The doctrine and practice of the ministry in the church of Sweden

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THE DOCTRINE AND PRACTICE OF THE MINISTRY IN THE CHURCH OF SWEDEN

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C H A P T E R 1

INTRODUCTION : RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ANGLICAN AND SWEDISH CHURCHES

This thesis is an examination of the ministry in the Church of Sweden , and it falls into two main divisions , Chapter 2 , which deals with the Doctrine -- i.e. the statements about the ministry and its place in the Church made in the Confessional documents and by Swedish theologians , and Chapter 3 , which deals with the Practice -- i.e. the provisions that have been and now are made both for the appointment and ordination of the minister and for the ordering of his work . The purpose of this first chapter is to set this subject in the context of the relationship between the Anglican Communion and the Church of Sweden , for it is here that it becomes not only of interest to Anglicans but also relevant to their own theological debate about the ministry .

During the last fifty years or so , all the Christian churches have become aware of eachother to a much greater extent than before and , as a result , have to some degree come to consider eachother's beliefs and systems not merely as heresies to be combated,but as parallel expressions of the Christian faith,which could enshrine a truth that they themselves had overlooked . The growing conviction that disunity is not only inexpedient but also sinful has led all the churches to show some concern for re-union , though they differ over how this is to be effected . The Ecumenical Movement , as this process of inter-church contact,theological discussion and mutual prayer and worship is known , has given to the Christian world a particular sensitivity to those aspects of faith and practice over which there is most disagreement . Questions about the ministry are to the fore here , not only because the claims made on behalf of the Pope have caused the separation between the Roman church and the rest of Christendom , but also because of th

(1) cf Wingren KA , p 5

(2) cf Wingren SKEA , passim

emphasis laid on episcopacy by Anglicans , on the parity of ministers by those of the Reformed tradition , and on local autonomy by the Congregationalists , which give these bodies much of their distinctive character. Even those Communions for whom questions about the ministry are not so fundamental,such as the Lutherans , have been brought into the ecumenical discussion and affected by it ; in the Church of Sweden , for example, the doctrine of the ministry has been the main theological point of interest for the last ten years(1). This church has, in fact, a position of particular interest , since one aspect of its practice in matters of the ministry (retaining the episcopat in the apostolic succession) has commended it to Anglicans , though its teaching remains in line with other Lutheran bodies ; yet it is different from other Lutherans in its willingness to enter into , and seek after , relationships with churches other than those of the Augsburg Confession , and it is subject to some criticism for this attitude from other members of the Lutheran World Federation(2) . The Church of Sweden then , is in an important position from an ecumenical point of view ; but so is the Anglican Communion , for it stands as a bridge between the traditional "Catholic" and "Protestant" groupings, and contains within itself so many of the tensions which divide Christendom . It is for this reason that the relationships between these two churches are of exceptional importance . Before considering the negotiations of fifty years ago,which were motivated primarily by the Anglican interest in the Swedish church as one having the "historic episcopate" , it is necessary to review the earlier contacts between them , noting the feature that then determined the attitude of the one to the other.

1. Contacts between the English and Swedish Churches up to 1880.

During the seventeenth century (the "Age of Orthodoxy") , Lutheran churches regarded any body that did not affirm the Augsburg Confession with very great suspicion , and worse even than Rome were those who followed the teachings of Calvin ; the

(3) See Jacobowski , p 106ff and Evander . For an interesting account of English church life , see J.Svedberg's autobiography , p 71-80 .

(4) See B.Hellecant .

English church was then regarded as being clearly in the Calvinist camp (note that the motto of the Swedish church in London , founded in 1710 , is " Rosa inter spinas " !). Even though there were a number of students from Sweden who came to study in this country , it was only the few who took an interest in the established church who were able to realize that it was neither Calvinist nor sectarian and that in many ways it resembled their own . The diaries of several of those who lived in England for a time are interesting for their observations to this effect , often in a very surprised tone.(3) One of them, Jacob Serenius, who was pastor in London for some twelve years, published an interesting study "Examen harmoniae religionis ecclesi -ae lutheranae & anglicanae" in 1726. The rise of the Pietist movements at the end of the seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth centuries as a continual reaction to the strict and rigid dogmatism of the Orthodox theology , meant that there was a greater demand for freedom in religion and a great ecumenical spirit that led to close contacts with pietists in other lands regardless of their confessional background ; many English devotional works were made available in Sweden.(4) But this did not affect the leadership of the Swedish church , who still maintained their old rigidity , as can be seen in the reactions of the Swedish bishops to the most interesting circular letter that they received in 1718 from Count Gyllenborg ; he had been approached by several English churchmen with a proposal that the Protestant churches of Europe should unite so that they could together oppose the growing power of Rome, and that a start shoul be made with the English and Swedish churches as these were so alike . "They maintained",wrote the Count in his letter , reporting the views of the English ecclesiastics,"that there was little difference between the two churches because they were in complete agreement in "Fundamentalibus articulis fidei" and that though there were different opinions "in articulo de sacra coena" , they considered that these were not so great as to make one separate from the other. As to "ceremonialibus" , apart from

(5) The Swedish text of the letter to Bishop Gezelius of Åbo is given in Ahlqvist, Bexell & Lignell , p 88ff.

(6) See Lundström in KÅ 1912 ; Pleijel , p 87ff ; Holmqvist & Pleijel , p 239ff .

(7) cf G.C.Richards , p 210ff . It would be interesting to investigate whether this was done on any other occasion; this is mentioned in the books as being unique .

(8) Wordsworth , p 405.

the fact that both sides regarded them as "adiaphora" , there was complete uniformity in the method of conducting the services , in the formulae of prayer , and in other matters".(5) There is no mention here of any reference by the Anglicans to the maintenance of episcopacy in both churches . This suggestion however was received very reservedly by the Swedish bishops , who could see no possibility of any relationship as long as the Church of England remained outside the "Evangelical" fold ; even the two bishops who had studied in England and who knew that Anglicanism was to be distinguished from Calvinism considered that the differences were too great and the time inopportune for any such negotiation ; on this latter point they were unquestionably right . It is interesting that the only reference in the whole episode to the common possession of episcopacy comes in the reply of one of these .(6)

Examples of contact between the English and Swedish churches during the next century and a half remain occasional in nature and confined to the activities and experiences of particular individuals . Two only may be mentioned here . In 1837 , at the request of Bishop Blomfield of London , Bishop af Wingård of Goteborg confirmed a number of the English residents of that city using the Swedish rite . Confirmation is not an episcopal act in Sweden , but the bishop took the service himself and added to it the ceremony of the imposition of hands (which it did not then contain) to make it acceptable.(7) In 1865 the English church in Stockholm was consecrated by Bishop Whitehouse of Illinois under commission from Bishop Tait of London ; at this service the then Archbishop of Uppsala assisted in the consecration , received communion , and pronounced the blessing (8).

Mutual contact between the two churches before 1880 was necessarily confined to individuals who had special occasion to visit eachother , and the extent to which this could be encouraged was affected by the political relationships of the

(9) Svedberg , p 301ff.

(10) For full details see Paxson.

two countries . But when branches of these two churches found themselves living together in the free atmosphere of the New World , they were more able to recognize their similarity to eachother and give expression to their feelings of fellowship. Since the fourth decade of the seventeenth century there had been a number of struggling Swedish colonies settled around the river Delaware , in the area around the present city of Philadelphia . They were on very friendly terms with the ministers of the neighbouring English congregations , having discovered that both their beliefs and their methods of conducting Divine Service were so much alike . The clergy took eachothers' services , joined together in synods , and received the communion at eachothers' hands.(9) As the Swedish colonies became more English speaking so their desire for priests from the homeland grew weaker and eventually they beaame integrated into the English Episcopal Church . In 1786 one of their churches petitioned the Archbishop of Uppsala not to send out any more Swedish priests and voted the following year to appoint either Lutheran or Episcopalian priests ; then not long after it was merged completely into the diocesan organisation along with the others .(10) The second wave of Swedish immigrants ,beginning about 1840, contained a large number of the more pietist-minded , who felt no desire to continue the kind of church organisation that they had known at home ; so some of them founded , in 1860 , the Augustana Synod , an independent , non-episcopal communion . Others however felt the need of keeping an episcopal order and desired that the friendship with the Protestant Episcopal Church should remain , and these congregations formed the Swedish Episcopal Church with close ties with the English diocese of Illinois , whose bishop , Dr Whitehouse , was very energetic in this respect , caring for their congregations and their priests . He obtained from the Archbishop of Uppsala an undertaking that Swedish emmigrants would be given a ministerial certificate recommending them to apply to the Protestant Episcopal Church for spiritual care , in

(11) Wordsworth , p 398-407 and Stephenson

(12) The English text of the letter can be found in the Augustana Theological Quarterly , 1911, p 53 .

cases where access to a Swedish Evangelical-Lutheran congregation was not possible . Despite a revival in 1889 , the Swedish Episcopal Church gradually became weaker and is now entirely absorbed into the Anglican Communion in America . So the pattern repeated itself once again .(11)

Some Swedes when they travel to the USA. still regard the Anglican church as the proper counter-part to their home church, and it is not unknown for a Swedish priest to do parochial work over there in the Protestant Episcopal Church while on a study-visit . Since the beginning of this century however there has been no doubt that the official counter-part of the Swedish Church in USA. is the Augustana Synod , and there has always been a certain amount of suspicion on the part of this body for the friendship between the Anglican Communion and the Church of Sweden . When the negotiations with the Archbishop's Commission were proceeding in 1908 , the Swedish Archbishop found it necessary to write to reassure the Augustana Synod that no decision they might take would affect the relationship in America between the Augustana Synod and the Protestant Episcopal Church and to reaffirm that no Swede was ever recommended to attend the Episcopal Church in America if there was any possibil-ity of his attending a church of the Augustana Synod.(12) Some of the Anglicans in America therefore tended to identify the Church of Sweden with the Augustana Synod and were consequently very suspicious of the suggestion that there should be negotiations with a view to inter-communion ; this probably accounts for the unfavourable report of the committee of the General Convention of 1895, referred to in the next section.

If therefore there is little to show of mutual recognition between the two churches in Europe before 1880 , they did not fail to recognize their kinship and enter into the closest relationship when confronted by eachother in America , The preservation of episcopacy in both churches however is regarded as being only one of several features that they have in common ,

(13) "Your Committee consider that , in view of the increasing number of Swedes and other Scandinavians now living in America and in the English colonies , as well as for the furtherance of Christian Unity , earnest efforts should be made to establish more friendly relations between the Scandinavian and Anglican Churches .

In regard to the Swedish Church, your Committee are of the opinion that,as its standards of doctrine are to a great extent in accord with our own,and its continuity as a national Church has never been broken,any approaches on its part should be most gladly welcomed with a view to mutual explanation of ~~difficulties~~ differences,and the ultimate establishment,if possible,of permanent intercommunion on sound principles of Ecclesiastical polity.

Greater difficulties are presented as regards communion with the Norwegian and Danish Churches by the constitution of their ministry; but there are grounds of hope, in the growing appreciation of Church order,that in the course of time these difficulties may be surmounted".

(14) Resolution 14:"That , in the opinion of this Conference earnest efforts should be made to establish more friendly relations between the Scandinavian and the Anglican Churches;and that approaches on the part of the Swedish Church,with a view to the mutual explanation of difficulties,be most gladly welcomed,in order to the ultimate establishment,if possible,of intercommunion on sound principles of ecclesiastical polity" .

and is not given the determinative place that is afforded to it ~~and~~ in the later discussions .

2. Official negotiations between the Lambeth Conferences and the Church of Sweden.

The Tractarian Movement in the Church of England meant that there was a renewed interest in such matters as episcopacy and the apostolic succession , and the suggestion that the succession might have been preserved in the Swedish Church was investigated . In 1880 Dr A,Nicholson published his "Apostolical Succession in the Church of Sweden" and Bishops Tait and Browne drew public attention to the Orders of the Swedish Church as making it worthy of special notice. Because of this interest , and because of the contacts in America , the matter was brought up at the Lambeth Conference of 1888 . The Committee on Scandinavians and Old Catholics reported(13) that while friendly relations were desirable with all the Scandinavian churches , the Danish and Norwegian presented a problem "by the constitutio of their ministry" ; approaches from the Swedish Church however would be more welcome "as its standards of doctrine are to a great extent in accord with our own and its continuity as a national church has never been broken". This is the only mention by the Anglicans of there being any concern for doctrine , and it must be said that this statement seems to be fundamentally dishonest as it stands . There is nothing that distinguishes the Swedish from the Danish and Norwegian churches in standards of doctrine , nor in continuity as a national church , in the plain meaning of that phrase; the factor that makes the difference , although it is not explicitly stated,is the existence of an episcopacy in the apostolic succession ; this is the hidden implication of the phrase "its continuity as a national church". The final resolution of the Conference(14) simply affirms that the Conference desired a relationship with the Swedish Church , without giving any reason for singling it out from the other Scandinavians .

When the next Lambeth Conference met in 1897 , its Committee on Unity had before it a report of a committee of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America which had advised the Convention not to allow Swedish ministers to officiate in Anglican parishes ; this report had not been accepted by the Convention , but the Lambeth Committee felt it advisable to meet its contentions and did so in its own report. All the American objections are against aspects of the doctrine and practice of the ministry in the Church of Sweden . While agreeing that the succession had been kept, the disappearance of the diaconate was deplored , the rite of ordination judged insufficient , and the similarity between the form of service for installing a bishop in his office and that for installing an incumbent in his parish noted . The Lambeth Committee gave very full consideration to all these objections and reported that the rite of ordination made it perfectly clear that it was the Ministry of Word and Sacraments that was being conferred, noted that it was always performed by a bishop and commented that "its contents,if varied in order,agree very closely with the Anglican Ordinal" ; it also declared that the form for installing a bishop in his office was , in practice, clearly distinguished from an induction and was an ordination to a new and life-long office in the church ; as for the diaconate , it merely commented that the Swedish diaconate "holds a place like that of Lay Reader in the Anglican Church" . The emphasis is now quite clearly on questions of ministry , and this is reflected in the Resolution passed by the full Conference :(Resolved)"That this Conference,being desirous of furthering the action taken by the Lambeth Conference of 1888 with regard to the validity of the Orders of the Swedish Church , requests the Archbishop of Canterbury to appoint a committee to inquire into the question and report to the next Lambeth Conference ; and that it is desirable that the Committee , if appointed, should confer with the authorities or representatives of the Church of Sweden upon the subject of the proposed investigation" (Resolution 39) .

(15) See Wordsworth , Preface .

(16) Italics mine

No such committee was however appointed and nothing further happened until the next Lambeth Conference in 1908 , when the Swedish Bishop of Kalmar was present to convey the compliments and good wishes of the Archbishop of Uppsala and to suggest that some sort of alliance might be entered into . This Swedish initiative (invited by the 1888 Resolution) was greatly appreciated and the Conference again requested the Archbishop "to appoint a Commission to correspond further with the Swedish Church through the Archbishop of Uppsala on the possibility and conditions of such an alliance"(Resolution 74) . In March 1909 the Commission was appointed, under the chairmanship of Bishop Ryle of Winchester , and including Bishop Wordsworth of Salisbury (who was inspired by this contact to write his great history of the Swedish Church in 1911). This Commission went to Sweden and had deep consultations with a weighty group of Swedish ecclesiastics under the chairmanship of the Archbishop of Uppsala (Dr Ekman) , which included Nathan Söderblöm , then Professor of Comparative Religion at Uppsala.(15)

The Report issued by this Commission shows that the Anglicans were mainly interested in the same questions about the ministry : the succession , the ordination rites , episcopal confirmation and the diaconate . Its conclusion is as follows: "We are convinced by the evidence that has been put before us :

1) That the succession of bishops has been maintained unbroken by the Church of Sweden and that it has a true conception of the episcopal office , though it does not as a whole consider the office to be so important as most English Churchmen do ;

2) That the office of priest is also rightly conceived as a divinely instituted instrument for the Ministry of the Word and Sacraments , and that it has been in intention handed on throughout the whole history of the Church of Sweden.....

We are <u>therefore</u>(16) agreed to recommend that a resolution should be proposed..... under which members of the National Church of Sweden otherwise qualified to receive the Sacrament in their own Church , might be admitted to Holy Communion in

(17) Resolutions 24 and 25:

"24. The Conference welcomes the Report of the Commission appointed after the last Conference entitled "The Church of England and the Church of Sweden" and, accepting the conclusions there maintained on the succession of the Bishops in the Church of Sweden and the conception of the priesthood set forth in its standards, recommends that members of that Church, qualified to receive the Sacrament in their own Church, should be admitted to Holy Communion in ours. It also recommends that on suitable occasions permission should be given to Swedish ecclesiastics to give addresses in our churches.

If the authorities of any province of the Anglican Communion find local irregularities in the order or practice of the Church of Sweden outside that country, they may legitimately, within their own region, postpone any such action as is recommended in this resolution until they are satisfied that these irregularities have been removed.

25. We recommend further that, in the event of an invitation being extended to an Anglican bishop or Bishops to take part in the consecration of a Swedish bishop, the invitation should, if possible, be accepted, subject to the approval of the Metropolitan. We also recommend that in the first instance, as an evident token of the restoration of closer relations between the two churches if possible more than one of our bishops should take part in the Consecr--ation".

(18) Bishop Lönegren of Härnosand at Canterbury 1927.

(19) It was not until October 1954 that the Convocations of the Church of England gave official recognition to these recommendations.

(20) The full English text is printed in Bell, p 185ff It was <u>not</u> a reply to the Lambeth Appeal for Christian Unity as stated by the 1930 Lambeth Committee, see Brillioth in STK, 1930.

ours ."

The substance of the Commission's recommendations were embodied in two Resolutions of the Lambeth Conference of 1920[17] the second of which adds the suggestion that "in the event of an invitation being extended to an Anglican bishop or bishops to take part in the consecration of a Swedish bishop , the invitation should,if possible,be accepted" . These resolutions have determined the attitude of the English Church since then , and on many occasions Anglican bishops have taken part in consecrations in Sweden , and on at least one occasion a Swedish bishop has assisted at a similar ceremony in this country[18]; there have also been many exchanges of pulpits and acts of intercommunion . Anglicans visiting Sweden who would not have otherwise felt themselves able to accept the invitation to communicate at Swedish altars , have done so as a result of the assurances offered by these resolutions.[19]

On the other hand the Swedes made clear from the very beginning ,and especially at the meeting in 1909 , that whereas they were quite prepared to help the Anglicans in their inquiries they could not agree that questions of ministry should play such a part in determining the attitude of one Church to another . Their point of view was again put forward in their reply to the resolutions of the 1920 Lambeth Conference[20]. This reply is of the utmost relevance to the subject of this thesis and some of the paragraphs deserve quotation in full :

"Thus in the question of intercommunion our Church has not attached decisive weight either to the doctrine of the ministry in general or to what is usually called the Apostolical Succession of Bishops and the questions thereby implied . The deeper reason for this is derived from our fundamental conceptions , and has been explained several times during the preparatory investigations , and particularly during the negotiations in Upsala in September 1909 , by the representatives of the Swedish Church . For the explanation of this position ,

which we think we ought now to emphasize, we refer to the points with regard to the doctrine of the Swedish Church on the ministry that were on that occasion laid before the Committee appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1909 and form part of the report issued in 1911 by this Committee . From these points we quote :

3) No particular organisation of the Church and of its ministry is instituted iure divino , not even the order and discipline and state of things recorded in the New Testament , because the Holy Scriptures , the norma normans of the faith of the Church,are no law but vindicate for the New Covenant the great principle of Christian freedom,unwearily asserted by St Paul against every form of legal religion,and applied with fresh strength and clearness by Luther , but instituted by our Saviour himself,as,for instance,when taking farewell of his disciples,He did not regulate their future work by a priori rules and institutions but directed them to the guidance of the Paraclete , the Holy Ghost .

4) The object of any organisation and of the whole ministry being included in the preaching of the Gospel and the administr--ation of the Sacraments , according to the fifth Article of Augustana God has instituted ministerium docendi et porrigendi sacramenta , our Church cannot recognize any essential difference de iure divino of aim or authority between the two or three orders into which the ministry of grace may have been divided iure humano for the benefit and convenience of the Church .

5) The value of every organisation of the ministerium ecclesiasticum, and of the Church in general , is only to be judged by its fitness and ability to become a pure vessel for the supernatural contents, and a perfect channel for the way of Divine Revelation unto mankind .

6) That doctrine in no wise makes our Church indifferent to the organisation and the forms of ministry which the cravings and experiences of the Christian community have produced under the guidance of the Spirit in the course of history . We do not

Only regard the peculiar forms and traditions of our Church with the reverence due to a venerable legacy from the past , but we realize in them a blessing from the God of history accorded to us .

From the conception of our Church regarding the ministry, which has been declared here again , it follows that for us decisive importance must be attached,not to any questions of a more formal character,but to the question whether and how far the two communities agree in these ideas as to the content of that message of salvation,founded on the divine revelation,which has been committed to both of them . The differences which can no doubt be found here must be neither overrated nor underrated. The difference as to the emphasis laid on the doctrine of the ministry,which has appeared above,might point to a certain discrepancy even in matters that have a more central position according to our valuation .....

Yet , and without any wish to belittle the difference that exists between the two Churches,we do not hesitate to pronounce as our opinion that....our impression of that unity which binds the two Churches together in what is deepest and most central, has become predominant. In the Church and the congregation of Christ,as in every living body,real concord is not character--ised by uniformity , but by unity in diversity ".

This statement shows that the Swedes approached the whole question from a different point of view and brings us face to face with the basic tensions in the negotiations .

3.Doctrine and Practice .

The Anglicans were prepared to enter into close relations with the Swedish Church because,by the maintenance of episcopal succession and of episcopal ordination to the priesthood,the structure of the ministry in the Church of Sweden preserved the form which Anglicans were regarding as essential . The basic reasoning behind the adoption of this policy would run on roughly these lines : the authority and commission to be a

priest is not something which a man can take upon himself, nor something which can be given to a man by a local church , but which must be given by a representative of the universal church (i.e. episcopal ordination is necessary) and that this man in turn cannot assume the authority to ordain priests but must have it given to him by another representative of the whole church (i.e. episcopal succession is necessary) ; and so a ministry constituted in this way is a ministry which is truly authorised by the whole catholic (universal) church, and is not one that has authorised itself . The Swedish Church has such a ministry, and so , because there is also agreement on fundamental articles of belief , the Anglican Communion can recognize it as a true part of the Church of Christ, with a sufficient faith and order.

