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Ein Prediger muss nicht allein *weiden*, also dass er die Schafe unterweise, wie sie rechte Christen sollen sein, sondern auch daneben den Woelfen *wehren*, dass sie die Schafe nicht angreifen und mit falscher Lehre verfuehren und Irrtum einfuehren. — *Luther*.

Es ist kein Ding, das die Leute mehr bei der Kirche behaelt denn die gute Predigt. — *Apologie, Art. 24.*

If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?  
*1 Cor. 14, 8.*

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ARCHIVES

## How Peter Became Pope.

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### III. From Leo the Great to Karl the Great.

Hilary, 461—468, took the title "Vicar of Peter, to whom, since the resurrection of Christ, belonged the keys of the Kingdom." He admitted, however, that his vast authority had a *civil* origin. In time the "Vicar of Peter" grew into the "Vicar of Christ."

Simplicius, 468—483, appointed a permanent legate in Spain.

When Emperor Augustulus was deposed, in 476, the division of the Eastern and Western empires ended. In the following century the Goths were put down by Justinian's generals Belisarius and Narses, and Italy was subject to the emperor at Constantinople and ruled by his exarchs at Ravenna, who compelled the people to sell even their children in order to pay their taxes and made no real resistance to the incoming Lombards.

Felix III in a letter to Emperor Zeno calls himself the "Vicar of Peter." The Savior speaks in His apostle, and the apostle speaks in his vicar.

In 484 he deposed Peter the Fuller, Patriarch of Antioch.

In 483 he wrote his brother of Constantinople: "He that is not with me is against me, and he that gathereth not with me scattereth." He trotted out the notorious forged canon of Sardica as Nicene to justify himself in citing the Patriarch Acacius of Constantinople for trial to Rome. Of course, the Greek paid no attention to the Roman. The Pope's legates held public communion with Acacius and other supporters of Emperor Zeno's Henoticon. Acacius was excommunicated together with the legates. Felix thus became the responsible author of the first great schism in the Catholic Church. All this he did as head of all the churches, having the care of all.

In all these controversies the Popes had strong allies in the enemy's camp—the monks, who were usually inclined to disobey their bishops and obey the Pope, be the cause good or bad.

Gelasius I, 492—496, trampled on all usage by not sending notice of his election to Euphemius, Patriarch of Constantinople. In 493 he wrote to the Oriental bishops that to Rome appeals lay open from all Christendom "by canon law," whereas no appeal from Rome was recognized, but he does not venture to name the canons which invested Rome with such unbounded power.

Gelasius said it became kings to learn their duty especially from the "Vicar of the blessed Peter" and that to the See of Rome belonged the primacy in virtue of Christ's own delegation and that from the authority of the keys there was excepted none living, but only the dead. The council replied, "In thee we behold Christ's Vicar."

He also said: "As the moon receives her light from the sun, so the king receives his brilliancy from the Pope." He had a Roman

synod of 70 bishops declare Matt. 16, 18 the sole ground of the Roman Primacy, apart from any synodical law or constitution whatever. On this followed his epistle to the Illyrians, wherein he claims that the Pope is the Universal Bishop and as such has all powers ever claimed by Gregory VII and Innocent III. Even the Vatican Decrees of 1870 add almost nothing to these papal claims of the fifth century.

In 150 a synod of bishops in Asia Minor forbade the "Acta Pauli." The first papal Index of prohibited books was issued by Gelasius in 494.

After a speech by Gelasius, in 495, the bishops and priests in the synod rose up and cried fifteen times, "O Christ, hear us! Long life to Gelasius!" and twelve times they cried, "Lord Peter, preserve him!" and seven times they cried, "May he hold the see of Peter during the years of Peter!" and six times they cried, "We see thee, who art the Vicar of Christ!" and again they cried thirty-seven times, "May he hold the see of Peter during the years of Peter!" Such was the spirit which the Popes of the latter part of the fifth century had managed to infuse into the bishops whom they consecrated and ruled. (Puller, 281.)

Gelasius held, "Neither the substance nor the nature of the bread and wine cease to exist, and their natural properties remain unchanged." He also condemned communion in one kind as a sacrilege, according to Gratian.

