Law, but the Gospel is already there in the content of this portion, such as in the *Introit*, the *Salutation*, and the *Collect*.⁴⁵²

⁴⁵² Ibid., 42–43.

The second subpart has the same elements as the first: the proclamation of the deed of salvation, fear of conscience, and reconciliation. In the third subpart, the Lord delivers His word to the congregation. The congregation, then, receives the message of salvation.⁴⁵³

Next comes the prayer of the church, the second main part of the Divine Service. The prayer of the church belongs to the sacrifice of the congregation, of course, without asking or earning any merit.⁴⁵⁴ Kliefoth prefers a form of the litany. He is consistent in persuing the reciprocal speaking, so it takes place even in the congregational prayer where the pastor is not acting as the mouth of Christ.

The third main part, the Lord's Supper, begins with the *Preface*. Kliefoth recognizes that the *Preface* is known the longest since Tertullian. It is the oldest and unchanged portion of the liturgy. The Lutheran Church inherited changing *Proper Prefaces*. The *Preface* is sung as a reciprocal song between the pastor and the congregation. It begins with the Salutation. Then the pastor invites the congregation to lift up their hearts. It continues with the thanks prayer which customarily concludes with a summons to sing without end a song of praise together with the entire church and all the heavenly host. The congregation and choir fall down in worship with the *Sanctus*. The *Preface* was used together with the Exhortation or Admonishment for the Lord's Supper since the time of the Reformation. Since the end of the seventeenth century, it was no longer customary to sing the *Preface* in Kliefoth's territorial church.⁴⁵⁵

Kliefoth continues on his account of the Lord's Supper's section with the *Sanctus*, the *Benedictus*, Our Father, consecration (the words of institution), *Pax Domini*, distribution, the

⁴⁵³ Ibid., 43.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid., 53.

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid., 89–90.

Agnus Dei, the versicle and the Post-Communion Collect, Benediction and Closing Hymn.⁴⁵⁶

The blessing is to be distinguished from a mere wish of blessing. The Aaronic Benediction is the word of God (Num. 6:27) which the pastor lays on the people of God in the name of God.⁴⁵⁷

Central to the Lord's Supper for Kliefoth is grace and gift. With the whole congregation of God on earth and in heaven (the *Proper Preface*) we ask for the gift of God with His own words, and God demonstrates to us His grace in the Lord's Supper. On account of eating and drinking of this grace we finally ask in the *Agnus Dei* for mercy and peace and conclude with our thanks.⁴⁵⁸

Kliefoth explains that the sacrificial parts within the Lord's Supper's liturgy, both before (the *Preface*, the *Sanctus*, [exhortation]) and after (Versicle, post-communion Collect, concluding hymn) the sacramental part (consecration, distribution), receive their strength from the sacramental part. Both the preparation for the communion and the thanksgiving for the same have their focus on the $\delta\acute{o}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ of the body and blood of Christ.⁴⁵⁹

For Kliefoth, all deeds of God have one purpose, all cares and hopes of man have one purpose, and all the Divine Service has one purpose: the redemption through His blood (Col. 1:14), because redemption consists in the forgiveness of sin and the reconciliation in Christ. The Lord's Supper has always one fixed form, but the word is spread in the church year.⁴⁶⁰

It is worth noting his comparison concerning the distribution between Lutherans, Roman Catholics and the Reformed. While Lutherans distribute both body and blood of the Lord, Rome have only one kind, and the Reformed have a mere congregational meal. Kliefoth notes that

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid., 90–146.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid., 142.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid., 147.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid., 147–48.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid., 148.

Lutherans also call the Lord's Supper a meal at times. But what they mean is that the Lord holds His meal with His congregation, as opposed to the congregation holds the meal with each other in the Reformed. In the Lutheran Church the Lord through the hand of His minister gives out and bestows His body to eat and His blood to drink for the forgiveness and eternal life. "The believers become one by what they are fed by the One Lord with one food and one drink." It is the gift of God which makes us one. In contrast, the Reformed operate their "oneness of the hearts" alone. The Reformed "celebrate" the meal in order to show to the Lord their thankfulness for His benefit and in order to testify to the Christian fellowship among those present. Therefore, the emphasis among the Lutherans is the Lord's giving, His δόσις and the congregation's λήψις of this δόσις. Among the Reformed, the stress lies in the congregation's deed and activity.⁴⁶¹

Kliefoth summarizes the order of the Divine Service in the following way: "In the first act of the Divine Service the congregation has the word of God, that is divided in the whole year, heard and received it in faith into the heart; she thus found her heart, and all her needs and requests are carried forward to God in the common prayer, which the Father has given to her in His words of salvation.... Then the act of the communion is observed where she eats and drinks the body and blood of her Lord of His grace which the word of God has bestowed and given."⁴⁶²

The order of the Divine Service as Kliefoth explains is as follows:

⁴⁶¹ Ibid., 111–12.

⁴⁶² Ibid., 146–47.

Introit	Preface and Sanctus (Admonition)
Kyrie	Our Father
Gloria	
Saltation	Words of Institution
Collect	Distribution
Epistle	Agnus Dei
Gradual	Versicle and Post-Communion Collect
Gospel	Benediction
	Closing Hymn
Creed	
Sermon	
Prayer of the Church	

Concerning the concluding portions which deal with “The Destruction in the Eighteenth Century” and “the Reconstruction in the Present,” Kliefoth basically says the same thing as in his first edition of 1847. There, for example, Kliefoth exhorts to reintroduce communion every Sunday. Also he notes that the introduction of the new agenda and revised liturgy is not possible by way of a decree. Rather, pastors must proceed step by step together with the choirs, kantors, schools and congregations.⁴⁶³

Concluding Remarks. Kliefoth was deeply involved in the liturgy. At the end of the eighth volume of this exhaustive *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, he says:

These are my proposals. Others will decide, time will tell, and the Lord will judge whether they are appropriate or not. But I must say that, during the twenty-one years that I have been a preacher, not a day has passed when I have not thought about these matters and learned by them.⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁶³ Ibid., 309.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid., 388. “Das sind die Vorschläge, die ich zu machen wüßte. Ob dieselben zutreffend sind, werden Andere urtheilen, die Zeit lehren, der Herr richten. Ich aber kann sagen, daß in den ein und zwanzig Jahren, die ich Prediger bin, kein Tag vergangen ist, an welchem ich nicht an diese Dinge gedacht, an ihnen gelernt habe.”

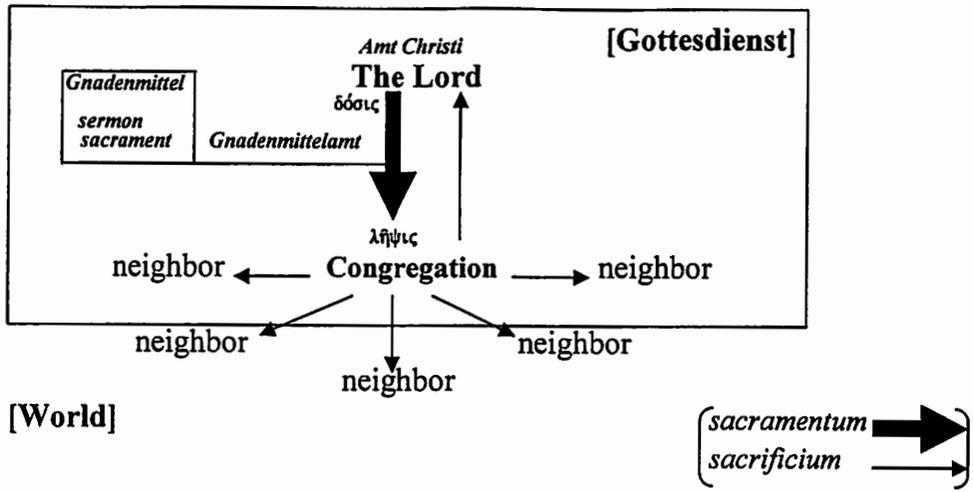
After going through much of his writings in these five volumes we can certainly understand these words. Kliefoth's interest in the liturgy came from the realization that it is in the Divine Service where the Lord is actively engaging with His people. Doctrine, confession and liturgy belong together for him. What is at the center of his thinking is the delivery of the Gospel, the Lord's gift giving, His δόσις. Thus, liturgy for him was not mere rubric, technique, or church's expression of faith, representing Schleiermacher's approach. Having studied the whole range of liturgical subjects, he presents liturgy historically, pastorally, as also confessionally in the sense of biblical exposition and faithfulness to the Lutheran Confessions. He does not want people to stay away from the liturgy to learn faith and prayer elsewhere and then introduce them into the liturgy. One should get into the water to float, only then you learn to swim, not the other way around.⁴⁶⁵ Kliefoth employs baptismal imagery to speak about the liturgical life of a Christian. Kliefoth may be recognized "as one of the most important episcopal figure in Germany" in the nineteenth century.⁴⁶⁶ His theological and pastoral leadership in troubled times went together with and were ever grounded in his liturgical oversight and guidance. All of these grew out organically from the heart of the Gospel, that is, Christ centered, from Him and to Him: δόσις and λήψις, and then on into giving living.

What we pictured Kliefoth's liturgical thinking out of *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung* (1847) above⁴⁶⁷ may be modified as follows as we have gone through all four of his main liturgical works:

⁴⁶⁵ Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, 8: 298.

⁴⁶⁶ Hermann Sasse, "Der Ausgang der lutherischen Erweckung des 19. Jahrhunderts" in *In Statu Confessionis* (Berlin or Schleswig-Holstein: Die Spur, 1976), 2: 167.

⁴⁶⁷ See page 62 above.



CHAPTER THREE

THE LITURGICAL REVISION OF THE CHURCH OF SWEDEN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In the previous chapter we set forth the historical and theological background of the work of liturgical revision during the nineteenth century in the Church of Sweden. We located our focus of the middle to the end of the nineteenth century in the context of the Reformation liturgical heritage, its decline and an attempt to recover it. We also heard one of the leaders of the Confessional Revival in Germany, Theodor Kliefoth, especially in his liturgical writings at length because of his significant influence on the Swedish churchmen of which we will see more in this chapter. In this chapter, we will examine the works of liturgical revision themselves and will give an account of the emergence of the clueful phrase in the *Preface*, “He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!” We will present this chapter by dividing it into two main periods: one is around the Proposals to the Agenda of 1854 and 1855, and the other is centered in the discussion around the Agenda of 1894.

The Proposals for the Agenda of 1854/1855

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the committee to revise the Agenda of 1811 was appointed in 1852, consisting of J. A. Butsch, Th. Annerstedt, A. E. Knös, C. O. Björling, E. G. Bring, and Th. Wensjoe. The fruit of their labor resulted in the proposal of the Agenda presented on 6 February 1854 (hereafter designated as the “1854 Bring Proposal” or “1854 BP”).¹ In this

¹ *Kyrko-Handbok, hwaruti stadgas, huru Gudstjensten i Swenska Församlingar skall förrättas. Underdånigt Förslag, uppgjort af dertill i Nåder utsedde Committerade* (Stockholm: B. A. Norstedt & Söner, 1854). Translation of the full title: Church-Agenda, in which (it is) directed how the Divine Service in Swedish congregations shall be conducted. A humble proposal drawn up by the appointed committee in the Grace.

section we will examine the works of liturgical revision, starting with this 1854 Bring Proposal, taken up by the parliamentary Pastoral Department in the same year, and then resulting in a further revision in 1855. It is during the course of these endeavors that our phrase in the *Preface*, “He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!” emerged.

The Liturgical Thinking of E. G. Bring and his Committee

We are able to observe the liturgical thinking of the Bring committee in the introductory words attached to its above dated proposal (1854 BP). It can be summarized into the following seven points.

First, like Kliefoth’s *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung* (1847), the point of departure for the Bring committee is Luther and the Reformation. The liturgy in all essentials existed since the earliest time of Christianity, before the false teachings and misuse arose. According to the Bring committee, the contribution of Luther is twofold. One is that in all his labor he sought to restore the vital centrality of the means of grace in the Christian liturgy, having purified away what had become darkened, contaminated, and falsified through the time of the papacy. Secondly, Luther thus gave the Divine Service of the Evangelical Church a special distinctive form and its own evangelical character. The foundation of all Christian Divine Service is the Holy Scripture.²

At the center of the Divine Service is the delivery of the Lord’s words. This second point is connected with the last point. So that the Lord’s congregation may hear the Lord’s words—sermon as well as teaching and exhortation are included in the liturgy—everything in the liturgy is to be derived from the divine word. The Lord’s words are living and dynamic. When the Lord has done His delivery of the words (*giving*), from the congregation’s point of view, the

² Ibid., iv–v.

Divine Service is concerned with *receiving* and *giving*. The receiving has to do with being participants of the word and of the sacraments. The congregation is gathered there “to be given to.” What is received then moves into their giving, that is, offering to the Lord the sacrifice of prayer and confession, of thanksgiving and praise. In other words, the movement is first from the Lord's delivery to the congregation's receiving, then on to the congregation's giving. Moreover, as this takes place, the internal believing hearts are, of course, involved, sensing ever closeness to the whole Christian congregation on earth, with all the faithful in all times and all places.³ We observe similarities between this second point and Kliefoth's liturgical thinking as presented above: δόσις and λήψις, *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*, *Amt Christi*, *Gnadenmittel*, and *Gnadenmittelamt*.⁴

Third, the Divine Service of the Evangelical Lutheran Church keeps itself from both one-sidedness of uniformity and regularity on the one hand, and variety and freedom on the other. Uniformity/regularity and variety/freedom are connected together, each having a rightful place. For example, variety and freedom are active in the sermon, yet the sermon depends on the lectionary; it also stays under the doctrinal norm. Luther introduced in hymns a formerly unknown evangelical freedom, and yet they need to be beneficial for the faith and devotions.⁵

Fourth, concerning the liturgical revisions of the Swedish Church, the Bring committee observes that they have been done with a careful distinction between what is essential and what is not essential, as well as between that which originated in the earliest church's era and that

³ Ibid., v–vi.

⁴ Oloph Bexell also sees the major influence of Kliefoth on this 1854 BP when he asserted: “even if there are no explicit references the principal motifs in the Proposal of the Church Agenda of 1854 for a Swedish circle of readers conveyed are yet the things of Kliefoth's vital line of the church's Divine Service as made up of *sacramenta* and *sacrificia*.” Oloph Bexell, *Liturgins Teologiska U. L. Ullman* (Stockholm: Författaren och Kyrkovetenskapliga Institutet, 1987), 42. Bexell also observes that the 1854 BP was “representative” of the Confessional Revival of Kliefoth. Ibid., 43.

⁵ *Kyrko-Handbok, hwaruti stadgas, huru Gudstjensten i Swenska Församlingar skall förrättas* (1854), vi–vii.

which was introduced and added at later times. Evangelical freedom to change in the liturgy had not been abused until the previous revision of the 1811 Agenda. Still, the committee recognized in it a number of good features which follow sound liturgical considerations.⁶ This fourth point reflects Kliefoth's evangelical view of the work of liturgical revision. As we have seen, Kliefoth did not want to repeat the error of Karlstadt. He was opposed to the arbitrariness, novelty, and love and mania for change. We observe also that the Bring committee exercises a Lutheran way of liturgical change that Kliefoth extolled, that is, according to the criterion not of the external form but of the doctrinal norm. Thus, even if Bring evaluates the 1811 liturgy with regret, he still recognizes something good in it. The Bring committee attempted to "hold fast that which is good, to perfect that which was incomplete, to pass by that which was unsuitable, and to reject that which was false."⁷

Fifth, the Bring committee put an important point that would be quoted later: "every liturgical change ought to be avoided which is not brought about out of a generally perceived and known need."⁸ If a proposal of change is not in itself rightly clear for its appropriateness and need, then it is hardly unavoidable that it will meet with reluctance and mistrust. Here, the Bring committee follows up on the last point above, concerning the way of liturgical change in the life of the church. Not only the content of the liturgy but also the way to revise it are governed by the Gospel. Such thinking reflects not only the way Luther introduced liturgical change, for example, his baptism liturgies and the Lord's Supper's liturgies of 1523 and 1526, but also the way Kliefoth attempted to recover what had been lost in Mecklenburg. In fact, the Bring

⁶ Ibid., vii–ix.

⁷ Theodor Kliefoth, *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung* (1847), 18.

⁸ *Kyrko-Handbok, hwaruti stadgas, huru Gudstjensten i Svenska Församlingar skall förrättas. Underdånigt Förslag, uppgjort af dertill i Nåder utsedde Committerade*, ix–x. ". . . att hwarie liturgisk förändring bör undvikas, som icke framkallas af ett allmännare insedt och erkändt behof."

committee wished to change a little more than what they did, but did not propose to do so. For even if the last revision, the 1811 Agenda, was an unfortunate one, still the Bring committee notes that for the previous forty years (1811–54) the liturgy of 1811 had been the official one, during which a new generation grew up in the church. What is taken up from the older Agenda (1693 Agenda or older) is perceived as a new and unknown thing for such a generation.

Sixth, the Bring committee states that the faithfulness to the Confessions is liturgy's first and most essential quality, and the committee wishes that its proposal be judged first of all from this view point.⁹ Also it recognizes that the liturgy is in fact a confession of the congregation. This sixth point echoes Kliefoth's thinking of the togetherness of doctrine, confession and liturgy.

Lastly, the Bring committee says that the sources of the newly formulated prayers within the Agenda are taken as much as possible from the liturgical heritage of the Swedish church itself. The continuity of the liturgy is valued.

The Changes that the 1854 BP Brought about

How is the liturgical thinking of the Bring committee reflected in its proposal in February of 1854? At the heart of the liturgical thinking of Bring and of Kliefoth was δόσις and λήψις, *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*, *Amt Christi*, *Gnadenmittel*, and *Gnadenmittelamt*. In other words, the Lord Jesus takes the initiative to bestow the benefits of Calvary to His people through His means of grace using the office that He instituted for such delivery (δόσις, *sacramentum*). His gifts are received by His people (λήψις), and the life of the Lord in them moves His people to praise and thanksgiving, prayer and acclamation in the Divine Service and to service to their

⁹ Ibid., xi.

neighbor in need (*sacrificium*). The Bring committee recognizes that this most crucial point of the Lutheran liturgical thinking had been damaged in the 1811 liturgy.

In order to illustrate this further, we will hear what Archbishop Lindblom confessed on the Lord's Supper in his "Lindblom" Catechism of 1810. The most notable difference between Luther's and Lindblom's catechisms has to do with the place of the forgiveness of sin. While Luther confesses from the Words of Institution "given for you, shed for you for the forgiveness of sins" that the benefit of eating and drinking of the Lord's body and blood is the bestowal of His forgiveness of sins, as also then life and salvation, Lindblom's Catechism denies such gifts in a strong statement. Question 357 asks: "Do you think that the forgiveness of sin is actually granted in the Confession and the Lord's Supper?" Answer: "No; a right penitent man has certainly the forgiveness of sin with God, already before he goes both to the Confession and the Lord's Supper; he receives further assurance and confirmation of it."¹⁰ That the Lord's Supper (and the words of absolution) does not actually grant the forgiveness but give mere confirmation and assurance of what had already been given previously elsewhere is a common feature in the thinking of Spener and the pietistic tradition. Lindblom is not free from such a tradition. Lindblom's Catechism shows an unwillingness to confess the Lord's Supper from the Lord's words themselves. Throughout his catechism, Lindblom explains the Lord's Supper in a way disconnected from the Lord's words and His δόσις and *sacramentum*.

By this, δόσις and λήψις, *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*, *Amt Christi*, *Gnadenmittel*, and *Gnadenmittelamt* are all diminished. Accordingly, in Lindblom, the *proprium* of the Lord's Supper, the bestowal of the body and blood of the Lord, does not occupy the central place, though not denied. Instead, the "what" of the Lord's Supper is explained in the language of

¹⁰ Jac. Ar. Lindblom (Sveriges Erke-Biskop), *Doct. Mårt. Luthers Lilla Cateches, med Förklaring* (Lund: Bokhandl. C. M. R. Gleerups Förlag, 1810), 110.

“visible” and “invisible” (Question 349). The “why” of the Holy Communion is described in a language of command and disobedience (Questions 360, 363). The aim of the Lord’s Supper is not to receive the forgiveness of sin but to enliven remembrance of the benefits of the Lord that had already been given (Question 355). Worthy reception takes place not by discerning the body of the Lord given out for the forgiveness but by reflecting on the Savior and by feeling glad, loving, and thankful to follow Him faithfully, which requires self-examination (Questions 365, 368, 369). In this way, because Lindblom cuts himself off from the source from which God’s people ever derive strength to sing, praise, pray and give thanks, his Lord’s Supper has a character of what Kliefoth said of the Reformed, “eucharist.”

The 1854 BP gives an indication in a number of ways that it attempted to recover what had been impoverished in the 1811 liturgy as noted above. First, while the 1811 liturgy begins the service by praising the almighty God (*sacrificium*), the 1854 BP opens the service by invocation of the name of the Trinity followed by Ps 124:8 “Our help stands in the Lord’s name, who has created heaven and earth.” In this way, the Lord’s name, His initiative, His service to His people are indicated (*sacramentum*). Second, the dynamic relation of the Lord’s giving and the people’s receiving in the Divine Service is highlighted by the omission of the *Exhortation* and by the introduction of the completely new feature of the so-called *Verba Solemnia*. The former had been a common feature in the Swedish liturgies since the sixteenth century, but it was discontinued by the Bring committee because it is too homiletical at that moment of the liturgy.¹¹ The latter is a proclamation before announcing and reading the Holy Gospel as follows: “Lift up your hearts to God and receive his holy Gospel.”¹² The *Verba Solemnia* thus use the language of the *sursum corda*. In other words, both before the reading of the Gospel and the recitation of the

¹¹ Dick Helander, *Den Liturgiska Utvecklingen i Sverige 1811–1894* (Lund: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1939), 282.

Words of Institution there are the words of the *sursum corda*. This practice recalls Luther's instruction in his *Deutsche Messe und Ordnung Gottesdiensts 1526*, that the same tone of chanting is to be used both for the Gospel of the day and for the *Verba Domini*. Third, while the sacramental side of our Lord's giving becomes central and vital in this liturgy, it also makes the sacrificial side grow richer. Such is indicated by the restoration of what were omitted in the 1811 Agenda, such as the *Laudamus* and the *Vere Dignum*. It also shows in the increase of the congregational responsive chanting, which indicates the congregational participation along together with the stress on the faithful hearing of the Gospel (*Verba Solemnia*) and receiving the Lord's body and blood. This increase of congregational participation in the responsive singing is seen in the opening *Kyrie–Gloria–Laudamus* and the concluding *Benedicamus*, but is most notably characterized in the *Preface*.

How did the 1854 BP treat the *Preface* versicles? Below is a chart which compares the *Preface* of 1854 BP with that of Olavus Petri's Mass Order of 1531, the Agenda of 1614/1693 and the Agenda of 1811:

¹² "Upplyfter edra hjertan till Gud och annammer Hans heliga Evangelium."

	1531 Olavus Petri	1614/93 Agenda
Swedish original	Herren wari medh jdher. Så och medh thinom anda. Vplyffter idhor hierta til gudhi. Wor hierta vplyffte wij. Lätt oss tacka gudhi wårom herra. Thet är rätt och tilbörlighit.	Herren ware med eder. Så och med tinom Anda. Uplyfter eder hiertan til Gud. Wi uplyfte wår hiertan. Låter oss tacka Gudi wårom Herra. Thet är rätt och tilbörligit.
Translation	The Lord be with you. So also with your spirit. Lift up your hearts to God. Our hearts lift we up. Let us thank God our Lord. It is right and proper.	The Lord be with you. So also with your Spirit. Lift up your hearts to God. We lift up our hearts. Let us thank God our Lord. It is right and proper.
	1811 Agenda	1854 Bring Proposal
Swedish original	Herren ware med eder! Med dig ware ock Herren! Upplyfter edra hjertan till Gud! Gud uplyfte våra hjertan!	Herren ware med eder! Så ock med dinom anda! ¹³ Upplyfter edra hjertan! Wi upplyfte dem till Herran! Låter oss tacka Gudi, wårom Herra! Det är rätt och tilbörligit.
Translation	The Lord be with you! The Lord be with you also! Lift up your hearts to God! God lift up our hearts!	The Lord be with you! So also with your spirit! Lift up your hearts! We lift them up to the Lord! Let us thank God, our Lord! It is right and proper.

The damage done with the 1811 Agenda is clear when it is compared with what went before. The rubric of the 1811 Agenda explains that when the priest *reads* “The Lord be with you!” the congregation does not respond by saying “The Lord be with you also!” but remains silent. Only when the priest chants, the congregation answers back. The same thing applies also to the second couplet: “Lift up your hearts to God!” and “God lift up our hearts!” Also it is notable that the 1811 Agenda changed the congregational response in the second couplet from the traditional “We lift up our hearts (to the Lord)!” to “God lift up our hearts!” As far as the

third couplet is concerned, it is completely missing in the 1811 Agenda. The fruit of the work of the Bring committee as far as the *Preface* is concerned is that it restored the full *Preface* by recovering what had gone before the 1811 Agenda.

From the foregoing, we observe that the contribution of the Bring committee in revising the Agenda was indeed enormous.¹⁴ When one examines the 1854 BP with its theological foundation, i.e., togetherness of doctrine, confession and liturgy, etc., what Bring attempted to do in revising the 1811 Agenda are not minor matters. The major difference was whether one recognizes the office of Christ in the liturgy; His office which bestows the forgiveness to His people in the Divine Service in the means of grace through his *instrumentum secundum*.¹⁵ Because of the vital *sacramentum* and δόσις of the Lord, the participation of the congregation increased in the responsive singing (*sacrificium*). The primary task of the Bring committee in the area of the *Preface* was to recover the full threefold versicles that were impoverished away in the 1811 liturgy. Our phrase “He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!” did not emerge in the 1854 BP—the traditional “it is proper and right” was assumed to be good—yet the 1854 BP prepared the way through its liturgical theology for a possible revision at this point in the works ahead.

Opinions from the Church at Large Concerning the 1854 BP

The procedure for the new Agenda to be authorized in those days, prior to 1865, was as follows: (1) The appointed liturgical commission draws up a proposal; (2) A copy of the proposal is sent to the consistories of each diocese for review; (3) Each consistory in turn

¹³ Here, a short collect for the Lord’s Supper is inserted.

¹⁴ On this point, the present author differs in evaluation from liturgical scholars who regard the changes brought by Bring as rather minor (Brilioth, Yelverton, etc.).

¹⁵ Johann Gerhard, *Loci Theologici*, ed. Edward Preuss (Berlin: Schlawitz, 1868). Locus 23; 20: 14, 18, 262. Cf., WA 6: 530. 28 (AE 36: 62), Martin Chemnitz, *Ministry, Word, and Sacrament*, trans. Luther Poellet (St. Louis: *continued next page*)

submits its response; (4) A Pastoral Committee, appointed by the House of Clergy of the parliament, finalizes the proposal and submits it to the whole House of Clergy for approval; (5) The approved proposal is authorized by the king, and the king gives the Agenda as his gift to the church and each member of the clergy.

The proposal of the Bring committee submitted on 6 February 1854 was sent to the consistories. As their responses were returned, the Pastoral Committee was gathered to finalize the proposal in August of 1854. Concerning the *Preface* versicles, the Pastoral Committee acknowledged that a number of consistories raised objection to the proposed congregational response, “It is right and proper” (*Det är rätt och tillbörligt*), which the Bring committee simply restored using what had been used in the Swedish liturgies until the 1811 Agenda.¹⁶ While the consistory of Uppsala saw no problems in keeping the traditional language of “It is right and proper,” the Linköping consistory was of the opinion that the expression was “too flat and sapless/lifeless.”¹⁷ It further commented that the phrase ought to be replaced by something more suitable toward the Lord such as “To God be thanks and praise!”¹⁸ a traditional response since Olavus Petri’s order of 1531 to the *Benedicamus* at the end of the Divine Service. Another consistory reported that the traditional phrase “It is right and proper” is “flat” and “objectionable/offensive.”¹⁹ Still another characterized the phrase as “monotonous and tedious,”²⁰ so that such “platitudes/jejune”²¹ of the phrase should “with all carefulness” not be kept.

Concordia Publishing House, 1981), 29.

¹⁶ Dick Helander reports that the consistories of Stängnäs and Härnösand voiced their objection rather strongly. Helander, 293.

¹⁷ “platt och saftlöst.”

¹⁸ “Gudi vare tack och lof!”

¹⁹ “Carlstads Dom-Capitels und. Utlåtande ang. Förslag till ny Kyrko-Handbok” (An Address of the Cathedral Chapter in Carlstad concerning the Proposal of the New Church-Agenda) in *Utlåtaden Rölande Klandert emot Svenska Psalmboken samt Förslage till ny Kyrkohandbok och Katekes, afgifne af Domkapitlet och Medlemmar af Prestsällskapet i Carlstads Stift* (Carlstad: Carl Kjellin, 1858) (The Opinion concerning the Criticism against Swedish Hymnbook and the Proposal of New Church-Agenda and Catechism submitted by Cathedral Chapter and (continued next page)

The above examples indicate that what the Bring committee mentioned above was now to be considered seriously: “every liturgical change ought to be avoided which is not brought about out of a generally perceived and known need.”²²

Adjustments Made by the Pastoral Committee of the House of Clergy

The Pastoral Committee appointed by the House of Clergy to coordinate the Bring proposal and the voices from the field met in August of the same year, 1854. The result of their adjustment work is available to us in print together with the committee’s brief foreword.²³ We will call this work as the “1854 Thomander Proposal” or the “1854 TP,” for the leading role that Johan Henrik Thomander (1798–1865) played in the committee.²⁴ Thomander became a professor of Practical Theology at Lund in 1826; he also started the *Theologisk Quartalskrift*. His doctorate came from the University of Copenhagen in 1836. In 1840–57, he was a member of the House of Clergy. In 1855 he was elected a member of the Swedish Academy, chiefly on account of his brilliance as a preacher and as a political orator. He was a Latinist and a translator of classical literature as well. In 1856–65, he was bishop of Lund. Thomander gave evidence of

the Members of the Clergy, the Diocese of Carlstad), 22. Although, the year of publication is 1858 because it contains four other documents, the comment on the Church Agenda cited above comes from the year 1854.

²⁰ “entoniga och långsläpiga.” Ach Kahl, *Anmärkingar med anledning af ”Underdånigt Förslag till Kyrko-handbok, uppgjort af dertill i nåder utsedde Committerade, Stockh. 1854* (Comments in view of “the humble proposal of the Church-Agenda, drawn up by the chosen committee in grace 1854) (Lund: Berlingska Boktryckeriet, 1854), 22. This work is dated in May 1854.

²¹ “plattheter.”

²² *Kyrko-Handbok, hwaruti stadgas, huru Gudstjensten i Svenska Församlingar skall förrättas. Underdånigt Förslag, uppgjort af dertill i Nåder utsedde Committerade* (Stockholm: B. A. Norstedt & Söner, 1854), ix–x.

²³ *Högv.Preste-Ståndets Enskilda Ulskotts Pastoral-Afdelnings Betänkande, i anledning af Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Skrifvelse till Preste-Ståndet, angående förslag till en förbättrad Kyrko-Handbok* (The Report of the Private Committee of the Pastoral Department of the Clergy-Class on account of the Official Letter of the King Majesty’s Grace to the Clergy-Class concerning the Proposal to Improve the Church-Agenda). This document is dated 18 August 1854, written by C. F. Fahcrantz, J. E. Forssell, A. J. Broman, J. Wähländer, A. Lagergren, Ax. Euren, and J. H. Thomander.

²⁴ Nils Algård, *Johan Henrik Thomander: Kyrkomannen-Personligheten* (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1924), 282–90.

a profound influence of the confessional theology of Germany while rejecting prevailing neology and rationalism. He was also affected by Henrik Schartau.

At the beginning of the 1854 TP, the Thomander committee reveals their liturgical thinking. The first thing it mentions is that the life of the Swedish evangelical congregations is embraced by the proper distinction between Law and Gospel. Both extremes are mentioned as errors, that is, the direction of anti-nomism (*antinomisk*), and of anti-evangelicalism (*anti-evangelisk*).²⁵ Secondly, it asserts that it is impossible to reach a complete unanimity in all parts of the Agenda, and that it is important to place the main thing as the priority.²⁶ Those who regard it as unimportant find themselves against God's word and act not for the sake of love or peace but for the sake of self-will and discord. The lack of complete agreement is under no circumstances a sufficient ground to disregard the main thing. Thirdly, it explains what this "main thing"²⁷ is. The "main thing" in the Thomander committee is precisely the liturgical thinking that the Bring committee described in 1854 BP. The Thomander committee expresses its appreciation of the liturgical guidelines of the Bring committee²⁸ by using the language of "rightness"²⁹ of their liturgical grounds and "great knowledge, care and precision"³⁰ that were evidenced in it. In other words, the Thomander committee adopted the liturgical thinking of the Bring committee so that in evaluating the 1854 BP it saw "the main thing" as well implemented to make appropriate changes. The further revision that Thomander committee coordinated has to

²⁵ *Högv.Preste-Ståndets Enskilda Ulskotts Pastoral-Afdelnings Betänkande, i anledning af Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Skrifvelse till Preste-Ståndet, angående förslag till en förbättrad Kyrko-Handbok, i–ii.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*, ii.

²⁷ "hufvudsaken."

²⁸ *Högv.Preste-Ståndets Enskilda Ulskotts Pastoral-Afdelnings Betänkande*, ii.

²⁹ "riktigheten af de liturgiska grunder."

³⁰ "stor sakkäedom, omsorg och noggrannhet."

do with the areas which voices from the field called for.³¹ Naturally, therefore, the Thomander committee cites the point number five of the 1854 BP: “every liturgical change ought to be avoided which is not brought about out of a generally perceived and known need.” Thomander points out that when the questions relate to the actions and words of the liturgy of the Sunday morning, this point should be applied in full measure.³²

Having explained their thinking behind the work of revision, the Thomander committee briefly mentions some of the issues that it dealt with.³³ What we are most interested in is the change in the *Preface* versicles, which will be cited below³⁴:

Herren vare med eder!	The Lord be with you!
Med dig vare ock Herren!	The Lord be with you also!
Upplyfter eder hiertan till Gud!	Lift up your hearts to God!
Gud upplyfte våra hjertan!	God lift up our hearts!
Låtom oss tacka Gud, vår Herra!	Let us thank God, our Lord!
<i>Allena Han är värdig tack och lof!</i>	<i>He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!</i>

It is here that we witness the emergence of our phrase. “It is right and proper” is now replaced by “He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!”

The Thomander committee returned to the wordings of the 1811 Agenda in terms of the response to the second versicle of the pastor in “God lift up our hearts!” Nils Algård reports how Thomander raised an opposition to the traditional phrase “We lift them up to the Lord” (*Wi upplyfte dem till Herran!*) that the Bring committee had restored. For Thomander, such a rendering was possible only when influenced by the pattern in the English liturgy, which says “We lift them unto the Lord.” He knew that this English rendering was not faithful to the original “*Habemus ad Dominum.*” If one would translate in turn from English to Latin, the Latin would be “*Elevamus ad Dominum.*” According to Thomander, the proper rendering should be

³¹ “så kunna de endast gälla tillämpningen af dessa liturgiska grundsatser.”

³² *Högv.Preste-Ståndets Enskilda Ulskotts Pastoral-Afdelnings Betänkande*, iii.

³³ *Ibid.*, iii–vi.

“*Haben wir zum Herrn*” and not “*Erheben wir zu dem Herrn.*” Here his diagnosis is that the traditional rendering not only reflects unfaithfulness to the original text but also manifests a Pelagian interpretation. Only when God’s grace comes are our hearts able to be turned to God, finding themselves in His presence.³⁵ Thus, Thomander found himself, on liturgical and theological ground, defending the rendering that was first introduced in the 1811 Agenda.

Regarding our main point, “He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!” the Thomander committee left a brief comment:

As for the words: “It is right and proper,” by their use more people are now finding themselves pulled down from the elevated character of such a holy moment, and so there must be an attempt for revision.³⁶

This explanation indicates that the way in which the words “It is right and proper” were used was inadequate and even misleading. The committee views the occasion in which this response is uttered as “a holy moment” of the Lord’s Supper. In other words, a phrasing reason is not the only one, nor the central one. What mattered was the recognition of what is going on, the Lord’s life-giving, forgiveness-bestowing vitality, and how that may be manifested in the liturgical language. “A holy moment” is where the Holy One is there. This recalls the comment about “It is right and proper” above: “too flat and sapless/lifeless,” “flat and objectionable/offensive,” “monotonous and tedious,” and “platitudes/jejune.” “Sapless” suggests that the congregational response should be a part of the “sap” which runs from a root to a trunk to a branch. The response is where the “sap” flows from its source, the Lord. A branch is vitalized by the sap; its life depends on it.³⁷ “They are ever full of sap and fresh,” says Psalm 92:14. One of Kliefoth’s

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 8. Emphases added.

³⁵ Algård, *Johan Henrik Thomader*, 286–87.

³⁶ *Högv. Preste-Ståndets Enskilda Ulskotts Pastoral-Afdelnings Betänkande*, v. “Som orden: *Det är rätt och tillbörligt*, nu mera äro genom bruket neddragna ifrån den upphöjda art som höfves dem för att kunna I så heliga ögonblick användas, har en omarbetning måst försökas.”

³⁷ Cf., John 15.

critiques of the impoverishment of the congregational response in the Reformed Church was that they cut themselves off from the source from which God's people must ever derive strength to sing, praise, pray and give thanks. The Bring committee had picked up this point and implemented it in a number of ways in its 1854 BP as observed above. The Thomander committee went one step further and adjusted the traditional phrase to a more vital Christ acclaiming one. Such a change was not imposed upon the congregation as the committee's innovation and arbitrariness, but was given evangelically because such need was sensed by people in common (Bring's point no. 5).

The Discussion at the House of Clergy

Thus far we have seen how our phrase in question emerged through the work of the Thomander committee. What we still have not heard is the background of the new phrase "He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!" A hint on this is indicated in the minutes of the House of Clergy which met on 2nd, 6th, 9th and 26th of September 1854.³⁸ The occasion was the House of Clergy's discussion of the completed work of the Thomander committee's revisionary work. Here a minute from 2 September 1854 will be presented below³⁹:

³⁸ *Högvördiga Preste-Ståndets Protokoll vid föredragning af Ståndets Enskilda Utskotts Pastoral-Afdelnings Betönkanden, i anledning af Kongl. Maj:js Nådiga Skrifvelse till Preste-Ståndet angående Förslag till en förbättrad Kyrko-Handbok, å Lagtima Riksdagen i Stockholm 1854* (Stockholm: Isaac Marcus, 1855). Translation of the full title: The Minutes of the Reverend House of Clergy on the Presentation of Reports of the Private Committee of the Pastoral Department of the Class, on account of the Official Letter of the King Majesty's Grace to the Clergy-Class concerning the Proposal to Improve the Church-Agenda, at the Ordinary Session of the Parliament in Stockholm 1854.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 52–53.

[The Committee's Proposal pages 13 and 97. Pastoral Department's Bill pages 8 and 58.]⁴⁰

The Head-Precacher Wensjoe: There are so many voices against the expression, "right and proper" (*rätt och tillbörligt*), so that I do not wish to insist on retaining this expression, and this should be dropped. But then I can in no way approve, instead, the proposed word, "worthy" (*värdigt*), which is here a shift of the meaning of the same word in the preceding line, and is almost bound to appear as a play on words. I would like here to suggest the old words, but in a reversed order: "proper, right and salutary" (*tillbörligt, rätt och saligt*).

Doctor Wallin agreed with it.

Cathedral Dean Thomander: In the Latin text the word is "*dignum*," and therefore it is difficult to have any other words than that. Perhaps my friends who are opposed have some other Latin eucharistic text at hand.

Rural-Dean Runsten: I agree with the preceding speech in that the word "worthy" (*värdigt*) ought to be left out; for even if in the Latin text the word *dignum* is used, it has another meaning. The word *dignus* means, of course, not only "worthy" (*värdig*), but also "necessary" (*behöflig*), or better "proper" (*tillbörlig*).

Doctor Säve: I protest against such a translation, for then *dignus* in the preceding line should also mean "necessary" (*behöflig*), which should express again, that the Lord should "need" (*behöfva*) our thanks.

Comminister Beckman proposed, whether the word in the preceding line could not be cast in the following way: "He alone is worthy!" (*Han allena är värdig*).

Rural-Dean Forssell expressed the view that the reason for the position of the word, which here became the department's proposal, was that the word in that place became more singable.

Then the discussion here was declared concluded. The proposal of the pastoral department of the House of Clergy was approved on the basis of the duly considered bill.

Several points become apparent. The topic of discussion was not the last couplet of the *Preface* versicle that we are investigating. Rather, the issue was what immediately follows, the first line of the *Vere Dignum*. While the Bring committee (1854 BP) restored the *Vere Dignum*, which had been omitted in the 1811 Agenda, in the form of the traditional Swedish usage found in the liturgies of 1531 and 1614/93: "Truly it is proper, right and blessed, that we at all times and in all places thank and praise you, . . ." the Pastoral Committee (1854 TP) had modified it slightly, using the language of "worthy": "Truly it is *worthy*, right and blessed, that we at all

⁴⁰ These page numbers indicate where *Preface* and *Vere Dignum* are found in the Bring Committee's proposal (1854 BP) and the revised proposal of the Pastoral Committee (1854 TP).

times and in all places thank and praise you,” (emphasis added). The discussion here is on the change of the word “worthy” (*värdigt*) from “proper” (*tillbörligt*).

Wensjoe argues that the language, “right and proper,” should not be retained, as many from the field suggest. At this point, he seems to be talking about the *Preface* while he is opposed to use “worthy” in the *Vere Dignum*. Interestingly, he mentions that even if “worthy” is used in the *Vere Dignum*, its meaning is not the same as “in the preceding line,” namely, the *Preface*.

Thomander attempted to be faithful to the Latin original. In other places of this protocol there are evidences that the committee was handling not only Latin but also Greek and even Hebrew. But here, Thomander appeals to the Latin according to the Western tradition.

Runsten’s argument is understandable. Säve’s argument has its point. Here, it is clear again that the subject at hand was *Vere Dignum*, not the *Preface*, because he argues that the use of “proper” (*tillbörligt*) as a translation of *dignum* should affect the then accepted phrase of the *Preface* which included “worthy” (*värdigt*). Another suggestive point is that he is changing *dignum* to *dignus*. In other words, the understanding at that time appears that when spoken in the *Preface* “worthy” (*värdigt*) referred to the Lord while the same word referred to the congregational thanks and praise in the *Vere Dignum*. Unless Säve was using the masculine *dignus* to designate the word in general by not considering genders, this observation is the right one. Such a view is evidenced also by Säve’s last argument, that if the word “worthy” (*värdigt*) in the *Preface* were translated as “necessary” (*behöflig*), the phrase would be “The Lord should need our thanks” (*Herren skulle behöfva vår tack*). Here, the reference is masculine (the Lord, who is in need of our thanks), not neuter (it is right and proper).

Beckman’s proposal of the *Preface* reading as “He alone is worthy!” (*Han allena är värdig*) is an attempt to return to the 1854 TP of the Pastoral Committee, “He alone is worthy of

thanks and praise!” (*Allena Han är värdig tack och lof!*). Forssell brings a new dimension of the singability.

So, then, what conclusions may we draw from this protocol? First, it seems that by this time, the understanding of the *dignum* in the *Preface* was already masculine, referencing to the Lord. We noted how Thomander recognized at the point of the *Preface* versicles in the Lord’s Supper’s liturgy that the congregation is not in the state of exerting an effort to elevate our hearts to God. He rejects the Pelagian tendencies found in the English translation, “it is meet and right so to do.”⁴¹ Thomander’s view on *Habemus ad Dominum*, “only when God’s grace comes are our hearts able to be turned to God, finding themselves in His presence,” reminds us of comments by Calvin and Chemnitz on the *sursum corda*. While Calvin taught that we should attempt to raise our hearts and minds on high, where Jesus Christ is located in the glory of His Father, not being bemused by “these earthly corruptible elements,” Chemnitz exhorted that with *sursum corda* our mind is not led away from the table, for although they are not apparent to the senses, but in accordance with the word we hold that Christ’s body and blood are there on the table. Kliefoth was also aware that one of the reasons why the Reformed Church retained the *Preface* was because in it there was a welcome point of departure for their dogmatics.⁴² For Thomander, “it is right and proper” does not fit with what is going on in the liturgy. His training as a Latinist, translator, and poet must have helped him to discern the bathos in the traditional

⁴¹ Algård, 287.

⁴² John Calvin, “The Form of Church Prayers 1542,” in Jasper and Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist: Early and Reformed*, 218; idem, “Short Treatise on the Lord’s Supper,” in J. K. S. Reid, trans. and ed., *Calvin: Theological Treatises* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1954), 163, 166; Irmgard Pahl, ed., *Coena Domini I: Die Abendmahlsliturgie der Reformationskirchen im 16./17. Jahrhundert* (Schweiz: Universitätsverlag, 1983), 360. Oecolampadius urged Luther at Marburg, paraphrasing *sursum corda*, saying that Luther should lift up his mind to Christ’s divinity, not clinging to the humanity and flesh of Christ. WA 30 III: 132. 21; AE 38: 46. Chemnitz acknowledges the Reformed use of *sursum corda* to support their view of the Lord’s Supper. Kliefoth is aware of it too. Chemnitz then combats against them by citing Chrysostom. Martin Chemnitz, trans. J. A. O. Preus, *The Lord’s Supper* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1979), 160. Kliefoth, *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung* (1847), 141.

phrase at this moment of the Lord's Supper; it lacked vitality if detached from the Lord. "He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!" serves as a proper climax of the *Preface*, of which it was incapable with "it is right and proper."

Second, the committee had the idea of the masculine in the *Preface* and neuter in the *Vere Dignum*.⁴³ This would explain why all the later liturgies maintained "worthy" in the sense of masculine in the *Preface*, while in the *Vere Dignum* the *dignum* was translated as "proper" in neuter until the Agenda of 1986 changed it. Those who defended the old way were concerned with the rendering in the *dignum* of the *Vere Dignum*, while they did not question the legitimacy of the "worthy" language of "He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!" in the *Preface*. This indicates the committee's consensus that such a rendering in the *Preface* had been accepted as beneficial.

A Liturgical Analysis of the Phrase that Emerged

When we divide our phrase into three parts: (1) "he alone" (*allena han*), (2) of "thanks and praise" (*tack och lof*), and (3) "worthy" (*värdigt*), we recognize that each of these phrases had already been a part of the tradition in the Swedish liturgies by the middle of the nineteenth century. "Thanks and praise" had been recited at the concluding portion of the liturgy in the place of *Benedicamus* ever since Olavus Petri's Mass of 1531. *Benedicamus* in Olavus' order is as follows:

Tackom och loffuom herran.
Gudhi wari tack och loff.

Thank and praise the Lord.
To God be thanks and praise.

These versicles have never changed in all the official liturgies and various proposals since 1531 to the present day, except that since the 1811 Agenda "To *God* be thanks and praise" has been replaced by "To *the Lord* be thanks and praise" (emphases added). The Bring proposal of 1854

⁴³ It is regrettable that the Latin text that this committee had before it is not traceable.

added triple Hallelujas after “To the Lord be thanks and praise” to enrich the congregational response. All later liturgies followed the 1854 BP on this point. To borrow the language of “thanks and praise” from the *Benedicamus* was appropriate because in Swedish liturgies this phrase had been sung by the congregation at a culminating point in the *Benedicamus* as in the *Preface* versicle.

How about the phrase “He alone” or “the Lord alone,” “Christ alone”? This has been a part of the *Laudamus* that follows *Gloria* since Olavus’s liturgy of 1531 to this day, except for the 1811 Agenda which omitted *Laudamus* all together. Here is what we have in Olavus’s liturgy of 1531:⁴⁴

For you alone are holy	Ty tu är aleena heligh
You alone are the Lord	Tu är aleena herren
You alone are the most high Jesus Christ	Tu är aleena then höxte Jesu Christe ⁴⁵

As we observed earlier, Kliefoth sees *Introit–Kyrie–Gloria–Laudamus* found at the beginning of his service as an organic sequence. The choir announces the grace of God in the *Introit*, the congregation implores for this grace in the *Kyrie*, and the pastor proclaims the grace of God in the introduction of the *Gloria*, in which the congregation is brought in as homology in the *Laudamus*.⁴⁶ The language of homology at the *Laudamus*, “you (Christ) alone,” is appropriate in the homological phrase at the conclusion of the *Preface*, “*He alone* is worthy of thanks and praise!” Here, “He” is Christ, as in *Laudamus*, as we will see below in the words of Bishop Giertz and Pastor Branden.⁴⁷

But such “thanks and praise” and “He alone” depend on “worthy” acclamation of the Lord in the *Preface*. The content of the acclamation to Christ is that He is “worthy.” This term

⁴⁴ Later liturgies constantly updated the spellings.

⁴⁵ Later liturgies constantly updated the spellings.

⁴⁶ Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen* 8: 21ff.

⁴⁷ See appendix 3.

“worthy” and its related words are found in a number of places in the Swedish liturgies since 1531.

For example, Olavus Petri’s liturgy of 1531 begins as follows:

Dear friends, brothers and sisters in Christ Jesus, now that we are gathered here to hold our Lord Jesus Christ’s Supper, and to receive into ourselves *His worthy body and blood*. . . ,⁴⁸ that He has given the same His body and blood for the forgiveness of sins, We will fall down upon our knees and humble ourselves before our heavenly Father. . . .

The confession of sin that follows contains the following words:

I have (alas!) sinned against you and your holy commandments in manifold ways both with thoughts, words and deeds, and know myself that for that sake *I am worthy of hell and everlasting damnation*.⁴⁹

In the *Exhortation* of the Lord’s Supper, we find:

Dear friends, since here Christ’s Lord’s Supper is celebrated now, and *His worthy body*⁵⁰ and His precious blood are fed, it is advisable (as St. Paul teaches us) that we (each in his place) should examine ourselves, and so then eat of this bread and drink of this cup. . . . If that is the case we must carefully examine ourselves, *else do we not worthily approach there*⁵¹. . . that we should herewith remember *His worthy death and blood-shedding*⁵². . . .

The 1614/93 Agenda adds another mention of “worthy” language in the prayer for the Lord’s Supper that concludes the prayer of the church:

O Lord Jesus Christ, who in this holy Lord’s Supper gives us under bread and wine your true body and blood; grant those, who now consider to commune, your Holy Spirit, that they *receive it worthily*⁵³ and that their faith be strengthened and the forgiveness of sins assured. . . .