Now this recognition is not reversed by the declaration by the Swedes that they do not believe that Christ's authority must be thus given by a bishop , and that they do not intend their practice to have that implication . Nor is it reversed by the discovery that on occasion this practice has not been , or even is not , followed . As long as the present practice is continued as a general rule , the Anglicans can accept the Swedish Church as being in this sense catholic , even though its doctrine denies the implications seen by Anglicans in its practice ... It would be unjust to the Anglican attitude to say that it regards practice as being more important than doctrine ; for it is part of the Anglican ethos to refuse to draw sharp lines between doctrine and practice , judging that what a Church does is as much an affirmation of her beliefs as what she says in her confessional statements . (This is the attitude that leads Anglicans to point to the Book of Common Prayer as well as to the Thirty-Nine Articles when they are asked for the sources of their own confessional position) . In the last century or so Anglicans have become accustomed to defending as one of their fundamental articles of belief a position over episcopacy which, though not stated explicitly in either the Articles or the

Prayer Book , is,it can be asserted , implicit in the Ordinal. So it is that they are prepared to look further than to Confessional documents when considering whether to enter into closer relations with another church .

This therefore is the background against which the following account of the ministry in the Church of Sweden is to be set , and it shows that the division into two parts , the doctrine and the practice , is not merely for convenience of treatment but is relevant to one of the great ecumenical problems of our time .

C H A P T E R 2

THE DOCTRINE OF THE MINISTRY IN THE CHURCH OF SWEDEN.

1. The Confessional Documents.

Any inquiry into the doctrine held by a church on any matter must concern itself first of all with the confessional documents of that church , for it is there that the formal declarations of belief are to be found . Since moreover it is not to be expected that these statements will be given the same interpretation at every stage of the church's history , nor that at any particular moment all will agree on an interpretation , and there will be those who will maintain that a doctrine there defined need not be believed if another doctrine seems to be nearer the truth , the enquiry must extend beyond a consideration of the actual text of the document to include firstly , the ways in which the document is interpreted , and secondly , all that has been spoken or written about the doctrine in question.

In the case of the doctrine of the ministry , the material is so extensive that some choice must be made , and under the various headings it is here intended to deal firstly with the statements of the confessional documents ; secondly with the characteristic emphasises of succeeding centuries (rememberin that everything is held within a framework of belief in the statements of the confessions) ; and thirdly , with contemporary discussions insofar as they spring from and illustrate different tensions within the traditional position. The participants in the modern Swedish debate about the ministry often claim that their differing positions are all consistent with the confessional documents ; to understand this debate therefore , it is necessary to examine the documents themselves and also to investigate how much latitude in interpretation has been claimed and can now legitimately be

claimed.

This emphasis on the confessional documents does not imply that the interpretation of scripture is not important for the formulation of doctrine ; indeed, it is only as expositions of Scripture that the confessions have any authority whatever . This is particularly important in the Swedish debate on the ministry, for much of the new thinking about the ministry is coming from the exegetes . The ultimate question about what is to be believed clearly depends upon a decision as to what is consistent with Scripture and not upon what is consistent with the Confessions. The Confessions are the starting point of this enquiry only because they are commonly accepted as being true interpretations of Scripture.

The Swedish Reformation , inspired by the Lutheran teaching at Wittenburg, asserted very firmly that any aspect of doctrine must be subject to continual reference back to the Scriptures; if the doctrine was not proclaiming a Scriptural truth , then it was erroneous , even though it had behind it the highest ecclesiastical authority , Pope,councils or tradition . At the Council of Uppsala in 1593 it was declared thus :-

" First,that we all desire unanimously to abide by the pure and sanctifying Word of God,as it is contained in the writings of the holy prophets,evangelists and apostles , and that it should be taught,believed and known in our congregations : that the holy scripture originates from the Holy Spirit and contains fully all that pertains to the Christian teaching on God the Omnipotent and our salvation, as well as to good works and all virtue ; that it is the basis and the mainstay of a true Christian belief,and is the standard by which to judge,frustrate and discriminate between all disputes about religion ; that it needs no clarification by others,either the holy fathers,or those who have added something not in agreement in Holy Scripture on their own initiative,no matter who they are,insomuch

(1) The text of this and the following extract is to be found in Hellander , p 707f .

(2) Wordsworth comments that "it was felt that it was too argumentative and undecided to be of the nature of an absolute law" , p 231 .

"that no man is permitted to interpret the Word of God according to his own opinions; furthermore that respect and approval should be given to the Holy Scriptures alone and not to the reputation, greatness or authority of any one " (1)

This did not mean that no kind of statement was required and the Council went on to affirm :

"Secondly we acknowledge and confirm that we fully desire to abide by the Apostolic, Nicene and Athanasian symbols and by the Augsburg Confession in its oldest, true and unaltered form , the form in which it was delivered to the Emperer Charles V by the electors, princes and cities at the great Diet of Augsburg in 1530 A.D. ; likewise by the religion, both doctrine and ecclesiastical custom , which was practised during the final government of the worthy King Gustaf of blessed memory , and in the lifetime of the blessed Archbishop Lars Petri Nericiani the Elder which was expressed in the printed "Church Order" that was approved and acknowledged in the year (15)72..."

As the three ecumenical creeds were not called in question at the time , this decision meant that the Church of Sweden from then on regarded the Augsburg Confession as its authoritative statement of Scriptural doctrine. The decision also affirms that the Church will abide likewise by the "Church Order" of Archbishop Laurentius Petri , but this document had already been slightly altered by the council itself (some of it was too "catholic" for the taste of the 1590's) and its doctrinal sections were not afterwards thought to be in any way determinative , though its liturgical sections were the Prayer Book of Sweden for over a century , and formed the basis for subsequent rites.(2) It is noteworthy that in recent times many in Sweden have maintained that the "Church Order" was wrongly ignored as a doctrinal norm , and they are eager to affirm that the Council of Uppsala rightly accords it equal authority alongside the Augsburg Confession .

There is a further complication arising from the fact that

(3) Text in Helander , p 11

(4) Text in Helander , p 11

(5) As,for example,by R.Josefsson in Lindroth, p 181ff

the Church Law of 1686 mentions the whole of the Book of Concord, containing the Apology, Luther's catechisms, the Schmalkaldic articles , the tract "De Potestate" , and the Formula of Concord, as an authoritative document :

> "In our kingdom and in lands belonging thereto all shall profess simply and solely the Christian faith and teaching as it is founded in God's Holy Word, the prophetic and apostolic writings of the old and new testaments , and as it is set forth in the three chief creeds, the Apostolic, the Nicene and the Athanasian, as well as in the unaltered Augsburg Confession of 1530 adopted by the Council of Uppsala, 1593 , and as expounded in the whole of the work known as the Book of Concord"(3)

It should be noted however that the Book of Concord is not placed on quite the same level as the Augsburg Confession . Much is made of the fact that Scriptural truth is said to be "set forth" in the creeds and Augsburg Confession , but only "expounded" in the rest of the Book of Concord.

The inclusion of the Book of Concord however seems to be repudiated by the Constitution of 1809 (as revised upon the election of the Bernadotte line of kings) where it is stated that the king should always be "of the true evangelical faith , such as is approved and expounded in the unaltered Augsburg Confession and in the decision of the Council of Uppsala in 1593"(4).

It has for a long time been a matter of controversy as to whether the Book of Concord has any authority in Sweden. This dispute is of significance for our subject , for the Augsburg Confession states certain principles about the ministry which, because they are short and succinct , are susceptible to different interpretations. It can be argued(5) that on these points reference must be made to the Book of Concord , whose function , according to its own words and according to Church Law is one of clarifying the Augsburg Confession . On the other

(6) As,for example, by I.Hector in Blennow PÄ, p 163 .

(7) cf G.Wingren in Svensk Teologisk Kvartalskrift,III,1958, p 275 (translated in Church Quarterly Review,I,1960,p 49):"nothing written after the Bible, not even the Apostolic or Nicene creeds,can claim to be the exposition of Scripture for any other age than that in which it was written ; we are still free to test their utility as clarifications of Scripture for us and our time. We are moreover obliged to test them in this way". This is in opposition to the implication behind much of the writings of , for example, R.Josefsson that if something can be shown to be inconsistent with the Lutheran confessional writings, it cannot possibly be true and must not be believed .

hand , it can be maintained[6] that the decision of the Council of Uppsala makes it clear that it is the Church Order that is to be the pattern upon which the Swedish church is to shape her life. When the Book of Concord interprets the Augsburg Confessio -n in a different way from the Church Order , the latter is to be preferred , for it expresses the particular view of the Swedish church, which need not always be the same as the view held in Germany .

Thus , modern debates about the Swedish doctrine of the ministry are normally conducted under the assumption by both sides that the right and true doctrine is the one intended by Holy Scripture and affirmed in the Swedish confessional documents ; it is a basic thought that to believe or teach anything contrary to the confessions is to depart , in fact , from Scriptural truth . Some indeed recognize that what the Council of Uppsala affirmed about "the holy fathers" also applies in these days to the Reformation "fathers", and that even the confessions are subject to continual re-examination in the light of new exegesis of Scripture[7], but until this attitude is acknowledged throughout the church (and it will no longer be possible to speak of the "Anglican" or the "Swedish" doctrine of the ministry) , it is necessary to adopt the confessional and historical approach if we are to understand what is being affirmed to-day .

So then , if there is a unity in allegiance to the Augsburg Confession , the diversity lies in the tendency of one side to expound it with the help of the other works of the Book of Concord and the writings of Lutheran theologians , and the tendency of the other side to expound it in terms of a more "catholic" view , authorised by the Church Order and the traditional practice of the Church of Sweden , interpreted as being doctrinally significant .

2. <u>The Reformation emphasis .</u>

Doctrine is formulated in conflict ; the confessional

writings of the church are weapons of war against heresy. This generalisation contains a truth which must be appreciated if there is to be any understanding of the phraseology of the Lutheran definitions of doctrine . The terms chosen to describe the ministry emphasize those aspects which were underestimated in the medieval Romanism which the Reformation was reacting against . The characteristic features of the Reformation conception of the ministry could be summarised thus : preaching and not sacrificing ; serving and not ruling . The term , the preaching ministry ("predikoämbetet") which occurs frequently , both in the confessions and in theological writings and in the liturgies , reflects the Lutheran reaction to the Roman view that a priest is primarily one who has authority to offer the sacrifice of the mass . Against this , Lutheranism asserted that a priest is ordained to preach rather than to say mass ; it is clear that this is interpreted not only in terms of preaching sermons but also of bringing the Word of God to bear upon the life of man in baptism and communion - it is a ministry of Word and Sacrament . Similarly , the Lutheran Reformation rejected the hierarchical structure of the medieval church , and refused to regard the ministry as the divinely-appointed means whereby the church was to be directed and led. So there was a continual stress on the minister's duty of serving the church and congregation rather than ruling over it .

It is to be noted however that this emphasis on preaching as the main duty of the ministry , and on serving as the characteristic note of the relationship between minister and congregation, was not intended to , nor did it in fact , preclude other aspects from receiving due place .

3. Sent by God : called by the congregation .

In its first four articles the Augsburg Confession affirms the Nicene doctrine of the Trinity , the doctrine of Original Sin, the Chalcedonian doctrine of the person of Christ , and the doctrine of justification by faith ; it then continues with

(8) Sic autem sentiunt,potestatem clavium seu potestatem Episcoporum,juxta Evangelium,potestatem esse seu mandatum Dei praedicandi Evangelii,remittendi et retinendi peccata,et administrandi Sacramenta. Nam cum hoc mandato Christus mittit Apostolos:Sicut missit me Pater,ita et ego mitta vos.Accipite Spiritum Sanctum quorum remiseritis peccata,remittuntur eis,et quorum retinueritis peccata,retenta sunt. Marc.XVI:Ite , Praedicate Evangelium omni creaturae etc.

(9) Petri , p 138

Article V "De Ministerio Ecclesiastico" :

" Ut hanc fidem consequamur, institutum est ministerium docendi Evangelii et porrigendi Sacramenta. Nam per verbum et Sacramenta, tanquam per instrumenta, donatur Spiritus Sanctus, qui fidem efficit, ubi et quando visum est Deo, in iis, qui audiunt Evangelium, scilicet quod Deus non propter nostra merita, sed propter Christum justificet hos, qui credunt, se propter Christum in gratiam recipi.
Damnant Anabaptistas et alios, qui sentiunt, Spiritum Sanctum contingere sine verbo externo hominibus per ipsorum praeparationes et opera."

The polemic nature of this Confession is here very obvious . The ministry is instituted in order that the Gospel may be proclaimed and the sacraments administered , for these are the means by which the Spirit works to effect saving faith in man . The fifth article comes between the one dealing with justification by faith and the one concerned with the obedience that must follow faith ; the ministry is the instrument used by the Spirit to carry on the work of salvation . This means that it is of divine institution ; the ministry is essential to the church , is of its "esse" and not only its "bene esse" , because the Word and Sacraments which it administers are God's chosen means of proclaiming the Gospel from age to age . The ministry is essential because the Gospel it brings is essential .

That this is the correct meaning of the fifth article is clear when reference is made to the twenty-eighth , where divine institution is expressly claimed for the bishop's spiritual, as distinct from his temporal, power(8). The following words from the Church Order also make the same point :"Moreover the preaching ministry is not a human institution but an ordinance of God himself and of our Lord Jesus Christ , who powerfully sustaineth it and by it effectively worketh"(9).

At the beginning of his study of the doctrine of the ministry in Sweden , Bishop Askmark remarks "The whole ...

(10) Askmark ÄSK ,p 1 .

(11) eg H.Reisenfeld in Lindroth , p 67

(12) eg R.Josefsson in Lindroth , p 184

(13) eg R.Josefsson in Nygren TC ,p 270ff

(14) This is stated for example in Article XXVIII of the Augsburg Confession : "Nunc non id agitur,ut dominatio eripiatur Episcopis , sed hoc unum petitur , ut patiantur Evangelium pure doceri,et relaxent paucas quasdam observationes,quae sine peccato servari non possunt. Quod si nihil remiserint,ipsi viderint,quomodo Deo rationem reddituri sint , quod pertinacia sua causam schismati praebent"
and in The Apology , XIV : "Caeterum quam potestatem tribuat Evangelium Episcopis,diximus in Confessione. Qui nunc sunt Episcopi,non faciunt Episcoporum officia juxta Evangelium:sed sint sane Episcopi,juxta traditiam Canonicam,quam non reprehendimus.Verum nos de Episcopo loquimur juxta Evangelium."

(15) see Askmark ÄSK , p 124

doctrine of the ministry not only in the century of the Reformation but also in the succeeding centuries of Orthodoxy and Pietism was based upon the idea that the ministry was instituted by God and that without it the church cannot exist". (10) The same point of view can be quoted from modern Swedish theologians as being fundamental to their conception of the ministry , whether they are expounding the New Testament(11), the Confessional documents(12), or the doctrine as a whole(13).

The ministry is described as essential , be it noted, insofar as it proclaims the Gospel . By itself , as an institution , it cannot claim to be essential . If anyone claims to be a minister of the church , and does not perform the functions of preaching the Word and administering the Sacraments, his ministry can be challenged(14).

There is another strand of Lutheran thinking about the ministry which , although not represented in the Augsburg Confession or the Church Order , has played an important part in doctrinal discussions ; it arises from the concept of the "general priesthood" (the priesthood of all believers) , the affirmation that all Christians are by their baptism incorporated into the priestly body and can thus in some sense be called "priests",(the basic text being 1Peter 2:9). This was proclaimed at the Reformation as a New Testament truth which contradicted the current distinction between clergy and laity . Thus , the unity of all God's people was asserted not only in their position "coram Deo" but also in their evangelistic and sacramental duties . It is often said that all Christian people have the duty and the authority to preach,baptise,absolve and celebrate the communion . Olavus Petri writes that all the things that the Roman church describes as the special duties of the priesthood , belong in fact to all Christians(15). His brother ,Laurentius Petri , also follows the common Lutheran teaching in writing " The ministry of the Word , which is the highest authority in the church , belongs to all Christians.

(16) see Askmark ÄSK , p 139

(17) see Askmark ÄSK , p 130-132

For upon the ministry of the Word depend all the other duties of the true priesthood. By the Word we teach, by the Word we consecrate , by the Word we bind and loose, by the Word we judge doctrine ; so that when we commit to anyone the Word , we cannot deny him any part of the priestly ministry"(16).

Since it is necessary however for the congregation of Christians in any one place to have someone appointed to do on their behalf the things which they can in fact all do by virtue of their baptism , but which it would be both unseemly and unedifying for them to do all together at the same time , the ordained ministry is desirable ; it thus arises out of the local situation on the grounds of order . The minister does not preach the Gospel or administer the sacraments on his ministerial authority but on his baptismal authority , which he shares with all his congregation ; his ministerial authority merely authorises him to do them publicly , on behalf of them all(17) The ministry seen from this standpoint appears as an institution which is only of the "bene esse" of the church and cannot be of its "esse". It exists for the sake of good order , and does not possess any divine authority not possessed by the laity .

It is not here suggested that these two views of the ministry are mutually exclusive , for traditional Lutheranism includes them both ; but when one or the other of these positions is taken as the starting point , then there can develop a somewhat different emphasis . If one begins from the fact that the ministry is the divinely-appointed means for preaching the Gospel , one can still include various methods of appointing ministers (i.e. the "historical", from within the ministry in succession down the ages , and the "local" , from amongst the local assmebly of Christians) as being legitimate, alternative ways in which the same divine commission can be handed on ; whereas if one accepts the priesthood of all believers as the basis for the concept of the ministry , then one is bound to reject any notion of succession in the ministry as one that perpetuates an idea which the concept of the priesthood of all

(18) Askmark ÄSK , p 3

believers was defined to combat . The confessional documents clearly favour the first as the right starting point . " There have been times",writes Askmark,"in the history of Lutheranism when the ministry has been regarded as belonging only to the "bene esse" of the church .The preaching ministry was necessary to keep due order in the church and to prevent chaos and confusion ; but the ministry was not necessary to the church so that it could exist . God created believing man without the ministry , and these believers could find spiritual nourishment and fellowship without having a special preaching ministry . Not so the confessional writings or the early Lutheranism ! In all its polemic against the errors of Rome and its priesthood, and against the claim that the priest mediates between God and man , Lutheranism , while simultaneously maintaining the doctrine of the general priesthood,never abandoned the affirmation that without a preaching ministry there could be no church"(18).

It is important that this tension between the two ideas should be made clear at the outset , for we have here the cause of much strife about the ministry in western Christendom since the reformation . Both the ideas appear in the writings of the Swedish reformation,but there is no synthesis between them.

In the succeeding Age of Orthodoxy the need for polemic against Rome had been displaced by the need for polemic against those with too low a view of the ministry ; influenced by this need,and by the theology of Melanchthon , the doctrine of the general priesthood was rarely used as the basis for defining the doctrine of the ministry . Consequently there were occasional affirmations of distinctions between the ordained and the lay members of the church ; some theologians wrote of the duty of teaching and administering the sacraments as being a special gra-ce imparted at ordination . This sort of terminology could not have been used during the reformation period when the struggle was against a different foe .

(19) Aulen , p 21f

(20) eg I.Hector in Blennow , p 171 and Blennow in ibid. p 198 .

(21) Nygren,Herdebrev p 23f.

The emphasis went in the opposite direction during the Age of Pietism ; the distinction between the ordained and the lay gave way to a distinction between the converted and the unconverted member of the church , and spiritual authority was assigned , not to the priest as such , but to the converted man, whether ordained or not . In radical pietism the ordained ministry became entirely superfluous . This idea was kept to the fore in the nineteenth century because of the wide-spread influence of Pietism , until the Lundensian "High-Churchmen" restored an emphasis on the divine institution of the ministry . (19) This tension is very evident in the present debate where one side (20) declares that to base the concept of the ordained ministry on the call of the local congregation is pure sectarianism and foreign to the Confessional documents and to Swedish tradition ; while the other side is unwilling to abandon this aspect altogether and endeavours to hold the two in synthesis (21).

4. The One Ministry .

It is therefore as a function and not as an institution that the ministry is constitutive of the church .Consequently Article VII ,"De Ecclesia",of the Augsburg Confession states:

> " Item docent, quod una Sancta Ecclesia perpetuo mansura sit. Est autem ecclesia congregatio Sanctorum,in qua Evangelium recte docetur et recte administrantur Sacramenta. Et ad veram unitatem Ecclesiae satis est consentire de doctrina Evangelii et administratione Sacramentorum. Nec necesse est ubique esse similes traditiones humanas,seu ritus aut caeremonias,ab hominibus institutas. Sicut inquit Paulus:Una fides,unum Baptisma,unus Deus et Pater omnium etc."

The unity of the church lies in the performance of the minister-ial duties , not in uniformity of organisation . The ministry was instituted by God to perform a function , that of preaching the Gospel and administering the Sacraments, and so the ministry

(22) eg. Tractatus de Potestate et Primatu Papae : "Docet igitur Hieronymus,humana auctoritate distinctos gradus esse Episcopi et Presbyteri seu Pastoris. Idque res ipsa loquitur , quia potestas est eadem,quam supra dixit. Sed una res postea fecit discrimen Episcoporum et Pastorum,videlicet ordinatio : quia institutum est,ut unus Episcopus ordinaret Ministros in pluribus Ecclesiis . Sed cum jure divino non sint diversi gradus Episcopi et Pastoris: manifestum est , ordinationem a Pastore,in sua Ecclesia factam,jure divino ratam esse ".

is essentially one even though it appeared in the medieval church in different orders and grades . This doctrine of the one ministry is not explicitly defined in the Augsburg Confession but it is a common assertion of Lutheran theology and is stated in the other confessional writings of the Book of Concord(22). Any division of duties within the one ministry is an arrangement of convenience and not of divine institution; the offices of bishop and priest are separate only "de jure humano". It may be convenient as a normal rule to reserve ordination to the episcopate , but since both grades share the same essential ministry , a priest can ordain if need be . Luther made much of the fact that bishop and presbyter are clearly interchangable terms in the New Testament , and though he appreciated that the church had come to realize that different grades could best fulfil the functions of the one ministry , he was insistant that these distinctions were not divine , or even apostolic , and therefore could not be essential .