Anastasius II, 496—498, communed with a heretic and was "rejected by the Church," writes Gratian, and was held a heretic till the 16th century.

Hard pressed by the Alemanni, King Clovis prayed to the Christian God, was successful, and on Christmas, 496, was baptized by Bishop Remigius of Reims; 3,000 warriors followed their chief. This is the first step toward the world-historical union of Teutonic civilization with the Roman Church. Clovis was called the "Eldest Son of the Church," the title of the kings of France for 1,400 years. With the aid of the Roman Christians, Clovis conquered the Arian princes of the Western Goths, Burgundians, and Bavarians. He and his successors gave the Church much property, acquiesced in the papal claims, and helped extend the papal power throughout the West, though they ruled the clergy as their vassals.

Symmachus, 498—514, was consecrated amid a hail of stones, accused of adultery, theft, etc., by Laurentius.

In 501 Theodoric called the *Synodus Palmaris* of 115 Italian bishops to try Symmachus, who, after a riot, retracted his consent to the jurisdiction of the synod. The synod declined to try the Pope on the grounds "that the Pope, as God's Vicar, was the judge of all and could himself be judged by no one," and acquitted him — Synod of the Incongruous Acquittal. Ennodius alleged that the Pope can

be tried only by his own consent, because of his "hereditary innocence." This bold claim was embodied in the acts of the synod; it was revived by Gregory VII.

Symmachus said the Pope is higher than the emperor, as divine things are higher than human. Doellinger says a series of precedents were forged in favor of Symmachus. (*Papsttum*, 1892, p. 23.)

On the accession of Pope Hormisdas, Emperor Anastasius convened a synod at Heraclea, in July, 515, and the Pope sent legates instructed to raise the prestige of Rome rather than heal the divisions of Christendom. The Pope's demands were too great, and the synod came to naught. The Pope excommunicated Dorotheus of Thessalonica, Eparch of Eastern Illyricum, a papal vicar, and thus took a step in advance of any aggression on local rights yet essayed by Rome. On the death of Emperor Anastasius, in 518, and the accession of Justin I, unable to read or write, the Formulary of Hormisdas was signed, and thus Constantinople submitted to Rome's demands. The price of Justin's help was the Pope's promised help against Theodoric.

On the death of Hormisdas, on August 16, 523, Pope John I was humiliated and sent by Theodoric to Constantinople to stop Justin's persecution of the Arians, under threat of like persecution of the Catholics in Italy. John was the first Pope to set foot on the East. He was successful and communed with Greeks and thus retracted the anathemas of the Formulary of Hormisdas. On his return, John was thrown by Theodoric into prison till his death, in 526, for plotting for the reannexation of Italy to the empire; for an alleged share in this conspiracy Boethius and Symmachus also suffered death.

Theodoric now named Felix IV to the papal chair.

On the death of Felix, in 530, Pope Boniface II by bribery gained the victory over his rival, Dioscurus. After appointing Vigilius as his successor, Boniface had to burn the ordinance with his own hand and in the presence of the Senate confess himself guilty of high treason for this encroachment.

When Boniface II died, in 532, bribery and corruption disgraced the election of Pope John II. On the complaint of the Advocate of the Roman Church, King Athalaric wrote John that the poor-funds and the very altar-vessels were used for bribing in the election of the Pope. Three thousand solidi was the regular fee for the king to decide contested papal elections.

In March, 532, Emperor Justinian acknowledges the supremacy of Rome and commands all churches to be united to her. About this time the bishop became an imperial officer—he inspected the public accounts every year, and all bequests and trusts were under him. The emperor states he had been very diligent in subjecting all the clergy of the East to the Roman bishop. Pope John II complimented him on

his "perfect acquaintance with ecclesiastical law and discipline" and added: "Preserving the reverence due the Roman See, you have subjected all things unto her and reduced all churches to that unity which dwelleth in her alone to whom the Lord through the prince of the apostles did delegate all power; . . . and that the Apostolic See is in verity the head of all churches both the rules of the fathers and the statutes of the princes do manifestly declare, and the same is now witnessed by your imperial piety."

Pope Agapetus in 535 treated the usage of his own see as being the laws of the universal Church, though the conciliar authority is almost wholly against him.

