

Concordia Seminary - Saint Louis

## Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary

---

Master of Sacred Theology Thesis

Concordia Seminary Scholarship

---

5-1-1961

### The Doctrine of the Universal Priesthood of Believers and its Exemplification in Pre-Reformation and Reformation Hymnody

Fred Precht

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



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

---

#### Recommended Citation

Precht, Fred, "The Doctrine of the Universal Priesthood of Believers and its Exemplification in Pre-Reformation and Reformation Hymnody" (1961). *Master of Sacred Theology Thesis*. 262.  
<https://scholar.csl.edu/stm/262>

This Thesis 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 Master of Sacred Theology Thesis by an authorized administrator of Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary. For more information, please contact [seitzw@csl.edu](mailto:seitzw@csl.edu).

UNIVERSAL PRIESTHOOD IN HYMNODY; Precht; S.T.M., 1961

THE DOCTRINE OF THE UNIVERSAL PRIESTHOOD OF BELIEVERS  
AND ITS EXEMPLIFICATION IN PRE-REFORMATION  
AND REFORMATION HYMNODY

---

A Thesis Presented to the Faculty  
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,  
Department of Systematic Theology  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Master of Sacred Theology

---


by

Fred L. Precht

May 1961

10198

Approved by

  
Adviser

  
Reader

BV  
407D  
C69  
M3  
1961  
no. 11  
c. 2

10198

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In this writer's knowledge there has been no previous study made in the United States of the history of the theological relationship existing between the office of the ministry and the universal priesthood of all believers. The above TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
II. AN EXAMINATION OF I PETER 2:5; 2:9 . . . . .	2
III. THE EARLY CHURCH . . . . .	19
IV. THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH IN THE WEST . . . . .	37
V. THE LUTHERAN REFORMATION . . . . .	43
VI. CONCLUSION . . . . .	65
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	67

every period of the Church, from the earliest Greek hymnographers to the Lutheran hymnists prior to 1618, and to correlate such findings with representative systems of statements from the corresponding periods.

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

To this writer's knowledge there has been no previous study made in the School for Graduate Studies of Concordia Seminary of the theological relationship existing between the office of the ministry and the universal priesthood of believers. The unresolved tension often arising between these two and the practical prominence which the universal priesthood of believers has come to occupy in The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod suggests the desirability of considering the latter in terms of a hymnological-systematic approach in order more clearly to discern from this specific practical point of view the actual significance of this doctrine in the life of the Church.

The method has been to examine the available collections of hymnological and related liturgical materials of every period of the Church, from the earliest Greek hymnographers to the Lutheran hymnists prior to 1618, and to correlate such findings with representative systematic statements from the corresponding periods.

As the opening verses of this epistle indicates, St. Peter is addressing these words "to the strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia."

<sup>1</sup>William Ernst, "Royal Priesthood I Peter 2:9," *Concordia Theological Monthly*, VII (April, 1940), 241.

## CHAPTER II

### AN EXAMINATION OF I PETER 2:5; 2:9

The sedes doctrinae for the so-called doctrine of the universal or royal priesthood of all believers is contained in I Peter 2:5.9; Rev. 1:6; 5:10; 20:6. Other references to priests or to the priesthood are either to the priestly office of Christ or to Jewish or pagan priests. Of the passages cited above, I Peter 2:9 is most frequently considered the locus classicus. It reads: ὑμεῖς δὲ γένος ἐκλεκτόν, βασιλῆιον ἱεράτευμα, ἑθνος ἅγιον, λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν, ὅπως τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐξαγγείλητε τοῦ ἐκ σκότους ὑμᾶς καλέσαντος εἰς τὸ θαυμαστόν αὐτοῦ φῶς.

The Revised Standard Version translates this: "But you are a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, God's own people, that you may declare the wonderful deeds of him who called you out of darkness into his marvelous light."

St. Peter is here contrasting the dark destiny of the unbelieving world with the blessed state and high privilege of the believer and is pointing up the true dignity of a Christian.<sup>1</sup> As the opening verse of this epistle indicates, St. Peter is addressing these words "to the strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia."

---

<sup>1</sup>William Arndt, "Royal Priesthood I Peter 2:9." Concordia Theological Monthly, XII (April, 1948), 241.

In the midst of trials and persecutions for their faith he attempts to encourage and comfort them. In the first chapter he portrays the blessed hope of an incorruptible inheritance which is theirs; in the second chapter their exalted position and true calling.

St. Peter is here quoting from the Septuagint and dwelling upon the thought of Exodus 19:5-6: "Now, therefore, if you will obey my voice indeed and keep my covenant, you shall be my own possession among all peoples; for all the earth is mine, and you shall be to me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation." When the Law was promulgated on Mt. Sinai, God made this statement to the Israelites by the mouth of Moses. It is significant to note that these words were addressed to all the Israelites and not only to the Levitical priesthood. As Buszin states:

As priests, all true Israelites were to give instruction to their children (Deut. 4:9-10; 6:7, 20 ff.) and sacrifice the paschal lamb (Ex. 12). This priesthood was a gift of God, not something one could work for and merit, for we read: I have given your priest's office unto you as a service of gift (Num. 18:7).<sup>2</sup>

I Peter 2:9 harks back to various passages in the Old Testament. *γένος ἐκλεκτὸν* reflects Isaiah 43:20: *Ποτίσαι τὸ γένος μου τὸ ἐκλεκτὸν . βασιλείου ἱεράτευμα* reflects Exodus 19:6: *ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔσεσθε μου βασιλείου ἱεράτευμα*, as likewise also *ἔθνος ἁγίον*

---

<sup>2</sup>Walter E. Buszin, "The Doctrine of the Universal Priesthood and Its Influence Upon the Liturgies and Music of the Lutheran Church," Valparaiso University Pamphlet Series, No. 2 (June 1, 1946), pp. 99-100.



λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν reflects Exodus 19:5.6: ἔσεσθε μοὶ λαὸς περιούσιος ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν. ἐμὴ γάρ ἐστίν πᾶσα ἡ γῆ. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔσεσθε μοὶ βασιλῆιον ἱεράτευμα καὶ ἔθνος ἅγιον.

In the repetition of the Law in Deuteronomy we find similar expressions, for example, in Deuteronomy 7:6; 14:2; 26:18.

The Lord tells Malachi (3:17): "They shall be mine, says the Lord of hosts, my special possession on the day when I act, and I will spare them, as a man spares his son who serves him." The last words of I Peter 2:9: ὅπως τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐξαγγείλητε τοῦ ἐκ σκοτόυς ὑμᾶς καλέσαντος εἰς τὸ λαμπρὸν αὐτοῦ φῶς are reflected in

Isaiah 43:21: λαὸν μοὶ, ὃν περιποίησάμεν τὰς ἀρετὰς μοὶ διηγεῖσθαι.

The above passages from the Old Testament recognize a participation of all the people in the priesthood without excluding the existence of a special category of priests. Peter emphasizes that what had been said of God's chosen people in the Old Testament applies also to the Christian community of the New Testament.

In I Peter 2:9 γένος ἐκλεκτόν implies that the Christian community by the love of God has been elected to be a people which no longer belongs to this world. γένος signifies race, family, emphasizing lineage and descent. Although the term is frequently employed to designate the Jewish people specifically (Philippians 3:5; Galatians 1:14;

Acts 7:19), here it is applied to the Christian community reflecting the usage in Isaiah 43:20.<sup>3</sup> In the term *γένος* is evidenced the fact that all the individual members are sons of a common father and are brethren (Acts 13:16). It is to be noted that this situation is predicated of the Christian community as an already present condition.

*ἐκλεκτόν* shows that this is an act complete in God Himself. God has done the selecting and choosing from the great mass of people.<sup>4</sup>

The expression *ἕθνος ἄγιον* ties in with the foregoing, for this implies that the believers are wholly set apart for God as being His own.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, as Wuest states, Christians are a multitude of people having the same nature.<sup>6</sup>

Bauer renders *λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν* as "a people for God's own possession." The verb *περιποιέω* has the force of to "rescue and acquire" or to "preserve for one's self."<sup>7</sup> From the Septuagint usage *λαός* is trans-

<sup>3</sup>Friedrich Buechsel, *γένος*, Theologisches Woerterbuch zum Neuen Testament, edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich (Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1935--). I, 684. Subsequently this work will be referred to as TWNT.

<sup>4</sup>Walter Bauer, Griechisch-Deutsches Woerterbuch (vierte Auflage; Berlin: Verlag Alfred Toepelmann, 1952), p. 439.

<sup>5</sup>Karl Schmidt, *ἕθνος* im Neuen Testament, TWNT, II, 366 ff.

<sup>6</sup>Kenneth Wuest, First Peter in the Greek New Testament (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1942), p. 56.

<sup>7</sup>Bauer, op. cit., p. 1183.

ferred to mean the Christian community (Acts 15:14; 18:10; Romans 9:25 ff.; I Peter 2:9; Hebrews 4:9). When in Acts 15:14 James quotes Simeon as saying that "God first visited the Gentiles to take out of them a people for his name" this was an astounding and revolutionary statement. Up to this time λαός and ἔθνη were opposites. Now there arises out of the ἔθνη a λαός disassociated from all national conditions. The concept λαός takes on a new meaning. Faith in the Gospel, born of Holy Baptism, becomes the distinguishing mark. Beside Israel there arises a new λαός by another right. St. Peter is here employing this usage in drawing upon the Old Testament (Exodus 19:5.6) and transferring it to the Christian community.<sup>8</sup>

In the terms γένος, ἔθνος, λαός Christians are thought of in terms of a community united together in itself. Regardless of nationality, all believers, reborn in Holy Baptism, belong to God. He has gathered and joined them to form one people. In writing to the Galatians St. Paul bears this out when he says (3:28): "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus."

St. Peter also refers to the believers as ἱεράτευμα, a collective noun, signifying a college or a group of priests. We know, of course, that in English the term "priesthood" may also signify the office of a priest. For this meaning St.

---

<sup>8</sup>Hermann Strathmann, λαός im Neuen Testament, TWNT, IV, 53 ff.

Luke uses *ἱερατεία* (1:9).<sup>9</sup> Drawing upon the Septuagint evidence, Schrenk says that *ἱερατεύω* signifies a priestly body.<sup>10</sup> Thus *ἱερατεύω*, as a collective term identifies the ekklesia. St. Peter is addressing his words to the Christians, the members of the ekklesia referred to in chapter 1:1.2, when he calls them "a royal priesthood." These "are all the sons of God through faith," as St. Paul states in Galatians 3:26. All Christians are members of the priesthood. The bond that unites them is faith in Jesus Christ born of Holy Baptism.<sup>11</sup>

St. Peter refers to this priesthood as a βασιλικὸν ἱεράτευμα. The relationship of βασιλικὸν to ἱεράτευμα has evoked not a few interpretations and opinions amongst exegetes. Luther,<sup>12</sup> Stoeckhardt<sup>13</sup> and Lenski hold what might be termed a dual view, namely, that the Christian is both a king and a priest. Lenski says that the believers are "as a body of royal priests." No man stands over us in our relation to God.<sup>14</sup> He further amplifies this thought by

<sup>9</sup>Arndt, op. cit., p. 244.

<sup>10</sup>Gottlob Schrenk, ἱεράτευμα, TWNT, III, 249 ff.

<sup>11</sup>Arndt, op. cit., p. 247.

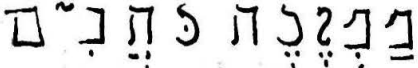
<sup>12</sup>Martin Luther, Von der Fröiheit eines Christenmenschen. Martin Luthers Werke (Weimar: Hermann Boehlau, 1883--), 7, 27, 29. Hereafter this edition will be referred to simply as WA.

<sup>13</sup>Arndt, op. cit., p. 244.

<sup>14</sup>R. H. C. Lenski, The Interpretation of the Epistles of St. Peter, St. John, and St. Jude (Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1938), p. 101.

stating:

Both adjective and noun denote our objective standing with God through Jesus Christ . . . . The basic concept is found in the word "priesthood," the addition is the adjective "royal," hence the thought is not "a kingdom consisting entirely of priests"; but "priests who are royal," like Melchizedek and thus like Christ.<sup>15</sup>

Arndt questions the validity of using βασιλευον here as a noun, for βασιλευος is an adjective conveying the idea of possession, while βασιλευκος denotes ability, fitness.<sup>16</sup> Concerning the expression  in Exodus 19:6, upon which I Peter 2:9 draws, Schrenk says: "The expression 'Kingdom of Priests' may be traced back to an epoch in which it may well have implied that all Israelites should be priests, a kingdom which consists of priests."<sup>17</sup> He furthermore states that βασιλευον, true to the sense of the Septuagint, conveys the idea of belonging to a king. This priesthood serves the king. And since it belongs to the king, it participates in his splendour.<sup>18</sup> This is a kingdom in which all the subjects are priests. It is this type of picture that is here held before us: "As a royal army is an army belonging to a king, so a royal priesthood is a class of priests that owes its allegiance to a king, in this case to Christ, the Son of God, true God Himself."<sup>19</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 103.