In the *Exhortation*, another reference is found in this liturgy:

But he who is *unworthy*,⁵⁴ that is, with an impenitent heart, and without faith in God’s promise, eats of this bread , and drinks of the Lord’s cup, he becomes guilty of the Lord’s

⁴⁸ “hans werdugha lekamen och blodh”

⁴⁹ “heluetit och ewinnerlig fordömelse werd wara”

⁵⁰ “hand werdigha lekamen”

⁵¹ “elles gå wij här icke werdigha til”

⁵² “hand werdugha dödh och blodz vthgiutelse”

⁵³ “wärdeligen”

⁵⁴ “Men then som owärdiga”

body and blood, and eats and drinks for his own damnation, not discerning the Lord's body. . . .

The Rudin Proposal, that we will see below, included the following words at the beginning of the service:

Come, let us lift up our hearts to God in heaven. Let us adore and fall down, let us kneel before the Lord, our creator. Let us *as poor unworthy sinners*⁵⁵ humble ourselves before His holy face. . . .

In the 1942 Agenda the following prayer concludes the prayer of the church:

You, our God, are *worthy* to receive praise and glory and power, from everlasting to everlasting. Amen.⁵⁶

Out of the foregoing observations of the usage of the “worthy” language, we note firstly that the Lord’s body given out at the Lord’s table is called “worthy” as well as His death. Secondly, in contrast to His “worthy” body, the communicants are “unworthy” because of sin. Thirdly, therefore, there is a prayer to eat and to drink the body and blood of the Lord “worthily.”

Standing *coram Deo* gives a sense of unworthiness because of man’s sinfulness. Here the “worthy” language shows a freight of “counter-balancing” as in the Greek original, ἄξιος. The worthiness of the Lord is found in the blood and death of the Lord on Calvary. Moreover, the body given out in the Lord’s Supper is His worthy body. Therefore, the communicants are to approach the table and receive His worthy body worthily. In this way, the worthy body and blood of the Lord of Calvary are distributed to the otherwise unworthy communicants because of their sin who ask the Lord for worthily eating and drinking. The communicants confess Him as worthy to receive all glory and honor, which echoes Revelation chapters 4 and 5.

⁵⁵ “såsom arma ovärdiga syndare”

⁵⁶ “Du, vår Gud, är värdig att mottaga pris och ära och makt, från evighet till evighet. Amen.”

When the Thomander committee considered putting “He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!” in the place of “it is right and proper,” it is hard to imagine that such freight of “worthy” language in the Swedish liturgical tradition was not ringing from the liturgy in the minds of the members of the committee. What went ringing on in “He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!” put forward in 1854 TP and in the *Preface* since 1894 is evidenced in its antiphonal echo in the conclusion of the prayer of the church in the Agenda of 1942.

The Bring Proposal of 1855

When the Pastoral Committee completed their task and submitted their revised proposal to the House of Clergy, the latter discussed it in September of 1854 as we have seen above. The House of Clergy then brought the revised proposal back to the original Bring committee for further consideration on some particular points. We have a document which leaves us a finished work of this committee with another revised Agenda (hereafter “the 1855 Bring Proposal” or “1855 BP”) with a few introductory remarks.⁵⁷

The Bring committee acknowledges that its liturgical thinking and guidelines in its 1854 BP had been accepted favorably by the Thomander committee.⁵⁸ It also mentions how the Lutheran liturgy had been destructed between 1811 and 1854 and how the committee was expected to restore the evangelical Lutheran liturgy.⁵⁹ The 1811 Agenda had deviated greatly from the Swedish liturgical heritage, so that the task was to return to the pre-1811 Agenda where it was possible on the basis of the Lutheran liturgical thinking.

⁵⁷ *Kyrko-Handbok, hwaruti stadgas, huru Gudstjensten i Swenska Församlingar skall förrättas. Underdånigt Förslag, ånyo öfwersedt af dertill i Nöder utsedde Committerade* (Stockholm: B. A. Norstedt & Söner, 1856). Translation of the full title: Church-Agenda, in which (it is) directed how the Divine Service in Swedish congregations shall be conducted. A humble proposal overlooked afresh by the appointed committee in the Grace.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid., v.

There are three important features to observe in this 1855 BP. First, it is evident that the participation of the congregation which we discussed in the liturgical theology of Kliefoth is here still clearly alive. The 1811 Agenda had introduced a unique rubric that when the priest speaks there should be no response by the congregation, and when the priest chants the congregation responds by chanting. This practice was debated because many questioned this practice because it depended on the priest's ability to sing. But the majority of the Clergy Class wanted to retain the 1811 rubric. The Bring committee answered by stating again the importance of the congregational participation in responsories, and gave the direction toward more interactions between the pastor and the congregation in the liturgy.⁶⁰ Second, the *Verba Solemnia*⁶¹ which had been introduced by the 1854 BP yet omitted by 1854 TP, were restored in this 1855 BP. Third, and more importantly, the Bring committee approved the "God lift up our hearts" and "He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!" This indicates that the changes that took place in the Thomander committee were within the framework of the liturgical thinking of the Bring committee, which the Thomander committee also adopted. That the *Verba Solemnia* were also resurrected shows that the Bring committee considered it important to recognize that it is the Lord who is speaking in the reading of the Gospel, whose counterpart in the Divine Service is found in the proclamation of the consecratory words, the *Verba Domini*. The call to "lift up your hearts" prepares the hearers to listen to "the voice of their Shepherd" (SA III, XII, 2), and to receive His body and blood.

This 1855 BP, however, was never adopted and authorized. This is not due to the change of rendering in the phrase of our inquiry, or to the entire order and content of the Divine

⁶⁰ Ibid., viii.

⁶¹ "Lift up your hearts to God and hear his holy Gospel!"

Service.⁶² There were still many who wished to keep using the 1811 Agenda. The order of the Divine Service occupied only a portion of the Agenda in Sweden. The conservatives were split between those who simply wanted to reintroduce the 1693 Agenda and those who saw the value of the 1855 BP. The time was not yet ripe for the new Agenda in the middle of nineteenth-century Sweden. Nor by its very Gospel Christ extolling character was it something to be imposed. When it came to its place in the *Preface* it came to be received as if it had always been there.

The Agenda of 1894

Although the phrase, “He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!” emerged during the course of the works of liturgical revision in 1854 and 1855, its official appearance had to wait until 1894 when the revised Agenda was finally published. In 1888, another proposal committee was appointed with A. L. Sundberg (archbishop),⁶³ U. L. Ullman (bishop), C. Norrby (professor at the University of Uppsala) and S. L. Bring (professor at the University of Lund) as its members.⁶⁴ Of these men, Ullman was the leader. Before this proposal committee was formed, several private proposals had already been written. Of those, worth noting is the private proposal

⁶² Oloph Bexell explains the situation in the following way. “To be sure, as it was clarified that the Proposal of the Agenda 1855 *was never accepted as a whole, but still the large portions were applied*. The changes were introduced successively and as a patchwork on the earlier Agenda. The Church Agenda as it was published was dated in 1811, but there began a long series of many more parliamentary changes and circulars, which decreed which changes are to be made. Also this strengthens the impression of the juridical obligation of the order of the Divine Service (*gudsstjänstordningen*) in force in the Agenda. The circumstances imply also however that the Agenda 1811 *during the second half of the nineteenth century was actually subject to a continual revision in accordance with the principles set up by the Agenda Committee of 1852*. After that it was not until the Agenda Committee of 1888 which received a commission to introduce a new and well-worked out proposal of the church agenda” (emphases added). Bexell, *Liturgins Teologi hos U. L. Ullman*, 44–45. For example, the 1811 Agenda had regulated that only the pericope which was not the text of the sermon was to be read at the time of Scripture reading during the Divine Service. But on the first Sunday in Advent in 1862 two new yearly cycles of the preaching texts were introduced, which had been proposed in the 1854 BP. *Ibid.*, 43. The Gospel of the Day was always to be read from the altar, which was, interestingly, a preferred practice of Theodor Kliefoth as we observed in the last chapter.

⁶³ As mentioned above, Sundberg was a colleague of E. G. Bring at the Lund University and of *Swensk Kyrkotidning*. In 1864 he was appointed as bishop of Karlstad, and in 1870 archbishop.

⁶⁴ Sven Libert Bring (1826–1905) is a cousin of E. G. Bring.

of Professor Waldemar Rudin in 1888. The purpose of this section is to give an account of two influential churchmen of the time, Waldemar Rudin (1833–1921) and Udoo Lechard Ullman (1837–1930), so that we may come to understand the background of the adoption of our phrase.

The Private Proposal of Waldemar Rudin in 1888

Waldegar Rudin was a professor of the New Testament at the University of Uppsala (1877–1900). He was a member of the official Swedish Bible Translation Committee since 1884, and a “much-loved pastor and preacher.”⁶⁵ He may not be categorized as a liturgiologist in a technical sense.⁶⁶ He was accused of Romanizing because he had a little chapel open for twenty-four hours every day. However, the later categories of “high church” or “low church” are not capable of describing Swedish churchmen. Rudin was indeed interested in liturgy. He was a student of U. L. Ullman on the question of the liturgy, as we will describe below. Rudin’s chief contribution was that his private proposal of 1888⁶⁷ encouraged the Church of Sweden toward the new revised Agenda, a long awaited recovery from the “Enlightenment liturgy” of 1811. At *Allmänna Kyrkomötet* (the General Church Synod) of 1888, Rudin was very active. As mentioned above, the Church Synod had replaced the House of Clergy in 1865.⁶⁸ It was

⁶⁵ Wordsworth, *National Church of Sweden*, xii.

⁶⁶ Bengt Åberg, *Individualitet och Universalitet hos Waldemar Rudin: Jämte en teckning av hans kyrkohistoriska bakgrund* (Individualism and Universalism by Waldemar Rudin: Together with a Sketch of his Church-Historical Background) (Lund: Verbum, 1968); idem, “Erik Georg Waldemar Napoleon Rudin,” *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, vol. 30 (Stockholm: Norstedts Tryckeri AB, 2000), 695–702.

⁶⁷ W. Rudin, *Förslag till Ordning vid den Allmänna Gudtjensten* (Uppsala: W. Schultz, 1888). Translation of the full title: Proposal of the Order at the Public Divine Service.

⁶⁸ At the Parliament held in January, 1863, Prime Minister Louis De Geer presented a proposal for parliamentary reform to eliminate the four Estates and be replaced by a two-chamber parliament elected by common vote and to meet annually. The First Chamber would be elected by the provincial councils, with various restrictions on eligibility, and have a term of nine years. The Second Chamber would represent the common people, to be elected by all eligible voters, with a term of three years. The proposal was to be acted on at the next Parliament in 1865. On December 4th to 6th, this proposal was acted on by the Parliament. Each of the four Estate (farmers, burghers, nobility, and clergy) voted in favor of the proposal for the parliamentary reform. On 22 June 1866, the Parliament of the four Estates was dissolved for the last time, and later in the same year elections were held for the two chambers of the new Parliament. In January, 1867, the new two-chamber Parliament met for the first time. Ken Polsson, *Chronology of Sweden, 2000–2004*.

authorized to decide churchly matters such as the Agenda. Rudin represented the theological faculty of the University of Uppsala.⁶⁹ At this synod the proposal committee toward the new Agenda was officially formed. Already a year earlier in 1887, there was held the *Allmänna Svensk-Lutherska Prästkonferensen* (Swedish Lutheran Pastors' General Conference). There Rudin played a leading role to encourage pastors to proceed toward the revision of the Agenda. The Conference resolved that Rudin and Ullman gather a proposal committee. They contacted Anton Niklas Sundberg (archbishop), Sven Libert Bring (professor of practical theology at the University of Lund),⁷⁰ Carl Norrby (professor of practical theology at the University of Uppsala), and Carl Wilhelm Charleville (bishop in Linköping). Ullman seems to have been a natural choice to lead the committee because he was the leading liturgiologist at that time and the only author who had already published a major work on the liturgy, as a textbook at the seminary, *Evangelisk-Luthersk Liturgik*.⁷¹

Such is the context of a private proposal prepared by Professor Waldemar Rudin himself in 1888. Some of Rudin's thinking on the liturgy is reflected in the introductory words of his proposal. For example, he explains that the Divine Service cannot begin by congregational exhaustive praise of God, but it should rather begin with the Lord's initiative and the congregation's awareness of being in the presence of the holy God. Rudin cites Isaiah 6 and Revelation 4, and describes the entrance into the Divine Service by way of the *Introitus*

⁶⁹ The *Allmänna Kyrkomötet* was composed of thirteen bishops, two delegates from the theological faculty at the University of Lund, two delegates from the theological faculty at the University of Uppsala, twenty six clergymen, chosen within the diocese by all the clergymen, fifty seven lay people, chosen within the diocese by electors from all the parishes. The archbishop was the permanent chairman of the synod. *The Church of Sweden: Past and Present*, 41.

⁷⁰ Sven Libert Bring (1826–1905) is a cousin of E. G. Bring.

⁷¹ Uddo Lechard Ullman, *Evangelisk-Luthersk Liturgik med Särskild Hänsyn till den Svenska Kyrkans Förhållanden* (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerups Förlag, 1874–85). Translation of the full title: *Evangelical Lutheran Liturgics with Special Consideration for the Circumstances of the Swedish Church*. This work went into three editions. The second edition, in which the changes in the 1894 Agenda were taken into consideration, was published in 1889–97, and the third edition appeared in 1901–05.

indicating the holiness of God and his merciful condescension.⁷² Here Rudin is explaining one of the peculiar characteristics in the Swedish liturgy: the use of the *Sanctus* before confession of sins and absolution. This feature was first introduced in the 1811 Agenda. Because 1531 and 1614/1693 Agendas did not contain it, 1854 BP and 1854 TP discontinued the opening *Sanctus*, while 1855 BP inserted a much shorter *Sanctus* at the beginning of the service. Rudin followed this 1855 BP's reduced-worded version.

Overall, Rudin's proposal picks up the 1855 BP. His proposal includes the *Verba Solemnia*. Its *Preface* is exactly the same as that of 1854 TP and 1855 BP, that is, it has the acclamation: "He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!"

An interesting feature is that the invitatory words of the pastor include the words of *sursum corda* in the following way: "Come, let us *lift up our hearts* to God in heaven. Let us adore and fall down, let us kneel before the Lord, our creator. Let us *as poor unworthy sinners* humble ourselves before His holy face, with hearts and mouth confess ourselves for what we are and pray to Him for grace and mercy," (emphases added). Here what is implicit in the Swedish liturgical heritage is expressed: the awareness of being at the *coram Deo* point, which brings one to the confession of the Lord's holiness and worthiness and man's sinfulness and unworthiness. A vivid reciprocal relation of the Lord and His people is evident.

The Contribution of U. L. Ullman⁷³

In 1889–1927 U. L. Ullman was bishop of Strängnäs. He was the first bishop emeritus in the Church of Sweden. He lived so long that his age made it impossible to serve longer. Three years later he was taken to the Lord.

⁷² Rudin, *Förslag till Ordning vid den Allmänna Gudtjensten*, ii.

⁷³ Much of the information about U. L. Ullman comes from Bexell, *Liturgins Teologi hos U. L. Ullman* (1987).

U. L. Ullman—An Introduction

Ullman belonged to a well-known family line of pastors in western Sweden (Göteborg, Karlstad, and Skara diocese). In his youth, he was trained in many languages. At the age of eight to nine he learned German and became acquainted with German culture. By the time he was twelve years of age he had learned six foreign languages: Latin, Greek, Hebrew, German, French, and, unusual for this time, English. Ullman's first discipline of study at the University of Uppsala was aesthetics concerning the gothic church architectural style. In order to complete his thesis in 1863 on this subject, he took a trip around in Germany in 1860 and examined a number of gothic cathedrals. As he began his theological studies in 1864, he decided for health reasons to transfer to a place of a milder climate. He proceeded to Erlangen and studied there in 1864–66 as well as the fall of 1872. There he was elected as the first foreigner as a member of the governing board of the theological student society and through it also he had connections with professors Frank, Hofmann, Delitzsch, Thomasius, Zezschwitz and above all Theodosius Harnack. He visited Löhe in Neuendettelsau. He also stayed in Tübingen in order to hear the lectures of J. T. Beck. After he returned to Uppsala, Ullman became a lecturer in practical theology. It was during this period when Ullman worked on the above-mentioned book, *Liturgik*. The book is divided into four major parts as is shown below:

Volume 1

Part I: General and Foundational Theory for the Christian Cultus

1. The Origin of the Christian Cultus
2. The Concept of the Christian Cultus
3. The Content of the Christian Cultus
4. The Subject of the Christian Cultus
5. The Principles of the Christian Cultus
 - 1) Truth
 - 2) Freedom
 - 3) Order

- 4) Community
- 5) Solemnity
6. The Authorization and Use of the Liturgy as Churchly Formulation

Part II: The Outward Appearance of the Christian Cultus

1. Word and Undertaking
2. The Churchly Art
3. The Sacred Space
4. The Sacred Time
 - 1) The Sacred Week
 - 2) The Sacred Year

Volume II: 1

Part III: The Components of the Christian Cultus

1. The Scripture Reading
2. The Sermon
3. The Sacrament
 - 1) The Holy Baptism
 - 2) The Holy Lord's Supper
4. The Benediction
5. The Liturgical Exhortation
6. The Confession
 - 1) The Confession of Sin
 - 2) The Confession of Faith
7. The Prayer
 - 1) The Lord's Prayer
 - 2) The Collects
 - 3) The Common Prayer of the Church
 - 4) The Litanies
 - 5) The Prefaces
8. The Hymn
 - 1) The Church Hymns
 - 2) The Church Music
9. The Solemn Statements

Volume II: 2

Part IV: The Churchly Ceremonies

- A. The Communion Acts of the Church or the Congregational Divine Service in the Narrow Sense
 1. The Survey of the Historical Development of the Congregational Divine Service of the Church
 - 1) The Liturgy of the Apostolic Era
 - 2) The Liturgy of Early Catholics
 - 3) The Liturgy of the Greek Church
 - 4) The Liturgy of the Roman Catholic Church
 - 5) The Liturgy of the Evangelical Church
 - a) The Reformed Church
 - b) The Evangelical Lutheran Church

2. The Normal Construction of the Congregational Divine Service of the Church
- B. The Initiation Acts of the Church
 1. Baptism and Confirmation
 - 1) Baptism
 - 2) Confirmation
 2. Ordination and other related Acts of Consecration
 3. The Consecration of the Church Building, etc.
- C. The Acts of Blessing of the Church
 1. Wedding
 2. Stillborn
 3. Burial

Bexell observes that Ullman's work here shows a particular influence of Theodosius Harnack's work in *Praktische Theologie* (1877).⁷⁴ Certainly, the second chief part of this work of Harnack and Ullman's outline of *Liturgik* have similarities. At the same time, as we compare this outline with Kliefoth's three major works on the liturgy in 1844, 1847, and 1858–61, we may also find some correspondence to each other. It may be worth noting that a copy of Kliefoth's *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung* of 1847 at the Uppsala University Library belonged to Ullman and is furnished with his underlinings and comments.⁷⁵ As we will see below, Kliefoth's influence is clear in Ullman's work on the liturgy. It is also to be noted that when Ullman proposed a Gospel Book or the so-called "congregational handbook" in 1893, his model was Kliefoth's *Allgemeines Gebetbuch* of 1883.⁷⁶ According to Bexell, Ullman's ecclesiology is "inspired" by Kliefoth.⁷⁷

In 1872 Ullman accepted the position of the instructor in religion and Latin at the gymnasium of Göteborg, at the same time he was a member of the cathedral chapter of the

⁷⁴ Bexell, *Liturgins Teologi hos U. L. Ullman*, 58.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 37.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 171–72.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 73–81.

diocese and a congregational pastor. In 1877 he was awarded the degree of Doctor of Theology. The University of Uppsala as well as the Augustana Synod in Rock Island, Illinois (in 1875) attempted to call him as a professor of practical theology; yet he would not return to a university position. In 1889 Ullman was nominated as bishop of Strängnäs and served in that position for thirty-eight years until the age of ninety. He was one of the champions to keep the full Book of Concord as the confessional documents of the Church of Sweden at the General Synod of 1893. Until his last days he was active as theological author and practical liturgiologist. He was concerned that theology and liturgy be in harmonious relationship.

Sacramentum and Sacrificium in U. L. Ullman

As mentioned in chapter 2, Kliefoth, Theodosius Harnack, and Löhe made a strong and lasting impact on Ullman and his liturgical theology. Bexell recognizes the major effect of Kliefoth on Ullman's thinking on the Divine Service as shaped by *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*.⁷⁸ As in Kliefoth, so in Ullman the *sacramentum* is the primary thing and is the presupposition for the *sacrificium*. The means of grace come out of Christ Himself. The sermon is His living address to man. He is actively efficacious in the means of grace.⁷⁹

Again, as Kliefoth, Ullman understands that the minister stands there not as the mediator between the two poles, but he is on the one hand the one who administers the means of grace (*sacramenta*) according to the mandate of Christ, and on the other hand the one who is the speaker and representative of the congregation before God in the *sacrificium*.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Ullman, *Evangelisk-Luthersk Liturgik*, I: 29; II: 1: 10. Cf., Bexell, *Liturgins Teologi hos U. L. Ullman*, 114–51.

⁷⁹ Ullman, *Liturgik*, II: 1: 67–68.

⁸⁰ Ullman, *Liturgik*, II: 2: 314, 332.

Ullman follows Kliefoth and the Confessional Revival in general of nineteenth-century Germany in distancing himself from a Calvinistic/Zwinglian sacramental theology as well as from the Roman Catholic sacramental theology.⁸¹ Ullman observes, as Kliefoth, that in both sides the *sacramentum* is distorted and changed. Ullman stresses the Lord's giving and our receiving; a reciprocal relation between the two.⁸²

According to Bexell, such liturgical thinking on *sacramentum* and *sacrificium* and on giving and receiving "exercised an enormous influence on the later Lutheran liturgiologists."⁸³ For example, Theodosius Harnack, under whom Ullman studied at Erlangen, writes that all the right Divine Service is a combination of two factors: God's gifts and man's gifts in return. It does not consist of abstract inward or outward thing, but of a concrete combination of both.⁸⁴ The fundamental construction of the Divine Service, Harnack maintains, is a polarity which is manifested in the encounter "between the divine and the human or the *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*, between the congregation and the office or the universal priesthood and the preaching office, and finally between the internal and the external, the spiritual, the content and form."⁸⁵ What is penetrating in these contrasts, according to Harnack, is *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*.⁸⁶

Bexell finds in Löhe a similar reciprocal relation.⁸⁷ According to Bexell, the dominating motif in Löhe's theology of liturgy "is the polarity, the co-operation between seemingly different (and) opposite components." Within such polarity are included God and the church, God's word

⁸¹ Ibid., 48–49, 37.

⁸² Ullman, *Liturgik* II: 1: 10–11, 19.

⁸³ Bexell, *Liturgins Teologi hos U. L. Ullman*, 39.

⁸⁴ Theodosius Harnack, *Praktische Theologie*, vol. 1 (Erlangen: Anders Deichert, 1877), 248.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 267–68.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 268.

⁸⁷ Bexell, *Liturgins Teologi hos U. L. Ullman*, 31–35.

and our confession, the divine and the human, the eternal and temporal, the pastor and the congregation, multiplicity and simplicity, and freedom and steadfastness.⁸⁸

Ullman's Characteristic Thinking on Liturgy

We observe that Ullman's liturgical thinking is characterized by five key words that he delineates in his *Liturgik*: (1) *sanning* (truth), (2) *frihet* (freedom), (3) *ordning* (order), (4) *gemensamhet* (community), and (5) *högtidighet* (solemnity).⁸⁹ Bexell pointed out that this structure was worked out by Ullman on the basis of Höfling's *Liturgisches Urkundenbuch* (1854) and of Theodosius Harnack.⁹⁰

Truth. Ullman is convinced that the Divine Service has the divine truth as its source and its inner reality. The content of the liturgy is to be true to the Holy Scripture. The pure and clear word of God should be preached at every service. The Lord's Supper is to be administered according to the will and intentions of our Lord who instituted it. The Divine Service will not be complete without the Lord's Supper because to omit it would be untruthful to the Lord's mandate and institution.

By "truth" Ullman also means the centrality of the means of grace and the justification of the sinner before God. Here he stands against *ex opere operato* of the Roman Catholic emphasis in order to confess the counterpart of the means of grace on the side of people, namely, faith.⁹¹ Ullman's explanation at this point reflects and may be seen as an application of Kliefoth's thinking on $\delta\acute{o}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ and $\lambda\eta\psi\iota\varsigma$ and its liturgical consequence in the participation of the congregation through versicles and acclamations. Just as Kliefoth and Bring, Ullman desired to

⁸⁸ Ibid., 35–36.

⁸⁹ Ullman, *Liturgik*, I: 39–53, 17–18.

⁹⁰ Bexell, *Liturgins Teologi hos U. L. Ullman*, 153.

recover the congregational response that was largely lost in the 1811 Agenda. Ullman observed the congregational silence and false passivity in the churches of his day. He critiqued the Mass in the Roman churches that it was celebrated primarily by priests, with a result that people were left out as spectators. His assessment of the Reformed churches was that the stress on education in a biblicistic sense kept the people from confessing the Lord in the liturgy. Among the non-liturgical churches he observed the arbitrary spontaneous manners of the preachers so that their free prayers never left people a possibility of making their prayers because they never knew what would follow next.⁹²

For Ullman, liturgical responses in versicles with responses were inherent in the life of the liturgy because when the Lord speaks and gives His gifts (*sacramentum*) the *sacrificium* arises from the heart and mind of the people who receive them. The emphasis on “truth” is Ullman’s way of describing such movement of δόσις and λήψις. The truth of the Gospel in preaching and liturgy calls for a sense of clarity so that hearers may be able to understand the words.

Ullman thinks of a correspondence between mouth and heart in both spheres of *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*. On the *sacramentum* side, the content of the words are to be truthful to the words of the Lord and the Scriptures. On the *sacrificium* side, congregational responses and confessions should be truthful to the hearts of the congregation. The words of *sacrificium* are to agree with the hearts and mouths of the ones who use those words.

Such a thought of Ullman is reflected in his appreciation of the traditional Lutheran hymnody where there is a “true balance” of *sacramentum*, the clear proclamation of God’s gifts, and *sacrificium*, the humble recognition, confession and thanksgiving for such gifts. Another area of a concrete example of Ullman’s thinking on “truth” is in the rite of confirmation,

⁹¹ Ullman, *Liturgik*, I: 40–41.

⁹² Bexell, *Liturgins Teologi hos U. L. Ullman*, 167–69.

especially in the areas of questions and answers. He was engaged in a reform of the confirmation liturgy in order to increase a possibility for the confirmands to answer the questions without inner conflict.⁹³

Freedom. Ullman locates “freedom” in the liturgy after his thought on “truth.” He did not suggest anarchy and disorderliness or spontaneity in the liturgy, or any “right” for the pastor to change the liturgy week by week. He maintained that the fixed form of the liturgy is the only way to defend the freedom of the congregation against the different whims of the pastors. Freedom was not related to the paragraphs and external orders but to faith and truth. As Kliefoth and Bring, Ullman recognizes that the Lord did not prescribe a particular order of the Divine Service. The church is given the evangelical freedom to exercise on the basis of what are given by Him in the “truth” he described as above. He was opposing the unreflected repristination, the biblicistic service of the Reformed as well as the exaggerated traditionalism of the Roman Catholics of his time.

For Ullman, freedom also meant that reforms and changes in the liturgy should never be imposed on the congregations by force. All changes must be introduced with instructions so that the external form of the liturgy corresponds to the Gospel.⁹⁴ On this point again we observe a continuation of the thinking of Kliefoth and Bring.

Freedom is the opposite of everything static that merely repeats itself all the time. For this reason Ullman introduced various regulated variations in the Divine Service most of all in the Church Year.⁹⁵ Introits were supplied for every Sunday and feast days. A specific day of the commemoration of the Reformation was introduced. Different seasons of the Church Year were

⁹³ Ullman, *Liturgik*, II: 2: 283–309.

⁹⁴ Ullman, *Liturgik*, I: 41–44.

⁹⁵ Cf., *Ibid.*, 74–143.

expressed through the change in music and colors of the paraments. Together with a church musician John Moren he published a “missal,” a supplement of liturgical music to the Agenda in 1914 (*Förslag till Missale för Svenska Kyrkan*).⁹⁶ Ullman also prepared services other than the chief Divine Service, such as vespers and a preaching service.

Order. The Christian Divine Service is characterized by “truth” as well as “freedom.” Ullman now proceeds to his thinking on “order” to advance and supplement the above-mentioned two foundations. Here Ullman reflects on 1 Cor. 14:40 as an exercise of “truth” and “freedom,”⁹⁷ talking about outward order (establishment of time and custom, etc. of local congregations) and inward order (a right inner structure of every service). Concerning the latter point, Ullman demonstrates that the shape of the Divine Service is a theological consequence of *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*.⁹⁸

The structure of the Divine Service for Ullman is an interplay between *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*. The first chief part of the service, according to Ullman, is divided into three sub-parts. The first sub-part consists of the beginning of the service through the *Laudamus*. This part has *sacrificium* as a dominating character, confessing sin, praying for His mercy in the *Kyrie*, and praising Him in the *Laudamus*. But there are also moments of *sacramentum*. The *Introit* proclaims the saving work and person of the Lord. The *Laudamus* is preceded by the *Gloria*, where the angels proclaim the glory of the Lord. There is an echo here of Kliefoth’s description of this portion of the Divine Service.

The second sub-part is chiefly *sacramentum* in character, the distribution of the Lord’s gifts, where the Lord speaks to His people through the reading of the Epistle and the Gospel as

⁹⁶ Bexell, *Liturgins Teologi hos U. L. Ullman*, 229.

⁹⁷ Ullman, *Liturgik*, I: 44–46.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 28–34.

well as through preaching. But there are points of *sacrificium* too. The Collect is a summation of the Lord's words. The congregation responds to the revealed truth of the word in the Creed. The Gradual and the Hymn of the Day are the church's reflection and response to the gifts of the Lord in the word which she receives.

The third sub-part of the first chief part of the service is predominantly *sacrificium*, as it consists of the common prayer of the church.

The second chief part of the service, the Lord's Supper, is naturally *sacramentum*, especially in what is central, the Words of Institution and the Lord's giving and bestowal of His body and blood. But again, there are *sacrificium* moments included in this part, such as the *Sursum Corda*, the *Preface*, the *Sanctus*, the Lord's Prayer, and the *Agnus Dei*. Then, the Divine Service concludes with the Post-communion Collect and *Benedicamus (sacrificium)*. But the last thing is *sacramentum*, the Lord's blessing which is from Him to His people.⁹⁹

Bexell summarizes Ullman's thinking of *sacramentum* and *sacrificim* in each portion of the Divine Service in a chart form.¹⁰⁰ We will reproduce it on the next page with some modifications in terms of translation of Swedish words into English where appropriate.

What Ullman says in another writing, *Svenska Kyrkans Högmessa*, gives us additional insight. Ullman explains that the Divine Service is essentially a sacred, solemn meeting between the Lord and His congregation.¹⁰¹ The Lord gives the gift of His saving grace. He steps into personal engagement with the congregation through His word and sacrament. The congregation receives what her Lord gives her in repentant, thankful faith, then she conveys before Him her spiritual sacrifice of confession and prayer, adoration and praise.

⁹⁹ Ullman, *Liturgik*, II: 2: 78–80. Cf., *Liturgik*, II: 2: 119–34.

¹⁰⁰ Bexell, *Liturgins Teologi hos U. L. Ullman*, 283.

¹⁰¹ Ullman's language and thought here reflect more of Theodosius Harnack than of Kliefoth. Cf., Theodosius Harnack, *Praktische Theologie* I: 267–68.

I. Missa catechumenorum

1. (*Sacrificium*)

Entrance Hymn	1	2
Introit		2
Allocution		2
Confiteor	1	
Kyrie	1	
Words of Comfort		2
Gloria		2
Laudamus	1	
Or Gloria hymn		

2. *Sacramentum*

Salutation		2
Versicle		2
Collect	1	
Epistle		2
Gradual	1	
Gospel		2
Creed	1	
Sermon	1	2
Hymn	1	2

3. *Sacrificium*

Salutation		2
Versicle		2
Prayer of the Church	1	
Offertory Hymn and		2
Offering	1	

II. Missa fidelium

4. *Sacrificium*

Exhortation			2
Salutation			2
Prayer for the Lord's Supper	1		

5. *Sacramentum*

Sursum corda, Gratas	1	2
Preface	1	
Words of Institution		2
The Lord's Prayer	1	
Sanctus	1	
Pax		2
Agnus Dei	1	
Communion		2

6. *Sacrificium*

Salutation		2
Versicle		2
Collect	1	
Benedicamus	1	2
Benediction		2
Hymn		

1 = <i>sacrificium</i>
2 = <i>sacramentum</i>

For the congregation's receiving and offering in the Divine Service, ministers are called and ordained. They are not mediators between God and the congregation, but servants in a twofold sense.¹⁰² On the one hand, they are the Lord's servants through whom His means of grace are administered; they are the instruments through whom the Lord deals with His

¹⁰² U. L. Ullman, *Svenska Kyrkans Högmessa i dess nya skick bylyst till församlingens tjänst*, second edition (Göteborg: N. P. Pehrssons Förlag, 1894), 5–7. Translation of the title: The High Mass of the Swedish Church in this New Condition in light of the Divine Service of the Congregations.

congregation; and through their service He delivers to His congregation His gifts of grace in word and the sacrament.

Ullman illustrates these points as he discusses liturgy concretely. For example, concerning the *Salutation*, “The Lord be with you,” he explains that “it is the Lord, Immanuel, ‘God with us’ who now deals with His people.”¹⁰³ For Ullman the *Reading of the Gospel* in the Divine Service is what “the Lord in His own person brings forward before His congregation the message of salvation”¹⁰⁴ (Thus *Verba Solemnia*). The *Distribution* of the Lord’s body and blood is what “the Lord in His own person, though through the perceivable minister’s hand as instrument, distributes the unperceivable bounties of the Holy Supper . . . ‘for you, for you!’”¹⁰⁵

On the other hand, ministers are the congregation’s servants in whom, as her instrument and as the mouth of the congregation, they convey before the Lord her sacrifice of adoration, confession, prayer and thanks, in hymns and responsories, etc.¹⁰⁶

We observe that Ullman’s thinking on “order” reflects much of Kliefoth’s understanding of δόσις and λήψις, *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*, *Opferverhältniß*, *Amt Christi*, *Gnadenmittel*, *Gnadenmittelamt*, congregational participation, and the vitality (“sap”) in the *Preface*.

Community. With the notion of “community” Ullman exhorts to maintain continuity in time and space with Christ’s church throughout history. He then talks about the common participation of the people in the liturgy.¹⁰⁷

First, Ullman observes a degeneration of the liturgy from the third century through the medieval era of the church. But this does not mean that the Lutheran Church should break all

¹⁰³ Ibid., 32.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 33.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 48.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 5–7.

continuity with the medieval church. Ullman valued the early liturgies, though he never considered them as an ideal so that we need to go back and imitate the earliest church practice. He diagnosed the Reformed way of copying the early church practice as well as their construction of the service *de novo* as a denial of the history. Anything new that is added in the liturgy needs to be tested on the basis of *norma normans* as taught by the Lutheran Confessions; it should be examined also through *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*.¹⁰⁸

Ullman is also concerned about the language of the Divine Service. The language of the liturgy should not be the language of the streets, pubs, theaters, or the language of science, modern literature, rhetoric, and poetry. It should agree with the language which is suitable for edification and prayer, the living Christian piety.

Second, the “community” for Ullman had to do with the participation of the congregation. Ullman diagnosed that the Reformed Church had a tendency to let the congregation be mere listeners while in the Roman Catholic Church the congregation was spectators and only the priests were active in the Mass. Ullman insisted on the participation of the congregation on the basis of the priesthood that they shared. Such activities in the Divine Service are seen in common responses, praises, litanies, prayers and creed. Such participation of the people in the liturgy should not be slipped into empty and meaningless rituals, but they should receive life and vitality from the *sacramentum*.

When Ullman, as bishop, visited congregations, he encouraged them to practice the hymns and other sacrificial portions of the Divine Service, such as the Introit, Creed and the responsories. He thought that the common act of the congregation would be strengthened by

¹⁰⁷ Ullman, *Liturgik*, I: 46–50.

¹⁰⁸ Ullman, *Liturgik*, II: 2: 44–60.

some physical postures. Thus, for example, he encouraged them to stand during *Laudamus* and the creed, and to kneel during confession of sin and the hearing of the Words of Institution. In this theme of “community,” we may observe much that Kliefoth and Bring speak of the criterion for liturgy as well as the active participation of the congregation.

Solemnity. This last theme of “solemnity” is not related to the liturgy as such, but it has to do with the very way it is conducted; it also deals with the external material things in and surrounding the liturgy. The holy things should have a form congenial with the content. For Ullman what is going on in the liturgy and who is doing it call for the sacred space and sacred time suitable to them. Artificial solemnity was not what Ullman had in mind. The architecture of the church building, ornaments, and art are to be subordinated to the content of the liturgy. He wanted to have harmony between the external and the internal.

Ullman desired the church building to appear clean and orderly. He thought it proper for the administration of the Lord’s Supper to take place in an aesthetic, tasteful, and pleasing manner. Baptism should not take place in the private houses of the pastor, as happened frequently, but in the church. Also pastors in the liturgy may not cause offence through their vestment or conduct. A pastor’s vestment should call attention to his office and his mandate from the Lord. Not only God’s sacramental approach to the congregation but also the congregation’s internal attitude at the meeting with God in the liturgy should be expressed in the “solemn” liturgical action.¹⁰⁹

This last point reminds us of the fact that Kliefoth designed St. Paul’s Church according to his theological understanding of the Divine Service and of the church. In the case of Ullman, his former training in architecture would surely have assisted his thinking.

¹⁰⁹ Ullman, *Liturgik*, I: 50–53, 74–88.

Ullman and the Agenda of 1894

How was Ullman's liturgical thinking expressed in his reform of the Swedish liturgy? In the 1894 Agenda that the Ullman committee proposed, much of the 1855 BP was preserved. The *Verba Solemnia* that Bring introduced in 1854 BP were kept. The *Preface* versicles, including our phrase "He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!" were conserved in the form of 1854 TP and 1855 BP, except that between the first and the second couplets there are now a prayer of the church and a short hymn inserted.

Ullman's liturgical thinking is not totally the same as that of Kliefoth and Bring. While Bring received enormous influence from Kliefoth, Ullman also received liturgical impact from other figures of the Confessional Revival, such as Löhe and Theodosius Harnack. Yet, as we observed in the above-mentioned five points of his liturgical thinking, we recognize that on the fundamental points Ullman breathed the same liturgical air as a Lutheran as did Kliefoth and Bring. What is most important for Ullman was that in the liturgy the Lord deals with His people by giving and *sacramentum*. The gifts that people received move on to their fruits of *sacrificium*. The Divine Service is the place of such reciprocal *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*, with the initiative coming from the Lord.

We may observe a clue as to why the congregational response, "He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!" was retained by Ullman. For him, this phrase was something new in the liturgical tradition. And yet, he did not object to it. Ullman was a kind of man who carefully went through every word and every phrase of the liturgy.¹¹⁰ He recognized in each phrase some theological weight. He had knowledge of the original language of the liturgy. Our evaluation is

¹¹⁰ This point was also supported by the foremost scholar on U. L. Ullman and his liturgical works, Professor Dr. Oloph Bexell of the University of Uppsala, not only in his book *Liturgins Teologi hos U. L. Ullman* (1987), but also in private conversations during this author's visit with him in Uppsala in January 2001.

that, theologically speaking, the five points of his theological and liturgical thinking embrace “He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!” The lively and solemn acclamation of the Lord is an important part of Ullman’s liturgical thinking along with his emphasis on what is going on in the liturgy. Ullman must also have recognized that this phrase was not altogether new either. Although it was new to the official liturgy that Ullman inherited, namely, the 1811 Agenda, this phrase had been gestating in the proposals for forty years. Thus, what emerged in the proposals in 1854–55 which lived through the Rudin Proposal of 1888, was finally confirmed by Ullman and the 1894 Agenda.

In Ullman’s writing, after the work of liturgical revision was completed, he explains that the restoration of the *Preface* was one of his seven most important changes that took place in the 1894 Agenda.¹¹¹ The *Preface* has a “closest connection with the Holy Supper.”¹¹² He says that the *Preface* is a “grateful confession of Christ.”¹¹³ It is a grateful confession of the Lord’s Supper that has been given in light of His suffering, death, and resurrection. It is also a grateful confession of the Lord’s Supper in which the Lord Himself blesses us by bestowing His body given for us and His blood shed for us.¹¹⁴ For Ullman, the *Preface* has to do with the dominical confession of both Calvary and the Lord’s Supper.

¹¹¹ Ullman, *Svenska Kyrkans Högmessa*, 2nd ed. (1894), 62–63.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 43. *Liturgik* II: 2: 161.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 62–63.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE LITURGICAL REVISIONS AS INFLUENCED BY AND EMBODYING THE THEOLOGY OF THE CONFSSIONAL REVIVAL

In chapter 2 we have delineated theological background as well as historical context of the works of liturgical revision in nineteenth-century Sweden. We then illustrated the liturgical revisions themselves in chapter 3, observing how the phrase, “He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!” emerged. In this chapter, we will discuss how this rendering itself is an embodiment of the theology of the Confessional Revival.

Since it is helpful to pull everything together, even at the cost of some redundancy, we will first summarize Kliefoth’s liturgical thinking which we presented in chapter 2. Then we will show how the theology of the Confessional Revival, especially that of Theodor Kliefoth, has influenced the works of the liturgical revisions themselves, paying particular attention, of course, to our phrase in the *Preface*. Inherent in this approach of evaluation is the conviction of Kliefoth and the Swedish churchmen that the liturgy is located at a point number two. Actual shape and words of the liturgy are a consequence of the Lord’s doctrine and our confession of it.

The Vitality of the Lord’s Doing in the Liturgy and into the Whole of the Christian Life

Kliefoth on the Liturgy

Doctrine, Confession, and Liturgy

Throughout his liturgical writings, Kliefoth brings the Lord’s doctrine, our confession, and the liturgy and the life of the Divine Service together. As mentioned above, the liturgy for

Kliefoth was not a point of departure, but rather a consequence of doctrine. This was put to the test by the threats to it in the midst of nineteenth-century theological environment. Here were the dominating figures such as Schleiermacher and Hegel, flourishing biblical criticism, Christological questions, the awakening, a movement toward religious union, the Erlangen theology, ecclesiastical consequences of the Enlightenment, pietism, romanticism, and the effect of the 1848 revolution with the tolerance of indifference. To stand against what was alien in these Kliefoth strove to stand dominically centered and engaged. Basic for him was the Holy Scripture as the foundation of the life of the Divine Service. Hence he rejected the inroads into the congregations of the trends mentioned above. His truthfulness to the Scripture went together with his faithfulness to the Lutheran Confessions.

Kliefoth recognized the legalisms in the liturgical thinking of Roman Catholics as well as the Reformed. He remained with Luther and the Lutheran Confessions in understanding that while the foundation of all the Divine Service comes from the Scripture, the church is not given a prescribed form of the liturgy. There is no theory of the Divine Service given *a priori* so that the church should follow some abstract principles or ideals to shape the Divine Service. Rather, Kliefoth confessed that the Lord has given His mandate and institution of the main things—that is, the means of grace—and that the actual order of the service falls in the area where the church is given to exercise evangelical freedom which itself flows from the mandates of Christ.

The Lord's Mandate and Institution "in the Time of the Church"

What are those mandates? Here Kliefoth teaches the specificity of the Lord's mandates and institutions for the New Testament church by locating them in the context of the whole salvific dealings of the Lord with the world and with His people from the beginning of His creation to the consummation. Kliefoth explains the original relationship between God and man in the language of *Opferverhältnis*. This word, which is used in his second edition of *Die*

ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung or *Liturgische Abhandlungen* (1858–61), expresses the dynamic relation of God and man that Kliefoth explains with other terms, such as *sacramentum* and *sacrificium* (1847) and δόσις and λήψις (1854). The Lord takes the initiative in giving His gifts both temporal and spiritual. Man receives them and his thanks for the gifts flows into his prayer and thanksgiving to the giver God and his service to the neighbor. The Lord continues to give His people all His gifts, and His people return to Him and their neighbor all they were given.

When such lively giving and receiving vitality was broken by man's fall into sin, the central theme in God's salvific work became the atonement. For Kliefoth, the problem of man is not that he is a creature, but that he is a sinner. The solution is, therefore, the forgiveness of sin rather than immortality, man's divinization, or unity between God and man through a generalized idea of incarnation. Unlike many Christian scholars in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, Kliefoth discusses the Old Testament Divine Service in such a context. The Divine Service in the church has a historical continuity with the Old Testament tabernacle and temple services. Christ Himself provides such continuity. Kliefoth understands the Old Testament services in light of Christ, and the work of Christ comprehended liturgically in view of the Old Testament services given by Yahweh Himself. Christ is at the center of what Kliefoth called "the Time of Revelation" and "the Time of the Church," or what Luther taught concerning the distinction between Christ's work of "salvation accomplished" and of "salvation distributed."

The Divine Service of the Old Testament was the gift from Yahweh so that even during the time between the fall and the promised Savior the dynamic *Opferverhältnis* with God through forgiveness of sin may be available to man. At the center was the atonement through continuous sacrifices of the animals, which not only pointed to Christ but also received the strength of atonement backwardly from Calvary. All the Old Testament Divine Service did not proceed to

the New Testament Divine Service directly, but they went to Christ and His work of salvation. Most of them were fulfilled by Christ and therefore ceased. Others were replaced by something more perfect. And there are also things which will be fulfilled by Christ only in His return. The Divine Service of the Old Testament after the fall was relevant for “the Time of Revelation”; until Christ’s work of salvation was accomplished. Out of the *Triduum* comes the breaking off from the Old Testament services as also the gift of the New Testament services for “the Time of the Church.” Kliefoth extols the Lord’s mandate and institution of preaching, baptism, and the Lord’s Supper for the distribution of forgiveness which Christ has accomplished on the cross. Kliefoth also confesses the Office of the Holy Ministry as the office instituted by Christ to distribute the means of grace (*Gnadenmittelamt*) in “the Time of the Church.” By going through the Book of Acts and Epistles, Kliefoth also demonstrates the shape of the New Testament Divine Service with preaching, prayer, love gifts, and the Lord’s Supper.

Kliefoth’s Characteristic Thinking Represented by Δόσις and Λήψις, and *Sacramentum* and *Sacrificium*

At the center of Kliefoth’s thinking on the liturgy was the distribution of the fruits of Christ’s atonement on the cross (δόσις, *sacramentum*). The bestower is Christ Himself (*Amt Christi*) through the means of grace (*Gnadenmittel*) using the means of grace office (*Gnadenmittelamt*), both of which He has instituted Himself for the sake of the delivery of His gifts. In this sense, liturgy belongs to the Lord and to His use. The Office of the Holy Ministry also belongs to Him, as Kliefoth extols the office rather than the person who is put there in the office. The preservation of the means of grace office is confessed as continuous creation by Jesus.

Everything is from Him (δόσις, *sacramentum*). The initiative of the liturgy flows from the Lord. The heart of Kliefoth’s liturgical thinking is that it is all the Lord’s doing: Christo-

centricity, not anthropo-centricity. Kliefoth confesses that the church is a place where Christ continuously gives His gifts. The Lord of the church is therefore Christ. Kliefoth dismisses both errors of clericalism and congregationalism.

Where there is δόσις/*sacramentum*, the Lord's giving, there is λήψις/*sacrificium*, our receiving and giving. The life of gift received goes on into the whole of the Christian life. Where the Lord's δόσις and our λήψις are, there is the life of the faithful found within the gifts that the Lord is giving (*sacramentum*), which results in the fruits of our lips and the fruits of our works (*sacrificium*). It is like the sap that furnishes the vitality in the life of his people. The Lord's initiative, His work and bestowing of His gifts prompt creating and enlivening of faith which ushers one into the living of the life of service. When Christly the *sacramentum*, the richer the *sacrificium*. The *Opferverhältniß* between God and man, which depends entirely on His giving and His initiative, keeps on going.

Kliefoth's thinking on the vitality of faith echoes Luther's view of the same. Luther wrote: "What a vital, busy, active, mighty thing faith is, the faith that makes it impossible not to be always doing good works. It never asks whether good works are to be done, but before one asks it has done and always does them."¹ He who is born anew is no longer entangled with himself. In his sinful nature he is curved in on himself. But receiving the Lord's service and gifts of forgiveness and life he is freed from self-reflection and concern for himself, so that he may live a life outside himself.² Such new life is not a retreat from the world but a return into His creation, or a remaining in it. Or as Luther put it another way, it is a concrete life in the three estates:

¹ WA DB 7: 11. 9–11; AE 35: 370. Cf., WA 42: 452. 17–27; AE 2: 266–67.

² Cf., WA 7: 69. 12–15; AE 31: 371.

*ecclesia, politia, and oeconomia.*³ Jesus locates Himself in the neighbor in need to receive our thankful service.⁴

In this way, when the Lord's giving (δόσις, *sacramentum*) is received (λήψις), His gifts move on into our life of *sacrificium*, which involves prayer and thanksgiving, and which takes place both within the liturgy and without in Christian vocation.

Kliefoth confessed the doctrine of vocation as he engaged in the liturgical theology. This reflects not only the post-communion collect coined by Luther in his *Deutsche Messe*⁵ but also what Luther did in his Small Catechism. There he used vocabularies of the Second and Third Articles, such as "merit" and "worthiness," to confess the "fatherly and divine goodness and mercy" of the First Article. The giving of the gifts is confessed in all three Articles.⁶ As Luther, Kliefoth revised the liturgy so that Christ may not be made remote. The gulf between the Creator and His creature is joined in Christ, who now gives His gifts through the means of grace. The Christian life goes on in the rhythm of the Lord's δόσις and our λήψις. The life of Christ which is received goes on in the daily walk of the Christian vocation in this world because it is there Christ receives our humble and thankful service.

Kliefoth on the Work of Liturgical Revision

Diagnosis of the Liturgy

For Kliefoth, the criterion for assessing liturgy was not the external form but the doctrine. On the doctrinal basis, it is possible to judge what has been handed down either to hold fast that

³ WA TR 5: 218. 15–18 (no. 5533); AE 54: 446.