He made war on King Theodahat, subdued Dalmatia and Sicily. When the king sent the Pope on an embassy to Constantinople, the Pope had to pawn the church-plate to raise money for the trip, successive simoniacal Popes having squandered the church property for electioneering expenses.

Sylverius, 536—537, bribed King Theodahat, the murderer of his wife, to become Pope. With the understanding of the Pope, Justinian's general Belisarius took Rome. When the Pope plotted to give Rome to King Vitigis, Belisarius deposed Sylverius and exiled him. He was returned, retried, reconvicted, reexiled.

Vigilius was made Pope by the money of Theodora in 537. When Justinian I ordered the Pope to Constantinople, the Romans pelted their Holy Father with pots, and pans, and stones, and clubs, and curses. He condemned the "Three Chapters" of Theodorus, Ibas, and Theodore. Rome was "worth a mass" for Vigilius. It was the emperor that called the Fifth General Council to Constantinople in 553. Pope Vigilius was present, but not president; he was censured. The Africans banned him. He was mishandled. The Romans accused him of murder and rejoiced at his death, in 555.

About 550 the monk Dionysius Exiguus collected the canons of the general councils and of the chief provincial councils and embodied the decretal epistles from Pope Siricius down. This collection became the standard of church law in the West and did much to raise the papal power, since their letters were seemingly on a level with the decrees of the most venerated councils.

Pelagius I, 555—560, was accused as murderer of his predecessor, and not even three bishops could be found to consent to consecrate him, and the people refused to communicate with him, as being a heretic.

Gregory I, 590—604, great-grandson of Pope Felix II, was a Praetor Urbanus, who suddenly became monk, the first to become Pope. In 593 he wrote Emperor Maurice I in clear disapproval of a law, but promising obedience to the law as a subject of the emperor. He acknowledged the emperor as his "earthly master" and said that

God had given the ruler dominion even over the priesthood. (Bk. 2, letters 62. 65; Bk. 3, letter 65; Bk. 6, letter 2. — Flick, 298; Hauck, *Der Gedanke*, 1.)

Maurice forbade soldiers to become monks, since none did so with pure motives. Gregory fought simony and immorality among the clergy. He did much for church music — the Gregorian chant. He preached often and told others to do so. He made it the duty of clergy and laity alike to study the Bible, inspired by the Holy Ghost. But he venerates the four general councils as the four gospels and describes them as the four-square stones on which the structure of faith rests. The emperor Justinian also said: "We receive the dogmas of these four synods as the sacred Scriptures." Gregory is also the real founder of purgatory. (Salmon, *Infallibility*, pp. 294. 206. 207.)

The mass gradually became a real propitiatory sacrifice, the powerful, mysterious center of all worship, which became imposing, dramatic, theatrical. Festivals became almost numberless, saints also; a "calendar of saints" had to be formed. Pilgrimages and the use of relics developed such a craze that councils, Popes, and the emperor sought to check it. Religious pageants were multiplied, and the use of images and the pictures of saints were encouraged in the churches. The Virgin Mary was exalted to divinity.

As a bishop and as a great landowner of thousands of square miles, with millions of revenue, Gregory the Great took it on himself to make peace with the Lombards and thus paved the way for the great political power exerted by his successors and for the temporal sovereignty they acquired.

The patrimony of St. Peter included estates in Italy and the near islands and also in Gaul, Illyria, Dalmatia, Africa, and even Asia. By his real-estate agents Gregory carried on his communications with other churches and sovereigns and thus extended Rome's influence. In some cases he appointed bishops as his vicars and conferred on them the pall as the mark of this power. St. Chrysostom rebukes the bishops who "had fallen to the condition of land-stewards, hucksters, brokers, publicans, and pay-clerks."

When John the Faster, Patriarch of Constantinople, called himself "Universal Bishop," as others had done before him, Gregory I of Rome, as Pelagius II before him, wrote twelve letters to Emperor Maurice and others and called that title a "name of blasphemy, by which the honor of all bishops is taken away, while it is madly assumed by one man for himself." (Migne's ed., Vol. 3, sec. 749.) Again (Vol. 7, 13, sec. 881): "Whoever calls himself . . . Universal Bishop, in his presumption is a forerunner of Antichrist. . . . And the pride by which he is led to this error is very similar (to that of Antichrist), for as the latter in his perversity wishes to seem placed over all men as God, so whoever the former is who desires to be called

the only bishop exalts himself above the rest of the bishops." (*Our Brief*, pp. 40. 41; B. Willard-Archer, 251; Gore, p. 120; Aug. Brief, p. 123.) Certainly hard knocks for later Popes. Gregory was one of those who called themselves "servant of the servants of God."