<sup>16</sup>Arndt, loc. cit.

<sup>17</sup>Schrenk, loc. cit.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

<sup>19</sup>Arndt, op. cit., p. 246.

With the privilege of being "a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, God's own people" Peter also emphasizes the responsibility attached thereto. The Christians whom he addresses are also to "declare the wonderful deeds of him who called you out of darkness into his marvelous light."

*ἄρστας* emphasizes God's mighty deeds and acts, particularly for man's salvation.<sup>20</sup>

*ἔξαγγεῖλντε* implies to proclaim, to tell, to announce effectively. Another way of stating this is "to confess Him or His name before men."<sup>21</sup> The Gospel accent should not be overlooked in this verb.<sup>22</sup>

The believers have been made members of this royal priesthood for a specific purpose, namely, to proclaim the good news of the grace of God in Jesus Christ. Arndt says of this purpose clause:

God has done great things for you; He has taken you out of the desert of darkness and death and brought you into the garden of life and light. Shout this from the housetops and tell the people that what He has done for you he is eager to do for others, in fact, for all.<sup>23</sup>

In connection with the believers' responsibility of proclaiming the mercy and goodness of God, St. Peter also contrasts the believer's relation to God to that of the unbe-

---

<sup>20</sup>Otto Bauernfeind, *ἄρστας*. TWNT, I, 461.

<sup>21</sup>Lenski, op. cit., p. 103.

<sup>22</sup>Julius Schniewind, *ἔξαγγεῖλω*. TWNT, I, 61.

<sup>23</sup>Arndt, op. cit., p. 247.

liever with the words: "who called you out of darkness into his marvelous light."

σκότους , darkness, portrays the unhappy and sinful condition of unregenerate man.<sup>24</sup> Undoubtedly the Apostle is using this term with special reference to the former state of heathenism of his readers.

φῶς , light, the very opposite, reminded the believers that they had been transferred from the "state of blindness, lifelessness and death . . . to the light of truth, life and blessedness found in the kingdom of grace."<sup>25</sup>

Before leaving this locus classicus (I Peter 2:9) a brief word should be said concerning the participle καλέσαντος . Derived from καλέω , it implies the conversion of the sinner, the effectual calling (verbum efficax) on the part of God, a calling to His salvation gifts.<sup>26</sup> It is not employed in the New Testament to mean the calling of one into the office of the holy ministry.<sup>27</sup>

For our purposes the statement of I Peter 2:5 is also worthy of note. It reads: καὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς λίθου Ἰῶντες οὐκοδομεῖσθε οἶκος πνευματικὸς εἰς ἱεράτευμα

<sup>24</sup>Bauer, op. cit., p. 1378.

<sup>25</sup>Lenski, op. cit., pp. 103-104.

<sup>26</sup>K. L. Schmidt, καλέω . TWNT, III, 489-490.

<sup>27</sup>Galatians 1:15.16 has been cited as a possible exception. Those who translate ἐν ἐμοί with "through me" instead of "in me," as the King James version does, ascribe to the meaning of calling into the ministry. The context of this entire chapter, however, seems to point mainly to Paul's conversion and not to his going forth to convert the Gentiles.

ἀγιον, ἀνεπέγκαι πνευματικᾶς δοξίας  
 εὐπροσδέκτους θεῶ διὰ Ἰησοῦ  
 Χριστοῦ.

With the words καὶ αὐτοὶ Peter places the Christian side by side with Christ, for in the previous verse he speaks of Christ as a λίθος ζωῶν . The believers are living stones through Him,<sup>28</sup> by virtue of their union with Him.

οἰκοδομῆω is used by St. Peter in an allegorical sense, finding its origin and basis in such passages as Isaiah 28:16; 8:14; Exodus 19:6. The Christological references such as "Cornerstone" and "Stone of Stumbling" are here transferred from a building or house to the congregation. οἰκοδομῆσθε is not to be understood alone in a parabolic sense, but as a pointing to the spiritual building up of the individual within the congregation.<sup>29</sup> The form could be construed as present indicative or imperative, middle or passive. Huther takes it as a present imperative passive, "be ye built up."<sup>30</sup> This construction appears to be best when considering the thought in the previous verses.

---

<sup>28</sup>Arndt, op. cit., p. 246.

<sup>29</sup>Otto Michel, οἰκοδομῆω im Neuen Testament.  
TWNT, V, 145.

<sup>30</sup>John E. Huther, "Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the General Epistles of James, Peter, John and Jude, "Meyer's Commentary on the New Testament, translated from the Third Edition of the German by Paton J. Gloag, D. B. Green, and Clarke H. Irwin; American editor, Timothy Dwight (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1887); p. 246.



The Revised Standard Version so understands it when it reads in verses 4 and 5:

Come to Him, to that living stone, rejected by men but in God's sight chosen and precious; and like living stones be yourselves built into a spiritual house, to be a holy priesthood, to offer spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ.

This construction also brings out that it is God alone Who is the Cause and Power of the believer's life in Christ. Luther favors the use of the middle voice. In his interpretation of I Peter 2:5 he says:

How can we build ourselves up? By the Gospel and that which is preached. The builders are the preachers; the Christians who hear the Gospel are they who are built and the stones which are to be fitted on this cornerstone; so that we are to repose our confidence on Him and let our hearts stand and rest upon Him.<sup>31</sup>

In the final analysis, whether middle or passive, the results are not too dissimilar.

The phrase ὡς λίθου τῶντες οἰκοδομεῖσθε brings to the fore a community concept. The believers are individuals, but individuals bound to each other and built up together upon Jesus Christ. And they are to be built up into a οἶκος πνευματικός . To this Lenski says:

οἶκος does not mean a dwelling for a family; all priests do not dwell in one residence, and still less do they offer up sacrifices in their residences. Both the reference to "priesthood" and to "sacrifices" make this house a temple or sanctuary in which God dwells and receives these sacrifices.<sup>32</sup>

It is a plausible conjecture that the house is described

---

<sup>31</sup>WA, XII, 306.

<sup>32</sup>Lenski, op. cit., pp. 114 ff.

as "spiritual" because it is made of  $\lambda\acute{\iota}\theta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \zeta\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  by the Spirit of God in contradistinction to the temple which was constructed from dead stones. God's Spirit stamped His mark upon the stones which compose the Holy Christian Church.<sup>33</sup>

As Christ is the  $\lambda\acute{\iota}\theta\omicron\varsigma \zeta\acute{\omega}\nu$  (I Peter 2:4), so the Christians are  $\lambda\acute{\iota}\theta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \zeta\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ . They are built up into the "spiritual house," namely, a "holy priesthood" which offer up spiritual God-pleasing sacrifices (I Peter 2:5). In Ephesians 2:20.21 the Christians are portrayed as building stones and, as the context indicates, this concept is derived from the picture of the apostles and prophets as the basis for the building of God. The attribute "living" points up the allegorical character of the building. the truth that this spiritual life which Christians possess comes from Christ, the "Living Stone."<sup>34</sup>

The "living stones" which are built into this "spiritual house" are also the body of priests who minister in this house and these priests are holy.<sup>35</sup> This can be considered the climax of the comparison. St. Peter is reminding the believers of their high calling as "a holy priesthood."

And what is the purpose of this holy priesthood? Peter

---

<sup>33</sup>Huther, op. cit., p. 247.

<sup>34</sup>Joachim Jeremias, Die Christen als lebendige Steine. TWNT, IV, 283.

<sup>35</sup>Charles Bigg, "The Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude," International Critical Commentary on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905), LXI, 129.

says: ἀνεβήκαυ πνευματικὰς θυσίας εὐπροσδέκτους  
 θεῷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. ἀνεβήκαυ

is the first aorist infinitive of ἀναφέρω which means "to carry up" or "to offer up." St. Peter is picturing the Old Testament priest as carrying the sacrifice up to the altar. However, as Wuest states, these sacrifices of the Old Testament type are no longer necessary since Christ, the great High Priest, offered Himself as the All-Sufficient Sacrifice upon the Altar of the Cross.<sup>36</sup>

Concerning the matter of priest and sacrifice it is significant to note that when we look at the fairly comprehensive catalogues of the activities of the early Church as presented in I Corinthians 12:28-30 and Ephesians 4:11-12 there is no mention of priests. Manson says: "One is tempted to conclude that at this stage in the history of the Christian community there was no room for the regular priesthood, as priesthood was understood at that time."<sup>37</sup> On the other hand, however, for the early Palestinian Church, which bowed to and accepted the Old Testament as authoritative, the word "priest" could only refer to a member of the existing Jewish priestly family.<sup>38</sup> The priestly functions of such could only be carried out in the Temple at Jerusalem.

<sup>36</sup>Wuest, op. cit., p. 53.

<sup>37</sup>T. W. Manson, Ministry and Priesthood: Christ's and Ours (London: The Epworth Press, 1958), p. 44.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

In the Gospels Jesus Himself makes no use of the concept of priesthood. He does not claim to be a priest; it is not a part of His message; neither does He refer to His disciples as priests. On the other hand Christ and His disciples thought of the Temple as a natural place to go and worship God. In fact in the early days of the Jerusalem congregation the Temple served as a place for meeting, preaching and worship.<sup>39</sup>

The early Christian writers, however, in looking back upon Christ's passion found appropriate words to describe it in the terminology of Old Testament sacrifices. St. Paul speaks of Christ as the Passover Lamb sacrificed for us (I Corinthians 5:7). To the Romans he writes: "Whom (Christ Jesus) God put forward as an expiation by his blood, to be received by faith" (3:25). To the Ephesians he says: "Christ loved us and gave himself up for us, a fragrant offering and sacrifice to God" (5:2). St. John quotes St. John the Baptist as saying: "Behold the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world" (1:29.36). In Revelation 5:6 the exalted Christ appears to John as a Lamb slain in sacrifice. Again St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke and St. Paul, speaking of the institution of the Last Supper, make reference to a covenant and blood shed in connection therewith.<sup>40</sup> This, however, is a self-sacrifice in which Christ

---

<sup>39</sup>Acts 2:46; 3:1; 5:21-26; 20:16; 21:17-26.

<sup>40</sup>See Joachim Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, translated from the second German edition by Arnold Ehrhardt (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1955), pp. 146 ff.

is both priest and victim.

It is the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews who develops the idea of Christ as High Priest in connection with the ritual of the Day of Atonement. Here we have really the Christian counterpart of the Jewish concept of piacular sacrifice, a unique and precious contribution to the total picture.

Let us again return to our consideration of I Peter 2:5 and particularly to the expression "to offer spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Christ Jesus." To ascertain what such "spiritual sacrifices" are to consist in we must go to other passages of Scripture. Hebrews 13:15 says: "Through him let us continually offer up a sacrifice of praise to God, that is, the first fruit of lips that acknowledge his name." In the next verse (13:16) reference is made to the sacrifice of alms: "Do not neglect to do good and to share what you have, for such sacrifices are pleasing to God." In Philipians 2:17 St. Paul speaks of his being poured as a libation "upon the sacrificial offering of your faith." Here even faith, the act of believing, of becoming and being a Christian is considered to be a libation. The cogency of this statement is borne out particularly when we interpret this passage in the light of Romans 15:16: "to be a minister of Christ Jesus to the Gentiles in the priestly service of the gospel of God, so that the offering of the Gentiles may be acceptable, sanctified by the Holy Spirit." As Piepkorn rightly states:

Thus St. Paul conceived of his proclamation of the Gospel as a priestly act in which he was offering his hearers to God as a sacrifice and they were being made acceptable to God by the hallowing operation of the Holy Spirit.<sup>41</sup>

Piepkorn points out that the Apology of the Augsburg Confession translates Romans 15:16 thus:

I sacrifice the Gospel of God, that the oblation of the nations might become acceptable, sanctified by the Holy Spirit, that is, that the nations might be sacrificial victims acceptable to God through faith.<sup>42</sup>

In Philippians 3:3 St. Paul contrasts the true spiritual worship of the New Covenant with the external rites of the Old when he asserts: "For we are the true circumcision, who worship God in spirit, and glory in Christ Jesus, and put no confidence in the flesh." Revelation 8:34 refers to the sacrifice of prayer: "And the smoke of the incense rose with the prayers of the saints from the hand of the angel before God." In Romans 12:1 St. Paul makes the sweeping assertion: "I appeal to you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, to present your bodies as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, which is your spiritual worship."

---

<sup>41</sup>Arthur Carl Piepkorn, "Sacrament, Sacrifice and Stewardship." Proceedings of the 78th Convention of the Michigan District of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, held at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, August 21-25, 1960, p. 11.