These views were also held by the Swedish reformers Olavus and Laurentius Petri . Both of them write in various works of the one preaching ministry, given by Our Lord to the apostles and handed on by them to the church ; both of them refer to the two grades within this one ministry as being proven methods of dividing its functions , and as such to be kept if possible ; but both also clearly recognize that a development of church tradition has a different status altogether from something commanded in Holy Scripture . The Swedish reformers did not experience as much episcopal opposition as did the German , and consequently they were more ready to see in the office of bishop a useful instrument for the church. This difference in the attitude to the episcopacy in Germany and in Sweden is important here, for it led to rather different formulations of belief in the earliest period of the Reformation . It was agreed that there was one basic ministry ; it was agreed that the church was

(23) Petri , p 162

entitled to work out its own methods for carrying out this ministry and that episcopacy was an ancient institution . But in Germany it was felt that , since the episcopate was opposing the Gospel , the better health of the church required its abolition , whereas in Sweden it was felt that a reformed episcopate was still necessary to the church . So we get the famous statement in the Church Order of 1571 where , after stating that , although there was originally no distinction between bishops and priests , pastoral considerations made the growth of the episcopate desirable , the Archbishop continued: "Therefore , since this enactment was most profitable , and without doubt proceeded from the Holy Ghost,from whom come all good gifts, it was sanctioned and approved in general throughout all Christendom,and has been ever since, and evermore shall be as long as the world endures , with the provision that the abuse , which has been very great in this as in other useful matters, is set aside"(23) . Here , as in no other confessional document of the Lutheran church , it is stated that the decisions which the church has taken in the past about the office of bishop were decisions which proceeded from the Holy Spirit , and are to be adhered to . It is noteworthy however that this was written by one who at the same time shared the view of other Lutheran divines about the essential unity of the ministry.

From the other writings of the Book of Concord therefore the "traditiones humanas,seu ritus aut caeremonias,ab hominibus institutas" of the seventh article of the Augsburg Confession can be taken to include the office of bishop ; but as we have seen there are those who do not regard this as being determinative for the doctrine of the Swedish church , and who feel that the statement of their own Church Order authorises the view that God wills the episcopate for his church . One of them writes :"Since the doctrine of the one ministry unquestionably contradicts the tradition of the universal

(24) Hector in Blennow P , p 172.

(25) For the whole subject of this paragraph, see Askmark ASK , pp 260-308 .

church and has its background in the politics and anti-episcopal tendencies of the first stage of the Reformation, it should be reckoned as one of the curiosities of Lutheranism and not a doctrine characteristic of the church of Sweden . At any rate, it has not had any great significance in practice"(24). Although the doctrine of the one ministry has not prevented the continuance of the episcopate , it did at one stage , as will be seen later ,influence the rite by which bishops have been consecrated , and to that extent has clearly influenced the practice .

It is true however that in the period immediately following the sixteenth century there was a renewed interest in the ministerial grades , and many statements exist to the effect tha these grades were instituted by Christ and must therefore be found in true churches . Archbishop Laurentius Paulinus Gothus published a work in 1609 where this is made explicit,and in which he proposes some alterations in the text of the service for the consecration of bishops , omitting the part about the episcopacy and the priesthood having been originally one(25). In some of these writers however the same tension can be observed as exists in the Church Order for , while they assert that the ministry is essentially one and that its organisation is a matter of order and convenience , they also ascribe the growth of episcopacy to the direction of the Spirit which should not be ignored . Nicolaus Erman , for example , in 1704 rejects the Roman and Anglican view by which bishops are considered to be divinely instituted and necessary for the church , affirming that the introduction of bishops into the church was done "de jure humano" . But on the other hand he also opposes the view held by the English Puritans or presbyterians when they reject episcopacy and affirm that no church which has it can be considered to be in accord with the New Testament . Against these he says that the introduction of episcopacy into the church was done "jure juris divini negativi" , by which he appears

(26) This was noted by the 1909 commission : they reported that "de jure humano" very often means for the Swedes "something which is not directly ordered by Our Lord,but prescribed by the Church , in accordance with the guidance of the Holy Spirit" , Report "The Church of England and the Church of Sweden, p 20 .

to mean that episcopacy lies so close to the order which must "jure divino" exist in a church that it can be said to partake of its character ! He rejoices to affirm that the Swedish church treads the via media between Rome and Canterbury on the one hand and Geneva on the other .

A very clear statement of the doctrine of the one ministry and of the variable character of the grades within it came in the minutes of the meeting with the Anglican Commission in 1909, where the Church of Sweden made clear that,while it maintained an episcopal order and was convinced of its beneficial nature , it did not regard such an order as essential. The quotation is given in Chapter 1 on p 10ff.

It is noticable in many Swedish writers that , while they reject the idea that episcopacy as a grade of the ministry is "de jure divino" , they want to assert their conviction that this traditional ordering of the ministry had the guidance of the Spirit behind it ; "de jure humano" as a description of church tradition is interpreted in terms of the direction of the Holy Spirit.(26) This is the old tension of Scripture and tradition in its sharpest form . If tradition is the guidance of the Spirit, can it be ignored ? Can there really be a distinction between what Christ commands in Scripture , which is essential , and what the Holy Spirit leads the church into , which is optional ? The crux of the matter lies in the assertion that the development of episcopacy was made under the guidance of the Holy Spirit . This assertion is not made in the Book of Concord but it is made in the Church Order and by many Swedish writers to-day and here lies the kernel of much of the present debate . When however this assertion is made in the classical Swedish tradition it would seem to carry with it the admission that the same Spirit may well have led other Christian bodies into other forms of ministry and it is possible that we have here the clue that shows us how the two ideas can in fact be held together . The assertion of the Church Order is the conviction of the local

church , the Church of Sweden , about its own tradition that does not in any way conflict with the basic statement of the Augsburg Confession that it is not necessary for true unity that all these traditions be the same . Episcopacy may well have been evolved under the guidance of the Holy Spirit ; but that does not make it constitutive of the church or essential for all parts of it .

5. Of the Unworthiness of the Ministers,which hinders not the Effect of the Sacrament.

The next Article of the Augsburg Confession defines a doctrine about the ministry shared by the Anglican Church ; indeed Article XXVI of the Thirty-Nine Articles is very similar to it . Article VIII of the Augsburg Confession declares

> " Quanquam Ecclesia proprie sit congregatio Sanctorum et vere credentium : tamen,cum in hac vita multi hypocritae et mali admixti sint,licet uti Sacramentis, quae per malos administrantur,juxta vocem Christi : Sedent Scribae et Pharisaei in Cathedra Mosi etc. Et Sacramenta et verbum propter ordinationem et mandatum Christi sunt efficacia, etiamsi per malos exhibeantur.
>
> Damnant Donatistas et similes,qui negabant licere uti ministerio malorum in Ecclesia , et sentiebant ministerium malorum inutile et inefficax esse ."

It was a fervent belief of Luther that it was the Word of Christ which made the preaching and the sacraments effective , and not the office,ability or devotion of the priest . The ministry is to be heard , honoured and obeyed,because , and only inasmuch as, it is the means by which Jesus Christ speaks to His people. Luther can thus say " When you hear a minister speak,you hear God Himself" and " I , and anyone else who speaks Christ's word, may freely boast that his mouth is Christ's" . It is for this reason that the moral character of the minister does not stop the effect of Christ's Word .

The same point was made from the beginning of the Swedish

Reformation . A catechism of 1558 asks " Are the Sacraments still efficacious even when they are administered by an evil servant of the church ?" and gives the answer "Yes,for the Word and Sacrament themselves belong not to the minister but to Christ" . This doctrine was not challenged until the rise of Pietism in Sweden ; the pietists , with their strong doctrine of personal conversion and regeneration , were faced with the question of whether they could continue to attend their parish church to hear the sermons of , and receive the sacraments from, a minister who may not have been "converted" in their sense of the word . It had always been recognized that the church contained both the good and the bad , and that it was impossible to distinguish them . The visible church (sometimes called "coetus vocatorum") comprised all those who were baptised : within this circle there was the invisible church ("Coetus electorum") comprised of those who accepted the Word and allowed it to convert them ; those who comprised this invisible church were known only to God . The radical pietists were those who believed that they could distinguish the elect ; they were prepared to deny that those who did not give signs of being of the elect were in the church at all . So for them it was an important matter to find out whether the priest was converted or not , otherwise his ministry might be described as being of the devil . The congregation thus felt that it had the duty,not only of determining whether their ministry was preaching the true Word ,but also of finding out whether his moral and spiritual life indicated that he was a converted person . The church in general , while agreeing that the ministry of a man who had not allowed himself to be affected by the Word,might not be as exciting or challenging as it otherwise would be ,nevertheless held then,and holds now, to the Confessional position that it is the Word of Christ that makes effective any of the ministerial actions by whomsoever they are performed .

It is interesting to note that Luther and the other reformers would not have anything to do with the doctrine of

(27) cf Brillioth , p 159

(28) Lindroth , p 248ff

the "character indelebilis" , which might be thought to provide a formula for this concept . The reformers however all reacted violently against any such language as this ; the concept of a "character" or quality imprinted on the soul at ordination was repugnant to them . But the phrase is sometimes used to-day to signify that the ordination imposes on a man a life-long commission(27).

In a recent consideration of the doctrine of the ministry, Professor Lindroth describes the tendency to think of a minister as an individual whose personal qualities and abilities constit--ute the decisive factors in his ministry, as typical of one of the classical theological errors : individualism . The other , institutionalism , is when the minister is conceived of as being taken up into a great system so that his own part in the whole becomes merely a matter of mechanical performance . Both these errors are avoided when the eighth article of the Augsburg Confession is taken seriously , and the ministry seen as a function of Christ in His church .(28)

6. "Rite vocatus" : vocation and ordination.

The apostolic duties of preaching the Word and administering the Sacraments are committed by the church to certain men , judged to be pious and learned in the Scriptures , and thus able to perform them worthily . Although it could be maintained that any Christian , by virtue of his baptism , could perform these functions for his fellows , due order required that only those properly authorised should so act ; hence the fourteenth article of the Augsburg Confession ,"De Ordine Ecclesiastico" declares:

> " De ordine Ecclesiastico docent , quod nemo debeat in Ecclesia publice docere , aut Sacramenta administrare, nisi rite vocatus" .

The phrase "nisi rite vocatus" obviously demands attention , for on its interpretation so much depends . The Augsburg Confession does not define any further how a man is "rightly" called . If we turn for further clarification to the other documents of the

(29) eg "Sed Episcopi Sacerdotes nostros aut cogunt hoc doctrinae genus, quod confessi sumus, abjicere et damnare, aut nova et inaudita crudelitate miseros et innocentes occidunt. Hae causae impediunt, quo minus agnoscant hos Episcopos nostri Sacerdotes. Ita saevitia Episcoporum in causa est, quare alicubi dissolvitur illa Canonica politia, quam nos magnopere cupiebamus conservare."

(30) "Si Episcopi suo officio recte fungerentur, et curam Ecclesiae et Evangelii gererent, posset illis nomine caritatis et tranquillitatis, non ex necessitate, permitti, ut nos et nostros Concionatores ordinarent et confirmarent.....Quia vero nec sunt, nec esse volunt veri Episcopi, sed Politici Dynastae et Principes, qui nec concionantur et docent, nec baptizant, nec Coenam administrant, nec ullum opus et officium Ecclesiae praestant, sed eos, qui vocati munus illud subeunt, persequantur et condemnant: profecto, ipsorum culpa, Ecclesia non deseranda, nec ministris spolianda est. Quapropter, sicut vetera exempla Ecclesiae et Patrum nos docent, idoneos ad hoc officium ipsi ordinare debemus et volumus".

(31)"...Quae verba ad veram Ecclesiam pertinent, quae cum sola habeat Sacerdotium, certe habet ius eligendi et ordinandi Ministros. Idque etiam communissima Ecclesiae consuetudo testatur. Nam olim populos eligebat Pastores et Episcopos. Deinde accedebat Episcopus, seu ejus Ecclesiae, seu vicinus, qui confirmabat electum impositione manuum, nec aliud fuit ordinatio, nisi talis comprobatio".

(32) "It shall first be noted that no man shall be suffered to execute the office of Priest, unless he hath come to it through a regular call; for no One can properly escape the fact that election, scrutiny, examination, prayer etc, are of a certainty the ordinance of God. And it is a comfort to know that our Lord Jesus

Book of Concord , and especially to the clarification of this fourteenth article in the Apology, we find it stated that whereas the Lutherans would prefer to have the call to the ministry given and confirmed by the traditional episcopal ordination , the German bishops had shown themselves to be so much against the Lutheran teaching that this had proved impossible , so , in order that there might be ministers at all, the congregations had to call them themselves (29). Much the same is stated in the Schmalkaldic Articles(30) and the Tract "De potestate" states that the ordination , which follows upon the call given to a minister by a particular congregation , is nothing more than an outward sign and confirmation of that call; the call is the essential element and not the ordination(31).

Events in Sweden however were somewhat different in this respect from the continent ; no break with previous practice was necessary as the congregation that needed a priest could have him tested,examined and ordained by the bishop . Thus , in the Swedish situation it can be claimed that "rite vocatus" involves not only the call of the local congregation but also the call of the whole church made effective through the actions of the bishop ; thus the ordination becomes a part of the call itself and not merely the public recognition of a call . The words of the Church Order(32) show that the basic position is the same as in the German confessions :" the congregations chose for themselves Preachers and this choice was afterwards confirmed by the Bishop by prayer and the imposition of hands" , but the insistance on the participation of the bishop,someone outside the local church itself , has the effect of supplementing the local call by that of the universal church . The local congregation cannot act entirely for itself and it would seem that the following sentence of the Church Order :"Neither shall any man who hath been called to the office of Preacher,tried and examined,execute the office until he hath been ordained and confirmed therein with imposition of hands and prayer" , can

Christ will maintain the office of Preacher with power, and also through this vocation. This hath been maintained immediately after the time of the Apostles, that the Congregations chose for themselves Preachers, and this choice was afterwards confirmed by the Bishop by prayer and the imposition of hands. Therefore whensoever a Congregation or Parish hath need of a Priest or Preacher, they shall first draw nigh to God in prayer, seeking his help and counsel in the matter. Next they shall look for some fit person, and when such hath been found (as may seem to them), they shall bring him before the "Ordinarius" or Bishop, that he may be examined and tried, and, when approved, commissioned and ordained as Parish Priest... Neither shall any man who hath been called to the office of Preacher, tried and examined, execute the office until he hath been ordained and confirmed therein with imposition of hands and prayer " Petri , p 140ff ; translation from Yelverton , p 85f.

be legitimately claimed as the Swedish interpretation of the implications of the "nisi rite vocatus" clause in the Augsburg Confession . The calling of the individual by the church becomes a process consisting of several moments : the testing of the candidate by the congregation , the election , the examination by the bishop , and finally the ordination . None of these four moments is divinely instituted , and a true calling can take place without one or other of them , but the history of the church shows that these are desirable steps in the process and the Swedish church intends to keep to them.

At the end of the sixteenth century episcopal ordination was established and unquestioned , but the growing power of the state required a greater emphasis by the church on its own responsibility for calling its ministers . Accordingly , instead of the old formula that the "potestas vocandi" belongs to the congregation and the "potestas ordinandi" to the bishop,we find some of the theologians of Orthodoxy insisting that the "praecipua pars" of the "potestas vocandi" belonged to the ordained ministry . This way of thinking probably had a double aim : partly,to justify the fact that the patronage system gave very little influence in the appointing of parish priests to the local congregation [illegible] ; and partly, to assert that the right of patronage belonged to the ministry of the church rather than to the king . Orthodoxy stressed the duty of teaching , and insisted that both a right understanding of the Word and the ability to teach were primary qualifications for the ordained ministry; so the moment which they emphasised more than the others was the examination of the candidate by the bishop . It is noteworthy that they did not emphasize the element of ordination even though that was an act that lay entirely in their own hands and could therefore have been used to strengthen their position against the king .

The call referred to hitherto has been the "external" call, the call given by the church to its servants which gives a man

(33) cf Luther "Ridiculum autem est asserere pro Sacramento Dei quod a Deo institutum nusquam potest monstrari".

(34) "Si autem Ordo de Ministerio verbi intelligatur,non gravatim vocaverimus Ordinem Sacramentum" .

(35) see Askmark Äsk , pp 379ff

certainty however much his own feelings might encourage or discourage him ; although God used to call His prophets directly ,without any mediation,He did so no longer,and His call was always "indirect",i.e. mediated by the church . Against this the pietists reacted ; they believed themselves to have experienced the "direct" call , compared with which the "indirect" call of the church was valueless . The radical pietists ignored the ordained ministry as such,as ordination gave no guarantee of conversion ; other pietists felt that a man's inner call needed the confirmation of the church and most of them saw this confirmation in his choice by the local church and not in his ordination by the bishop . To-day however it is more usual in the church at large to hear the external call identified with the act of ordination itself ; it is the ordination that gives the church's authentication to the man's inner conviction that he is called to the ministry .

We have seen that the Lutheran tradition speaks of ordination as the confirmation of vocation ; this means that it is not a sacrament[33] nor can it be thought to impart grace -- nothing that the church does can impart grace,for the church is always the recipient of grace ; God alone imparts grace , which He does through His Word and Sacraments . But it should be noted that the Apology uses the word Sacrament of ordination[34], not denying that an ordination to preach the Word and administer the Sacraments can itself be called a sacrament . The Swedish reformers speak of ordination as a custom going back to the apostles and therefore to be observed , but not going back to Christ and therefore not essential , almost the same position as is held about episcopacy(which is patristic but not apostolic) When they speak of ordination[35] they mean the imposition of hands with prayer ; this is an act by which the church asks for God's grace for those whom it is choosing to be its ministers; the laying on of hands is closely associated with prayer rather than with commissioning (it is accompanied by the recitation of

the Lord's Prayer in Lutheran rites) and is not the impartation of grace to the man , but the sign that this is the man for whom prayer is now being offered .

The great theologians of Orthodoxy are the first to expound any systematic doctrine of ordination , but the points they make are much the same as the earlier reformers.Ordination as confirmation of vocation fulfils five functions : public proof that the calling was rightly carried out, the ceremonial introduction of the called into the church , the reception of his oath of fidelity , the church's opportunity to remind him of his duties , and the offering of prayer to God on his behalf. Ordination is not in itself essential, though it is desirable , not only as a public opportunity of praying for the new priest, but also because this ceremony can impart to the priest himself a certainty that he is indeed "consecratus" by God and has received the gifts of the Spirit . He has this certainty because since apostolic times the Holy Spirit "has been accustomed" to come upon men through the laying on of hands in prayer. It would be impossible to get nearer to the language about the imposition of hands imparting the gift of the Spirit without losing the emphasis that it is essentially prayer for the gift and not the impartation of it . The denial that ordination is essential is due solely to the desire to keep to the important principle that only those things instituted by Our Lord can be claimed as essential ; ordination however does belong to the traditional order of the church , from which no departure must be made without good reason .

The Orthodox theologians also tended to expound the significance of the ministry in terms of the levitical priesthood of the Old Testament . Luther,and the reformers generally, would not do this , for they saw the priesthood of the Old dispensation fulfilled either in Our Lord , or in that of all believers. The Christian ministry could not be considered as a continuation of it because the Christian ministry is

(36) especially the essays of Riesenfeld and Lindroth in Lindroth , and of Corell in Blennow,P.

(37) the position of "Lundateologi" see Persson.

(38) p 373

prophetic and not sacerdotal ; the polemical aspect of this position is obvious . By the Age of Orthodoxy however , the need for an anti-Roman polemic was diminishing (at any rate in Sweden where the whole country had become Lutheran) and that restraint on comparisons with the Old Testament was removed . These theologians are now widely criticised in Sweden for having gone too far in identifying the ministries of the two dispensations , taking no account of the difference between them. They are criticised for instance for turning to the Old Testament for an explanation of the imposition of hands when they could find none in the New , and , using the patriarchal narratives as precedents , interpreting it not merely as a sign of prayer but also a sign of a blessing conveyed.

All this is of direct relevance to contemporary discussions about the ministry in Sweden because some modern writers make a point of showing how the royal,priestly and prophetic aspects of the Old Testament are , besides being joined in the Person of Christ, passed on by Him to the Christian ministry(36). Their theology in many respects aligns them with the Orthodox interpretation of Lutheranism,and the criticisms of those who see Orthodoxy as a distortion of the original reformation faith(37)do not disturb them . The exegetical problem itself does not concern us here,but it is important to note that the emphasis laid on the continuity between the ministries of the Old and New Testaments by some modern Swedish theologians does have an ancestry in Lutheranism itself .

Askmark states(38)that if one enquired of the Church of Sweden how its ministry is maintained and continued , and how its ministers are installed in their office,the answer would have to be: in theory,through the calling;in practice,through ordination. Much of the recent doctrinal emphasis on ordination is the natural result not only of ecumenical contact but also of the internal practice of the Swedish church . Nevertheless , the steady assertion that , however much ordination is desirable ,

(39) Hodgson , p 159 .

it is not essential , means that no particular method of the vocation-ordination process is to be insisted upon . The ecumenical implications of this position are well brought out by the following paragraph from the reply of the Swedish committee to the Report of the Lausanne World Conference on Faith and Order(39):

> " According to Article XIV of the Augsburg Confession , no-one should publicly teach in the Church or administer the Sacraments unless he be regularly called (rite vocatus). But regularly called is he who is ordained according to the rites of his own denomination . In the same Confession , Article VII , it is expressly stated that it is not necessary that human rites should be everywhere alike . For those who hold this opinion there is no reason why one denomination should not recognize the ministers of another as the rightful and equivalent stewards of all the means of grace and other concerns belonging to the ministry within the respective denomination. But then there is no hindrance in principle for the members of one denomination to use the Sacraments of another denomination , which is of great actual importance with regard to intercommunion . For our conception of Church union "the provision of a ministry acknowledged in every part of the Church as possessing the sanction of the whole Church" is not an urgent need".