⁴ Cf., WA 52: 92. 1–4. Cf., WA 42: 517. 10–18; AE 2: 356–57

⁵ WA 19: 102. 8–11; AE 53: 84. "Wyr dancken dir, almechtiger herr gott, das du uns durch dise heylsame gabe hast erquicket und bitten deyne barmhertzigkeyt, das du uns solchs gedeyen lassest zu starckem glauben gegen dir und zu brinstiger liebe unter uns allen, umb Jhesus Christus unsers herrn willen. Amen."

⁶ WA 26: 505. 38–506. 12; AE 37: 366.

which is good, to perfect that which was incomplete, to pass by that which was unsuitable, and to reject that which was false. Such a thought is different, according to Kliefoth, from Roman Catholics who retained the external form but added or changed the meaning, and from the Reformed tradition which gave the sweeping rejection of what they inherited and so detached itself from the history of the church.

Yet, such characterization of the doctrinal priority is not yet complete if doctrine is regarded as something static. As his confession of the Divine Service of the New Testament church, so his diagnosis of the liturgy first goes to the Gospel, and from that center and heart of the Lord's δόσις/*sacramentum* and our λήψις/*sacrificium* Kliefoth diagnoses a given liturgy to discern richness or impoverishment.

So, for example, Kliefoth noted that where the *Amt Christi* is disregarded the destruction of both the Divine Service (*Gnadenmittel*) and the Office of the Holy Ministry (*Gnadenmittelamt*) takes place. The medieval Roman Catholic Church substituted the *Amt Christi* with the church's own works through priests. The Reformed also damaged both by denying that Christ works through the means of grace to bestow His gifts. A problem arises when there is a refusal of the gift the Lord is giving.

Such Christological diagnosis was also expounded by Kliefoth as a confusion between *sacramentum* and *sacrificium* as well as a lack of a proper distinction between *Gnadenmittelamt* and *Gemeindeamt*. In Kliefoth's assessment, both Rome and the Reformed fell short of such distinctions.

Kliefoth's evaluation did not stop in his observation outside the Lutheran Church. He critiqued some of the Lutheran orthodoxy tradition where there was what he called the "false objectivity" of a one-sided emphasis occasioning a static and lifeless way of confessing the *sacramentum*. Kliefoth also evaluated pietism as prompting an over-emphasizing of subjectivity

of the *sacrificium*. In both cases a doing of the Divine Service fell into the realm of the Law. Kliefoth hit the heart of the matter when he left an insightful thought: nothing is more against the Lutheran way with the liturgy than when the *sacrificium* stands independently from the *sacramentum*.

The diagnosis of the liturgy grew out of his profound understanding of the Gospel. Kliefoth's criterion was the dynamic flow of the Lord's *δόσις/sacramentum* and our *λήψις/sacrificium*. The liturgy goes wrong when the Lord's *δόσις/sacramentum* is replaced by something of us, or when the flow of *δόσις/sacramentum* and *λήψις/sacrificium* is blocked by an overemphasis on either the former or the latter. Both live together with the initiative from the Lord.

The Body of the Liturgy

We have already reviewed above the three vitals of the chief Divine Service as given in the New Testament: the *Lehract* (proclamation of the word of God), the *Opferact* (eucharistic sacrifice of the fruits of the lips and of works, and the *Abendmahlact* (the Lord's Supper).

Proclamation of the word had to do with the preaching of the cross, that is, the distribution of the atonement of Christ that He accomplished on Calvary. Kliefoth explains not only that the preaching in the New Testament Divine Service was mandated by Christ and that it replaces the atoning animal sacrifices of the Old Testament Divine Service, but also that such New Testament preaching is rooted in Jesus' own preaching and is an extension of His word: "The Scripture has been fulfilled before your ears" (Lk 4:21).

When the gift that the Lord is giving in the sermon is received by the congregation, the gift flows into her lips in thanksgiving, acclamation, and prayer, and into her hands in bringing love gifts from her labor in daily vocation.

This, what Kliefoth called *Opferact*, is also seen as a presupposition of the *Abendmahlact*. The thanksgiving and prayer precede the Lord's Supper for Kliefoth, not because such is a requirement of the Law but because the Lord's Supper is a "sacrifice meal." Viewed through the Old Testament Divine Service background, only those whose sin has been taken away and holied may approach to the Lord in a priestly manner in repentance and faith. In other words, the Lord's Supper is for the baptized. The New Testament Divine Service for Kliefoth is not complete without the Lord's Supper. Kliefoth stays with the mandate and institution of Jesus.

In addition to this threefold vitality of the Divine Service, Kliefoth also mentions two specific contributions of the Reformation in terms of the life of the liturgy. In his first edition of *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung* (1847) he mentions: (1) preaching, and (2) participation of the congregation.

Kliefoth's stress on preaching came from Luther's observation in his *Von Ordnung des Gottesdienstes in der Gemeinde* (1523), where Luther critiques the medieval Roman Catholic Mass as corrupting the Divine Service, by silencing God's word, replacing it with fables, and making the service a performance to merit salvation. There Luther uses Reformation terminology of the pastoral office, *Predigtamt*, to extol the sermon. Kliefoth learned from Luther the vitality of the Lord's giving (*δόσις*, *sacramentum*), which needed to be recovered in his own nineteenth-century circumstances as well.

Kliefoth's observation of congregational participation as another fruit of the Reformation for the Divine Service has two aspects: (1) our receiving, and (2) congregational responsive singing.

First and foremost, for Kliefoth, the congregational participation meant her receiving (*λήψις*) of the Lord's gifts of the word (preaching) and of His body and blood (the Lord's

Supper). The stress on congregational participation was not what we actively do but what we passively receive.

The second aspect of the congregational participation naturally follows the passive *receiving*. What the Lord gave (preaching, the Lord's Supper) and what is received (from *extra nos* [ears, mouth] to *in nobis* [heart]) moves into congregational responsive singing as an acclamation of the Lord, His confession, and thanksgiving. In this way, Kliefoth explained the Divine Service as a vital flow of His giving—our receiving—and our giving. The last portion of our giving does not exist autonomously, but always dependent on the *δόσις* and *sacramentum*. And for the sake of a common acclamation and thanksgiving Kliefoth considered a fixed text of the liturgy as important. The evangelical freedom and orderly service belonged together for Kliefoth because both derived from his understanding of the liturgy as an interplay of *δόσις* and *λήψις*, or *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*.

In his second edition of *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung* or *Liturgische Abhandlungen* (1858–61), Kliefoth again explains what fundamental liturgical thinking he drew from Luther and the Lutheran fathers. He mentions two things. One is a distinction between *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*, and the other is the fact that the Divine Service is for the congregation. Without reviewing further, we recognize that such an observation of Kliefoth on the Reformation contribution toward the Divine Service in this writing corresponds with what he mentioned on the same in his 1847 work as we saw above. What runs all through in Kliefoth's understanding of the Divine Service are the Lord's mandate and institution of His means of grace and the reciprocal *δόσις* and *λήψις*.

Concerning the *Preface*

In Kliefoth's liturgical thinking, the *Preface* is viewed within the lively *δόσις* of the Lord and congregational *λήψις*. As we saw above, congregational participation was an important fruit

of the liturgical restorational work at the Reformation. Kliefoth's thinking on the congregational participation was a consequence of the centrality of the Lord's giving in the liturgy (δόσις, *sacramentum*). It had to do with (1) receiving of what the Lord gives (λήψις), and (2) congregational responsive singing (*sacrificium*). The *Preface* is placed in this last portion of *sacrificium* in the context of the Divine Service.

As Kliefoth highlighted the responsories, antiphonal and responsive chanting, the *Preface* was always a primary instance of such congregational responsive singing along with the *Vere Dignum*, the *Sanctus*, the *Agnus Dei*, the *Benedicamus*, the *Te Deum*, litany and other historic versicles. He wished to avoid both the one-sidedness of the pastor and the one-sidedness of the congregation. The Roman Mass was a propitiating sacrifice brought by the priest for the congregation (one-sidedness of the clergy). The Reformed service was for Kliefoth a eucharistic sacrifice brought by the congregation (one-sidedness of the congregation).

In the *Abendmahlact* the consecration and the distribution of the Lord's body and blood (*sacramentum*) is surrounded by *sacrificium* portions both before (the *Preface*, the *Sanctus*, etc.) and after (versicle, post-communion collect, closing hymn, etc.). Kliefoth maintains that those sacrificial portions receive strength from the sacramental portion.

Kliefoth wanted to have versicles between pastor and congregation rather than between pastor and choir or among choirs. This reflects Kliefoth's view that the Divine Service is the Lord's δόσις, using a man whom He put there in the service of His means of grace (*Amt Christi*, *Gnadenmittel*, *Gnadenmittelamt*), and the λήψις of the congregation, which Kliefoth called *Gemeindeamt* or of deacons. Thus, in the *Preface* the pastor addresses the congregation with the Lord's words of invitation. The congregation responds to the Lord by speaking back to the pastor, indicating her readiness to receive the Lord's gifts about to be delivered. Kliefoth maintained that the sacrificial portions receive their strength from the sacramental portion.

Also, Kliefoth honored historic texts in congregational singing and responsive chanting. He recognized how viable is what has been used and tested through many centuries rather than to create something new from the bottom, and what more so than the *Preface*.

The foregoing thoughts may be seen in Kliefoth's own work of liturgical revision in Mecklenburg where he restored the *Preface* which had been lost during the eighteenth century as responsive chanting between pastor and congregation. Yet, he maintained the old wordings which he inherited from the old church order of his region from the sixteenth century. At the time of Kliefoth, the old church order was still what was authorized.

An Evangelical Way of Liturgical Revision

The last thing we wish to mention concerning Kliefoth's thinking on liturgical revision is his frequent mention of the disastrous result of the work of Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt concerning the implementation of the new liturgy in Wittenberg while Luther was absent. Kliefoth saw in the content of Karlstadt's reform of the liturgy a lack of distinction between *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*. He learned from the bad example of Karlstadt that the church should be protected from the love of arbitrariness, innovation, and novelty. When some reform is called for it may be done in Karlstadt's imperious way of the Law, or in the Gospel way of Luther's *Invocavit* sermons. For Kliefoth also then even a good evangelical liturgy should be introduced in an evangelical and sensitive way. It should not be forced upon the congregation, but be received as a gift. In other words, both the content and the way of introducing it should be in the way of the Gospel. Kliefoth diagnosed that the activity of Karlstadt on the liturgy was a way of following abstract principles rather than something which arose out of the heart of the Gospel.

Kliefoth's Liturgiology Reflected in E. G. Bring and U. L. Ullman

E. G. Bring

E. G. Bring's thinking on liturgy was alluded to in his series of articles on the church in *Swensk Kyrkotidning* in 1855. We noted in chapter 2 above that his articles were essentially a summation of Kliefoth's *Acht Bücher von der Kirche* of 1854. Bring thus inherited from Kliefoth the ecclesiology which is centered in the means of grace (*Gnadenmittel*). The church is the location where the Lord's δόσις takes place (*sacramentum, Amt Christi*) through the means of grace office (*Gnadenmittelamt*), and where the congregation receives the gifts of the Lord (ληψις) which results in her life of praise to the Lord and in her service to the neighbor (*sacrificium*). Even when the topic of the articles was the church, Bring put forward essential thinking on the Divine Service as well, because for Kliefoth liturgiology and ecclesiology belonged together.

A little more focused view of the liturgy in Bring was seen within the 1854 Proposal to the Agenda itself (1854 BP). There were seven essential points that Bring brought forward on behalf of the committee appointed to revise the Agenda of 1811. These points which we discussed chapter 3 may be summarized as follows:

- (1) The point of departure in Bring's liturgical thinking was the Scripture through the Reformation. From Luther he learned the vital centrality of the means of grace and the evangelical character of the liturgy.
- (2) At the center of the Divine Service is the delivery of the Lord's words and His body and blood. Here Bring spoke the movement of the Lord's delivery of His gifts to the congregation's receiving of them, then on to the congregation's eucharistic giving and life.
- (3) In the Divine Service oneness/regularity and variety/freedom are both connected together, each having a rightful place.
- (4) A proper distinction between what is essential and what is not in the liturgy, that is, what has been mandated and instituted by Christ and what has been added by the church in her history. The doctrine which came from Christ is the criterion of the liturgy as opposed to

the external form. He discussed the evangelical freedom that the church is given to exercise for the sake of the Gospel delivery. Bring also warned against the error of arbitrariness, novelty, and the disorder of Karlstadt's way of revising the liturgy.

- (5) "Every liturgical change ought to be avoided which is not brought about out of a generally perceived and known need." This fifth point followed the negative example of Karlstadt commented above. Bring expresses that not only the content of the liturgy but also the way to revise it are to be governed by the gift-giving way of the Gospel.
- (6) Faithfulness to the Lutheran Confession is the criterion by which Bring wanted his committee's proposal to be judged.
- (7) Freshly formulated words and phrases within the proposed Agenda should be taken as much as possible from the Swedish liturgical heritage.

There can be little doubt of the harmony of Bring's liturgical thinking with that of Kliefoth, his teacher. The vitality of the Lord's doing in the liturgy was primary for Bring, as also how His gifts continuing to bear fruits in those who receive them in the liturgy and in the daily walk of Christian vocation. As Kliefoth, Bring goes to the heart of the Gospel and from there he discerns practical aspects of the works of liturgical revision.

So much that we hear from Bring may be found in Kliefoth. In Bring we may find Swedish applications. Points number five and seven above direct toward that way. For Bring, as in Kliefoth, the exchanged words, versicles, and responsories between pastor and congregation were a very vital part of the Divine Service. The advice, "every liturgical change ought to be avoided which is not brought about out of a generally perceived and known need" would give a guideline for the Thomander's committee to consider a change in our phrase in question in the *Preface*. We observe also that the recommendation to draw on the Swedish liturgical heritage itself for fresh formulation of words and phrases in the liturgy was indeed fruitful in the work of the revision of the *Preface*.

U. L. Ullman

Although U. L. Ullman was affected in his liturgiology not only by Kliefoth but also by Löhe, Theodosius Harnack, and the Erlangen faculty, we noted in chapter 3 the core characteristic liturgical and ecclesiological thinking of Kliefoth in Ullman as well. The five key words that we presented from his *Liturgik* correspond to Ullman's view on the liturgy. We summarize them as follows:

- (1) *Truth*: The content of the Divine Service is truthful to the Holy Scripture and its Lord. Since the Lord Himself serves His people by giving His gifts, Ullman emphasizes *δόσις* and *λήψις* and *sacramentum* and *sacrificium* in the liturgy, considering participation of the congregation through versicles and acclamations as a result of the gifts which are received.
- (2) *Freedom*: Ullman here talked about an evangelical freedom that the church exercises in the area of the liturgy. It came from his recognition that the Lord gave mandates and institutions of the means of grace and the office which distributes them, but did not prescribe a fixed form of the liturgy to have to follow. Since the liturgy is viewed dynamically as opposed to static and rigid, freedom has to do with faith and truth rather than external orders. Not anarchy and disorderliness but a fixed form is the only way to defend the freedom of the Gospel. The reforms and changes in the liturgy should never be imposed on the congregation by force.
- (3) *Order*: Following the themes of truth and freedom, Ullman demonstrates here that the shape of the Divine Service is a theological consequence of *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*. He values an interplay between them as an essential evangelical character of the liturgy. The Office of the Holy Ministry is confessed as an instrument of the Lord's giving of His gifts. Moreover, the *Preface* is included as important within such a dynamic interaction of the Lord's dealing with His people and their acclamation of Him.
- (4) *Community*: Ullman values early liturgies and the continuation in the liturgy in time and space as do Kliefoth and Bring. But just as Kliefoth and Bring, Ullman was not a liturgical romanticist. Those who revise the liturgy are to diagnose and test all that has been added by the church on the basis of *norma normans* as taught by the Lutheran Confessions and through the vital interplay of *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*. Another point which Ullman brings forward is the theme of community alive in the common responses, praises, litanies, prayers, and creed. Yet these are not emphasized as empty rituals. They receive life and strength from the *sacramentum*.
- (5) *Solemnity*: This last theme was related to the very way that the liturgy is conducted as well as the external material things in and surrounding the liturgy. The holy things call for a form congenial with the content.

Ullman thus expressed his view on the liturgy somewhat differently from E. G. Bring. Yet at the core of his thinking, we observe that Ullman did indeed share much with Bring his liturgical thinking. Doctrine, confession, and liturgy belonged together for him. Even clearer than in Bring, Ullman articulated that the shape of the liturgy is a theological consequence of the interplay between *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*. The way the liturgy is to be diagnosed, revised, and implemented in the congregations is all characterized with the way of the Gospel by Ullman as also by Kliefoth and Bring. The *Preface* enjoyed an important place in his liturgical thinking because of the centrality in the Lord's giving and our receiving and confessing.

What may be seen as unique in Ullman is his last point of solemnity. Here we may suspect some influence from his early training in aesthetics and interest in Gothic church architecture. Or there may be a touch of romanticism through the Erlangen school: pulsations between the external and the internal.⁷ Nevertheless, we have observed that the source and motivation of Ullman's thinking at this point did not come from a speculative and anthropological idea but from his evangelical awareness of what is going on in the liturgy: *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*. Although Ullman does not directly mention it, his thought on solemnity corresponds with *summa reverentia* of the Augsburg Confession 24: 1.

**“He Alone Is Worthy of Thanks and Praise!”
as an Embodiment of the Theology of the Confessional Revival
Represented by Theodor Kliefoth**

How vital was the vitality of the Lord's doing according to the theology of the Confessional Revival represented by Theodor Kliefoth; how alive in the works of liturgical revisions, particularly in our phrase, “He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!” in the *Preface*?

⁷ Bexell traces Ullman's idea of the conformity of the external with the internal reality in J. G. Herder. Bexell, *Liturgins Theologi hos U. L. Ullman*, 164–65.

In this section we bring together some liturgical consequences of Kliefoth's liturgical theology in the Swedish liturgies of the nineteenth century.

The *Sacramentum* Side

In attempting to revise the 1811 Agenda in the area of the liturgy of the chief Divine Service, there are a number of features that are noteworthy concerning the revision on the *sacramentum* side. Naturally, the most important points of the recovery of the Lord's δόσις in the liturgy were the improvement of the preaching of the pure Gospel and more frequent delivery of the Lord's body and blood. In addition, in chapter 3 above we noted several improvements in the body of the liturgy itself.

First, the 1854 BP opened the service with the invocation of the Triune Name followed by Psalm 124:8. The emphasis was on the name of the Lord at the beginning of the Divine Service.

Second, we noted the introduction of the *Verba Solemnia* before the reading of the Gospel. In this way, the Lord's invitation through the words of *sursum corda* was announced to the congregation both before the hearing of the Lord's words of the Gospel during the service of preaching and before the hearing of the Lord's words of the Gospel during the service of the Lord's Supper. This feature was followed by 1855 BP, 1888 Rudin Proposal, and 1894 HB.

Third, the 1854 TP intentionally retained the phrase from the 1811 HB: "God lift up our hearts" instead of adopting more traditional phrase in the Swedish liturgy, "We lift them up to the Lord." The thinking behind this phrase in the Thomander committee was a recognition that the former phrase is less faithful to the Latin original, *Habemus ad Dominum*, and that theologically speaking only when God's grace comes are our hearts turned to Him. This feature lived on in the 1855 BP, in the 1888 Rudin Proposal, as well as in the 1894 HB.

The *Sacrificium* Side

Kliefoth's view that the purer the *sacramentum* the richer the *sacrificium* was accepted by both E. G. Bring and U. L. Ullman. Thus, in their liturgical revision the sacrificial portion of the Divine Service received much attention.

The most characteristic improvement was in the area of congregational participation in singing and responsive acclamation and praise, following the view of Kliefoth's understanding of the evangelical liturgy. While mention may be made of the recovery of the *Laudamus*, the *Vere Dignum*, and other versicles, we here focus on the *Preface*.

The major change in the 1854 BP on the 1811 HB in the area of the *Preface* was that the full tripartite versicles were recovered; they were always to be chanted between the pastor and the congregation. The 1811 HB had a unique rubric which not only omitted the third couplet but also had congregational silence when addressed by the pastor through spoken words. Just as Kliefoth did in Mecklenburg, so Bring recovered the *Preface* in the language of the official Swedish liturgy before the 1811 HB (1614/93 Agenda). The phrase in question was, therefore, "It is right and proper" in response to "Let us give thanks to God, our Lord."

Because there was a generally recognizable need in the church at large which was evident through the period of "field testing," the 1854 TP suggested "He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!" Here we witnessed the emergence of our phrase in the Swedish Church. We observed that it took place with great care. The committee first gave theological grounds. These matched the vitality of $\delta\acute{o}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ and $\lambda\eta\psi\iota\varsigma$, and of *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*. Also we noted that this phrase is of words furnished by the Swedish liturgical heritage. Furthermore, this phrase continued to enjoy its place in the succeeding liturgies of 1855 BP, 1888 Rudin Proposal and 1894 HB.

An Evaluation

The recovery of the *Preface* versicles occupied an important place in the liturgical reform of Kliefoth, E. G. Bring, and U. L. Ullman in common. The theological rationale came from their recognition that the Divine Service is the place where the Lord distributes His forgiveness, life, and salvation through the means of grace. Kliefoth noted that when the *Amt Christi* is disregarded there is a destruction of the Divine Service, because something else will substitute for Christ who gives.

The dynamic flow of the Lord's giving and our receiving was the key to Kliefoth, Bring, and Ullman in their understanding of the liturgiology of Luther and the Lutheran Confessions. Such thought was expressed by Kliefoth in two kinds of proper distinctions also: a proper distinction between *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*, and a proper distinction between *Gnadenmittelamt* and *Gemeindeamt*. For example, Kliefoth noted that for Roman Catholics the Mass is a propitiatory sacrifice brought by the priest for the congregation, and for the Reformed worship is a eucharistic sacrifice brought by the congregation. Concerning the second kind of proper distinction above Kliefoth noted that in Rome the royal priesthood of the *Gemeindeamt* vanishes into the sacerdotal office of the *Gnadenmittelamt* as the former may approach the eternal High Priest only through *manum sacerdotis*. In the Reformed and the *collegium* system of pietism, the *Gnadenmittelamt* became a eucharistic office of priests which is derived from the universal priesthood. In both cases, neither *Gnadenmittelamt* nor universal priesthood is properly upheld as a gift from the Lord.

Where the distinctions between *sacramentum* and *sacrificium* as well as between *Gnadenmittelamt* and *Gemeindeamt* are lacking or weakened, liturgy becomes impoverished. This is another way of saying where the *Amt Christi* is disregarded there is a destruction of the Divine Service. A problem arises when there is a refusal of the gift the Lord is giving and when

there is a denial and unbelief of the Lord who is the giver of His gifts. The Apology of the Augsburg Confession states: “what is the knowledge of Christ except to know Christ’s benefits?”⁸ To deny or diminish the gifts He gives is to deny or diminish Christ. It takes place when the Lord’s Supper is held “as something we do” (LC 5, 7), and when such anthropocentric references as “our own preparations, thoughts, and works without the external word of the Gospel” (AC 5) usurp what He is doing in the Divine Service.

For Kliefoth, his diagnosis of the liturgies extended not only to Roman Catholics and the Reformed but also to the Lutheran orthodoxy when the Gospel is confessed statically, and to pietism where there is anthropocentric subjectivism. Nothing is more against a Lutheran way with the liturgy that the *sacrificium* stands independently from *sacramentum*. Such profound awareness of the Lord’s doing was embraced by the Swedish churchmen of the nineteenth century whom we have heard.

The *Preface* belongs then to the *sacrificium*. Having heard (ἀκηψις) the *extra nos* of the Gospel delivery in a sermon, from the heart which received the Gospel flows thanksgiving to the giver Lord for His gift as well as prayer for His further treasure to come, the anticipation of the Lord’s body and blood. The *Preface* versicles are chanted responsively as the hearts and mouths of the communicants are prompted by the Gospel delivery in preaching in anticipation of the Lord’s further gift of His body and blood.

The *Preface* as *sacrificium* flows out of the Gospel proclamation (*sacramentum*) and streams into the *Verba Domini* (*sacramentum*). It is as if the Lord wanted us to be certain about

⁸ “Quid est autem notitia Christi, nisi nosse beneficia Christi.” Ap. 4, 101. This point may be illustrated in the case when one considers the Lutheran liturgy as too penitential, such as Aulen and Brilioth did as we shall see below. It is claimed that the Divine Service should be more “eucharistic” and cheerful. In the context of their writings, such a notion detaches the Lord’s service from His purpose of giving His gifts. Luther also mentions in his *Formula Missae* (1523) that the communicant should be able to explain why he is coming to the Lord’s Supper: consolation and comfort by receiving the forgiveness of sins in eating and drinking of the Lord’s body and blood (WA 12: 215. 21–28; AE 53: 32; LC 5, 2).

this flow, namely, the *sacrificium* having weight only where it receives life from *sacramentum*; that the beginning of the Lord's Supper (the *Preface*) is the Lord's name and His initiative: "The Lord with you!"

While the recovery of the *Preface* was important theologically for both Kliefoth and the Swedish churchmen, why did Bring in the 1854 BP not forthwith lay our phrase into the *Preface*? A hint may be found in Bring's words: "every liturgical change ought to be avoided which is not brought about out of a generally perceived and known need." At the time between 1854 BP and 1854 TP, there was found such a "generally perceived and known need" to make the change from "It is right and proper!" to "He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!" On the other hand, there was no such voice in the church in Mecklenburg for Kliefoth to engage.

Kliefoth did not directly suggest such a change so far as we know in our investigation. For him, a restoration of the lost *Preface* may have been regarded as then enough. Moreover, he honored the recovery of what he received as the ancient liturgical words and phrases and resisted novelty. Unfortunately there is no sign that would indicate that Kliefoth examined each phrase of the *Preface* line by line as found in the old church order of his region. Kliefoth may have felt that it was not for him to do something which would appear as something new to be imposed while the old church order was still in effect by law.

In the Swedish scene, when there was a "generally perceived and known need" to improve the phrase, it gave an opportunity for the committee to theologically investigate the freight of the phrase. Out of such an endeavor there was a recognition that a more direct way to acclaim Christ would be appropriate at that moment of the Divine Service. The phrase emerged in such a context. It is noteworthy also that Bring's point number seven concerning the sources of newly formulated words and phrase in the liturgy was carefully followed in suggesting our phrase. For

as we have seen in chapter 3, no part of “He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!” came from nowhere but was found at several places within the Swedish liturgical heritage.

Kliefoth, who did not directly suggest a change but was satisfied with the recovery of the *Preface*, thus prepared the way for the Swedish churchmen to consider the alternative by providing theological understanding of the Divine Service. And when the phrase was presented in Sweden, it was accepted as if it had always been there in the Lord’s Supper service. This indicates that the phrase did fit in well with the way the Confessional Revival understood the liturgy.

The moment we turn aside and look back at ourselves, our faith and our doings, instead of at the Lord and His gifts, we risk being left alone with ourselves and entangled in ourselves and speak of ourselves rather than of the Lord. When liberated by the living voice of the Gospel we are given to live outside ourselves. The Lutheran confession of the centrality of the means of grace or *externum verbum*⁹ is, therefore, found consistent with this phrase. In the context of the Confessional Revival it cannot strike us as surprising that the focus and flow of the *Preface*’s Christo-centricity as culminatingly confessed with “He alone is worthy!” emerged and was embraced as confessing *solo Christo*.

The *Preface* in Recent Literature

At this point, we will briefly review how the *Preface* has been explained by recent literature in order to observe the difference between their view and the view maintained by Kliefoth and the Swedish churchmen. Within the *Preface*, our interest goes naturally to the phrase of our investigation, the final words of the people of God speaking in response to “Let us thank God our Lord.” It is to be noted from the outset that what the modern researchers whom

⁹ Luther says the Lord’s word, baptism, and the Lord’s Supper are “mine with greater certainty than this very
(continued next page)

we will review below comment on is the Greek original of the phrase ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον, which had been translated in the Swedish liturgies as “It is right and proper” until 1693 HB and as “He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!” since 1854 TP. As we noted, Kliefoth knew that the *Preface* is the oldest portion of the Divine Service of the Lord’s Supper. It is outside the scope of this dissertation to investigate the freight of ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον in early liturgies. Although it is necessary to touch on it as a background of those researchers’ inquiry, our interest is in contrasting their view on the phrase in comparison with Kliefoth and the Swedish churchmen.

”Αξιον καὶ δίκαιον has been explained by liturgical scholars in a number of ways. For example, Gregory Dix in his classic work, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, wrote that Εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ—”Αξιον καὶ δίκαιον is derived from the invitation of the president of the *chaburah* that he recited before the after-meal-*berakah*, followed by the assent of his company.¹⁰ A lack of precision in this observation of Dix, however, was noted by Louis Ligier in his article entitled, “From the Last Super to the Eucharist.”¹¹ Ligier pointed out that the Jewish text of the *berkat hamazon* is “Let us *bless* the Lord our God,” and not “Let us *give thanks to* the Lord” (emphases added). Furthermore, while Dix believed that he was successfully pointing to the source of the words of the bishop εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ, he was not able to supply data as to where ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον actually came from. Dix explained: “No Jewish formula for this (‘assent’) has been preserved, but the ‘semitic parallelism’ of the traditional Christian response, ‘It is meet and right,’ seems *obvious enough*.”¹² But the response of the guests to the words of the host, “Let us

life which I live.” WA 44: 700. 16–19; AE 8: 166.

¹⁰ Dom Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London: Dacre Press, 1945), 127. Dix believes that the Lord instituted the Lord’s Supper not at the Passover supper, but at the evening meal, *chaburah*, twenty-four hours before the actual Passover (*ibid.*, 50).

¹¹ Louis Ligier, “From the Last Supper to the Eucharist,” in *The New Liturgy*, ed. Lancelot Sheppard (London: Longman & Todd, 1970), 144.

¹² Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 80 (emphasis added).

give thanks to the Lord” in the grace after the meal is not ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον, but “Blessed be the Name of the Lord from this time forth for evermore.”¹³

Nonetheless, a similarly ambiguous observation in explaining the origin of the phrase ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον was shared by Adrian Fortescue,¹⁴ Luther Reed,¹⁵ and essentially also by Jeremias,¹⁶ and even Lietzmann.¹⁷ These authors saw a semitic element in ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον, but they failed to identify where the words came from.

Jungmann’s explanation is less equivocal. Like Dix and others he identified εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ with an introduction to the prayer of thanks in the Jewish order of prayer, but he now finds ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον in an acclamation in the ancient Hellenistic culture where lawfully assembled people endorsed an important decision, an election, or the taking of office by means of an acclamation, ἄξιός.¹⁸ This observation was explained that through the

¹³ Ibid., 52. *Mishnah*, tractate *Berakoth*, VII. Cf., David Hedegaard, *Seder R. Amram Gaon, part 1* (Lund: A/B. Ph. Lindstedts Universitets-Bokhandel, 1951), 146; A. Lukyn Williams, *Tractate Berakoth (Benedictions) Mishna and Tosephta* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1921), 59–64; Ismar Elbogen, *Jewish Liturgy: A Comprehensive History*, trans. Raymond P. Scheindlin (Philadelphia-Jerusalem: The Jewish Publication Society, 1993), 48; Louis Bouyer, *Eucharist: Theology and Spirituality of the Eucharistic Prayer*, trans. Charles Underhill Quinn (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968), 81.

¹⁴ Fortescue writes: “The Jewish grace before meals contain exactly our form: ‘Let us give thanks to Adonai our God.’ ‘Dignum et iustum est’ must also come from the earliest age (emphasis added). Its parallelism suggests a Semitic (Hebrew?) form.” Adrian Fortescue, *The Mass: A Study of the Roman Liturgy* (London/New York/Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co., 1912), 320.

¹⁵ Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, 307–309.

¹⁶ Joachim Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus* (London: SCM Press, 1966), 117.

¹⁷ Lietzmann writes: “That the response is expressed in the words ‘Recht und wuerdig ist es,’ and not after the same form as the model, may possibly be in accordance with a Jewish practice which has not however had the fortune of being preserved by the Talmud.” Hans Lietzmann, *Mass and Lord’s Supper: A Study in the History of the Liturgy with Introduction and Further Inquiry by Robert Douglas Richardson*, trans. Dorothea H. G. Reeve (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979), 187. Idem, *Messe und Herrenmahl: Eine Studie zur Geschichte der Liturgie* (Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Weber’s Verlag, 1926), 230. Lietzmann comments also on the *worthy* ones and *unworthy* ones. He understands St. Paul’s words in 1 Cor. 11:27 by comparing it with the Hellenistic religious meal practice. He writes: “The meal is regarded as an analogue to the Hellenistic meals held as memorials to great men, founders of religious communities. But it is also thought of as a sacrificial meal, in the elements of which divine power dwells, promoting the salvation of the worthy and causing the damnation of the unworthy.” *Mass and Lord’s Supper*, 205–206.

¹⁸ Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, vol. 2: 111. Cf., Erik Peterson, *Εἰς θεός: Epigraphische, formeschlichtliche und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1926), 176–180. At the election of a bishop, the same ἄξιός was spoken by the people in the early church. See Paul F. (continued next page)

liturgical dialogue at the beginning of the Lord's Supper's liturgy, the congregation endorses the priest or bishop to perform the sacrifice on their behalf. Jungmann writes:

It is the ecclesiastical assembly that desires to praise God; but its organ, duly authorized from above, is the priest or bishop at its head. Only through him can and will she act, confirming this by her endorsement. But for his part, too, the priest does not wish to appear before God as an isolated petitioner, but rather only as speaker for the congregation. Thus, by means of a dialogue at the great moment when the eucharistic prayer is to begin and the sacrifice is about to be performed, the well-ordered community that is at work secures an expressional outlet. At the same time there is a manifestation of how self-evident and becoming is the action which the Christian congregation has undertaken.¹⁹

Jungmann appeals to Chrysostom for support.²⁰ But a close look at the text of Chrysostom indicates that the contrast he makes is between the priests in the Old Testament and those of the New, rather than priest as the “speaker for the congregation” and the people who give authority to him. Chrysostom does not mention that the priest now “performs the sacrifice” on behalf of the people. Rather, his point is that unlike the Old Testament time, both the priest and the people “enjoy” to receive the shudder-causing mysteries “for both are likewise counted *worthy* of them.”²¹ Chrysostom continues a little later: “The things of the eucharist (thanksgiving) are again common. For neither that man (the priest) does eucharist alone, but also all the people. Having received their voice earlier (‘With your spirit’), next, while they (people) put together that he does this *worthily and rightly*, then, he begins the eucharist.”²² The point here is that the Lord's Supper is for the *worthy* ones, that is both priest and people. Thus, the use of ἄξιός to

Bradshaw, *Ordination Rites of the Ancient Churches of East and West* (New York: Pueblo, 1990). For example, *Testamentum Domini* reads: “Then let them (the people) cry out, He is worthy, he is worthy, he is worthy.” Ibid., 118. See also Eusebius, *H. E.* 6.29.4 (MG 20: 588c).

¹⁹ Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, 2: 111.

²⁰ Ibid., 111, fn. 12. “It is not the priest alone who completes the thanksgiving, but the people with him.” Chrysostom, *Homilies on 2 Cor.*, 18 (MG 61: 527).

²¹ “ὅταν ἀπολαύειν δέη τῶν φρικτῶν μυστηρίων· ὁμοίως γὰρ πάντες ἀξιούμεθα τῶν αὐτῶν.” Chrysostom, *Homilies on 2 Cor.*, 18 (MG 61: 527), emphasis added.

²² “Τὰ τῆς εὐχαριστίας πάλιν κοινά· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος εὐχαριστεῖ μόνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἅπας· Πρότερον γὰρ αὐτῶν λαβῶν φωνήν εἶτα συντιθεμένων ὅτι ἀξίως καὶ δικαίως τοῦτο γίνεται τότε ἄρξεται τῆς εὐχαριστίας” Chrysostom, *Homilies on 2 Cor.*, 18 (MG 61: 527), emphasis added.

acknowledge the authorization of the bishop to do what he is put in office and liturgy to do may indeed have its place. But it is quite another and an alien notion to interpret that Chrysostom was speaking about the performance of the offering of a sacrifice for the sins of the living and the dead.

Jungmann's view of ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον which he appears to have drawn from the surrounding Hellenistic world has a further weakness. No data of the pre-fourth century usage of the phrase have been supplied in support of this view. No one had seriously taken a look at how the term had been used in the context of the liturgies either.

Nevertheless, Johannes H. Emminghaus held a view similar to Jungmann's regarding ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον. Emminghaus maintains:

The *Gratias agamus* ('Let us give thanks') was probably taken over from Judaism and is meant to tell the hearers that they are about to offer not just any kind of thanksgiving but the special praise contained in the *berakah-eucharistia* ('blessing'). . . . The response *Dignum et iustum est* ('It is right and fitting'), on the other hand, has Hellenistic origin. In the civic assemblies of the Greek polis, *axios* ('worthy, right') was the acclamation of agreement. The meaning and purpose of the dialogue that begins the preface is to make the congregation conscious of its communion with its president and official spokesman. In this sense, the *Dignum et iustum est* at the beginning of the preface and the *Amen* at the end of the Canon are closely connected, since both manifest the fraternal communion and ecclesial unity of all who are praying together.²³

W. Jardine Grisbrooke²⁴ and Robert Taft²⁵ seem to embrace such views of Jungmann and Emminghaus.

²³ Johannes Emminghaus, *The Eucharist: Essence, Form, Celebration*, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1978), 178–179.

²⁴ Grisbrooke claims: "It is the third versicle, 'Let us give thanks,' and response, which explain the universality and necessity of the dialogue: before he may proceed with the thanksgiving, the president of the assembly must receive the assembly's authority to do so in the name of all, and its assent to what he is about to say. W. Jardine Grisbrooke, "Anaphora," in *The New Westminster Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship*, ed. J. G. Davies (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1986), 16.

²⁵ "But the response 'Fitting and right' is no more than an acclamation of approval of the sort common in pagan antiquity as well as in Jewish culture." "The Dialogue before the Anaphora in the Byzantine Eucharistic Liturgy III: 'Let us give thanks to the Lord—It is fitting and right,'" *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 55 (1989): 69–70.

While Dix and others believed that ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον came from the *birkat ha-mazon*, and Jungmann sought it from the Hellenistic origin, some liturgical scholars recognize that ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον is equivalent to the *Amen* in the *Shema* of the Jewish morning prayer: “true and firm.”²⁶ Those who observed such words from *Shema*, such as Jungmann and Kucharek, made use of them to support their own view that ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον was the endorsement of the congregation so that the presiding priest may perform the sacrifice on their behalf.²⁷

We may observe that each of the explanations above have theological presuppositions. For example, the views of Jungmann and Emminghaus agree with the ecumenical consensus on the doctrine of the Lord’s Supper which is evidenced in the document, *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* of 1982.²⁸ John Reumann, who had been actively involved in the making of this document, explains the Holy Communion in terms of “Thanksgiving to the Father (eucharistia),” “Memorial of Christ (anamnesis),” “Invocation of the Spirit (epiklesis),” and “Communion of the Faithful” and “Meal of the Kingdom (koinonia).”²⁹ With this Trinitarian explanation of the

²⁶ Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, 2: 111, fn. 8; Casimir Kucharek, *The Byzantine-Slav Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom: Its Origin and Evolution* (Allendale, N.J.: Alleluia Press, 1971), 569; Norman Nagel, “Holy Communion,” in *Lutheran Worship History and Practice*, ed. Fred L. Precht (St. Louis, Mo.: Concordia Publishing House, 1993), 293, 317, fn. 13. Cf., David Hedegaard, *Seder R. Amram Gaon, part 1* (Lund: A/-B. Ph. Lindstedts Universitets-Bokhandel, 1951), 65. The source of such observation regarding the correspondence between ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον and “true and firm” is found in Ismar Elbogen, *Der juedische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1962), 22, 25 (English edition, trans. Raymond P. Scheindlin, *Jewish Liturgy: A Comprehensive History* [Philadelphia/Jerusalem: The Jewish Publication Society, 1993], 21, 23).

²⁷ The chain-figure-like climatic parallelism of the “introductory dialogue” is, according to Eric Werner, a most ancient form of Semitic praying. Here Werner agrees with Fortescue which we observed above. Eric Werner, *The Sacred Bridge* (London: Dennis Dobson, 1959), 282–291. According to *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, the phrase, ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον, occurs only eight times between eighth century BC and thirteenth century AD. It appears once in the first century and all other seven occurrences are in the fourth century, all from liturgical writings such as the Liturgy of Gregory Nazianzus, and of Basil. Luci Berkowitz and Karl A. Squitier, *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae: Canon of Greek Authors and Works*, third edition (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990). Thus, it is discernible that the phrase is extremely rare and its usage is limited almost exclusively within the Lord’s Supper’s liturgy.

²⁸ *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1982), 10–17.

²⁹ John Reumann, *The Supper of the Lord: The New Testament, Ecumenical Dialogues, and Faith and Order on Eucharist* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), 150–67; *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry*, 10–17.

Lord's Supper, not only the centrality of Jesus in the Scriptures and the early liturgies has receded, but also the emphasis was placed on *our* act of thanksgiving, which may be seen in the International Consultation on English Texts (ICET) as well as The English Language Liturgical Consultation (ELLC) texts. *Prayers We Have in Common* comments on the ICET text of "Let us give thanks to the Lord our God"—"It is right to give him thanks and praise" as:

The Eucharistic Prayer is regarded as essentially an act of praise and thanksgiving to the Father. Following the basic Jewish prayer form, the Christian liturgies blessed God by praising and thanking him for his works. *Gratias agamus* represents this underlying Hebrew concept and is therefore properly expressed, first by "Let us give thanks," and more fully by "it is right to give him thanks and praise." The use of *praise* at the end of the line gives the proper emphasis to the main thought.³⁰

Here, the understanding of the Holy Communion as the "Thanksgiving to the Father" is evidenced, particularly in the "eucharistic prayer" which begins with the so-called opening dialogue. Scholars who were responsible for ICET seem to have believed with Dix and Jungmann that this portion of the liturgy was derived from the *birkat ha-mazon*. "The main thought" in the *Preface* is recognized as the praise from us to God. The commentator on the *Lutheran Book of Worship* quotes this citation from *Prayers We Have in Common*³¹ to display that the hymnal agrees with such "ecumenical consensus."

"Eucharist as the thanksgiving to the Father" is further emphasized in the ELLC text thirteen years later in *Praying Together*. Here, after repeating the above explanation of the ICET text verbatim, it continues as follows:

The addition of "our thanks and praise" at the end of the line emphasizes the main thought and leads well into the great thanksgiving. . . . Various alternatives to "him" were considered, including "all," "such," and "great." "Offer" was also considered as a replacement for "give" if the pronoun was deleted. The Consultation believed it important not to alter the rhythm of the line unnecessarily. The rendering "It is right to give God

³⁰ International Consultation on English Texts, *Prayers We Have in Common*, 2nd rev. ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), 14.

³¹ Philip H. Pfatteicher, *Commentary on the Lutheran Book of Worship: Lutheran Liturgy in Its Ecumenical Context* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1990), 159.

thanks and praise” was also considered. In the end, “to give our thanks” was chosen as reflecting “Let *us* give thanks” in the previous line. The context makes it clear that the thanks and praise are being given to God.³²

The above comments demonstrate that the central importance of the Lord’s Supper for them is no longer the Lord Jesus’ giving out his body and blood for the forgiveness of sins, but our meal together with our thanksgiving. In the thinking of both ICET and ELLC texts as well as the ecumenical document from the Faith and Order of the World Council of Churches, *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry*, “our” act of praise and thanksgiving to the Father culminates in the *meal*. Such understanding of the *Preface* in general and ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον in particular may be said to be the dominant one in the latter half of the twentieth century, at least in a sense of the ICET text or its minor variations that have been adopted by most communions in the English speaking world.³³

Concluding Remarks

In contrast with the foregoing modern researchers’ view, according to the understanding of Kliefoth and the Swedish churchmen influenced by him, in the liturgy our Lord speaks, and with His words He does and gives what they say. The Lord’s Supper is neither a propitiatory sacrifice

³² The English Language Liturgical Consultation, *Praying Together* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1988), 34.

³³ Naturally, there are other scholars who have explained ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον differently. While Walter Reindell holds a similar view as we have examined and takes ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον as a *Stichwort* which highlights the thanksgiving (Walter Reindell, “Die Praefation,” *Leiturgia: Handbuch des Evangelischen Gottesdienstes*, vol. 2 [Kassel: Johannes Stauda, 1955], 460). From the standpoint of the Eastern Orthodoxy, Alexander Schmemmann writes: “When man stands before the throne of God, when he has fulfilled all that God has given him to fulfill, when all sins are forgiven, all joy restored, then there is nothing else for him to do but to give thanks. Eucharist (thanksgiving) is the state of perfect man. Eucharist is the life of paradise. Eucharist is the only full and real response of man to God’s creation, redemption, and gift of heaven. But this perfect man who stands before God is *Christ*. In Him alone all that God has given man was fulfilled and brought back to heaven. . . . ‘It is fitting and right to give thanks,’ answers the congregation, expressing in these words that ‘unconditional surrender’ with which true ‘religion’ begins. . . . ‘It is meet and right’ . . . is the only possible response to the divine invitation to live and to receive abundant life. Alexander Schmemmann, *For the Life of the World: Sacraments and Orthodoxy* (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1963), 37–38. Although Schmemmann adequately captures the similar thought in Kliefoth’s thinking in terms of the thanksgiving as a fruit of lips and of the entire life of the baptized, still the *proprium* of the Lord’s Supper is not particularly confessed here. What is missing when compared with Kliefoth’s understanding of the Lord’s Supper is the Lord’s giving, δόσις, *sacramentum*.

performed by the priest for the congregation nor a eucharistic sacrifice brought by the congregation. It is first and foremost the Lord's gracious giving. In applying one of the key criteria to diagnose the liturgy according to Kliefoth as well as Bring and Ullman, in what we observed above in the modern researchers there is a lack or weakness in a proper distinction between *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*. We observe that anything that diminishes the Christocentricity of the liturgy into anthropocentricity are symptoms of having it wrong.

Impoverishment in the liturgy comes when we take over. Kliefoth mentioned that cutting oneself off from the source from which derives the strength to sing, praise, pray and give thanks, one's hymn and acclamation become weakened. For him, the *sacrificium* can only vitally proceed from the *sacramentum*, out of which it grows. We recall also a comment in the House of Clergy in 1854: "The Lord does not need our thanks." Our thanksgiving is not to fall into actions we have to follow, but it comes only as a result of δόσις and λῆψις.

Kliefoth and the Swedish churchmen did not see the problems of the liturgies they inherited merely on the surface level, such as a lack of a certain component of the liturgy, for example, reading of the Scripture or the *Preface*. On the contrary, they observed them with a Lutheran understanding of the liturgy theologically. For them doctrine and liturgy belonged together. Both are the Lord's and from Him and toward Him. What these churchmen did in the works of liturgical revision, therefore, must be seen as their theological and confessional contributions, not a quick-fixing sort of damage controlling work. And when the Lutheran theology is restored and lives in the liturgy in an evangelical way, the acclamation "He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!" was accepted in Sweden as if the phrase had always been there in the Lord's service.

Liturgical change is never to be imposed. Both Kliefoth and Bring were very careful when they attempted to introduce the revised liturgy to the church. They exercised evangelical

sensitivity in order not to fall into the same error of Karlstadt in Wittenberg. It took forty years before the phrase “He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!” was finally adopted into the official Agenda in Sweden. When we live in an environment with a technology that makes it possible to make a liturgical change very easily, the present investigation suggests a careful, pastoral, and evangelical approach to the ongoing work of liturgical revision.

The *Preface* is not just a format or order in the service to have to follow. It lives on as a gift freely to be used. When it is comprehended in the context of the whole service of preaching and the Lord’s Supper, and understood as homology, the dominical confession, such a *Preface* helps the Lord’s people gathered in the church to be benefited by the Lord’s unthinkable and immeasurable gift of the Gospel. It is the Lord’s Day, the Lord’s Table, where the Lord Himself serves to us His gifts, gifts that engender in and from us His acclamation. In spite of our sinfulness and unworthiness and indeed because of it, the Lord nevertheless invites us to the Lord’s Supper.³⁴ As we stand *coram Deo* and *coram Christo*, the acclamation of “He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!” is not an inappropriate alternative, but a joyful confession of the Lord which lives on through the *Preface* and beyond!

³⁴ Cf., LC 5: 61–62.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION: HE ALONE IS WORTHY!

The Result of Our Inquiry

In this dissertation, we explored the Swedish rendering of the phrase in the *Preface*, “He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!” We asked three questions regarding this phrase in our introductory chapter.

The first question was on the way that this striking rendering emerged. We submitted our finding that this phrase was first introduced by the Thomander committee in 1854 TP and officially adopted by the Ullman committee in the 1894 HB of the Church of Sweden. It emerged when the Church of Sweden attempted to recover from the influence of the Enlightenment and pietism in the 1811 HB and when the Confessional Liturgical Revival of Theodor Kliefoth strongly affected the key figures of Swedish churchmen who were engaged in the liturgical revision. Out of such a theological matrix which had its central liturgical thinking around the dynamic flow of δόσις and λῆψις, and of *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*, the *Preface* which had been weakened or lost in the previous Agenda was first restored in the form of the former translation in the Swedish tradition, “It is right and proper.” Then when the change of the phrase was called for through the voices of the faithful in the church at large, “He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!” came into view.

Our second and main question in this investigation was the theological evaluation of this phrase. We demonstrated that it fits well with the liturgical theology of Kliefoth and the Swedish churchmen with their Lutheran understanding of the Confessional Liturgical Revival.

We observed that this particular phrase, “He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!” was not suggested concretely by Kliefoth or E. G. Bring as far as we were able to pursue. But we recognized that the content as well as the way that this phrase emerged corresponded to the liturgical thinking of E. G. Bring who drew deeply from the Confessional Revival by way of Kliefoth, as well as of U. L. Ullman who was also affected by Kliefoth. Such phrases as δόσις and λήψις, *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*, *Opferverhältniß*, *Gnadenmittel*, *Amt Christi*, *Gnadenmittelamt* characterize the liturgical theology of Kliefoth. “He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!” embraces Kliefoth’s confession of the Lord’s Supper’s liturgy.

We noted Bring’s words: “every liturgical change ought to be avoided which is not brought about out of a generally perceived and known need.” Bring also left his notion of reaching maximally to Swedish own liturgical heritage when a fresh phrase or words in the liturgy are called for. Our phrase was introduced to the people of the Church of Sweden not in a way of coercion but in a way of gift. Each portion of this phrase, “He alone,” “worthy,” and “thanks and praise” had some precedence in the Swedish liturgical heritage.