<sup>42</sup>Apology, XXIV, 34. Die Bekenntsschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche, edited by Hans Lietzmann (2. verbesserte Auflage; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1952), p. 359. The Latin original reads thus: Sacrificio evangelium Dei, ut oblatio gentium fiat accepta, sanctificata spiritu sancto, id est, ut gentes fiant hostiae acceptae Deo per fidem. All subsequent references to the Lutheran Confessions are taken from this work.

Here λογικόν is clearly distinguished from the blood sacrifice of the victim. Just as Christ, the High Priest, gave Himself to God, so are the members of the Holy Priesthood to give themselves to God as their "spiritual worship." These spiritual sacrifices offered up by the Holy Priesthood are εὐπροσδέκτος θεῷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, namely, they are offered through Christ, the High Priest. It is only through Him that they are acceptable to God.

It is the task of this paper to trace the history and development of this universal priesthood as it is reflected in Christian hymnody and, to a certain degree, in the related liturgical materials and practices. In the pursuit of this task it has been our method, at least with respect to the hymnody, to take especial note of certain expressions and key words which express the concepts of sacrifice and priestly functions such as offer, bring, sacrifice, gift, altar, victim. Not dismissed were also such corporate expressions as "we" and its cognates.

It was only natural that the early New Testament Church should take the example of Jesus and His disciples and use the Psalms in their worship. The Apostle Paul makes specific mention of the Psalms in his two almost identical exhortations to the Ephesians and Colossians.<sup>1</sup> The references, however, in these instances to "songs and spiritual songs"

<sup>1</sup> Eph. 5:19; Col. 3:16.

## CHAPTER III

### THE EARLY CHURCH

It is an indisputable fact that the children of God have always employed song in their worship. In the very midst of the Old Testament Scriptures we find a divinely inspired hymnal -- the Book of Psalms. Possibly no other hymnbook has so profoundly reflected the hopes, the fears, the joys and sorrows, the longings and aspirations of human beings.

Our Lord was well acquainted with the Psalms. Undoubtedly He had learned them as a child. He sang the great Hallel hymns (Psalms 113-118) in the celebration of the Passover Feast at the family table. And even on the night of His betrayal SS. Matthew and Mark relate that the final act of worship in the upper room consisted in the singing of a song of praise. Two of the seven words from the Cross are quotations from the Psalms.

It was only natural that the early New Testament Church should follow the example of Jesus and His disciples and use the Psalms in their worship. The Apostle Paul makes specific mention of the Psalms in his two almost identical exhortations to the Ephesians and Colossians.<sup>1</sup> The references, however, in these instances to "hymns and spiritual songs"

---

<sup>1</sup>Eph. 5:19; Col. 3:16.



also indicates the introduction of a new element in Christian worship. Hymns had to be produced and utilized which more clearly and appropriately reflected the New Covenant. Although as early as the second century the church began to use portions of the then existent New Testament writings as canticles, for example, Gloria in excelsis, Magnificat, and Nunc dimittis, as well as the Old Testament Sanctus hymns of human composition were soon introduced.

Tertullian of the second century, before defecting to Montanism, makes the remark that when a believer at a love feast was invited to sing a song of praise he might choose "something either taken from Scriptures, or of his own composition."<sup>2</sup>

Like the language of the New Testament, the language of the first Christian hymns was Greek. As Wellesz states, the earliest hymns tended to preserve contact with the traditional Jewish treasury of Psalms and hymns. Later, when the Church came in closer touch with the pagan civilization the hymns became more modelled along the lines of Hellenistic pagan poetry.<sup>3</sup> Gnosticism produced a goodly number of hymns by such men as Basilides, Valentinus and Bardesanes. It must be borne in mind that hymns then as always mirror the evolution of dogmatic ideas and doctrines and have played an im-

---

<sup>2</sup>E. E. Ryden, The Story of Christian Hymnody (Rock Island-Augustana Press, 1959), p. 7.

<sup>3</sup>Egon Wellesz, A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949), p. 119.

portant role in promulgating the Christian faith and combating error. Thus, the hymns of any given period do reflect the dogma preached and taught as do likewise the liturgies. In fact to stem the spread of Gnostic heresy in hymnody Wellesz says:

Towards the end of the fourth century the Council of Laodicea prohibited the singing of private (*ιδιωτικῶς*) psalms in Churches, admitting only "the book of the hundred and fifty psalms." This step was taken to check the spread of heretical ideas, but apparently it did not prevent hymnographers from writing poetry which was the expression of their own religious feelings. The order, therefore, had to be renewed by the Council of Braga in 563 in a more precise, though less rigorous, form. All hymns which were not based on passages from the Scriptures were excluded from use in the liturgical service.<sup>4</sup>

Such restrictions are evidenced in the fact that so many of the products of Greek hymnody are "an elaboration of certain poetical ideas of the canticles and psalms."<sup>5</sup> This has caused these hymns to be more lofty, colorful, rich in imagery and similes, objective and less personal.

Only a small fraction of the early treasury of these hymns has come down to us. Our examination of these hymns as to their priestly reference and overtones has not proven too fruitful. However, we do present a few examples.

What is generally regarded as the earliest known Christian hymn is "Bridle of untamed colts," ascribed to Clement of Alexandria (b. 170). It is a hymn of thanksgiving to

---

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 120. See Canon 59, The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace (Second Series; Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1956), XIV, 158.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

Christ by the newly baptized, originally attached to The Pedagogue of Clement.<sup>6</sup> Reminiscent of ideas to be found in I Peter 2:5.9 are such expressions as.

Ποιμὴν ἀγνῶν βασιλείων  
(Shepherd of royal lambs)  
ἀλλῶν ἁγίως  
(to praise in holiness)  
Πατέρα οὐράνιον  
Παναγῶς ποιμνῆς  
(Heavenly wing of  
all the holy flock)<sup>7</sup>

The doxological formula, occurring so frequently as the conclusion to the early hymns, both Greek and Latin, expresses a corporate and objective character.<sup>8</sup> Most of these pursue the following or similar pattern: ὑμνοῦντων  
δ' ἡμῶν πατέρα υἱὸν ἅγιον πνεῦμα (And we sing a song of praise to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit.)

In the Troparion by Romanus (b. 490), the greatest early

---

<sup>6</sup>A Dictionary of Hymnology, edited by John Julian (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1892), p. 456. Julian says that it is disputed whether this hymn really comes from the pen of Clement or whether it was attached to The Pedagogue by someone else.

<sup>7</sup>Wellesz, op. cit., pp. 122 ff.

<sup>8</sup>It is debatable whether such doxologies are composed with the original hymn or appended later. We know that the Gloria Patri or Lesser Doxology was employed as a response to Psalmody on the part of people in both the East and the West as early as St. Basil (see Julian, op. cit., p. 308). The Clementine Liturgy employs it at the conclusion of the "Prayer of Humble Access" (see C. E. Hammond, Liturgies Eastern and Western, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1878, p. 19). It is only natural that it would soon be appended to hymns. The corporate character of this doxology, we believe, lies mainly in its original use as a response and also in the fact that metrical paraphrases of it regularly employ the pronoun "we."

Byzantine poet, appointed for Pentecost and containing rather violent outbursts against Nestorius and Eutyches, we find the officiant inviting the corporate expression of praise:

ἑκνήσωμεν, ἀδελφοί  
τῶν μαθητῶν τὰς ᾠδὰς  
(Let us praise, brethren, the voices of the disciples.)<sup>9</sup>

In the "Golden Canon" for Easter by St. John of Damascus (d. 780), considered to be the foremost Greek hymnist, we notice especially the "let us" and the "bring" in the fourth ode:

καὶ ἀντὶ μύρου τὸν ἕμνων  
προσείσομεν τῷ δεσπότη  
(and instead of ointment let us bring a hymn to our Lord.)<sup>10</sup>

The first ode of his hymn reads: Let the heavens, as it is meet, rejoice and let the earth exult: and let the whole universe, visible and invisible, keep festival. For Christ hath arisen, and there is eternal joy.<sup>11</sup>

There occurs a striking repetition of "let us" in the Canon for the first Sunday after Easter by John of Damascus. In all but one of the first fourteen odes each begins with ἄσωμεν .<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup>Wellesz, op. cit., p. 163.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 180.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 178. This ode is reproduced in stanza 3 of hymn number 205 in The Lutheran Hymnal, authorized by the Synods constituting the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1941).

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., pp. 192 ff.

A characteristic of nearly all the Greek hymns is the element of praise and adoration. And this praise and adoration is invariably the expression of the worshiping community. The hymnists dwell almost exclusively on the glory of the Godhead, the mystery of the incarnation and the triumph of the resurrection. This makes the hymnody very objective and there is barely a trace of the human response to the message of the Gospel. This factor may account for the less forcible expressions of actual sacrifice and offering on the part of the Christian Community than is contained in the Latin hymns and more stress on the corporate "we" idea.

Irenaeus says that all the righteous are of priestly rank.<sup>13</sup> Tertullian maintains that despite the distinction in the Church between clerics and laymen, the laymen are nevertheless priests.<sup>14</sup> Clement of Alexandria refers to prayer as

the best and holiest sacrifice with righteousness we bring, presenting it as an offering to the most righteous Word, by whom we receive knowledge, giving glory by Him for what we have learned. . . . the altar, then, that is with us here, the terrestrial one, is the congregation of those who devote themselves to prayers, having as it were one common voice and one mind.<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup>"Irenaeus against Heresies," IV, 17. The Ante-Nicene Fathers, edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1951), I, 320. Subsequently this work will be referred to as ANF.

<sup>14</sup>"De Exhortatione Castitatis," 7. The Early Christian Fathers, edited and translated by Henry Bettenson (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), p. 207.

<sup>15</sup>"Stromata," VII, 6. ANF, II, 531.

In his Exhortation to Martyrdom Origen, one of the greatest theologians of the Greek Church, sees steadfastness and loyalty to the faith under persecution as an act of participation in the priesthood of Christ:

Just as the high-priest, Jesus Christ, offered Himself in sacrifice, so the priests, whose high-priest He is, offer themselves in sacrifice and therefore appear by the altar in their proper place. Those priests who are blameless and offer blameless sacrifices used to serve the worship of God; but those who were at fault, as Moses set out in Leviticus, were banished from the altar. Who then is the blameless priest who offers as blameless offering other than he who holds fast the confession and fulfills every requirement made by the doctrine of martyrdom.<sup>16</sup>

Returning again to Tertullian, with reference to John 4:23-24 he states:

We (Christians) are the true worshipers and true priests who, offering our prayer in the spirit, offer sacrifice in the spirit, that is, prayer, as a victim that is appropriate and acceptable to God; that is what He demanded and what He has foreordained for Himself.<sup>17</sup>

Regarding the congregational participation in the priest's prayers he goes on:

Those who are more exact about prayer are in the habit of adding to their prayers an "Alleluia" and psalms of such character that those who are present may respond with the final phrases. Assuredly, the practice is excellent in every respect which by its high praise and reverence of God is competent to offer Him, as a rich victim, a prayer that has been filled out in every detail.<sup>18</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup>"Exhortation to Martyrdom," 30, translated by H. Chadwick. Library of Christian Classics, II (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1954), p. 413.

<sup>17</sup>Tertullian, "De Oratione," 28. Disciplinary, Moral and Ascetical Works, translated by R. Argesmann, Emily Joseph Daly, Edwin A. Quain (New York: Fathers of the Church, Inc., 1959), p. 185.

<sup>18</sup>"De Oratione," 27. Ibid.

References to the universal priesthood are not lacking in the early Greek liturgies. The Clementine Liturgy is one of the most interesting and enlightening liturgical documents that has come down to us. It is the oldest complete Mass existing.<sup>19</sup> This liturgy is incorporated in the Eighth Book of the Apostolic Constitutions, the latter probably written and compiled by the same author, Pseudo-Clement, around 380 in Syria or Constantinople.<sup>20</sup> Not only does this work contain the aforementioned liturgy, but it dwells also considerably on the duties of the Christian life in its various spheres of activity.

In speaking about the performance of the clerics and lay people in worship, the bishop in the Prayer of the Faithful refers to the laity as "a royal priesthood and holy nation."<sup>21</sup> In connection with various exhortations relative to first fruits and tithes contact is made with Exodus 19:5.6 in referring to the laity as the "people of God" and "an holy nation." And then it is stated:

You, therefore are the holy and sacred "Church of God, enrolled in heaven, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people." . . . Hear attentively now what was said formerly: oblations and tithes belong to Christ our High Priest, and to those who minister to Him. . . . Those which were then the sacrifices now are prayers, and intercessions and thanksgivings. Those which were then first fruits, tithes, and offerings, and gifts,

---

<sup>19</sup>Berthold Altaner, Patrology, translated by Hilda C. Graef (Freiburg: Herder, 1960), p. 58.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 59.