These principles the Church of Sweden puts into practice both internally and ecumenically .

7. Potestas Clavium --the spiritual authority of the ministry.

The Reformation rejoiced in this discovery that the Christian was released from the absolute authority of the Church and bound only by the authority of the Word . The ministry of the church had been usurping too much control over the individual Christian , and making demands upon him which were not necessary to, and were in some cases contrary to , the salvation

(40) "Non igitur commiscendae sunt potestates Ecclesiastica et civilis : Ecclesiastica suum mandatum habet Evangelii docendi et administrandi Sacramenta". and "Sic autem sentiunt,potestatem clavium seu potestatem Episcoporum,juxta Evangelium,potestatem esse seu mandatum Dei praedicandi Evangelii,remittendi et retinendi peccata,et administrandi Sacramenta" .

(41) "Porro secundum Evangelium,seu,ut loquuntur, de jure divino,nulla jurisdictio competit Episcopis, ut Episcopis,hoc est,his,quibus est commissum ministerium verbi et Sacramentorum ,nisi remittere peccata,item cognoscere doctrinam,et doctrinam ab Evangelio dissentientem rejicere,et impios,quorum nota est impietas, excludere a communione Ecclesiae,sine vi humana,sed verbo. Hic necessario et de jure divino debent eis Ecclesiae praestare obedientiam,juxta illud:Qui vos audit,me audit.

Verum cum aliquid contra Evangelium docent aut statuunt , tunc habent Ecclesiae mandatum Bei,quod obedientiam prohibet ".

proclaimed in the Word of God . The only authority in the church, proclaimed the Reformation, is the authority of Christ Himself made known in His Word , and this is the only authority possessed by the minister. Thus we have the declaration in the twenty-eighth article of the Augsburg Confession that any sort of temporal power is distinct from the spiritual authority exercised by preaching the Gospel, remitting or retaining sins, and administering the Sacraments[40]; the article then shows that this ministerial authority is utterly dependent upon the Word of God[41] so that any exercise of discipline must be "sine vi humana sed verbo" , and that the congregations have the duty of disobeying, if anything is taught or prescribed which is contrary to the Gospel . The Word itself as preached by the minister is God's instrument for forgiving or retaining sins -- no other disciplinary authority is needed ; if the minister faithfully administers the Word, it exercises its spiritual discipline and does not need backing up by any ecclesiastical ~~discipline~~ authority . The "potestas clavium" , belonging to the church as a result of Christ's commission in Matt 16:19, 18:18 and John 20:23 , was wholly identified in the early Lutheran reformation with the "potestas ordinis" , defined as the preaching of the Word and the administering of the Sacraments . Olavus Petri took this view with him back to Sweden , and insisted that obedience was due to the priest only insofar as he preached the Word ; other authority he had not , nor was he entitled to rely on the secular power . The power that frees men from their sins , or binds them in them, lies not in the ministry itself , but in the Word proclaimed by the ministry .

In the course of the Reformation however , it became necessary to classify the priest's duties and powers , and the "potestas clavium" soon took its place alongside preaching and the administration of the sacraments as the third task of the ordained ministry . Melanchthon for instance wanted to show how the "potestas ecclesiastica" was something very different from any

(42) "Et placet nobis vetus partitio potestatis in potestatem ordinis et potestatem jurisdictionis. Habet igitur Episcopus potestatem ordinis,hoc est , ministerium Verbi et Sacramentorum , habet et potestatem jurisdictionis,hoc est, auctoritatem excommunicandi obnoxios publicis criminibus, et rursus absolvendi eos , si conversi petant absolutionem. Neque vero habent potestatem tyrannicam, hoc est, sine certa lege,neque regiam,hoc est supra legem,sed habent certum mandatum,certum verbum Dei, quod docere,juxta quod exercere suam jurisdictionem debent . "

(43) See Askmark p 53ff. The force of this quotation is only realized when it is remembered that the schools of that time regarded discipline as an essential part of education .

"potestas politica" which the bishop might have because of his position in society , but his recognition of the old distinction between a "potestas ordinis" and a "potestas jurisdictionis"(42) he prepared the way for the separation of the spiritual discipline from the preaching of the Word , so that it became a separate task or duty of the ordained ministry . This was gradually accepted by the theologians of the last half of the sixteenth century . For example , in a work written in 1558 , E.Falck states that there are two parts to"the keys or the authority of the church" : "the preaching ministry,the authority to preach the gospel,administer the sacraments,and proclaim the forgiveness of sins through Christ" and "the judical acts" , the authority to excommunicate or absolve and the power to legislate for the good order of the church,"cura ordinis in ecclesia" .

Thus the"potestas clavium" became an additional duty of the ministry besides the others ; no longer was it a power exercised only in the preaching and administering of the Word of judgement and forgiveness . The attitude expressed in the passage from the Apology quoted above , and the developed penitential system of the Age of Orthodoxy , contributed towards a great debasement of the term "potestas clavium" so that it came to mean primarily the power of excommunication , and absolution was thought of merely as the subsequent re-admission of a penitent . "The church is a school , a pedagogue to Christ" said a disciple of Melanchthon and this characterises the idea of the church at this time(43). The minister exercised the discipline , and was able to call upon the secular power to help him enforce it.

This was a case in which the practice of the seventeenth century church was beginning to bring in a tension within its teaching . It was still maintained by contemporary writers that all church discipline was "under the Word" but they did not mean by this what the reformers had meant , otherwise they could never have said , as some of them did,that as sin affects both God and the church ,

penitence brings the forgiveness of God and penance makes restitution to the church . The whole point of the Reformers' insistance that spiritual and temporal should be distinguished from eachother was to prevent physical punishments of any kind being assigned to essentially spiritual offences ; if penitence was enough for God , it should do for the church also .

Discipline exercised by the church however was always a feature even of the early Reformation, and temporary excommunication had been encouraged by Luther ; the Swedish Church Law of 1686 prescribed the method of dealing with open and notorious sinners and the exercise of this power was principally in the hands of the ministry . Gradually however the church ceased to use any form of public excommunication and the pastoral work of the parish priest himself became the only way in which individuals could be brought face to face with the condemnation or salvation of the Word .

Since the disappearance of church discipline there has been much uncertainty as to wherein the "potestas clavium" lies . Some are content with its identification with the administration of the Gospel , publically in Word and Sacrament , and privately in pastoral work ; but others see a more definitive church discipline as essential for the better health of the church and regret its disappearance into the modern concept of the national , folk church , administering the Word and Sacraments to all whenever they chose to come . Thus in this matter also we can see the same tension between the "idealism" of the early Reformation and the "institutionalism" of the Age of Orthodoxy present in contemporary Sweden .

8. <u>The Apostolic Succession.</u>

"With regard to the so-called Apostolic Succession, the Church of Sweden might have a stronger claim than most "schismatic" churches . In our church however, this succession is not considered to be a condition for the validity of the ministry , the visible unity of the church,

(44) Hodgson , p 159f .

(45) Dewailley , p 399 , note 2 .

(46) eg his Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians , p 33 "He calleth us all to the ministry of his Word at this day,not immediately by himself,but by other means,that is to say by man.But the Apostles were called immediately of Christ himself. Afterwards the Apostles called their disciples,as Paul called Timothy, Titus etc.These men called bishops(as in Titus 1),and the bishops their successors down to our own times,and so on to the end of the world.And this is a mediated calling, since it is done by man;yet notwithstanding it is of God".

or the efficacy of the Sacraments , though we value its significance as a testimony to the connection with Antiquity . The doctrine of the necessity of the Apostolic succession lacks Biblical foundation , and it seems to us to be of utmost importance for the progress of the Ecumenical Union movement that nothing which lacks a clear Biblical warrant be made a condition for unity"(44).

This statement expresses the traditional position of the Church of Sweden in regard to the significance of the tactual succession in the episcopate which is a feature of its church order . At the time of the Reformation the Swedish theologians allied themselves with the rest of the Lutheran church in its attitude to this succession , and , though it has remained a feature of Swedish practice , doctrinal value has not been given to it . Indeed, any discussion of the matter has been in the context of controversy , at first against Rome , and more recently against the high-church movement within . As Dewailley noted(45), the Latin phrase "successio apostolica" is usually employed , or , if Swedish is used , it appears as "the so-called apostolic succession" ; the implication clearly being that to use the term without qualification would itself suggest doctrinal importance.

The Lutheran Reformation maintained with great conviction that its ministers were the heirs of the apostles and inherited from them the commissions given to His servants by Jesus Christ. Luther himself valued succession very highly(46) but it was a succession maintained not by ordination but by Biblical doctrine. A minister is apostolic if he can show , not that he is ordained by someone who could trace his episcopal pedigree back to the apostles ,but that he was doing what the apostles did in their time and what they intended the ministry of the church should do after them ; the apostolic acts and their intentions for the future inasfar as they expressed them are to be found in the writings they left behind , the Holy Scriptures , and it is by the Scriptures that any minister's claim to be apostolic is to be judged . The Roman Catholic bishops,who claim that they are

(47) see Askmark ASK , pp 309ff for the subject of this section . The Reformation answer on succession is expressed in the Apology thus " Adversarii dicunt universales traditiones ideo servandas esse, quia existimentur ab apostolis traditae esse. O religiosos homines ! Ritus ab apostolis sumptos retineri volunt, non volunt retineri doctrinam apostolorum. Sic iudicandum est de ritibus illis, sicut ipsi apostoli in suis scriptis iudicant".

(48) eg "non habent haereditatem Petri, qui fidem Petri non habent" - Ambrose , and " non sanctorum filii sunt , qui tenent loca sanctorum, sed qui exercent opera eorum" - Jerome .

(49) ASK , p 337 .

in the apostolic succession and the Lutherans are not , receive back the reply from the reformers that the contrary is true ; it is clear to all that the Romans have departed from apostolic faith and practice,while the Lutherans have returned to it(47).

Later Lutherans recognized that there is a "successio personalis et localis" as well as the "successio doctrinalis" , and taught that such a succession was a worthy sign of the unity and continuity of the church ; but they were quite clear that a succession of persons by ordination,or in one diocese,was wholly subsidiary to the vital succession in doctrine . Gehard , who wrote the classic Lutheran treatment of the subject , asserted that the early fathers always considered a succession by ordination to depend upon a succession in doctrine,the former being considered useful and good but not essential(not being commanded in the Scriptures), but the latter being necessary and determinative ; and he supported this by many patristic quotations(48) .

In Sweden there was no break in episcopal consecrations ,but the Swedish reformers had exactly the same interpretation as their German colleagues. Olavus Petri denied that succession guaranteed the true faith, asserting on the contrary that it was a Biblical faith that guaranteed a ministry.Even though the Swedish reformers knew that their bishops had been ordained by the old Catholic hierarchy,they argued about succession just as if they had not got it. For them the assertion that succession was necessary was linked with the claim of the Roman church that because the Swedes had separated themselves from her,they were not true priests of Christ's church.The question of the apostolic succession was for them dominated by the Pope's claim to be the successor of Peter, and the Vicar of Christ.It was the demands of this controversy that led to the rejection of succession from the doctrinal point of view. Askmark makes the interesting observation(49) : " There is every reason to suppose that the question of the apostolic succession in the protestant churches

(50) Hector , in Blennow P,p 172f , however suggests that the phrases about Christ's desire to maintain the ministry , and the regulations about episcopal ordination , imply the full doctrine of apostolic succession .

(51) ASK , p 329 .

would have been seen from other points of view, and to some extent would have received a different reply, if it had not been associated with the primacy of Rome". We know in fact that at least one theologian, the Bishop of Åbo , poimted out in the 1560s how the continuous succession of bishops in his see showed how Christ was continually sending his ministers into the church , and witnessed to the continuity of the contemporary church with that founded by the Lord ; he gives a list of all the bishops of Åbo with himself as the twenty-sixth and not the third ,

The Church Order shows the same consciousness that the continuing life of the church is signified by maintaining the old order of episcopacy , but nowhere suggests any different attitude to the fact of succession than the other reformers(50). Laurentius Petri makes it clear enough in his other writings that he holds the usual view . He says , for example , that a church does not stop being a church just because it does not employ priests ordained by a bishop in the historic succession, "it is better for the faithful and devout not to have any public ministry at all than to have a wolf ; for in such a situation Christ is at hand, Himself the prince and head over all his pastors in his betrayed church" . In his controversy with Herbst he does not maintain the validity of the Swedish church by claiming the succession ; instead he claims that the Word is rightly preached and the Sacraments rightly administered. Askmark repudiates any suggestion that the two Petri brothers had a different attitude to episcopacy(51).

The question of succession was still kept to the fore after the death of Laurentius Petri by the efforts of the Catholic party in the time of John III . Attempts were made to find a mediate position by which Catholics might be reconciled to what was happening ; a work was distributed in Sweden suggesting that agreement could be reached if three marks of the church were recognized : the Word , the Sacraments , and unity with

(52) A comparison suggests itself here with the 1888 Lambeth Quadrilateral .

(53) see Askmark ÄSK pp 363ff

the Apostolic church by obedience to the bishops in the historic succession(52) . This was a direct appeal to the teaching of Melanchthon who had ascribed a third mark to the church beside the Word and the Sacraments : "obedientia ministerii evangelii seu catholicae ecclesiae" , though by that he had not meant the church that was in communion with the Roman pontiff.

The term Apostolic Succession is frequently used in later Swedish writings , but there it always means succeeding the apostles in respect of having the same powers and doing the same work . The claim was continually made that Lutheran priests were as apostolic , or rather more apostolic , than those of Rome . But gradually the need for anti-Roman polemic died away , and with it the frequent reference to succession .

In the eighteenth century Swedes were brought by contacts with others to realize that they had the apostolic succession in the technical , Roman sense ; they heard about the debates between the Anglicans and the Roman Catholics over the maintenance of the English succession , and they shared the general feeling of interest in such matters which was growing on the continent(53) . A German statement on succession written in 1722 declared that succession had been broken at least once everywhere , and so is nowhere a real guarantee ; it continued by maintaining that the Orthodox church could claim a purer succession than the Roman because its doctrine was purer , and that the Anglican succession was better than either because it was combined with a true evangelical doctrine . Had the writer known that a neighbouring church ,which not only professed evangelical doctrine,but affirmed it in the form of the Augsburg Confession , had the succession , he would surely have quoted it too. Gradually the Swedish church heard about these matters and began to look at its own history in this light . Erik Benzelius the younger made some notes entitled : " Ad quaestionem utrum in Svecia sit successio episcopalis"in which he listed the bishops consecrated during the reformation era , and added "ab illo

(i.e. from Laurentius Petri)autem(consecrati sunt)ceteri sedibus vacantibus designati successores & sic porro ad nostra usque tempora" . Another member of the same family , Henrik Benzelius ,published a thesis in 1738 entitled "Meletema historico-theologicum de successione episcoporum canica apud evangelicos praesertim in Svecia" which , while maintaining the traditional doctrine against Roman claims , also pointed out that the Romans could not deny the validity of Swedish orders even on their own premises , since they had passed on their orders to the new Swedish bishops and the succession had been un unbroken. From then on the historical facts were known and accepted ; a thesis of 1762 mentions them en passant as something generally accepted , and another of 1790 is given over to tracing the succession lists of various sees . But the realization of the historic facts did not change in any way the proclamation of the doctrine held before .

This uniform attitude to succession was maintained in the nineteenth century . The Lundensian "High-Churchmen",noted for their strong doctrine of the ministry which they propagated in the periodical "Swensk Kyrkiotidning", from 1855 onwards , particularly denounced the claims for succession being made by Puseyism in England. More recently , Söderblom,who was helped by his ecumenical contacts to see the value of the continuous succession of bishops,was in no way prepared to admit to its being necessary . Thus the statement quoted at the beginning of this section illustrates not only the attitude of Sweden at the time of the discussions with the Anglican Communion , but also her doctrinal position since the Reformation.

It is now very general in Sweden to hear expressions of gratitude for having the succession, as a sign of continuity with past ages and as a special comfort in times of spiritual deadness ; a priest can feel,it is sometimes said in this connection,that his ordination was a definite apostolic act , and he can encourage himself by remembering the authority by which

(54) for example the articles in "Vår Kyrka" 1955 , No 17 and "Svensk Kyrkotidning" 1956,No 14.

(55) Danell , section II c)

(56) in Blennow P , p 79ff

he works[54]. The High-church movement in Sweden has of course laid great stress on the value of episcopal succession and the following extract from a statement of their theology will be of interest:

> " The significance of the ministry is parallel to that of the Incarnation. In the New Testament there is a succession, proceeding from the Father ,who sends the Son out into the world, and he in turn sends out the disciples in the same manner, particularly the Twelve; through them life streams out to the whole church. in the Word and Sacrament administered by the ministry. Church Renewal regards it as a necessary Biblical, apostolic and universal truth that the apostolate has its continuation in the ministry of the church, primarily in the episcopate . This represents the continuity through the ages ; it gives expression to the continuing Incarnation which guarantees that the church truly is the Body of Christ, God's temple built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, with Christ himself as the uniting and life-giving corner stone"[55].

Dr Rosendal writes of succession[56] in the context of succession of teaching, sacraments and the whole means of grace but episcopal succession is an essential part of the whole. He describes it in terms of "passing on the charisma of the ministry" and "conferring the character indelebilis" and suggests that the preservation of the act in Sweden authorises this interpretation of it, even though its significance is normally denied. This group as a whole are inclined to take over the rigid positions and some of the sweeping historical generalisations of some recent Anglo-Catholic theology (for example, the arguments of the book "The Apostolic Ministry" edited by Bishop Kirk are frequently reproduced and the work much relied upon). With regard to the Confessional documents , it is maintained that the Augsburg Confession remains neutral while the Church Order presupposes and highly values episcopal succession.

(57) P , note 18 on p 137 and p 140 . These points have been made less forcibly in the English translation (!),LW,p 101 .

(58) **Bibliography of more important works on the Ordination of women :-**

Kvinnas Behörighet till Kyrkliga ämbeten och tjänster , (Statens offentliga utredningar), Stockholm , 1950 .

Lindroth,H.: Kyrkomötet 1957 och frågan om "kvinnliga präster" , Ny Kyrklig Tidskrift, 5-6 , 1957 .

" : Kyrkomötet 1958 och frågan om "kvinnliga präster" ,Ny Kyrklig Tidskrift, 4-5 , 1958 .

Rodhe,B & S : Män och Kvinnor i prästämbetet , Stockholm , 1958.

Sahlin,M : Man och kvinna i Kristi kyrka,Stockholm, 1950.

Sjöberg,E.: Exegeterna om kvinnliga präster, Stockholm , 1953.

Wollter,M : Annorlunda , Stockholm , 1957 .

The adoption of these positions has however caused a reaction , observable for instance in the writings of Gustaf Wingren, against the idea of succession even as a sign of continuity. The retention of the succession , writes Wingren, has misled some in the Swedish church into ways of thinking incompatible with the New Testament , for to require succession is to doubt the power of the living Christ , active now in His church , calling and ordaining men for His ministry . In this respect , the demand for some outward guarantee is parallel to the demand for an infallible Bible , for both presuppose the idea of an absent , and not a present , Christ (57).

9. Women Priests.

The ordination of women has for several years been one of the main debating points on the Swedish ecclesiastical and theological scene . Because the matter has scarcely ever before been debated in the history of the church , there is no possibility of starting with a historical treatment ; the subject presents itself without there being any recognised categories in which to discuss it . The debate has in fact ranged over many fields , such as Biblical exegesis , history , dogmatics , social conditions , and even the psychology of sex ; all that can be done here is to take note of some of the aspects of the debate that bear upon the doctrine of the ministry (58).

The question is posed in these terms : all Christians , whether male or female , bond or free , black or white , share in Christ's redemption , and so in His priesthood ; the ordained ministry is the continuation of the apostolic ministry , that is, the ministry of proclaiming the Word publicly . Hitherto this ministry has been confined to men , and women have not been called to it . The spirit of the times (at any rate in Sweden) is against such restrictions ; is there any reason therefore why this prohibition should be retained ?

Swedish churchmen have first of all had to maintain that

the matter is not simply one of extending to one profession the equality of opportunity now prevailing in all the others ; they have made clear that it requires consideration on theological and religious principles and cannot be decided simply on questions of expediency and efficiency , as if the ministry was merely one among other state posts . For some however the matter is already decided : the church, being a historic organism depends for its validity on remaining essentially the same as when it was instituted . Jesus chose men to be his apostles , although there were women around him whom he could have chosen ; the subordinate , or rather complimentary, position of women is laid down by St Paul and there related to the order of creation; the church has ever since kept the ordained ministry for men , though it has used women in many other valuable ways ; thus it belongs to the very nature of the church as it has come down to us and as commanded and instituted in Scripture , and this cannot be changed simply because the "spirit of the times" seems to demand it . So runs the main argument of those who oppose the change .

For others however , the social conditions of Biblical times account for the restriction of the ministry to men , and the history of the church has shown that it has not felt bound to retain all the details of Biblical life in its own structure. Indeed , much of what St Paul wrote shows that the Christian Gospel frees us from the necessity of being bound by such details It is a distinctive witness of Lutheranism, as distinct from Calvinism or Anglicanism , not to regard the New Testament order of ministry , be it presbyterian or episcopal , as determinative ever afterwards . On this level therefore the discussion has been in the first place to discover the meaning of the various Biblical passages, and in the second place to debate the extent to which these passages should determine present faith and practice . The position one takes up on this latter question obviously depends upon one's view of the precise nature of Biblical authority. In Sweden , one side is labelled "literalist"

by its opponents -- this suggests that those who feel bound by the Pauline restrictions are obeying the letter of the New Testament at the expense of its spirit ; while , in its turn, the other side is labelled "liberal" -- and this suggests that those who support the change are simply selecting those parts of Scripture that fit in with their pre-determined notions of what the Gospel is , and discarding the rest as "secondary" or "no longer applicable" . This question of authority is the main issue of the debate ; the more weight that is put on the authority of scriptural and traditional practice and precept, the less relevance will any arguments about efficiency, justice or expediency have . To those however who regard Pauline precept and traditional practice in these matters as "adiaphora", which need not be followed for ever , other questions are relevant.

