

ANGLICAN-ROMAN CATHOLIC INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION

THE REFORMATION ISSUES

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The reformation of the church which took place in the 16th century also involved a re-structuring of the official ministry of the church. The Lutheran church was characterised mainly by the single ministry of the word, the Calvinistic church by a variety of official ministries, and the church of England by its traditional episcopate. If the churches of the reformation seemed to separate from each other on the basis of ministerial structures, they were, more or less, drawn together again by the way they heard the Word of God, and this hearing of the Word deeply influenced the way the ministry was envisaged. In a paper of this nature it is not possible to outline the theology of the ministry as it was developed by all the reformers, nor is it possible to consider the various confessional statements which deal with the ministry. From the whole range of possibilities, three different views of the ministry have been selected - those of Luther, Calvin and the Council of Trent. These doctrinal positions are presented in the belief that they are still worth hearing, all the more so because the present situation makes it easier to listen to the original voices and appreciate what they were saying.

1. Martin Luther¹

Luther's theology of the ministry is generally derived from the universal priesthood of the people of God. When discussing the priesthood of the New Testament, Luther is often compelled to take his point of departure from the doctrine which is current in the Roman church; but he does this in order to replace the priesthood in Christ and his people. In the treatise Concerning the Ministry, seven commonly accepted functions of the priestly office are examined, viz. to teach, to preach and 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 all doctrines and spirits. But the link which connects all these functions and on which everything depends is the ministry of God's word. For we teach with the word, we consecrate with the word, we bind and absolve sins by the word, we baptize with the word, we sacrifice with the word, we judge all things by the word. Now the ministry of the word is common to all Christians because they are a royal priesthood who have not only received the right but the command to proclaim the wonderful works of God. And so if the ministry of the word is common to all, then the whole range of priestly functions is equally universal.²

The church cannot be without the word, and a Christian is born to the ministry of the word in baptism.

Luther's insistence on the universal priesthood does not stem from religious individualism, but from the conviction that the church is a communion and that the priesthood is the life-form of the people of God. The universality of priesthood means that there is no room in the church for a twofold priesthood - one spiritual and common to all, the other external, visible, limited. This external priesthood could have no purpose and function except to declare the wonderful works of God. The universality of priesthood also means that there is no place for a sacrament of orders which impresses an indelible character. For priests are born, not made. They are born of water and the spirit, created not ordained. Baptism is the sacrament of priesthood, not ordination.³

The universality of priesthood also involves a universality of the preaching office, but this, in its turn, necessitates a special ministry of the word.⁴ There must be bishops, pastors or preachers in the church who publicly preach, baptize, absolve by the power of the keys and administer the sacraments. Otherwise, the church becomes a Babylon of disorder contrary to the teaching of the Apostle (I Cor. 14:40) and the common rights of Christians (communio iuris) are violated. No one individual can arrogate to himself what belongs to all. Rather the community rights demand that one should be chosen or approved, who, in the name of all with these rights, shall perform these functions publicly. Hence one of the signs by which the church is recognised externally is the fact "that it consecrates or calls ministers, or has offices that it is to administer".⁵ It is this public call that makes pastors and preachers, and the call which comes through the church is a call from Christ himself. Thus the ordained ministry of the word is the highest and greatest of the functions of the church, on which the whole power of the church depends, since the church is nothing without the word and everything in it exists by virtue of the word alone.⁶ And so it is clear that the Roman bishops are just painted images and no bishops at all. They dedicate bells, altars and churches, but leave the highest office of the ministry of the word, which is their proper function, to the very lowest orders.

Since the ordained minister of the gospel acts "in behalf of and in the name of the church" he does not exclude but includes the priestly community when he exercises his representative function. Luther applies this principle particularly to the proclamation of Christ's words in the true Christian mass. "We should not permit our pastor to speak Christ's words by himself as though he were speaking them for his own person; rather he is the mouth of all of us and we all speak them with him in our hearts".⁷ But this communal dimension of the pastor's office should not obscure the fact that he is the minister of Christ's word and not the minister of a collective human word. The pastor stands before the community in Christ's place. The mouth of the pastor is the mouth of Christ, and he is heard not as a man but as God.