<sup>21</sup>"Apostolic Constitutions," II, 7, 57. ANF, VII, 422.

now are oblations, which are presented by the holy bishops to the Lord God through Jesus Christ.<sup>22</sup>

The continuity of the priesthood of the two Testaments is articulated in the statements which follow the above:

For these are your high priests, as the presbyters are your priests, and your present deacons instead of your Levites; as are also your readers, your singers, your porters, your deaconesses, your widows, your virgins, and your orphans; but He who is above all these is the High Priest.<sup>23</sup>

In the Anamnesis and Offertory, the pronoun "we" is very prominent -- "we offer to Thee," "we beseech Thee," -- signifying that it is the oblation of the people which the priest is offering.<sup>24</sup>

In the intercessory section of the Eucharistic Prayer it is stated:

We further offer to Thee for this people, that Thou wilt render them to the praise of Thy Christ, "a royal priesthood and an holy nation."<sup>25</sup>

The early Church Fathers likewise make frequent allusions to the same point. St. Justin Martyr in the Dialogue with Trypho makes the claim that Christians

are the true high-priestly race of God, as even God Himself bears witness, saying that in every place among the Gentiles sacrifices are presented to Him, well-pleasing and pure. Now God receives sacrifices from no one, except through His priests.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>22</sup>"Apostolic Constitutions," II, 25. ANF, VII, 409 ff.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 410.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 489.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 490.

<sup>26</sup>"Dialogue with Trypho," CXVI, 3. ANF, I, 257.



He also identifies these sacrifices with the bread and with the cup of the Eucharist when he says with reference to Malachi 1:10-12:

So He then speaks of those Gentiles, namely us, who in every place offer sacrifices to Him, i.e., the bread of the Eucharist and also the cup of the Eucharist, affirming both that we glorify His name, and that you profane it.<sup>27</sup>

The Amen response clearly reflects the universal priesthood concept through its use as a device for expressing the congregation's cooperation in various liturgical acts and prayers. Amen is a Hebrew word which was frequently used in synagogue worship. From thence it passed into the liturgies of the Christian Churches. In its basic meaning it conveys the implication of firmness, reality, truth, certainty. The Greek translation "so be it" hardly reflects the initial meaning, so characteristic of the Hebrew. Martin-Achard maintains that in the Old Testament it

. . . served to confirm and support what has been said. By pronouncing it the listener associates himself with what has been uttered; he recognizes it as valid, he makes it his own. . . . In the New Testament it reveals the certainty of a Church which responds with confidence to the promises of its Lord.<sup>28</sup>

St. Justin Martyr in his First Apology (about 150) gives us a description of a typical worship on the Lord's Day. In connection with the celebration of the Lord's Supper he says:

---

<sup>27</sup>"Dialogue with Trypho," XLI, 3. ANF, I, 215.

<sup>28</sup>R. Martin-Achard, "Amen," A Companion to the Bible, edited by J.-J. von Allmen (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 16.

Then bread and a cup of water and of mixed wine are brought to the one presiding over the brethren. He takes it, gives praise and glory to the Father of all in the name of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and gives thanks at length for the gifts that we were worthy to receive from Him. After he has finished the prayers and thanksgiving, all the people cry out in agreement: "Amen."<sup>29</sup> "Amen" is a Hebrew word which means, "So may it be."<sup>29</sup>

In a second description of a Sunday worship St. Justin again makes a point of the Amen.<sup>30</sup> Justin is a layman. With possibly an element of pride he is emphasizing the right of the congregation to voice its assent to the prayer of thanksgiving offered by the president. It is corporate worship. No one is idle; everyone is actively participating and cooperating. And it is not only in the early liturgies, but also late into the middle ages that such participation is enjoined. Thus in the eleventh century Bernold's Micrologus refers to it as signum confirmationis.<sup>31</sup>

In one text tradition of the apocryphal Acts of Philip, dating from possibly the fifth century or later, we note that the Amen appears as the specific response of those who have received the Sacrament of Holy Baptism. The reference reads:

And Nicanor (one of the seven deacons) cared for them

---

<sup>29</sup>"Apologia I Pro Christianis," 65, Patrologia: Patres Graeci, edited by J.-P. Migne (Paris: n.p., 1874), VI, 428. Hereafter Migne's editions will be referred to as MPG and MPL (for Patrologia: Patres Latini).

<sup>30</sup>"Apologia I Pro Christianis," 67, MPG, VI, 429.

<sup>31</sup>Bernold, "Micrologus," VI: De conclusione orationum, MPL, CLI, 981.

all who were praising God on account of the miracles which had been done among them. And the entire city believed in the name of Jesus. And then Bartholomew gave command to Stachys to baptize those who believed in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and that they might say Amen.<sup>32</sup>

In the same Acts of Philip the sacrifice of the Christian community is completed by the Amen of all the worshippers.<sup>33</sup>

Inherent in the term "liturgy" is the "we" concept. Lechner points out that liturgy is the external, communal and ordered cult. Its communal character is based upon the natural or innate tendency of man as a social being. It is the populus Dei that is engaged in worship.<sup>34</sup> Guardini says that the liturgy is not borne by an individual but by the whole Church. The "we" in the liturgy does not consist in direct contact with one another, but rather in the contact established by the fact that all Christians have the same aim and rest in the same goal, namely God.<sup>35</sup> According to Elert, the congregation gathers before God in its worship speaking

<sup>32</sup>"Acta Philippi," 147 (41), Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha, edited by Richardus Lipsius and Maximilianus Bonnet (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1959), III, 89.

<sup>33</sup>"Acta Philippi," 143 (37), Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha, III, 84.

<sup>34</sup>Joseph Lechner, Liturgik des Roemischen Ritus, begründet von Ludwig Eisenhofer (sechste Auflage; Freiburg: Verlag Herder, 1953), pp. 2 ff.

<sup>35</sup>Romano Guardini, Ecclesia Orans (Freiburg: Verlag Herder, 1951), pp. 20 ff.

in the liturgical "we," the "we" of the Church. This is not a cumulative "we" but a collective term.<sup>36</sup>

Turning our attention to the West, Latin hymnody originated in, and was derived from the East. The early Greek hymns soon travelled with Christianity itself from the East to Rome, Africa, Spain and other sections of the Roman Empire.

Latin hymns come into existence about the time of St. Hilary and St. Damasus, around the early part of the fourth century.<sup>37</sup> It was approximately at this time that, in the West, Latin began to become the sole liturgical and literary language of the Church.

The greatest hymn-writer of this period is St. Ambrose. His hymns were specifically composed for congregational use "and they soon found their way into the Milanese and other liturgies."<sup>38</sup>

In the hymn O Lux beata Trinitas ascribed to St. Ambrose (340-397), used at Vespers on the feast of the most Holy Trinity, as well as for other occasions, we notice especially

<sup>36</sup> Werner Elert, The Christian Ethos, translated by Carl J. Schindler (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1957), pp. 356 ff.

<sup>37</sup> Julian, op. cit., p. 642.

<sup>38</sup> F. J. E. Raby, A History of Christian Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages (Second Edition; Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1953), p. 33.

the "we" concept in connection with the element of praise.

Te mane laudum carmine,  
Te deprecemur vespere:  
Te nostra supplex gloria  
Per cuncta laudet saecula.<sup>39</sup>

Literally translated this reads:

We worshipped Thee in the morning with a song of praise;  
let us supplicate Thee in the evening; may our glory  
(glorification) humbly praise Thee throughout all ages.<sup>40</sup>

While on the subject of praise, we are reminded of St. Augustine's (354-430) definition of a hymn. Commenting on Psalm 148 he says:

Know ye what a hymn is? It is a song with praise of God. If thou praisest God and singest not, thou utterest no hymn. If thou singest and praisest not, thou utterest no hymn. A hymn then containeth these three things: song (canticum), and praise (laudem), and that of God. Praise, then, of God in song is called a hymn.<sup>41</sup>

Numerous imitators arose who copied the style and stanzaic form which St. Ambrose had popularized. Such hymns gradually came to be called "Ambrosian." In a hymn of this type, Jesu, Redemptor Omnium, by an anonymous author of the sixth century, we note:

---

<sup>39</sup>The Hymns of the Breviary and Missal, edited by Matthew Britt (New York: Benziger Brothers, Inc., 1955), p. 164.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid.

<sup>41</sup>MPL, XXXVII, pp. 1947-1948. In Augustine's definition we detect a strong emphasis on corporate praise. Such a definition would exclude meditative, didactic, historical and private devotional pieces unsuited for public worship. Furthermore, the term canticum evidently implies a song set to quantitative poetry, a type of verse in which Augustine is said to have excelled. Cf. Raby, op. cit., pp. 20 ff.

Intende quas fundunt preces  
Tui per orbem servuli.

Neale captures the original intent when he translates this:

Accept the prayers and praise today  
That through the world Thy servants pay (literally,  
"pour forth").<sup>42</sup>

In the hymn, Primo dierum omnium, ascribed to St. Gregory the Great (540-604), appointed for Matins on the Sundays after Epiphany and Pentecost, the hymnist sings:

Ut, quique sacratissimo  
Hujus diei tempore  
Horis quietis psallimus  
Donis beatis muneret.<sup>43</sup>

A simple prose translation of the above would read:

So that He may favor us with blessed gifts, we sing  
His praise in quiet hours at the holiest time of this  
day.

The exultant Te Deum, generally appointed at the end of Matins, the date and authorship of which have been much disputed,<sup>44</sup> abounds in the universal "we" concept and continually emphasizes the praises of the Triune God and of Him who has redeemed us, although the expressions of praise are

<sup>42</sup>Britt, op. cit., p. 80.

<sup>43</sup>August Jacob Rambach, Anthologie Christlicher Gesaenge (Altona und Leipzig: J. F. Hammerich, 1817), I, 110.

<sup>44</sup>Ernst Kähler, Studien zum Te Deum (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1958), rejects not only the traditional attribution to St. Ambrose and St. Augustine but he also insists that St. Nicetas (335-415) had nothing to do with its composition. The entire original text of the Te Deum, he maintains, is a Preface to the Sanctus and Post Sanctus from an early Latin Easter vigil (p. 114) in existence by the second half of the fourth century.

not specifically designated as sacrifices. The climax of Part I (verses 1-13), a hymn of praise to the Holy Trinity, is especially significant:

Te gloriosus Apostolorum chorus,  
 Te Prophetarum laudibilis numerus  
 Te martyrum candidatus laudat exercitus,  
 Te per orbem terrarum sancta confitetur ecclesia.<sup>45</sup>

The glorious company of the Apostles praise Thee.  
 The goodly fellowship of the prophets praise Thee.  
 The noble army of Martyrs praise Thee.  
 The holy Church throughout all the world doth  
 acknowledge Thee.

The praises, even on the part of the lower orders of creation, are evoked in the cento from the elegiac poem by Venantius Honorius Fortunatus (c. 530-600), "Tempora florigeno rutilant distincta sereno":

Salve, festa dies, toto venerabilis aevo,  
 Qua Deus infernum vicit et astra tenet.

Ecce, renascentis testatur gratia mundi  
 omnia cum Domino dona redisse suo.

Qui crucifixus erat, Deus ecce per omnia regnat,  
 Dantque creatori cuncta creata precem.<sup>46</sup>

Hail, thee, Festival Day! blest day that art hallowed  
 forever;  
 Day wherein Christ arose, breaking the kingdom of  
 death.

Lo, the fair beauty of earth, from the death of winter  
 arising,  
 Every good gift of the year now with its Master  
 returns.

---

<sup>45</sup> The Liber Usualis, edited by the Benedictines of Solesmes (Tournai: Desclée and Co., 1950), pp. 1832 ff.

<sup>46</sup> Ruth Ellis Messenger, The Medieval Latin Hymn (Washington: Capital Press, 1953), p. 110.

He who was nailed to the cross is God and the ruler  
of all things:  
All things created on earth worship the maker of  
all.<sup>47</sup>

The examples cited in this chapter indicate that all Christians are considered to be priests and that what they offer is themselves, their prayers, their praises and thanksgivings. Jungmann insists that the sacrifice concept of the early Christians was unlike the pagan or even Jewish sacrifice, where the "outward gift, the material and physical action" was considered the main thing, "where almost always blood had to flow."<sup>48</sup> The Christian sacrifice is spiritual. To avoid association with pagans the term sacrifice was cautiously used. The early Christians invariably insisted upon its spiritual character, an oblatio rationalibus, a sacrificium laudis.<sup>49</sup>

On the other hand, from the material side, the sacrifice of the Mass is originally the corporate offering of gifts in kind by the faithful to God for the celebration of the Eucharist, for the support of the clergy and the relief of the poor. But the spiritual element was constantly stressed as against the pagan cults. Even if occasionally mention is made that the Church also possesses a sacrifice, a corrective note is immediately added stressing the spiritual aspect --

---

<sup>47</sup>Ibid.

<sup>48</sup>Joseph A. Jungmann, The Early Liturgy, translated by Francis A. Brunner (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1959), pp. 47 ff.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid.