To those who are prepared to go thus far , the Lutheran doctrine of the ministry suggests at many points that the claim for women priests should be admitted . The minister is the one who publicly preaches the Word and administers the Sacrament ; he is authorised to do this by the calling and the ordination administered by the church which mediates to him God's own authority. The ministry is thus both the focus point of Christ's own ministry in his church and also the means by which he speaks and deals with the contemporary society in a particular place . If a woman can share in the ministry of Christ in the church (the priesthood of all believers) then she can equally exercise that ministry publically , especially if it is in a society in which women are in other respects on equal footing. In all ages the ministry has reflected the state of the society of its time . The demands of the people as to who they want to have ministering to them are in fact more important than the demands of the ordained ministry as to who they want to have as their colleagues ; the voice of God calling his ministers is to be sought in the will of the people as well as the will of the bishops and priests .

(59) Persson , op cit . Dr Persson is one of the Swedish experts on Roman theology .

One aspect of the debate that deserves mention is the idea that the ministry as representing Christ , that the relation between a priest and his people should continue the series:Christ and his church , man and his wife . It has been claimed that this is particularly important in the communion service where the priest represents Christ as the head of the family , the paterfamilias, breaking bread for his children . It is part of the language of piety for the minister to represent Christ in this way , but it is not clear how far it is really an essential feature of the ministry . At the beginning of 1961 , the idea of the ministry as representing Christ was taken up as the starting point for a critical review of modern Swedish theology of the ministry by P.E.Persson(59). The author gives an extensive account of High-church theology of the ministry as it expresses the idea of representation, the ministry carrying on Gods work for him in the present . This review is preceeded by an account of the same ideas as they occur in Roman Catholic theology . The "moral" is that the basic concepts of the High-church theology of the ministry stem not from the Lutheran confessions , which stress the idea of Christ himself as living and present in his church, but from Roman ways of thinking , even though they have come to Sweden via the Anglo-Catholic school of the Anglican communion, This is further expounded in the third section where the basic ideas of the Lutheran confessions are shown to envisage Christ dealing himself with his people , minister included . Although the work does not deal specifically with the ordination of women , most of the writings cited were contributions to this debate , and the idea of representation has been playing a large part in it . It is a controversial point to state that the idea of the ministry representing Christ to the people is inconsistent with true Lutheranism and sound faith , and the reactions so far have not indicated that the matter is going to be dispassionately considered . The debate on this , as on the whole doctrine of the ministry , continues .

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(1) p 164

(2) Translation from Yelverton , p 86 .

C H A P T E R 3

THE PRACTICE OF THE MINISTRY IN THE CHURCH OF SWEDEN.

This chapter aims to outline the ways in which the two orders of Bishops and Priests have been appointed and ordained, and the conceptions of their duties that have been held , in the course of Post-Reformation history in Sweden ; certain aspects of interest to Anglicans receive special emphasis . Since Laurentius Petri in his Church Order deals first with priests and then with bishops , that is the order which is followed here .

1. The Appointment of Priests.

As Dr Brillioth remarks in his work on the Swedish church, (1) there have always been four parties concerned in the appointment of parish priests, all to some extent in competition with eachother : the congregation , the patron , the bishop, or other diocesan authority , and the king . All these four parties continued to play a part in post-reformation times , in spite of the ideal programme which Laurentius Petri's Church Order presented in 1571:

> " Therefore whensoever a Congregation or Parish hath need of a Priest or Preacher , they shall first draw nigh to God in prayer, seeking his help and counsel in the matter. Next they shall look for some fit person , and when such hath been found (as may seem to them) ,they shall bring him before the Ordinarius or Bishop , that he may be examined and tried , and , when approved , commissioned and ordained as Parish Priest" (2).

The Reformation in fact resulted in an increase in the influence of the king , a decrease in that of the bishop , and no greater power for the congregation ; although many attempts

(3) The domkapitel is not the same as an English cathedral chapter , because it is a governing body in the diocese . See section 9 of this chapter .

(4) Previously,it was only open to priests of the same diocese , but since 1958 the "stiftsband" has been lifted on all priests with more than five years service.

were made during the next century to diminish the influence of the king , he retained the sole right of presentation in many parishes until the eighteenth century . In general however , according to the Church Law of 1686 , the congregation could suggest names although the bishop and domkapitel[3] could appoint someone else if they thought the local nominee unsuitable . Gradually the right of the parish to choose its own priest was recognized until in 1910 the process was established very much as it is at present ; by this law also various distinctions between parishes were abolished , a trend which was continued by the abolition of patronage in 1922 and completed in 1958 when special status was taken away from certain parishes in the five large townswhich had hitherto kept it .

The present system is as follows : when the vacancy in any parish is declared , application can be made for it by any priest who has the necessary age qualifications[4]. From these the domkapitel draws up a list of three (there is a scale for working out which of the applicants has the most seniority, which depends not only on years of service but also on the university degree held and record of previous posts). Three Sundays in succession are then set apart on which the three candidates may take the service and preach . If the congregation are not satisfied with any of the three they may call out a fourth nominee of their own . The election is then held between the three (or four) and normally the one with the majority of votes is appointed,although there are various conditions and exceptions . In order to give an opportunity for some older man who might be continually passed over in the election system , every third time an incumbency becomes vacant , the Crown nominates without an election , and application can be made direct to the Crown for such a post .

Brillioth comments that this system , which has been called the most "democratic" of any church , does carry out the will of the reformers who wished that each parish could appoint

(5) p 178

(6) see Askmark ÄSK , p 394 and von Hääg,p 62f.

its own pastor ; its disadvantage is that it is not only practising members of the congregation who can vote but anyone who lives within the parish boundaries , and this means that sometimes undesirable political factors enter in ; but this, remarks Brillioth , is one of the risks that a national ,state church has to run .(5)

2. The Ordination of Priests.

i) The Ordinator. In the early days of the Reformation , it was assumed without question that the bishop would be the only one to ordain priests ; the Ordinances of Vesterås , for instance , presuppose this in 1527 . But during the time of the "presbyterian" activity of Georg Norman this principle was challenged very firmly . The first incident was in 1545 when Laurentius Helsingius had been elected vicar of Fristad in the diocese of Skara at a time when there was no bishop ; he asked the cathedral chapter for ordination so that he could begin his work , but they refused to act on two occasions , in spite of a letter from Norman himself urging them to ordain and expounding his view of the ministry . The chapter only performed the ordination on receiving the direct command of the king to do so(6). Norman's activity extended , as will be seen later, into appointing superintendents over certain areas with episcopal duties . These men were not bishops and had not received consecration , but they were given authority to ordain priests in their areas .

The Archbishop , Laurentius Petri, however did not approve of these practices , and made it clear in the Church Order that it belongs to the bishop's office to ordain , and that no-one should exercise the priesthood unless he had been so ordained:

> " It belongeth also to the Bishop's office that in his diocese he shall ordain and govern with Priests and whatsoever else is required,as St Paul doth write to his disciple Titus, whom he had sent as such an Overseer to Crete,For this cause left I thee in Crete that thou

(7) Translation from Yelverton , p 84

(8) Translation from Yelverton , p 86

(9) cf Mott Williams , p 53

(10) cf Rodhe , p 455ff and Kjöllerström in "Svensk Teologisk Kvartalskrift" 1942;3 ,& Moss,p 326.

> shouldest set in order the things that are wanting , and supply the towns here and there with Priests",etc.For this reason a Bishop is called Ordinarius or Ordinator , which in Swedish means a Commissioner or Ordainer" .(7)

and " ...they shall bring him before the Ordinarius or Bishop, that he may be examined and tried,and,when approved, commissioned and ordained as Parish Priest...Neither shall any man , who hath been called to the office of Preacher, tried and examined,execute the office until he hath been ordained and confirmed therein with imposition of hands and prayer".(8)

But the appointment of Superintendents continued and the Church Law of 1686 prescribed that ordinations could only be performed by Bishops or Superintendents , but since the latter were quasi-episcopal persons , and might be compared to Anglican suffragan bishops, the general principle is maintained.

There have been times when exceptions to this rule of episcopal ordination were fairly frequent , particularly in the eighteenth century . Many of them were for service outside Sweden , for example , for America , for the army in Russia , and during the campaigns of Karl XII(9). Dean Hydren of Uppsala (1764-1784) is known to have ordained priests for the archdiocese during two separate vacancies. Later in the same century however we find King Gustaf III insisting that the Church Law be obeyed to the letter and refusing ,in 1786,a request for permission to ordain from the next Dean of Uppsala; the king wrote "we have found that ordination belongs to bishops alone" .. In 1792 Bishop Celsius of Lund asked that his Dean might perform the ordinations as he was unwell , but he was told "both the Church Law and the dignity of the ceremony demand that it should be performed by the bishop "(10). Since then there have been no exceptions in Sweden itself to episcopal ordination and the rubric in the present Handbook reads "(the ordination) is conducted by the diocesan bishop or by another

(11) Report "The Church of England and the Church of Sweden" , p 17 .

(12) Compare and contrast Anglican relations with the Church of South India , and other ecumenical schemes. The Roman Catholic position is of interest.On several occasions ,men not in episcopal orders have been given permission to ordain,and the Code of Canon Law 1917 states" The ordinary minister of sacred ordination is a consecrated bishop : the extra-ordinary minister is one who,though without the episcopal character,has received wither by law or by a special indult from the Holy See power to confer some orders".Bligh ,p 8f . Note the "by law" ; italics mine .

bishop duly appointed in his place".

It must be noted here that the restriction of ordaining powers to bishops is a matter of the law of the country , and not of a vital element of church order . The Church of Sweden casts no doubt over the ministries of other churches , and when priests of other Lutheran churches seek permission to settle in Sweden , there is never any question of re-ordination. The law of the country does not allow anyone who is not a Swedish citizen to hold a benefice, but exceptions are made , and there are priests ordained in other countries serving in Sweden to-day not only as curates but also as incumbents . The comment of the 1909 Commission no longer applies :

> " It was ascertained that there is full inter-communion between the Church of Sweden and other churches which accept the Augsburg Confession , including admission to Holy Communion and interchange of pulpits. There is however no actual case of a clergyman ordained elsewhere holding a benefice in Sweden.....The practice seems to be to allow a man ordained by royal permission,or in the Augustana Synod in the U.S.A. to be a com-minister or chaplain , but not a kyrko-herde or incumbent"(11).

As will be seen in section 10 of this chapter , the Church of Sweden herself does not practise exclusively ordination by bishops when in the mission field, though it is regarded as an ideal to be attained . We can see therefore in her practice in this matter a clear application of her doctrine ; the Anglican church has accepted that neither of these need be a hindrance to inter-communion(12).

ii) The Rite. It appears that the medieval ordination rites were used without much alteration up to the seventh decade of the sixteenth century when the order of Laurentius Petri began to be employed . If the old forms of service were used however , it did not mean that the old ideas of priesthood were being taught , as was seen in chapter 2 ; gradually there was a demand that a more evangelical rite should be produced. The "Dialogus" of

(13) Askmark ÄSK , p 392 . There is some uncertainity whether the rite said to have been prepared by Georg Norman was ever used .

Laurentius Petri , published in 1542 , illustrates that,while anointing was still a feature of the ordination ritual,the way was being prepared for something new . "Peter" has said that all Christians were ordained priest and anointed by the Holy Spirit at baptism , and "Simon" then asks"Why then are priests anointed with oil ?" and "Peter" replies that even though there are certain reasons why anointing can be allowed , it is not commanded in Scripture as Christ did not use it when commission--ing the apostles , nor did they in turn use it but "only laid their hands upon those who were being called to the priesthood , praying for them to God"(13).

The Church Order of 1571 provided a "Manner of ordaining Priests" . The rite begins with an exhortation to prayer , and then all kneel while a Litany is sung ; this is followed by the Litany,collects and the Prayer for Teachers used also in the rite for bishops (there is provision for the litany to be omitted and the hymn "Come thou Holy Spirit" sung instead).

"When this is done and all have risen again,one of the Priests shall call the names of those who are to be ordained, making known therewith the Titles to which church or diocese they are to be ordained ; then immediately they go forward in order , robed "in albis" as is appointed , or in their own decent habit ,and kneel down before the Altar, whereupon the Ordinarius saith :

> Seeing that ye are called to this ministry which is the Priesthood,hear first and give heed to these words which Saint Paul the Apostle of Jesus Christ hath written concerning this same ministry and office".

Then three passages are read - I Tim.3:1-7 , Titus I:7-9 and Acts 20:28-31 - all three about the "bishop" and an explanation and the interrogation follow .

"Thereafter(the Ordinarius)confereth upon them the office of Priest with these words , saying :

> AND I , BY THE AUTHORITY ENTRUSTED TO ME ON GOD'S BEHALF BY HIS CHURCH FOR THIS PURPOSE,COMMIT UNTO YOU THE OFFICE

(14) The whole rite is translated in Yelverton, Appendix VII

(15) The word translated church here is "försambling" not "kyrkia";but it is used in the New Testament sense of "ecclesia" and can therefore rightly be translated church in this context.

(16) "They further find that at Swedish ordinations the laying on of hands is accompanied by no words denoting the confering of any gift,order,or office,nor by any prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost.The only words now used,and this has been the unvarying custom since 1571,are the Lord's Prayer". The Lambeth Conference committee of 1897 rightly pointed out that the service taken as whole had these elements in it as clearly as the Anglican Ordinal.

(17) especially in the Preface to the Creed : "The Church of Christ expecteth that ye,persuaded of the gravity of this office,have already pondered the heavy duties that ye take upon yourselves as teachers of the Gospel.The Church of Jesus Christ expecteth that ye with fervent prayer will beseech the Most High for aid and support that ye may worthily discharge this ministry. That ye may be strengthened further in this sacred resolution,I now summon you,before God,who knoweth your hearts and will bring you to account for your promises:before this altar,where every penitent sinner receives assurance of his participation in that

OF PRIEST, IN THE NAME OF THE FATHER, AND OF THE SON, AND OF THE HOLY SPIRIT. AMEN.

Here immediately the Ordinarius alone, or together with the other Priests who are present, layeth both his hands upon their heads, saying:

OUR FATHER, WHICH ART IN HEAVEN....." (14).

The words of the Commission before the laying on of hands make explicit the purpose of the service. The bishop declares that he gives "the office of Priest" "by the authority entrusted to me on God's behalf by his church" (15). The laying on of hands during the Lord's Prayer is typical of Lutheran rites, associating the act very clearly with prayer. There seems little reason for objecting to the fact that the commissioning is given before rather than during the imposition of hands, as did the Commission of the American Episcopal Church in 1895 (16). Although the questions in the interrogation do not mention the administering of the sacraments as one of the duties, there can be no doubt from the rite as a whole that it is to the ministry of Word and Sacraments in the church that the men are admitted to

The central part of this rite, the formula of Commission, and the imposition of hands, has remained ever since. The rite itself was only slightly altered in the Church Law of 1686 and it was not until 1811 that a new order was put out. Apart from slight changes in the prayers, the most important difference is the stress laid in 1811 upon the element of public confession of faith before the congregation (17).

The connection with the Communion service seems to have been loosed in the early seventeenth century. Laurentius Petri ends his rite with the rubric " At the proper time (18), the Ordinati go ad sacram Communionem" but by 1686 the final rubric reads " Thereafter followeth the Blessing and all is concluded with a suitable hymn". To-day it always follows upon the High Mass, usually a service without communion; a said communion service having been held earlier in the day. The separation

redemption which you are to preach : before this c congregation , who are now witnesses to your oaths , to make confession of your faith and to answer the questions which I shall then put to you" .

This was shortened in 1868 and has now disappeared except for the exhortation to say the creed "before God and this congregation" .

(18). Yelverton has "If time permits" but has written to me that the correct translation of "När tijdh är" should be "At the proper time" .

(19) Rodhe , p 462

from the Communion also meant that a sermon had to be prescribed in the rite itself , and it occurs to-day at the beginning of the service and is preached by the bishop himself .

The next revision (in 1868) restored the emphasis of the pre-1811 rite , and only very slight alterations were made in succeeding Handbooks ; the basic structure and much of the language of the present rite (1942) remains the same as the one provided in the 1571 Church Order . It is interesting to note that the investiture of the new priests with the chasuble immediately before the imposition of hands has continued since medieval times ; although Laurentius Petri does not mention it, it was practised in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries , and obviously was a custom that had never ceased(19).

It remains to note the existence in the Swedish Handbook of a order of service for the induction of an incumbent . This first appeared in 1811 , although the Church Order says that some simple ceremony ought to take place when a new pastor arrives , and the Church Law (1686) indicates that this service was normally taken by the bishop . Baelter (1762) gives an interesting form consisting of exhortations to congregation and priest , the hymn "Veni Sancte Spiritus" , the delivery of the instruments of his office (Key of the church,chalice,paten, Handbook etc.) and concluding with a Blessing . The form in the Handbooks shows the influence of the ordination rites (especially the 1866 book); it includes interrogation and the imposition of hands with prayer , but it can of course be repeated as often as a priest moves to another parish and the priest is not prevented from carrying out any of his duties as incumbent until he has been inducted ; this differentiates it from the consecration of a bishop - the bishop may not legally perform his episcopal functions (particularly ordinations) until he is consecrated. The laying on of hands is an act widely used for any form of commissioning for duty , being a sign that prayer is being offered ; here prayer is offered for the priest's

work in that particular parish ; at the ordination of a bishop or priest , the prayer is for his whole life-long service in that office .

iii) The Ordination of women. In accordance with the law that came into force on January 1st,1959 , four women have so far been ordained to the priesthood in the Church of Sweden , three on Palm Sunday 1960 and the fourth this year . Until 1959 there was a provision in the law of the country that women could not be appointed to priestly offices ; the 1959 Act repealed that provision . According to the law , the women enter the priesthood under exactly the same conditions as men . There was an earlier suggestion that a woman should not be allowed to go alone to a parish--she should be restricted to a parish where there was at least one other priest , a man (either as her vicar or her curate) . This was not included in the act because it was felt that it could safely be left to the bishop and the domkapitel not to send a woman to a parish where she would be unwelcome to the majority of the parishioners .

The law permitted incumbencies and curacies to be offered to women ; but before anyone can be a priest , he must be ordained by a bishop and the bishops have the final and sole decision as to who they will ordain , no bishop is compelled to ordain anyone against his conscience . The three bishops concerned had previously expressed their willingness to ordain women ; the actual decision to ordain therefore was an ecclesiastical and not a state act .

Nevertheless , a large section of the church regard this as being directly opposed to the commands of Scripture ; its members have formed a special movement ("Kyrklig Samling") and are putting into practice what amounts to a boycott of the women priests,endeavouring in such ways as are practicable to avoid recognising their ministrations . The number of women applying for ordination during the coming years is likely to be very small , but it is difficult to see how (humanly) the

present tensions can be reconciled.

3. The Duties of the parish priest.

We have seen that at the Reformation the teaching about the ministry emphasised that ,while it was instituted by God to do His work in the congregation , it was also called by and appointed by the congregation to do on its behalf the work which each member was in theory entitled to do himself by virtue of his baptism . These two points should be borne in mind when we consider the actual tasks of a priest in his parish and the relationship between him and the congregation .

The ministry of the Word and Sacrament , exercised in the school , in visiting , at the altar and from the pulpit was the main work of the priest . Alongside this he was often thought to have an additional duty , that of exercising discipline over his flock, and the Age of Orthodoxy emphasised this particularly ; Pietism on the other hand emphasised rather the duty of the congregation to judge and even discipline the minister . The Church Order approves of excommunication , refers to Matt.18: 15-18 and permits the parish priest to pronounce it having first informed his Rural Dean and the Bishop . Towards the end of the sixteenth century the parish council began to exercise an important disciplinary power (the priest was always the chairman of this council) which increased during the succeeding century ; it was concerned on the whole with smaller ecclesiastical offences that did not come under the state law , but the state gave only occasional and grudging recognition to this and during the eighteenth century this disciplinary power fell out of use ; after 1866 no punishment was allowed and the council could only exhort . It is interesting to note that as long as any type of discipline was exercised by the church , the laymen of the parish were associated with the priest in its execution; only in the earliest days of the reformation could the ministry as such claim the "potestas clavium" .

Brillioth has a very interesting paragraph which sums up the ideal of pastoral care and throws some light on present

(20) Brillioth , p 300

practice : "As against the Roman ideal of the priest as a director of souls and as such , to some extent a mediator between God and man , the Reformation maintained the principle of the priesthood of all believers . This principle is most clearly applied to pastoralia by Martin Bucer in his work "Von der wahren Seelsorge und dem rechten Hirtendienst"(1538) where it is stated that Christ is the true director of souls , althou--gh he calls every Christian , but especially the head of each family and the teacher , to assist Him in this direction and to be the means by which He works . The high idealism of this view was rarely matched in the Lutheran church by any corresponding practical reality . Auricular confession as a preparation for communion has already been considered , and it was seen how it soon ceased to be a form for individual pastoral care . Moreover , the only kind of visiting that the Lutheran church has recognised as a duty has been to sick persons and prisoners , and that often only when called upon . This somewhat narrow conception of the duties of a minister, typical of an established church , has resulted in it being the exception rather than the rule for a priest to seek out his own parishione--rs;the priest , it was felt , should be visited but should not visit . The preaching and the Sacrament was regarded as the principle,if not the only,way in which an evangelical minister should exercise his pastoral care. Speaking privately to an individual about his soul meant only that a rebuke was being admimistered ,or that confession of some serious crime was being heard , and so it easily came to be regarded as degrading or ignominious if this took place"(20) . This does not mean that visiting was non-existent , but it does show why it was so often assumed that the priest was called in,he did not take it upon himself to call . In a small parish it was possible for the priest to meet most of his people at the "pastorsexpedition" but with the growth of the industrial revolution, the cessation of the custom of calling the priest to the sick-bed , and the sick-visiting done by hospital chaplains and the new deaconesses

(21) see Brillioth , p 302 .

the prison-visiting done by prison chaplains , the priest has been regrettably out-of-contact with the homes of all but a minority of his parishioners(21). Brillioth pleads for more individual visiting to be done , if not house-to-house , then at least in connection with the occasional services , especially confirmation . Since his book was written , much more work of this kind is being done , but the Swedish church has still a long way to go before the priest reckons house-to-house visiting as his normal duty .