The distinctive characteristic of the ordained minister is not that he is a priest, but that he has been called to the public exercise of functions which belong in principle to all Christians by reason of their universal priesthood.⁸ Those who are in charge of word and sacrament among the people have been given

the name of priests. But this is the result of pagan and Jewish influences which have seriously damaged the church. There are far better names for this office in the New Testament - ministers, deacons, bishops, stewards, presbyters. St. Paul's avoidance of the term 'priest of Christ' in describing his own ministry and his frequent use of the words 'stewardship', 'minister', 'servant' emphasise that it is not the status or order, or any authority that he wants to uphold, but only the office and function. The authority and dignity of the priesthood resides in the community of believers.⁹ A priest is not identical with a presbyter or a minister, for one is born to be a priest, but one becomes a minister.

In Luther's writings we also find a second starting-point for the derivation of the public ministry of word and sacrament. It is in Christ's institution rather than in the universal priesthood that the official ministry finds its origin, necessity and authority. At the same time, as the pioneer of reform, Luther cannot derive the ministerial office simply and solely from its institution by Christ. This could lead to an eclipse of the fundamental truth that the Christian community is a priestly people. Neither could Luther lose sight of the error of the Roman church which seeks its continuity in priestly ordinations rather than in the word of God and the ministry of the word. Luther sees his theology of the ministry, of the church and its continuity, as grounded in the oneness of the sacrifice of Christ which must be proclaimed as an eternal redemption to man who is justified by faith. He sees the corresponding Roman theology as grounded in the daily sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ - a make-shift 'redemption' by works, accomplished through sacrificing priests and perpetuated by ordaining bishops.¹⁰

2. John Calvin¹¹

Calvin's theology of ministry is centred in the Lordship of Christ who has chosen men as his servants for the building up of the church which is his body. The church is a servant church. The ministry of word and sacrament is a servant ministry. Ministry means service, the service of Jesus Christ, of his people and flock.¹² These leading thoughts are stamped with the simplicity of greatness. They bear within them a programme of reform in which the church's being is reflected in her structures, and they contain the substance of Calvin's charge against the church of Rome where the kingdom of Christ has become the empire of the pope, where the servant church has become an imperial church, where ministry has become lordship.

Calvin sees ministry and office in the church in terms of unity in diversity. The ministry is fundamentally one, but it takes a fourfold shape in the permanent offices of pastors, teachers, elders, and deacons. It is typical that Calvin should find his starting point in Ephesians 4 in the captivity of the ascended Christ, who, as head of his body, fills the church with gifts. Christ's gift to the church for the work of ministry, for the perfecting of the saints, for building up the body, is that some should be apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers. The first three ministries are temporary and

extraordinary, the last two are permanent ordinary offices, and so the church can never be without pastors and teachers. On the basis of Titus 1:7-9 and Acts 20:17 pastors are further identified with bishops and bishops with presbyters. Hence those who rule the local churches as ministers of God's word are called indiscriminately pastors, bishops, presbyters, ministers according to scriptural usage. On the combined basis of Rom. 12: 7-8 and I Cor. 12:28 we have another list of ministries - power to work miracles, the gift of healing, interpretation of tongues, government and caring for the poor. Again, by eliminating the extraordinary ministries, we are left with the permanent offices of government and caring for the poor, which are expressed in the disciplinary presbyterate (elders) and the charitable diaconate. Thus there is in the church a unified ministry with a diversity of offices and functions: pastors, teachers, elders and deacons.¹³