λογικὴ θεωρία . But in the Church's struggle "against the gnosis she was forced more and more to stress the outward, the material and the objective in Christian worship."<sup>50</sup>

If, as so frequently stated, hymn singing in public worship is an expression of the priesthood of believers, then it is evident that the fourth century was one of innovation in the custom of congregational singing, especially in the West, as the Ambrosian type of hymn was more widely disseminated. Our knowledge of actual practice is rather incomplete; it is based largely upon the writings of St. Ambrose and his contemporaries and upon hints derived from monastic usage. We know that morning and evening services of prayer and praise were common. That the fourth century hymns were used in these particular services is customarily assumed.

---

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 120.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH IN THE WEST

It is in the monasteries that the early Latin hymns were preserved, for hymns were soon incorporated into the daily worship of the monastery, the canonical hours. With this influence the practice of Christian assemblies also became more developed, the church year gradually evolved, and hymn cycles corresponding to the church year became to be associated with the daily office. Beginning with about the year 700, there were created and circulated some of the best loved hymns of Christianity. Special schools were established to foster and promote the art of singing. As time went on, however, singing was more and more confined to the monastics and clerical choirs. The technical requirements of the music largely silenced the voices of the laity.

Theodulph of Orleans (d. 821) has written the stirring and dramatic hymn, Gloria laus et honor, liturgically used as a processional hymn on Palm Sunday. Stanza 4 reads:

Plebs Hebraea tibi cum palmis  
obvia venit:  
Cum prece, voto, hymnis, adsumus  
ecce tibi.  
Gloria, laus, etc.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>The Hymns of the Breviary and Missal, edited by Matthew Britt (New York: Benziger Brothers, Inc., 1955), p. 126. Henceforth this work will be referred to as Britt.

John Mason Neale translates this:

The people of the Hebrews  
With palms before Thee went;  
Our praise and prayer and anthems  
Before Thee we present.  
All glory, laud, etc.<sup>2</sup>

There is a sacrificial ring to stanza 6:

Hi placuere tibi, placeat  
devotis nostra:  
Rex bone, Rex clemens, cui  
bona cuncta placent.  
Gloria, laus, etc.<sup>3</sup>

Neale translates this stanza:

Thou didst accept their praises,  
Accept the prayers we bring,  
Who in all good delightest,  
Thou good and gracious King.  
All glory, laud, etc.<sup>4</sup>

Agobard, the forty-fourth bishop of Lyons (816-840),  
in a sermon On the Truth of the Faith and the Establishment  
of All Good, after speaking about the praises which are  
directed to God on the part of the lower orders of creation --  
dragons, fire, hail, snow, ice, stormy winds, mountains and  
hills -- has this to say:

Since therefore all these creatures, rational and  
irrational, ceaselessly praise God, how should men,  
made in the image and likeness of God and called to  
the praise of his glory, be slow or dull or indif-  
ferent? Those creatures indeed always praise the  
Lord. But let us praise him at least frequently,  
even if we cannot always do so, we to whom it is de-  
clared by the apostle, "You are a chosen race, a royal  
priesthood, a holy nation, a people of possession,

---

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 127.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 126.

that you may proclaim the virtues of him who called you out of darkness into his marvelous light."<sup>5</sup>

In the Orate fratres of the Roman Mass shortly before the Preface the priest says:

Pray, brethren, that my sacrifice and yours may find acceptance with God the Father Almighty.<sup>6</sup>

To this the congregation responds:

May the Lord accept the sacrifice at your hands, to the praise and glory of his name, for our welfare also, and that of all his holy church.<sup>7</sup>

This liturgical element is regularly found in all the oblation rites since the eighth century.<sup>8</sup> In the oldest of these rites, the Orate is directed to the priests standing around the celebrant, as an exhortation to them to commend their offerings to the Lord. But Jungmann maintains that the original sense of this bid includes the offering of both the priest and the people. This is borne out by the fact that in the Ordo Romanus Secundus a sign for silence is given, after which the celebrant turns to the people and addresses them by saying: Orate. Many of the early rites

<sup>5</sup>"Sermo exhortatorius ad plebem," V, 270, Patrologia: Patres Latini, edited by J. - P. Migne (Paris: n.p., 1874), CIV, 270. Hereafter this edition will be referred to as MPL.

<sup>6</sup>A. Croegert, The Mass, A Liturgical Commentary, translated by J. Holland Smith (Westminster: The Newman Press, 1959), II, 123.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Joseph Lechner, Liturgik des Römischen Ritus, begründet von Ludwig Eisenhofer (Sechste Auflage; Freiburg: Verlag Herder, 1953), p. 233.

even stipulate fratres et sorores. Some early liturgies even record the answer to the Orate assigned to the congregation. And even though at times the answer is assigned to the clerics or to the choir, or even to an individual, the reason for this may lie in the lack of familiarity with the Latin or the lengthy response. Essentially, the Orate refers to the people.<sup>9</sup>

Strikingly explicit to our point is the first stanza of the beautiful paschal sequence, Victimae paschali, ascribed to Wipo of Burgundy, about the year 1100. The first stanza reads:

Victimae paschali laudes  
immolent Christiani.<sup>10</sup>

A literal translation of the same would be:

To the Paschal Victim, let Christians  
sacrifice praises.<sup>11</sup>

In a sequence for the Epiphany of our Lord, credited to Adam of St. Victor (d. 1177), we note the corporate ex-

---

<sup>9</sup>Joseph Andreas Jungmann, Missarum Sollemnia (Wien: Verlag Herder, 1952), II, 103 ff.

<sup>10</sup>Britt, op. cit., p. 129.

<sup>11</sup>The Lutheran Hymnal, authorized by the Synods constituting the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1941) has preserved this sequence to us in the racy and lively translation of Jane E. Leeson (1850): Christ the Lord is Risen Today; Alleluia! (No. 191), the first stanza of which reads:

Christ the Lord is ris'n today; Alleluia!  
Christians, haste your vows to pay; Alleluia!  
Offer ye your praises meet: Alleluia!  
At the Paschal Victim's feet. Alleluia!

pression of offering in stanza 6:

Offeramus  
re vera Christo  
quod reges in figura.<sup>12</sup>

Let us offer the true worship to Christ which  
the kings gave in a figurative manner.

St. Thomas Aquinas (1227-1274), at the request of Pope Urban IV, composed a number of hymns for the rite of the feast of Corpus Christi, instituted in 1264. The Lauda Sion is the sequence appointed for this feast and throughout its octave. It begins with:

Lauda, Sion, Salvatorem,  
Lauda ducem et pastorem  
In hymnis et canticis  
Quantum potes, tantum aude:  
Quia major omni laude,  
Nec laudare sufficis.<sup>13</sup>

It is to be noted that "Sion," namely, the Church, the company of the faithful, the household of God, is called upon to praise the Savior.

St. Thomas Aquinas in speaking of the sacramental character of Baptism, particularly the priestly significance of this character, states:

A character is properly speaking a kind of seal whereby a thing is marked as destined for a definite purpose. Thus, a coin is stamped with a character for purposes of trade, and soldiers are branded with a character for military assignment. Moreover, each of the faithful is destined to an end which is twofold: first and foremost, to the enjoyment of glory; and to this end

---

<sup>12</sup>Analecta hymnica mediæ ævi, edited by C. Blume and Henry Bannister (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1911), XXI, 8.

<sup>13</sup>Britt, op. cit., p. 172.

he is sealed with the seal of grace . . . . Secondly, however, each of the faithful is destined to receive or give to others what pertains to the worship of God; and to assure this is the proper function of the sacramental character. Now the whole rite of the Christian religion is derived from the priesthood of Christ. It is clear then that the sacramental character is specifically the character of Christ, to whose priesthood the faithful are likened or configured by reason of the sacramental characters, which are nothing else but certain participations of the priesthood of Christ, which are derived from Christ himself.<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup>"Summa Theologica," III, q. 63, MPL, Series Secunda, IV, 570 ff.

## CHAPTER V

### THE LUTHERAN REFORMATION

In following the course of various religious movements one cannot help but note the emphasis that is laid on music as an important factor in evangelization, in reflecting doctrine, as a means of attracting to the ranks, and as a most powerful aid in touching the hearts of the people and evoking emotional response. Not only the Catholic Church, but also the Arians, the Gnostics, the Albigenses, the Waldenses, the Lollards, the Hussites, the Zwinglians and the Calvinists all made use of song. All have exercised a direct, usually immediate influence on the hymnody and music of the Church.

While the Reformation was still in its infancy Luther became acutely conscious that one of the urgent needs of the new Church was the need of something that could be sung by the people. He wrote to Nicholas Hausmann, pastor at Zwickau:

I would that we had many German songs which the people could sing during the Mass. But we lack German poets and musicians, or they are unknown to us, who are able to make Christian and spiritual songs, as Paul calls them, which are of such value that they can be used daily in the house of God. One can find but few that have the appropriate spirit.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe, edited by J. K. F. Knaake, G. Kawerau, etc. (Weimar: Hermann Boehlau, 1888-1921), 3, 462. Subsequent references to this work will use the abbreviation WA.



But a host of hymnists soon came to the fore, among whom Luther became chief. He is credited with having written thirty-eight hymns. The majority of these hymns are not entirely original. Some are transcriptions of Psalms and paraphrases of other portions of Scripture, a goodly number are transcriptive translations of earlier Latin hymns, others are recast and revised pre-Reformation vernacular songs. Only seven are considered to be wholly original compositions.

It is generally conceded that, as Walter Buszin says:

It was not only Luther's deep-rooted love for music, but especially also his profound belief in the doctrine of the universal priesthood of all believers which prompted him to establish practices, policies and usages which ultimately won for the Lutheran Church the reputation as the "Singing Church." Luther knew that the average person likes to sing, particularly when he is a member of a group or congregation, and he knew from personal experience that one can easily comfort and strengthen himself spiritually through the medium of sacred song.<sup>2</sup>

Luther is especially credited for having rescued and reasserted the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers. It was stressed by him largely in his early years, especially in the immediate years beginning with 1520. In his later years this doctrine does not hold such a prominent place. Furthermore, the accents seem to become considerably altered.

His first direct statements occur in his Open Letter to

---

<sup>2</sup>Walter E. Buszin, "The Doctrine of the Universal Priesthood and Its Influence Upon the Liturgies and Music of the Lutheran Church," Valparaiso University Pamphlet Series, No. 2 (June 1, 1946), p. 21.

the Christian Nobility of the German Nation, written in 1520.

It is pure invention that pope, bishops, priests and monks are to be called the "spiritual estate"; princes, lords, artisans, and farmers the "temporal estate." . . . All Christians are truly of the "spiritual estate," and there is among them no difference at all but that of office. . . . Through baptism all of us are consecrated to the priesthood as St. Peter says in I Peter 2, "Ye are a royal priesthood, a priestly kingdom," and the book of Revelation says, "Thou hast made us by thy blood to be priests and kings."<sup>3</sup>

Berating the order of a special priesthood he says:

For whoever comes out of the water of baptism can boast that he is already consecrated priest, bishop, and pope, though it is not seemly that everyone should exercise this office. . . a priest in Christendom is nothing else than an office holder. While he is in office he has precedence; when deposed, he is a peasant or townsman like the rest. . . there is really no difference between laymen and priests, princes and bishops, "spirituals" and "temporals," except that of office and work, but not of "estate."<sup>4</sup>

In his Babylonian Captivity of the Church of the same year he says:

As many of us as have been baptized are all priests without distinction. . . . Therefore (I Peter 2:9) we are all priests, as many of us as are Christians. But the priests, as we call them are ministers chosen from among us, who do all they do in our name. And the priesthood is nothing but a ministry, as we learn from I Cor. 4, "Let a man so account of us as of the ministers of Christ, and the dispensers of the mysteries of God."<sup>5</sup>

In his Treatise on the New Testament, also written in 1520, Luther brings up the subject of the Mass and sacrifice:

It is not the priest alone who offers the sacrifice of the Mass, but every one's faith, which is the true

---

<sup>3</sup>WA, VI, 407.

<sup>4</sup>WA, VI, 408.

<sup>5</sup>WA, VI, 564.

priestly office, through which Christ is offered as a sacrifice to God. This office the priest, with the outward ceremonies of the Mass, simply represents. Each and all are, therefore, equally spiritual priests before God . . . . Faith must do everything. It alone is the true priestly office and permits no one else to take its place. Therefore all Christians are priests: the men, priests, the women, priestesses, be they young or old, masters or servants, mistresses or maids, learned or unlearned. Here there is no difference, unless faith be unequal.<sup>6</sup>

In refuting Emser (1521), who asserted the mediator-ial character of the ordered priesthood of the Church, Luther says:

The Scriptures make us all priests alike, as I have said, but the churchly priesthood which is now universally distinguished from the laity and alone called a priesthood, in the Scriptures is called ministerium, servitus, dispensatio, episcopatus, presbyterium, and at no place sacerdotium or spiritualis . . . . God and His Scriptures know nothing of bishops as we now have them. These things are all a result of manmade laws and ordinances . . . . I called this priesthood churchly because it grew out of the Church's organization and is not founded in the Scriptures. For it was the custom years ago, and ought to be yet, that in every Christian community since all were spiritual priests, one, the oldest or most learned and most pious, was elected to be their servant, officer, guardian, watchman, in the Gospel and the Sacraments, even as the Mayor of a city is elected from the whole body of its citizens. If tonsures, consecrations, ointments, vestments made priests and bishops, then Christ and His apostles were never priests or bishops.<sup>7</sup>

In his letter To the Illustrious Senate and the People of Prague written in 1523, two years later, he speaks of the true priestly sacrifices:

Supporting themselves only by foolish and absurd lies they (the papists) have made a sacrifice out of a

---

<sup>6</sup>WA, VI, 370.