One of the best known functions of the Swedish clergy is their work on behalf of the state as local registrars , not only of births,deaths and marriages, but also of all kinds of other events . This work grew out of the requirement , made a statutory duty in the seventeenth century , that each parish priest should keep a record of all baptisms,marriages,funerals and other services held in this church . The state departments became interested in these registries for census purposes and before long priests were required to send in an annual account of these statistics , and to keep a registry of all persons living within their boundaries . The present regulations were fixed in this century and involve much work for the priest . The card index of all inhabitants has to be kept up-to-date , and this means that all new arrivals and departures have to be recorded ; also , many certificates and permits are issued from the pastors' office . In the larger parishes this involves attendance for many hours a week at the "pastorsexpedition" , the parish registry which can often look like a post-office ; in the smaller parishes it is a room in the vicarage . Two disadvantages of this system are that firstly , the priest has to spend too much of his time at this work , time which should be given to duties of a more directly pastoral and evangelistic nature; and secondly,he can so easily be regarded as a civil servant by the general population . The only advantage in the system from the point of view of the work of

the church is that in some smaller parishes it does give an opportunity for more contact between the priest and his people ; he hears of any change in circumstances and is often able to have a talk with people who would not initiate any contact with him in his pastoral capacity .

The characteristic duty however of the Lutheran pastor has always been his preaching and his teaching . Many hours are given to the preparation of the Sunday sermon , which is regarded as a most important means of grace -this is where God's stern law and His saving Gospel confront men with their challenge and their promise . The sermon is not therefore primarily a means of instruction , and a well-instructed laity has always been regarded as necessary . In the seventeenth century there was a great emphasis on the public instruction of the congregation , and this took place not only in church , but also in the homes of the parishioners (the "husförhör") , when the priest was instructed to question the adults in the catechism , making sure that they knew the answers so that when the public examination took place in church , they would be able to give the young a good example . Luther's Small Catechism is the one on which all this teaching was based ; it forms one of the writings in the Book of Concord and is printed in the Swedish hymnbooks . In the eighteenth century the stress lay more on the preparation of the young for their first communion and much time was given to this . Even to-day 85% of Swedish youth are confirmed and thus attend the extensive course of preparation which the Bishop's Meeting of 1942 prescribed must not be less than 50 hours . By this means the Swedish clergy come into contact, as teachers , with the great majority of the youth , but this has its own problems , particularly as the classes are necessarily large , and there is little likelihood of getting most of them afterwards to take an active part in the life of the church .

This sketch of the duties of a Swedish priest cannot give a

(22) Murray OP , p 103

(23) Askmark SPN , p330ff

real impression of what is done , for here , as in all churches, there is a vast opportunity for the priest to find his own ways, and to make an impact on the congregation that is in accord with his own personality and his own gifts . He can be simply the official who preaches the sermon and administers the sacraments, but he can also be a leader , a prophet and an apostle of Jesus Christ .

4. The Diaconate .

The order of Deacons was kept on for a time after the reformation , but it eventually disappeared and very little is known about it .

Laurentius Petri in 1550 referred to those who were "infra gradum presbyteralem" and we know that his brother Olavus was a deacon during most of his work as a reformer , not becoming a priest until 1539 , being then convinced of the importance of the ordained ministry(22), During the re-catholicising period of John III there is clear reference to priests and deacons at Uppsala , but after that the deacons faded out as an order of the ministry . The diocese of Vesterås however kept on the tradition for Bishop Rudbeckius in the middle of the seventeenth century ordered that there should be seven deacons to assist in the cathedral and to attend on himself as chaplains . This was a conscious imitation of New Testament and early church practice. These deacons were ordinands in training who needed some ecclesiastical duties in order to help pay for their studies. About sixty young men held these posts until they were abolished at the death of Bishop Rudbeckius in 1644(23). From then on the word deacon was simply used to describe young priests without benefices of their own . This use of the word seems to have ceased during the following century .

The work of "Diakoni" has , following the New Testament , been regarded more as social and eleemosynary than as liturgical by the reformation churches , and in the nineteenth century the Church of Sweden followed the lead of the German churches in

(24) From the letter printed in Bell,p 185ff Some desires for such a diaconate have now been expressed in high-church quarters,cf Ekström in Barnekow,Danell & Ekström , p 137 .

founding orders of deacons and deaconesses for nursing and for social and parish work ; this diaconate is life-long and has its own ordination service in the Handbook , including the laying on of hands , as in the other offices .

The Lambeth Conference of 1920 noted that the third order of the ordained ministry was not present in the Swedish church and expressed a tentative desire that the Swedes would see fit to re-introduce it . The Swedish bishops however replied:

> " In our Church we do not now possess any Order exactly corresponding to the Anglican Diaconate. For a number of years however we have had among us a male Diaconate for the service of charity among the sick, the infirm ,the poor ,the lost , thus of the same character as the Diaconate of women , which is older and more amply developed among us . In Resolution 49 of the Lambeth Conference this Diaconate is said to be the primitive one in the Christian Church , a statement which is undoubtedly true according to Acts 6 . No need of or wish for a Diaconate as an introduction to the ministry has been expressed in our Church(24)".

5. The Appointment of Bishops.

The history of the appointment of bishops in any of the great European churches shows that many factors have been at work . The bishop was often a great officer of state,or a feudal lord ; at other times he was an aristocrat or an educationalist , and alongside any doctrinal influences that determined how these men were chosen , we find political,economic and social ones as well . It was just the same in Sweden , both before and after the reformation .

In the earliest days of the Swedish church we find the king questioning the people of a particular area as to whom they wanted as their bishop ,and when the decision was made,sending him off to obtain consecration after investing him with the

crozier and ring . The Pope protested several times at this irregular participation of the laity , and by the thirteenth century Sweden had fallen into line with the rest of Roman Christendom , and her bishops were elected by the cathedral chapters ,confirmation from Rome being also necessary . But the election was not often the determining factor ; at times the will of the king had to be as law to the electing chapter , and in the later medieval period it was usual for the king merely to send along the name of his nominee . The reformation merely meant that the influence of the Pope was no longer felt ; but the king,Gustaf Vasa,continued to nominate candidates as the Pope had done , and when cathedral chapters were abolished in 1550 ,it seemed as if even the formality of election might disappear, although there had been one case of election , and that was for the archiepiscopate in 1531 .

Laurentius Petri was determined that the appointment of other bishops should take place on this manner and wrote thus in his chapter "Om Biskopsval" in the Church Order :

" In former times it hath been the custom that the whole commonalty should elect the bishops as well as the other servants of the Church.Albeit this is proper,where it can be done in a Christian manner;and it must surely be accomplished by an electionaaccording to the order of the Church.Nevertheless circumstances are now otherwise in these respects both that,the dioceses of Bishops having grown larger than they were at the first,all men cannot meet for such business,and likewise also that there are few of the common folk who can have any knowledge of the persons who would best serve in such an office.Therefore shall the election of Bishops be given into the hands of some appointed persons of the estate of the clergy and others who are in some degree experienced in this matter and bound by the duty of oath,that they shall elect and nominate him who in the sight of God seemeth to be most fitted for such an office .

(25) The use of lots to decide the order in which the names shall be submitted to the Crown is still the law in all cases where two or more names have the same number of votes, except when there are three or more in the first place, in which case all the names are sent off without any order being determined. cf Stenström, p 70ff.

(26) Translation in Yelverton , Appendix IX . For Dr Yelverton's comment on this chapter of the Church Order see p 93f .

(27) Kjöllerström , BiS , p 21 .

(28) BiS

(29) This did not apply to an archiepiscopal appointment for which even under the Church Law an election was obligatory .

(30) not in 1809 as Brillioth wrongly states on p 333 ; this has been checked by correspondence with Professor Kjöllerström .

(31) Brillioth , p 333 .

> When then it cometh to pass that this business is to hand, votes shall be taken according to custom and when this hath been done, he that obtaineth most votes shall be nominated thereto. Should the votes be equal, the matter shall be decided by lot[25], and immediately the name of him who hath been elected shall be sent to the government pro confirmatione. When he hath been approved, confirmed, and by open letter appointed to the diocese, he shall be publicly ordained with the imposition of hands by some other bishop, one or more, either in the cathedral or in some place that is most suitable".[26]

It is not clear whether the Archbishop intended that the king should be bound to nominate the one who received the most votes, or whether, as Professor Kjöllerström believes on analogy with the order for the election of an incumbent where the bishop can accept or reject the electee[27], he could refuse to confirm if he disapproved of the man presented to him . At any rate , the kings who immediately succeeded Gustaf Vasa exercised a free veto , and often let it be known whom they wanted electing.

The history of the appointments of bishops in the Swedish church from the reformation to the present , as told by Kjöllerström[28], is for the first two centuries the story of the struggle between the will of the king and the will of the clergy. The climax of the king's power was the provision in the Church Law (1686) that the king was not bound by the result of the election but could appoint anyone he chose[29]. This was vigorously opposed by the clergy as they now had no way of ensuring that anyone acceptable to them was appointed , and it was repealed in 1720[30], and from then on the Crown was confined to nominating one of those on the list presented by the electors . There still existed an Order of Chivalry , the Seraphim Order , whose prelate-bishop was appointed by royal proclamation , but the last such bishop died at the beginning of the nineteenth century ; the provision however has never formally been abolished[31]. In present practice , the Crown

(32) for the voting figures see Kjöllerström, BiS , p 236 .

(33) Some have suggested that Laurentius Petri was here thinking primarily of bishops - Kjöllerström, BiS , p 20 .

can appoint any of the three names receiving the highest number of votes , and it is under no obligation to appoint the one with the most votes . The choice of the third candidate on the list, especially when he is far behind the other two in popularity , can be very provoking to the clergy ; at a time like the present when ecclesiastical politics are much to the fore ,this power of choice can be used to keep opponents of government policy out of high office in the church . At times however such an action as choosing the third can be very far-sighted , as in 1914 when Nathan Söderblom was appointed Archbishop when he was a very clear third on the list presented by the domkapitels , and not one of the three on the list presented by the clergy of the Uppsala diocese(32).

Apart therefore from the fact that the final choice lies with the government , the appointment of bishops is in the hands of the clergy ; this is important as the bishop certainly should be a man whom the clergy can trust and admire . The provisions made in the Church Order speak of the election being "given into the hands of some appointed persons of the estate of the clergy" thus indicating firstly , that it was not intended that all the clergy should vote but only some of them as electors(33), and secondly that Laurentius Petri was thinking of the whole country being concerned in the voting and not only the diocese with the vacancy . This was the practice at first , the election being held by the "Riksconsistori" or convocation ; once a bishop had been thus elected,confirmed and consecrated, he could be moved from one diocese to another , and since all the clergy had been represented at his election , he could claim to be "rite vocatus" when he came to confront the clergy of another diocese than that for which he had been consecrated. During the seventeenth century however there grew up a steady demand that a bishop should be elected only by those clergy over whom he was to preside , and by the end of that century , on the abolition of the Riksconsistori , this became the

(34) Brillioth , p333 .

practice , and the frequency of translations greatly declined, (it is now rare , except from the little diocese of Visby , or to the archbishopric). The clergy now vote for their bishop by rural deaneries, and the rural dean sends up the result to the domkapitel , which adds its own votes to the total (the two or three laymen on the domkapitel are the only non-clerical persons with a vote), thus arriving at the three names . This change in practice is not associated with change in the conception of the bishop's office ; the demand that he should be elected only by the clergy of his own diocese was not so much a denial of the bishop's position as an officer of the universal church, as an assertion by the ordinary clergy that they wanted to choose their own father-in-God rather than having him chosen for them by the leading clergy of the Riksconsistori .

The election of the archbishop is recognized as a different matter , and from the election of Laurentius Petri in 1531 has been a moncern for the clergy of the whole country , although until 1670 it was the bishops and superintendents who cast their votes on behalf of their own clergy . The present practice is to have two entirely different electoral bodies , the clergy of the diocese of Uppsala and the domkapitels of the other dioceses . The other bishops therefore have a vote in the election of an archbishop only as members of their domkapitels. They have however no part in the election of their colleagues in other dioceses , and many regard this as a deficiency of the present system . In Norway for instance , which in other respects appoints its bishops in exactly the same way, there is provision for the bishops to express their opinion before the Crown announces its final appointment(34). The clergy of the other dioceses thus have an indirect say in who should be the Primus of their church .

It is a striking fact that , in spite of the existence of such a practice in Sweden before 1200 , no return was made after the reformation to having the laity participating in the

election of bishops . It was clearly the intention of Laurentius Petri that this return to primitive practice should be made , (besides the "appointed persons of the estate of the clergy" he mentions "others who are to some degree experienced in this matter") but this was ignored in subsequent legislation . Kjöllerström traces the history of several attempts to have the reform carried through during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries , but they were always met by much hesitation on the part of the church leaders who repeatedly said that the clergy knew best what was required of a bishop and knew the candidates better . In the nineteenth century there were great debates on this matter,the reform being urged by the "lowchurchmen" of Uppsala , and the status quo defended by the "highchurchmen" of Lund,the "Great Faculty" . Again the demand was made in 1920 and again there was deadlock and nothing was done . Recently however a committee reported in favour and legislation is pending . The arguments that have been employed in favour of the change have pointed out that the laity are as much a part of the church as are the clergy , and the appointment of the bishop concerns the whole church ; the laity also are associated at present with the clergy in every administrative matter in the church except the election of the bishop . It has also been said that since the bishop is essentially a priest with special duties ,laymen ought to take part in his appointment as they already do for the appointment of an incumbent . The church's reluctance to support the change is due to the fear of the clergy that , in a matter that concerns them far more nearly than it does the laity, they might be overwhelmed by the voting strength of this new class ofparticipants ; many of the clergy feel that to allow a lay vote in this matter too , would endanger the purely ecclesiastical nature of the process and introduce political factors even here. The comments of Dr Stenström when discussing this are of particular interest , especially in view of what has happened already over the question of women priests : " The apprehension that the consequence of permitting laymen to join

(35) Stenström , p 68 .

(36) Anglicans normally use "consecration" of a bishop and "ordination" of a priest , but no particular significance is attached to these differencxes : (consecrate can also be used of a cemetery or pulpit and Ordinal is a word including the service for consecrating bishops) . The Swedish word "invigning" or "vigning" covers all these senses . The English use is followed here , but it should be remembered that one Swedish word is being translated.

in the election of bishops will be the introduction of political factors , has certainly been one of the principal reasons for the negative attitude of the church to this matter . It is an apprehendion by no means without foundation . Sweden is clearly to be counted among those European countries where public administration of all kinds is being invaded by party politics.. ...It should be quite out of the question that party speculations should play any part in the electing of a bishop, for here if anywhere the nature of the church as a religious community must take priority over the power politics of civic life"(35). It does seem as if the doctrinal reasons in support of the change have not been strong enough to bring it about during the last four centuries , but that other considerations, such as the desire to have more lay control over the church for political purposes , can bring it about comparatively quickly .

6. The Consecration of Bishops.

When the election has been held and the appointment announced , there still remains the third element before a man can take over the duties of the episcopal office - his ordination or consecration at the hands of another bishop(36). When we turn to examine the rites that have been used in the Swedish church to see what has been said and done when a bishop is consecrated to his office , we must remember that they will not be as precise on some points as we would like . Anglicans may well want to know whether the rite implies that a priest is being admitted to a higher office , or whether he is being blessed as he starts a temporary function : whether , in other words , this rite is parallel to the ordination of a priest , or to the institution of an incumbent . The various rites will seem to give different answers to these questions ; but it is important to remember that the distinction between these two ideas was notobvious or important to those who framed the rites, and that they were not therefore necessarily meaning to imply either one or the other .

(37) cf Mott Williams , p 30 . The following is the description of the consecration of Laurentius Petri given by Rhyzelius (quoted in Nicholson ASCS , p 31) :

"The Archbishop's consecration however was not performed with the Popish superstitious ceremonies, but with the Word of God and prayer and the laying on of hands, as well as with seemly investiture with the mitre and the pallium,which was not purchased from Rome of the Pope at the cost of a heavy contribution from the clergy,but was provided by the king's free bounty, and was suited both to exalt and maintain both the Archbishop's person and office in becoming honour and dignity ".

For a description of a consecration in 1575 see Lundström in Kyrkohistorisk Årskrift,Vol XIV,1913 .

(38) The complete text is translated as Appendix VIII in Yelverton .

The first consecrations after the reformation were performed with the old Uppsala Pontifical , which incidentally was probably of a simpler nature than those in use on the continent[37]; and latin was almost certainly used . But the lack of a vernacular rite with an evangelical content could not long be tolerated , and it is known that by 1560 the Archbishop had drafted a form , which was probably used the next year at the consecration of Olavus Helsinger to Strängnäs . But by 1571 the Church Order was published and the form "for ordaining an elect bishop" therein contained was used from then on , apart from 1574-1593 when the catholicising Nova Ordinantia was used, throughout the seventeenth century and ,with some alterations, throughout the eighteenth as well .

The Ordinal of 1571 was a much simplified form of the medieval rite , omitting ,for example, both the unction and the investiture[38]. The introductory rubric reads:

> " On some Sunday or other Holyday before the beginning of Mass the Ordinandus Episcopus cometh to the Altar,having on him a Surplice and Cope,and with him two Priests from the Diocese to which he is to be ordained,who may also wear Surplices and Copes. Immediately the Ordinator, standing at the Altar robed in Surplice and Cope,may deliver to the people there assembled a short exhortation to prayer in this manner:"

Then follows an exhortation to the people to pray that "this person here present,who is elected to the office of Bishop" may be filled with holy grace . Then all kneel while a Litany is sung , followed by a Collect and the Prayer for Teachers,which is still used in the Ordinal for Priests . Then two passages of Scripture are read :I Tim 3:1-7 and Luke 12:42-48 , followed by a "little explanation" declaring that those "that are called to such an office as the Bishop's have obtained a commission from God,not over some small concerns,but over his people and servants" and that faithfulness and ability is required of them. Then the interrogation and the recitation of the Nicene Creed .

(39) eg. Dewailley .

(40) in recent times a ceremonial distinction has been introduced in that the assisting bishops stand inside the altar rails while the assisting priests stay outside .

(41) cf the comments of Professor Ratcliffe in "Theology" , January , 1960 .

"Thereafter the whole Choir singeth the Responsorium ,"Sint lumbi vestri praecincti..etc." And when this is ended ,the Ordinator together with the other Bishops,or Priests,who are present,lay their hands upon the head of the Ordinandus,the Ordinator first saying:Let us pray . Our Father...etc." After this there is another prayer,and then the choir starts the Introit for the Mass "wherein the Ordinatus first among others shall communicate" .

It is noticable that this rite does not mention any functions which distinguish the bishop from the priest. The questions are exactly the same as in the corresponding rite, except that "Office of Bishop" appears instead of "Office of Priest" . The homily or exhortation for bishops is longer but does not say anything essentially different ; two of the prayers are exactly the same and I Tim 3:1ff is read to the priests too . Two other points call for mention . The first is the peculiar omission of any form of commissioning the bishop in his Office in the name of the Trinity ; there seems to be no reason why it was omitted , and it was inserted again when the rite was revised in 1686 , but its absence from the Church Order has given further cause for rejection of the rite from the catholic standpoint(39) . The second is the provision that priests should join with other bishops in the imposition of hands ; it appears to have been an afterthought ,for it is not prescribed in Laurentius Petri's first draft of the rite ten years earlier ; nor is it referred to in the chapter on the election of bishops in the Church Order . The officiant of the rite must be a bishop and is usually the archbishop , but he can be assisted by other ministers , bishops or priests(40) . When these join in the laying on of hands they are not giving the new bishop a ministry which they possess , but commissioning him with prayer ; they are not"consecrating"the bishop but " assisting"in his consecration(41).

The Church Law made certain alterations , the most notable

(42) cf Brillioth , p 334 .

being the provision already mentioned of a formula of consecration : "When the Ordinandus has made his confession of faith, the Ordinator delivereth to him the Office of Bishop , in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost" . It also laid down explicitly that a bishop was not to exercise his authority in the domkapitel, or to ordain priests, until he was consecrated ; it also made clear that the rite was not to be repeated if the bishop was translated from one diocese to an--other, thus showing that it was an ordination and not an induction ; this however does not seem to have always been observed(42).

Towards the end of the eighteenth century however , under the influence both of Pietism and of the Age of Enlightenment , there was much less interest in the episcopate as an office of the church's ministry and it was seen rather as a supervisory post to which a priest was called by the state , and the service was his induction or installation . When the Handbook was revised in 1811 certain changes were made to the Ordinal , and its title became "How a Bishop shall be installed in his Office", which made it an obvious parallel to the form for inductions , "How an incumbent shall be installed in a parish" (the order for priests kept its title "Ordination to the Priesthood"). The changes that were made reflect this climate of opinion , but it was still clear from the rite itself that the bishop was being admitted to an apostolic function in the church of God. Subsequent alterations brought back the emphasis on a life-long office . The Lambeth Conference Committee which reported in 1894 made the following comments when rejecting the conclusion of the American committee that the rite was simply an induction:

> " Comparision of the offices for installing a bishop and a pastor brings out essential differences of more importance than the mere likeness of phrase used in speaking of a bishop as set in an office . The Pastor's institution may be conducted by a priest or the Provost, and is not an episcopal function. The Pastor is called

"Introducendus" not "Ordinandus" . No emblems or instruments are given him,nor is the Veni Creator used. His office is not referred to divine institution,nor does the Installer speak of acting on behalf of God . The lections are varied from those at ordinations though some are the same . These differences in the character of Instalment;in the title of the Installed;in the intentions expressed in the lections ; and in the delivery of emblems or instruments , as well as in the questions asked and in the Invocation of the Holy Ghost ; may be held by Swedes to constitute the same difference between the Swedish offices for bishop and pastor , as exists between our services for consecration and institution. The salient points of agreement between the two Swedish offices are :-

1)that in both offices the bishop and the pastor are set, the one in a particular see,the other in a particular parish,

2)that the only prayer offered during the actual imposition of hands is the Lord's Prayer . But here again in the Bishop's case the culminating emblem of setting the mitre on his head,is all that intervenes between the imposition of hands and the following prayer,almost identical with that in the Anglican Ordinal .....