Pastors have the same charge as the apostles. They are sent by the Lord to proclaim the gospel and administer the sacraments just as the apostles were sent out by Christ to preach the gospel and to baptize. What the apostles performed for the whole world, each pastor performs for his own flock. The office of pastors is complemented by that of the doctors who have received the gift of interpreting scripture - to keep doctrine whole and pure among believers. The function of this ministry is to explain the scriptures, to prepare future ministers of the word for their task, to exercise the ministerium scholae in the religious formation of the young. The office of teachers is very similar in character to that of the prophets. It has the same purpose, but it does not involve the singular gift of prophetic revelation. These two offices are concerned with the ministry of the word, but the word of God is not simply thrown into the air. It is addressed to, and applied to, men. Hence discipline is necessary to enforce the word and to prevent the preaching of doctrine from becoming ineffectual. "Discipline is the ordering of the life of the church in its learning obedience to Christ and in its response to the teaching of scripture".¹⁴ And so the offices of pastors and doctors are complemented by the ministry of the governors and elders who are charged with the censure of morals and the exercise of discipline together with the bishop. They are the senate of the church for the correcting of faults, and, to some extent, the fraternal correction of the gospel finds here an institutional form. Calvin distinguishes between two kinds of presbyters in the senate of the church - the clerical presbyters who are ordained to teach and the lay presbyters whose function is purely disciplinary.¹⁵ The close harmony and co-operation between clergy and laity emphasises the oneness of the people of God. The office of deacons gives an institutional form to the imperatives of love by which we embrace our brethren and honour the Lord in his members. The diaconate is a lay ministry but a spiritual public office in the church. There are two distinct grades of deacons - those who distribute alms, and those who devote themselves to the care of the poor and the sick. Thus the deacons have a sacred office which functions 'like the hands of God' stretching out to the poor and sick members of the church, and distributing alms which are sacrifices offered to God and consecrated by him. Through these four special ministries the church is equipped to discharge its functions - preaching the word, ministering the sacraments, teaching sound doctrine, maintaining discipline, exercising charity.¹⁶ Calvin's structures of the ministerial church emphasise the basic unity of all ministry, the distinctive but complementary nature of offices and

the oneness of the people of God.

Ministry in the church is inherently corporate, collegiate. This stems from the corporate nature of the church which is the body of Christ, the body of which Christ is the sole head. As Lord of the church, Christ exercises dominion over his ministers and the gifts of the Spirit which he distributes through them. As sovereign and unique head, Christ unifies his body, co-ordinating and complementing gift with gift, office with office so that the church is built into a communion of saints and filled with all the fulness that Christ has to give. All the ministers are equal, and they are all equally servants. They are all subordinate to Christ both as individuals and as a whole, and their ministerial relations with each other are governed by their relationship with Christ, i.e. they are members of a body whose sole head is Christ. Thus the different ministries not only complement each other, but all who exercise the one ministry are corporately inter-related with each other. Christ assigns to each minister his own particular share of service, but corporately so that no relative or subordinate lordship can arise in the church which is Christ's body.¹⁷ Thus the pastors of the church are all equal by reason of office, all subordinate to Christ the head of the body, all colleagues and companions of each other. If dissensions are not to arise from equality of rank, the college of pastors must have a president,¹⁸ but he has no lordship over his colleagues and should govern the church in co-operation with them. This is the traditional pattern of church government. Each city had a college of presbyters and oversight was committed to one person who was especially given the title 'bishop'. "Just as the presbyters know that they are, according to the custom of the church, subject to him who presides, so the bishops recognise that they are superior to the presbyters more according to the custom of the church than by the Lord's actual arrangement, and that they ought to govern the church in co-operation with them".¹⁹ At the practical level Calvin's collegiate theology finds expression in the co-operation between the company of pastors and the company of elders in the consistory, between the different congregations and their presidents, between all the participants of a council, between the different churches in the neighbourhood. This is a working model of a church structured as the body of Christ and a communion of saints (communicatio sanctorum). "The saints are gathered into the society of Christ on the principle that whatever benefits God confers upon them, they should in turn share with each other".²⁰