Thirdly, we asked on the appropriateness and aptness of this Swedish rendering in the life of the Divine Service today. The answer which we draw from our investigation is twofold. First, we submit that “He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!” is a very appropriate way of singing in the *Preface* as we have sought to demonstrate throughout this dissertation. Second, we also suggest, however, that “He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!” is not the only appropriate way to sing in the *Preface*. As with Kliefoth and the Swedish churchmen who learned from Luther and the Reformation, we recognize the distinction between what is essential and what is not in the liturgy as well as between what has been given and instituted by Christ and what have been added by the church. Our phrase in the *Preface* belongs to the latter, i.e., what is not given verbatim by Christ. It is in the area of the exercise of Christian freedom. Moreover,

anytime when a relatively new phrase is introduced in the liturgy, our lesson from this investigation is that it should not be coerced upon the church at large but come to her as a gift. Liturgical arbitrariness is not the way to go. Rather than imposing something new upon the present liturgy, we are called upon to exercise faith and love in the work of liturgical revision. For this reason, our study does not argue that the emerged Swedish rendering in the *Preface* is the only way possible. What this dissertation does propose is that with the phrase that emerged in Sweden the *beneficium* way of the Lord's dealing with us in the Lord's Supper may be defended even better and more clearly against being pulled in an anthropocentric direction. As we stand *coram Deo* and *coram Christo*, the acclamation of "He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!" is not an inappropriate alternative, but a joyful confession of the Lord.

"He Alone Is Worthy!"

How best the Lord's Supper may be confessed in the liturgy as the Gospel is the question every generation is given to reflect afresh. The contemporary situation where the Lord's church is facing such developments as the ecumenical movement, its special interests in the "evangelical catholic" ideal, its result in the so-called "eucharistic hospitality" and "intercommunion," the liturgical movement out of Roman Catholics and the Anglicans, and various other influences from American Evangelicalism in the area of "worship," what was confessed by the Confessional Revival, especially by Kliefoth, and what took place in nineteenth-century Sweden may stand out as clearly Lutheran in its theology and liturgical consequences. Although our situation is different in time and place, since the same Lord continues to serve us by bestowing forgiveness and salvation today until the consummation of the age we may still learn some important implications for our confession and use of the Lord's Supper.

We noted already that such implications include the way one diagnoses the liturgy evangelically through the criterion not of external form but of doctrine: *norma normans* and the

dynamics of *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*. We also suggested an evangelically sensitive liturgical revision, not by way of coercion or imposition but by way of carefulness and gift-giving.

We will add still another implication for today which we draw directly from the Swedish rendering that emerged in the *Preface* itself, namely the confession of “He Alone is Worthy!” of the Lord’s Supper.

Our investigation demonstrated with one of the key phrases of Kliefoth, the *Amt Christi*, that at the Divine Service the Lord Jesus Himself actively and graciously distributes the forgiveness which He accomplished on the cross. The doer and giver of $\delta\acute{o}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ and *sacramentum* is the Lord. The Swedish churchmen were heirs to this confession. For example, U. L. Ullman noted that in the *Preface* it is the Lord Himself who invites the communicants to the Lord’s table. According to the liturgical thinking of the Confessional Revival of Kliefoth, the Holy Communion is the *Lord’s* Supper.

“He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!” was not understood by the Swedish churchmen as the people of God giving authorization to the presiding pastor to perform the sacrifice on their behalf, or as the assembly exchanging a friendly dialogue together to show their gratitude while being convinced of the Lord’s “real absence.” These would be a confusion between *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*.

In arguing for “God lift up our hearts!” in the second couplet of the *Preface* versicle, Thomander pointed out that the rendering “We lift them unto the Lord” is possible only when influenced by the pattern in the English liturgy. His point was that the Latin phrase “*Habemus ad Dominum*” does not contain the notion of our act of elevating our hearts to up to the Lord. As Thomander commented on the response to the *sursum corda*, we may also mention another characteristic rendering in English which also comes from Thomas Cranmer. He added “so to

do” in translating ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον in the *Book of Common Prayer* of 1549.¹ Since then “it is mete and right so to do” became the standard rendering of the last words in the *Preface*.² *The Common Service* of 1888 and its tradition adopted this language.³ We observe that, theologically speaking, the addition of “so to do” is more nuanced to be consistent with the Reformed understanding of the Lord’s Supper as Thomander also sensed in his discussion of *Habemus ad Dominum*.

Jesus alone is worthy of thanks and praise because He alone was sacrificed for the world vicariously and all-availingly, bearing the sins of the whole world without exception, and because He alone graciously invites His people, the baptized, bestowing the treasure of the forgiveness of sin through His servant and instrument in the means of grace office. Faith responds to such a Lord with “Amen” and “He alone is worthy!”

¹ Cranmer’s rendering of the full *Preface* goes as follows:

The Lorde be with you.	And with thy spirite.
Lift up your hearts.	We lift them up unto the Lorde.
Let us geue thanks to our Lorde God.	It is mete and right so to do.

Irmgard Pahl ed., *Coena Domini I: Die Abendmahlsliturgie der Reformationskirchen im 16//17. Jahrhundert* (Schweiz: Universitätsverlag, 1983), 396.

² The word “mete” may be seen as a faithful translation of ἄξιος. Shakespeare thus uses “mete” in his *Much Ado About Nothing* Act 1, Scene 1, Line 121. Beatrice: “Is it possible disdain should die while she hath such mete food to feed it as Signior Benedick?” “Mete” is a “weighty” word as is ἄξιος. Also the phrase “so to do” had become so accustomed in the English liturgies, so that when Sir Lancelot C. L. Brenton translated the Septuagint into English in 1851, he inserted “so to do” in 2 Chronicles 7:3: “. . . for it is good to do so, because his mercy endures for ever” (emphasis original). This is a translation of ὅτι ἀγαθόν, ὅτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ. MT has כִּי שׁוֹב כִּי לְעוֹלָם חֶסֶדְךָ (“for He is good, for His mercy forever”). “For He is good, for His mercy forever” is a very important liturgical acclamation in the Old Testament Divine Service. It is THE most common liturgical acclamation which appears numerously in Psalms, Ezra and Jeremiah. Notice the occurrences of neuter “it” for the Hebrew masculine “He” in its translation.

³ The language “It is meet and right so to do” was welcomed into the Lutheran churches in America when the primary liturgical language shifted from German to English. Scholars who were responsible in editing the *Common Service* of 1888 intentionally made use of the Anglican liturgical language because of the beauty of their English as the liturgical language. When a question was raised as to such incorporation of the Anglican language into Lutheran usage, they answered that the *Common Service* did not assimilate the foreign language. It was simply returned to the Lutheran usage, because it was Lutherans who assisted Cranmer to develop the English language liturgies in the first place. This rendering, “it is meet and right so to do,” which originated in the *Book of Common Prayer* of 1549 lived on in the *Common Service* tradition of 1888. This translation kept on going with such successors as *The Lutheran Hymnal* of 1941 and *Service Book and Hymnal* of 1958. Only when the International Consultation on English Texts (ICET) established a new common English translation did the rendering begin to change by adopting ICET’s translation of “it is right to give him thanks and praise.”

Kliefoth and the Swedish churchmen confessed with such expressions as $\delta\acute{o}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ and *sacramentum* that it is the Lord alone who is doing it in the liturgy. Such a confession corresponds to the “for you” of the Lord’s Supper which Luther repeatedly emphasized, for example in his catechisms.⁴ Luther drew his thinking of “for you” from Jesus’ words of institution, especially in Matthew’s account (Mt 26:28). Jesus did not talk merely about His body and blood which are there. He said that these are “given for you.”⁵

For Luther, Christ’s body and blood can never be an unfruitful or unavailing thing that accomplishes nothing or is of no use.⁶ Forgiveness comes from and is received from both His words and His body and blood together.⁷ The gift of the Lord He does not give piecemeal or fractionally. He gives all. Then, as Kliefoth commented in his discussion of *Opferverhältniß*, we submit ourselves wholly to His use through the life of service to our neighbor. Luther says in his

⁴ SC 5, 5–8. “What is the benefit of this eating and drinking? Answer: These words, ‘Given and shed for you for the forgiveness of sins’ (*‘fur Euch gegeben’* und *‘vergossen zur Vergebung der Sunden’*), show us that in the Sacrament forgiveness of sins, life, and salvation are given us through these words. For where there is forgiveness of sins, there is also life and salvation. How can bodily eating and drinking do such great things? Answer: Certainly not just eating and drinking do these things, but the words written here: ‘Given and shed for you for the forgiveness of sins’ (*‘fur Euch gegeben’* und *‘vergossen zur Vergebung der Sunden’*). These words, along with the bodily eating and drinking, are the main thing in the Sacrament. Whoever believes these words has exactly what they say: ‘forgiveness of sins.’” Emphases added. Cf., WA 23: 151. 13–14; AE 37: 68. *Das diese wort Christi (Das ist mein leib etc.) Noch fest stehen widder die Schwermgeister*, 1527. “Darumb, das ein anders ist, wenn Gott da ist, und wenn er dir da ist.”

⁵ Cf., WA 19: 503. 11–18; AE 36: 347. *Sermon von dem Sacrament des leibs und bluts Christi widder die Schwarmgeister*, 1526. “Sondern du solt glewben, nicht allein das Christus mit leib und blut da sey, sondern auch das er dir da geschenckt sey, Und ymer auff die wort fussen: ‘Nemet hin! Esset, das ist mein leib, der fur euch gegeben wird. Trincket, das ist mein blut, das fur euch vergossen wird. Das thut zu meinem gedechtnis.’ In diesen worten wird uns geschnckt sein leib und blut. Das also zwey stuck zuglewben sind, das es warhafftig da sey, wilchs die Papisten auch glewben, und das es uns geschncket sey, wilchs sie nicht glewben, und wir sein so brauchen sollen also ein geschencke.”

⁶ LC 5, 29. “Nu kann je Christus’ Leib nicht ein unfruchtbar, vergeblich Ding sein, das nichts schaffe noch nuetze.”

⁷ LC 5, 29. “Nu wird es uns ja nicht anders denn in den Worten: “Fur Euch gegeben und vergossen” gebracht und zugeeignet. Denn darin hast Du beides, dass es Christus’ Leib und Blut ist und dass es Dein ist als ein Schatz und Geschenke.” The “treasure” (der Schatz) is one of the favorite names of the Lord’s Supper in the Large Catechism. Cf., Timothy J. Wengert, “Luther’s Catechisms and the Lord’s Supper,” *Word and World* 17 (Winter 1997): 56.

Small Catechism: “For the word ‘for you’ calls for wholly believing hearts.”⁸ The acclamation to the Lord, “He alone is worthy!” comes out of the *hearts* which were confessed in the preceding versicle of *Sursum corda—Habemus ad Dominum*, that is, our *hearts* being with the Lord and toward Him. In addition, the “heart” in the Scripture denotes the entire person, not just mere one part of that which makes up a whole human being. Our acclamation and thanksgiving do not start with us. In the *Preface* we simply return (*reddimus*)⁹ for something which was previously given (baptism, absolution, preaching), in anticipation of what will be given momentarily (the body and blood of the Lord).

The acclamation of *solus Christus* is found in the Divine Service not only in this “He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!” We noted in chapter 3 that “He alone” of this phrase had precedent in the Swedish liturgical heritage. At the climax of the *Laudamus* that follows *Gloria* since Olavus’s liturgy of 1531 was: “For you alone are holy, you alone are the Lord, you alone are the most high Jesus Christ.” The *Te Deum* also confesses “Christ alone.”¹⁰ Probably the closest one may get to the phrase “He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!” in the liturgy would be an ancient hymn to Christ Φῶς ἱλαρόν.¹¹ “You are worthy of being praised with pure voices forever” (*Lutheran Worship*, 1982) ἄξιον σὲ πᾶσι καιροῖς ὑμνεῖσθαι φωναῖς αἰσίοις (more literally: “Worthy for you to be hymned at all time with/by fitting voices”). These liturgical hymns echo the pattern of the acclamations in Revelation 4 and 5, especially 4:11 and 5:9–10,

⁸ SC 5, 10. “Denn das Wort “für Euch” fodert eitel gläubige Herzen.”

⁹ Melancthon defines *sacrificium* as a *ceremonia opus sacrum* in which we give back (*reddimus*) to God and honor him. Ap. 24: 18.

¹⁰ Norman Nagel comments: “*Tu solus, tu solus, tu solus*. From such *soluses* the *solus* of the Reformation, extolling all that is in them and defending against any detraction of any of that all.” Norman Nagel, “The LORD Is One,” *Concordia Journal* 29 (July 2003): 299. See also a helpful footnote no. 15 on the same page concerning the original texts and how *Te Deum* was introduced by Ambrose.

¹¹ Basil the Great, *Treatise on the Holy Spirit*, 29.

12.¹² "Ἄξιός ἐστι ἄξιός ἐστι ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ἀνδ ἄξιον ἔστιν τὸ ἀρνίον appear as the acclamation to the Lamb, who alone delivered the Old Testament and who alone was once slain, who sits upon the throne, and who gathers His people by making them His priests.

According to Michael Wyschogrod, Deuteronomy 6:4 of the *Shema*, which was recited twice daily as the words of Yahweh to His people, should be read as: "Hear, O Israel! The Lord is our God, *the Lord alone*" (emphasis added). He disregards the assertion that Deut. 6:4 talks about "a metaphysical statement about the nature of God: that He is one and indivisible, that His essence excludes all attributes or that only negative statements can be asserted about God." Wyschogrod explains that these issues arose in medieval Jewish philosophy and are the result of the meeting of Biblical categories with those of Greek philosophy. Translated as "... the Lord is one," according to Wyschogrod, it is natural to relate this oneness to that of the Neoplatonic tradition. "But the Biblical text does not deal with such problems. Its concern is the Jewish people's loyalty to the God of the covenant and the refusal to permit Israel to direct only part of its love to that God."¹³ The point here is the wholeness of the Lord; He alone and no one else. Those who hear the *Shema* may not fraction Him.

As in the *Shema*, so in the vitality of the *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*, Christ gives all, and His gifts prompt to create and enliven faith into the living of all our life toward Him in the life of the service to our neighbor. The acclamation of "He alone is worthy!" is a faith speaking to the Savior. It is spoken as "everything is from the Lord" is clearly shown. Impoverishment in the liturgy comes when we take over. The Swedish rendering in the *Preface*, "He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!" leaves us an important implication, that it confesses the *solus*

¹² The Authorized Version's text of Rev. 5:12–14 was set to music in the concluding choruses of Georg Friedrich Händel's 1741 oratorio, *Messiah*.

¹³ Michael Wyschogrod, "The 'Shema Israel' in Judaism and the New Testament," in *The Roots of Our Common Faith: Faith in the Scriptures and in the Early Church*, ed. Hans-Georg Link, Faith and Order Paper No. (continued next page)

Christus of the Holy Communion. It acknowledges the wholeness and evangelical coherence of the Lord's Supper. It teaches us that at the heart of it all there is Christ in the *Preface*.

At the end of this investigation, we are reminded of the words once preached by Luther: "*Lasse das Sacrament gantz bleiben.*"¹⁴ Only when the wholeness of what the Lord alone gives is received, His gifts engender in and from us His acclamation. The Confessional Liturgical Revival of Theodor Kliefoth has left a vibrant legacy in the liturgy of the Church of Sweden through the contributions of E. G. Bring, John Henrik Thomander, and U. L. Ullman. The liturgical air that they breathed and a common root and sap that they shared will live on continuously in the Lord's congregations whether our particular phrase in the *Preface* may be uniformly used or not, for Christ's life will go on wherever there is His δόσις and our λήψις.

119 (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1984), 23–24.

¹⁴ WA 30 I: 55. 19.

APPENDIX ONE
THE METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The Methods of Liturgical Studies

In order to contrast the approach taken by this study, we will survey the methods of liturgical studies that have been utilized within the modern liturgical movement.

The Modern Liturgical Movement

Prosper Louis Pascal Gueranger (1805–75) is usually regarded as the “Father of the Liturgical Movement”¹ in Roman Catholic circles because he and his colleagues stimulated scientific liturgical research and began the dissemination of an interest in the liturgy in their tradition. His idea of liturgical reform was spread through a network of Benedictine houses, particularly through monasteries at Mont Cesar in Belgium and at Maria Laach in Germany.

Dom Bernard Botte regards a paper read at the 1909 Malines Conference by Dom Lambert Beauduin as the beginning of the Liturgical Movement.² Beauduin was a monk of the Abbey of Mont Cesar, Louvain, in Belgium. In his paper entitled “The True Prayer of the Church,” Beauduin lamented that the popular Christian piety had become such a private matter that it was quite divorced from the corporate liturgy. Upon this observation, he proposed methods of renewal, arguing that the laity’s active participation in the liturgy, which to him was the true source of piety, can be achieved by understanding the liturgical texts. Beauduin’s view was set

¹ John Fenwick and Bryan Spinks, *Worship in Transition: The Liturgical Movement in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Continuum, 1995), 19.

² Bernart Botte, *From Silence to Participation: An Insider’s View of Liturgical Renewal*, trans. John Sullivan (Washington: The Pastoral Press, 1988), 9ff.

out more fully in 1914 in *La Pieté de l'Église*. There he revealed that his approach was “underpinned by a theology of the church as the Mystical Body of Christ, and a theology of priesthood of the laity with a right to active participation in the liturgy.”³

While Botte sees Beauduin as the real founder of the Liturgical Movement, Ernest Koenker claims that the origins are to be traced to the monastery of Maria Laach in Germany along with the monastery of Klosterneuberg of Austria.⁴ According to Koenker, the Liturgical Movement stemmed from a Holy Week conference in 1914 arranged by Abbot Ildephonse Herwegen of Maria Laach. Herwegen propagated the so-called Dialogue Mass and argued that Christianity is not essentially a doctrine but an action of life. Like Beauduin, Herwegen agonized that Christian piety had become subjective and individualistic since the Middle Ages.

Another liturgist of Maria Laach whose influence spread far and wide was Odo Casel. In his major works, *Die Liturgie als Mysterienfeier* and *Das Christliche Kultmysterium*, he argued that the eucharist is the reenactment of the mystery of Christ by the church. Casel wrote:

Das Mysterium ist eine heilige kultische Handlung, in der eine Heilstatsache unter dem Ritus Gegenwart wird; indem die Kultgemeinde diesen Ritus vollzieht, nimmt sie an der Heilstat teil und erwirbt sich dadurch das Heil.⁵

Here it is taught that the congregation obtains salvation by participating in the saving act of Christ, which itself is made present as the congregation accomplishes the rite. In this, two key words are *Handlung* and *Gegenwart* (or *Gegenwärtigsetzung*).

Though interrupted by the two World Wars, the Liturgical Movement spread in France, England, the United States, and elsewhere. The movement affected deeply not only the Roman

³ Fenwick and Spinks, *Worship in Transition*, 25.

⁴ Ernest Benjamin Koenker, *The Liturgical Renaissance in the Roman Catholic Church* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), 12.

⁵ Odo Casel, *Das Christliche Kultmysterium*, 3rd ed. (Regensburg: Gregorius Verlag, 1948), 102. Burkhard Neunheuser translated these words into English as: “The mystery is a sacred ritual action in which a saving deed is made present through the rite; the congregation, by performing the rite, take part in the saving act, and thereby win
(continued next page)

Catholic circles but also other Western traditions. In France, its later exponents included Bernard Botte, A. G. Martimort, and Louis Boyer. It was Botte, who dominated liturgical scholarship in the middle of the twentieth century, who brought the attention of Roman Catholic scholars to the importance of the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus. In the United States, St. John's Abbey of Collegeville played the central role with its journal *Orate Fratres*, which later became *Worship*. In Germany and Austria, in addition to Herwegen and Casel, such scholars as Theodor Klauser, Joseph Jungmann, and Johannes Wegner were influential.

Within the Church of England, there were forerunners independent of the Liturgical Movement that stemmed from Roman Catholic circles. For example, the Oxford Movement or Tractarian Movement, which can be traced to the Assize Sermon delivered on 14 July 1833 by John Keble. Keble along with Pusey, Newman, and H. J. Rose launched a campaign to recall the Church of England to its apostolic roots. At Cambridge the Camden Society was founded in 1839 by J. M. Neale and B. Webb, promoting the revival of Gothic architecture and "Catholic" forms of the liturgy. But it was through Henry de Candole (1895–1971) that the insights of the Liturgical Movement of Beauduin and Herwegen were introduced into the Church of England. In 1938 he explained his view as follows:

Christian worship is the Christian community offering its life and work to God through our Lord. Liturgy means the activity of the people of God, which is primarily a corporate common activity of the whole fellowship. That action is one of the offering and most clearly set forth and illustrated in the Eucharist, which is the heart of Christian worship.⁶

Thus, "Christian worship" is understood as a corporate offering. "We come to give," says Henry. Similar ideas were presented by A. G. Herbert (1886–1963). Herbert condemned the individualism and stressed the communal nature of the liturgy. He taught that Christianity is a mystery, where the past is made present. The liturgy is a corporate offering of the whole people

salvation." *The Mystery of Christian Worship and Other Writings* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1962), 54.

of God. Here we see a similarity between his thinking and the Liturgical Movement of the Roman Catholic circles. Herbert emphasized the *Offertory Procession* because he believed that “the bread and wine of the eucharist represent the whole substance of our lives, all our joys, sorrows, plans for the future, our hopes and fears.”⁷

Gregory Dix picked up what Herbert mentioned in *Liturgy and Society* (1935) regarding the four actions of taking, thanking, breaking, and giving. He expounded this in *The Shape of the Liturgy* (1945) with reference to Hippolytus’ *Apostolic Tradition* as offertory, prayer, fraction, and communion. This four-action scheme was widely accepted and became the foundation of a host of modern liturgies.

Within Roman Catholic circles, the spread of the Liturgical Movement was encouraged by the encyclical *Mediator Dei*. It has been described as the “Magna Carta” of the Liturgical Movement because it gave official recognition to the movement and prepared the way for the liturgical reforms of Vatican II. The approval of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy (CSL) on 4 December 1963 by Pope Paul VI marked the first official reconsideration of liturgical practice within the Roman Catholic Church since the Council of Trent. Here the reform of the liturgy was promoted with a conscious intention that the laity fulfill their “right and obligation” to “full, conscious, and active participation in liturgical celebrations” (article 14).⁸ In order to achieve this goal, among other things, liturgical training of the clergy was mentioned (article 14), “theological, historical, and pastoral” investigation of each part of the liturgy was suggested (article 23), laity were encouraged to take part by means of acclamations, responses, psalms, antiphons, and hymns as well as by actions, gestures, and bodily attitudes (article 30), and a

⁶ P. J. Jagger, *Bishop Henry de Candole: His Life and Times* (London: Faith Press, 1974), 119.

⁷ Fenwick and Spinks, *Worship in Transition*, 45.

⁸ Austin Flannery ed., *Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents*, 1988 rev. ed. (Boston, Mass.: St. Paul Editions, 1987), 7–8.

wider use of the vernacular was permitted (article 36). The last point was effected through joint translation projects by countries using the same language. English-speaking areas formed the International Commission on English in the Liturgy (ICEL) in October 1963, out of which the International Consultation on English Texts (ICET) emerged in 1968.

Examining the history of the Liturgical Movement briefly, it is observable that the central thrust of the movement has been to enhance as much as possible the lay participation in the liturgy. The background of this emphasis was the belief of Roman Catholic circles that the liturgy had become privatized and people were merely spectators to what priests were doing. To address this issue, a “dialogue” between the presiding priest and the people was encouraged in the Mass, the vernacular was permitted, and Christian life was stressed more than doctrine. Casel’s mystery religion and Dix’s four-action scheme were twin pillars of the movement’s theological foundation. What was in common in Casel and Dix was the notion that the eucharist is the act of the church’s offering, expression, and giving of themselves to God.⁹

The Method of Liturgical Studies

In their pursuit of a better understanding of the liturgical texts, by which they attempted to gain more participation by the laity in the liturgy, liturgical scholars made efforts to get back to the “purer” traditions before medieval and Reformation developments. Their major interest was the search for the origin of the so-called eucharistic prayer. Paul Bradshaw reports how from the early period of modern liturgical scholarship it was presupposed that a variety of later eucharistic prayers stemmed from one single apostolic liturgy. He mentions Paul Drews (1858–1912), a

⁹ As we saw, Theodor Kliefoth had already emphasized in the middle of the nineteenth century the participation of the congregation by way of “dialogue.” His theological rationale, however, was fundamentally different from the thinking of Casel and Dix. While for Casel and Dix “the eucharist is the act of the church’s offering, expression, and giving of themselves to God,” for Kliefoth and for the churchmen of the Confessional Liturgical Revival, the Lord’s Supper was first and foremost the Lord’s giving, upon which alone the church’s giving depends.

German scholar, whose view eventually won the support of the majority of researchers in the twentieth century. Drews argued that the first half of the Divine Service was ultimately derived from the Jewish Sabbath morning service while the second half came from the regular Jewish evening meal that inaugurated the Sabbath and festivals.¹⁰

Anton Baumstark (1872–1948) attempted to define an appropriate methodology for the study of liturgical history by applying an approach that was widely used in the latter half of the nineteenth century for the study of culture: the comparative method.¹¹ He compared variant readings of the ancient manuscripts of the liturgy and tried to arrive at the original that lay beneath them all. While it has commonly been assumed that Baumstark’s work was inspired by the comparative study of language, according to Frederick West, the ultimate source of all the comparative sciences was nineteenth-century biological thought as articulated in the *Naturphilosophen* of Germany, the comparative anatomy of Georges Cuvier, and the evolutionary theory of Charles Darwin.¹² Bradshaw diagnoses and maintains that comparative linguists and other practitioners of the comparative sciences of culture derived both a model and a method from this, the model being the living organism and the method being systematic comparison and consequent classification on the basis of a supposed line of descent from the origin of the species.¹³

¹⁰ Paul F. Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 133–37. Drew’s view was essentially followed by Anton Baumstark, Hans Lietzmann, Louis Duchesne, Joseph Jungmann, and William Lockton. Also W. O. E. Oesterley, Frank Gavin, and Gregory Dix adopted this view.

¹¹ *Liturgie comparee* (1940); *Comparative Liturgy*, ed. Bernard Botte, trans. F. L. Cross (London: A. R. Mowbray, 1958).

¹² Frederick West, “Anton Baumstark’s Comparative Liturgy in Its Intellectual Context,” Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 1988, as quoted by Paul Bradshaw in *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship*, 57.

¹³ Paul F. Bradshaw, “Continuity and Change in Early Eucharistic Practice: Shifting Scholarly Perspectives,” in *Continuity and Change in Christian Worship*, ed. R. N. Swanson (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 1999), 4.

Baumstark's way of tracing the eucharistic prayers' ultimate single origin was challenged by Gregory Dix. But in effect Dix merely revised Baumstark's theory and method. Dix argued that instead of finding common wording of the prayers one should look for a common structure and shape of the liturgy.¹⁴ Following Dix, the principal concern of liturgical scholarship has become the overall shape of the eucharistic liturgy, with the result that early prayers and liturgies that do not fit into his scheme have been given relatively little attention. What was successfully fitted into the preconceived pattern of the "classical shape" was favored. What did not fit into the scheme was ignored. The methodology of Dix has been widely followed. The traditional theory of a single liturgical archetype has retained its position of preeminence in this modified form down to the present day.

After Dix, a number of scholars contributed to the discussion of the origin of the eucharistic prayer, such as E. C. Ratcliff, Jean-Paul Audet, Louis Bouyer, Louis Ligier, Thomas Talley, Bryan Spinks, Geoffrey Cuming, and John Fenwick. In 1985, Spinks challenged the liturgical scholars in his article "Beware the Liturgical Horses! An English Interjection on Anaphoral Evolution."¹⁵ He questioned the assumption that Jesus used *birkat ha-mazon* at the Last Supper, suggesting that the Jewish people may have used other forms of meal-grace and "the models upon which different celebrants drew as a basis for their anaphoras may have varied widely." In his study of the Sanctus, he also argued that the way in which the Sanctus came into the eucharistic prayer is not a single one. Evidences indicate that some liturgies had the Sanctus from the beginning as an integral part, while others incorporated it at some later point. The source of the Sanctus in the liturgy is multiple. It could be that it came from the synagogue

¹⁴ Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London: A and C Black, 1945), 5.

¹⁵ Bryan D. Spinks, "Beware the Liturgical Horses! An English Interjection on Anaphoral Evolution," *Worship* 59 (May 1985): 211–19.

liturgy or from the Jewish tradition of *merkavah* mysticism or directly from the biblical phraseology without a Jewish intermediary.¹⁶

So far, we have reviewed one field of liturgical scholarship that is concerned with the origin and development of eucharistic liturgy. The method the researchers used was the historical-critical one. A philological approach was preferred. By and large, the study of the liturgy was guided by methods much used in biblical studies. Bradshaw observes that scholars have treated liturgical texts as any other ancient manuscripts. Such study was also done in the manner of the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule*. Casel and Dix represented that movement. Liturgical scholars tended to be more conservative than biblical scholars; nevertheless, they were still under the influence of the theologies of Troeltsch and Adolf von Harnack.

In 1992, Bradshaw suggested that while what in biblical studies would be called source criticism had to some extent been done, the equivalent of serious form criticism and redaction criticism still waited to be tackled.¹⁷ In fact, while Robert Taft reaches the same conclusion,¹⁸ Bradshaw argues that one of the reasons why a single apostolic model theory of the original eucharistic prayer should no longer be appreciated is that “the New Testament generally cannot provide the firm foundation from which to project later liturgical developments. . . . We must therefore be content to remain agnostic about many of the roots of Christian worship practices.”¹⁹ He is not so sure of the Lord’s actual institution of the Lord’s Supper because he cannot deny the theory of Bultmann and others that the New Testament narratives are creations

¹⁶ Bryan Spinks, *The Sanctus in the Eucharistic Prayer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

¹⁷ Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins*, 109. In the Jewish liturgical study, Joseph Heinemann’s work argued the superiority of the form critical method over philological method. *Prayer in the Talmud: Forms and Patterns* (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1977).

¹⁸ Robert Taft, “Reconstructing the History of the Byzantine Communion Ritual: Principles, Methods, Results,” *Ecclesia Orans* 11 (1994): 360.

¹⁹ Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins*, 55.

of the early church.²⁰ Bultmann and the scholars following him tell nothing about the historical roots of the Lord's Supper, but can only witness to its later development. Taft knows that the comparative method can only be applied to the liturgies after the fourth century when the number of the written texts dramatically increased.²¹ His concern is not the dominical institution and the Lord's serving in His Supper, but the structure of the liturgy itself.

The Shift in the Method of Liturgical Studies

A turning point in the direction of liturgical research among some scholars took place when there was a growing common recognition that, two decades after Vatican II, lay participation had not increased but rather had decreased.²² The goal was still the same: maximum participation in the liturgy, but the "how" of achieving this goal shifted. It was no longer to be accomplished by way of understanding the liturgy alone; rather, it was to be complemented by understanding the relationship between liturgy and life.²³

This turn is evidenced by the fact that contributions from the discipline of social science increased in liturgical study, most notably from the field of anthropology. Three names turn up over and over again in the writings of recent liturgical scholars: Victor Turner (*The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, 1969), Mary Douglas (*Natural Symbols*, 1970), and

²⁰ Ibid., 47.

²¹ Taft, "Reconstructing," 360. See also Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins*, 62.

²² Gerald V. Lardner, "Liturgy as Communication: A Pragmatics Perspective," Ph.D. diss., Temple University (Ann Arbor, Miss.: University Microfilms International, 1979), 3–4; Joyce Ann Zimmermann, *Liturgy as Language of Faith: A Liturgical Methodology in the Mode of Paul Ricoeur's Textual Hermeneutics* (Lanham/New York/London: University Press of America, 1988), ix.

²³ The areas of interest among liturgical scholars have also been broadened in recent years. Zimmermann notes the evidence of such change by observing the topic headings in *Religious Index One: Periodicals* (Chicago: American Theological Library Association). While its first six volumes (1949–64) list only five topic headings regarding the liturgy: "liturgical movement," "liturgical year," "liturgies," "liturgies-early Christian," and "liturgy," after 1964, the year *Sacrosanctum Concilium* appeared, the topic headings are more numerous, varied, and much wider in scope. At this time we find such diverse headings under "liturgy" as "history," "theology," "language," "culture," "reform," "arts," "liturgical movement," "vestments," "liturgical year," "renewal," "drama," "dancing," "terminology," "experimental liturgies," "architecture," "liturgy of the hours," "Jewish liturgies," and "liturgical
(continued next page)

Clifford Geertz (*The Interpretation of Cultures*, 1975). But this welcoming of outside disciplines is not new. Baumstark already made use of the comparative method in his research, and Casel looked to the Hellenistic mystery religions to show how the Lord's Supper was to be understood. Besides Baumstark's comparative methodology, Dix was also influenced in part by *The Rite of Passage* of Arnold Van Gennep.²⁴

Liturgical scholars' new interest in what was actually happening in the eucharistic "celebration" was what anthropologists had been engaged in already, particularly in the long tradition of ritual studies within anthropology. The anthropologists' starting point is a detailed study of what actually happens during the rite itself. Then they analyze the relationship between the performance of the rite and the social structure of the society that performs it. More recently, the element of "native justification," that is, what the participants themselves say about the rites, has begun to take on much more significance.

An example of liturgiologists' interest in the liturgy as ritual may be seen in Aidan Kavanagh's thinking, which represents the so-called Murphy school of liturgical research at Notre Dame.²⁵ Kavanagh sees the liturgy as essentially something that is experienced rather than something that exists as a text in a book. He claims that "liturgy provides us a means of knowing the kind of thing that can only be known transrationally; that cannot be analyzed, taken apart, spelled out and reassembled. . . . The outcome is an act of human communication which so

planning." Zimmermann, *ibid.*, 33.

²⁴ Van Gennep, *The Rite of Passage*, first published in 1909. As noted by Martin D. Stringer, "Liturgy and Anthropology: The History of Relationship," *Worship* 63 (November 1989): 506. Stringer, by the way, disclaims the methodology of Robert Taft in the above article as being out of date (*Ibid.*, 507–508). Taft responds to this charge as unfair in his "Reconstructing the History of Byzantine Common Ritual" and "Comparative Liturgy Fifty Years after Anton Baumstark (d. 1948): A Reply to Recent Critics," *Worship* 73 (November 1999): 521–40.

²⁵ See for example, James D. Shaughnessy ed., *The Roots of Ritual* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1973).

drastically affects minds and hearts that reality is perceived in new and unforgettable ways.”²⁶

Stringer takes this statement to mean that liturgy cannot be analyzed “by ordinary or traditional analytical methods,” and he suggests that we look beyond the social sciences to the realms of linguistics and psychology.²⁷

Another example is *Context and Text* by Kevin W. Irwin (1994).²⁸ Irwin argues that the philological-theological study of the liturgical texts must be understood “in light of their celebration, both past and present.”²⁹

In addition to studies in which theories such as that of inclusive language³⁰ and so-called inculturation are evidenced,³¹ there are works whose authors are influenced by speech-act theories such as those of John L. Austin and his student John R. Searle.³² Such an approach is

²⁶ Aidan Kavanagh, *On Liturgical Theology* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1984), 169–70.

²⁷ Stringer, “Liturgy and Anthropology,” 518.

²⁸ Kevin W. Irwin, *Context and Text: Method in Liturgical Theology* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1994).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 55.

³⁰ See I. C. E. L., “The Problem of Exclusive Language with Regard to Women,” *After* 23 (1981): 312–17; J. M. Maxwell, “Inclusive Language in Theology and Worship,” *Austin Seminary Bulletin* 97 (1981); E. Routley, “Sexist Language: A View From a Distance,” *Worship* 53 (1979): 2–11; Gail Ramshaw, *Searching for Language* (Washington: Pastoral Press, 1988).

³¹ See Ascar J. Chupungco, *Cultural Adaptation of the Liturgy* (New York/Ramsey, N.J.: Paulist Press, 1982; *idem*, *Liturgical Inculturation: Sacramentals, Religiosity and Catechesis* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1992; *idem*, *Worship: Progress and Tradition* (Beltsville, Md.: Pastoral Press, 1995); David N. Power, *Culture and Theology* (Washington: Pastoral Press, 1990); Mark Francis, *Liturgy in a Multicultural Community* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1991); and Melva Wilson Costen, *American Christian Worship* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1993).

³² See B. Brinkman, “Sacramental Man and Speech Acts Again,” *The Heythrop Journal* 16 (1975): 416–20; D. Crystal, “Linguistics and Liturgy,” *Christian Quarterly* 2 (1969): 23–30; S. D. Gill, “Prayer as Person: The Performative Force in Navaho Prayer Acts,” *History of Religions* 17 (1977): 143–57; A. Jeffner, “Religious Performatives,” in *The Study of Religious Language* (London: SCM Press, 1972), 88–108; Jean Ladriere, “The Performativity of Liturgical Language,” in *Liturgical Experience of Faith*, eds. Herman Schmidt and David Power (New York: Herder and Herder, 1973), 50–62; A. Martinich, “Sacraments and Speech Acts,” *Heythrop Journal* 16 (1975): 289–305; H. Schmidt, “Language and Its Function in Christian Worship,” *Studia Liturgica* 8 (1970–72): 1–25; W. T. Wheelock, “The Problem of Ritual Language: From Information to Situation,” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 50 (1982): 49–71; James H. Ware, *Not with Words of Wisdom: Performative Language and Liturgy* (Washington, D. C.: University Press of America, 1981); Catherine Pickstock, “Liturgy and Language: The Sacred Polis,” in *Liturgy in Dialogue: Essays in Memory of Ronald Jasper*, eds. Paul Bradshaw and Bryan Spinks (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1993), 117–38; Bridget Nichols, *Liturgical Hermeneutics: Interpreting Liturgical Rites in Performance* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1996).

closely connected with a view that the liturgy is “a form of ecclesial performative meaning, a ritual action in which an assembly performs, enacts meanings and values that are constitutive for its identity.”³³ While this engagement may help explain what is going on in the liturgy, the contribution to liturgical study is, nevertheless, limited from the viewpoint of anthropology. For those who view the liturgy as a work of people and the performance of the church, there are more positive values in this approach in explaining the phenomenon in the liturgy. But a weakness exists when no distinction is made between the words of the congregation and the words of the Lord in the liturgy. The Lord’s words may not be confined within the extent to which the speech-act theory is able to accommodate them. His words are beyond the scope of any human theories that make sense to human reason, measurement, and analogy.

In terms of a methodological proposal, the work of Joyce A. Zimmermann in her *Liturgy as Language of Faith* is worth noting, especially in connection with how she understands the *Preface*.³⁴ Building her methodology on the basis of Paul Ricoeur’s textual hermeneutics and Roman Jackson’s communication theory, she explains the whole service. At the “Introductory Rites,” “people are constituted a liturgical assembly and recognize themselves as this assembly before the Lord.” This portion of the liturgy moves the participant from “I” to “self-in-community.” During the “Liturgy of the Word,” the community enters into “a deeper personal presence with God.” Through the “Liturgy of the Eucharist,” the assembly actually lives the mystery of the deeds of salvation in their retelling of the Christian story “by blessing, thanking, remembering, offering, and eating and drinking.” Zimmermann comments further on this stage of the liturgy:

³³ Margaret Mary Kelleher, “Hermeneutics in the Study of Liturgical Performance,” *Worship* 67 (July 1993): 306.

³⁴ Zimmermann, *Liturgy as Language of Faith: A Liturgical Methodology in the Mode of Paul Ricoeur’s Textual Hermeneutics*, 1988.

The depth of presence achieved at this point in the eucharistic action is a oneness with God symbolized by ingesting the Body and Blood of Christ, signaling a change from self-in-community to self-in-community-in-Christ. Human presence and divine presence are commingled in the action of eating and drinking, a promise of the fullness of Presence to presence.³⁵

Then in the “Concluding Rite” the assembly “affirms its own willingness to hear the Christian story of salvation and continue living it by serving the Lord.” Zimmermann concludes her comment on what actually happens in the liturgy by noting that our whole life is an act of worship, a living out of the worship event that is eucharistic action. The “dynamic of action” would be to experience the movement from “I” to “self-in-community,” then to “self-in-community-in-Christ.”

Thus, Zimmermann approaches the liturgy from an anthropological point of view: what actually, humanly happens in the rite. Hence, the focus of her study is how the self-understanding of the assembly becomes new and continues in daily life. Since her approach analyzes the liturgy in its present form, a certain theological understanding of the liturgy and the Lord’s Supper is presupposed, in her case, a Roman Catholic orientation. She observes that the central point of the Mass is the Liturgy of Eucharist, and the focal point of the Liturgy of Eucharist is the assembly’s eucharistic prayer. In her entire explanation, she does not recognize the Words of Institution of the Lord with decisive importance. There is no mention even of the forgiveness of sin, the purpose for which the Lord instituted the Holy Communion.

Different questions call for different methods. In the methods used in liturgical studies from the beginning stage of the Liturgical Movement in Roman Catholic circles through the most recent research, various approaches have appeared. We observed how the emphasis has shifted from historical-critical study to literary-critical study.³⁶ We have also observed how the

³⁵ Ibid., 183.

³⁶ See Zimmermann, *Liturgy and Hermeneutics*, 60; Renato De Zan, “Criticism and Interpretation of Liturgical (continued next page)

disciplines of social science have increasingly been applied to the study of the liturgy. For each of the methods described above, there are both positive and negative contributions. The important question to ask, however, is whether or not those methods are serviceable to the liturgy.

The Nature of Liturgical Language

Since this dissertation studies a particular phrase in the liturgy, we will consider briefly the nature of liturgical language.³⁷

The Question of Translation

A considerable number of articles appeared at and around the time of Vatican II in Roman Catholic circles concerning the language of liturgy.³⁸ These issues such as translation were discussed in connection with the desire to increase lay participation in the liturgy.

The translation issue is not new, however, to those who are outside of the Roman Liturgical Movement. It took a century-long gradual process in the city of Rome to switch the liturgical language from Greek to Latin during the third and fourth centuries.³⁹ In the Eastern

Texts," in *Handbook for Liturgical Studies*, vol. 1: *Introduction to the Liturgy*, 364–65, ed. Anscar J. Chupungco (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1997).

³⁷ This appendix 1 is intended to supplement methodological consideration presented in chapter 1 above.

³⁸ For a list of numerous articles on the use of the vernacular in Roman Catholic Church, see footnotes no. 40–52 of Zimmermann, *Liturgy As Language of Faith*, 15–18. For centuries the use of Latin in the Mass was a sign of the church's unity. Along with this tradition, Pius X forbade anything in the vernacular to be sung during liturgy in the *Inter Plurimum Pastoralis* of 1903 (#7). In the *Mediator Dei* of 1947, Pius XII asserted that the Latin language was an antidote for any corruption of doctrinal truth (#60). But later in his papacy, he allowed the vernacular to be used in the readings of the epistle and the Gospel, after being read in Latin (*De Musica Sacra*, #14c and #16c, 1958). At Vatican II, the intention was to keep Latin. In the *Sacrosanctum Concilium* the use of the vernacular was permitted only for readings, the common prayers, and a little more (#54). The first English versions of the eucharistic liturgy were a combination of Latin and English (1964). It was only in 1974 that the all-English missals appeared. Even today, use of the vernacular in liturgy, the proper translation of liturgical texts, and the concern for a common language continue to be discussed there. The encouragement of lay participation opened "a can of vernacular worms." Zimmermann observes: "in both the early and later phases of the Liturgical Movement the focus on active participation revolved largely around the question of the vernacular" (*ibid.*, 12).

³⁹ Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, rev. and trans. William G. Storey and Niels Krogh Rasmussen (Washington, D.C.: Pastoral Press, 1986), 293–97.

tradition, liturgy was always translated into the vernacular wherever the church was built. From the outset the Reformation churches stressed the use of the vernacular.⁴⁰ As we saw above in chapter 2, the Church of Sweden was not an exception: the Swedish language was introduced in the liturgy already in the sixteenth century.

When Lutherans emigrated from the old lands to the United States, the change of liturgical language into English was also a heated topic. The *Common Service* was an attempt to unite Lutherans in America by having a common English liturgy. The aim was to collate the “pure Lutheran liturgies of the sixteenth century,” and when there was not entire agreement among the liturgies, the agreement of the largest number was given the greatest weight. Such a procedure is hardly in accordance with the Lutheran understanding of confessing the Lord’s mandate and institution as of prime importance.

When the German, Swedish, Norwegian, Finnish, and Danish liturgies were thus put into English, the committee did not create the liturgical language from scratch nor translate it directly. The English they employed was that of the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer*. When the committee found it prudent to justify their use of the *Book of Common Prayer*’s diction, they claimed that the Lutheran liturgy had influenced the First Prayer Book of Edward VI of 1549 in the first place. Luther D. Reed comments: “the Prayer Book repaid in the nineteenth century the debt which its framers owed to the Lutheran church orders of the sixteenth century.” Lutherans at the time of the *Common Service* boasted that in it was found the “character and quality. . . of the older English liturgy.”⁴¹ It has been pointed out, however, that the Lutheran Church in North

⁴⁰ *The Confutation of the Augsburg Confession* criticizes the use of German in the Reformation churches in the sixteenth century. Robert Kolb and James A. Nestingen eds., *Sources and Context of The Book of Concord* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 127–28.

⁴¹ Luther D. Reed, “The Common Service in the Life of the Church,” *Una Sancta* 23 (Christmass 1966): 36. See also Eugene L. Brand, “The Lutheran ‘Common Service’: Heritage and Challenge,” *Studia Liturgica* 19 (1989): 82–83; idem, “Worship, Culture, and Catholicity: What Next?” *Studia Liturgica* 29 (1999): 101.

America suffered a loss when the primary language of the liturgy became English, and when Anglican liturgical language was brought into the Lutheran church without theological discernment.⁴² A similar theological concern was voiced by Pius XII in *Mediator Dei* of 1947 (#60) when the vernacular was about to be welcomed in place of Latin.

The Nature of Liturgical Language

Up until the fourth century liturgy was oral alone. It was there in the church as spoken and heard.⁴³ Even after the Peace of Constantine, the church continued to receive the Lord's words and His body and blood in the Divine Service without the faithful reading the liturgical texts. Only the invention of the printing press began to change such practice. Service books were unknown. The liturgy was recited out of memory.⁴⁴ The faithful knew their part by heart.⁴⁵ The liturgy was handed down orally from generation to generation.⁴⁶

The liturgy was kept as sacred in the early centuries. In the pre-Nicene period, the early Christians were under severe persecutions because they were not in favor of the official state religion. Their attendance at the Lord's service constituted their great crime in the eyes of the pagan state. Despite endangering their lives, Christians were gathered together on every Sunday to hear the Lord's word and to receive the Lord's body and blood for the forgiveness of their

⁴² Edward T. Horn III reports that the *Service Book and Hymnal* of 1958 was designed to be "Christian first and Lutheran second." "Preparation of the Service Book and Hymnal," in *Liturgical Reconnaissance*, 100, ed. Edgar S. Brown Jr. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1968), 100. This hymnal which succeeded the *Common Service* was seen by Eugene L. Brand as "the culmination of the renewal/restoration movement begun in the mid-nineteenth century" ("The Lutheran 'Common Service,'" 86). By this Brand meant Lutherans coming together with Anglicans rather than enlivened by their own tradition. Ibid.

⁴³ Cf., Raymond Chapman, "Linguistics and Liturgy," *Theology* 76 (November 1973): 595; Kavanagh, *On Liturgical Theology*, 96.

⁴⁴ L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship: Its Origin and Evolution* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1931), 112.

⁴⁵ Kavanagh, *On Liturgical Theology*, 106.

⁴⁶ Cf., Bryan Spinks, "The Original Form of the Anaphora of the Apostles: A Suggestion in the Light of Maronite Sharar," *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 91 (1977): 150; Robert Speaight, "Liturgy and Language," *Theology* 74 (October 1971): 445.

sins. Joseph Jungmann reports the words of the martyrs of Abitina during the Diocletian persecution: “We cannot survive without the Eucharist.”⁴⁷ In such a context, the liturgy was held sacred and kept as a great treasure, for nothing was more sacred than the Lord’s own body and blood being given in the liturgy. The Creed was not allowed to be written down either, along with the Our Father. They had to be learned by heart. So was the liturgy.⁴⁸

The language of the liturgy was distinguished from both everyday speech and scientific description.⁴⁹ It is not a mere means for the church to express certain “religious experience.”

The Holy Scripture supplied the language in the liturgy. Brightman counts numerous biblical quotations exhaustively in the appendix to his classic *Liturgies Eastern and Western*.⁵⁰ The liturgy of the synagogue services was similar, for David ben Joseph Abudarham commented: “The language of prayer (of the synagogue services) is founded on the language of Scripture.”⁵¹ Even when the Scriptural citations are not direct, the liturgical texts are largely drawn from the Holy Scripture or are allusions to the same.⁵² The Syriac liturgies retain the characteristics of Hebrew and Aramaic languages. In the early Greek liturgies, the language was supplied by the Septuagint and the New Testament.⁵³

We may never forget that liturgical language is found in the context of *coram Deo*. When questions are raised concerning the liturgy as to who does what, before whom, by whose

⁴⁷ Joseph Jungmann, *The Early Liturgy: To the Time of Gregory the Great*, trans. Francis A. Brunner (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1959), 13.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 96.

⁴⁹ Geoffrey Wainwright, “The Language of Worship,” in *The Study of Liturgy*, eds. Cheslyn Jones, Geoffrey Wainwright, Edward Yarnold and Paul Bradshaw, rev. ed. (London: SPCK, New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 520.

⁵⁰ F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western, on the basis of the former work by C. E. Hammond* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896).

⁵¹ As quoted in David Hedegaard, *Seder R. Amram Gaon, part 1* (Lund: A/B. Ph. Lindstedts Universitets-Bokhandel, 1951), xxxiii; cf., *ibid.*, xxxii, fn. 8.

⁵² Cf., *ibid.*, xxxiii, fn. 9.

authority, by what power and in what order, to whom or together with whom, where, when, how, with what, and why, the reply must be from the perspective that the liturgy takes place at the *coram Deo*, for it is the Lord's Supper, τὸ κυριακὸν δεῖπνον (1 Cor. 11:20).

Liturgical language is not always tightly logical. To understand this point, it may be helpful to compare oral language with written language. According to Jack Goody, in written language there is a tendency to use longer words with the content becoming more abstract. Verb structures become more complex and the use of exclamations decreases. Written language needs to produce complete information or idea units and make all assumptions explicit.⁵⁴ On the other hand, oral language uses shorter words, has more concrete content, has simpler verb structures with the use of exclamations, and does not need to produce complete information or idea units to make all assumptions explicit. Kenneth J. Larsen adds that the spoken liturgy must have “some rhythm for the simple reason that some spoken syllables are stressed more than others and pauses are necessary for breathing.”⁵⁵ What lives in orality with native rhythm, and is often repeated, needs no reliance on a written text. Such words are readily embedded in the memory, where when evoked they come alive linked together and are thus deepened and stabilized all the more. All these features may be seen in the words and phrases of the *Preface*.