The service implies as distinctly as our own Ordinal, a life-long office resting on gifts and containing duties which are the same in both ordinals" .

The careful attempt to find clear distinctions between induction and ordination rites , made here by the Lambeth Conference, reveals its weakness by over-stating its case . In fact the attempt cannot be made , for these nineteenth century Lutheran rites were not written with any idea that these distinctions should be made obvious . This can be seen , for example,by comparing the wording of the exhortation to the candidate as it appears in the three rites :-

" The Lord grant thee grace to keep these words faithfully in thy heart. Let them be a guide for thy life and a reminder of thy responsib--ility . Let them increase thy vigilance and inflame thy zeal , to sanctify thyself unto the service of the Chief Shepherd

to the care of the diocese which hath been committed to thee	now and for evermore	to the faithful and conscientious care of the Christian congreg--ation .

The Church of God expecteth of thee, that thou bear in mind the importance of

the Bishop's Office which to-day is committed to thee	the Office of the Priesthood which to-day is committed to thee	the Office of Incumbent which to-day is committed to thee

together with the holy duties it imposeth upon thee, and that thou by faithful prayer to God in the name of Jesus seek grace and power to shew thyself a true servant of the Lord in the exercise of this office."

The argument of the Lambeth Conference committee seems less convincing when other evidence is looked at ! There is in fact an imprecision about these rites which reflects the fact that Swedish ministerial doctrine and practice tends to be indefinite over just those points on which Anglicans require extreme precision .

When the Handbook was revised most recently (1942) several alterations were made which make these points clearer . The exhortation given above still remains in shortened form but whereas in the orders for bishops and priests the above parallelism still exists , in the order for installing an incumbent the phrase "the Office of Incumbent which to-day is

committed to thee" is omitted , and instead the phrase reads : "the Church of God expecteth of thee that thou , as a shepherd of Christ's flock ,wilt not seek thine own good but that of those who are now entrusted to thy care, and that thou , by word and example,wilt faithfully lead them in the way that leadeth to life eternal ....God grant thee grace and power to fulfil ,in accordance with His will , the ministry that tO-day is committed to thee" . The rite for the consecration of a bishop is now more clearly parallel to ordination ; its old title is restored("Biskopsvigning") ; there is a new prayer at the beginning and the "Veni Sancte Spiritus" is now sung before the imposition of hands (previously this was ordered only for the ordination of priests) .

The similarities that there have been and are between the rites for ordaining bishops and priests and for installing incumbents are due to the doctrine that is held . There is one essential ministry,that of Word and Sacraments,and when a man enters this ministry and when he goes to perform any task within it , he is commissioned thereto by the imposition of hands and prayer. The rite for consecrating bishops in some respects is a parallel to ordination , in others to an induction ; it is not exclusively either a blessing for the episcopal task , nor an admittance to a life-long Order in the church, but in present practice the latter is obviously the dominant concept .

7. Episcopal Succession.

We have seen that from 1593 onwards it has been the law of the land that the service for consecrating bishops should always be conducted by a bishop . To establish the existence of episcopal succession , or "the Apostolic Succession" , attention must first be directed to the troubled times during the advent of the reformation , and secondly,inquiry must be made as to whether the laws were observed after 1593 . Interest in the matter was raised largely by the Anglican negotiations recounted in Chapter 1 ; it was commonly believed that no succession

(43) see the incident recorded in Carpenter p 133

(44) older Roman works denying the succession are Bernhardt and de Warimont . More recent works admitting the historical fact are Dewailley and van Haag.

(45) see their works in the Bibliography.

(46) cf Petrus Magni's epitaph as quoted by Richards , p 275 :-

Per me sacratus non paucus Episcopus extat,
Quorum nonnulli deseruere fidem :
Inde Lutheranis procrevit Clerus in orbe
Suecorum ; mentem sauciat idque meam .

existed[43]; The Roman Catholics used to deny the succession, but now it is admitted that the rites have always been performed by consecrated persons ; the attack is now on the insufficiency of the rite and the defect of intention in those who used it[44]. As a result of the work of The Revd A.Nicholson , Bishop Mott Williams and Dean H.Lundström[45] the Lambeth Conference accepted the fact of historic succession in 1897 and again in 1920 when it accepted the report of the 1909 Commission . Some account must now be given of the results of this historical research.

At the Riksdag of Vesterås in 1527 , when the nation first declared for the reformed faith , there were only three fully consecrated bishops of the old faith left in the country , Hans Brask of Linköping who left the country soon after the Riksdag when he saw there was no way of preventing the rebellion against the Pope and the acceptance of Lutheranism ; Ingemar of Växjo, who was so old that he took no part in affairs and died in 1530 ; and Petrus Magni of Vesterås , who remained in office until his death in 1534 . On Petrus Magni depends the maintenance of the succession , since he consecrated the first bishops after the break with Rome[46].

It used to be denied that there was any evidence that Petrus himself was consecrated , but this denial is now made no longer . Petrus had been elected Bishop of Vesterås in 1523 at a time when he was residing in Rome as the representative of the great Birgittine abbey of Vadstena . On September 14th 1523 the king of Sweden wrote to the Pope asking for the confirmation of the election of four bishops , including Petrus Magni; the bearer of the letter is known to have arrived in Rome in January 1524 and the Pope , Clement VII , replied confirming the elections . Although no certificate of consecration has been found in the Vatican records , there is a reference to him as "consecratus" dated April 27th 1524 . On his arrival in Sweden some weeks later he was welcomed as bishop and the monks at Vadstena recorded in their famous diary under July 16th 1524 :

(47) in a letter dated Nov 7th,1527.

(48) and not on the following day as Wordsworth states on p 203 .

(49) this consecration used to be attacked on the grounds that there was no evidence that Laurentius Petri was first ordained priest (eg Dewailley) but records from that time are far from complete and it is unbelievable that anyone at that time , least of all Laurentius himself , would have consented to the rite if the consecrand was not a priest.

"In crastino divisionis apostolorum venit frater noster doctor Petrus Magni de Roma consecratus in episcopum Arosiensem" .

After the break with Rome therefore , Petrus was the only active consecrated bishop left in the country , but there were two bishops-elect (Magnus Haraldi-Skara ,and Magnus Sommar - Strängnäs). They were unconsecrated simply because the Pope would not confirm their election without a fee , and the king had by that time decided that money was too precious to be allowed to leave the country . The eventual consecration of these bishops was not caused by any desire to validate their episcopal activities , but by the general feeling that the coming coronation of the king ought not to be attended by "unanointed bishops" . Sommar was told that the people would require it , so he must have himself "consecrated and anointed during the winter,only it must be before Epiphany"(47). Accordingly , on the Eve of the Epiphany , 1528(48) Petrus Magni consecrated the two-above named bishops and Martin Skytte for Åbo ; he only agreed to do this on the verbal understanding that confirmation from Rome would be sought , but he must have realised the way things were going and seen that it was unlikely that this would be done . In 1531 he again performed another consecration of three bishops , for Skara (Magnus Haraldi having left the country soon after the coronation),Växjo and Linköping . The episcopate was now complete , except for the archiepiscopal see of Uppsala ; an election was held and the young Laurentius Petri , brother of the reformer Olavus , was chosen . He was consecrated in Stockholm on September 22nd , 1531 by Petrus Magni and Magnus Sommar(49) Since Laurentius Petri remained archbishop for forty-two years , this consecration is the vital one for establishing the succession.

From 1540 onwards the king appointed a Germen , Georg Norman , to exercise jurisdiction over bishops and clergy and this meant that to some extent the authority of the bishops was set aside ; Norman and his council travelled all over the

(50) for details of these superintendents see Askmark SP , p 116ff.

(51) the actual records were destroyed by fire at Strängnäs -- see Wordsworth , p 207 , note 15 .

country holding visitations and changing the bishops' regulations . Norman also created superintendencies , setting men over them who were not in episcopal orders , but , although they ordained priests and acted in other ways as bishops suffragan , they were never called upon to consecrate bishops , for this was always done by the archbishop , or by some other bishop at his request . The existence of the superintendents , which lasted for two centuries , meant that there were priests exercising "episcope" not in episcopal orders , but this did not in itself affect the succession ; whenever one of these superintendents was translated to one of the older dioceses he was consecrated bishop(50).

Two separate examples of succession in consecration during the sixteenth century may be given , each beginning with a bishop consecrated by Laurentius Petri . Botvid Sunonis , (presumably consecrated in 1536(51)): Paulus Juusten (to Viborg in 1554 ,later translated to Åbo)where he consecrated: Laurentius Petri Gothus in 1575 , the next archbishop . The other example is traced through J.J.Westrogothus , consecrated by Laurentius Petri to Skara in 1569 : Petrus Benedicti (to Linköping in 1588) : Abraham Angermannus (to Uppsala in 1598-- the year that the Church Order was recognised by the Council of Uppsala) .

There is therefore clear evidence of the continuance of episcopal succession throughout the sixteenth century ; but it is important to note that king John III , who reigned 1568-92, and was conservative in religion , was much influenced by the propaganda being spread around by the Roman Catholics at this time denying the validity of the Swedish ministry ; the people were being told that because their priests were not true priests it was not the Body and Blood that they received from their hands but only bread and wine ,powerless to effect salvation. The king for a time received his communion at the hands of his wife's Roman Catholic priest , and talked of having the Swedish

(52) ASK p 333

(53) as for example by Archbishop Gothus in his Catechism .

ministry strengthened by consecration from outside . He thought of sending the rector of Gävle to Constantinople to see the patriarch "ut..investiret nostros episcopos" ; another plan was to try to get the rector of Stockholm consecrated in Rome , so that when he returned he could restore certainty to the Swedish ministry . Askmark believes that the king even thought of Canterbury in this respect[52]. None of these plans were in fact put into effect. It must be remembered that these attacks were made at a time when there were a number of priests about who had been ordained by the superintendents , so there was plenty of evidence for those who wanted to affirm the invalidity of Swedish orders . These claims were met[53], not by pointing to the continuing episcopal succession , but by asserting that true succession is that of doctrine . This is taken by some Roman controverialists as being tantamount to an admission that the succession had been lost , but we have seen that the argument from succession was one that the Swedes rejected , so they would not be likely to urge it in their own defence .

Yet the facts remain clear : a bishop was always consecrated by another bishop . The conviction that it was not essential from a point of view of doctrine to do it this way, did not mean that the laws and customs of Sweden could be set aside . The only known exception was in 1772 when the remaining superintendencies of Karlstad,Härnosand and Visby were declared dioceses , and the superintendents continued in their office without consecration .

When the Swedes realised that this succession was of ecumenical importance they , and in particular Archbishop Söderblom , were glad to pass on this tradition by consecrating bishops for Finland,Latvia and Estonia , and so making them churches in which the Anglican communion could take a special interest . Yet their possession of this succession has in one respect caused embarrassment to their neighbour churches of the Lutheran world ; when Swedish bishops assist at consecrations

(54) see the article in " Okumeniske Nyheder", Novemeber 1960 , quoted in "Svensk Kyrkotidning" , 1960 , no 49 .

(55) The latin text is printed in Lundström UA, p 41ff ; previous to Dean Lundström's discovery of the MSS of both protests in the archives of Strängnäs Cathedral,only a swedish translation was known.

In nomine domini Amen . Illustrissimi domini nostri ac serenissimi principis domini Gostavi, regni Svecie regis, honore et reverentia semper salvis, Nos Magnus Sommer Strengnensis et Petrus Arosiensis,Dei gratia Episcopi, Considerantes meserabilem statum omnium ecclesiarum in hoc regno,quomodo in prejudicium,derogationem et injuriam fidei Romane sedis,eius obedentie et tocius ecclesie Svecane libertatis multa mala indies consurgunt ex dampnabili ac dampnata heresi et pestifera doctrina Lutheranorum heudolor tam ad scandalum et detrimentum regni quam etiam periculum animarum , quibus omnibus malis non possumus obviare nec resistere , prout ex officio nostro tenemur et debemus ; Propterea confugimus ad juris remedium per viam appellationis et protestationis , que oppressos et opprimendos consuevit relevare,et protestamur coram vobis

in the Danish and Norwegian churches they are not invited to join in the imposition of hands , lest they should upset the balance of ecumenical relationships ! (54)

8. The Protests of August , 1531.

It has been noted that Petrus Magni, before conducting the consecrations in 1528,asked for a verbal promise that confirmation would be sought from Rome when possible . In 1531 two documents were deposited at Strängnäs , both being signed by Petrus Magni and Magnus Sommar , the consecrating bishops at the two consecrations of that year ; the second being witnessed to by two of the consecrands,Sven Jacobi of Skara and Johannes Boecii of Växjo . The texts of these are of some interest and deserve translation: (55)

" In the name of the Lord,Amen.Whereas we,Magnus Sommer Strengnensis and Petrus Arosiensis,by the grace of God bishops,saving always the honour and reverence of our most illustrious Sovereign and most serene Highness the Lord Gustaf,king of the kingdom of Svecia,bearing in mind the miserable state of all the churches in this kingdom,how that to the prejudice,contempt and injury of the Roman See and of the obedience and liberty of the whole Swedish church,many evils daily arise on account of the damned and damnable heresies and pestiferous doctrines of the Lutherans,regrettably both to the scandal and detriment of the kingdom and the peril of souls,all of which evils we are able neither to obviate nor resist in the way that is incumbent upon us by virtue of our Office ; we have therefore recourse to that legal remedy which has ever been the relief of those who are oppressed or who are about to be oppressed , namely the way of appeal and protest : Accordingly , we protest in your presence ,venerable sirs and gentlemen , doctor Petrus Galle and prebendary Torgarus Gudlachi,publicly and expressly , that we have neither directly nor indirectly agreed nor given our favour to , doctrines or factions of the Lutherans , for

venerandis viris et dominis,doctore Petro Galle et Torgaro Gudlachi prebendato,publice et expresse,nos non tamquam ausu aliquo temerario vel levitatis animo ducti directe vel indirecte doctrinis aut factionibus Lutheranorum consensisse,nec favorem didisse,neque ipsis electis vel eligendis,intrusis vel intrudendis in ecclesias Suecanas in contemptum vel prejudicium Romane sedis,et licet artamur procedere ad consecrat--iones episcoporum vi et metu,que possunt cadere in constantem virum,ducti,super quibus etiam protestamur. Praeterea similibus abusionibus de missis celebrandis in lingua vulgari,de sacramentis ministrandis ac aliis innumeris scandalosis erroribus non valemus nos murum opponere pro domo Dei,prout libenter vellemus et tenemur,de quibus omnibus et singulis etiam et protestamur;insuper de litteris nostris datis seu dandis sigillatis vel sigillandis de et super taxat--ione cleri,ordinatione archiepiscopi vel episcoporum intrusorum seu intrudendorum in ecclesiis svecanis dicimus et protestamur nullum jus,robor aut auctoritatem habere seu tribuere velle vel intendisse, sed omnia et singula qualitercunque facta per nos supradictos Magnum et Petrum episcopos in materiis Lutheranis vi et metu scripta,dicta atque gesta seu gerenda in prejudicium Romane sedis,status vel preeminentie cuiuscunque,ea omnia irrita,cassa et vana et pro non factis,dictis vel scriptis penitus habere volumus atque voluisse.Ea propter nos et nostra omnia bona,mobilia et immobilia,submittimus Romane ecclesie, tamquam matri et magistre universali,et quia usus notariorum non est in hoc regno,qui redigere possint nostram protestationem seu appellationem in publicam formam instrumenti,idea rogamus venerabiles viros et dominos doctorem Petrum Galle et Torgarum Gudlachi in testimonium unacum sigillis nostris ac vestris ac

so to do would be a hasty and foolish venture ; and we protest also if ,impelled by compulsion or fear , which can fall even upon constant men , we have to proceed with the consecration of bishops , who ,though they have been elected, or are to be elected ,. have been or are to be thrust upon the churches of Sweden in contempt of and prejudice to the Roman See . Moreover , we protest also against all and each of the like abuses , the celebrating of masses in the vulgar tongue , in the administration of sacraments , and other innumerable scandalous errors , from which we are unable to defend the household of God as we would wish and are bound to do . In addition , we say and protest concerning our missives , promulgated or to be promulgated , sealed or to be sealed , dealing with the taxation of the clergy , or the ordination of the archbishop or bishops who have intruded or are to intrude into the churches of Sweden , that they have no validity, force or authority , nor is any desired or will be desired for them , but that we desire and have desired that each and every matter concerning the Lutherans which is written , spoken , enacted or to be enacted by us , the above-mentioned Magnus and Petrus , to the prejudice of the Roman See or to any status or preeminence that it has, being done by compulsion or through fear , is to be considered futile,null and void , and wholly as if it had not been enacted, spoken or written . On this account we submit ourselves and all our appurtenances,fixed and movable,to the Roman church as to the universal mother and head , and because there are not in this realm notaries , who would be able to frame our protest or appellation into the form of a legal document , we therefore ask you , venerable sirs and lords , doctor Petrus Galle and Torgarus Gudlachi , to give united witness and testimony to the above-mentioned matters by appending your seals with ours and by the signatures of your own hands . Given

subscriptione manuum vestrarum in testimonium et robur omnium premissorum. Acta sunt hec Strengis decimo die mensis augusti anno domini MDXXXI

Ego Magnus, qui supra, manu propria subscripsi et sigillavi

Ego Petrus, qui supra, manu propria subscripsi et sigillavi

L.S. L.S.

Ego Petrus Galle, Sacre Theologie humilis professor, qui supra, praesens fui, dum hec agerentur et fuerent. Ideo manu propria subscripsi et sigillavi.

Ego Torgerus, qui supra, praesens fui, dum hec agerentur, manu mea propria hec scripsi, subscripsi et sigillavi.

L.S. L.S.

Anno domini 1531 vigesima septima mensis augusti in domo sedis episcopalis apud ecclesiam Strengenensem nos, Magnus Strengenensis et Petrus Arosiensis, episcopi personaliter constituti, coram reverendis paternitatibus v(estris) verbo et scripto protestamur, quod non ex levitate aut contemptu sedis apostolice, decretorum universalis ecclesie neque pretextu fovende aut suscitandi scismatis, sed metu, qui cadere possit in constantem virum, ducti, videlicet captivacione, jactura rerum nostrarum ac ecclesiarum nostrarum, consecrationis munus non audemus vobis denegare recepto a vobis prius, reverendis patribus, debito et solito juramento de confirmacione et obediencia apud Romanum pontificem faciendis, dum tempus et occasio fuerint oportuna. Idcirco hanc nostram protestacionem interpositam volumus ac petimus, [illegible] per manus vestras subscribi in testimonium omnium premissorum. Lecta anno et loco quibus supra.

Ego Sveno electus Scharensis presens fui et subscripsi

Ego Johannes electus Vexionensis presens fui et subscripsi

Ego Petrus Galle scolasticus Upsaliensis presens fui et subscripsi

Ego Magnus archidiaconus Scarensis presens fui et subscripsi

in Strängnäs on this tenth day of the month of August in the year of Our Lord MDXXXI "

Then follow the seals and signatures of the two bishops and the two witnesses .

The second document , which seems to have been written on the return from the meeting with the king in Stockholm , reads as follows :-

" In the year of Our Lord 1531 on the twenty-seventh of the month of August in the episcopal house near the church of Strängnäs we , Magnus Strengnensis and Petrus Arosiensis being in episcopal orders , in your presence , reverend fathers , protest by word and in writing that it is not through levity or contempt of the Apostolic See or of the decrees of the universal church , nor to make a show of favouring or inciting schismatics , but through fear , which can ever fall upon the most constant men , fear that is of imprisonment , of the confiscation of our property and our churches , that we dare not refuse you the gift of consecration , having received from you first , reverend fathers , the correct and customary oath concerning your confirmation by and your submission to the Roman pontiff , which is to be made when the time and the occasion are opportune .. "

This is witnessed by the two bishops-elect and five other clerics .

Secret declarations of this nature had been made before ; the more catholic-minded delegates to the Riksdag of Vesterås had met before to compose one[56]. The inference that is to be drawn from these documents is clearly that the bishops recognised that if the Roman faith should eventually triumph, their participation in a consecration of this kind , at the command of the rebelling king and without sanction from Rome, would bring upon them the most severe censure ; these documents were therefore a kind of "insurance policy" against such a

Ego Jonas Andre canonicus Scarensis presens fui et subscripsi

Ego Nicolaus Bangh canonicus Strengnensis hujusmodi protestacioni interfui, immo manu propria subscripsi

Ego Gudmundus Laurentii protester manu propria quod hujusmodi protestacioni interfui et subscripsi.

(56) Wordsworth, p 207 and see Anjou's comment quoted in the footnote:" It was not drawn up to be made public, unless under a change of circumstances, which should render it necessary as a self-defence. It was another evidence of the moral laxity in the high places of the Church, which we have had more than one occasion to notice" .

(57) Bromiley , p 25 points out how well Cranmer's open declaration of the conditions under which he took the oath to the Pope at his consecration in 1533 compares with the secret declarations common at the time .

(58) see Clark , where it is made clear that this further means : to do what the Roman church does.

(59) eg Skredsvik and Dewailley .

contingency which could be kept secretly at Strängnäs and only produced if and when it would be advantageous[57]. It is probable that they, or some of them , were genuinely troubled at the direction that affairs were taking, but it is hard to see that they were moved to the point of real conviction . The fact that Sven Jacobi and Johannes Boecii subscribed to the document and then continued in office , the former for ten years , the latter for nearly twenty , suggests that they, at any rate, were not seriously troubled by the irregularities they here bemoan .