The office of pastor is the fundamental ministry in the church. It is capable of including all the other functions within itself, but its own functions cannot be assumed by any other office.²¹ The pastoral office is in charge of the ministry of the word and the sacraments of the word. The word is the sceptre of Christ's rule and reign in the church,²² and through the word Christ is calling, assembling, forgiving, sanctifying and judging the community of the elect. Thus the ministry of word and sacrament does not stem from the will of men, nor from any form of social contract, but from the ordinance and institution of Christ. The pastoral office is necessary to preserve the life of the church, and to abolish it would be "to cut the throat of the church". This human ministry is the chief sinew by which believers are held together in one body, and pastors serve the Lord as his ambassadors in the world, representing his person. "Through the

ministers to whom he has entrusted this office and conferred the grace to carry it out, he (Christ) dispenses and distributes his gifts to the church, and he shows himself as though present by manifesting the power of his Spirit in this his institution".²³ The minister of the gospel speaks and acts with the authority of Christ, but the authority is never personal, always ministerial and functional. It is only under these conditions that the promise of Christ becomes an actual reality: He who hears you, hears me.²⁴ Thus the church exists wherever the word of God is purely preached and heard, and the sacraments administered according to Christ's institution.

The pastoral office is an apostolic office. At the local level pastors succeed the apostles in their function of preaching the gospel. It is futile for the Roman church to place apostolic succession in persons, in sees, in an unbroken line of bishops as though the apostolic office can be passed on like an hereditary possession to men who do not preach the word of God and hand on the gospel of Christ.²⁵ In the Roman church boys scarcely ten years old are made bishops, and, on all sides, we are confronted with bishops who devour benefices while the people of God are starving for the word of life. The best that could be said about the sort of men who are elected as bishops in the Roman church is that "they know how to plead in a court, rather than how to preach in a church".²⁶ Calvin is not campaigning for a church without bishops, but for a church with true bishops who are faithful ministers of God's word. He would maintain that such bishops exist in the pastors of the reformed church.

3. The Council of Trent²⁷

The doctrine of the Council of Trent on the sacrament of orders was promulgated on 15th July 1563. It formed an immediate conclusion to the work undertaken in September 1562. These doctrinal decrees are the result of a considerable historical development which forms the background to their understanding. The work of formulating the catholic doctrine on orders was begun under Paul III in 1547, was taken up again under Julius III in the period December 1551 to January 1552, and was finalised under Pius IV in 1563. The doctrinal decrees are a primary source for an understanding of the Tridentine teaching, since their objective is a unanimous statement of catholic truth which is to serve as a rule of faith against the errors of the times.²⁸ Together with the doctrinal decrees, the 23rd Session of the council also published the decrees for the reformation of the clergy. From the beginning it was recognised that "the aim of our reforming activity is the revival of the pastoral ministry".²⁹ The catholic reforming party was convinced that this would not be achieved without a corresponding reform of the Roman curia which was held responsible for perpetuating abuses, so clearly manifest in the vast numbers of absentee pastors and in the whole system of benefices and exemptions. These reforming decrees are also important as a theological source, for they often contain theological elements which are not found in the doctrinal decrees themselves. Finally, in reading through the acts of the council we become aware of different streams of thought which stem from a vital theology - a theology which is seeking understanding, raising questions of importance, searching for new orientations, exploring avenues of development, and striving for adequate expression. These are some of the factors which would

have to be taken into account in a full discussion of the Tridentine theology; but here we must confine our attention to the main issues, touching lightly on other areas.