⁵³ Mohrmann, *Liturgical Latin*, 15.

⁵⁴ Jack Goody, *The Interface Between the Written and the Oral* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 263–64, as introduced in Thomas M. Winger, “Orality as the Key to Understanding Apostolic Proclamation in the Epistles” (Doctor of Theology diss., Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, MO, 1997), 145.

⁵⁵ Kenneth J. Larsen, “Language as Aural,” *Worship* 54 (January 1980): 22.

APPENDIX TWO

AN EVALUATION OF KLIEFOTH'S ΔΟΣΙΣ AND ΛΗΨΙΣ AND *SACRAMENTUM* AND *SACRIFICIUM* THROUGH LUTHER'S WRITINGS

The most characteristic thinking of Kliefoth's liturgiology is the flow of δόσις and λήψις or a proper distinction between *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*. In this appendix we will examine Kliefoth's liturgical thinking through some writings of Luther.

For Kliefoth both Luther and the Lutheran confessional writings were important. Frequently he also makes use of the writings of the Lutheran fathers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Concerning the issue of *sacramentum* and *sacrificium* Kliefoth naturally refers to the Apology of the Augsburg Confessions, Article 24, where Melanchthon mentions them in disputing the Roman Confutation of the *Augustana*. We will limit ourselves, however, to the writings of Luther in this section, not only because Kliefoth consults with Luther more often than with Melanchthon and Chemnitz but because Luther is obviously the key reformer of the church of the Augsburg Confession and of the Confessional Revival. Our attention will be on several key works of Luther from which Kliefoth drew his understanding of this issue; some other works of Luther will also be mentioned and compared. Our purpose here is to evaluate Kliefoth's thinking on δόσις and λήψις.

One of the most notable contributions on the theology of worship in Luther is still Vilmos Vajta's *Die Theologie des Gottesdienstes bei Luther* (1952), in which he devotes one chapter to the theme "*beneficium* and *sacrificium*."¹ It appears that because of this work of Vajta's a

¹ Vilmos Vajta, *Die Theologie des Gottesdienstes bei Luther* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1952); an English condensed translation is found in *Luther on Worship: An Interpretation*, trans. and condensed, U. S. (continued next page)

beneficium—*sacrificium* distinction has been popularized among English speakers, so that at times the Apology’s *sacramentum*—*sacrificium* is confused with Luther’s *beneficium*—*sacrificium*. We will separate ourselves from Vajta’s contribution in at least two ways. First, Vajta presents the whole of Luther’s theology of the Divine Service in space of an entire book, while we will simply focus on the narrow theme of the Lord’s giving and our receiving in the limits of an appendix. Second, while Vajta’s approach is more systematic in terms of organizing Luther’s writings as a whole into structured topics,² we go first to the key writings of Luther that Kliefoth used, then to consult other writings of Luther to support or evaluate Kliefoth’s understanding of him. We will also be conscious of the time and context of Luther’s writings.³

Kliefoth’s Source in Luther

In his *Theorie des Kultus* of 1844 Kliefoth did not identify his source materials as including those of Luther, although as we discussed in chapter 2 the theme of giving and receiving was already there.

In the first edition of *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung* of 1847, we observed that Kliefoth’s point of departure was Luther’s *Von Ordnung des Gottesdienstes in der Gemeinde* of 1523.⁴ Kliefoth applied to his own day Luther’s historical and theological assessment concerning the Divine Service and the Office of the Holy Ministry, their origin in Christ, their destruction in the medieval period, and their restoration at the time of the Reformation. Since the

Leupold (Philalphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1958).

² Vajta, *Die Theologie des Gottesdienstes bei Luther*, xvii–xviii.

³ Vajta notes that a historical investigation had been done by A. Allwohn in his *Gottesdienst und Rechtfertigungsglaube: Luthers Grundlegung evangelischer Liturgik bis zum Jahre 1523* (Göttingen, 1926). Norman Nagel has traced Luther’s understanding of the Lord’s Supper in a chronological fashion in his “Luther’s Understanding of Christ in Relation to his Doctrine of the Lord’s Supper,” Ph. D. diss., The University of Cambridge, 1961.

⁴ Theodor Kliefoth, *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung in den deutschen Kirchen lutherischen Bekenntnisses, ihre Destruction und Reformation* (Rostock and Schwerin: Stillerschen Hofbuchhandlung, 1847), 8–
(continued next page)

life of the Divine Service and the Preaching Office had both been destructed since the Reformation due to the effect of the Thirty Years War and the theological consequences of the Enlightenment, pietism, and so forth, Kliefoth saw the need to restore them both. His intention was to be faithful to Christ's institution as confessed by Luther and the Lutheran Confessions. In this 1847 writing, Kliefoth's source on *sacramentum* and *sacrificium* was the Apology 24.⁵ He refers also to Luther's *Formula Missae* of 1523⁶ and *Deutsche Messe* of 1526⁷ to discuss the order of the liturgy.

In *Acht Bücher von der Kirche* of 1854, Kliefoth did not give Luther references except for his writings in the Book of Concord. As was the case in his *Theorie des Kultus*, he wrote this book to address the people in the church rather than the academicians at the universities. For this reason, scholarly footnotes and citations are not found in this work.

It was in his second edition of *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung*, or the last five volumes of *Liturgische Abhandlungen* of 1858–1861, that Kliefoth revealed extensive references to the works of Luther. His sources in Luther, organized chronologically, include the following.

Die zehn Gebote dem Volk zu Wittenberg gepredigt, 1518⁸
Zweite Psalmenvorlesung, 1518–1521⁹
Eyn Sermon von dem Hochwirdigen Sacrament des Heyligen Waren Leychnams Christi und von den Bruderschaften, 1519¹⁰
Von der babylonischen Gefangenschaft/De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium, 1520¹¹

10, 14, 18, 43.

⁵ Ibid., 12–18.

⁶ Ibid., 5, 166.

⁷ Ibid., 22, 166.

⁸ Theodor Kliefoth *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, vol. 7 (Schwerin: Stiller'sche Hof-Buchhandlung, 1861), 12. Hereafter, this volume will be designated as LA 7 in this chapter.

⁹ LA 7: 125.

¹⁰ LA 7: 13. Theodor Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen*, vol. 8 (Schwerin: Stiller'sche Hof-Buchhandlung, 1861), 52. Hereafter this volume will be designated as LA 8.

¹¹ LA 7: 13–14.

*Eyn sermon von dem newen Testament, das ist von der heyligen Messe, 1520*¹²
De abroganda missa privata Martini Lutheri sententia/Vom Mißbrauch der
*Messe, 1521*¹³
*Von beider Gestalt des Sakraments, 1522*¹⁴
*Von Ordnung Gottesdiensts in der Gemeine, 1523*¹⁵
*Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Vuittembergensi, 1523*¹⁶
*Von dem Greuel der Stillmesse, so man den Kanon nennt, 1525*¹⁷
*Wider die himmlischen Propheten, von den Bildern und Sakrament, 1525*¹⁸
*Deutsche Messe und Ordnung Gottesdiensts, 1526*¹⁹
*Deutsche Litanei, 1529*²⁰
*Der 111. Psalm ausgelegt, 1530*²¹
*Die drei Symbola oder Bekenntnis des Glaubens Christi, 1538*²²
*Genesis Vorlesung, 1535–1545*²³

Kliefoth also cites from Luther's letters²⁴ and a number of his sermons preached in the years 1521,²⁵ 1522,²⁶ 1524,²⁷ 1525,²⁸ 1527,²⁹ 1530,³⁰ and others.³¹

¹² LA 7: 14, 63, 68, 70, 71, 72, 79, 243; LA 8: 52, 53, 54, 109.

¹³ LA 7: 18, 79; LA 8: 119.

¹⁴ LA 7: 25, 27, 140, 145; LA 8: 115.

¹⁵ LA 7: 78.

¹⁶ LA 7: 76, 97, 155, 218, 219, 226, 228, 229, 230, 234, 244, 263, 267, 306, 327, 338, 377, 378, 387, 398, 421, 444, 470, 490; LA 8: 12, 14, 25, 30, 33, 35, 38, 44, 52, 82, 84, 96, 97, 103, 106, 109, 117, 139, 141.

¹⁷ LA 7: 28.

¹⁸ LA 7: 28, 145, 244, 247; LA 8: 2, 52, 104.

¹⁹ LA 7: 28–29, 43, 97, 183, 210, 249, 250, 278, 334, 379, 434, 470, 504; LA 8: 17, 55, 64, 86, 91, 97, 108, 110, 139, 141.

²⁰ LA 8: 67.

²¹ LA 7: 137.

²² LA 8: 72.

²³ LA 7: 255; 8: 121.

²⁴ LA 7: 28; LA 8: 12.

²⁵ LA 7: 125.

²⁶ LA 7: 25, 88, 125, 145; LA 8: 115.

²⁷ LA 7: 125, 128.

²⁸ LA 7: 125.

²⁹ LA 7: 125, 255; LA 8: 115, 121.

³⁰ LA 7: 126.

³¹ LA 7: 12, 26, 28, 77, 88, 133, 136, 148, 166, 221, 234, 239, 246, 306; LA 8: 2, 3, 104, 121.

We may observe three things. First, Luther's important sacramental writings in the late 1520s and 1530s are missing in Kliefoth's consideration, such as *Sermon von dem Sakrament des Leibes und Blutes Christ, wider die Schwarmgeister*, 1526; *Daß diese Wort Christi „Das ist mein Leib“ noch fest stehen wider die Schwärmgeister*, 1527; *Vom Abendmahl Christi, Bekenntnis*, 1528; *Vermahnung zum Sakrament des Leibes und Blutes Christi*, 1530; *Ein Brief an die zu Frankfurt am Main*, 1533; and *Von der Winkelmesse und Pfaffenweihe*, 1533. It appears that Kliefoth was consulting Luther in critiquing the Roman Catholic position while looking to the writings of the Book of Concord and Luther's *Against the Heavenly Prophets* in addressing the problems of Karlstadt, Zwingli, and the Sacramentarians. Second, Kliefoth went to Luther's *Formula Missae* and *Deutsche Messe* quite extensively. It shows that he consulted these writings for most of the practical questions on the liturgical life of the church. Third, a significant point for our purpose is that the main source of Kliefoth's thinking of $\delta\acute{o}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ and $\lambda\eta\psi\iota\varsigma$ came from Luther's *Eyn sermon von dem newen Testament, das ist von der heyligen Messe*, 1520. We examined in chapter 2, however, that Kliefoth never used Luther's terminology from this document, *beneficium—sacrificium*, even when he was making use of Luther in this document. His vocabulary stayed with *sacramentum—sacrificium*, the words used in Apology 24.

Now we will trace Luther's thinking on giving and receiving in his writings. Because of the nature of this appendix, we will pay special attention to the examination of Luther's *Eyn sermon von dem newen Testament, das ist von der heyligen Messe*, 1520. Luther's other important writings on the Lord's Supper and the Divine Service will be used to further examine Luther's thinking on giving and receiving. We will be conscious of the context and the opponents of Luther's various writings. For this reason, we will take seriously Luther's own words in *Sermon von dem Sakrament des Leibes und Blutes Christ, wider die Schwarmgeister*,

1526, where he says, prompted by the new problem of the Sacramentarians, that from then on he would speak more on the body and the blood of Christ rather than the importance of faith. Our focus is on the theme of δόσις and λήψις and related issues.

Beneficium as Testamentum and Sacramentum

In his *Sermon on the New Testament, that is, the Holy Mass* (1520),³² Luther speaks against the Roman sacramental system with the sacrifice of the Mass as a background. By pointing out how the Mass in the Roman Church has gone astray from Christ's institution through external human additions³³ and how the true Divine Service has been forgotten so that only such foreign elements are kept while Christ's words are ignored,³⁴ Luther brings his hearers to the centrality of the Lord's words of institution of the Holy Communion.³⁵ His emphasis is that the Lord takes the initiative, not us.³⁶

³² *Eyn sermon von dem newen Testament, das ist von der heyligen Messe.* WA 6: 353–78; AE 35: 75–111.

³³ “But they (external human additions) can never make the Mass better. . . . Indeed, the greatest and most useful art is to know what really and essentially belongs to the Mass, and what is added and foreign to it.” “Die messen mag es nymmer besser machen. . . . Und ist fur war die gröste, nutzlichste kunft, zu wissen, wilchs grundlich und eygentlich zur meß gehöret, und wilchs zusetzig und frembd ist.” WA 6: 355. 9–16; AE 35: 81.

³⁴ “Now the nearer our Masses are to the first Mass of Christ, the better they undoubtedly are; and the further from Christ's Mass, the more dangerous.” “Ihe neher nu unßere meße der ersten meß Christi sein, zhe besser sie on zweyffell sein, und yhe weytter davon, yhe ferlicher.” WA 6: 355. 3–4; AE 35:81.

³⁵ “If we desire to observe Mass properly and to understand it, the we must surrender everything that the eyes behold and that the senses suggest—be it vestments, bells, songs, ornaments, prayers, processions, elevations, prostrations, or whatever happens in the Mass—until we first grasp and thoroughly consider the words of Christ [biß das wir zuvor die wort Christi fassen und wol bedencken, WA 6: 355. 24–25] by which he carried out and instituted the Mass and mandated us to carry it out [damit er die meß volnbracht und eyngesetzt und uns zuvolnbringen bevolhen hatt, WA 6: 355. 25–26]. For therein lies the whole Mass, its nature, work, benefit, and fruit. Without the words nothing [of the Mass] is received from the Mass [dan dazynnen ligt die meß gantz mit all yhrem weßen, werck, nutz und frucht, on wilche nichts von der meß empfangen wirt, WA 6: 355. 25–26].”

³⁶ “If man is to deal with God and receive anything from him, it must happen in this manner, not that man begins and lays the first stone, but that God alone—without any entreaty or desire of man—must first come and give him a promise. This word of God is the beginning, the foundation, the rock, upon which afterward all works, words, and thoughts of man must build.” “Wen der mensch soll mit gott zu werck kummen und von yhm ettwas empfahren, szo muß es also zugehen, das nit der mensch anheb und den ersten steyn lege, sondern gott allein on alles erfuchen und begeren des menschen muß zuvor kummen und yhm ein zusagung thun, dasselb wort gottis ist das erst, der grund, der feltz, darrauff sich ernoch alle werck, wort, gedancken des menschen bawen.” WA 6: 356. 3–8; AE 35: 82.

Luther highlights Christ's promise in the words of institution: "This is the cup of the New Testament." Here he focuses on and dwells on the word *testamentum* at length.³⁷ In fact, *testamentum* is a fruitful prompter toward Christ in Luther concerning the Divine Service of the Lord's Supper, not only in this document but also in other works from 1520 and 1521 such as *Von den guten werckenn*, 1520, in the explanation of the Third Commandment;³⁸ *De captivate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium*, 1520, in the section on the Lord's Supper;³⁹ *Sermon von der würdigen Empfahung des heiligen wahren Leichnams Christ, gethan am Gründonnerstag 28 März 1521*;⁴⁰ and *De abroganda missa privata Martini Lutheri sententia* or *Vom Mißbrauch der Messe*, 1521,⁴¹ The source of Luther's thinking on *testamentum* came partly also from his understanding of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Noteworthy are his comments on 7:22, 9:14, and 9:16 in his *Lectures on Hebrews* in 1517–18.⁴²

Luther enumerates six requirements of a *testamentum*. First, there is a "who": the testator who makes the *testamentum*, Christ. Second, there is a "to whom": the heirs to whom the *testamentum* is bequeathed, Christians. Third, there is a "what": the *testamentum* itself, the words of Christ, the words of institution. Fourth, there is a *signum*: the sacrament, the bread and wine under which are His body and blood. Fifth, there is *res signata*: the bequeathed blessing,

³⁷ For Luther, a little word, *testamentum*, is a short summary of all God's wonders and grace fulfilled in Christ. WA 6: 357. 10–27; AE 36: 84.

³⁸ WA 6: 202–76; AE 44: 15–114.

³⁹ WA 6: 497–573; AE 36: 3–126.

⁴⁰ WA 7: 692–97; AE 42: 167–77.

⁴¹ WA 8: 398–476, WA 8: 477–563; AE 36: 125–235.

⁴² WA 57 III: 97–238; AE 29: 109–241. Norman Nagel notes: "In his Lectures on Hebrews there is a most remarkable wave that runs astonishingly high. The waters, however, recede and their line is not covered again until the spring tide of 1520." Nagel, "Luther's Understanding of Christ in Relation to his Doctrine of the Lord's Supper," 226. This author acknowledges this assertion in his own Luther readings.

the forgiveness of sins and eternal life. And sixth, there is the duty of what we are to do for Christ: the remembrance, that is, preaching and hearing.⁴³

These six points are an application and expansion of three requirements of a *testamentum* that he drew from Chrysostom in his *Lectures on Hebrews*: (1) A *testamentum* is made when the day of death is near, (2) some are made heirs, others not; a *testamentum* sets out something about the testator and about the heirs (what they are to receive and do), and (3) a *testamentum* must have witnesses. In his *Hebrews Lectures* Luther had added what Chrysostom did not mention, the “why” of Christ’s making His *testamentum*. Luther supplies the answer from Matthew’s account of the Lord’s Supper, the forgiveness of sins.⁴⁴ Luther says that one must believe the testator when He says, “This is the blood which is shed for you and for many for the forgiveness of sins” (Mt 26:28, Lk 22:20).⁴⁵ Since “nothing except sin pollutes the conscience,”⁴⁶ “joyful conscience is nothing except faith in the remission of sins.” And such faith can be had only in the word of God, which preaches to us that the blood of Christ was shed for the remission of sins.⁴⁷

It is within this framework that Luther talks about giving and receiving. The Mass is not a *sacrificium* that we give to God, but a *testamentum* that we receive from Him. “The Mass is

⁴³ WA 6: 359. 13–360, 2; AE 35: 86–87.

⁴⁴ WA 57 III: 211. 16–212. 15; AE 29: 213. Chrysostom’s reference is from *Homiliae XVI*, 1. Col. 123.

⁴⁵ WA 57 III: 207. 21–208. 4; AE 29: 209. In *De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium*, 1520, Luther enumerates a requirement of a *testamentum* as (1) the death of the testator—Christ at the Last Supper, (2) the promise of an inheritance—“for the forgiveness of sins” (Mt 26:28), and (3) the naming of the heir—“for you” (Lk 22:19–20, 1 Cor. 11:24), “for many” (Mt 26:28, Mk 14:24), that is, those who receive and believe the promise of the testator. WA 6: 513. 24–33; AE 36: 38. In *De abroganda missa privata Martini Lutheri sententia* or *Vom Mibrauch der Messe*, 1521, Luther counts four requirements: (1) the testator—Christ who is about to die, (2) the oral or written promise—*verba testamenti*, *verba consecrationis*, (3) the inheritance—forgiveness of sins, and (4) the heirs—all the believers in Christ. WA 8: 521. 1–25; WA 8: 444. 2–25; AE 36: 179–80.

⁴⁶ WA 57 III: 208. 6–7; AE 29: 209.

⁴⁷ WA 57 III: 208. 23–28; AE 29: 210.

nothing other than a *testamentum*.”⁴⁸ And, further, “as the *testamentum* is much more important than the *sacramentum*, so the words are much more important than the *signum*.”⁴⁹ Luther writes a crucial passage:

For a *testamentum* is not *beneficium acceptum, sed datum*, it does not take benefit from us, but brings benefit to us.⁵⁰

Luther explains that an inheritance is something that one simply receives, not something he earns by a good work. “Likewise in the Mass we give nothing to Christ, but only receive from Him.”⁵¹

Here is a clear source of Kliefoth’s thinking on δόσις and λήψις.⁵² Because the Lord died, an inheritance became available. “Christ would have no other reason to die except that He desired to make such a *testamentum*.”⁵³ Christ gives (which is a requirement of a *testamentum*, described above) (#1). We receive (#2). What the Lord gave are the words, *testamentum* (#3). There is a *signum* attached to the *testamentum*, the sacrament, the bread and wine under which are His body and blood (#4). Luther explains that everything that is in this sacrament must be living.⁵⁴ For Him, both words and sign are full of life.⁵⁵ The *res signata* is interestingly not of the *signum* that Luther explained, namely the body and blood of the Lord, but of the words or

⁴⁸ WA 6: 360. 7–8; AE 35: 87.

⁴⁹ WA 6: 363. 6–8; AE 35: 91.

⁵⁰ “. . . den ein testament ist nit beneficium acceptum, sed datum, es nympt nit wolthat von uns, szondern bringt uns wolthat. . . .” WA 6: 364. 19–21; AE 35: 93.

⁵¹ “yn der meß geben wir Christo nichts, sondern nehmen nur von yhm” WA 6: 364. 23; AE 35: 93. “We do not presume to give God something in the sacrament, when it is He who in it gives us all things.” “Das wir nit vormessen, etwas gott zu geben yn dem sacrament, tzo er uns darynnen alle dingk gibt.” WA 6: 368. 1–3; AE 35: 98. Also in *De captivitate Babylonica*, 1520: “*accipimus et communicamur passive*.” “We receive and are communicated unto in the passive sense.” WA 6: 521. 29–30; AE 36: 49.

⁵² See LA 7: 14.

⁵³ WA 6: 360. 9–10; AE 35: 87.

⁵⁴ “Dan es muß alles leben, was ynn disem testament ist.” WA 6: 359. 20; AE 35: 86.

⁵⁵ “Drumb hatt er es nit in todte schrift und sigill, sondern lebendige wort und zeychen gesetzt.” WA 6: 359. 20–21; AE 35: 86.

testamentum.⁵⁶ Luther treats the words of the institution as a *signum*. What *signum* delivers is forgiveness and eternal life (#5). The duty that we are to do for Christ is remembrance. Luther explained this from the words of institution themselves: “As often as you eat this bread and drink this cup you proclaim the death of Christ.” So, “this do in remembrance of Me” is connected with proclamation. Luther interprets such a remembrance as preaching and hearing (#6).

Thus, Christ, who gave the *testamentum*, actively bestows the forgiveness in the Mass. Because there are words together with the sign, Luther now defines the Mass as *testamentum* and *sacramentum*,⁵⁷ of which the former is primary in this document.⁵⁸ Consistently Luther discusses the Mass as not a *sacrificium*.⁵⁹ No one can offer or give *testamentum* and *sacramentum* either to God or to men. Rather, everyone only receives it from Him.⁶⁰ When the gift is received, from the heart arise prayer and thanksgiving and service to the neighbor in need.⁶¹

Out of Luther’s explanation on giving and receiving, we observe so far the following two points as an evaluation. First, Luther’s understanding of the Lord’s “giving” came from his understanding of *testamentum* in the words of institution themselves, “This is the cup of the New

⁵⁶ “Zum funfften das bescheydne gut, das die wort bedeuten, nemlich ablas der sund und ewigis leben.” WA 6: 359. 28–29; AE 35: 87.

⁵⁷ “This is all easily understood, if one only considers what the Mass really is, namely, a testament and as sacrament. It is God’s word or promise, together with a sacred sign, the bread and the wine under which Christ’s flesh and blood are truly present.” “Das vorsteht man alles leychtlich, tzo man nur der meß warnympt was sie doch ist, nemlich das sie ist eyn testament und sacrament, das ist gottis wort oder zusagung und ein heyliges zeychen des brotes und weynß, darunder Christus fleysch und blüt warhafftig ist.” See also WA 6: 365. 14–17; AE 35: 94. WA 6: 364. 32–33; AE 35: 93, WA 6: 365. 5–6; AE 35: 94, WA 6: 367. 16–17; AE 35: 97, WA 6: 371. 2–6; AE 35: 102.

⁵⁸ “God’s word must go first and stand firm.” “Gottis wort muß vor gehen und fest bleyben.” WA 6: 371. 2–3; AE 35: 102. “He is more concerned about the word than about the sign.” “Es ist yhm mehr am wort den an dem zeychen gelegen.” WA 6: 373. 32–374. 1; AE 35: 106. See also WA 6: 363. 6–8; AE 35: 91 as quoted above.

⁵⁹ “We must let the Mass be a sacrament and testament: it is not and cannot be a sacrifice.” “Wir müssen die messen lassen bleyben ein sacrament und testament, wilch nit sein, noch mügen ein opfer sein.” WA 6: 367. 16–17; AE 35: 97. “. . . Otherwise, we should lose the Gospel, Christ, the comfort [of the sacrament], and every grace of God.” “Wir vorlören sonst das Evangelium, Christum, trost und alle gnade gottis.” WA 6: 367. 18–19; AE 35: 97.

⁶⁰ WA 6: 365. 4–13; AE 35: 94.

⁶¹ WA 6: 364. 32–365. 4; AE 35: 93–94.

Testament,” which he connects with the *testamentum* of the Epistles of Hebrews. Informed by Hebrews with help from Chrysostom, Luther rejoices with the Lord’s giving of forgiveness and life in the Mass, which is the opposite of the sacrifice of the Mass in the Roman Church. Luther sees a connection between Christ’s death on the cross and His distribution of the bequeathed forgiveness and life at the Divine Service in the consideration of the Lord’s words of institution as His *testamentum*.

Second, although Luther rejoices in the evangelical character of *testamentum*, he does not yet fully acknowledge the organic wholeness of the Lord’s Supper, as he would later extol all that is included in Christ’s institution, as for example in his catechisms of 1529: His words, His body and blood, bread and wine, ears and mouth, heart, faith, eating and drinking. In his earlier work he does not deny the body and blood of the Lord as being there and alive, but for him the Lord’s body and blood have less importance than His words.

In his *De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium*, 1520, Luther makes a distinction between *promissio* and *testamentum*, or more accurately between *promissor* and *testator*.⁶² Christ was more than a promiser because He was about to die and He did. He was a testator who actually gave to those who believed what He freely promised.⁶³ Here faith is recognized as a counterpart of His *testamentum*. So that one may be absolutely certain of His promise, the Lord gave His body and blood, leaving it as *signum et memoriale* of the promise.⁶⁴ Every promise of God has *verbum et signum*, so in the Mass there are *testamentum Christi* as *verbum* and *panis et vinum* as *signum* or *sacramentum*. Furthermore, as there is a greater power in the word than in

⁶² WA 6: 513. 24–26, 34–514. 10; AE 36: 37–38. Cf., WA 8: 512. 14–15; AE 36: 169.

⁶³ “Sic ventum est ad promissionem omnium perfectissimam novi testamenti, in qua apertis verbis vita et salus gratuito promittuntur et credentibus promissioni donantur.” WA 6: 515. 5–7; AE 36: 40.

⁶⁴ WA 6: 515. 22–26; AE 36: 40.

the sign, so there is greater power in the *testamentum* than in the *sacramentum*.⁶⁵ The *sacramentum* is treated as something external that signifies something spiritual.⁶⁶

Because of the primacy of the words, which we observed also in his *De captivitate Babylonica* above, Luther at this time gives the *testamentum* as that which distributes the forgiveness of sins.⁶⁷ The Mass is “the *beneficium* of the divine promise” in this sense.⁶⁸ Also, preaching ought to be nothing but an explanation of the words of institution.⁶⁹ But since both preaching and the words of institution bestow forgiveness of sins to those who believe, Luther finds it difficult not to be satisfied with internal faith in the words alone. He does not yet expound what is uniquely given in the Lord’s Supper that is not there with preaching. Luther says: “faith is enough and truly accomplishes everything.” His attention is on internal faith. It is only because Christ instituted the *sacramentum* that Luther would not despise it.⁷⁰ This comment may be understood in light of one of his first comments in this document, *Eyn sermon von dem newen Testament, das ist von der heyligen Messe*, 1520, that Christ gave only one law,

⁶⁵ WA 6: 518. 13–19; AE 36: 44, WA 6: 358. 35–39; AE 35: 86. WA 6: 303. 6–8; AE 35: 91.

⁶⁶ WA 6: 359. 4–12; AE 35: 86. In *De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium*, Luther explains that there is *nisi unum sacramentum* but there are *tria signa sacramentalia*. “The only sacrament” is Christ and “three sacramental signs” are “baptism, penance and the bread.” WA 6: 501. 33–38; AE 36: 18. Melancthon in his *Loci Communes* of 1521 also uses the same language of “sacramental signs.” Melancthon places a section on “Signs” before proceeding to Baptism and the Lord’s Supper. The Lord’s Supper is called the second sign through which faith is strengthened by being reminded of the Gospel or the remission of sins. Wilhelm Pauck ed., *Melancthon and Bucer*, The Library of Christian Classics, vol. 19 (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1969), 135, 145–46. Cf., James William Richard, *Philip Melancthon: The Protestant Preceptor of Germany 1497–1560* (New York: Burt Franklin Reprints, 1974), 157; Wilhelm H. Neuser, *Die Abendmahlslehre Melancthons in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung (1519–1530)* (Erziehungsverein: Neukirchener Verlag, 1968), 70–79.

⁶⁷ WA 6: 358. 14–24; AE 35: 85. Cf., WA 6: 231. 16–17; AE 44: 56.

⁶⁸ WA 6: 523. 4–5; AE 36: 51.

⁶⁹ WA 6: 373. 31–374. 7; AE 35: 106.

⁷⁰ WA 6: 372. 22–25, 28–34; AE 35: 104.

the holy Mass, while in the Old Testament there are many laws of Moses to have to follow.⁷¹

“But the chief reason for holding Mass outwardly is the word of God.”⁷²

We observe that Luther here is indeed clearer on the Gospel than at the time of posting the Ninety-five Theses. Then, he was critiquing the newly-introduced practice of indulgences because such a way of the Penance would be too easy. That the entire life of believers as one of repentance, which he said in Thesis 1, should involve a hard work of contrition, confession, and satisfaction. One is to humble himself and conform himself to the cross, that is, to punishment, suffering, and judgment. The penitent is to be pointed toward the external mortification of the flesh and internal humiliation of the heart so that he may identify himself with the judgment of Christ on the cross. Thus, “perfect contrition does not need His absolution.”⁷³ Before one hears the words of forgiveness he should tell himself that his sins are forgiven if he has gone through a long and agonizing process of such a Penance. Since Luther here does not talk about the external word (*externum verbum*), he does not mention faith in the entire Ninety-five Theses.

By 1520, Luther’s focus had moved from contrition to faith, as is evidenced in *De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium*, when he writes: “they (Roman Church) teach that contrition takes precedence over, and is far superior to, faith in the promise, as if contrition were not a work of faith, but a merit; indeed, they do not mention faith at all.”⁷⁴ What Luther said of Rome here was exactly the position that Luther himself was taking before. As we saw, in *Eyn sermon von dem newen Testament, das ist von der heyligen Messe*, 1520, Luther now confesses the importance of the words of the Lord as *testamentum*, as also faith as a counterpart of the *testamentum*. Still, he does not say much about the *proprium* of the Lord’s Supper, the body and

⁷¹ WA 6: 353. 3–355. 2; AE 35: 79–81.

⁷² WA 6: 373. 9–10; AE 35: 105.

⁷³ “Perfecta autem eius (contritionis) absolutione non eget.” WA 1: 550. 36; AE 31: 117.

the blood of the Lord. When he speaks of them, they are treated as a *signum*. For Luther, what bridges between *signum* and *res signata* was faith. Therefore, not only the *sacramentum* but also *verbum* were the *signum* for Luther.⁷⁵ Luther in 1520 still echoes what he said in 1519 in his *Eyn Sermon von dem Sacrament der Buß*: “Not the sacrament, but the faith that believes the sacrament is what removes sin. . . . The sacrament removes sin, not because it takes place, but because it is believed.”⁷⁶ “In the sacrament we let faith be the chief thing.”⁷⁷ “Everything, then, depends on this faith, which alone makes the sacraments accomplish that which they signify.”⁷⁸

We may observe how *testamentum* was able to confess what needed to be confessed against Rome. Yet this emphasis resulted in the *proprium* of the Lord’s Supper, His body and blood (which Luther later emphasized against the enthusiasts), having lesser importance as a *signum* than the words. It may be going too far to suggest that what Luther said of *testamentum* was possible without reference to the Lord’s body and blood. There was a sacrifice, a death without which there is no operative *testamentum*, even as everything depends here on the words. The *testamentum* distributes the forgiveness. But such a thought is not found in Kliefoth in the documents we examined.

A Proper Distinction between *Beneficium* and *Sacrificium*

We observed above that Luther’s emphasis on the Lord’s giving in his *Eyn sermon von dem neuen Testament, das ist von der heyligen Messe*, 1520, was found in the context of extolling the *beneficium* of the Mass, especially in the *testamentum*. Luther proceeds further to clarify his point by contrasting *beneficium*, particularly, again, as *testamentum*, against

⁷⁴ WA 6: 544. 26–28; AE 36: 84.

⁷⁵ WA 6: 359. 28–29; AE 35: 87.

⁷⁶ WA 2: 715. 35–37; AE 35: 11.

⁷⁷ WA 2: 719. 36–38; AE 345: 17.

sacrificium. “We must clearly distinguish here between what we offer and what we do not offer in the Mass.”⁷⁹ “We must let the Mass be a sacrament and testament; it is not and cannot be a sacrifice. . . , otherwise, we should lose the Gospel, Christ, the comfort, and every grace of God.”⁸⁰ Luther uses a strong expression on such a distinction as follows:

Therefore we must separate the Mass clearly and distinctly from the prayers and ceremonies [or gestures, conducts] which have been added to it by the holy fathers. We must keep these two as far apart as heaven and earth, so that the Mass may remain nothing else than the testament and sacrament comprehended in the words of Christ.⁸¹

Concerning the distinction between the Lord’s giving and our doing, Luther discusses similarly in *De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium*, 1520: “We must therefore sharply distinguish the testament (*testamentum*) and sacrament itself (*sacramentumque ipsum*) from prayers (*orationes*) which we pray at the same time.”⁸² The contrasts he makes include: *missa* and *oratio*, *sacramentum* and *opus*, and *testamentum* and *sacrificium*. The formers come from God to us while the latter proceed from our faith to God.⁸³ In *The Misuse of the Mass*, 1521, the distinction between *testamentum* and *sacrificium* is explained by way of contrasts between what

⁷⁸ WA 2: 715. 30–32; AE 35: 11.

⁷⁹ WA 6: 365. 25–26; AE 35: 94.

⁸⁰ WA 6: 367. 16–19; AE 35: 97.

⁸¹ WA 6: 367. 19–23; AE 35: 97.

⁸² WA 6: 522. 30–31; AE 36:50. In *De captivitate Babylonica* Luther also says as follows: “Who in the world is so foolish as to regard a promise (*promissionem*) received by him, or a testament (*testamentum*) given to him, as a good work, which he renders to the testator by his reception of it? What heir will imagine that he is doing his departed father a kindness by receiving the terms of the will and the inheritance it bequeaths to him? What godless audacity is it, therefore, when we who are to receive the testament of God come as those who would perform a good work for him! (*ut divinum testamentum accepturi veniamus ut bonum opus ei facturi?*) This ignorance of the testament, this captivity of so great a sacrament – are they not too sad for tears? When we ought to be grateful for benefits received, we come arrogantly to give that which we ought to take. With unheard-of perversity we mock the mercy of the giver by giving as a work the thing we receive as a gift, so that the testator, instead of being a dispenser of his won goods, becomes the recipient of ours. Woe to such sacrilege! (*ubi de acceptis grati esse debemus, venimus superbi daturi accipienda, iridentes inaudita perversitate donatoris misericordiam, dum hoc donamus ut opus, quod accipimus ut donum, ut testator iam non suorum largitor bonorum sed nostrorum sit acceptor. Ve impietati isti!*)” WA 6: 520. 27–36; AE 36: 47–48. Also Luther writes as follows: “In this way the error has gradually grown, until they have come to ascribe to the sacrament what belongs to the prayers, and to offer to God what should be received as a benefit (. . . , *Et quod recipere beneficium debent, id obtulerunt deo.*)” WA 6: 522. 27–29; AE 36: 50.

we receive (*accipiamus*) and what we give (*demus*), from God to us (*a deo*) and from us to God (*ad deum*), and that which occurs without us (*sine nobis*) and through us (*per nos*).⁸⁴ In this way Luther considers that the distinction between *testamentum* and *sacrificium* is of central importance, without which one loses the Gospel, Christ, and hence all comfort.

At this point, it is worth comparing briefly Luther's distinction between *beneficium* and *sacrificium*, particularly between *testamentum* and *sacrificium*, with Melanchthon's distinction in Apology 24 between *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*.

The distinction between *sacramentum* and *sacrificium* was already found at least in Thomas Aquinas.⁸⁵ Melanchthon, in his Apology 24, acknowledges that this distinction is what "theologians rightly distinguish,"⁸⁶ implying that this is "a *customary* distinction" of his day.⁸⁷

Concerning the *sacrificium*, Carl Wisløff pointed out, by letting a medieval Jesuit theologian Robert Bellarmine speak, that Melanchthon's definition of *sacrificium* lacks the most important characteristic of the sacrifice, namely, the sacrificial *gift*. For Melanchthon both *sacramentum* and *sacrificium* are *ceremonia* or *opus sacrum*.⁸⁸ Both talk about the liturgical

⁸³ WA 6: 526. 13–17; AE 36: 56.

⁸⁴ WA 8: 444. 30–32, WA 8: 521. 31–33; AE 36: 180.

⁸⁵ "Rationem sacrificii, habet in quantum offertur: rationem autem sacramenti in quantum sumitur." "It has the character of a sacrifice insofar as it is offered; but it has the character of a sacrament insofar as it is received." *Summa Theologiae* iii q. 79 a. 5. As quoted in Carl Wisløff, *Abendmahl und Messe: Die Kritik Luthers am Meßopfer* (Berlin and Hamburg: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1969), 56; idem, *The Gift of Communion: Luther's Controversy with Rome on Eucharistic Sacrifice*, trans. Joseph M. Shaw (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1964), 59.

⁸⁶ Ap 24: 17. Interestingly, *Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche* (11th ed., 1992) gives a footnote on this passage. *Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch lutherischen Kirche*, 11th ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1992), 354. In this footnote, two references of Luther's works are mentioned. Both works are what we have been engaging in this appendix. One is *Eyn sermon von dem newen Testament, das ist von der heyligen Messe*, 1520, and the other *De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium*, 1520. In the sections which are noted in this footnote, WA 6: 367. 13 and WA 6: 526. 13, however, Luther does not talk about the distinction between *sacramentum* and *sacrificium* as the editor had wished, but between *testamentum* and *sacrificium* as we have demonstrated above.

⁸⁷ Wisløff, *Abendmahl und Messe*, 53; idem. *The Gift of Communion*, 57.

⁸⁸ Ap. 24: 17. Melanchthon speaks similarly in his *Loci Communes 1543*: "Although it seems childish to distinguish between the words 'sacrament' and 'sacrifice,' yet the situation demands that in religious ceremonies the
(continued next page)

action. For Bellarmin, the proper question should be, “is this sacrament of the body and blood of Christ a sacrificial gift?” rather than “is this sacramental action a sacrifice?” Melanchthon proceeds from the liturgical action and the use of the sacrament, and asks whether this action and this usage of the Lord’s Supper can be called a sacrifice. Bellarmin, on the other hand, begins with the essence of the sacrament, and poses the question whether Christ’s body and blood are a *hostia*, and whether the Eucharistic sacrament, in addition to being a *sacramentum*, is also a *sacrificium*.

While a comparison between Melanchthon and Bellarmin, as introduced by Wisløff, does not concern us directly in our investigation, it may help us to recognize that Melanchthon’s distinction between *sacramentum* and *sacrificium* was concerned with a distinction in the liturgical ceremony⁸⁹ while Luther’s distinction between *beneficium* and *sacrificium* had to do with the Lord’s Supper itself. We may interpret that Melanchthon was using the “familiar” distinction that was readily understandable by the opponents of the Augsburg Confession; he used “their” terminologies in order to make an evangelical point concerning the Mass. He was responding to *the Confutation*, in which Rome insisted that the Mass should be able to be called a sacrifice.⁹⁰ Luther, on the other hand, went to the heart of the issue straightforwardly. His concern was more than what ceremonially happens in the Mass, but what the Lord gives as His *beneficium*.

difference be observed and boundaries defined.” Philip Melanchthon, *Loci Communes 1543*, trans. J. A. O. Preus (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1992), 150.

⁸⁹ His concern on the “ceremony” continues on in his later edition of *Loci Communes*, for example of 1543. Melanchthon, *Loci Communes 1543*, 139–53.

⁹⁰ Robert Kolb and James A. Nestingen eds., *Sources and Contexts of The Book of Concord* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 129–30.

Luther's distinction and Melanchthon's distinction were not totally identical.⁹¹ For Melanchthon "the actions" within the Divine Service of the Lord's Supper may be either sacramental or sacrificial, provided that the eucharistic sacrifice being properly distinguished from the atoning sacrifice. On the other hand, for Luther, the relation between *beneficium* and *sacrificium* was, strictly speaking, not really a distinction. The Lord's Supper was never a *sacrificium* at all, but purely *beneficium*. Furthermore, as we have seen above, *beneficium* for Luther at the time of 1520–1521 included both *testamentum* (words) and *sacramentum* (bread and wine, body and blood). Therefore, even if *sacramentum* and *sacrificium* are contrasted in Luther, such a distinction does not describe the same contrast as Melanchthon's usage of the terms. Luther designates with the term *sacramentum* the "sacramental signs" excluding the words, while Melanchthon uses the same language to describe a kind of *action* in the Divine Service.

How, then, does Kliefoth understand δόσις and λήψις and *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*? Does he reflect Luther's use of *beneficium* (*testamentum* + *sacramentum*) and *sacrificium*, or Melanchthon's use of *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*? We observe two points. First, in his comments on giving and receiving, that is, δόσις and λήψις, Kliefoth's thinking is close to Luther's *beneficium*. The Divine Service is where the Lord Himself distributes His gifts. Everything is from Him. Kliefoth emphasizes again and again the Christo-centricity and *Amt Christi*, the means of grace and the means of grace office. His people stay passive as the ones given to by Christ. Receiving is, therefore, counted as participation of the congregation in the liturgy in the best sense of the word.

⁹¹ We regret that this author was not able to find a correspondence between Luther and Melanchthon on this particular issue of *sacramentum* and *sacrificium* of Apology 24.

Unlike Luther in 1520 and 1521, Kliefoth does not make a sharp distinction between *testamentum* and *sacramentum*. Both are included in his use of the language, *sacramentum*. In other words, Kliefoth's *sacramentum* is Luther's *beneficium*. In this sense, although Kliefoth quotes from Luther's *Eyn sermon von dem newen Testament, das ist von der heyligen Messe*, 1520 and *De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium*, 1520, his understanding of the Lord's Supper goes beyond Luther in his early 1520s. Here Kliefoth's faithfulness to the Lutheran Confessions may be observed. Like Luther in the confessional writings, i.e., Catechisms and the Smalcald Articles, Kliefoth extols both the words of Christ and the body and blood of the Lord. In Kliefoth we see the Lord's Supper confessed with its organic wholeness, not merely *signum* to have to be delivered by some internal process.

Second, Kliefoth's use of the words *sacramentum* and *sacrificium* should be understood within such *beneficium*-understanding of the Lord's δόσις. His concern was not so much as what kinds of ceremony there should be in the church, but how best the church's liturgy may be the location where the Lord's δόσις and our λήψις take place. The dynamic flow from *sacramentum* to *sacrificium* was the key. Kliefoth constantly talked about the reciprocal undertaking of δόσις and λήψις. It was within it that the life of *Opferverhältniß* or the dynamic flow of *sacramentum* and *sacrificium* was described. In other words, Kliefoth's picture of *sacrificium* is always a result of δόσις and λήψις.

A Dynamic Flow of Giving and Receiving and Fruits of Receiving

Kliefoth's discussion on of δόσις and λήψις and *sacramentum* and *sacrificium* was not complete without talking about the dynamic flow of such Lord's giving and without recognizing the result of His gift in the life and words of those who received life from Him. Kliefoth spoke of the daily walk of a Christian vocation as the place where His gifts have their fruition. He also spoke about the fruits of lips within the Divine Service through confession, praise, thanksgiving,

and prayer. In order to examine these aspects of Kliefoth's thinking in Luther's writing, we will first go to the document of our particular attention, *Eyn sermon von dem newen Testament, das ist von der heyligen Messe*, 1520. We will then hear them from other writings of Luther during early 1520s.

So as to remove any confusion between His giving (*beneficium*) and our giving (*sacrificium*), Luther made a separation between the two in the Mass as we observed above. But that did not mean that Luther was downplaying what arises from the heart when His *beneficium* is received.⁹² Luther discusses two areas where such prompting of the heart result. We are and have nothing but what is given us. The Lord's gifts move into all areas of life. "Since the external sacrifices have ceased," so "we should bring spiritual sacrifices." We yield ourselves to the will of God, that He may make of us what He will, according to His own pleasure.⁹³ Such a description resembles Kliefoth's discussion on *Opferverhältniß*. Secondly, in addition to ourselves we bring praise and thanks sacrifice for His grace and mercy, promised and given in the sacrament. Luther mentions that "such a sacrifice does not necessarily and essentially belong to the Mass," yet it is appropriate and acceptable when it takes place in the assembly.⁹⁴

⁹² In *Von den guten werckenn*, 1520, Luther writes: "Christ has bequeathed and given you forgiveness of all sins through His *testamentum*. . . . When this faith proceeds right, the heart must become joyful by the *testamentum*, and in God's love be warm and melted. Then follows praise and thanks with delightful heart." WA 6: 230. 30–31, 231. 4–6; AE 44: 56. In *De abroganda missa privata Martini Lutheri sententia* or *Vom Mißbrauch der Messe*, 1521, likewise, "bless" or "give thanks" is a sign and testimony that something is received and given from God, not that we offer or give anything to God. ". . . das etwas von gott empfangen und gegeben ist, nicht das wyr gott etwas opfferten odder geben." WA 8: 513, 19–21; AE 36: 170–71. "Quin 'gratias agere' et 'benedicere' est testari, sese accipere vel accepisse a deo, non autem offerre deo." WA 8: 438, 4–5. Here we also note that the Latin "*accipere*" is translated by Luther himself as "*empfangen*," that is, to receive.

⁹³ In *Sermon von der würdigen Empfahung des heiligen wahren Leichnams Christ, gethan am Gründonnerstag (28. März 1521)*, Luther writes: "Faith creates godliness and drives out all sin, grants strength in sickness, enlightens in all blindness, heals all evil inclinations, guards against sin, and performs every good deed. In brief, the fruit of such faith is that never can there remain any frailty; for in faith the Holy Spirit is given, and thereby a man loves God because of the abundant goodness received from him. A man becomes cheerful and glad to do all that is good without the compulsion of law and command." WA 7: 696: 3–8; AE 42: 175.

⁹⁴ This entire paragraph is based on WA 6: 368. 3–16; AE 35: 98.

Sacrificium was spoken of by Kliefoth in terms of fruits of our lips and fruits of our works. The former takes place within the Divine Service and the latter in the life of vocation in service to the neighbor where Christ locates Himself to receive such service. Luther talks similarly. He talks about the entire life of a Christian as a service to the neighbor and praise to the Lord. This shows how deeply Kliefoth was grounded in the evangelical doctrine of Luther.

Luther then goes on to expound that we do not bring before God ourselves and our prayer, praise and thanksgiving in our own persons ourselves. But “we are to lay it (them) upon Christ and let Him bring it (them) for us.”⁹⁵ Luther takes this comment out of Hebrews 13:15: “Let us continually offer a sacrifice of praise to God, that is, the fruit of lips that confess Him and praise Him” and all this “through Christ.”⁹⁶ Christ serves as a priest in heaven, interceding for us. He receives our prayer and sacrifice, and through Himself as a godly priest makes them pleasing to God. Ps. 110:4, Heb. 9:24, Rom. 8:34.⁹⁷ Since we, the baptized, are all invited to approach God “through Christ” as High Priest, we are all in the “priesthood.”

Because such a “spiritual sacrifice” takes place also in the Mass, and since it is not our sacrifice to the Father directly but always through Christ as our priest, Luther says that it is “tolerable” to call the Mass as a sacrifice.⁹⁸ “Not that we offer the sacrament,” but He offers Himself for us as He brings our praise, prayer and sacrifice to God.⁹⁹ Thereby Christ serves us as “our parson (*pfarrer*) or priest (*pfaff*).”¹⁰⁰ Again, Luther makes sure that what is central in the Mass is His *beneficium*, as he says: “God’s word must take priority and remain firm, namely,

⁹⁵ WA 6: 368. 26–28; AE 35: 99.

⁹⁶ WA 6: 368. 29–31; AE 35: 99.

⁹⁷ WA 6: 368. 26–369. 3; AE 35: 99.

⁹⁸ WA 6: 369. 4–5; AE 35: 99.

⁹⁹ WA 6: 369. 11–15; AE 35: 99.

¹⁰⁰ WA 6: 369. 9; AE 35: 99.

that the Mass is nothing other than a *testamentum* and *sacramentum* of God and cannot be a good work or a *sacrificium*.” But Luther also adds, “although it may be received in connection with the sacrifice and good works.”¹⁰¹ Praise, prayer, and thanksgiving are part of the Divine Service, but do not occupy the central place. The main thing in the Mass remains nothing but the Lord’s *beneficium*.

This section of Luther has been favored by those who argue in favor of the so-called eucharistic prayer in the twentieth century. We will observe an example in the Swedish scene in the next appendix when we discuss theological orientation of Gustaf Aulen and Yngbe Brilioth. We will note here, in the first place, that in the context of this writing of Luther, our spiritual sacrifice is located as a secondary feature. What is primary is the Lord’s giving (*beneficium, testamentum, sacramentum*). In the second place, what Luther describes as Christ’s intercession as heavenly priest is something that takes place all the time, not just in the Divine Service. In other words, in His intercessory services Christ does not represent His sacrifice on the cross or make it effective again. In the third place, Luther was pastoral here in the context of those who called the Mass a *sacrificium*. For their sake he says that it may be “tolerable” and “permissible” to call the Mass as *sacrificium* because of our sacrifice of ourselves and our prayer, praise and thanks, which may be there secondarily and as a result of the Lord’s *beneficium*.