In November, 602, Phokas murdered Emperor Maurice, his wife Constantina, their five sons, and three daughters. Gregory wrote the usurping murderer: "God Almighty has elected Your Majesty and placed it on the imperial throne." He hopes the emperor will be rewarded in heaven for freeing his subjects from the load under which they had sighed. (Schick, 75.) For this papal favor the murderous usurper recognized the Bishop of Rome as the "Universal Bishop" and forbade the Patriarch of Constantinople to use that title. Mommsen calls Gregory a "very little great man." (See Boniface III.)

From now on the Popes began to use the formula "We will and command" when ratifying elections of bishops. (Littledale, *P.R.*, 241.)

The Holy Father paid frequent compliments to the Frankish Queen Brunichild, or Brunehaut, a very strange object for papal praises; for Fredegar calls her "a second Jezebel."

By his connection with the Frankish princes of Gaul, Gregory gained support for his Church independent of the emperor at Constantinople. By his influence over Queen Theodelinda of the Lombards, Gregory overcame their Arianism and brought them to the orthodox faith. He "converted the Sardinians with bribes, heavy taxes, and tortures."

At an early day, Christianity came to Britain from Gaul and the lower Rhine. When the Romans left for good, in 409, the heathen Angles and Saxons crossed over and drove the Christians back to Wales, Ireland, and Scotland.

Gildas blames the degenerate bishops for disgracing the chair of St. Peter in which they sat.

When Gregory in 596 sent Augustine with forty monks to England, the way had been prepared by Bertha, a Christian princess of Paris, wife of King Ethelbert of Kent, whom Augustine baptized on Christmas, 597, and more than 10,000 Angles. "In the ages following no people did as much for the spread of Christianity as the Anglo-Saxons," says Hauck.

On April 12, 627, King Edwin of Northumbria became a Christian, the founder of Edinburgh. "Everywhere the bishop's throne was set up side by side with the king's," and so England came under the authority of the Pope. The Romish Anglo-Saxons brought the Celtic Christians under papal rule. They celebrated Easter according to the reckoning of Sulpicius Severus, the Romans after 450 according to Dionysius Exiguus, a Scythian monk. The Celts appealed to St. John, the Romans to St. Peter. The Celtic Church was monastic, since the abbot ruled the bishop. The Celts shaved the front of the head from

ear to ear as a tonsure, while the Romans shaved the top, leaving a "crown of thorns." The Celtic priests were married, the Romans forbade it. The Celts had single immersion, the Romans trine. The Celts had a Latin Bible unlike the Roman Vulgate. They kept Saturday as a day of rest, with special religious services on Sunday. In 664 King Oswy of Northumberland called the Council of Whitby and decided for Rome because St. Peter, "the doorkeeper," held "the keys to the kingdom of heaven," as the British bishops Colman and Cedd admitted to the English bishops Agilbert and Wilfred. The union was completed by Theodorus, Archbishop of Canterbury, † 690, and the Venerable Bede, † 735.

Christianity had spread early from Britain to Ireland, where labored St. Patrick, † 493, and St. Bridget, the "Mary of Ireland," † 525; and by the seventh century Ireland had become the "Island of the Saints," and missionaries went to Scotland, North Britain, France, Germany, Switzerland, and Northern Italy. By 704 all Ireland observed the Roman Easter Day.

St. Patrick converted an Irish colony which settled in Scotland in the fifth century. St. Ninian, St. Kentigern, and St. Columba completed the conversion of the country. Columba's monastery on Iona became a famous missionary seminary, and for centuries the Celtic Church in Scotland was independent of the Pope; the Culdees were not absorbed till 1332.