The doctrinal decree of Trent consists of eight canons which are prefaced by a brief doctrinal statement in four chapters, which deal, in turn, with the visible priesthood, the seven orders, the sacramental nature of order and the hierarchy. The main content of the doctrinal decrees can be summarised in the following propositions: (i) Christ instituted a visible, external priesthood with the power of consecrating, offering and administering his body and blood, of forgiving and retaining sins. This power was given to the apostles and their successors in the priesthood. (ii) Sacred ordination is a sacrament which confers grace, imparts the Holy Spirit and impresses a character which cannot be effaced or taken away. Hence the council condemns the opinion which maintains that all Christians without distinction are priests of the new testament with equal spiritual power, that priests have only a temporary power and can again become laymen if they do not exercise the ministry of the word. (iii) In the catholic church there is a hierarchy instituted 'by divine ordinance' and consisting of bishops, priests and ministers. Bishops belong principally (praecipue) to this hierarchical order. They are the successors of the apostles and have been placed by the Holy Spirit to rule the church of God. Bishops are superior to presbyters, and can administer the sacrament of confirmation, ordain ministers of the church and perform many other functions in respect to which those of a lower order have no power. The bishops chosen by the authority of the pope are true and legitimate bishops. (iv) In the ordination of bishops and priests, the consent, call or authority, whether of the people or of any civil power or magistrate, is not required in such wise that without it the ordination is invalid. Although the Tridentine doctrine on ministry cannot be identified with a theology of the sacerdotium, there is no doubt that it finds its starting point and its centre in the inter-connection between priesthood, sacrifice and eucharist. Priesthood and sacrifice are inseparably united, and because the eucharist is a visible sacrifice there must also be in the church a visible, external priesthood.³⁰ To a large extent the council's doctrine on the nature of priesthood is pre-determined by the polemical situation and by the stand already taken in the decrees on the sacrifice of the mass.³¹ In the first two periods of the council the decrees often carry the title 'On the sacrifice of the mass and orders'. The starting point now controls the doctrinal development. The institution of the Christian priesthood is traced back to the Last Supper when Christ made the apostles priests, and gave them the power to consecrate and offer his body and blood. Hence priests are the successors of the apostles in terms of sacerdotal power, and the characteristic of a priest is his power in respect to the eucharistic body of Christ. Thus the priest is ordained to celebrate the eucharist, and this is, as it were, the content of his priesthood. It is still important to note that the council does not give an exclusive value to any of these considerations. But with a theology of orders so firmly centred in the sacerdotium, it will now be difficult to achieve a theology which will 'revitalise the pastoral ministry'. This becomes apparent the moment we ask where the ministry of the word fits into this scheme of orders.

The ministry of the word is mentioned four times in the final doctrinal decree

but always in negative terms, e.g. condemning the opinion that there is no visible priesthood in the New Testament but only the office and bare ministry of preaching the gospel, or that those who do not preach are not priests at all. But this gives no indication of the paramount importance that the council attributed to the pastoral ministry of the word, and it leaves no trace of the considerable theology of the word which developed within the council itself.

If we take up the draft on the doctrine of orders towards its closing stages in October 1562, we find that the first chapter on priesthood ends with a statement on preaching. There is, and there never can be, any doubt that the ministry of the word is proper (convenit) to priests.³² But this statement has disappeared from the draft of the first chapter which had reached its final form on the 3rd November. The statement on the ministry of the word had been criticised on the ground that it was not necessary, and that it interrupted the flow of thought towards the second chapter on the seven orders which were presented as offices ministering to the sacerdotium. In other words, the reference to the ministry of the gospel has been eliminated, because the council has now decided to express its doctrine on priesthood in terms of sharp opposition to protestantism and to eliminate any points of contact. There is another reason which we shall consider in a moment.