What we may gain as an insight from this portion of Luther’s writing as an application is that the *sacrificium* portion of the *Preface* is something we bring before the Father only through Christ. There Christ as the priest and we as His priestly people speak to each other. The Lord is there in the Divine Service, then, in two senses. First and foremost, He is there to bestow on us His words and His body and blood, through which He delivers forgiveness and life. Secondly,

¹⁰¹ WA 6: 371: 2–6; AE 35: 102. “Gottis wort muß vor gehen und fest bleyben, das die meß nit anders den ein testament und sacrament gottis sey, wilchs nit ein gutt werck noch opffer sein mag, ob es wol yn dem opffer unnd guten wercken gefasset mag empfangen werden.”

Christ is there to receive our acclamation of Himself, our Lord. And that praise to Christ may be considered as our praise to the Father, not only because Jesus and the Father are one but because Christ serves us as the heavenly High Priest. In this sense, it makes sense that the *Salutation* is located both before the Collect and at the beginning of the *Preface*. It is through the Lord's high priestly service that we pray to the Father (the Collect). Even our praise and acclamation is directed to Christ, "through whom" it also goes to the Father.

Because of its relevance to our theme, we will draw a few thoughts from one of Luther's other writings in the early 1520s, *Das Magnificat Vorteuschet und außgelegt*, 1521. Although Luther talks about the Divine Service in it, in this document he does not specifically talk about *sacrificium* or the *Preface*. But in going through Luther's exposition of the *Magnificat* we observe his thinking on our praise. At times he sounds as if he were expounding the Swedish *Preface*, "He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!" Also interesting for our purpose is the time of Luther's writing. He started writing the *Magnificat* during the season of Advent in 1520, although the printing was not completed until May of the next year when he was at the Wartburg. Previously, it was at the end of July of the same year that *Eyn sermon von dem newen Testament, das ist von der heyligen Messe*, 1520, was published. Also in October of the same year, *De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium*, 1520, appeared. We may therefore read the *Magnificat* with those documents as a background.

We highlight three things from the *Magnificat*. First, we note a relation between *beneficium* and praise. Luther here teaches what the right Divine Service is. "No one serves God except that he lets Him be his God and work His works in him."¹⁰² What he dismisses is our doing. Luther mentions that people of his day did not know the word *Gottesdienst* because

¹⁰² "Niemand dienet aber got, denn wer yhn lessit sein got sein und seine werck in yhm wircken." WA 7: 595. 34-35; AE 21: 350. Luther here talks about God's work in us rather than for us.

this word did not mean something of God's giving. For them, *Gottesdienst* was doing something that even God does not know, such invented practices of ours as the ringing of bells, precious stones in the vestments of choirboys and celebrants, processions, the rattling of rosaries, and so forth.¹⁰³ By expounding the meaning of the word *Gottesdienst* as God's service to us, in stead of our self-chosen service to Him, Luther was expounding the Divine Service as *beneficium*.

When *beneficium* is received, there arises praise to the Lord. Luther writes: "For no one can praise God without first loving Him. No one can love Him unless He makes Himself known to him in the most lovable and intimate fashion. And He can make Himself known only through those works of His which He reveals in us, and which we feel and experience within ourselves."¹⁰⁴ Luther here ties the *beneficium* with the doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo*. "Just as God in the beginning of creation made the world out of nothing, . . . so His manner of working continues unchanged. Even now and to the end of the world, all His works are such that out of that which is nothing, worthless, despised, wretched, and dead, He makes that which is something, precious, honorable, blessed, and living."¹⁰⁵ God alone looks unto the depths with their need and misery. "And this is the source of men's love and praise of God."¹⁰⁶ The Lord's giving and our praise in this order. The *creatio ex nihilo* way of the Lord's *beneficium* prompts "a hearty love for Him. . . . The heart overflows with gladness and goes leaping and dancing for the great pleasure it has received in God."¹⁰⁷ The dynamic flow is again, His giving—our receiving—our praise.

¹⁰³ WA 7: 596. 1–13; AE 21: 350.

¹⁰⁴ WA 7: 548. 2–5; AE 21: 300.

¹⁰⁵ WA 7: 547. 1–6; AE 21: 299.

¹⁰⁶ WA 7: 548. 1–2; AE 21: 300.

¹⁰⁷ WA 7: 548. 8–10; AE 21: 300. The "great pleasure" comes from God "who not only gives this or that . . . but fills and fully satisfies" us. WA 7: 594. 30–31; AE 21: 348.

Luther's thinking on *beneficium* in light of *creatio ex nihilo* is reflected often in his later writings. The best-known passage may be found in his *Small Catechism* where he concludes the explanation of the First Article with the following words: "All this is done out of nothing but fatherly divine goodness and mercy, without any merit or worthiness of mine at all! For all of this I am to thank and praise Him and for all this serve and obey Him. This is most certainly true."¹⁰⁸ Here too, the gift (the First Article gift) flows into the praise of God.

As Luther said, the way of the Lord's dealing with us, the way of *creatio ex nihilo*, continued on unchanged as He forgives us through His Son who went "into the depths." Luther confessed later in 1527: "Our God, however, has His honor in this that for our sake He gives Himself down to the utmost depth, into flesh and bread, into our mouth, heart and bosom, and more, for our sake He suffers Himself to be dishonorably treated both upon the cross and altar."¹⁰⁹ At Marburg, Luther confessed that he neither knows nor worships any other God than Him who was born by the Virgin, died on the cross, and distributed at the Lord's Table. Satan brings to us the Majesty and our sin, and terrifies us so that we despair. "Reason and will would ascend and seek above, but if you would have joy, bend yourself down to this place. There you will find that boy given for you who is your Creator lying in a manger. . . . There is no joy but in this boy. Take Him away and you face the Majesty which terrifies."¹¹⁰ The joy and praise comes from knowing Christ and why He came.¹¹¹ The joy and praise arise in the heart when it receives the Lord "for you" in the means of grace.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ SC 2, 2. ". . . , und das alles aus lauter väterlicher, göttlicher Güte und Barmherzigkeit ohn alle mein Verdienst und Würdigkeit, des alles ich ihm zu danken und zu loben und dafür zu dienen und gehorsam zu sein schuldig bin; das ist gewißlich wahr." BSLK 511, 3–8.

¹⁰⁹ WA 23: 157. 30; AE 37: 72. *Daß diese Wort Christi „Das ist mein Leib“ noch fest stehen wider die Schwärmgeister 1527.*

¹¹⁰ WA 23: 732. 13–14, 26–28, 32–33. *Predigt am ersten Weihnachtsfeiertag Nachmittag, 1527. Lk 2:8ff.*

¹¹¹ WA 10 III: 123. 29. *Ein Sermon von der Sünde, Gerechtigkeit und Urteil. John 16:5-16. 18. Mai 1522.*

¹¹² "It is one thing for God to be there and quite another for Him to be there for you (Das ein anders ist, wenn (continued next page)

Second, Luther teaches that the praise of the Lord is not a work of man, but a work of God alone.¹¹³ Luther comments on Lk 1:46, which in German says: “*Mey seele erhebt got den Herrenn*” (My soul magnifies God, the Lord). “*Erheben*” is the language which is used in the *Preface* in German for *sursum corda*, “lift up your hearts” (“*Die Herzen in die Höhe!*” “*Erheben wir zum HErrn!*”). Luther comments: “I am exalted, more than I exalt myself, to praise the Lord” (emphasis added).¹¹⁴ We do not elevate ourselves. Our hearts are lifted up by the Lord. “She (Mary) is caught up, as it were, into Him and feels herself lifted up (*erhebung*) into His good and gracious will. . . . All words and thoughts fail us, and our whole life and soul must be set in motion, as though all that lived within us wanted to break forth into praise and singing.”¹¹⁵ The *corda* of *sursum corda* is the “whole life” of Luther. “*Erheben*” is here passive again. When the Lord’s *beneficium* is received, the “whole life” is “caught up” with joy, and the praise and acclamation “break forth.” Luther’s discussion here resembles what we heard from Thomander. Also Luther’s word, “but a work of *God alone*” rings in the Swedish *Preface*, “*He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!*”

Third, we observe that the eyes of those who praise the Lord turn toward the Lord Himself and not toward us. Faith looks to Him and Him alone, forgetting about ourselves and our worthiness or unworthiness. As in his explanation of the petitions of the Lord’s Prayer in *Small Catechism*, so here Luther says that the Lord does not need our praise. He does not need to be

Gott da ist, und wenn er dir da ist). He is there for you when He sets His word there and binds Himself to that place saying, ‘Here you are to find me’ (Denn aber ist er da ist, da, wenn er sein wort dazu thut und bindet sich damit an und spricht: Sie soltu mich finden.)” WA 23: 151. 13–15 ; AE 37:68–69.

¹¹³ WA 7: 550. 9–10; AE 21: 302.

¹¹⁴ “Das ich . . . mehr erhaben werde, denn mich selv erhebe zu gottis lob.” WA 7: 550. 6–7; AE 21: 302. When did the *Preface* in German appear in the sixteenth century in this form is a good historical question. Whether there were other translations available would be still another question.

¹¹⁵ WA 7: 554. 21–22, 27–29; AE 21: 307.

exalted or lifted up. Rather, He is exalted in us and among us.¹¹⁶ The joy is found here on earth where the Lord Jesus comes in the means of grace, and not somewhere up there in the majesty of God. The praise goes to Him who is here.

Luther warns against two kinds of danger in singing the *Magnificat*. One is to sing it only when things are going well. Since those people “are unwilling to suffer oppression and to be in the depths,” they can never experience “the proper works of God, and therefore can never truly love or praise Him.” The second kind of danger is when those who sing the *Magnificat* lift themselves up because they have received good gifts from God. They regard themselves as better than others who have no such things. They do not ascribe the gifts to His goodness alone.¹¹⁷

Luther sees in Mary’s humility, not as a humility which looks inwardly to oneself. “True humility never knows that it is humble,” says Luther.¹¹⁸ Mary knows she is totally unworthy of any good gifts from the Lord. Everything comes from Him.¹¹⁹ “Hence she does not glory in her worthiness (*wirdigkeit*) nor yet in her unworthiness (*unwirdigkeit*), but solely (*alleyn*) in the divine regard Hence the stress lies not on the word ‘low estate,’ but on the word ‘regarded.’”¹²⁰ Mary, therefore, does not look inwardly but outwardly. She regards herself alone as unworthy (*unwirdig*). She lifts up God alone, to count Him alone (*got alleyn*) as great and lay claim to nothing.¹²¹ Praise and thanksgiving belong to Him alone (*allein*).¹²²

¹¹⁶ WA 7: 554. 10–13; AE 21: 307.

¹¹⁷ WA 7: 555. 12–20; AE 21: 308.

¹¹⁸ WA 7: 562. 19–20; AE 21: 315.

¹¹⁹ WA 7: 555. 12–20; AE 21: 308.

¹²⁰ WA 7: 561. 10–13, 16–18; AE 21: 314.

¹²¹ WA 7: 555. 29–30; AE 21: 308. WA 7: 585. 1–8; AE 21: 339.

¹²² WA 7: 585. 6–9; AE 21: 339. WA 7: 555. 114–15; AE 21: 308.

It is true that we are in need, being completely unworthy. “There was nothing for Him to regard that could move Him except His mercy.”¹²³ However, the basis of His praise lies not in us, our worthiness or unworthiness.

Thus, Luther’s exposition of the *Magnificat* gives further grounding for his theology of the Divine Service, following his *Eyn sermon von dem neuen Testament* and *De captivitate Babylonica*. It teaches the *Gottesdienst* as *beneficium* of the Lord. It elaborates on our praise as the work of the Lord. It also sounds as if he were expounding on “He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!” This was exactly how Mary was praising God. The recognition of my total unworthiness and His merciful regard in giving His good gifts are included in such an acclamation. The praise comes out of those who do not look inside themselves but to the Lord alone.

The Motif of Giving and Receiving in Luther Continues

We have concentrated our examination of Kliefoth’s δόσις and λήψις and *sacramentum* and *sacrificium* within Luther’s writings that Kliefoth himself made use of. Because he located the Reformation liturgy in the historical context, Kliefoth was using Luther’s early 1520s writings in order to highlight how Luther battled against the medieval Roman Catholic theories of worship. The most important work for Kliefoth to discuss our themes above was Luther’s *Eyn sermon von dem neuen Testament*, 1520. We pointed how far Luther’s *beneficium* and *sacrificium* there coincided with Kliefoth’s δόσις and λήψις and *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*, noting similarities and differences. We noted a tendency in Luther that at the time of writing the above-mentioned work and others during the years 1520–1521 he was emphasizing the importance of the word to the extent that the *proprium* of the Lord’s Supper, the body and blood

¹²³ WA 7: 596. 26–31; AE 21: 350–51.

of Jesus, received less attention and weight. Faith was of the highest import for him in man's receiving of forgiveness of sins that is distributed through the *signs*, that is, word and sacraments. *Testamentum* was a vital word for Luther as also *beneficium*. We commented that Kliefoth did not have such a one-sided emphasis on words or faith. In this sense he was closer to Luther in his Catechisms when he confessed the Lord's Supper as an organic whole on the basis of the words of institution. But the most important observation was that the dynamic flow of *δόσις* and *λήψις* and its consequences in the daily life of Christian vocation were taught beautifully by Luther in those writings. Luther was an evangelical *doctor* for Kliefoth.

How about Luther on *δόσις* and *λήψις* and *sacramentum* and *sacrificium* in his writings after 1521? Did he change or adjust his view of the Divine Service when Luther was facing new opponents from the side of the enthusiasts? Such a discussion would call for much further study and so lies outside the scope of this dissertation. Thus, this author simply lists the writings of Luther that he has consulted and will offer only a few overall comments.

- 1517 *Disputatio pro declaratione virtutis indulgentiarum*¹²⁴
 1517–18 *Luthers Vorlesung über den Hebräer-brief*¹²⁵
 1518 *Resolutiones disputationum de indulgentiarum virtute*¹²⁶
*Die zehn Gebote dem Volk zu Wittenberg gepredigt*¹²⁷
 1519 *Ein Sermon von dem hochwürdigen Sakrament des heiligen wahren Leichnams Christi*
*und von den Bruderschaften*¹²⁸
 1520 *Von den guten Werken*¹²⁹
*Eyn sermon von dem newen Testament, das ist von der heyligen Messe*¹³⁰
Von der babylonischen Gefangenschaft/De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae
*praeludium*¹³¹

¹²⁴ WA 1: 233–38; AE 31: 25–31.

¹²⁵ WA 57 III: 97–238; AE 29: 109–241.

¹²⁶ WA 1: 525–628; AE 31: 77–252.

¹²⁷ WA 6: 202–76; AE 44: 15–114.

¹²⁸ WA 2: 742–58; AE 35: 45–73.

¹²⁹ WA 6: 202–76; AE 44: 21–114.

¹³⁰ WA 6: 353–78; AE 35: 75–111.

¹³¹ WA 6: 597–573; AE 36: 3–126.

- Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen*¹³²
- 1521 *Ein Sermon von würdigen Empfang des heiligen wahren Leichnams Christi, getan am Gründonnerstag. 28. März 1521*¹³³
*Das Magnificat vorteuschet und außgelegt*¹³⁴
- 1522 *De abroganda missa privata Martini Lutheri sententia/Vom Mißbrauch der Messe*¹³⁵
*Acht Sermonen D. M. Luthers von ihm gepredigt zu Wittenberg in der Fasten (Invocavitpredigten vom 9.-16. März 1522)*¹³⁶
*Von beider Gestalt des Sakraments zu nehmen*¹³⁷
- 1523 *Von Anbeten des Sakraments des heiligen Leichnams Christi*¹³⁸
*Von Ordnung Gottesdiensts in der Gemeinde*¹³⁹
*De instituendis ministris ecclesiae ad senatum Pragensem Bohemiae*¹⁴⁰
*Von dem Greuel der Stillmesse, so man den Kanon nennt*¹⁴¹
*Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Vuittembergensi*¹⁴²
- 1524 *Ein Brief an die Christen zu Straßburg wider den Schwärmergeist*¹⁴³
*De servo arbitrio*¹⁴⁴
- 1525 *Wider die himmlischen Propheten, von den Bildern und Sakrament*¹⁴⁵
*Eine christliche Vermahung von äußerlichem Gottesdienst und Eintracht an die in Livland*¹⁴⁶
- 1526 *Deutsche Messe und Ordnung Gottesdiensts*¹⁴⁷
*Sermon von dem Sakrament des Leibes und Blutes Christ, wider die Schwärmgeister*¹⁴⁸
- 1527 *Daß diese Wort Christi „Das ist mein Leib“ noch fest stehen wider die Schwärmgeister*¹⁴⁹
- 1528 *Vom Abendmahl Christi, Bekenntnis*¹⁵⁰
*Katechismus-Predigen, Abendmahl 29. 5. 28*¹⁵¹

¹³² WA 7: 7–38; AE 31: 333–77.

¹³³ WA 7: 692–97; AE 42: 171–77.

¹³⁴ WA 7: 544–604; AE 21: 297–358.

¹³⁵ WA 8: 398–476, 477–563; AE 36: 125–235.

¹³⁶ WA 10 III: 1–64; AE 51: 70–100.

¹³⁷ WA 10 II: 11–41; AE 36: 231–67.

¹³⁸ WA 11: 427–56; AE 36: 269–305.

¹³⁹ WA 12: 31–37; AE 53: 7–14.

¹⁴⁰ WA 12: 160–96; AE 40: 2–44.

¹⁴¹ WA 18: 8–36; AE 36: 307–28.

¹⁴² WA 12: 197–220; AE 53: 15–40.

¹⁴³ WA 15: 391–97; AE 40: 65–71.

¹⁴⁴ WA 18: 551–787; AE 33: 3–295.

¹⁴⁵ WA 18: 37–214; AE 40: 73–223.

¹⁴⁶ WA 18: 417–21; AE 53: 41–50.

¹⁴⁷ WA 19: 44–113; AE 53: 51–91.

¹⁴⁸ WA 19: 471–523; AE 36: 329–61.

¹⁴⁹ WA 23: 38–320; AE 37: 3–150.

¹⁵⁰ WA 26: 240–509; AE 37: 151–372.

- Katechismus-Predigen, Abendmahl 30. 5. 28*¹⁵²
*Katechismus-Predigen, Abendmahl 25. 9. 28*¹⁵³
*Katechismus-Predigen, Abendmahl 19. 12. 28*¹⁵⁴
 1529 *Der kleine Katechismus für die gemeinen Pfarrherrn und Prediger*¹⁵⁵
*Deutsch Katechismus*¹⁵⁶
*Marburger Gespräch und Marburger Artikel*¹⁵⁷
 1530 *Vermahnung zum Sakrament des Leibes und Blutes Christi*¹⁵⁸
*Der 111. Psalm ausgelegt*¹⁵⁹
 1531 *In epistolam S. Pauli ad Galatas commentarius, ex praelectione D. M. Lutheri collectus*
*(Nach Luthers Vorlesung)*¹⁶⁰
 1533 *Ein Brief an die zu Frankfurt am Main*¹⁶¹
*Von der Winkelmesse und Pfaffenweihe*¹⁶²
 1534 *Ein Brief D. M. Luthers von seinem Buch der Winkelmesses*¹⁶³
 1535–45 *Genesis—Vorlesung*¹⁶⁴
 1537 *Die Schmalkaldischen Artikel*¹⁶⁵
 1539 *Von den Konziliis und Kirchen*¹⁶⁶
 1544 *Einweihung eines neuen Hauses zum Predigtamt . . . zu Torgau*¹⁶⁷
*Kurzes Bekenntnis vom heiligen Sakrament*¹⁶⁸

We observe, firstly, that as Luther moved from facing Rome to facing the enthusiasts as his main opponents, the confession of the Lord's Supper became clearer and closer to the Lord's

¹⁵¹ WA 30 I: 23–24.

¹⁵² WA 30 I: 24–27.

¹⁵³ WA 30 I: 52–56.

¹⁵⁴ WA 30 I: 116–22; AE 51: 188–93.

¹⁵⁵ WA 30 I: 243–425.

¹⁵⁶ WA 30 I: 125–238.

¹⁵⁷ WA 30 III: 110–71; AE 38: 3–89.

¹⁵⁸ WA 30 II: 589–656; AE 38: 91–137.

¹⁵⁹ WA 31 I: 394–426; AE 13: 349–87.

¹⁶⁰ WA 40 I: 1–461, 40 II: 1–184; AE 26: 1–461, 27: 1–244.

¹⁶¹ WA 30 III: 558–71. An English translation is given by Jon D. Vieker in *Concordia Journal* 16 (October 1990): 333–51.

¹⁶² WA 38: 171–256; AE 38: 139–224.

¹⁶³ WA 38: 257–72; AE 38: 215–33.

¹⁶⁴ WA 42–44; AE 1–8.

¹⁶⁵ WA 50: 160–254.

¹⁶⁶ WA 50: 487–653; AE 41: 3–178.

¹⁶⁷ WA 49: 588–615; AE 51: 333–54.

¹⁶⁸ WA 54: 119–67; AE 38: 279–319.

words of institution. We observed how Luther talked about the forgiveness of sins within the medieval Roman practice of the Sacrament of Penance at the time of the Ninety-five Theses. Then his lectures on Hebrews confronted him with the importance of faith and of *testamentum*. He was then still captive to the *signum* theory that he had learned as an Augustinian. Yet through the study of *testamentum*, the *beneficium* way of the Lord's dealing with us came to the center of his thinking on the Lord's Supper, as we observed in Luther's 1520–1521 documents above.

The *testamentum* continued to appear at times after 1521,¹⁶⁹ because the word itself is found in the *Verba Domini*, but Luther's confession of the Lord's Supper and of the Divine Service no longer so depended on it.¹⁷⁰ Rather, Luther confesses the Lord's Supper as an organic whole of His institution, as he said in his second Catechism sermon series in 1528: "*Lasse das Sakrament ganz bleiben.*"¹⁷¹ The *words* of the Lord are still central, but no longer at the expense of the *proprium* of the Holy Communion, the body and blood of the Lord. The first thing that Luther confesses in his *Small Catechism* in the section of the Sacrament of the Altar was not *testamentum* or *signum*. It was not even faith. But "the true body and blood" of the Lord.¹⁷²

Secondly, as Luther battled against the Sacramentarians, we observe that his thought on *beneficium* of the early 1520s did not recede; rather it stayed at the center of his understanding all the more. Luther diagnosed that both Roman Catholics and the enthusiasts commit the same

¹⁶⁹ For example, an exhortation to the communicants in *Deutsche Messe*, 1526 (WA 19: 95. 22–25; AE 53: 78–79) or in *Vom Abendmahl Christi, Bekenntnis*, 1528 (WA 26: 468. 32–34; AE 37: 325).

¹⁷⁰ For example, in *Vom Abendmahl Christi, Bekenntnis*, Luther confesses the words of the Lord, bread and cup, the body and blood of Christ, the New Testament, forgiveness of sins, life, and salvation together. WA 26: 478. 24–479. 15; AE 37: 337–38. Also we observe that what Luther says: "Figures or signs of the New Testament belonged to the Old Testament. He who confesses that he has the figure or sign of the New Testament confesses that he does not yet have the New Testament," was reflected in Kliefoth's writing. WA 26: 27–30; AE 37: 337–38. Kliefoth, *Liturgische Abhandlungen* 4: 15–17.

¹⁷¹ WA 30 I: 55. 19.

¹⁷² SC 6, 1–2. "Was ist das Sakrament des Altars? Antwort. Es ist der wahre Leib und Blut unsers Herrn Jesu Christi, unter dem Brot und Wein uns Christen zu essen und zu trinken von Christo selbs eingesetzt."

error in two different ways. In both there was a confusion between *beneficium* and *sacrificium* because they did not rightly confess the means of grace.¹⁷³ The Lord's Supper for the Sacramentarians was also *sacrificium* just as for Rome. Luther on the other hand, continued to confess the Holy Communion as the Gospel.¹⁷⁴ He did not impose upon the Lord's words whatever may come from us, whether it may be our works, our desires, or our reason.¹⁷⁵

Luther's emphasis on the Lord's gift¹⁷⁶ continued as coming from the words of the Lord themselves, strengthened particularly by hearing from the Lord that His body and blood are not only truly there but also are given "for you."¹⁷⁷ "Which words together with the bodily eating and drinking are the chief thing in the sacrament."¹⁷⁸

Lastly, we observe with the foregoing that Luther keeps on discussing in his works the Lord's giving, our receiving, and our life of service in our daily vocations. The dynamic flow of

¹⁷³ "So sind nu der Papst und D. Carlstad rechte vettern ym leren." WA 18: 113. 20–21; AE 40: 131. *Wider die himmlischen Propheten*, 1525. Cf., SA III, VIII., 3–6, 9–11.

¹⁷⁴ "So wenig als du auß dem Euangelio kanst eyn opffer odder werck machen, szo wenig kanstu es auch auß dißem sacrament machen, denn diß sacrament ist das Euangelion." WA 11: 442. 21–23; AE 36: 289. *Von Anbeten des Sakraments des heiligen Leichnams Christi*, 1523. Emphasis added. "Wir aber wissen, das es des HERNN abendmal ist und heist, nicht der Christen abendmal. Denn der Herr hats nicht alleine eingesetzt, sondern machts und helts auch selbs und ist der koch, kelner, speise und tranck selbs." WA 23: 271. 8–11; AE 37: 142. *Daß diese Wort Christi*, „Das ist mein leib“ noch fest stehen, 1527.

¹⁷⁵ "Nu ers aber wil durch die menscheit, durchs wort, durchs brod ym abendmal geben, wer bistu hoffertiger undanckbar teuffel, der du fragen tharest, warumb ers nicht sonst und on die weise thu? Wiltu yhm weise und mas setzen und welen? Du soltest fur freuden springen, das ers thus, durch welche weise er wil, alleine das du es erlangetest." WA 23: 269. 3–7; AE 37: 140. *Daß diese Wort Christi*, „Das ist mein leib“ noch fest stehen, 1527.

¹⁷⁶ "Wyr dancken dir, almächtiger herr gott, das du uns durch dise heylsame gabe hast erquicket und bitten deyne barmherzigkeyt, das du uns solchs gedeyen lassest zu starckem glauben gegen dir und zu brinstiger liebe unter uns allen, umb Jhesus Christus unders herrn willen. Amen." *Deutsche Messe*, 1526. WA 19: 102. 8–11; AE 53: 84. Emphases added. Note the language of gift and *beneficium*.

¹⁷⁷ "Darum, das ein anders ist, wenn Gott da ist, und wenn er dir da ist." WA 23: 151. 13–14 ; AE 37:68. *Daß diese Wort Christi*, „Das ist mein leib“ noch fest stehen, 1527. "Nu wird es uns ja nicht anders denn in den Worten: „für Euch gegeben und vergossen“ gebracht und zugeeignet. Denn darin hast Du beides, daß es Dein ist als ein Schatz und Geschenke." LC 5, 29. Also the words "for you" are to be diligently noted in this connection, when he says: "Which is given and shed for you." The two words 'my' and 'your' are indeed mighty words which should fairly impel you gladly to walk over a hundred thousand miles for this sacrament." "Also ist hie auch mit vleis zu merken das wort 'Für Euch,' Da er spricht: 'Das für euch gegeben, das für euch vergossen wird.' Denn die zwey wort 'MEIN' und 'EUCH' sind ia gewaltige wort, die dich billich treiben solten, das du gern uber hundert und tausent meilen zu diesem Sacrament lauffen mustest." WA 30 II: 616. 9–13; AE 38: 125. *Vermahnung zum Sakrament des Leibes und Blutes Christi*, 1530.

beneficium and the reciprocal relation between the Lord and us with His initiative continued to leave their marks throughout Luther's writings. Everything is from Him.¹⁷⁹ We praise, honor, and thank Him because our Lord Christ is "most worthy."¹⁸⁰

We find Luther full of Kliefoth's thinking on *δόσις* and *λήψις*, *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*, *Opferverhältniß*, *Gnadenmittel*, *Gnadenmittelamt*, and, of course, the *Amt Christi*.¹⁸¹ *Beneficium* and *sacrificium* are well captured toward the end of his life when he preached at the consecration of the church at Torgau castle: "this new house be directed so that nothing else takes place in it, except that our dear Lord Himself speaks with us through His holy word, and we in turn speak with Him in prayer and songs of praise."¹⁸² We can draw many such references also from his *Lectures on Genesis*.

¹⁷⁸ SC 5, 8. "Welche Wort sind neben dem leiblichen Essen und Trinken als das Häuptstück im Sakrament."

¹⁷⁹ "Das du Gott nichts gegeben habest, noch mugest, Sondern alles und alles von jhm habest und nimest, sonderlich das ewige leben und unendliche gerechtigkeit jnn Christo. . . . Denn das heisst ein rechter Gott, der da gibt und nicht nimpt. . . . Summa, der alles thut und gibt, und er niemands darff, und thut solchs alles umbsonst, aus lauter gnaden on verdienst, den unwirdigen und unverdieneten, ij den verdampften und verlornen." WA 30 II: 603. 8–10, 12–13, 14–16. *Vermahnung zum Sakrament des Leibes und Blutes Christi*, 1530.

¹⁸⁰ "Für allen dingen aber mustu ansehen, das gleichwol dein Herr Christus, wie unwirdig du bist, allzu wirdig ist, den du loben, ehren und dancken solt und seine ordnung und stiftt helffen handhaben." WA 30 II: 622. 20–23; AE 38: 132. *Vermahnung zum Sakrament des Leibes und Blutes Christi*, 1530.

¹⁸¹ We should note that two of Luther's liturgical writings in the 1530s are often cited in the discussion of the Lord's Supper and our prayer, namely, *Vermahnung zum Sakrament des Leibes und Blutes Christi*, 1530 and *Von der Winkelmesse und Pfaffenweihe*, 1533. We may gain Luther's thought on the Lord's giving and our receiving also in these writings. One of the minor disagreements between Luther and Kliefoth is that Kliefoth took our thanksgiving in the Divine Service partly from the Lord's action of ". . . He gave thanks." It is a minor deviation because Kliefoth mentions it only once. *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung*, 1847, 74. As far as this author is aware, Luther never took such action of the Lord (giving thanks) as the Lord's mandate for us to pray thankfully. As we noted above, when Luther expounds on our return of thanks in the Divine Service as a fruit of lips, he says that such praise and thanksgiving do not belong exclusively to the liturgy. The entire life of a Christian is the proper place and time for thanksgiving. Again, Luther is more concerned with the Lord's Supper itself rather than the "ceremony" of it. The Lord's Supper "is just the place where our works should least be mentioned and the whole thing should be seen as sheer grace." "Da man doch am aller wenigsten solt von unsern wercken, sondern alles von eitel blosser gnade handeln." WA 30 II: 610. 3–4; AE 38: 116. *Vermahnung zum Sakrament des Leibes und Blutes Christi*, 1530.

¹⁸² "Auff das dis neue Haus dahin gericht werde, das nichts anders darin geschehe, denn das unser lieber Herr selbs mit uns rede durch sein heiliges Wort, und wir widerumb mit jm reden durch Gebet und Lobgesang." WA 49: 588. 15–18; AE 51: 333.

APPENDIX THREE
THE LITURGICAL REVISION IN TWENTIETH CENTURY-SWEDEN:
A COMPARISON

Having extolled “He alone is worthy!” it may be helpful to compare works of liturgical revision in Sweden during the latter half of the nineteenth century with the same during the first half of the twentieth century. Through examining the latter, we will diagnose how a Lutheran way with the liturgy was then dealt with.

The 1917 Agenda (The 1917 HB)

As we observed earlier, the next official Agenda in the Church of Sweden after the 1894 HB was the 1917 HB. The liturgical portion was not changed in this Agenda. We noted in chapter 2 that Herman Sasse considered this liturgy as preserving the Lutheran heritage “in its purest form.”¹ It may be worth mentioning a comment of Bishop Bo Giertz concerning our phrase in the 1917 HB. In his *Kyrkofromhet* (1939) he writes:

Then the priest turns around and sings:

“Lift up your hearts to God.”

Now begins the great praise-saying, which is the first part of the Mass of the Lord’s Supper. The congregation rises, eyes are directed upward, all the hearts are lifted toward God. Our wandering thoughts, our unease and preoccupation shall give way to a great bliss.

“God lift our hearts!”

Here comes Christ the King to us. (When He is coming) the wave of joy spring out in front of Him and (the wave of joy) fills His sanctuary with the strong sound of distant shout of joy (by angels and archangels who are always with Him). Therefore the priest sings:

“Thank God, our Lord!”

And the congregation, still standing:

¹ Hermann Sasse, *Here We Stand: Nature and Character of the Lutheran Faith*, trans. Theodore G. Tappert (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1979), 19.

“He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!”²

In this comment, Giertz leaves us a Christological understanding of the *Preface* versicles. He sees the *Preface*, the *Verba*, and the *Sanctus* as an organic whole. The *Verba* are at the center. The coming of the Lord Christ is vividly recognized by the congregation. The *Preface* anticipates the singing of the *Sanctus* toward Christ in the heavenly temple where the congregation is brought in. With angels and archangels they sing praises to the Lord having His body and blood, located before the eyes of the communicants and to be given out in a moment by Himself. “He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!” is recognized as a culmination in the *Preface* in confession and acclamation of such a Lord.

One should keep in mind that in this Swedish liturgy the *Sanctus* was still located after the *Verba Domini* following Luther’s order of 1523 and 1526. The *Sanctus* was sung in the presence of the body and the blood of the Lord, after the consecration.

The Church of Sweden in Ecumenical Orientation

While the 1917 HB inherited the liturgy of the 1894 HB straightforwardly, in the next official Agenda of 1942 a certain turning point was evidenced. Theological thinking behind it gave a direction for later Swedish liturgies including the 1986 HB. The 1942 HB has also affected Lutheran liturgies in the United States to a certain degree.³

The 1942 HB should be seen in light of the active involvement of the Church of Sweden in an ecumenical movement. During the post World War I era when Europe in general desired healing and unity, Nathan Söderblom (1866–1931) appears as “the father of the modern ecumenical movement.” The neutral position of Sweden during the war, his ability to speak

² Bo Giertz, *Kyrkofromhet* (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1939), 86. Translation of the title: Church Piety.

³ For example, one of the options of the eucharistic prayer in *Lutheran Book of Worship* (1978) is adopted from (continued next page)

several European languages, and his scholarly background in the then flourishing *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule* and the discipline of comparative religions prepared him to engage in an effort of bringing the churches in the world to come together. After serving as chaplain of a Swedish congregation in Paris⁴ and as professor of Comparative Religion in the University of Uppsala, Söderblom was elected as archbishop in 1914 and served in that office until 1931. During his time as archbishop, the ministry of the Church of Sweden was recognized in 1920 at the Lambeth Conference. In 1922 pulpit and altar fellowship was established between the Church of England and the Church of Sweden. Söderblom called and organized the World Conference on Life and Work in Stockholm in 1925. A Nobel Prize was awarded to him in 1930.

Söderblom's influence in the Church of Sweden was enormous. His ideal of "evangelical catholic" was inherited by his foremost disciples, Gustaf Aulen (1879–1977), Anders Nygren (1890–1978) and Yngve Brilioth (1891–1959). Aulen served as Docent under Söderblom from 1907 to 1913 at the University of Uppsala. He was then called to one of the two chairs of Systematic Theology (Dogmatics) at the University of Lund and served there from 1913 to 1933. After serving as bishop of Strängnäs in 1933–1952, he returned to Lund to spend his time in writing. Nygren also started out as Docent in Comparative Religion under Eduard Lehmann at the University of Lund (1921–24) before being appointed to another chair of Systematic Theology (Christian Ethics) of the same institution in 1924. He served there until 1948 when he became bishop of Lund. Brilioth occupied a chair of Practical Theology at the University of

the 1942 HB. In *Lutheran Worship* (1982) its modified form is found.

⁴ Edgar Carlson says that there is some evidence that Söderblom's activities and ideas during 1890s, with respect to his participation in a student Christian conference at Northfield, Massachusetts and his leadership in the Student Christian Movement of the time, were regarded with suspicion among conservative segments of the Swedish pastors. Carlson asserts that because of these "radical tendencies" and threat to evangelical faith Archbishop Sundberg was led in 1894 to offer him a post in Paris. Sundberg was a colleague of E. G. Bring in the middle of the nineteenth century in Lund. Nathan Söderblom, *The Nature of Revelation*, ed. Edgar M. Carlson, (continued next page)

Lund in 1928–37, was bishop of Växjö (1937–50), and archbishop (1950–58). Thus, Aulen, Nygren, and Brilioth overlapped for some years as colleagues at the University of Lund, as also as bishops. Aulen and Nygren are usually regarded as the representatives of the so-called Lundensian School of *Motivforschung*. This school sought to see the essential Christian truth behind a doctrine rather than to stress the actual form in which it is presented.

Aulen, Nygren, and Brilioth were also active in the ecumenical movement, following in the footsteps of Söderblom. Aulen was Vice President of the World Conference of Faith and Order in 1937–47, and served in the same capacity in 1948–52 after Faith and Order joined the World Council of Churches. Nygren was the first President of the Lutheran World Federation in 1947–52. As bishop of Lund, he invited WCC's Faith and Order Conference to the city of Lund in 1952. Brilioth was a devotion leader at the Faith and Order Conference in Edinburgh in 1937, and was appointed by the executive committee (which included Aulen as Vice President) as Chairman of the WCC's Faith and Order to serve during the years from 1947 to 1956. He was also the chairman of WCC's Faith and Order Conference that was held in Lund in 1952.⁵

The 1942 HB of the Church of Sweden appeared in such a context of her ongoing intercommunion with the Church of England and of her ecumenical orientation through the involvement in WCC and LWF. Looking outside of Sweden, it was a time when *Deutsche Evangelische Kirche* was organized by Hitler in 1933. The Arnoldshain Theses were adopted in 1947, and the EKID was formed in 1948. Concerning liturgical scholarship, several important events and publications were notable toward the 1942 HB. They include Lambert Beauduin's famous paper at Malines Conference in 1909, Abbot Ildephonse Herwegen's arrangement of a

trans. Frederik E. Pamp (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), 5–6.

⁵ We may also add that in 1968 the World Councils of Churches met in Uppsala, and the Church of Sweden was a part of *Parvoo Common Statement* of 1992. Furthermore, she participated in the agreement on *The Joint Declaration of the Doctrine of Justification* between the Lutheran World Federation and the Roman Catholic Church in 1999.

Holy Week Conference at Maria Laach in 1914, *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* published in 1921 under the editorship of Odo Casel, Lietzmann's *Messe und Herrenmahl* in 1926, Brilioth's response to it in his *Nattvarden i evangeliskt Gudtjänstliv* in the same year, Casel's *Das Christliche Kultmysterium* in 1932, Joachim Jeremias' *Die Abendmahlsworte* in 1935, Gregory Dix's *The Shape of the Liturgy* in 1945, Luther Reed's *The Lutheran Liturgy* in 1947, and the *Mediator Dei* in 1947.

The 1942 Agenda (The 1942 HB)

What came to fruition in 1942 HB was worked out through the efforts of Söderblom, Aulen and Brilioth, particularly the last two.⁶ They shared a view that the Church of Sweden needed to have a "richer" liturgy than previously. The liturgical life during the years of the 1811 HB was recognized as the lowest point in Sweden. It was characterized with liturgical ignorance, one-sided mood of penitence, individualistic piety, and non-frequent observance of the Lord's Supper. Such a liturgical impoverishment began to be improved, they acknowledged, in the middle of the nineteenth century through the works of E. G. Bring (1854–55 HP), and toward the latter part of the century through U. L. Ullman (1894 HB). But for Aulen and Brilioth, the efforts of Bring and Ullman toward renewal were not enough.

Between the 1917 HB and the 1942 HB, there was an attempt at liturgical revision which resulted in the 1926 Proposal (1926 HP) and the 1938 Proposal (1938 HP). In the works of

⁶ Brilioth's *Eucharistic Faith and Practice Evangelical and Catholic*, which was dedicated to Nathan Söderblom, was first published in 1926 in Sweden. What we have in English is a free and condensed translation. The amount of condensation was greatest in the chapter dealing with the Swedish Church. Its second and much enlarged edition of 1951 includes historical account behind the 1942 HB that had not been translated into English. *Nattvarden i evangeliskt Gudtjänstliv*, 2nd ed. (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1951), 383–99. Aulen also left his account on the 1942 HB in his *För eder utgiven* (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1956), 122–33, and particularly in his *Högmessans förnyelse liturgiskt och kyrkomusikaliskt* (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1961), 233–79. Even greater details of historical account around the 1942 HB are found in Carl Henrik Martling's book, *Svensk Liturgi Historia* (Stockholm: Verbum, 1992), 133–64.

liturgical revisions, there is evidence of a struggle between two opposing theologies and liturgologies. On the one hand, the influence of the Lutheran Confessional and Liturgical Movement out of Germany was still felt, together with other conservative movements. On the other hand, a conscious ecumenically oriented liturgical renewal movement had also arrived chiefly through the mediation of Anglicanism.⁷ A gradual victory of the latter is evidenced not only by the fact that U. L. Ullman was shut out of the works of revision in the 1917 HB, but also by the debate between Sam Stadener, the chairman of the General Association of Swedish Pastors, and Archbishop Söderblom.

The 1926 Proposal (1926 HP) for Stadenar was a movement toward Roman Catholicism, Anglicanism, and ecumenism and a departure from evangelical church, so that it was recognized as a threat to a genuine Lutheran tradition. On the part of Söderblom and other bishops it was claimed that the 1926 HP was prepared on the basis of a Lutheran tradition as represented by themselves. Brilioth says that one of the reasons for Stadenar's reaction was an attempt of the 1926 HP committee to insert a prayer between the *Vere Dignum* and the Words of Institution. This was a prayer for the Lord's presence, for the union of the communicants with the Savior, and for a sanctifying of "our bodies and souls for a living and pleasant sacrifice," and so "transfer the Words of Institution to be mediated by an appropriately formulated prayer."⁸ For the confessional Lutherans, Brilioth's work was not acceptable, accusing it of being "ecumenically inspired, Anglican influenced, and crypto-Catholic." Brilioth, on the other hand, maintained that their criticism was based on a "narrow-minded suspicion."

⁷ Here Söderblom's ecumenical orientation is seen inherited by Brilioth, who maintained his early contact with the leaders of the Church of England in the 1920s as he was serving the church as professor at Lund, bishop of Växjö, and archbishop of Uppsala.

⁸ Brilioth, *Nattvarden i evangeliskt Gudtjänstliv*, 2nd ed., 388.

In 1933 Archbishop Erling Eidem was assigned by the king to prepare the revised Agenda, which he presented to the church in 1938 (1938 HP). Aulen and Brilioth were bishops by that time. They had recommended from the field the insertion of a prayer that the 1926 HP committee had suggested. Another suggestion included a relocation of the *Sanctus* from post-*Verba* of the traditional Swedish position, which was adopted from Luther's both proposals of *Formula Missae* and *Deutsche Messe*, to pre-*Verba* position right after the *Vere Dignum*, following a more "classical" order from the early church. This proposal was favorably received by the Church Council which was led by Aulen and Brilioth. The Church Counsel then commissioned Bishop Tor Andrae in Linköping to finalize the Proposal in consultation with Aulen and Brilioth. The Proposal was delivered to the Church Counsel in 1941 and accepted and presented to the church in 1942 (1942 HB).

At the Church Council of 1941, there was another suggestion for revision in the liturgy. It was to change "God lift up our hearts" in the *Preface* to "We lift up our hearts." The argument for the change was simply a historical reason claiming the universal church's tradition. This proposal received majority votes but did not reach the two-thirds majority which was necessary. It had to wait until the next revision, 1986 HB, when this suggestion was finally authorized.

As far as our phrase of investigation is concerned, "He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!" survived in the 1942 HB. The question here is why our phrase was retained in the midst of the works of liturgical revision during the first half of the twentieth century in Sweden. In order to explain this and other liturgical changes, we will briefly examine the theology of the Lord's Supper as confessed by Brilioth and Aulen. After briefly discussing Brilioth's view on the Lord's Supper, we will focus on Aulen because he is the foremost writer of the Lundensian school. Brilioth's ideal and perspective of "evangelical catholic" was shared by the dogmatician Gustaf Aulen.

Brilioth's View on the Lord's Supper

In his influential book, *Nattvarden i Evangeliskt Gudtjänstliv*,⁹ after a survey of the views of the Lord's Supper in the critical scholars of his day, Brilioth proceeds to present the themes of the sacrament on the basis of the following two things: (1) the continuation of the common meal in the apostolic circle, and (2) the repetition of the Last Supper for the sake of proclamation of the death of Jesus in eschatological hope. Two acts of breaking of the bread and eschatological celebration guided Brilioth to claim five main motifs of the Lord's Supper: (1) thanksgiving (*Tacksägelsen*), (2) communion/fellowship (*Gemenskapen*), (3) commemoration (*Åminnelsen*), (4) sacrifice (*Offrett*), and (5) mystery (*Mysteriet*).

We observe that Brilioth builds his thinking on the Holy Communion differently from the traditional Lutheran understanding. For Lutherans, the foundation of the Lord's Supper is the Words of Institution. Brilioth does not agree and consciously departed from such an understanding.

Brilioth then proceeds to give his own evaluation of Luther's teaching of the Lord's Supper and the liturgy according to his categories of the five motifs. Because he did not find all those five themes in Luther's writings during the middle of the 1520s through 1530s when Luther was engaging in the Sacramentarians controversies, Brilioth dismisses Luther's sacramental writings of these years as impoverishment. Instead, he extols very highly Luther's pre-Sacramentarian controversies' writings of 1519 to 1520. Brilioth regards the distinction between *sacramentum* and *sacrificium*, the direction given by Melanchthon in Apology 24 and "popularized" by Kliefoth, as unfortunate.¹⁰ These and other features of Brilioth's view indicate

⁹ Translation of the original title: The Lord's Supper in the Life of the Evangelical Divine Service.

¹⁰ Brilioth, *Nattvarden*, 194–95; *Eucharistic Faith and Practice*, 131.

that he had departed from the Swedish Lutheran liturgical tradition that had been restored by the work of the Bring committee and the Ullman committee.

The Lord's Supper and its Liturgy according to Gustaf Aulen

Aulen's theology of the Lord's Supper is most clearly seen in his dogmatics, *Den allmänneliga kristna tron*,¹¹ and his monograph, *För eder utgiven*.¹² We note several important points of his presentation.

First, before he gets into the doctrine of the Lord's Supper in *Den allmänneliga kristna tron*, which he calls "the sacrament of suffering and victorious love,"¹³ Aulen explains that the holy word of God and the holy sacraments as the means of grace are "the self-impartment of divine love," or "God giving himself."¹⁴ Word and sacraments share the same purpose but work with different forms; while word comes *in the form of a message*,¹⁵ the Sacraments are the self-impartment of divine love *in the form of action*.¹⁶

¹¹ *Den allmänneliga kristna tron*, which had the greatest influence on the younger generation of the clergy in Sweden and in the neighboring Scandinavian countries, according to Gustaf Wingren ("Swedish Theology since 1900" *Scottish Journal of Theology* 9 [June 1956]: 121), went through five editions (1923, 1924, 1931, 1943, and 1957). The fourth and fifth editions have been translated into English with the title, *The Faith of the Christian Church*, published in 1948 and 1960 respectively. The English title misses an important point. "Allmänneliga" is a Swedish word for "catholic" used in the Nicene Creed, so that the right translation of the Swedish title would be "The Faith of the Catholic (Universal) Church." Aulen intended to expound on the "evangelical catholic" faith with this book. Also notable is that in the last edition of 1957, Aulen entirely rewrote the chapter on the Lord's Supper. Aulen seemed to have desired better articulation of his belief. Since the fourth edition is the closest in time to the 1942 HB, we will pay primary attention to that edition, while the fifth edition will not be overlooked.

¹² This work of 1956 was translated into English as *Eucharist and Sacrifice*, published in 1958. Obviously, Aulen's thinking on the Lord's Supper was important in the context of the WCC's Faith and Order Conference at Lund in 1952 as well as the Arnoldshain Theses of 1957.

¹³ Gustaf Aulen, *The Faith of the Christian Church*, trans. from the 4th ed. Eric H. Wahlstrom and G. Everett Arden (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1948), 373-74.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 370, 375.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 359. "Oredts nådemedel är den gudomliga kärlekens självmeddelelse i budskapets form" (390). The Swedish provided here and the following footnotes are from the original text of *Den allmänneliga kristna tron*, the 4th ed. (1943), with its page numbers.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 370. "Sakramentens nådemedel är den gudomliga kärlekens självmeddelelse i handlingens form" (402).

Second, Aulen presents four fundamental ideas of the Lord's Supper: (1) remembrance (*åminnelse*), (2) sacrifice (*offer*), (3) fellowship/communion (*gemenskap/communio*), and (4) eucharist (*eukaristi*). This list of Aulen resembles Brilioth's five motifs which we observed above.¹⁷

Third, the Lord's Supper for Aulen is both an action of Christ and an action of the church. Concerning the action of Christ, what is most characteristic of Aulen is his notion that in the Lord's Supper *the living Christ now actualizes His eternally valid sacrifice and makes it present*. Christ is the heavenly High Priest, but as the priest he needs something to offer to the Father. Christ includes the communicants in His perfect and eternally valid sacrifice as He unites the oblation made by His body, the church, with His own sacrifice and intercession, and so take up her own adoration into the *Sanctus* of the company of heaven.¹⁸

Fourth, the Lord's Supper is an action of the church in her thanksgiving and praise. Such thanksgiving is directed to "the Lamb who was slain" (Rev. 5:12–13). As the church prays and praises she participates in the sacrifice of Christ, and therefore also fellowship with Christ. The intercession of Christ as the eternal High Priest in heaven is a part of the Lord's continued activity, whereby He *actualizes* the work of redemption. For Aulen, the so-called real presence and the sacrifice belong together. His sacrifice is present because the living Lord is present. But the living Lord cannot be present without actualizing His sacrifice. Because He is the living Lord who unites us with His sacrifice, He also makes us partakers of His victory.

Fifth, therefore, a eucharistic prayer is a logical consequence of Aulen's theology of the Lord's Supper. His four fundamental ideas of the Lord's Supper—remembrance, sacrifice,

¹⁷ Brilioth's five motifs of the Lord's Supper were: (1) thanksgiving, (2) communion/fellowship, (3) commemoration, (4) sacrifice, and (5) mystery.

¹⁸ This thought is further articulated in the 5th edition (1957) of *Den allmänneliga kristna tron* as well as in *För eder utgiven* (1957).

fellowship, and eucharist—are all included in it. The Lord’s Supper is not only an act of Christ, it is also an action which we, the church of Christ on earth, perform in obedience to His word: “do this.”

A Theological Evaluation

We will now attempt to evaluate the theology of the Lord’s Supper according to Aulen, together with Brilioth, and the liturgical consequences that culminated in the 1942 HB.