However , taken at their face value these protests are evidence that the consecrators went about their duties in 1531 intending them to have no validity whatsoever , as they were being compelled so to act , and were not doing them of their own free will . In spite of their public actions in conferring on these men the episcopate of the church -- by the appointed means of prayer and the imposition of hands --they intended that insofar as these consecrations were acts against the authority of Rome they were wholly null and void . The Roman doctrine of Intention as defined by the Council of Trent (Session VII, Canon XI) "If anyone saith that in ministers, when they effect and confer the sacraments, there is not required the intention at least of doing what the church does (facere quod facit ecclesia) let him be anathema" , is wide enough to be interpreted in many ways but modern Roman teaching is coming to insist that the internal intention of the officiant must be to do what the church does , otherwise the sacrament will be invalid however outwardly correct it might appear[58]. These protests therefore make it possible for some Romans[59] to condemn the 1531 consecrations as invalid , even though they were performed by men in valid episcopal orders using the medieval pontifical . It can be argued on the other hand that these documents were only declaring the irregularity and not the invalidity of the consecrations . This may be a possible interpretation of the second protest (cf the phrase "

(60) but see van Haag ,pp25-33.

(61) p 135 . This is the Catharinian doctrine of external intention which Clark describes (chap 3) as being out of favour in the Roman schools , though not prohibited .

(62) p 697

consecracionis munus non audemus vobis denegare") but it is difficult to see how the first document can mean only this(60).

For the Church of England , as for the Church of Sweden, the doubt about the internal intention of the consecrators of 1531 does not affect her acceptance of the act as a true consecration . There is no statement about the doctrine of intention in the Prayer Book or Articles except Article XXVI, "Of the unworthiness of the ministers which hinders not the effect of the sacrament" . The Report "Doctrine in the Church of England" maintains that the intention to do what the church does is necessary in the minister , but that this is "sufficiently declared by his outward acts in administering or celebrating what publicly appears and purports to be the sacrament of the Church . Where such a publicly apparent intention exists,we are unanimous in holding that the sacrament cannot be invalidated by any merely private intention on the minister's part not to perform the sacrament"(61). Some Anglicans have felt that the purely external intention is not enough , but in view of the above statement , the impression given in the article "Intention" in the Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church is misleading ; it is there stated that while some Roman Catholic and Anglican scholars have defended the Catharinian view , "most modern theologians,however,agree in requiring the "interior intention" of the minister for the validity of the sacrament"(62).

Among Anglicans who have discussed the doctrine of intentio is R.C.Moberly , and the following is an interesting passage from his "Ministerial Priesthood" :-

> " The ordaining bishop must have the intention to ordain. He may be a bad theologian-full of misconceptions about the doctrines of the church and of the ministry ; but at least he must be dealing dutifully according to his conceptions (or misconceptions) , that is , he must have the purpose of exercising a power committed to him of

(63) Moberly , p 303

(64) quoted in the article "Intention" in Hastings ERE .

It is noteworthy that the brief dicussion between Professor Molland and the present Archbishop of Canterbury reported in "The Church of England and the Churches of Norway, Denmark and Iceland" p 30 suggests that the real point of the protests had been misunderstood .

> constituting men as ministers (bishops,priests or deacons) in the Church of Christ. In the absence of unmistakable evidence to the contrary,the fact that he acts in the matter just as others,with serious intention,would and do act,is sufficient presumption that he means as they mean. This as a general principle is intelligible enough.Cases can probably be imagined,in which there might be reasonable ambiguity on this head. But such cases have probably rarely,if ever,occurred"(63).

These Swedish protests might be held to provide just such a case , which tests the whole argument . The bishops acted just as others act ; those they consecrated would never have doubted that they were prpperly bishops in the church of God - Laurentius Petri particularly , as he laid such great stress on continuing the episcopate and was careful to provide due and proper rites for ordinations . The language of the protests is as clear and definite as ever such a document could be , and yet there must remain a doubt as to whether they were more sincere when they penned the protests than when they pronounced the words of consecration . This incident puts even more force into the words of Bishop Jewel that have become the classic expression of the Anglican doctrine of intention :

> "This is the very dungeon of uncertainty. The heart of man is unsearchable . If we stay upon the intention of a mortal man , we may stand in doubt of our own baptism " (64).

9. Episcopal Duties.

Once elected,appointed and consecrated the bishop begins his ministry of oversight . Our understanding of how the Office of Bishop is regarded in the Church of Sweden will be widened by a survey of the ways in which his oversight is effected. We first consider the duties that a bishop himself performs in his diocese,and then the oversight that he exercises through the domkapitel , of which he is the chairman ; and ,since the bishop is a leader of the whole church, he also has important

(65) Brillioth , p 335 .

duties outside the diocese . A comment of Brillioth's is worth noting at the outset : " the actual position of a bishop in the Swedish church is as much determined by custom as it is by law . Its special significance lies not least in the relative latitude of practice allowed by the law , which gives greater opportunity for personal achievement"(65).

It is however first necessary to give an account of the bishop's duties according to the Church Order , for this formed the basis for the practice and for the regulations in succeeding church laws down the centuries . It makes clear that the bishop's proper duty lies in the oversight of the congregations and priests in his charge , and to do this he must constantly preach the Word himself and also take care , by visiting and investigation,to see that the parishes are being rightly cared for. In order to do this properly some of the unnecessary ceremonies,such as dedications of churches and bells must be given up . The bishop's special task is with the clergy, seeing that they are performing their duties,taking notice of any failing in their manner of life,rebuking them , exhorting th them to reformation , and if that fails ,using this disciplin--ary powers . He is also to be responsible for the right faith and good life of the people in his diocese ; he must see that schools,almshouses and hospitals in the town are being maintained in good order . Another duty is to examine and ordain candidates for the ministry , and the Church Order stresses that he is not to ordain more than are required in the diocese . In accordance with reformation principles , it was laid down that the bishop had only spiritual and not temporal authority ; in the latter sphere the king was supreme , and in all non-spiritual matters the state system of justice was to prevail , even over the clergy themselves , who thus lost the "privilegium fori" . The bishop could be assisted by Rural Deans who could perform some duties , such as visitations, on behalf of the bishop . Among the unnecessary ceremonies referred to in the Church Order is unction (i.e. confirmation)

(66) Confirmation itself was revived during the eighteenth century under the influence of Anglican practice , but as an act administered by the parish priest ,not by the bishop .

(67) It is usual for a Swedish bishop to have earned his D.D. by dissertation.

(68) eg Bishop Nygren's Herdebrev was translated into English as "The Gospel of God"

which gradually fell out of use(66).

The foremost duty of a bishop therefore is to see that the Word of God is truly and constantly preached and the saving truths of Christianity taught to young and old ; for this it has always been considered necessary for the bishop to be a man of theological learning(67). His is the duty of ensuring that his priests are able truly to communicate the Word , and to that end he has to test them,look after their continued study and ,above all, give them inspiration and example from the pulpit . The sermon at the visitation or special service , and the address or lecture at the diocesan conference or Church Assembly , are major aspects of a bishop's work . Upon taking charge of a diocese , it is the custom to publish a Pastoral Letter , ("Herdebrev") ; many of these are notable for theological lucidity and challenging analysis of the religious and moral situation(68).

In one particular the Swedish bishop has very much less control over his priests than his Anglican counter-part : in no case does he appoint an incumbent , and in few cases does he appoint a curate . The only appointments in the diocese that he has under his control are those of the rural deans , who are particularly the bishop's delegates and assistants , and the "stiftsadjunkter" , young priests licensed to officiate in the diocese and under the bishop's immediate control , not attached permanently to any parish . There is on the other hand much greater stability , both on the part of the bishop and of the priests ,so the bishop can get to know his clergy well and help them in pastoral problems if they come for advice. The bishop also has a number of liturgical duties , such as inductions , ordinations of priests,deacons,deaconesses, missionaries,consecrations of new churches etc ; all of these except the ordination of priests however he can delegate if necessary to the rural dean , or some other priest of the diocese .

(69) cf the famous opening chapter of Selma Lagerlöf's "Gösta Berling's Saga" .

(70) Brillioth , p 341 .

The bishop's supervision of his diocese is effected principally in the visitation . The bishop examines the church books and registers,visits local institutions,especially the homes for old people , listens to the incumbent preaching and to the public catechising of the newly confirmed , meets the parish church council , and speaks to the assembled congregation, giving his impressions of the parish,charges for the future and encouragement for their work . There is opportunity for private conversations with the parish clergy , and others, and for accusations to be made against the priest(69). Formerly the bishop also investigated all the schools of the parish , but now this has passed out of the hands of the church . "The episcopal visitations of modern times are significant as festival occasions for the parish and as opportunities for the bishop both to make his personal influence felt in this time-honoured and "patriarchal" way , and also to deepen his own knowledge of priest and congregation . They are valuable for the advice and stimulus which the bishop can give , and not least for the incentive to the congregation to put their church and its appurtenances in good order"(70).

It has already been hinted that in previous centuries the bishops were primarily responsible for higher education . This arose out of their concern for the training of priests and during the seventeenth century many grammar schools were founded by the bishops . Some bishops regarded themselves first and foremost as directors of education for their dioceses . The state has gradually taken over the whole of this field from the church and consequently this aspect of the bishop's work has diminished , and even his responsibility for the religious teaching in the grammar schools was taken away in 1958 . But his energies , if less taken up in this field , are released for the great tasks presented by the numerous boards and councils, both within and beyond the diocese .

Some account must now be given of the ministry of

"episcope" exercised through the domkapitel . This body is not the cathedral chapter of the middle ages ,consisting of the cathedral canons and concerned only with the administration of the lands belonging to the chapter and the ordering of the services in the cathedral,for after the reformation the deans and canons were replaced by a provost , and the cathedral made a parish church . The Domkapitel during the seventeenth century became the teaching body of the diocesan grammar school,which was usually the Cathedral School . The bishop was the chairman, and the provost,teachers and sometimes priests from the diocese were its members . In the University towns (Uppsala and Åbo, and Lund after it became Swedish in 1660) the domkapitel consisted entirely of the professors of theology . Most of the members would be in Holy Orders , but even in the seventeenth century some of them were laymen ; their main work lay in education but a certain amount of diocesan authority was theirs too ; they were responsible for the ordination examinations , and they had some juridical powers . When the schools were taken over by the state the composition and duties of the domkapitel had to be redefined . It now consists of the bishop as chairman , the provost as vice-chairman , a procter for the clergy of the diocese and a layman elected by the church councils , and two Crown nominees , usually laymen . In Uppsala and Lund two theological professors also sit on the domkapitel. Itsswork lies in certain disciplinary matters,deciding what action to take if a priest is condemned for any crime,dealing with any cases of failings in technical matters (reading of banns etc.),deposing a priest for heretical teaching and acting as a court of appeal for any disputes about the registries .It can give permission for services to be held in any other place than the church and has some financial responsibilities apart from the management of cathedral funds ; it decides for instance on the apportionment of collections throughout the diocese and makes certain decisions about the remuneration of the clergy. Although the bishop himself is responsible for the ordination,

(71) Ten years ago the Bishops' Meeting issued a collective letter on sexual matters , and last year, 1960, one on the Ten Commandments . In August 1961 it issued one on divorce .

(72) BiS , p 179.

it is the domkapitel which conducts the examination . . . It is important to note that the domkapitel is a body with its own authority in the diocese, not merely an advisory body to the bishop . The episcope is therefore divided so that certain matters are dealt with by the domkapitel with the bishop as chairman , others are dealt with by the bishop in his personal capacity .

As a leader in the church of the country , the bishop has always had an important place in the councils of the national church, firstly in the Estate of Clergy in Parliament , and after its abolition in 1863, in the General Assembly of the Church , ("Allmänna kyrkomötet"). All the bishops have a seat in the Assembly , though not as a separate house . The special position of the bishops has been strengthened in recent years by the unofficial Bishops' Meeting , which was first called in 1898 for a decision on a particular matter, and , after 1919, it became regularised as an annual (since 1944 biennial) meeting of the bishops to discuss church matters and issue statements . (71) There is no doubt that the Office of bishop is much more valued now than it was a century ago and its collective opinion given great weight . The Bishops' Meeting was given some kind of official recognition when its view on a number of matters was requested by the government .

The special position of the archbishop deserves some attention . Medieval organisation in many respects continued into the reformation period and it was altered only insofar as theological principle or political necessity was strong enough to force a change . The archiepiscopal status of Uppsala was maintained for , as Kjöllerström remarks, "tradition was here, as in so many other fields, stronger than principle" (72). While the Church Order only speaks of a bishop in his diocese as the chief minister of Word and sacrament , and by implication shares the general reformation disapproval of any kind of hierarchical system , the archbishop in fact remained not only a spokesman

for the other bishops , but also the leader and guide of the whole church .

During the seventeenth century the position of archbishop was often criticised as being too "catholic" ; in its defence it was pointed out that the archbishop enjoyed no position of superiority , but was simply "primus inter pares" , a consultant and advisor and ex officio chairman , but that was all . Continued attempts were made however to have the primacy abolished and in 1764 it was agreed to discontinue the use of the traditional title "Archbishop of the Kingdom of Svea" . But in the last two hundred years the position has become more significant and many of the archbishops , notably Sundberg and Söderblöm , have been national figures of the greatest importance . Many of the boards , both statutory and voluntary, that have grown up during this century , have claimed the archbishop as chairman ; on him also has fallen the main weight of ecumenical contacts , which ever since Söderblom have been the personal concern of the Swedish archbishop .

The increased burden of work on the archbishop led to a motion in 1951 that there should be a suffragan for the Uppsala diocese , but this was rejected as not being in accord with the historic structure of the Swedish episcopate , and instead there was provision made for the Dean to assist the archbishop in some of his diocesan commitments , such as visitations . All the duties that fall to the archbishop are church matters ; in spite of the church being a state church , the archbishop has little official connection with the government ,or with the Court . It is clear that he is to be concerned with the "spiritual government" and not the "earthly" .

10. <u>The Ministry in the Mission Field.</u>

No consideration of the practice of the Church of Sweden in regard to the ministry would be complete without attention being given to the policy in those areas abroad in which the Swedish church is at work . Here we find that the traditional

(73) South Africa (The Evangelical Lutheran Church)

Rhodesia (The Karanga Church)

South India (The Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Church)

China (The Northern Hunan Synod of the Chinese Lutheran Church)

Tanganyika (The Haya Church)

The work in China is now restricted to Hong Kong

forms and orderings which have been preserved in Sweden itself are regarded as being valuable assets which are worth passing on to the younger churches, but which are not essential and therefore need not be demanded from the very outset .

Missionary work is supervised by the Church of Sweden Mission , an official body of the whole church ; its policy therefore can be safely seen as the policy of the Swedish church though naturally enough not everyone will agree on the line taken on some difficult questions . There are five fields of activity(73) and it is the policy to set up indigenous local churches which follow the teaching , liturgy and constitution of the mother church yet keep their own independence ; in many areas this is still a goal to be achieved . In some of these areas there is co-operation with other Lutheran bodies and this inevitably affects the policy .

Missionaries are sent out from the mother country after being commissioned with prayer and the imposition of hands , performed normally by a bishop , but it can be done by a priest such as the General Director of the Mission Board or a friend of the missionary . A special form of service was authorised by the Assembly in 1920 and now has its place in the Handbook. The first rubric is "The ordination of a missionary is conducted by the bishop (or priest) appointed thereto by the archbishop,as chairman of the Church of Sweden Mission Board". The rite follows the general pattern as all those in the Handbook : sermon,prayers,Scripture passages,creed,promise, commissioning,imposition of hands during Lord's prayers,final prayer , and concluding with the Blessing .

These missionaries are not recognised as being priests in Sweden , so they cannot officiate at home , but in the mission field they can perform all ministerial acts , though missionary ordination does not give authority to celebrate communion .The whole emphasis of the service is on the sending out of messengers in obedience to the Lord's command , and so it is

(74) Brillioth , p 159

for all who go abroad in the service of the mission , doctors nurses and teachers as well as church workers and pastors . Sometimes a man is ordained priest in Sweden on condition that his priesthood is exercised abroad and that when he returns he will relinquish his ministry ; this exception to the usual conception of the priesthood as a life-long office is regretted by Brillioth(74).

Ordinations of native priests first became a possibility just before the Second World War and it was the intention of the Mission Board to send out a Swedish bishop , but the war prevented this and the local chairman was authorised to perform the ceremony . In areas such as India , where the Swedish Missio has long been working with other Lutheran missions , Swedish traditions in the matter of ordaining priests could not be followed , and native priests received their ordination at the hands of the ministers in charge of the work . This has only recently ceased to be the general practice .

The Mission Board desires that the churches under its protection shall become "conscious of the Lutheran inheritance" and of the particular blessings of the Swedish mother church, among which its liturgy and its episcopacy are the most obvious. When the Tamil church was working out its constitution in the years preceeding the First World War , the Swedish element was pressing for episcopacy . During the war the discussions became more urgent , and the Tamil church quickly adopted a constitution in 1919 so that the property of the (German) Leipzig Mission , the pioneer Lutheran body in the area, might be considered to belong to the Indian church and so avoid confiscation . The new constitution had to be approved by the supporting societies , and the Swedish Board gave its blessing on condition that there should be a bishop , and that the government should not be purely synodical . This aroused opposition both from the Leipzig Mission and from many Indian churchmen ; but Söderblom sent a personal letter , carefully

(75) "Svenska Kyrkans Mission" p 43

(76) " Since the Swedish Mission Board took over the responsibility for the work in Buhaya (Tanganyika) and the development of its church, there have been queries as to whether the Lutheran bishop in South Africa ought to be requested to conduct ordinations in Buhaya. But since the Board only administers this mission field at the request of the Lutheran World Federation and has not the same independent status in Tanganyika as it has for example in South Africa or Rhodesia, and since an episcopal ordination could not win universal assent, the calling in of a South African bishop would be considered a high-handed action and would only set back Lutheran co-operation. Such an action before the introduction of an episcopal ministry to the Buhaya Church would make it more difficult to bring it about rather than assisting it . For these reasons the Mission Board considered that it ought not to insist unconditionally on its view of episcopal ordination, the more so since the Swedish church itself was not committed to such an act... However the Board has, in accordance with the order of our church sought to hasten the introduction of episcopacy" SKT ,1957,No 17

explaining the reasons for the recommendation and expounding what was meant by "evangelical-lutheran episcopacy" and the condition accepted ; the life-president of the Tamil Church , Dr Ernst Heuman was consecrated bishop by the then Bishop of Skara in 1920 at Tranquebar. The present bishop , the fourth , is a Tamil, and was consecrated in 1956 by his predecessor Bishop Sandegren;Bishop Ysander of Linköping and Bishop Hans Lilje of Hanover assisting .

It was not until 1948 that it was considered that a bishop was needed in South Africa ; the church had been developing gradually towards independent status and this was thought to be an appropriate time to introduce episcopal government . Bishop Sundgren was consecrated in 1949 by the Bishop of Linköping , assisted by the Anglican Bishops of Zululand and Singapore . The General Secretary of the Swedish Mission Board wrote of this event " The new bishop performed largely the same functions as the former chairman of the conference . The episcopacy was certainly meant to strengthen the church-consciousness of our Zulu congregations and to promote contacts with the Anglican church"(75). The present bishop is Dr Fossaeus who was consecrated by the Bishop of Stockholm in 1958 .

The other two areas in Africa have only very recently become episcopal , Rhodesia in 1959(Bishop Albrektson) and Tanganyika in 1961(Bishop Benkt Sundkler,Professor of Missions at Uppsala University) . In these areas , as in the others , before there was a bishop , ordinations were performed by the chairman of the church , and discussions about the desirability of episcopacy had long been going on; suggestions had also been made that the bishop from South Africa should be asked to come to conduct the ordinations until these churches had bishops of their own,but these were rejected on the grounds that such an action would alienate those who were hesitant about episcopacy at a time when it was most desired to convince them of the evangelical nature of such an order of ministry(76).

The ministerial practice of the Church of Sweden in her mission areas illustrates the latitude allowed by her doctrine, a latitude that is not apparent in her practice at home , governed as that is by tradition and law . Those for whom episcopal ordination is easential will regard the policy which has been pursued in missionary areas as regrettable ; but others will see that it has been the means by which Swedish Lutheranism has been able to show other members of her own confession that episcopacy , righly understood , is an institution which is fully compatible with evangelical doctrine, valuable as a form of church government, and of great significance in the movement towards unity in the church .

CONCLUDING NOTE

A study of the doctrine and practice of the ministry in the Church of Sweden illustrates the need for a solution to the great theological problem of the proper relation between Scripture and tradition . On the one hand , the Swedish church inherits the reformation emphasis on the Scriptures , claiming that nothing which is not prescribed in the New Testament may be deemed essential , either for the salvation of the individual or the validity of the church . This assertion was most necessary in the sixteenth century , and is always necessary whenever there is a tendency to over-emphasize the importance of tradition ; it has influenced the whole doctrinal position of the Swedish church, whose teaching about the ministry illustrates this in many particulars . On the other hand however , Sweden was enabled by the accidents of history and (perhaps) the Providence of God , to preserve a more conservative practice than was possible on the Continent . The normal tendency has been to see this practice merely as something enjoined by the laws of the state ; but from time to time it has been perceived , howbeit dimly , that it has nevertheless a real religious significance . Laurentius Petri , for example , while basing all his regulations for the ministry on the Biblical principles enunciated by the reformation , yet could claim that the Office of bishop had evolved in the church under the guidance of the Holy Spirit and must therefore be kept . Here a fundamental tension between Scripture and tradition becomes apparent , for if the Holy Spirit is indeed at work in forming the beliefs and structures of the church , they cannot simply be treated as "de jure humano" , and Divine institution claimed only for the precepts of Scripture. A distinction between the commands of Christ , which must be obeyed , and the promptings of the Holy Spirit , which may be ignored , would be intolerable .

The reformation very properly emphasised that the

apostolic tradition as recorded in the Scriptures must never be contradicted by any teaching or practice of the church ; but Western Christendom has not yet agreed as to whether there is a legitimate development in doctrine and practice , and how far tradition may be seen as the work of the Spirit , active in the midst of the church . The modern theological contact not only between Catholic and Protestant , but also between East and West, may lead to a deeper understanding on this important point , and it is to be hoped that the individual churches will be ready to acknowledge and apply any new light that may be granted to them.