At the same time the ministry of the word had always held a high place in the decrees on reform. Here we must confine ourselves to a single example taken from the reform decrees of 1546. All those who are engaged in the pastoral office must feed their flocks with the saving word so that the cry of Lamentations does not arise in the land: "The children beg for bread, but there is no one to break it for them" (Lam. 4:4).³³ The preaching of the gospel is the principal function (munus praecipuum) of the bishop, and he is bound personally to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ.³⁴ This stream of thought eventually flows into the reform decree promulgated on the 15th July 1563. It is a divine command that all who are engaged in the pastoral ministry must feed their flocks by preaching the word of God, by administering the sacraments and by the example of a Christian life. The very way that the minister lives should be a personal commentary on the gospel which he preaches.³⁵

We can now return to the doctrinal decree and consider the second reason why preaching was finally eliminated. At the centre of the decree lies the sacerdotium conceived as a power of orders; but many would consider that the office of preaching falls directly within the scope of the pastoral power of jurisdiction. Thus preaching requires the canonical mission of the bishop, and preaching as such is the function of the bishop rather than priests. Hence any reference to preaching in the decree on orders should be transferred to that section of the document which deals with the hierarchy and bishops. This kind of problem had already been raised in the first period of the council in 1547. "Preaching is the bishop's function and priests cannot preach unless they are sent".³⁶ Preaching will now be caught up in the problem of bishops, and we must consider how the doctrinal decrees integrate the episcopal office into the schema of orders.

Many of the bishops were highly critical of the draft on orders which was presented to the general congregation on 15th October 1562.³⁷ They do not

approve of the double line of apostolic succession, one terminating in the sacerdotium, the other in the episcopate. They feel that bishops are displaced persons in a schema of orders which is centred in the priesthood and which presents the seven orders as culminating in the sacerdotium. But the burning question is one that has occurred in all three periods of the council, viz. is there going to be a plain statement that bishops are de iure divino? And so the archbishop of Granada requests an insertion that the bishops are constituted by Christ iure divino, and that they are superior to presbyters for this same reason. He is supported by fifty-three votes of the general congregation, mostly from the Spanish bloc. He argues his case strongly,³⁸ but Laynez probes away at the phrase de iure divino, laying bare its possible, and impossible, meanings.³⁹ As the debate intensifies in violence and carries over into the new year, it becomes increasingly clear that no agreement will be reached on this central issue which involves the relation between the eucharistic body of Christ and the church-body of Christ, between powers of order and powers of jurisdiction, between Peter and the apostles, between the pope and the bishops.

The question of the ius divinum had been on the agenda in all three periods of the council, and it was highly explosive. On the side of the curia there was the fear of conciliarism, and the zelanti had raised the cry of heresy.⁴⁰ From the legate's report on 31st January 1563 we learn that the third stage of the controversy had reached such a pitch that the general congregations were no longer meeting. The council was dead-locked. The French bishops, who had arrived in Trent two months previously, had now formed an uneasy alliance with the Spaniards, and were threatening to walk out of the council if the doctrinal decree on the hierarchy persisted in stating that the pope was rector universalis ecclesiae, and that the bishops were called to share in his responsibility (vocati in partem sollicitudinis suae).⁴¹ The council had not yet reached a point of no return, but there would be no agreement unless all parties were prepared to withdraw from their positions. And so Charles Borromeo writes to the legates outlining the tactics for a general withdrawal. The canons on orders should be as brief and incisive as possible. There should be no more than a short preface concentrating strictly on the sacrament of orders - not a single word about the primacy of Peter, the authority of the pope, the institution of bishops or their jurisdiction.

The doctrinal decree published three weeks later does contain a new insertion which gave some satisfaction to the Spanish and French bishops. The hierarchy is instituted divina ordinatione, and bishops belong principally to this hierarchical order. The bishops of Segovia and Granada have the last word as the final placets are recorded: placet sub spe molioris declarationis.⁴² The conciliar decree on orders will now go on to make its own history. The cord that binds it to the council will be cut, and the casual reader will not suspect that beneath its surface there are great unsolved problems.