First, we consider Aulen’s notion of the *Amt Christi*. As we saw, Aulen emphasizes the action of Christ in the liturgy of the Lord’s Supper. In Kliefoth, Bring, Thomander, and Ullman too, Christ was actively engaging in the liturgy. They confessed that everything was from the Lord, His initiative, His speaking, and His gift-giving. Such a Lord was confessed through the words, *δόσις*, *sacramentum*, and *beneficium*. The salvation achieved for us on Calvary is bestowed on us in the Lord’s Supper under His body and blood. But in Aulen the dominant idea is that Christ *actualizes* His eternally valid sacrifice and makes it present.

We observe that this understanding of Aulen has a parallel in the so-called representation theory of Odo Casel. Casel maintained that in the liturgical act the historical “act of salvation” is made present. It was the task of the sacrament to preserve the act of the redemption, that happened in history, as a continuing reality in the church. Aulen, as Brilioth, was consciously moving away from “various theories” about what happens or does not happen regarding the bread and wine. His concern was that by concentrating on the body and blood of the Lord the active and officiating presence of the Lord would be obscured.¹⁹ Aulen, therefore, avoids the traditional Lutheran way of confessing the so-called “real presence” of *Christ’s body and blood*,

¹⁹ Aulen, *The Faith of the Christian Church* (1948), 393.

but he says simply the “real presence” of Christ.²⁰ More precisely, what he confesses is not only the presence of Christ, but the presence of an event or action which occurred in the past, the sacrifice of Christ.

For Aulen, the presence of Christ in the Lord’s Supper has also to do with His intercessory presence in which He offers a prayer to the Father for the sake of the church. It is here that his four fundamental ideas of the Lord’s Supper—that is, remembrance, sacrifice, fellowship, and eucharist—come together. Christ is the eternally active High Priest in heaven. The faithful are drawn into this sacrifice of Christ and brought back to “the night in which he was betrayed,” as she obeys His mandate, “this do,” remembering His sacrifice in her praise and prayer of thanksgiving. But such praise and thanksgiving are not what the church alone does. They become Christ’s own as He unites them with His intercession He offers to the Father. And because in this way Christ actualizes His eternally valid once-for-all sacrifice and makes it present, the faithful “enter into fellowship with Christ” as well as with the believers.

In Aulen, therefore: (1) Rather than *δόσις* and *λήψις*, the action of the church and her experience of communing with the Lord are emphasized; (2) Instead of the presence of the body and blood of the Lord, the personal presence of Christ and an event of His sacrifice is confessed; (3) In the place of the gift of the forgiveness of sins, the experience of unity and communion with Christ is underlined; and (4) The Words of Institution are not the point of departure. Concerning the first point above, the emphasis on *actio* reminds us of Melanchthon’s interest in the liturgical action. The confession of the personal presence of Christ and of the notion of “Christ gives Himself” take us back not only to many of the twentieth-century statements of the Lord’s Supper, such as found in the World Council of Churches, Lutheran World Federation, the Arnoldshain Theses and the Leuenberg Concord, but also to the theology of Martin Bucer,

²⁰ Ibid., 396–97.

Cornelius Hoen, and Rudolf Otto. That Aulen's teacher Söderblom made assertion of the "mysticism of personality" may have played a certain role in Aulen's thinking because, according to this notion, when the climax is reached man's soul becomes identified with deity in living communion with God.

However, the notion of the church's participation in the act of Christ's sacrifice is found nowhere in the New Testament. Christ's intercessory prayer does not belong uniquely to the Lord's Supper. He always prays for the church. And the proper location of our "sacrifice of thanksgiving" is a daily walk of a baptized child of God. The Lutheran Confessions also teach the same.²¹ Kliefoth and Bring reflected such Lutheran understanding when they taught the living of the life of service both in and outside of the Divine Service of the Lord's Supper as fruits of lips and fruits of works, enlivened by the vitality of the Lord's gifts.

Second, we observe that Aulen's theology of the Lord's Supper is reflected not only in the documents we listed above, but also in *Catechism of the Roman Catholic Church*, except for the notion of the eucharistic sacrifice that is offered for the faithful departed which it teaches.²² In this sense, the Church of Sweden through theologians as Aulen and Brilioth did contribute to an "ecumenical breakthrough"²³ in the twentieth century, together with the liturgical movement out of Roman Catholics and the Anglicans. But it was not without cost. Despite their appeals to Luther, they have moved away from the Lutheran tradition. In fact, Brilioth says: "Perhaps the

²¹ For example, the Apology 24: 25.

²² See *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1994), 334–57, or #1322–1419.

²³ The Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches in 1951 saw an "ecumenical breakthrough" in Casel's theology of liturgical re-presentation. Casel's theology was also embraced by Gustaf Aulen and Peter Brunner as "great possibilities for future development." They regarded it as "perhaps . . . the most promising approach" toward "understanding between Roman Catholic and non-Roman Churches." Pehr Edwall, Eric Hayman, and William D. Maxwell eds., *Ways of Worship: The Report of a Theological Commission of Faith and Order* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951), 33. Robert Jenson also adopted it in the chapter on the Lord's Supper in *Christian Dogmatics*. Carl E. Braaten and Robert W. Jenson eds., *Christian Dogmatics*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 337–66.

Calvinistic starting-point offers special opportunities for a sound eucharistic theology.”²⁴ Aulen does confess at least the presence of Christ, but while the presence of Christ’s body and blood in the Lutheran tradition is confessed out of the Words of Institution his idea of Christ’s personal presence is believed to be effected “in the power of the Spirit.”²⁵ For Aulen, “the spiritual presence is to faith the highest form of presence.”²⁶ Repeatedly Aulen as well as Brilioth write that they consciously bypassed the Lutheran tradition and went to current thinking and the catholic tradition instead in order to “enrich” the liturgy.

A mention should be made of their use of Luther. Again, from their teacher, Söderblom, who had received from Ritschl an impulse to study Luther, Aulen and Brilioth inherited their interest in the Reformer. The place where they locate Luther is certainly significant. As Ritschl, Aulen and Brilioth make an adverse distinction between the theology of Luther and that of the Lutheran orthodoxy. Notably both Aulen and Brilioth link Luther with the early church, while they connect the Lutheran orthodoxy with medieval theologies. For example, they both say that the ideas of sacrifice and communion in the Lord’s Supper, which they urge, receded in Lutheran orthodoxy. They make a further distinction between Luther of his pre-Sacramentarian controversies period and that of his post-controversial period. They consider Luther of 1519–1520 very highly and call him “pure Luther” and “original Reformation Luther,” while they regard some of Luther’s chief sacramental writings, such as his *Against the Heavenly Prophets*, *Large Confession*, and the *Catechisms*, as impoverishment. The reason for this has to do with their observation that only in pre-controversy Luther do they find their chief motifs of communion, remembrance, sacrifice and eucharist. Luther’s confession on the Lord’s Supper in

²⁴ Brilioth, *Eucharistic Faith and Practice*, 189–90.

²⁵ Aulen, *The Faith of the Christian Church*, 397.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 398.

his early years was still “broad,” “comprehensive,” and “positive.” The purpose of their concentration on such “early” Luther contributed to their ecumenical endeavor. By appealing to “young” Luther as the restorer of the catholic tradition, they attempted to achieve the visible unity of the churches.

However, we observe that the tendencies in Aulen and Brilioth resemble what Luther rejected: the “ardent remembrance of the suffering of Christ” in Karlstadt, the Reformed emphasis of personal and spiritual presence of Christ in Hoen and Bucer, the notion of *actio* concerning the Lord’s Supper in Melanchthon and Calvin, and the stress on experience and *in nobis* in pietism. According to Aulen’s and Brilioth’s own assessment, the impoverishment in the 1811 HB was not only recovered in the 1942 HB but that the liturgy there was significantly “enriched” better than any previous Swedish liturgies. This they claimed to have achieved by transforming the Swedish Lutheran tradition into the “catholic” tradition. Theologically speaking, however, their achievement shows evidence of the traditions found in the 1811 HB.

Concerning the Liturgical Consequences

One of the major desires of Aulen and Brilioth in the 1942 HB was to insert a so-called “eucharistic prayer” into the liturgy. They succeeded in this endeavor. This was as Luther Reed wished to have it when the *Common Service* was going to be revised.²⁷ *Lutheran Book of Worship* incorporated almost word for word a translation of the eucharistic prayer of the 1942 HB. When Aulen wrote, “When He (Christ) comes in the Holy Communion, He actualizes the sacrifice of the new covenant and makes it effectively present,” it seems as if he were commenting on the eucharistic prayer from the 1942 HB, which says toward the end, “Send your

²⁷ Luther Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1947), 124. Reed also expressed that he longed for something warmer, emotionally more expressive and richer. “Our spirit of devotion longs to incorporate these divine words in some expression of our own which might reveal the gratitude, love, sense of fellowship and self-dedication which they inspire.” *The Lutheran Liturgy*, 2nd ed. (1959), 350.

Spirit into our hearts, that He may kindle in us a living faith and prepare us to rightly celebrate the remembrance of our Savior and receive Him when He comes to us in His holy meal.”

It is also striking to note that Luther’s *Treatise on the New Testament, that is, the Holy Mass*, 1520 was made use of by Aulen and Brilioth to justify their notion of the eucharistic prayer,²⁸ while it is partly out of this same document where Kliefoth derived his understanding of the Divine Service and the Lord’s Supper’s liturgy as δόσις and λήψις, as also *sacramentum* (*beneficium*) and *sacrificium*. In this writing what gave Kliefoth his thinking of the Divine Service occupies the primary position while the portion where Aulen and Brilioth paid special attention is placed secondarily. In examining this work of Luther we observe what he says on our prayer in the Mass. He says that we must keep the Mass and our prayers “as far apart as heaven and earth” so that we know who is speaking and giving out His gifts (Here by “the Mass” Luther means Christ’s testament, His giving, and His gift of forgiveness of sins).²⁹ But Aulen and Brilioth did not pay attention to these words of Luther. They wanted to absorb the Words of Institution into our prayers.

As far as the *Preface* is concerned, we noted that there was an attempt to change the phrase “God lift up our hearts” into “We lift our hearts to the Lord.” Thomander argued for the former not only textually, rejecting the phrase “we lift our hearts to the Lord” as unfaithful to the Latin text, but also theologically, suggesting to avoid a possibility of a Pelagian interpretation of the phrase. On the other hand, Aulen and Brilioth argued for the latter, not only because such a

²⁸ Regin Preter, who is also counted as a scholar of the Lundensian school though he is Danish, also builds his notion of the eucharistic sacrifice on this work of Luther. Preter identifies the true eucharistic sacrifice with anamnesis, the act of remembrance, by which the people give thanks for the work of Christ, and by which they pray that He would include them with Himself, incorporating them into the atoning sacrifice that He has brought to completion on the cross. Regin Preter, *Creation and Redemption*, trans. Theodor I. Jensen (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967), 502–10.

²⁹ WA 6: 367. 19–23; AE 35: 97.

phrase was found in “the universal church’s tradition”³⁰ but also because it would fit well with their conviction that the Lord’s Supper is our action as well as Christ’s.

Our phrase, “He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!” was not changed by the 1942 HB. The reason for this may be explained by the fact that this phrase was not problematic for their notion of the presence of Christ in the liturgy and the church’s act of praise and thanksgiving in the Divine Service. It may be possible to recognize that Aulen and Brilioth regarded this rendering as a faithful preservation of the early church’s expression of the sacrifice of thanksgiving.³¹ However, we discern that there is a crucial difference between what this phrase did and confessed in the 1894 HB (also, of course, in the 1854 TP and 1855 BP) and what it brought about in the 1942 HB. In the latter the phrase was directed to Christ who comes to *actualize* “the sacrifice of the new covenant and makes it effectively present,” but in the former it confessed the Lord’s life-giving, forgiveness bestowing vitality of Christ’s body and blood.

The joy of acclamation of the Lord comes from what He is doing in His ways with His words. Things are alive as He enlivens them with His words. The joy and praise are not to be disconnected from the Lord’s words and His gifts. Such was precisely the case in the 1942 HB, however. According to this Agenda, praise and thanksgiving are something that the faithful would bring forth from elsewhere. The 1942 HB, with Aulen, Brilioth, Casel, and

³⁰ Yngve Brilioth, *Nattvarden i evangeliskt Gudstjänstliv*, 2nd ed., 385–86; Gustaf Aulen, *Högmässans förnyelse liturgiskt och kyrkomusikaliskt*, 260–61; Carl Henrik Martling, *Svensk Liturgi Historia*, 150–51, 155–56, 158, 160–61. Here we also observe that in Aulen and Brilioth the criterion for liturgical revision was historicity, ecumenicity, and form as opposed to doctrine and the Gospel in Kliefoth and Bring.

³¹ Gunnar Rosendal takes this position in his *Vår Herres Jesu Kristi Lekamens och Blods Sakrament* (Osby: Förlaget Pro Ecclesia, 1938), 181–82. Although Rosendal, after receiving a letter from Bo Giertz on 25 April 1941 changed the direction of theology toward more genuine Lutheranism, in this work Rosendal frequently quotes Brilioth’s work of *Nattvarden i evangeliskt gudstjänstliv* positively. His bibliography of this book includes works of Gregory Dix, Hans Lietzmann, Friedrich Heiler and Gustaf Aulen.

Religionsgeschichtliche Schule as background, comes close to pietism's view of the means of grace.³²

Concluding Remarks

We have observed that the 1942 HB was a culmination of the theological and pastoral work of Aulen and Brilioth. Through them and through it the modern liturgical movement affected the life of the Church of Sweden. When we compare the works of Kliefoth, Bring, Thomander, and Ullman with those of Söderblom, Aulen, and Brilioth, we observed certain

³² The 1986 HB, which succeeded the 1942 HB, shows evidence of the theological trend of its predecessor. The second half of the service was given a subtitle, "the meal." The "eucharistic prayer" is much enlarged with the *Verba* now a part of the prayer. Also newly introduced were the *Offertorium* and the fraction. These changes reflect the liturgical thinking according to the modern liturgical movement out of the Roman Catholic and the Anglican Churches. The document of the World Council of Churches, *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* (Faith and Order Paper No. 111, Geneva, 1982) is closely related. With respect to the *Preface*, the phrase "He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!" was preserved, while there are a couple of changes in the *Preface* as a whole. First, the phrase, "God lift up our hearts" was changed to "We lift up our hearts" in the 1986 HB. Such a change was first proposed by Aulen and Brilioth for the 1942 HB, but fell short of necessary numbers of votes to be authorized. [At first, it looked unfortunate that "He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!" (*Allena han är värdig tack och lov!*) appeared to have been changed in the 1986 HB to "He alone is worth our thanks and praise" (*Allena han är värd vårt tack och lov*) or "He alone is worth of our praise" (*Han ensam är värd vårt lov*). Although "värd" is not the same as "värdig," which may suggest a translation of "worth" rather than "worthy," such was not the reason for the change. Modification was solely for the sake of a better rhythm, according to Dr. Nils-Henrik Nilsson, secretary of the Liturgical Commission of the Church of Sweden. In the *Norsted's Stora Svensk-Engelska Ordbok* (Norsted's Comprehensive Swedish-English Dictionary, 3rd ed. [2000], 1194), "värd" is explained also as another form of "värdig" and given the translation of both "worth" and "worthy of." Nilsson himself gives his English translation of the 1986 Agenda's wordings as "He alone is worthy of our thanks and praise!" Nils-Henrik Nilsson, "Eucharistic Prayer and Lutherans: A Swedish Perspective," *Studia Liturgica* 27 (1997): 189.] Second, there was a recovery of "worthy" language in the *Vere Dignum* in the 1986 HB, which the 1854 TP first proposed. ["Yes, indeed, you alone are worthy of our praise, almighty Father, holy God. . . ." The use of "worthy" in the *Vere Dignum* was found previously only in the 1854 TP. Yet, there the language had a weaker connection with what preceded: "Truly it is worthy, right, and blessed, that we at all times and in all places thank and praise you. . . ." The liturgical committee for the 1986 HB comments that it intended to use the same word "worthy" at the last line of the *Preface* and the first line of the *Vere Dignum*. 1982 års Revisionsgrupp, *Svenska Kyrkans Gudstjänst*, vol. 8: *Huvudgudstjänster och övriga gudstjänster, Kyrkliga handlingar* (Stockholm: Liber Allmänna Förlaget, 1985), 157. A lack of such a natural bridge seen in the 1855 BP, which had "He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!" but retained the word "proper" in the *Vere Dignum*, was also pointed out by Edvard Rodhe. Edvard Rodhe, *Svenskt Gudstjänstliv: Historisk Belysning av den Svenska Kyrkohandboken* (Uppsala: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1923), 151–52.] In the most current proposal of 2000, the emphases included the use of "inclusive" language and "contemporary" music. Nilsson, "The Church of Sweden Service Book," *Studia Liturgica* 31 (2001): 92–93, 97–99. This revision attempted to avoid a dominance of masculine language by which God is addressed and to employ "joyful, popular, and simple music" in the music section of the liturgical settings. Thus after the 1942 HB the primary liturgical influence "from outside" seems to have changed from Germany to England. The liturgy has recently moved toward a certain ecumenicity not based on the confessional and liturgical heritage from the Reformation. The most recent proposal of 2000 has failed to become official. Yet even today's Divine Service bears clear witness to the continuity of the Swedish liturgical tradition, at least in terms of our phrase in the *Preface*.

shifts: a shift of emphasis from *δόσις* and *λήψις* to *actio*; from the presence of the Lord's body and blood to His personal presence, to the high priestly presence of intercession, and the presence of the act of sacrifice; from the bestowal of the forgiveness of sins³³ and from *extra nos* to our experience and meeting of the divine; and from the Lord's speaking of the Words of Institution to our "eucharistic prayer."

What pushed people to move away from the 1894 liturgy? What prompted them to be dissatisfied with it? How is Christ reshaped in the 1942 HB? An examination of the 1942 HB shows us the answer. Kliefoth and Bring confessed with Luther that the Lord's Supper itself is all His doing. Aulen and Brilioth asked, "what part do we have to play?" Kliefoth and Bring answered that the major part we play in the Lord's Supper is receiving *λήψις*. Aulen and Brilioth talked about the action of the church, emphasizing the obedience to "this do."³⁴ Kliefoth and Bring also indeed extolled an active participation of the congregation and proposed it in their liturgical revisions. But while for Aulen and Brilioth praise and thanksgiving prayer were the major part of what the congregation has to play, Kliefoth and Bring put it secondary, only when enlivened by the Lord's giving *δόσις*. Kliefoth said that the richer the *sacramentum* the richer the *sacrificium*. For Aulen and Brilioth, the enrichment in the liturgy comes when the church is liberated from the one-sided narrow focus on the negativity of the forgiveness of sins. Richer

³³ Aulen stresses that the Lord's Supper gives not only forgiveness of sins, but also life and salvation. He argues that by narrowly focusing on the one-sidedness of the forgiveness of sins the Swedish liturgical life was impoverished during the nineteenth century. However, while Aulen places forgiveness and life/salvation with equal values, what Luther says in his Catechisms is the centrality of the forgiveness of sins, and through it also life and salvation. In other words, for Luther, he who possesses the forgiveness of sins has in reality everything. The forgiveness of sins is not just one item among others. It is the sum of what God gives us. Luther bases this understanding on the Words of Institution.

³⁴ "This do" is a rubrical formulation from the Divine Service in the Old Testament. When one moves the rubric to the central point, the central point would be lost.

sacrificium is something the faithful themselves bring.³⁵ This is then no longer so clearly consequentially from the Lord's words, His δόσις, and His *beneficium*.

Despite such shifts of theology behind the 1942 HB our phrase "He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!" survived. When the confession of the Lord's Supper is given through Scripture and the Lutheran Confessions, the phrase can still be used to acclaim the Lord in a Christocentric way, as evidenced by the comments that the present author heard from a number of Swedish Lutherans, pastors, lay people, and church musicians alike, during his trips to Sweden in 2001 and 2002.³⁶

At the heart of it is the question what of Christ in the *Preface*. The question is whether He is there as the giver of forgiveness of sins through His body and blood "for us Christians to eat and to drink," or is He there primarily to unite our praise and prayer in order to actualize His sacrifice and to make it present.

³⁵ Cf., Aulen, *För eder utgiven*, 104–11.

³⁶ A remark from Rev. Bo Branden, pastor of St. Laurentius' Church in Lund, may indicate how deeply our phrase has been at home in the Swedish liturgy (the conversation took place on 23 January 2001 immediately after the Tuesday morning Mass at St. Laurentius Church). The present author asked him, without giving any background information, what comes to the minds and hearts of the people as they respond in the *Preface* week after week by saying, "He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!" His reply was as follows:

We cannot lift up our hearts by ourselves. Only the Lord can. And we are unworthy. Only the Lord is worthy. And "the Lord" who is spoken of here in the *Preface* is Christ. "He" in "He alone is worthy of thanks and praise!" is the Lord Christ. We pray to the Father through the Son in the Holy Spirit, but here at the liturgy of the Lord's Supper, Christ is the doer and giver in the liturgy. Such confession of Christ may also be seen at the *Benedictus* as the congregation makes a sign of the cross. At the *Preface* versicles and responses, even before the consecration, we recognize the coming of the Lord here for us.

Pastor Branden seems to have confirmed the writing of Bo Giertz in terms of the Christological understanding of the *Preface* versicles we cited at the beginning of this appendix. It is also evident that he identified who is worthy and who are unworthy. The One who speaks at the consecration through the mouth of the officiating pastor is the One who is acclaimed at the *Benedictus* and the One who is confessed as worthy at the *Preface*.

Concerning a deep-rooted Lutheran piety of liturgy, see also Bo Gierts, *Liturgy and Spiritual Awakening*, trans. Clifford Ansgar Nelson (Rock Island, IL: Augustana Book Concern, 1950). The *Preface* is explained with the words: "the reverent joy of the Preface" on page 29. In "What Is an Evangelical Lutheran Christian?" Giertz writes that the deciding factor of an evangelical Lutheran Christian is the doctrine of justification by faith. Thus, the life of the church is characterized by the five facts: An evangelical Christian is (1) a Christian of the means of grace, (2) a baptized Christian, (3) a Bible Christian (who hears preaching and reads Scripture), (4) a communing Christian, and (5) a Christian in his daily vocation. In *The Message of the Church in a Time of Crisis* (Rock Island, IL: Augustana Book Concern, 1953), 14–21. Here we observe that Giertz also breathes the same air as Lutheran together with Kliefloth and Bring. It is striking to note, therefore, that Arthur Carl Piepkorn placed Giertz and Brilioth side by side as Lutherans. "The Lutheran Liturgical Movement," *Una Sancta* 17 (1960): 6.

APPENDIX FOUR
THE STRUCTURE OF MAJOR SWEDISH LITURGIES

Major Swedish Liturgies (I)

	1531	1571	1614/1693	1811	1854a	1854b	1855	1888	1894/1917	1942	1986	1868 (M)
	Olavus Petri	Laurentius Petri	Orthodoxy	Lindblom	E.G.Bring's Proposal	Thomander's Proposal	E.G.Bring's Proposal	Rudin's Proposal	Ullman	Brilioth		Cantionale By Kliefoth
Inledningen	Intro Addr Conf/Abso Introit Kyrie Gloria Laudamus	(Confiteor) (Conf/Abs) Introit Kyrie	Intro Addr Conf/Abso Kyrie Gloria Laudamus	Entry Hymn Sanctus Kyrie Gloria Hymn	Entry Hymn Invocation Conf/Abso Kyrie Gloria Laudamus	Entry Hymn Invocation Conf/Abso Kyrie Gloria Laudamus	Entry Hymn Sanctus Kyrie Gloria Laudamus	Entry Hymn Sanctus Kyrie Gloria Laudamus	Entry Hymn Sanctus Kyrie Gloria Laudamus	Entry Hymn Scripture Conf/Abso Hymn/Pr Introit Kyrie Gloria Laudamus	Entry Hymn Invocation Scripture Conf/Abso Thanks Pr Introit Kyrie Gloria Laudamus	Introit Kyrie Gloria Et in Terra
Ordets gudstjänst	Salutation Collect Epistle Gradual Gospel Creed	Collect Gradual Creed	Salutation Collect Epistle Gradual Gospel Creed Serm. Hymn Sermon Church Pr Hymn	Salutation Collect Epistle Creed Sermon	Salutation Collect Epistle Gradual V.Solemnia Gospel Creed Serm. Hymn Sermon Church Pr Hymn	Salutation Collect Epistle Gradual Gospel Creed Serm. Hymn Sermon Church Pr Hymn	Salutation Collect Epistle Gradual V.Solemnia Gospel Creed Serm. Hymn Sermon Church Pr	Salutation Collect Epistle Gradual V.Solemnia Gospel Creed Serm. Hymn Sermon Church Pr Hymn	Salutation Collect Epistle Gradual V.Solemnia Gospel Creed Serm.Hymn Sermon Short Prayer Hymn Church Pr	Salutation Collect Epistle Gradual V.Solemnia Gospel Creed Serm. Hymn Sermon Hymn Church Pr	Salutation Collect OT Epistle Gradual Gospel Sermon Creed Hymn Church Pr	Salutation Collect Epistle Halleluja Hymn Gospel Creed Sermon
Mässan	Salutation Sursum Cor Vere Dignum & Verba Sanctus Our Father Pax Agnus Dei Exhortation Distribution Salutation Thanks Coll		Salutation Sursum Cor Preface Verba Sanctus Our Father Exhortation Pax Distribution Agnus Dei Thanks Coll	Exhortation Salutation Sursum Cor Verba Our Father Pax Agnus Dei Distribution Thanks Coll	Salutation Prayer Our Father Sursum Cor Preface Verba Sanctus Our Father Pax Agnus Dei Distribution Salutation Thanks Coll	Prayer Our Father Sursum Cor Preface Verba Sanctus Our Father Pax Agnus Dei Distribution Salutation Thanks Coll	Exhortation Sursum Cor Preface Verba Sanctus Our Father Pax Agnus Dei Distribution Salutation Thanks Coll	Exhortation Sursum Cor Preface Verba Sanctus Our Father Pax Agnus Dei Distribution Salutation Thanks Coll	Prep Hymn Sursum Cor Preface Verba Our Father Sanctus Pax Agnus Dei Distribution Thanks Coll	Prep Hymn Sursum Cor Preface Sanctus Prayer Verba Our Father Pax Agnus Dei Distribution Thanks Pr	Offert'y Hy Sursum Cor Preface Sanctus Each Pr w. Verba Our Father Fraction Pax Agnus Dei Communion Thanks Pr	Sursum Cor Preface Sanctus Our Father Verba Our Father Fraction Pax Agnus Dei Communion Agnus Dei Versicle Thanks Coll
Avslutningen	Salutation Benedicamus Benediction	**We noted above only what Laurentius' Church Order indicates.	Salutation Benedicamus Benediction Clos. Hymn	Benedicamus Benediction Clos. Hymn	Benedicamus Benediction Clos. Hymn	Benedicamus Benediction Clos. Hymn	Benedicamus Benediction Clos. Hymn	Benedicamus Benediction Clos. Hymn	Benedicamus Benediction Clos. Hymn	Benedicamus Benediction Clos. Hymn	Benedicamus Benediction Clos. Hymn Postlude Sending Wd	Benediction

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Sources Relative to Swedish Liturgies and Their Revisionary Works¹

A. Primary Sources

1. Original Texts of the Divine Service of the Church of Sweden

1531 års mässa: *Then Svenska Messan epter som hon nw holles i Stocholm medh orsaker hwarföre hon så hallen wardher*. Stockholm.

1557 års mässa: *Messan på Svensko förbättrat*. Stockholm.

1576 års Liturgi: *Liturgia Svecanae Ecclesiae catholicae et orthodoxae conformis*.

1602 års mässa: *Christelig Ordning och Sätt, huruledes hålles skal, vthi then Högborne Furstes och Herres, Herr Carls med Gudz nåde, Sweriges Rijkets Regerende Arffurstes, Hertigh til Sudermanneland, Närliche och Wermeland, etc. Hof-Försambling medh Gudztienesten*.

1614 års *Handbok*. Förbättrat och förmeradt i Stockholm, 1599, och åter öffuerseed, 1608. Uppsala, 1614. 1802 reprint.

1693 års *Handbok*. Stockholm, 1693. 1772 reprint.

1799 års *Förslag*. Uppsala.

1811 års *Handbok*. Norrkäping, 1811. 1875 reprint.

1854 års *Förslag*. Stockholm, 6 February 1854.

1854 års *Förslag*. Stockholm, 18 August 18 1854.

¹ The present author is grateful for the following scholars and churchmen for stimulating conversations and helpful assistance: Rev. Fredrik Fernbom (The University of Lund), Dr. Bengt Åberg (professor emeritus, the University of Lund), Dr. Anders Jarlert (professor, the University of Lund), Dr. Bengt Häglund (professor emeritus, the University of Lund), Dr. Rune Söderlund (professor, the University of Lund), Bishop Dr. Gärtner (bishop emeritus), Rev. Bo Branden (pastor, St. Laurentius Church, Lund), Dr. Oloph Bexell (professor, the University of Uppsala), Dr. Nils-Henrik Nilsson (secretary, Liturgical Commission, Church of Sweden), Mrs. Anna Karin Hermodsson (chief archivist, National Archive of Sweden, Stockholm). It is also to be noted that the assistance and hospitality of the librarians and archivists at the following institutions made it possible to gather primary documents and sources essential for this study: at the University of Lund—the University (main) Library, the Department of Archives, the Department of Manuscripts, and the Theological Institute's Library; at the University of Uppsala—the University (main) Library, the Department of Archives, the Department of Manuscripts, and the Theological Institute's Library; the Department of Archives at the Headquarters of the Church of Sweden (Uppsala); private archive and library of Dr. Oloph Bexell (Uppsala) and the library and archive at Frillesås Church (Göteborg).

1855 års *Förslag*. Stockholm, 1 November 1855.

1888 års private *Förslag* by W. Rudin. Uppsala.

1894 års *Handbok*. Lund, 1894. 1912 reprint.

1917 års *Handbok*. Uppsala, 1917. 1935 reprint.

1942 års *Handbok*. Stockholm, 1942. 1956 reprint.

1969 års *Förslag*. Stockholm.

1970 års *Förslag*. Stockholm.

1971 års *Förslag*. Stockholm.

1974 års *Förslag*. Stockholm.

1976 års *Förslag*. Stockholm.

1982 års *Förslag*. Stockholm.

1986 års *Handbok*. Stockholm, 1986. 1999 reprint.

2000 års *Förslag*. Stockholm.

2. Documents Related to the 1854–1855 Proposals to the Agenda

Cleri Comitialis Circular till Samtliga Herrar Biskopar och Consistorierne i Riket. Lagtima Riksdagen i Stockholm 1853–1854. Stockholm: Isåc Marcus, 1854.

Kyrko-Handbok hwaruti stadgas, huru Gudstjensten i Swenska Församlingar skall förrättas. Underdånigt Förslag, uppgjort af dertill Nåder utsedde Committerade. Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt and Söner, 1854.

Kahl, Ach. *Anmärkingar med anledning af "Underdånigt Förslag till Kyrko-handbok, uppgjort af dertill i nåder utsedde Committerade. Stockh. 1854."* Lund: Berlingska Boktryckeriet, May 1854.

Högv. Preste-Ståndets Enskilda Utskotts Pastoral-Afdelnings Betänkande, i anledning af Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Skrifvelse till Preste-Ståndet, angående förslag till en förbättrad Kyrko Handbok. Stockholm: 18 August 1854.

Högvördiga Preste-Ståndets Protokoll: Vid föredragning af Ståndets Enskilda Utskotts Pastoral-Afdelnings Betänkanden, i anledning af Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Skrifvelse till Preste-Ståndet angående Förslag till en förbättrad Kyrko-Handbok, å Lagtima Riksdagen i Stockholm 1854. Stockholm: Isåc Marcus, 1855.

Bring, E. G., A. R. Sundberg och W. Flensburg. "Den nya Lagen rörande missbruk af de Heliga Sacramenterna." *Swensk Kyrkotidning* 1 (May 1855): 29–52.

Kommitterade för uppgörande af förslag till ny redaktion af kyrkohandboken och katechesen, om dagtraktamente och resekostnadersättning för deras Sekreterare. 24 October 1855.

Kyrko-Handbok, hwaruti stadgas, huru Gudstjensten i Svenska Församlingar skall förrättas. Underdånigt Förslag, ånyo öfwersedt af dertill i Nåder utsedde Committerade. Stockholm: P. A. Nortstedt and Söner, 1856.

Carlstads Stift. *Utlåtanden Rörande Klandret emot Svenska Psalmboken samt Förslagen till Ny Kyrkohandbok och Katekes.* Carlstad: Tryckte hos Carl Kjellin, 1858.

Cleri Comitialis Circulär till Samtlige Herrar Biskopar och Consistorierne i Riket. Lagtima Riksdagen i Stockholm 1856–1858. Stockholm: Isåc Marcus, 1858.

Bring, E. G., A. R. Sundberg och W. Flensburg. "Är det wälbetänkt af Kyrkans wänner att hos Kongl. Maj:t petitionera om allmän rätt till begagnande af 1693 års Kyrkohandbok wid Dop, Skriftermål och Nattvard?" *Swensk Kyrkotidning* (1860): 33–39.

Cleri Comitialis Circulär till Samtlige Herrar Biskopar och Consistorierne i Riket. Lagtima Riksdagen i Stockholm 1859–1860. Stockholm: Isåc Marcus, 1860

3. Documents Related to the 1894 Agenda

Allmänna Kyrkomötets Protokoll år 1868. Stockholm: Isåc Marcus, 1868.

Ullman, U. L. *Om Högmessogudstjensten och Kyrkoåret.* Göteborg: D. F. Bonnier, 1880.

Allmänna Kyrkomötets Protokoll år 1888. Stockholm: A. L. Normans Boktryckeri-Aktiebolag, 1888.

Bihang till Allmänna Kyrkomötets Protokoll år 1888. Stockholm: Isåc Marcus' Boktryckeri-Aktiebolag, 1888.

Rudin, W. *Förslag till Ordning vid Den Allmänna Gudstjensten.* Uppsala: W. Schultz, 1888.

Quensel, Oscar. *Vårt Högmässoritual: Historiskt Restaurerad och Förklarad.* Uppsala: Lundequistska Bokhandeln, 1891.

Handbokskommitten. *Förslag till Reviderad Handbok för Svenska Kyrkan. Fullbordadt 1891.* Uppsala: Akademiska Boktryckeriet, 1892.

Allmänna Kyrkomötets Protokoll år 1893. Stockholm: A. L. Normans Boktryckeri-Aktiebolag, 1893.

Beslut, å det i Stockholm hållna allmänna kyrkomöte, hvilket började den 9 September och slutade den 18 October 1893.

Ekelund, Th. *Den Lutherska Församlingens Gudstjenst.* Karlstad: Carl Kjellin C:ni, 1893.

Handbokskommitten. *Nytt Förslag till Reviderad Handbok för Svenska Kyrkan.* Uppsala: Akademiska Boktryckeriet, 1893.

Holmström, Olof. *Tankar i Handboksfrågan med Anledning af 1893 års Reviderade Handboksförslag.* Lund: Håkan Ohlssons Boktryckeri, 1893.

Rosengren, Jakob. *Några Ord om Den Svenska Högmessan.* Wexiö: Nya Wexiö Bladets Tryckeri, 1894.

Ullman, U. L. *Svenska Kyrkans Högmessa i dess nya skick belyst till församlingenstjänst.* Göteborg: N. P. Pehrssons Förlag, 1894.

Eklund, J. A. *Vår Högmässogudstjänst.* Uppsala: Harald Wretmans Tryckeri, 1898.

Ullman, U. L. *Svenska Kyrkans Högmässa Förslag och Motivering.* Strängnäs: Westerlundiska Boktryckeriet, 1915.

4. Works Related to the 1917 Agenda

Leufven, Edv. *Studier till Högmässoritualen.* Uppsala: F. C. Askerbergs Bokförlag, 1919.

Rodhe, Edv. *Vår Svenska Högmässa.* Stockholm: Sveriges Kristliga Studentrörelses Förlag, 1924.

Giertz, Bo. *Kyrkofromhet.* Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1939.

5. Work Related to the 1942 Agenda

Hellerström, A. O. T. *Liturgik.* Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1954.

6. Documents Related to the 1986 Agenda

1968 års Kyrkohandbokscommittee. *Svenska Kyrkans Gudstjänst: Huvudgudstjänster och övriga gudstjänster*. Vol. 1, *Gudstjänstordning m. m.* Stockholm: Allmänna Förlaget, 1974.

1968 års Kyrkohandbokscommittee. *Svenska Kyrkans Gudstjänst: Huvudgudstjänster och övriga gudstjänster*. Bilaga 2, *Den liturgiska försöksverksamheten 1969–1972*. Stockholm: Allmänna Förlaget, 1974.

Gudstjänstordning för Svenska Kyrkan: 1976 års Alternativ till Den Svenska Kyrkohandboken. Vol. 1, *Ritual*. Lund: Berlingska Boktryckeriet, 1976.

1982 års Revisionsgrupp. *Svenska Kyrkans Gudstjänst*, vol. 8: *Huvudgudstjänster och övriga gudstjänster, Kyrkliga handlingar*. Stockholm: Liber Allmänna Förlaget, 1985.

Gudstjänstordning för Svenska Kyrkan: 1982 års Alternativ till Den Svenska Kyrkohandboken: Kyrkliga Handlingar. N.p.: Skeab Verbum, n.d.

7. Documents Related to the 2000 Proposal to the Agenda

Kyrkohandboksgruppens förslag till Kyrkohandbok för Svenska Kyrkan: Gudstjänstordning. Skövde: Rolf, 2000.

Kyrkohandboksgruppens förslag till Kyrkohandbok för Svenska Kyrkan: Motiveringar. Skövde: Rolf, 2000.

8. The Agenda of the Augustana Synod

Kyrko-Handbok för Augustana-Synoden. Antagen, 1895; Rock Island, Ill.: Lutheran Augustana Book Concern, 1895.

Church Book of the Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod in North America. Rock Island, Ill.: Lutheran Augustana Book Concern, 1898.

Kyrko-Handbok för Augustana-Synoden. Antagen, 1923; Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Book Concern, 1926.

9. Documents of the House of Clergy at the National Archive of Sweden

“Depart. Chefens anmälan af Konsistorium, utlåtanden öfver förslaget till kyrkohandbok.” 3 July 3 1854.

“Rikets Ständer, i fråga om förslag till ny kyrkohandbok.” 4 January 1855.

“Kommitterade för uppförande af förslag till ny redaktion af kyrkohandboken och katechesesn, om dagtraktamente och resekotnadsersättning för deras Sekreterare.” 24 October 1855.

“Kyrkohandbokskomiteen, med förslag i ämnet.” 19 January 1856.

“Fördelning af de tryckta, ex. af nya Kyrkohandboks-förslaget.” 23 May 1856.

“Förslag till skrifvelse, med förslag till nya predikotexter och Kyrkohandbok.” 21 October 1859.

“R. St:r, i fråga om ny kyrkohandbok.” 21 August 1868.

“Allm. kyrkomötet, ang. förslag till ny kyrkohandbok.” 13 November 1868.

“Hernösands Domk. ang. Kyrkoh. J. Sörlins ansökning att få följa formuläret i nya kyrkohandboks-förslaget vid dop och kommunion.” 30 May 1873.

“Kyrkomötet ang. förändringar i kyrkohandboken.” 17 October 1873.

“Upsala m. fl. Konsistorier, ang. förändringar i Kyrkohandboken.” 25 September 1874.

“Erke Biskopen ang. Ortsprediger L. M. Christiansens framställning rör. Sv. Kyrkohandboken.” 18 February 1876.

“Lunds Domk., ang. en reviderad normaltext för Kyrkohandboken, funnen för absohetion. 1555/1877.” 24 August 1878.

“Allmänna Kyrkomötet, ang. revision af Kyrkohandboken.” 18 October 1878.

“Kyrkomötet ang. de gamla kyrkobönerna i kap. 2 af gällande kyrkohandbok.” 19 October 1883.

“Ang. ändringar i vissa delar af en gällande kyrkohandbok.” 31 December 1888.

“Ang. kyrkohandbokskomitens betänkande.” 26 February 1892.

“Inkomna utlåtanden öfver förslag till ny kyrkohandbok.” 31 December 1892.

“Ang. ersättning åt ledamöterna i kyrkohandbokskomiten.” 9 August 1893.

“Ang. kyrkohandbokskomitens nya förslag till reviderad kyrkohandbok.” 11 August 1893.

“Ang. förslag till ny kyrkohandbok.” 27 October 1893.

“Ang. fastställande af ny kyrkohandbok.” 1 October 1894.

“Ang. af utsedde komiterade utarbetadt förslag till musikbilaga till kyrkohandboken.” 28 March 1896.

“Kyrkomötets underdåniga skrifvelse ang. utarbetande af en katekesupplaga i öfverensstämmelse med gällande kyrkohandbok m. m.” 21 October 1898.

“Kyrkomötets skrifvelse ang. vissa ändringar i fjärde kapitlet af gällande kyrkohandbok.” 6 October 1899.

“Ang. granskning av förslag till reviderad kyrkohandbok.” 10 March 1916.

“Bishop G. Billing med resigerat förslag till kyrkohandbok.” 2 October 1917.

10. Other Primary Sources

Bring, E. G. “Om Kyrkan.” *Swenskt Kyrkotidning*, no. 1 (April 1855): 1–16; no. 2 (April 1855): 17–21; no. 5 (June 1855): 70–80; no. 6 (June 1855): 81–82; no. 11 (September 1855): 161–70; no. 4 (February 1856): 49–61; no. 6 (March 1856): 81–88; no. 24 (December 1856): 369–84.

Doct. Mårt. Luthers Lilla Cateches, med Förklaring. Revised by Jac. Ur. Lindblom. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerups, 1810. Reprint 1867.

Doktor Mårten Luthers Lilla Katekes med kort utveckling. Stockholm, 1878.

Thyselius, Erik. *Förteckning öfver Komitebetänkanden Afgifna under åren 1809–1894.* Stockholm: Iduns Tryckeri Akfiebolog, 1896.

Ullman, U. L. *Evangelisk-Luthersk Liturgik med Särskild Hänsyn till den Svenska Kyrkans Förhållanden.* Lund: C. W. K. Gleerups Förlag, 1874–1885.

B. Secondary Sources

Åberg, Bengt. *Individualitet och Universalitet hos Waldemar Rudin: Jämte en teckning av hans kyrkohistoriska bakgrund.* Lund: Verbum, 1968.

———. “Erik Georg Waldemar Napoleon Rudin.” *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, 30: 695–702. Stockholm: Norstedts Tryckeri AB, 2000.

“Achatius Johan K. Kahl.” *Kirke-Leksikon for Norden* 2, 710. Ekspedition: Albert Bayers Forlag, 1904.

Ahlberg, Bo. *Laurentius Petris Nattvardsuppfattning.* *Studia Theologica Lundensia*, no. 26. Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1964.

- Ahren, Per-Olov. *Kyrkmöte och Synodalförfattning: En studie i svensk kyrkoförfattningsdebatt 1827–1865*. Studia Theologica Lundensia, no. 11. Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1956.
- Algård, Nils. *Johan Henrik Thomader: Kyrkomannen-Personligheten*. Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1924.
- Anderson, J. Oskar, ed. “Anton Niklas Sundberg.” *Kirke-Leksikon for Norden* 4, 396–97. København: H. Hagerups Forlag, 1929.
- . “Johan Henrik Thomander.” *Kirke-Leksikon for Norden* 4, 547. København: H. Hagerups Forlag, 1929.
- Anderson, Philip J. et al. *American Religious Influences in Sweden*. Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Forskningsråd, 1997.
- Andersson, Ingvar. *A History of Sweden*. Trans. Carolyn Hannay. Stockholm: Natur och Kultur, 1955.
- Andersson, Nils. *1878 Års Katekes: Debatten om katekesens form och innehåll 1810–1878*. Bibliotheca Theologiae Practicae, no. 27. Klippan: CWK Gleerups Förlag, 1973.
- Andren, Olof. Review of *Liturgins Teologi hos U. L. Ullman*, by Oloph Bexell. *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 115 (Jahrgang 1989): 621–22.
- Åsbrink, Gustav and Knut B. Westman. *Svea Rikes Ärkebiskopar: Från 1164 till Nuvarande Tid*. Stockholm: Bokförlaget Natur och Kultur, 1935.
- Askmark, Ragnar et al., eds. “Högkyrklighet.” *Nordisk Teologisk Uppslagsbok* 1, 1390–95. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerups Förlag, 1952.
- . “Johan Alfred Eklund.” *Nordisk Teologisk Uppslagsbok* 1, 708–11. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerups Förlag, 1952.
- Aulen, Gustaf. “Liturgy and Church Music in the Church of Sweden.” *American Church Monthly* 36 (September 1934): 119–26.
- . *Den Allmänneliga Kristna Tron*. 4th ed. Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1943.
- . *The Faith of the Christian Church*. Trans. from the 4th Swedish ed. by Eric H. Wahlstrom and G. Everett Arden. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1948.
- . *Hundra Års Svensk Kyrkdebatt: Drama i Tre Akter*. Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1953.

- . *För eder utgiven: En Bok om Nattvardens Offermotiv*. Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelsens Bokförlag, 1956.
- . *Den Allmänneliga Kristna Tron*. 5th ed. Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelsens Bokförlag, 1957.
- . *Eucharist and Sacrifice*. Trans. Eric H. Wahlstrom. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1958.
- . *The Faith of the Christian Church*. Trans. from the 5th Swedish ed. by Eric H. Wahlstrom. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1960.
- . *Högmässans förnyelse liturgiskt och kyrkomusikaliskt*. Stockholm: Diakonistyrelsens Bokförlag, 1961.
- Baillie, Donald and John Marsh, eds. *Intercommunion: The Report of the Theological Commission Appointed by the Continuation Committee of the World Conference on Faith and Order Together with a Selection from the Material Presented to the Commission*. London: SCM Press, 1952.
- Beck, J. T. *Pauli Tvenne Bref till Timoteus*. Trans. F. Arvedson. Uppsala: W. Schultz, 1881.
- Bergendoff, Conrad. "The Unique Character of the Reformation in Sweden." In *The Symposium on Seventeenth Century Lutheranism*, vol. 1, 91–105. St. Louis: Symposium on Seventeenth Century Lutheranism, 1962.
- . *Olavus Petri and the Ecclesiastical Transformation in Sweden 1521–1552: A Study in the Swedish Reformation*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965.
- . *The Church of the Lutheran Reformation: A Historical Survey of Lutheranism*. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1967.
- Bexell, Oloph. *Liturgins Teologi hos U. L. Ullman*. Bibliotheca Theologiae Practicae, no. 42. Stockholm: Författaren och Kyrkovetenskapliga Institutet, 1987.
- . "Edvard Magnus Rodhe." *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon* 30, 268–76. Stockholm: Norstedts Tryckeri AB, 2000.
- . *Sveriges kyrkohistoria, vol. 7: Forkväckelsens och kyrkoförnyelsens tid*. Stockholm: Verbum Förlag, 2003.
- Billing, E. "Carl Olof Björling." *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon* 4, 621–27. Stockholm: Alb. Bonniers Boktryckeri, 1924.
- Böthius, B. "Axel Gottfrid Leonard Billing." *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon* 4, 367–80. Stockholm: Alb. Bonniers Boktryckeri, 1924.

- Bouyer, Louis. *Eucharist: Theology and Spirituality of the Eucharistic Prayer*. Trans. Charles Underhill Quinn. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968.
- Braaten, Carl E. and Robert W. Jenson, eds. *Christian Dogmatics*. Vol. 2. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984.
- Brilioth, Yngve. *Nattvarden i Evangeliskt Gudstänstliv*. Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1926, 2nd ed. 1951.
- . *Eucharistic Faith and Practice: Evangelical and Catholic*. Trans. A. G. Herbert. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1930.
- . *The Anglican Revival: Studies in the Oxford Movement*. London: Longmans, Green, 1933.
- . *Three Lectures on Evangelicalism and the Oxford Movement*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934.
- . *A Brief History of Preaching*. Trans. Karl E. Mattson. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965.
- Brilioth, Yngve, ed. *World Lutheranism of Today: A Tribute to Anders Nygren*. Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1950.
- Brodd, Sven-Erik. *Evangelisk katolicitet: Ett studium av innehaal och funktion under 1800- och 1900-talen*. Lund: CWK Gleerups, 1982.
- Brohed, Ingmar, ed. *Church and People in Britain and Scandinavia*. Lund: Lund University Press, 1996.
- Brunner, Peter. *Worship in the Name of Jesus*. Trans. M. H. Bertram. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1968.
- Bygstad, Jan. "The Confessional Movements in the Scandinavian Countries." *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 64 (July 2000): 163–81.
- Catechism of the Catholic Church*. Mahwah, N.J.: Paulist Press, 1994.
- Chemnitz, Martin. *The Lord's Supper*. Trans. J. A. O. Preus. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1979.
- Curtis, Charles J. *Söderblom: Ecumenical Pioneer*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1967.

- D:r Martin Luthers Lilla Katekes med Teckningar av Rudolf Schäfer.* Göteborg: Kyrkliga Förbundets Bokförlag, 1992.
- Eckerdal, Lars. *Skriftermål som nattvardsberedelse: Allmänt skriftermål i svenska kyrkans gudstjänstliv från 1811 års till 1942 års kyrkohandbok.* Bibliotheca Theologiae Practicae, no. 23. Lund: CWK Gleerups Förlag, 1970.
- . Review of *Liturgins Teologi hos U. L. Ullman*, by Oloph Bexell. *Svensk Teologisk Kvartalskrift* 67, no. 2 (1991): 93–95.
- Edwall, Pehr, Eric Hayman, and William D. Maxwell, eds. *Ways of Worship: The Report of a Theological Commission of Faith and Order.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951.
- Evanson, Charles J. “Worship and Sacrifice.” *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 42 (October 1978): 347–77.
- . “New Directions.” *Logia* 4 (Epiphany 1995): 3–9.
- . “Regin Prenter’s Understanding of Eucharistic Sacrifice.” In *Shepherd the Church: Essays in Honor of the Rev. Dr. Roger D. Pittelko*, eds. Frederic W. Baue et al., 25–44. Ft. Wayne: Concordia Theological Seminary Press, 2002.
- Forsander, Nils. *Olavus Petri: The Church Reformer of Sweden.* Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Book Concern, 1918.
- . “The Swedish Liturgies.” In *Memoirs of Lutheran Liturgical Association.* Vol. 2. Pittsburgh: The Association, 1907.
- Franzen, Olle. “Edvard Johansson Leufven.” *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon* 22, 593–94. Stockholm: Norstedts Tryckeri, 1979.
- Gåstein, Oskar. *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia.* 4 vols. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1963–1992.
- Giertz, Bo. *Kristi Kyrka.* Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1939.
- . *Kyrkofromhet.* Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1939.
- . *Liturgy and Spiritual Awakening.* Trans. Clifford Ansgar Nelson. Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Book Concern, 1950.
- . *Sendschreiben an die Evangelische Christenheit.* Goettingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1951.
- . *The Message of the Church in a Time of Crisis: And Other Essays.* Trans. Clifford Ansgar Nelson. Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Book Concern, 1953.