<sup>7</sup>WA, VII, 630 ff.

sacrament . . . . We call as witness the writings of the New Testament, to which we appeal in opposing Satan, and assert that in the New Testament there is no sacrifice except the one which is common to all, namely the one described in Romans 12:1, where Paul teaches us to present our bodies as a sacrifice, just as Christ sacrificed his body for us on the cross. In this sacrifice he includes the offering of praise and thanksgiving. Peter likewise commands in I Peter 2:5 that we offer spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ, that is, ourselves, not gold or animals.<sup>8</sup>

In the same letter he defines the function of the universal priesthood:

The functions of a priest are these: to teach, to preach, to proclaim the Word of God, to baptize, to consecrate or administer the Eucharist, to bind and loose sins, to pray for others, to sacrifice, and to judge of all doctrine and spirits.<sup>9</sup>

Luther's concept of the universal priesthood evolves out of God's action in Jesus Christ in the redemptive history. In the Old Testament there existed the external priesthood descending from Aaron whose duty it was to offer external and material things as piacular sacrifices between God and his people.<sup>10</sup> With the coming of Christ, however, the Levitical priesthood with its ordinances and prescriptions came to an end. These sacrifices were simply a type of Christ.<sup>11</sup> The Levitical priesthood prefigured Christ who was both Priest and Victim.

Christ, the one, single High Priest, offered Himself

---

<sup>8</sup>WA, XII, 185.

<sup>9</sup>WA, XII, 180.

<sup>10</sup>WA, VIII, 485.

<sup>11</sup>WA, VIII, 394.

on the cross in the one unique sacrifice and He now also continues to mediate between God and man.<sup>12</sup> This sacrifice on the part of Christ was pro nobis, it was vicarious in character. As a result, all those who accept Christ in faith are included in His priesthood.<sup>13</sup> Since faith is engendered by baptism, it is baptism which makes us members of the priesthood.<sup>14</sup> So Luther could say that priests are not made but born, not ordained but created.<sup>15</sup>

As Tüchel states, the concept of the priesthood of all believers points to a very close connection between faith and this priesthood. In fact the universal priesthood is a direct consequence of Luther's teaching on justification.

Die Taufe macht alle Christen zu "nati et vocati . . . ad . . . ministerium," sie weiht uns zu Priestern, und jede Unterscheidung von Priestern und Laien in Hinsicht auf ihre geistliche Vollmacht musz daher ein Verstoß gegen die allen zuteilgewordene Taufnade sein.<sup>16</sup>

Luther constantly emphasizes that faith stands as the center between the priesthood of Christ and that of the be-

---

<sup>12</sup>WA, VIII, 415 ff.; LVII, 190.

<sup>13</sup>WA, VIII, 415.

<sup>14</sup>WA, VIII, 415.

<sup>15</sup>WA, XII, 178. Cf. XII, 317

<sup>16</sup>Klaus Tüchel, "Luther's Auffassung vom geistlichen Amt," Lutherjahrbuch, herausgegeben von Franz Lau (Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1958), XXV, 71.

believers.<sup>17</sup> This is a reproof of the Roman Church's belief that Christ transferred His priesthood to the Pope and his hierarchy.

In expounding the spiritual priesthood of all believers Luther necessarily rejected the medieval exaggerations in the adversaries' doctrine of priesthood. To Luther

. . . the New Testament priesthood is in the personal dimension. It is not an office. In the form of an office, the Christian Church has ministers, but no priests.<sup>18</sup>

The question immediately arises, whether in the thinking of Luther there is any distinction between pastors and believers as to function and office.

The spiritual or pastoral office is not any more only a distinct service to God. It becomes the service to God.<sup>19</sup> Those who possess this office are not lords but ministers. Love and service supplant authority. The content of this office as gift and task is the Word. Faith is created and the church is built through the Word. And Luther defines the content of the Word as the preaching of Christ, or Law and Gospel.<sup>20</sup> Is a special office of preaching necessary over against the spiritual priesthood? Luther says Yes! Christ's Word must be proclaimed. Where God's Word is

---

<sup>17</sup>WA, VIII, 253; XII, 178.

<sup>18</sup>Vilmos Vajta, Luther on Worship (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1958) p. 131.

<sup>19</sup>Tuchel, op. cit., p. 77.

<sup>20</sup>WA, VI, 55<sup>2</sup>: VII, 22: VII, 34; VII, 658.

found there must also be the ministerial office. This office hinges upon the call. God creates faith and calls people into the spiritual priesthood through preaching and hearing.<sup>21</sup> This is God's way of dealing with people.

Luther also makes a distinction between the office and the person. Because it is God who acts, His Word can be differentiated from the one who is preaching it.<sup>22</sup>

In combating the Enthusiasts Luther insists that for the sake of order and for good Scriptural reasons not all individuals can act publicly.<sup>23</sup> Qualified men must be chosen. Likewise, the office of preaching is ordained of God.<sup>24</sup> This office should accomplish the same as that which Christ accomplished when He came into the world.<sup>25</sup>

In his letter to the people of Prague in 1523 Luther had to clarify the matter of ordination. Servants of the Word are to be chosen<sup>26</sup> by the whole congregation.<sup>27</sup> Both the choice and ordination should be carried out in the name of God.<sup>28</sup> For Luther, ordination and call are synonymous

---

<sup>21</sup>WA, XXXIV, Part II, 296; XXXVII, 136.

<sup>22</sup>WA, XXI, 323; XLVII, 120.

<sup>23</sup>WA, VII, 28.

<sup>24</sup>WA, XLV, 461.

<sup>25</sup>WA, XXXIV, I, 319.

<sup>26</sup>WA, XII, 190.

<sup>27</sup>WA, XII, 172.

<sup>28</sup>WA, XII, 193.

terms.<sup>29</sup>

The ministry has special responsibilities and tasks, the pastor must oversee the believers, he must preach and teach and lead his people to God and even govern them. And the power that stands behind Him is the Word and the sacrament.<sup>30</sup>

Even in these early years (1520-1524) while Luther is fighting the Roman hierarchy and the monopoly of the Roman priests in expounding and emphasizing the spiritual priesthood, it is evident that he holds that the spiritual office exists by divine institution.<sup>31</sup> The pastor is a "servant of Christ" (I Corinthians 4:1) and this definition is not brought to bear upon the concept of the universal priesthood.<sup>32</sup> Neither does Luther conceive of the spiritual ministry as growing out of the spiritual priesthood. It is true that the office and work of Christ have instituted both, the spiritual office and the spiritual priesthood of all believers. But the two are not synonymous. And the former is not an extension of the latter.<sup>33</sup> Although Luther in his early writings does not give us a complete presenta-

---

<sup>29</sup>WA, XXXVIII, 221.

<sup>30</sup>WA, VI, 441.

<sup>31</sup>WA, VI, 564.

<sup>32</sup>Wilhelm Brunotte, Das geistliche Amt bei Luther (Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1959), p. 122.

<sup>33</sup>Tuchel, op. cit., p. 98.



tion of the ministry as he understands it, for he usually focuses his attention only to a specific point in question,<sup>34</sup> nevertheless, it is quite evident that Luther's emphasis on the doctrine of the ministry was considerably altered during the years 1524 to 1525.<sup>35</sup> In his early years he speaks less about the divine institution of the spiritual office than he does in his later years. It is when he is confronted with the enthusiasts, with Karlstadt, with the peasants' revolt, with laymen preaching and asserting a divine vocation that he bends every effort to strengthen the authority of the ministry.<sup>36</sup> Then he insists that the Holy Spirit comes to those who receive it through the Word and ministry.<sup>37</sup> Both the Word and the ministry are ordained of God.<sup>38</sup> By the year 1530 the Augsburg Confession forcefully states: "In order that people may obtain this faith God has ordained the ministry."<sup>39</sup>

Inherent in the concept of priesthood is the idea of

---

<sup>34</sup>Brunotte, op. cit., p. 118.

<sup>35</sup>H. H. Kramm, The Theology of Martin Luther (London: James Clarke and Co., Ltd., 1947), p. 78.

<sup>36</sup>WA, XVII, Part II, 192; XIX, 233; XXXVIII, 243.

<sup>37</sup>WA, XVII, Part II, 135.

<sup>38</sup>WA, "Tischreden" V, 176.

<sup>39</sup>Augsburg Confession, V. Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche (2. verbesserte Auflage; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1952). All subsequent references to the Lutheran Confessions are taken from this work.

sacrifice. The "external" priesthood of the Old Testament had its sacrifices; the "inward" priesthood of the New Testament also has its sacrifices. As Vajta points out, Luther did not abrogate all ideas of sacrifice; he meant rather to define and clarify the same and give it its proper place.<sup>40</sup>

As membership in the spiritual priesthood is effected through faith instilled by the Holy Ghost, so faith is the all-important element in sacrifices. The medieval conception of the mass as sacrifice was rejected by Luther largely because of the vulgar conviction that the Mass was efficacious even without faith on the part of the user. According to Luther, the sacrifices which the Christian offers are those of the body, praise, thanksgiving and prayer.

First of all, in line with Romans 12:1 the believer as a priest offers himself, namely, the "Old Adam," his sinful flesh.<sup>41</sup> This is done, of course, through the use and application of the Law. Concerning the significance of baptism, Luther says in his Small Catechism: "It signifies that the Old Adam in us should, by daily contrition and repentance, be drowned and die with all sins and evil lusts . . . ."<sup>42</sup>

This sacrifice, offered in faith, makes the Christian

---

<sup>40</sup>Vajta, op. cit., p. 151.

<sup>41</sup>WA, XVII, Part II, 11.

<sup>42</sup>Small Catechism, 12.

conformable to Christ (Romans 6:4). Thus life is granted through death.<sup>43</sup> It is God's love for man in Jesus Christ which makes it possible for man to die and live with Christ.<sup>44</sup>

Praise and thanksgiving are also assigned important roles by Luther in the spiritual sacrifices of the believer. They are man's response to the mercy of God which comes to him through the Word and sacrament.<sup>45</sup> Luther continually stresses that it is God who is the Giver and man the recipient. But as the recipient man cannot help but respond in praise and thanksgiving. And in doing so he is glorifying God, renouncing his own work righteousness, and really sacrificing the Old Adam.<sup>46</sup> The confession of sin through faith for Luther invariably leads to the confession of praise.<sup>47</sup> This is the priestly office performed by the believers.

The sacrifice of prayer stands in close relationship to the sacrifice of praise. Both sacrifices are based on faith. In the sacrifice of praise we thank God for His gifts; in that of prayer we ask for further gifts and blessings.<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, the self-denial and the cruci-

---

<sup>43</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>44</sup>Vajta, op. cit., p. 154.

<sup>45</sup>WA, VI, 526.

<sup>46</sup>WA, XL, Part I, 370.

<sup>47</sup>WA, LVI, 268.

<sup>48</sup>WA, XI, 447.

fixion of the Old Adam involved in the sacrifice of prayer also implies a priestly service with and in behalf of others. To Luther, intercessory prayer was the most important of all liturgical prayers.<sup>49</sup>

In his Treatise on Christian Liberty the social and ethical aspects of the spiritual priesthood are pointedly expressed:

I will therefore give myself as a Christ to my neighbor, just as Christ offered Himself to me; I will do nothing in this life except what I see is necessary, profitable and salutary to my neighbor, since through faith I have an abundance of all good things in Christ . . . as our heavenly Father has in Christ freely come to our help, we also ought freely to help our neighbor through our body and its works, and each should become as it were a Christ to the other, that we may be Christs to one another and Christ may be the same in all; that is, that we may be truly Christians.<sup>50</sup>

Concerning the mass as a sacrifice Vajta remarks about Luther on this point:

Notwithstanding his determined elimination of the sacrificial element from the Lord's Supper, he was careful to preserve the proper biblical picture of sacrifice.<sup>51</sup>

In reviewing Luther's various writings one notes that his feelings about the term "sacrifice" often vary. Before 1520 Luther made frequent use of the expression. In the controversy over the Holy Communion during the early twenties, he avoids the use of the term. After 1530 the

---

<sup>49</sup>WA, VI, 237.