In view of the theology of ministry developed in the 2nd Vatican Council, one of the most striking documents drafted at Trent was the doctrine on orders which was put before the fathers on 21st January 1552, but never ratified.⁴³ Here the basis of the visible priesthood is widened, and the priesthood is presented as a sharing in the threefold office of Christ as

king, prophet and priest. The different ministries of the visible church are divinely established, for Christ the Lord has given them for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of ministry, for the building up of the body of Christ. Bishops are de iure divino, since they take the place of the apostles who were called and given their apostolate by Christ himself. Bishops have the fulness of the priesthood and the fulness of orders. Presbyters are the helpers of their bishop, and the presbyterium is the bishop's council. This outline is, without doubt, highly selective, for it singles out certain elements from a document of considerable length, but it represents a type of theology which will lie dormant for centuries to come.

We can now attempt a brief survey of the ground that has been covered. Luther's view of the ministry is characterised by the strong emphasis on the public ministry of the word within a priestly people who are born and exist to proclaim this word. Calvin's view is distinctive because of the particular way he develops the notion of ministry as service, and the Council of Trent stands apart with its insistence on a special priestly ministry. The Roman and Protestant positions are strongly opposed. There are more points of contact than would appear at first sight, and, on each side of the divide, important things are being said that will eventually require mutual listening and hearing. But the original protagonists would consider that any resemblances in their views were simply marginal. It is the presence or the absence of the background of eucharistic sacrifice which gives perspective to everything else. Both sides would have agreed on one thing. There is no common ground between the two propositions: there is a priestly ministry, there is no priestly ministry. On the R.C. side the Tridentine decree on orders is regarded as definitive in the sense of being a normative rule of faith, but not definitive in the sense of being closed to further development.

NOTES:

1. Cfr. Paul Althaus, The Theology of Martin Luther, Philadelphia, Fortress, 1966, pp. 323-332; Jaroslav Pelikan, Continuity and Order in Luther's view of Church and Ministry; Ivar Ashheim, The Church, Mysticism, Sanctification and the Natural in Luther's Thought, Philadelphia, Fortress, 1967, pp. 143-155.
2. Concerning the Ministry, Luther's Works, American Edition, v. 40, pp. 21-32.
3. Ibid., p.18, 22.
4. "We readily admit that not many of you are to preach at the same time, although all have the power to do so. But all things should be done decently and in order (1 Cor. 14). By this the universality of the office of preaching is not abolished, indeed it is strengthened thereby. For if all men did not possess the prerogative of preaching and only one had the right to speak, what need would there be to command and keep order? It is precisely because all have the right and power to preach that it becomes

- necessary to keep order". The Misuse of the Mass, Luther's Works, American Edition, v.36, p. 149.
5. On the Councils and the Church, Luther's Works, American Edition, v. 41, p. 154.
 6. Concerning the Ministry, Luther's Works, American Edition, v. 40, p.11. It must be noted that the ministry of the word, the highest office in the church, is not the exclusive prerogative of the ordained minister but it is committed to all Christians. "The ministry of the word is the highest office in the church, it is unique and belongs to all who are Christians, not only by right but by command". Cited from Althaus, op. cit., p. 327.
 7. Von der Winkelmesse und Pfaffenweihe, W.A. 38, 247. Cited from Althaus, p. 326.
 8. Cfr. The Babylonian Captivity, Luther's Works, American Edition, v. 36, p. 113.
 9. Concerning the Ministry, Luther's Works, American Edition, v. 40, p. 35.
 10. In the Lutheran Symbolic Books it is noticeable that the text on the royal priesthood (1 Pet. 2:9) is cited once only, and then as proof that the church has the right of electing and ordaining ministers since it alone possesses the priesthood. From his analysis of the symbolic books, George A. Lindbeck reaches the following conclusions. (i) The necessity of the special office of the ministry of the word flows from the doctrines that justification is by faith alone and that the Holy Spirit works faith through the external word present in preaching and the sacraments. Preaching and sacrament require an office. (ii) The reason why the ministerial office is necessary is left open. It may be based on the Pauline principle of decency and order, on sociological necessity, or on the divine institution. (iii) The ministry is de iure divino since it is instituted by God. Christ's continuously operative command to preach and celebrate the sacraments involves a continuous command to establish the ministry. Thus the ministry is de iure divino as long as it truly serves the Word. (iv) The universal priesthood, because it is common to the whole people of God, cannot be used to explain what differentiates one ministry from another in the church. The ministry of the word is instrumental to rather than derivable from it. (v) Ministry and ordination are sacramental in a broad and secondary sense. Ordination does not confer the grace of personal justification but the grace of office. Luther himself held that ordination involves a blessing, a gift of grace, a gift of the Holy Spirit. See George A. Lindbeck, The Lutheran Doctrine of the Ministry, Theological Studies, December 1969, pp. 588-612.
 11. Cfr. Alexandre Ganoczy, Calvin et Vatican II: L'église servante, Paris, Cerf, 1968; Jean Jacques von Allmen, Le saint ministère selon la conviction et la volonté des Réformés du XVI^e siècle, Neuchâtel, Delachaux et Niestlé, 1968; Geddes MacGregor, Corpus Christi, London, Macmillan, 1959; J.K.S. Reid, Diakonia in the Thought of Calvin; James McCord, Service in Christ, London, Epworth, 1966, pp. 101-109.