- Gränstroem, P. O. "Anders Jacob Broman." *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon* 6, 373–77. Stockholm: Alb. Bonniers Boktryckeri, 1926.
- Gritsch, Eric W. *A History of Lutheranism*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002.
- Gustafsson, Sven. "Olof Holmstroem." *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon* 19, 312–14. Stockholm: Kungl. Boktryckeriet P. A. Norstedt and Soener, 1973.
- Hägglund, Bengt. *Traktat om Liturgin in den Svenska Kyrkan*. Göteborg: Kyrkliga Foerbundets Bokförlag, 2000.
- Harjunpää, Toivo. "Liturgical Developments in Sweden and Finland in the Era of Lutheran Orthodoxy (1593–1700)." *Church History* 37 (March 1968): 14–35.
- Helander, Dick. *Den Liturgiska Utvecklingen i Sverige under 1800-Talet*. Lund: Håkan Ohlssons Boktryckeri, 1934.
- . "Svenska Kyrkohandboken 1811 och Preussiska Agendan 1822." In *Från Skilda Tider: Studier Tillägnade Hjalmar Holmquist*, 225–46. Lund: Håkan Ohlssons Boktryckeri, 1938.
- . *Den Liturgiska Utvecklingen i Sverige 1811–1894*. Lund: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1939.
- "Helander, släkter." *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon* 18, 554–55. Stockholm: Kungl. Boktryckeriet P. A. Norstedt and Söner, 1971.
- Hildebrand, Bengt. "Euren, Axel." *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon* 14, 670–75. Stockholm: Alb. Bonniers Boktryckeri, 1953.
- Hodgson, Leonard, ed. *The Second World Conference on Faith and Order*. New York: MacMillan, 1938.
- Jansson, Bror. *Johannes Matthiae Gothus och Hans Plats i Gudstjänstlivets Historia*. Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1954.
- Jarlert, Anders. "Schweden II: Reformation bis Neuzeit." *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 30, 649–71. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1999.
- . *Sveriges kyrkohistoria, vol. 6: Romantikens och liberalismens tid*. Stockholm: Verbum Förlag, 2001.
- Jasper, R. C. D. and G. J. Cuming. *Prayers of the Eucharist: Early and Reformed*. Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1990.

- Jungmann, Joseph. *The Place of Christ in Liturgical Prayer*. Trans. A. Peeler. London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1965.
- Kjöllerström, Sven. *Missa Lincopensis: En Liturgi-Historisk Studie*. Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1941.
- . "Kyrkohandbok." *Nordisk Universitetes-Tidskrift* 2 (1955): 638–42.
- . "Lutheranism in Sweden." In *The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church*, vol. 3, ed. Julius Bodensieck, 2284–2304. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965.
- . "Sätt till att ordinera en vald bishop 1561–1942." *Bibliotheca Theologiae Practicae*, no. 33. Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1974.
- "Knös, släkt." *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon* 21, 399–401. Stockholm: Norstedts Tryckeri, 1977.
- Kouri, E. I. "The Early Reformation in Sweden and Finland c. 1520–1560." In *The Scandinavian Reformation: From Evangelical Movement to Institutionalization of Reform*, ed. Ole Peter Grell, 42–69. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Krumwiede, Hans-Walter. "Theological Schools in Europe." In *The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church*, vol. 3, ed. Julius Bodensieck, 2353–70. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965.
- Latourette, Kenneth Scott. *The Nineteenth Century in Europe: The Protestant and Eastern Churches*. A History of Christianity in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, vol. 2I: Christianity in a Revolutionary Age. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959.
- Lyttkens, Carl Henrik. *The Growth of Swedish-Anglican Intercommunion between 1833–1922*. Trans. Neil Tomkinson and Jean Gray. Lund: Gleerups, 1970.
- Malmeström, Elis. "Johan Alfred Eklund." *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon* 12, 753–60. Stockholm: Alb. Bonniers Boktryckeri, 1949.
- Martling, Carl Henrik. *Svensk Liturgi Historia*. Stockholm: Verbum, 1992.
- Mascall, E. L. *Corpus Christi: Essays on the Church and the Eucharist*. 2nd ed. London: Longmans, 1965.
- Melanchthon, Philip. *Loci Communes 1543*. Trans. J. A. O. Preus. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1992.
- Montgomery, Ingun. "The Institutionalization of Lutheranism in Sweden and Finland." In *The Scandinavian Reformation: From Evangelical Movement to Institutionalization of Reform*, ed. Ole Peter Grell, 144–78. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

- Murray, Robert. *A Brief History of the Church of Sweden: Origins and Modern Structure*. Stockholm: Diakonistyrelsens Bokförlag, 1961.
- Murray, Robert, ed. *The Church of Sweden: Past and Present. A Book Sponsored by the Swedish Bishops' Conference*. Trans. Nils G. Sahlin. Malmö: Allhem, 1960.
- Neuhaus, Richard John. "The Public Square." *First Things* 135 (October 2003): 78–97.
- Newman, Ernst. *Svensk Högkyrklighet, Lågkyrklighet och Frikyrklighet: Kyrkohistoriska Studier*. Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelsens Bokförlag, 1932.
- Nielsen, Fredrik, ed. "Carl Olof Björling." *Kirke-Leksikon for Norden* 1, 334–35. Aarhus: Jydsk Forlags-Forretning, 1900.
- . "Ebbe Gustaf Bring." *Kirke-Leksikon for Norden* 1, 389. Aarhus: Jydsk Forlags-Forretning, 1900.
- . "Thure A. Annerstedt." *Kirke-Leksikon for Norden* 1, 97. Aarhus: Jydsk Forlags-Forretning, 1900.
- . "Anders Olofsson K. Knös." *Kirke-Leksikon for Norden* 2, 819. Aarhus: Ekspedition: Albert Bayers Forlag, 1904.
- Nielsen, Fredrik, and J. Oskar Andersen. "Johan Oscar Quensel." *Kirke-Leksikon for Norden* 3, 672–73. København: H. Hagerups Forlag, 1911.
- Nilsson, Nils-Henrik. "Eucharistic Prayer and Lutherans: A Swedish Perspective." *Studia Liturgica* 27 (1997): 176–99.
- . "The Church of Sweden Service Book." *Studia Liturgica* 31 (2001): 92–100.
- Nilzen, Göran ed. "Norrby, släkter." *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon* 27, 583–86. Stockholm: Norstedts Tryckeri AB, 1991.
- Nygren, Anders, ed. *This Is The Church*. Trans. Carl C. Rasmussen. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1952.
- Olson, Oliver K. "Contemporary Trends in Liturgy Viewed from the Perspective of Classical Lutheran Theology." *Lutheran Quarterly* 26 (May 1974): 110–57.
- . "Liturgy as 'Action.'" *Dialog* 14 (Spring 1975): 108–13.
- Österlin, Lars. *Thomanders kyrkogärning*. Samlingar och Studier till Svenska Kyrkans Historia, no. 37. Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelsens Bokförlag, 1960.

- . *Churches of Northern Europe in Profile: A Thousand Years of Anglo-Nordic Relations*. Norwich: Canterbury Press, 1995.
- Pahl, Irmgard, ed. *Coena Domini I: Die Abendmahlsliturgie der Reformationskirchen im 16./17. Jahrhundert*. Schweiz: Universitätsverlag, 1983.
- Pahlblad, Christer. *Mässa på svenska: Den reformatoriska mässan i Sverige mot den senmedeltida bakgrunden*. Bibliotheca Theologiae Practicae, no. 60. Lund: Arcus Förlag, 1998.
- Petri, Olavus. *The Church Manual of Olavus Petri: A Manual in Swedish including Baptism, etc.* Trans. O. V. Anderson. Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Book Concern, n.d.
- Piepkorn, Arthur Carl. "The Lutheran Liturgical Movement." *Una Sancta* 17 (St. Luke the Evangelist, 1960): 5–13.
- Polsson, Ken. "Chronology of Sweden." <http://www.islandnet.com/~kpolsson/swedhis/>
- Prenter, Regin. *Spiritus Creator*. Trans. John M. Jensen. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1953.
- . "Eucharistic Sacrifice according to the Lutheran Tradition." *Theology* 67 (June 1964): 286–95.
- . "A Lutheran Doctrine of Eucharistic Sacrifice?" *Studia Theologica* 19 (1965): 189–99.
- . *Creation and Redemption*. Trans. Theodor I. Jensen. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967.
- . *Theologie und Gottesdienst*. Gesammelte Aufsätze. Århus: Forlaget Aros, 1977.
- Proceedings of the Lutheran World Federation Assembly, Lund, Sweden, 1947*. Philadelphia: United Lutheran Publication House, 1948.
- Quill, Timothy C. J. *The Impact of the Liturgical Movement on American Lutheranism*. Drew Series in Liturgy, no. 3. Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 1997.
- Rast, Jr., Lawrence R. "Friedrich August Crämer: Faithful Servant in Christ's Church." *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 64 (January 2000): 39–60.
- Reed, Luther D. *The Lutheran Liturgy: A Study of the Common Service of the Lutheran Church in America*. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1947.
- Reid, J. K. S., ed. *Calvin: Theological Treatises*. The Library of Christian Classics, vol. 22. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1954.

- Reindell, Walter. "Die Präfation." In *Leiturgia: Handbuch des Evangelischen Gottesdienstes*, vol. 2, eds. Karl Ferdinand Müller and Walter Blankenburg, 453–520. Kassel: Johannes Stauda, 1955.
- Roberts, Michael. *Gustavus Adolphus: A History of Sweden 1611–1632*. London: Longmans, Green, 1953.
- . *The Early Vasas: A History of Sweden, 1523–1611*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968.
- . *The Swedish Imperial Experience 1560–1718*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
- Robertson, E. H. *Lund 1952: An Account of the Third World Conference on Faith and Order*. London: SCM Press, 1952.
- Rodhe, Edvard. "Thure Annerstedt." *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon* 2, 35–37. Stockholm: Alb. Bonniers Boktryckeri, 1920.
- . *Svenskt Gudstjänstliv: Historisk Belysning av den Svenska Kyrkohandboken*. Uppsala: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1923.
- . "Ebbe Gustaf Bring." *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon* 6, 250–62. Stockholm: Alb. Bonniers Boktryckeri, 1926.
- . "Sven Libert Bring." *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon* 6, 262–70. Stockholm: Alb. Bonniers Boktryckeri, 1926.
- Rorem, Paul. "Luther's Objection to a Eucharistic Prayer." *Cresset* 38 (March 1975): 12–16.
- Rosendal, Gunnar. *Kyrklig Förnyelse*. Uppsala: Bokförlaget pro Veritate, n.d.
- . *Vår Herres Jesu Kristi Lekamens och Blods Sakrament*. Osby: Förlaget Pro Ecclesia, 1938.
- Rudin, W. *Heliga Ord med Beträktelser paa Årets Alla Dagar*. Uppsala: J. A. Lindblads Förlag, 1916.
- Sasse, Hermann. "The Liturgical Movement: Reformation or Revolution?" *Una Sancta* 17 (St. Luke the Evangelist, 1960): 18–24.
- . "'What Is the Sacrament of the Altar?'" *Lutheran Theological Journal* 1 (August 1967): 3–16.
- . "Der Ausgang der lutherischen Erweckung das 19. Jahrhunderts." In *In Statu Confessionis*, no. 2. Berlin/Schleswig-Holstein: Die Spur, 1976.

- . *This IS My Body: Luther's Contention for the Real Presence in the Sacrament of the Altar*. Revised Australian ed. Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1977.
- . *Here We Stand: Nature and Character of the Lutheran Faith*. Trans. Theodore G. Tappert. Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1979.
- . *We Confess the Sacraments*. We Confess Series, vol. 2. Trans. Norman Nagel. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1985.
- Senn, Frank C. "Liturgia Svecanae Ecclesiae: An Attempt at Eucharistic Restoration during the Swedish Reformation." Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 1979.
- . "Liturgia Svecanae Ecclesiae: An Attempt at Eucharistic Restoration during the Swedish Reformation." *Studia Liturgica* 14 (1980–81): 20-36.
- . *Christian Liturgy: Catholic and Evangelical*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997.
- Serenius, Sigtrygg. *Liturgia Svecanä Ecclesiae Catholicae et Orthodoxae Conformis: En Liturghistorisk Undersökning med Särskild Hänsyn till Struktur och Förlagor*. Åbo: Åbo Akademi, 1966.
- Sidenvall, Fredrik. "The Theology of Liturgy: Two Swedish Bishops Reflect." Paper presented at the Congress on Lutheran Confessions, Chicago, 2000.
- Sjögren, Per-Olof. *Kyrkans Lovsång*. Stockholm: Verbum, 1987.
- Söderblom, Nathan. *Church Fellowship or the United Life and Work of Christendom*. New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1923.
- . *The Living God: Basal Forms of Personal Religion*. London: Oxford University Press, 1933.
- . *The Nature of Revelation*. Ed. Edgar M. Carlson. Trans. Frederik E. Pamp. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966.
- Spinks, Bryan. *Luther's Liturgical Criteria and His Reform of the Canon of the Mass*. Grove Liturgical Study, no. 30. Bramcote, Notts.: Grove Books, 1982.
- Stephenson, John R. *The Lord's Supper*. Confessional Lutheran Dogmatics, vol. 12. St. Louis: Luther Academy, 2003.
- Strömberg, Bengt. *Den Pontifikala Liturgin in Lund och Roskilde under Medeltiden*. Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1955.
- Sundkler, Bengt. *Nathan Söderblom: His Life and Work*. Lund: Gleerups, 1968.

- Tomkins, Oliver S., ed. *The Third World Conference on Faith and Order*. London: SCM Press, 1953.
- Vajta, Vilmos. *Die Theologie des Gottesdienstes bei Luther*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1952.
- . *Luther on Worship: An Interpretation*. Trans. and condensed. U. S. Leupold. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1958.
- Vajta, Vilmos, ed. *Church in Fellowship: Pulpit and Altar Fellowship among Lutherans*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1963.
- Waddams, H. M. "Recent Developments in Swedish Theology and Church Life." *Church Quarterly Review* 124 (April–June 1937): 100–113.
- . "Recent Developments in Swedish Theology and Church Life." *Church Quarterly Review* 124 (July–September 1937): 273–84.
- . *The Swedish Church*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1946.
- Wallgren, Erik. *Individen och samfundet: Bidrag till kännedomen om samfundstänkandet i Svensk Kyrkotidning 1855–1863*. Studie Theologica Lundensia, no. 16. Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1959.
- . "Wilhelm Flensburg." *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon* 16, 171–75. Stockholm: Kungl. Boktryckeriet P. A. Norstedt and Soener, 1966.
- Wingren, Gustaf. "Swedish Theology since 1900." *Scottish Journal of Theology* 9 (June 1956): 113–34.
- Wordsworth, John. *The National Church of Sweden*. London: A. R. Mowbray, 1911.
- Yelverton, Eric Esskilden. *The Mass in Sweden: Its Development from the Latin Rite from 1531 to 1917*. Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. 57. London: Harrison and Sons, 1920.
- . *The Swedish Rite: A Translation of "Handbok för Svenska Kyrkan"*. Translations of Christian Literature, series 3: Liturgical Texts. Ed. C. L. Feltoe. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York: Macmillan, 1921.
- . *The Manual of Olavus Petri 1529*. London: S.P.C.K., 1953.
- . *An Archbishop of the Reformation, Laurentius Petri Nericius Archbishop of Uppsala, 1531-73: A Study of His Liturgical Projects*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1959.

Wisløff, Carl F. "Worship and Sacrifice." *Lutheran World* 2 (Winter 1956): 345–55.

———. *The Gift of Communion: Luther's Controversy with Rome on Eucharistic Sacrifice*. Trans. Joseph M. Shaw. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1964; Idem. *Abendmahl und Messe: Die Kritik Luthers am Meßopfer*. Berlin and Hamburg: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1969.

II. Sources Relative to Theodor Kliefoth and His Liturgical Revisionary Works²

A. Primary Sources

Kliefoth, Theodor. *Einleitung in die Dogmengeschichte*. Parchim and Ludwigslust: Hofbuchhandlung, 1839.

———. *Das Zeugniß der Seele: Zwanzig Predigten, in der Gemeinde zu Ludwigslust gehalten von Dr. Th. Kliefoth, Prediger zu Ludwigslust*. Parchim and Ludwigslust: Hinstorff, 1841.

———. *Predigten, in der Gemeinde zu Ludwigslust gehalten von Dr. Th. Kliefoth, Prediger daselbst*. Parchim and Ludwigslust: Hinstorff, 1843.

———. *Theorie des Kultus der evangelischen Kirche*. Parchim and Ludwigslust: Hinstorff'schen Hofbuchhandlung, 1844.

———. *Predigten, in der Gemeinde zu Ludwigslust gehalten von Dr. Th. Kliefoth, jetzt Superintendenten und erstem Domprediger zu Schwerin*. Parchim and Ludwigslust: Hinstorff, 1846.

———. *Liturgische Blätter für Mecklenburg*. Schwerin and Rostock: Stillerschen Hofbuchhandlung, 1846–1847.

———. *Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung in den deutschen Kirchen lutherischen Bekenntnisses, ihre Destruction und Reformation*. Rostock and Schwerin: Stillerschen Hofbuchhandlung, 1847.

———. *Acht Bücher von der Kirche*. Schwerin and Rostock: Stiller'schen Hofbuchhandlung, 1854.

———. "An die hochwürdige theologische Facultät der Georg Augustus Universität zu Göttingen." *Kirchliche Zeitschrift* (1854).

² The present author is grateful for the indispensable archival assistance of Dr. Peter Wurm, the chief archivist at *Landeskirchliches Archiv in Schwerin*. He also values a scholarly conversation on Kliefoth with Dr. Martin Grahl, pastor of St. Paul's Church in Schwerin, the church building that Kliefoth helped design according to his theological conviction.

- . *Predigten in der Domkirche zu Schwerin gehalten von Dr. Th. Kliefoth, Oberkirchenrath*. 5 vols. Schwerin and Rostock: Stiller, 1854, 1855, 1857, 1858, 1859.
- . *Liturgische Abhandlungen*. 8 vols. Schwerin: Stiller'schen Hofbuchhandlung, 1854–1861.
- . “Die Erklärung der theologischen Fakultät zu Göttingen in Veranlassung ihrer Denkschrift . . . über die gegenwärtige Krisis des kirchliche Lebens.” *Kirchliche Zeitschrift* (1855).
- . *Revidierte Kirchenordnung von 1602 und 1650*. Schwerin: A. W. Sandmeyer, 1855.
- . “Die Zahlensymbolik der Heiligen Schrift.” *Theologische Zeitschrift* (1862).
- . *Das Buch Ezechiels*. Rostock, 1864.
- . *Was fordert Art. 7 der Augsburgischen Konfession hinsichtlich des Kirchenregiments der lutherischen Kirche?* Cassel: Pillardn and Augustin, 1868.
- . *Cantionale für die evangelischlutherischen Kirchen im Großherzogthum Mecklenburg-Schwerin*. 4 vols. Schwerin: A. W. Sandmeyer, 1868–1880.
- . *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*. Leipzig: Dörffling and Franke, 1874.
- . *Allgemeines Gebetbuch*. 1883–1884.
- . *Christliche Eschatologie*. Leipzig: Dörffling und Franke, 1886.
- Mecklenburgisches Kirchen-Gesangbuch*. Schwerin: W. Sandmeyer, 1884.
- Mecklenburgisches Kirchen-Gesangbuch*. Schwerin: Sandmeyer, 1889.
- Mecklenburg-Schwerinsches Kirchenbuch für den gottesdienstlichen Gebrauch: Nach den Beschlüssen der Landessynode zusammengestellt und herausgegeben vom Oberkirchenrat*. Schwerin: W. Sandmeyer, 1927.
- Millies, E. *Circular-Verordnungen des Oberkirchenraths an die mecklenburg-schwerinsche Landesgeistlichkeit aus der Zeit 1849–1894*. Schwerin: Ed. Herberger, 1895.
- Revidirte Kirchenordnung wie es mit Christlicher Lehre, reichung der Sacrament, Ordination der Diener des Evangelii, ordentlicher Ceremonien in der Kirchen, Visitation Consistorio und Schwerin, Im Hertzogthumb Meckleburg etc. gehalten wirdt*. Lüneburg: Martin Lamprecht, 1650.

Revidirte Kirchenordnung: Wie es mit Christlicher Lehre, Reichung der Sacramenten, Ordination der Diener des Evangelii, ordentlicher Ceremonien in der Kirchen, Visitation Consistorio und Schwerin: Im Hertzogthumb Meckleburg etc. gehalten wirdt. Schwerin: A. W. Sandmeyer, 1855.

Verlagsgemeinschaft Evangelisches Gesangbuch Evangelische Haupt-Bibelgesellschaft und von Cansteinsche Bibelanstalt im Bereich der EKV. *Evangelisches Gesangbuch für Gottesdienst, Gebet, Glaube, Leben: Ausgabe für die Evangelisch-Lutherische Landeskirche Mecklenburgs und für die Pommersche Evangelische Kirche.* Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt; Berlin: Wichern-Verlag, 2001.

B. Secondary Sources

Beste, Niklot. "Theodor Kliefoth als Prediger." In *Viva Vox Evangelii: Eine Festschrift für Landesbischof D. Hans Meiser zum siebzigsten Geburtstag am 16. Februar 1951*, 21–28. München: Claudius-Verlag, 1951.

Bouman, Walter Richard. "The Unity of the Church in 19th Century Confessional Lutheranism." D. Theol. diss., University of Heidelberg, 1962.

Conser, Jr., Walter H. *Church and Confession: Conservative Theologians in Germany, England, and America 1815–1866.* Mercer: Mercer University Press, 1984.

Epstein, Klaus. *The Genesis of German Conservatism.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966.

Fagerberg, Holsten. *Bekennntnis, Kirke und Amt: In der deutschen konfessionellen Theologie des 19. Jahrhunderts.* Uppsala: Almqvist and Boktryckeri, 1952.

Grahl, Martin. "Verklärung: Die Konzeption der Heilsgeschichte bei Theodor Kliefoth." D. Theol. diss., University of Rostock, 2001.

Haack, Ernst. "Theodor Friedrich Dethlof Kliefoth." In *Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirchen* 10, 566–75. 1901.

———. "Theodor Friedrich Dethlof Kliefoth." In *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 51, 218–28. Leipzig: Duncker and Humblot, 1906.

———. *Theodor Kliefoth: Ein Charakterbild aus der Zeit der Erneuerung des christlichen Glaubensleben und der lutherische Kirche im 19. Jahrhundert.* Schwerin: F. Bahn, 1910.

Haendler, Gert. "Unser Glaube—kühn, stark, Theodor Kliefoth und die Landeskirche." *Studienhefte zur mecklenburgischen Kirchengeschichte* 3 (1995): 15–21.

- Harnack, Theodosius. *Der christliche Gemeindegottesdienst im apostolischen und altkatholischen Zeitalter*. Erlangen: Theodor Bläsing, 1854.
- . *Die Kirche, ihr Amt, ihr Regiment: Grundlegende Sätze mit durchgehender Bezugnahme auf die symbolischen Bücher der lutherischen Kirche, zur Prüfung und Verständigung*. Nürnberg: C. Bertelsmann Verlag Gütersloh, 1862.
- . *Praktische Theologie*. 2 vols. Erlangen: Anders Deichert, 1877–1878.
- Hamerow, Theodore. *Restoration, Revolution, Reaction: Economics and Politics in Germany, 1815–1871*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966.
- Heeß, Wilhelm. *Geschichtliche Bibliographie von Mecklenburg: Veröffentlicht im Auftrage des Reichesstatthalters Friedrich Hildebrandt*. Vol. 1. Rostock: Carl Hinstorffs, n.d.
- Hirsch, Emanuel. *Geschichte der Neuern Evangelischen Theologie: im Zusammenhang mit den allgemeinen Bewegungen des europäischen Denkens*. Vol. 4. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1952.
- . *Geschichte der Neuern Evangelischen Theologie: im Zusammenhang mit den allgemeinen Bewegungen des europäischen Denkens*. Vol. 5. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1954.
- Heubach, Joachim. “Das Verständnis des Schlüsselamtes bei Löhe, Kliefoth und Vilmar.” In *Bekenntnis zur Kirche: Festgabe für Ernst Sommerlath zum 70. Geburtstag*, 313–24. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1960.
- Jensen, Gwendolyn E. “A Comparative Study of Prussian and Anglican Church-State Reform in the Nineteenth Century.” *Journal of Church and State* 23 (Autumn 1981): 445–63.
- Kahnis, Karl Friedrich August. *Internal History of German Protestantism since the Middle of Last Century*. Trans. Theodore Meyer. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1856.
- . *Christenthum und Lutherthum*. Leipzig: Dörffling and Franke, 1871.
- Kantzenbach, Friedrich W. *Gestalten und Typen des Neuluthertum*. Gütersloh: Verlaghaus G. Mohn, 1968.
- . “Theodor Kliefoth.” In *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 12, 65–66. Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 1980.
- . “Theodor Kliefoth.” In *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 19, 268–71. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1990.
- Kehnscherper, Günther. “Das Wesen der Kirche nach Theodor Kliefoth.” D. Theol. diss., University of Leipzig, 1953.

- Kleinig, John. "The Liturgical Heritage of Theodor Kliefoth." In *Lord Jesus Christ, Will You Not Stay*, 105–20. Houston: Feuerhahn Festschrift Committee, 2002.
- Latourette, Kenneth Scott. *Christianity in a Revolutionary Age: A History of Christianity in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. Vol. 1, *The Nineteenth Century in Europe: Background and the Roman Catholic Phase*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958.
- . *Christianity in a revolutionary Age: A History of Christianity in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. Vol. 2, *The Nineteenth Century in Europe: The Protestant and Eastern Churches*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959.
- Lichtenberger, F. *History of German Theology in the Nineteenth Century*. Trans. and ed. W. Hastie. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1889.
- Mensel, Carl, ed. "Theodor Friedrich Dethloff Kliefoth." In *Kirchliches Handlexikon* 4, 11–13. Leipzig: Justus Naumann, 1894.
- Milward, Alan, and S. B. Saul. *The Economic Development of Continental Europe, 1780–1870*. Totowa, N.J.: Allen and Unwin, 1973.
- Nigg, Walter. *Kirchliche Reaktion*. Leipzig: Beck, 1939.
- Ohst, Martin. "Theodor Kliefoths 'Einleitung in die Dogmengeschichte': Ein Beitrag zur Genese des 'Neuluthertums.'" *Kerygma und Dogma* 38 (January/March 1992): 47–70.
- Reardon, Bernard M. *Religion in the Age of Romanticism: Studies in Early Nineteenth Century Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Sheehan, James. *German Liberalism in the Nineteenth Century*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978.
- Schmaltz, Karl. *Kirchengeschichte Mecklenburgs*. 3 vols. Schwerin and Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1935–1952.
- Schnoor, W. "Kliefoths Lehre von der Kirche." *Evangelische-lutherische Kirchenzeitung* (15 June 1951): 165–68.
- Skobowsky, Christian, ed. *Die Schweriner St. Paulskirche und ihre Orgel: Festschrift aus Anlaß der Wiedereinweihung der restaurierten Frieze-Orgel von 1869 zum 130 jährigen Bestehen von Instrument und Raum*. Commissioned by the St. Paul's Congregation of Schwerin. Schwerin: Verlagsgruppe, 1999.
- Spieker, G. F. "The Sacrificial Idea in Christian Worship." In *Memoirs of the Lutheran Liturgical Association*, no. 3 (1900–1901): 89–100.

Stammbaum im Großherzogtum Mecklenburg-Schwerin entsprossenen Kliefoth'schen Familie im Jahre 1909 aufgestellt von dem Bürgermeister und Leutnant a. D. Ludwig Polstorff in Lohmar, Kr. Sieg, unter Zugrundelegung der Aufzeichnungen des Kirchenrats Emil Kliefoth in Bernitt (S. 5 des Stammbaums). Siegburg: W. Reckinger.

Stoll, H. *Theodor Klifoth als Kirchenführer.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1936.

Thieliche, Helmut. *Modern Faith and Thought.* Trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1990.

Ueltyen, Dieter. "Kalenderblatt Theodor Kliefoth." *Studienhefte zur mecklenburgischen Kirchengeschichte* 1 (1995): 32f.

Welch, Claude. *Protestant Thought in the Nineteenth Century.* 2 vols. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972–1985.

Wenzel, Theodor. "Th. F. D. Kliefoth." *Wege zum Wort* (1951): 135–45.

Williams, N. P., and Charles Harris, eds. *Northern Catholicism: Centenary Studies in the Oxford and Parallel Movements.* London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1933.

III. Luther's Works and the Lutheran Confessions

Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch lutherischen Kirche. 11th ed. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1992.

Kolb, Robert and Timothy J. Wengert, eds. *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000.

D. Martin Luthers Sämtliche Schriften. 1st ed. Ed. Johann Georg Walch. 24 vols. Halle: Johann Justinus Gebauer, 1740–1753.

D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe. 68 vols. Weimar: Hermann Böhlau und Nachfolger, 1883–.

D. Martin Luthers Werke. Die Deutsche Bibel. 12 vols. Weimar: Hermann Böhlau und Nachfolger, 1906–1961.

D. Martin Luthers Werke. Tischreden. 6 vols. Weimar: Hermann Böhlau und Nachfolger, 1912–1921.

Luther's Works: The American Edition. 55 vols. Eds. Jaroslav Pelikan and Helmut T. Lehmann. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1958–1967.

IV. OTHER SOURCES

- Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry*. Faith and Order Paper, no. 111. Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1982.
- Barth, Karl. *Protestant Theology in the Nineteenth Century: Its Background and History*. New ed. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2002.
- Bayer, Oswald. "Worship and Theology." In *Worship and Ethics: Lutherans and Anglicans in Dialogue*, 148–61. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1996.
- . *Living by Faith: Justification and Sanctification*. Trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2003.
- . "Luther as an Interpreter of Holy Scripture." In *The Cambridge Companion to Martin Luther*, ed. Donald K. McKim, 73–85. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Berkowitz, Luci and Karl A. Squitier. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae: Canon of Greek Authors and Works*. 3rd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Bettenson, Henry and Chris Maunder eds. *Documents of the Christian Church*. Third Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Bizer, Ernst. *Studien zur Geschichte des Abendmahlsstreits im 16. Jahrhundert*. Gütersloh: Verlag C. Bertelsmann, 1940.
- Botte, Bernard. *Comparative Liturgy*. Trans. F. L. Cross. London: A. R. Mowbray, 1958.
- . *From Silence to Participation: An Insider's View of Liturgical Renewal*. Trans. John Sullivan. Washington: Pastoral Press, 1988.
- Bouman, C. A. "Variants in the Introduction to the Eucharistic Prayer." *Vigiliae Christianae* 4 (1950): 94–115.
- Bradshaw, Paul F. *Ordination Rites of the Ancient Churches of East and West*. New York: Pueblo Publishing, 1990.
- . *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- . "Continuity and Change in Early Eucharistic Practice: Shifting Scholarly Perspectives." In *Continuity and Change in Christian Worship*, ed. R. N. Swanson, 1–17. Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 1999.

- Brand, Eugene L. "The Lutheran 'Common Service': Heritage and Challenge." *Studia Liturgica* 19 (1989): 78–95.
- . "Worship, Culture, and Catholicity: What Next?" *Studia Liturgica* 29 (1999): 100–15.
- Brecht, Martin. *Martin Luther*. 3 vols. Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1981–1987. English ed. trans. by James L. Schaaf. 3 vols. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1985–1993.
- Brightman, F. E. *Liturgies Eastern and Western. On the basis of the former work by C. E. Hammond*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896.
- Brinkman, B. "Sacramental Man and Speech Acts Again." *Heythrop Journal* 16 (1975): 416–20.
- Casel, Odo. *Das Christliche Kultmysterium*. 3rd ed. Regensburg: Gregorius Verlag, 1948.
- . *The Mystery of Christian Worship and Other Writings*. Ed. Burkhard Neunheuser. London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1962.
- . *Das christliche Opfermysterium: Zur Morphologie und Theologie des eucharistischen Hochgebetes*. Graz: Verlag Styria, 1968.
- Chapman, Raymond. "Linguistics and Liturgy." *Theology* 76 (November 1973): 594–99.
- Chupungco, Ascar J. *Cultural Adaptation of the Liturgy*. New York: Paulist Press, 1982.
- . *Liturgical Inculturation: Sacramentals, Religiosity and Catechesis*. Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1992.
- . *Worship: Progress and Tradition*. Beltsville, Md.: Pastoral Press, 1995.
- Collver III, Albert B. "'Real Presence.' A Confession of the Lord's Supper—The Origin and Development of the Term in the 16th Century." Ph.D. diss., Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 2001.
- Cornehl, Peter. "Theorie des Gottesdienstes—ein Prospekt." *Theologische Quartalschrift* 15, no. 9 (Tübingen 1979): 178–95.
- Costen, Melva Wilson. *American Christian Worship*. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1993.
- Crystal, D. "Linguistics and Liturgy." *Christian Quarterly* 2 (1969): 23–30.
- Cyprian. "De Dominica Oratione." *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 3, 1: *S. Thasci Caecili Cypriani Opera Omnia*. Vindobonae: Apud C. Geroldi Filium Bibliopolam Academiae, 1868, 265–94.

- Dix, Dom Gregory. *The Shape of the Liturgy*. London: A and C Black, 1945.
- Duchesne, L. *Christian Worship: Its Origin and Evolution*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1931.
- Elbogen, Ismar. *Jewish Liturgy: A Comprehensive History*. Trans. Raymond P. Scheidlin. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1993.
- Elert, Werner. *Der Kampf um das Christentum: Geschichte der Beziehungen zwischen dem evanvelischen Christentum in Deutschland und dem allgemeinen Denken seit Shleiermacher und Hegel*. München: C. H. Beck, 1921.
- . *Abendmahl und Kirchengemeinschaft in der alten Kirche hauptsächlich des Ostens*. Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1954. English ed. trans. by Norman E. Nagel. *Eucharist and Church Fellowship in the First Four Centuries*. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1966.
- Emminghaus, Johannes. *The Eucharist: Essence, Form, Celebration*. Trans. Matthew J. O'Connell. Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1978.
- English Language Liturgical Consultation. *Praying Together*. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1988.
- Fenwick, John, and Bryan Spinks. *Worship in Transition: The Liturgical Movement in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Continuum, 1995.
- Flannery, Austin, ed. *Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents*. 1988 rev. ed. Boston: St. Paul Editions, 1987.
- Ford, David F., ed. *The Modern Theologians: An Introduction to Christian Theology in the Twentieth Century*. 2 vols. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989.
- Fortescue, Adrian. *The Mass: A Study of the Roman Liturgy*. London: Longmans, Green, 1912.
- Francis, Mark. *Liturgy in a Multicultural Community*. Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1991.
- Gill, S. D. "Prayer as Person: The Performative Force in Navaho Prayer Acts." *History of Religions* 17 (1977): 143–57.
- Goody, Jack. *The Interface between the Written and the Oral*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.
- Grisbrooke, W. Jardine. "Anaphora." In *The New Westminster Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship*, ed. J. G. Davies, 13–21. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1986.

- Hedegaard, David. *Seder R. Amram Gaon, part 1*. Lund: A/B. Ph. Lindstedts Universitets-Bokhandel, 1951.
- Hill, Charles Leander, trans. *Melanchthon: Selected Writings*. Eds. Elmer Ellsworth Flack and Lowell J. Satre. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1962.
- Horn III, Edward T. "Preparation of the Service Book and Hymnal." In *Liturgical Reconnaissance*, ed. Edgar S. Brown, Jr., 91–101. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1968.
- Hurtado, Larry W. *Lord Jesus Christ: Devotion to Jesus in Early Christianity*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2003.
- Husbands, Mark and Daniel J. Treier, eds. *Justification: What's at Stake in the Current Debates*. Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2004.
- I. C. E. L. "The Problem of Exclusive Language with Regard to Women." *After 23* (1981): 312–17.
- International Consultation on English Texts. *Prayers We Have in Common*. 2nd. rev. ed. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975.
- Irwin, Kevin W. *Context and Text: Method in Liturgical Theology*. Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1994.
- Jagger, P. J. *Bishop Henry de Candole: His Life and Times*. London: Faith Press, 1974.
- Jeffner, A. "Religious Performatives." In *The Study of Religious Language*, 88–108. London: SCM Press, 1972.
- Jeremias, Joachim. *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*. London: SCM Press, 1966.
- Jones, Cheslyn, Geoffrey Wainwright, Edward Yarnold and Paul Bradshaw, eds. *The Study of Liturgy*. Rev. ed. London: SPCK; New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Jungmann, Joseph Andreas. *Missarum Sollemnia: Eine genetische Erklärung der römischen Messe*. 2 vols. Wien: Verlag Herder, 1949. English ed. trans. by Francis A. Brunner. *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development*. 2 vols. New York: Benziger Brothers, 1951–1955.
- . *The Early Liturgy: To the Time of Gregory the Great*. Trans. Francis A. Brunner. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1959.
- Kaufmann, Frank. *Foundations of Modern Church History*. American University Studies, series 7: Theology and Religion, vol. 115. New York: Peter Lang, 1992.
- Kavanagh, Aidan. *On Liturgical Theology*. Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1984.

- Kelleher, Margaret Mary. "Hermeneutics in the Study of Liturgical Performance." *Worship* 67 (July 1993): 292–318.
- Koenker, Ernest Benjamin. *The Liturgical Renaissance in the Roman Catholic Church*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954.
- Kolb, Robert, and James A. Nestingen, eds. *Sources and Contexts of The Book of Concord*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001.
- Kucharek, Casimir. *The Byzantine-Slav Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom: Its Origin and Evolution*. Allendale, N.J.: Alleluia Press, 1971.
- Ladriere, Jean. "The Performativity of Liturgical Language." In *Liturgical Experience of Faith*, eds. Herman Schmidt and David Power, 50–62. New York: Herder and Herder, 1973.
- Lardner, Gerald V. "Liturgy as Communication: A Pragmatics Perspective." Ph.D. diss., Temple University, 1979.
- Larsen, Kenneth J. "Language as Aural." *Worship* 54 (January 1980): 18–35.
- Lietzmann, Hans. *Messe und Herrenmahl: Eine Studie zur Geschichte der Liturgie*. Bonn: A Marcus und E. Weber's Verlag, 1926. English ed. trans. by Dorothea H. G. Reeve. *Mass and Lord's Supper: A Study in the History of the Liturgy with Introduction and Further Inquiry by Robert Douglas Richardson*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979.
- Ligier, Louis. "From the Last Supper to the Eucharist." In *The New Liturgy*, ed. Lancelot Sheppard, 113–50. London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1970.
- Livingston, James C. *Modern Christian Thought from the Enlightenment to Vatican II*. New York: McMillan, 1971.
- Luther, Martin. "An Open Letter to Those in Frankfurt on the Main, 1533." Trans. Jon D. Vieker. *Concordia Journal* 16 (October 1990): 333–51.
- Mackintosh, Hugh Ross. *Types of Modern Theology: Schleiermacher to Barth*. London: Nisbet, 1937.
- Martinich, A. "Sacraments and Speech Acts." *Heythrop Journal* 16 (1975): 289–305.
- Maxwell, J. M. "Inclusive Language in Theology and Worship." *Austin Seminary Bulletin* 97 (1981).
- Melanchthon, Philip. *Apologia Confessionis Augustanae*. Trans. and ed. Horst Georg Pöhlmann. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1967.

- . *Loci Communes 1543*. Trans. J. A. O. Preus. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1992.
- Melmoth, William, trans. *Pliny Letters*, II. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1935.
- Mohler, S. L. “The Bithynian Christian Again.” *Classical Philology* 30 (April 1935): 167–69.
- Mohrmann, Christine. *Liturgical Latin: Its Origins and Character*. London: Burns and Oates, 1957.
- Müller, Karl Ferdinand and Walter Blankenburg, eds. *Leiturgia: Handbuch des evangelischen Gottesdienstes*. 5 vols. Kassel: Johannes Stauda, 1954–1970.
- Mynors, R. A. B. C. *Plini Caecili Secundi: Epistularum Libri Decem*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963.
- Nagel, Norman. “Holy Communion.” In *Lutheran Worship History and Practice*, ed. Fred L. Precht, 290–321. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1993.
- . “Luther’s Understanding of Christ in Relation to His Doctrine of the Lord’s Supper.” Ph. D. diss., University of Cambridge, 1961.
- . “The LORD Is One.” *Concordia Journal* 29 (July 2003): 294–301.
- Neander, August. *History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church by the Apostles*. Trans. J. E. Ryland. Philadelphia: James M. Campbell, 1844.
- Neuser, Wilhelm H. *Die Abendmahlslehre Melanchthons in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung (1519–1530)*. Erziehungsverein: Neukirchener Verlag, 1968.
- Nichols, Bridget. *Liturgical Hermeneutics: Interpreting Liturgical Rites in Performance*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1996.
- Pauck, Wilhelm, ed. *Melanchthon and Bucer*. Library of Christian Classics, vol. 19. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1969.
- Peterson, Erik. *Είς θεός: Epigraphische, formschlichtliche und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1926.
- Pfatteicher, Philip H. *Commentary on the Lutheran Book of Worship: Lutheran Liturgy in Its Ecumenical Context*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1990.
- Pickstock, Catharine. “Liturgy and Language: The Sacred Polis.” In *Liturgy in Dialogue: Essays in Memory of Ronald Jasper*, eds. Paul Bradshaw and Bryan Spinks, 117–38. Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1993.

- Power, David N. *Culture and Theology*. Washington: Pastoral Press, 1990.
- Ramshaw, Gail. *Searching for Language*. Washington: Pastoral Press, 1988.
- Reed, Luther D. "The Common Service in the Life of the Church." *Una Sancta* 23 (Christmass 1966): 27–38.
- Reumann, John. *The Supper of the Lord: The New Testament, Ecumenical Dialogues, and Faith and Order on Eucharist*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985.
- Richard, James William. *Philip Melancthon: The Protestant Preceptor of Germany 1497–1560*. New York: Burt Franklin Reprints, 1974.
- Routley, E. "Sexist Language: A View From a Distance." *Worship* 53 (1979): 2–11.
- Salzmann, Jorg Christian. "Pliny (ep. 10, 96) and Christian Liturgy—A Reconsideration." *Studia Patristica* 20 (1989): 389–95.
- Schaff, Philip. *Germany, Its Universities, Theology, and Religion, with Sketches of Neander, Tholuck, Olshausen, Hengstenberg, Twesten, Nitzsch, Muller, Ullmann, Rothe, Dorner, Lange, Ebrard, Wichern, and Other Distinguished German Divines of the Age*. Philadelphia: Landsay and Blakiston, 1857.
- Schilling, S. Paul. *Contemporary Continental Theologians*. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1966.
- Schleiermacher, Friedrich. "Die christliche Sitte." In *Friedrich Schleiermacher's sämtliche Werke* 1/12, ed. Ludwig Jonas, 506–706. 2nd ed. Berlin: G. Reimer, 1884.
- . "Die praktische Theologie." In *Friedrich Schleiermacher's sämtliche Werke* 1/13, ed. Jacob Frerichs, 68–82. Berlin: G. Reimer, 1850.
- Schmemmann, Alexander. *For the Life of the World: Sacraments and Orthodoxy*. Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1963.
- Schmidt, H. "Language and Its Function in Christian Worship." *Studia Liturgica* 8 (1970–1972): 1–25.
- Shaughnessy, James D. ed. *The Roots of Ritual*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1973.
- Speight, Robert. "Liturgy and Language." *Theology* 74 (October 1971): 444–56.
- Spinks, Bryan D. "The Original Form of the Anaphora of the Apostles: A Suggestion in the Light of Maronite Sharar." *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 91 (1977): 146–61.
- . "Beware the Liturgical Horses! An English Interjection on Anaphoral Evolution." *Worship* 59 (May 1985): 211–19.

- . *The Sanctus in the Eucharistic Prayer*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Stevenson, J., ed. *A New Eusebius: Documents Illustrating the History of the Church to AD 337*. Revised W. H. C. Frend. London: SPCK, 1987.
- Stringer, Martin D. "Liturgy and Anthropology: The History of Relationship." *Worship* 63 (November 1989): 503–21.
- Taft, Robert F. "The Dialogue before the Anaphora in the Byzantine Eucharistic Liturgy. I: The Opening Greeting." *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 52, no. 1 (1986): 299–324.
- . "The Dialogue before the Anaphora in the Byzantine Eucharistic Liturgy. II: The *Sursum Corda*." *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 54, no. 1 (1988): 47–77.
- . "The Dialogue before the Anaphora in the Byzantine Eucharistic Liturgy. III: 'Let Us Give Thanks to the Lord—It Is Fitting and Right.'" *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 55, no. 1 (1989): 63–74.
- . "Reconstructing the History of the Byzantine Communion Ritual: Principles, Methods, Results." *Ecclesia Orans* 11 (1994): 355–77.
- . "Comparative Liturgy Fifty Years after Anton Baumstark (d. 1948): A Reply to Recent Critics." *Worship* 73 (November 1999): 521–40.
- Vogel, Cyrille. *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*. Rev. and trans. William G. Storey and Niels Krogh Rasmussen. Washington, D.C.: Pastoral Press, 1986.
- Ware, James H. *Not with Words of Wisdom: Performative Language and Liturgy*. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1981.
- Wengert, Timothy J. "Luther's Catechisms and the Lord's Supper." *Word and World* 17 (Winter 1997): 54–60.
- Werner, Eric. *The Sacred Bridge*. London: Dennis Dobson, 1959.
- Wheelock, W. T. "The Problem of Ritual Language: From Information to Situation." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 50 (1982): 49–71.
- Williams, A. Lukyn. *Tractate Berakoth (Benedictions) Mishna and Tosephta*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1921.
- Winger, Thomas M. "Orality as the Key to Understanding Apostolic Proclamation in the Epistles." Doctor of Theology diss., Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 1997.

Wyschogrod, Michael. "The 'Shema Israel' in Judaism and the New Testament." In *The Roots of Our Common Faith: Faith in the Scriptures and in the Early Church*, ed. Hans-Georg Link, 23–32. Faith and Order Paper, no. 119. Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1984.

De Zan, Renato. "Criticism and Interpretation of Liturgical Texts." In *Handbook for Liturgical Studies*. Vol. 1: *Introduction to the Liturgy*, ed. Anscar J. Chupungco, 364–65. Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1997.

Zimmermann, Joyce Ann. *Liturgy as Language of Faith: A Liturgical Methodology in the Mode of Paul Ricoeur's Textual Hermeneutics*. Lanham: University Press of America, 1988.

———. *Liturgy and Hermeneutics*. Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1999.

VITA

Naomichi Masaki

May 7, 1961

Kobe, Japan

Secondary Institutions Attended

Mikage High School, Kobe, Japan, 1977–79, 80–81.

Rødde Følkehøgskole, Rødde, Norway, 1979–80.

Collegiate Institution Attended

Kwansei Gakuin University, Nishinomiya, Japan, B.A., 1985.

Graduate Institutions Attended

Kwansei Gakuin University, Nishinomiya, Japan, M.A., 1987.

Concordia Theological Seminary, Ft. Wayne, Indiana, M.Div., 1991.

Concordia Theological Seminary, Ft. Wayne, Indiana, S.T.M., 1998.

Previous Theses and Publications

“A Clinical Study of Families with a Child Refusing to Attend School: An Approach according to the Family System’s Theory.” B.A. thesis, Kwansei Gakuin University, 1985.

“An Empirical Study of a Family Functional Model: A Critical Evaluation from the Construct Validation Paradigm of the Process Model of Family Functioning and Its Clinical Rating Scale.” M.A. thesis, Kwansei Gakuin University, 1987.

“The Process Model of Family Functioning and Its Clinical Rating Scale: A Critical Evaluation from the Construct Validation Paradigm.” *Kwansei Gakuin Sociology Department Studies* 64 (November 1991): 211–22.

Martin Luther’s Small Catechism. Trans. Ridgewood, N.J.: Megumi Evangelical Lutheran Church, 1992.

Divine Service. Ridgewood, N.J.: Megumi Evangelical Lutheran Church, 1996.

“The Evangelist: The Sacramental Shape of the Church’s Mission to the Japanese.” In *The Office of the Holy Ministry*, eds. John R. Fehrmann and Daniel Preus, 188–213. Crestwood, Mo.: Luther Academy; Minneapolis: Association of Confessional Lutherans, 1996.

Introduction to the Christian Faith through Catechism and Liturgy. Ridgewood, N.J.: Megumi Evangelical Lutheran Church, 1996.

Review of *Transforming Congregations for the Future*, by Loren B. Mead. *Logia* 5, no. 4 (Reformation 1996): 50–52.

- “Genesis as Catechesis: Sacramental Instruction of Dr. Martin Luther according to His Lectures on Genesis 1535–1545.” S.T.M. thesis, Concordia Theological Seminary, Ft. Wayne, Indiana, 1997.
- “Confessing Christ: Office and Vocation.” *Logia* 7, no. 3 (Holy Trinity 1998): 5–11.
- “Liturgy and Culture: Can the Liturgy Be Made to Reflect a Particular Culture?” In *Through the Church the Song Goes On: Preparing a Lutheran Hymnal for the 21st Century*, eds. Paul J. Grime, D. Richard Stuckwisch, Jon D. Vieker, 127–43. St. Louis: Commission on Worship, The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, 1999.
- “Pietism and Japan.” In *Pietism and Lutheranism*, The Pieper Lectures, volume 3, ed. John A. Maxfield, 165–84. St. Louis: Concordia Historical Institute; Crestwood, MO: The Luther Academy, 1999.
- Review of *A History of Japanese Theology*, Yasuo Furuya ed. *Logia* 9, no. 2 (Eastertide 2000): 48–49.
- “It Is Not Ours but *the Lord’s Supper*.” *For the Life of the World* 6, no. 3 (July 2002): 7–10.
- Day, J. Bart, Jon D. Vieker, Albert B. Collver, Scott A. Bruzek, Kent J. Burreson, Martin E. Concling, Naomichi Masaki, eds. *Lord Jesus Christ, Will You Not Stay: Essays in Honor of Ronald Feuerhahn on the Occasion of His Sixty-fifth Birthday*. Houston: Feuerhahn Festschrift Committee, 2002.