<sup>50</sup>WA, VII, 35 ff.

<sup>51</sup>Vajta, op. cit., p. 151.

term "sacrifice" begins to occur more frequently.<sup>52</sup>

Luther's strongest criticism of the Roman mass focused itself upon the offertory and canon. Instead of the Holy Communion being a gift from God to man, the prayers of the Canon especially made of it a sacrifice offered to God on behalf of the living and the dead. Of this fraud he says: "God bestows it upon us and gives it to us, but they offer it as a sacrifice."<sup>53</sup> The God who acts in the Mass is a "Giver," He is a merciful and gracious God. In his Small Catechism Luther asserts:

It is the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ under the bread and wine, for us Christians to eat and to drink, instituted by Christ Himself.<sup>54</sup>

In opposition to the medieval conception of the Mass as an expiatory sacrifice he emphasizes "for us Christians to eat and to drink." In speaking of the benefits of such eating and drinking, he continues in the Small Catechism: "That is shown us by these words, 'Given and shed for you for the remission of sins.'<sup>55</sup>

Furthermore, when in the same work he says that this gift, namely, "the forgiveness of sins, life and salvation" are not wrought by the mere "eating and drinking," but by

<sup>52</sup>Gustav Aulen, Eucharist and Sacrifice, translated by Eric H. Wahlstrom (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1958), pp. 84-85.

<sup>53</sup>WA, VIII, 52.

<sup>54</sup>Small Catechism, 2.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., 8.

faith, he herewith rejects also the conception of the sacrament as an opus operatum. To Luther the papists were treating God as though He were an angry God who had to be appeased with the sacrifice in the Mass. No, the words, "Given and shed for the remission of sins," are the words of a loving and merciful God Who sees and knows the needs of His children and hence freely gives them the greatest of all gifts.<sup>56</sup> This gift is accepted and appropriated by faith and not by works.<sup>57</sup>

In this sense Luther objected to the Roman conception of the Mass as a sacrifice. On the other hand, Luther did not abrogate all ideas of sacrifice in connection with the Eucharist.

The sacrifice of Christ, once and for all, is the basis of the gift that is given us in the Lord's Supper. This is expressed clearly in the words of Christ "given and shed for you." On the part of man, we, as spiritual priests offer up ourselves, our praises and thanksgivings.<sup>58</sup>

With the great emphasis given this doctrine by Luther, at first sight it might appear strange that we do not find

---

<sup>56</sup>WA, VIII, 442.

<sup>57</sup>WA, VIII, 436.

<sup>58</sup>WA, VI, 368 ff. On the connection of sacrament with sacrifice, compare, for example, Carl F. Wislöff, "Worship and Sacrifice," Lutheran World, II, 4 (1956), who maintains that on the basis of Luther's theology, "the use of the idea of sacrifice in connection with the action of the Lord's Supper can take place without question . . . so long as the aspect of 'thanksgiving' is maintained." (Cont'd next page)

more direct and forceful references to the same in his hymnody as well as in that of his successors. We have noted that Luther emphasized the universal priesthood concept especially between the years 1520 to 1524. But the hymnodic output of Luther and his colaborers did not begin until 1524 with the publication of the Achtliederbuch which contained four hymns by Luther, three by Paul Speratus and one by an unknown author.<sup>59</sup>

---

He furthermore insists that "a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving has meaning only through the sacrifice of our own selves, that is, through giving our self up unto death" (p. 355). Arthur Carl Piepkorn, "Sacrament, Sacrifice and Stewardship," Proceedings of the 78th Convention of the Michigan District of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, held at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, August 21-25, 1960, says that "when we speak of our sacrifice in the celebration of the Holy Eucharist we must always remember that in the strict sense of the term we have nothing to offer except what we have received from God" (p. 19). Wislöff (op. cit.) maintains that "we, not the Sacrament, are the sacrifice. But we live from the gifts of God's grace, that is, we are led through them from death to life. Sacrifice consists in just this. This even finds expression in worship through thanksgiving, praise, creed and witness. But a true sacrifice is only this when it is consecrated through faith by daily walking in Baptism, that is, walking in fear and faith, death and resurrection."

<sup>59</sup>The doctrine of the universal priesthood of believers nowhere finds explicit expression in these hymns. One can at most occasionally sense implications of it, as in the first line of Luther's Nun freut euch, lieben Christen g'mein (Philip Wackernagel, Das deutsche Kirchenlied von der aeltesten Zeit bis zu Anfang des XVII Jahrhunderts [Leipzig: Druck und Verlag von B. G. Teubner, 1870], III, 5) or in one stanza of a hymn by John Walther (1496-1570) of Torgau:

Wir danken stets mit schalle  
 fuer Gottes stuel und Thron  
 Mit freuden singen alle  
 ein neues Lied gar schon:  
 Lob, ehr, preis, krafft und stercke  
 Got Vater und dem Son,  
 des heiligen Geistes wercke  
 sei lob und danck gethan. (Ibid., III, 189)

In the paraphrases and transcriptions of various Psalms we find the Opfer motif and other metaphors in which the sacrifice idea occasionally finds expression. But it may be questioned whether such references always express New Testament theology or simply reflect Old Testament Psalmody. So Erhard Hegenwalt (floruit 1524) in his setting of Psalm 51 contrasts the earthly and spiritual sacrifices when he sings:

Kein leiblich opffer von mir heischst,  
 ich het dir das auch geben;  
 So nimm nu den zerknirschten geist,  
 betruets und traurigs hertz darneben.  
 Verschmech nit, got, das opffer dein  
 thu wol in deiner guetigkeit  
 dem berg sion, da Christen sein  
 die opffern dir gerechtigkeit.<sup>60</sup>

Similarly in an evening prayer he writes:

Fuer forcht ungrawen dieser nacht  
 durch deine macht  
 bewar du mich, Got Vater;  
 Gantz un gar ich mich opffer dir,  
 Herr, steh bei mir.<sup>61</sup>

The Lutheran Symbols have no specific locus on the doctrine of the universal priesthood of believers, and one finds only isolated references interspersed here and there. The only direct reference to the universal priesthood is in the Tractatus:

Lastly, this also confirms the sentiments of Peter: "You are a royal priesthood," which words pertain to the true Church, who, since she alone has the priesthood, certainly has the right to elect and ordain ministers.<sup>62</sup>

---

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., III, 48.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., IV, 593.

<sup>62</sup>Tractatus, 69.



In defining a sacrifice and the species of sacrifice the Apology of the Augsburg Confession briefly alludes to the spiritual priesthood. In contrast to the propitiatory sacrifices exemplified in the Old Testament and in the death of Christ there are eucharistic sacrifices in the New Testament

. . . which are called sacrifices of praise . . . namely, the preaching of the Gospel, faith, prayer, thanksgiving, confession, the afflictions of saints, yea, all good works of saints. These sacrifices are not satisfactions for those making them, or applicable on behalf of others . . . . For they are made by those who have been reconciled. And such are the sacrifices of the New Testament as Peter teaches, I Peter 2:5: an holy priesthood to offer up spiritual sacrifices.<sup>63</sup>

Again in the same article it is stated:

Accordingly the New Testament, since Levitical services have been abrogated, teaches that new and pure sacrifices will be made, namely, faith, prayer, thanksgiving, confession, and the preaching of the Gospel.<sup>64</sup>

The Thorough Declaration of The Formula of Concord, speaking of the Third Use of the Law, says:

But how and why the good works of believers, although in this life they are imperfect and impure because of sin in the flesh, are nevertheless acceptable and well-pleasing to God, is not taught by the Law, which requires an altogether perfect, pure obedience if it is to please God. But the Gospel teaches that our spiritual offerings are acceptable to God through faith for Christ's sake, I Peter 2:5; Hebrews 11:4 ff.<sup>65</sup>

The Lutheran dogmaticians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries hardly more than allude to the doctrine of the spiritual priesthood of believers as such.

---

<sup>63</sup>Apology, XXIV, 25. 26.

<sup>64</sup>Apology, XXIV, 30.

<sup>65</sup>Formula of Concord, Thorough Declaration, VI, 22.

Nicolaus Selnecker, one of the authors of the Formula of Concord (1580), a pastor and professor at Leipzig, interprets Psalm 51 in the New Testament sense when he writes:

Dein gnad acht kein Brandopffer nicht,  
Zuknarscht ein hertz, das nider sicht  
Ein geengster Geist, von leid gekrenckt,  
Mit Christi thewrem Blut besprengt,  
Voll Glaub, Lieb und gutem fuersatz,  
ist dir die angenehmste Schatz.

Thu wol, O Herr Gott, an Sion  
von wegen deines lieben Son,  
Dasz werd erbawt Jerusalem  
und du gar reiche Opffer nem,  
Opffer des Lobs ausz unserm mund,  
dasz unser hertz taeglich all stund  
Dich lob und preisz durch Jesum Christ,  
der unser aller Heiland ist.<sup>66</sup>

In another hymn by Selnecker, Ich freue mich im Herrn, in which it is emphasized that sin is covered with the robe of Christ's righteousness, stanza 4 reads:

Wie ein Breutgam, mit Priesterzier,  
ehrlich, erbar und mit begier,  
Herrlich er mich geschmuecket hat  
und mir bewiesen alle Gnad.<sup>67</sup>

The Lutheran dogmaticians are most emphatic in their distinction between the ministry of the Church and the priest-

<sup>66</sup>Wackernagel, op. cit., IV, 219.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., IV, 304. Similarly in a morning prayer the unknown George Listen recognizes praise as a real sacrifice:

So will ich alzeit loben dich  
in deinem reich  
dieweil ich hab das leben:  
Dich loben all die voeglein frei  
So mancherlei,  
da durch so kan ich lernen  
Zu opffern dir  
lob preis und ehr. (Ibid., IV, 592.)

hood of all believers. In the Loci Theologici of Martin Chemnitz (1522-1856), a commentary on Melancthon's Loci, there is a locus entitled: Caput IV - De Ecclesia; de doctoribus et auditoribus ecclesiae. Herein he states that the fundamental doctrine of the Church is concerning Christ. But Christ must be preached and thus arises the doctrine of the ministry. Christ has given apostles, prophets, etc. He then poses the question: Does the Church only consist of the ministry? He answers this by listing five qualities of a minister: (1) call, (2) sound doctrine, (3) faithfulness in doctrine, (4) gifts, (5) piety of life. Under the first quality he says that Christ has not made all to be ministers. All may offer spiritual sacrifices but the public ministry is not given to all. In refutation of the Anabaptists he says ordination is retained. This rite shows that the pastor is sent by God, that he has been warned to teach and to administer the sacraments and that men's prayers might be more ardent.<sup>68</sup> The ordered ministry is ordained by God for the specific purpose of sanctifying His Church through the preaching of the Word and the administration of the sacraments.<sup>69</sup> Other than this Chemnitz has nothing noteworthy to say about the spiritual priesthood.

---

<sup>68</sup>Martin Chemnitz, Loci Theologici quibus et Loci communes Melancthonis explicantur, edited by Polycarp Leyser (Wittenberg: T. Melvius et E. Schumacher, 1690), pp. 119 ff.

<sup>69</sup>Martin Chemnitz, Examen Concilii Tridentini, edited by Ed. Preuss (Berlin: Sumtibus Gust. Schlawitz, 1861), p. 484.

Johann Gerhard (1582-1637) in his Loci Theologici, in commenting on I Peter 2:9 and Revelation 1:6 says among other things that the spiritual sacrifices consist of prayer, giving of thanks, acts of kindness to the poor, mortification of the Old Man, martyrdom endured for the sake of Christ. He adds that even though believers are called priests we cannot conclude that any one of them without a call can usurp the ministry of the Church, since the language speaks of spiritual sacrifices to God. Gerhard insists that even though the preaching of the Gospel pertains to spiritual sacrifices (Malachi 1:11), nevertheless it cannot be inferred that such spiritual sacrifices, namely the preaching of the Gospel in public worship pertains to all. People are especially called to the ministry of the Church. Furthermore, a distinction must be made between the general command and calling of all the pious and between the special calling by which the ministry of the Word and Sacraments are to be administered in public gatherings of the Church by special people.<sup>70</sup> Furthermore, God is the efficient cause of the ministry of the Church: "Causa efficiens principalis ministerii ecclesiastici est unus ac solus verus Deus Pater, Filius et Spiritus Sanctus."<sup>71</sup>

Nicolaus Hunnius (1558-1643) in the same vein declares

---

<sup>70</sup>Joannes Gerhard, Loci Theologici, edited by Ed. Preuss (Berlin: Sumtibus Gust. Schlawitz, 1866), VI, 312 ff.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., VI, 31.

that the ministry of the Gospel is not to be considered abstractly, but concretely in terms of persons who are established in an order ordained by God:

Das heilige Predigtamt ist ein solcher von Gott verordneter Stand, in welchem er etliche gewisse Personen aus den Menschen dazu gesetzt, dass sie mit goettlicher Autoritat, als Botschaften an seiner Statt ihres Herrn Wort andern zu fuertragen, die Sacramenta ihnen reichen, sie also zu Christo fuehren, und zum ewigen Leben erbauen sollen.<sup>72</sup>

The views of Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand (1585-1652), John Andrew Quenstedt (1617-1685) and David Hollaz (1648-1713) are similar.<sup>73</sup>

Thus, in general, the Lutheran dogmaticians view the priesthood of believers in terms of the assembled people of God offering their spiritual sacrifices. It is never thought of as the basis for the establishment of the ministerial office. It is true that every minister is a member of the spiritual priesthood, but he is a minister not by virtue of the prerogatives of this priesthood, but rather by virtue of the fact that God has placed him in the ministry of the Church. Neither is the priesthood of believers ever used as the basis for constructing the Church as an organization.