"All offices of the church are called ministries or services" (Serm. on 1 Tim. 3:6-7). "Primacy has no place in his kingdom..Christ appoints pastors of his church, not to rule but to serve" (Comm. on a harmony of the Evangelists, Matthew 20: 24-28). "Pastors are not ordained to dominate. Why then? For the service of the faithful .. servants of Jesus Christ, and of his people and flock" (Serm. on 1 Tim. 3: 6-7). Citations taken from J.K.S. Reid, op. cit.

Calvin does not always adhere to the scheme of four offices, which derives from Bucer. Sometimes he recognises two (presbyters and deacons) sometimes three (presbyters, elders and deacons). The Second Helvetic Confession identifies bishops, presbyters, doctors and teachers. From his examination of the Confession, Pastor Allmen concludes that strictly speaking there is not a diversity of ministries in the reformed church but a single ministry of word and sacrament. See op. cit., p. 168-191.

R.N. Caswell, Calvin's View of Ecclesiastical Discipline: John Calvin, Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1966, p. 212.

Cfr. Commentary on 1 Tim. 5:17 (Calvin's Commentaries, edited by David W. Torrance, p. 262).

Draft Ecclesiastical Ordinances, Library of Christian Classics, v. 22, pp. 58-72; Institutes, IV, 3, 4-9.

Institutes, IV, 6,10; Commentary on Ephesians 4:11.

Cfr. Institutes, IV, 6, 8.

Institutes, IV, 4, 2.

Institutes, IV, 1, 3.

Institutes, IV, 3, 4.

"Why is the preaching of the gospel so often styled the kingdom of God, but because it is the sceptre by which the heavenly king rules his people". Reply to Sadolet, Library of Christian Classics, v. 22, p.230.

Institutes, IV, 3, 2.

Institutes, IV, 8, 2.

Cfr. Necessity of Reforming the Church, Library of Christian Classics, v. 22, pp. 208-209.

Institutes, IV, 5, 1.

Cfr. Henri Denis, La théologie du presbytérat de Trente à Vatican II, Les Prêtres, Paris, Cerf, 1968, pp. 194-232; A. Duval, L'ordre au Concile de Trente; Etudes sur le sacrement de l'ordre, Paris, Cerf, 1957, pp. 276-324; Hubert Jodin, A History of the Council of Trent, London, Nelson, 1957.

References to the Council of Trent are from the Ehses edition of the diaries, acts, letters and tractates. This is denoted by the symbol C.T. The following numerals indicate volume number, page numbers and then line numbers.

C.T. 9, 621, 26-29.