---

<sup>72</sup>Nicolaus Hunnius, Epitome Credendorum oder Inhalt Christlicher Lehre (Wittenberg: J. Schrey und H. Meyer, 1691), p. 483.

<sup>73</sup>Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand, Universae Theologicae Systema (Ulm: Johann Goerlini, C. 1658), II, 880; Johann Andreas Quenstedt, Theologia Didactico-Polemica sive Systema Theologicum (Leipzig: T. Fritsch, 1715), Col. 1492; David Hollaz, Examen Theologicum Acroamaticum (Leipzig: S. Kriesewetter, 1750), p. 1331.

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSION

Throughout the course of the Church's history the concept of the universal priesthood of believers has played a role, albeit a restricted one, in the life, theology and cultus of the Church. But in the unresolved tension between the lay priesthood and the sacred ministry it must be remembered that the sacred ministry is not a transfer or extension of the universal priesthood. While both the spiritual priesthood and the sacred ministry are the result of the office and work of Christ, a distinction between the two must be made. The purpose of the spiritual priesthood is to offer spiritual sacrifices. The sacred ministry, on the other hand, is the distinct office of the preaching of the Word and the administration of the Sacraments, the power to sanctify and govern.

The problem is compounded in the Germanic languages. In English and German priest and Priester are really presbyter writ small. French and Spanish have a similar problem, but they at least have sacerdote and sacrificateur respectively for explicitly sacrificial functionaries. In its origin the word presbyter has administrative implications rather than sacerdotal. The character of priesthood as a Christian institution is derived from the function of the presbyters in the worship life of the early Church. This term points back

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSION

Throughout the course of the Church's history the concept of the universal priesthood of believers has played a role, albeit a restricted one, in the life, theology and cultus of the Church. But in the unresolved tension between the lay priesthood and the sacred ministry it must be remembered that the sacred ministry is not a transfer or extension of the universal priesthood. While both the spiritual priesthood and the sacred ministry are the result of the office and work of Christ, a distinction between the two must be made. The purpose of the spiritual priesthood is to offer spiritual sacrifices. The sacred ministry, on the other hand, is the distinct office of the preaching of the Word and the administration of the Sacraments, the power to sanctify and govern.

The problem is compounded in the Germanic languages. In English and German priest and Priester are really presbyter writ small. French and Spanish have a similar problem, but they at least have sacerdote and sacrificateur respectively for explicitly sacrificial functionaries. In its origin the word presbyter has administrative implications rather than sacerdotal. The character of priesthood as a Christian institution is derived from the function of the presbyters in the worship life of the early Church. This term points back

to an office of teaching, preaching and the administration of the sacraments rather than to an office of sacrifice.

The connection between the ministerial priesthood and the universal priesthood is repeatedly voiced and profoundly held by Luther from the years 1520 to 1524. It is during this period that he also stressed considerably the "invisible" aspects of the Church. The march of events after 1520 -- the activities of Karlstadt and the enthusiasts, the discouraging experiences in the peasants' revolt -- brought about misgivings with his earlier expressions on the spiritual priesthood and caused him to emphasize the institution and authority of the office of the ministry. Although he never formally retracted his early statements about the universal priesthood he indeed shifted the emphasis.

It is significant to note that Luther's great hymns do not stem from this earlier period. It is understandable that they have sublimated the earlier stress upon the universal priesthood into a practical liturgical formula in which the people are not exhorted to be priests but in terms in which they can express their true spiritual priesthood.

The Lutheran Confessions and the expressions of the Lutheran dogmaticians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries assign a rather insignificant role to the doctrine of the universal priesthood as such. Undoubtedly it is considered a doctrine of subsidiary significance.

The practical implications of this reappraisal lie outside the scope of this inquiry.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Altaner, Berthold. Patrology. Translated by Hilda C. Graef. Freiburg: Herder, 1960.
- Argesmann, R., Emily Joseph Daly, and Edwin A. Quain, translators. Tertullian: Disciplinary, Moral and Ascetical Works. New York: Fathers of the Church, Inc., 1959.
- Arndt, William. "Royal Priesthood I Peter 2,9," Concordia Theological Monthly, XII (April, 1948), 241
- Aulén, Gustaf. Eucharist and Sacrifice. Translated by Eric Wahlstrom. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1932.
- Bauer, Walter. Griechisch--Deutsches Woerterbuch. vierte Auflage. Berlin: Verlag Alfred Toepelmann, 1952.
- Benedictines of Solesmes, editors. Liber Usualis. Tournai: Desclée & Co., 1950.
- Bettenson, Henry, editor and translator. The Early Christian Fathers: A Selection from the Writings of the Fathers from St. Clement of Rome to St. Athanasius. London: Oxford University Press, 1956.
- Bigg, Charles. "The Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude," International Critical Commentary on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905.
- Blume, C., and Henry Bannister, editors. Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi. 55 volumes. Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1886-1922.
- Britt, Dom Matthew, editor. The Hymns of the Breviary and Missal. Revised edition. New York: Benziger Brothers, Inc., 1955.
- Brochmand, Jesper Rasmussen. Universae Theologicae Systema. II. Ulm: Johann Goerlini, 1658.
- Brunotte, Wilhelm. Das geistliche Amt bei Luther. Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1959.
- Buszin, Walter E. The Doctrine of the Universal Priesthood and its Influence upon the Liturgies and Music of the Lutheran Church. No. 2 of Valparaiso University Pamphlet Series. Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1946.

- Caffin, B. C. The First Epistle of Peter. Volume of The Pulpit Commentary. Edited by H. D. M. Spence, and Joseph S. Exell. New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1925.
- Cayré, A. A. Manual of Patrology and History of Theology. 2 volumes. Translated by H. Howitt. Paris: Desclee and Co., 1927.
- Chadwick, Henry, and John Ernest Leonard Oulton, editors. Alexandrian Christianity. Vol. II of Library of Christian Classics. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1954.
- Chemnitz, Martin. Examen Concilii Tridentini. Edited by Ed. Preuss. Berlin: Sumtibus Gust. Schlawitz, 1861.
- Loci Theologici quibus et Loci communes Melanchtonis explicantur. Edited by Polycarp Leyser. Wittenberg: T. Melvius et E. Schumacher, 1690.
- Corwin, Virginia. St. Ignatius and Christianity in Antioch. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960.
- Croegaert, A. The Mass: A Liturgical Commentary. Vol. II. Westminster: The Newman Press, 1959.
- de la Bedoyère, Michael. The Layman in the Church. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1955.
- Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch--lutherischen Kirche. Zweite verbesserte Auflage. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1952.
- Elert, Werner. The Christian Ethos. Translated by Carl J. Schindler. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1957.
- Gerhardus, Ioannes. Loci Theologici. Vol. VI. Edited by Ed. Preuss. Berlin: Sumtibus Gust. Schlawitz, 1866.
- Guardini, Romano. Ecclesia Orans. Freiburg: Verlag Herder, 1951.
- Hammond, C. E., editor. Liturgies Eastern and Western. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1878.
- Hart, J. H. A. The First Epistle General of Peter. Volume V of The Expositor's Greek New Testament. New York: George H. Doran Company, n.d.
- Hollaz, David. Examen Theologicum Acroamaticum. Leipzig: S. Kiesewetter, 1750.

- Hunnius, Nicolaus. Epitome Credendorum oder Inhalt Christlicher Lehre. Wittenberg: J. Schrey and H. Meyer, 1691.
- Huther, Johannes E. Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the General Epistles of James, Peter, John, and Jude. A Volume of Meyer's Commentary on the New Testament. Translated from the Third Edition of the German by Paton J. Gloag, D. B. Croom, and Clarke H. Irwin. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, Publishers, 1887.
- Jeremias, Joachim. The Eucharistic Words of Jesus. Translated from the second German edition by Arnold Ehrhardt. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1955.
- Julian, John. A Dictionary of Hymnology. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1892.
- Jungman, Josef Andreas. Missarum Sollemnia: Eine Genetische Erklarung der Roemischen Messe. 2 volumes. Wien: Verlag Herder, 1952.
- . The Early Liturgy: To the Time of Gregory the Great. Volume VI of Liturgical Studies. Translated by Francis A. Brunner. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1959.
- Kantonen, T. A. Resurgence of the Gospel. Philadelphia: The Muhlenberg Press, 1948.
- Kittel, Gerhard, and Gerhard Friedrich, editors. Theologisches Woerterbuch zum Neuen Testament. Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1935--.
- Lechner, Joseph. Liturgik des Roemischen Ritus. Begrundet von Ludwig Eisenhofer. Sechste Auflage. Freiburg: Verlag Herder, 1953.
- Lenski, R. C. H. The Interpretation of the Epistles of St. Peter, St. John, and St. Jude. Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1938.
- Lipsius, Ricardus Adelbertus, and Maximilianus Bonne, editors. Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha. 3 volumes. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1959.
- Luther, Martin. Auslegung des Alten Testaments. Volume VI of Saemtliche Schriften. Edited by John Georg Walch. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1887.
- . Church and Ministry II. Volume 40 of Luther's Works. American Edition. Edited by Conrad Bergendoff. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1958.

- . Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Edited by J. K. F. Knaake and others. Weimar: Hermann Bohrlau, 1888-1921.
- . The First Epistle of St. Peter, The Second Epistle of St. Peter, The Epistle of St. Jude. Translated by E. H. Gillet. New York: n.p., 1859.
- Lutheran Hymnal, The. Authorized by the Synods Constituting the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1941.
- Manson, T. W. Ministry and Priesthood: Christ's and Ours. London: The Epworth Press, 1958.
- Mearns, J. Canticles of the Christian Church Eastern and Western in Early and Medieval Times. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914.
- Messenger, Ruth Ellis. The Medieval Latin Hymn. Washington: Capital Press, 1953.
- Migne, J.-P., editor. Patrologia: Patres Graeci, Patres Latini. Paris: n.p., 1857-1904.
- Orchard, Bernard, editor. A Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture. New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1953.
- Palmer, Paul F., editor. Sacraments and Worship. Volume I of Sources of Christian Theology. Westminster: The Newman Press, 1955.
- Pfatteicher, Carl F., and Dudley Fitts, editors. Office Hymns of the Church. Boston: McLaughlin and Reilly Co., 1951.
- Piepkorn, Arthur Carl. "Sacrament, Sacrifice and Stewardship." Proceedings of the Seventy-Eighth Convention of the Michigan District of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, August 21-25, 1960. n.p., n.d.
- Polack, W. G. The Handbook to the Lutheran Hymnal. Second and revised edition. Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1942.
- Quenstedt, Johann Andreas. Theologia Didactico--Polemica sive Systema Theologicum. Leipzig: T. Fritsch, 1715.
- Raby, F. J. E. A History of Christian-Latin Poetry: From the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages. Second edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953.
- Rambach, August Jacob. Anthologie Christlicher Gesaenge. Altona und Leipzig: J. F. Hammerich, 1817.

- Roberts, Alexander, and James Donaldson, editors. The Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers Down to A.D. 325. American reprint of the Edinburg edition. Revised by A. Cleveland Coxe. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1890-1899.
- Ryden, E. E. The Story of Christian Hymnody. Rock Island: Augustana Press, 1959.
- Schaff, Phillip, and Henry Wace, editors. The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. Second series. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1956.
- Spitz, L. W. "The Universal Priesthood of Believers," The Abiding Word. Vol. I of The Centennial Series. Theodore Laetsch, editor. Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1946.
- Tuchel, Klaus. "Luthers Auffassung vom geistlichen Amt." Luther-Jahrbuch 1958: Jahrbuch der Luther-Gesellschaft. Jahrgang XXV, 1958. Edited by D. Franz Lau. Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1958. Pp. 61-98.
- Vajta, Vilmos. Luther on Worship. Translated by U. S. Leupold. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1958.
- von Allmen, J.-J., editor. A Companion to the Bible. New York: Oxford University Press, 1958.
- Watson, Philip S. Let God be God! Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1950.
- Wellesz, Egon. A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949.
- Wislöff, Carl Fr. "Worship and Sacrifice," Lutheran World, II, 4 (1956). Pp. 345-355.