About 583 Columbanus of Leicester with twelve companions crossed over into France and taught several years. King Gontran of Burgundy got them to build a monastery in his country. For twenty years Columbanus labored in the wild Vosges Mountains and built the three famous monasteries of Anegray, Fontaines, and Luxeuil — "the monastic capital of France." Banished in 610, he worked in Switzerland for three years, but was forced to leave by Burgundian influence. King Agilulf of Lombardy gave him a site for the monastery of Bobbio, where he died in 615.

Gallus, an Irish companion of Columbanus, became the "Apostle of Switzerland" and made his monastery of St. Gall one of the great centers of learning in the Middle Ages; he died in 645. The Irish Fridolin built a monastery on the Rhine, near Basel. The Irish Trudbert became a martyr in the Black Forest. The Irish Kilian became the "Apostle of Franconia" and lost his life at Wuerzburg. In 690 Willibrord of Northumbria, educated in Ireland, with seven helpers went to Friesland, at the mouth of the Rhine, became Roman Bishop of Utrecht, visited Denmark, and died in 740. The English Adalbert labored in Northern Holland; the English Werenfrid near Elste; the English Wiro in Guldres; the English Ewald brothers were slain by the savage Saxons. Bishop Wulfram of Sens succeeded among Radbod's Friesians.



Sabinian, 604—606, was such a miser that he had to be buried in secret to protect the corpse of the Holy Father from the fury of his Roman children.

Boniface III became Pope in 607, and the murderous usurper Phokas acknowledged Rome as "head of all the churches." Anastasius the Librarian says: "Boniface III it was who *obtained* from the Emperor Phokas that the Roman Church should be head of all churches."

Boniface IV, 608—615, was accused by Columba of protecting heretics (Migne, *Epp. 4, 5 ad Bonif.*). Columbanus wrote the Pope: "Although we all know how Christ trusted Peter with the keys (on the strength of which fact you claim I know not what proud privileges of authority over others)," etc. (*Program of Modernism*, 10, Putnam's, 1908.)

So wild were the people for relics that the corpses of martyrs were cut up into pieces for sale, which had to be forbidden by the law of the emperor. Ambrose of Milan refused to consecrate churches that had no relics.

Boniface received from the murderous usurper Phokas the Pantheon and in 610 turned the temple of Cybele and all gods into a church of Mary and all martyrs and hauled twenty-eight cartloads of bones of martyrs from the various cemeteries into the church. Thus began the Festival of All Saints; in the tenth century was added the Festival of All Souls.

In 620 Isidore of Seville says: "Feed My lambs" is the command to the Pope to govern the bishops of the world. (Gore, p. 120.)

Honorius I, 625—638, was condemned as a heretic by the Sixth General Council of Constantinople on March 28, 681, the papal legates agreeing.

Martin I, 649, ignored the emperor's right to confirm the election, was dragged from the Lateran to Constantinople, was saved from being cut to pieces by the pleas of the dying patriarch Paul of Constantinople, exiled, died September 16, 655.

Vitalian, 657—672, likely used the first organ in church.

On November 7, 680, the emperor Constantius Pogonatus called the Sixth General Council to Constantinople; the emperor had it meet in his palace, in the hall called *troullos*, hence the Council was called the Trullanum; the emperor ordered what was to be done; the emperor fixed the order of business; the emperor ordered who was to speak, who was to keep silence. Where was "Peter"?

Having died in October, 638, and so dead over forty years, Pope Honorius I was condemned. "We anathematize, and cast out of the Holy Catholic Church, Honorius, who was Pope of the elder Rome, because we found that he followed Sergius's opinion"—monotheletism, that Christ had only one will.

Leo II confirmed the condemnation of his predecessor for "per-

mitting the immaculate faith to be stained." This condemnation was put into the confession of faith made by every new Pope till the end of the 16th century, when it was quietly omitted.

The learned bishop Hefele brought up the case of Honorius against the infallibility at the Vatican Council in 1870. Grisar admits the "fact" that bishops condemned Pope Honorius and thus attacked the infallibility. See Hefele's *Der Fall des Papstes Honorius*, 1870. Bishop Ketteler's *Quaestio*. Engert, p. 47.

At the Sixth General Council the legates of Agatho gave him the title of Universal Bishop, used since then, though only eighty years before Gregory had called it a token of Antichrist. Agatho confessed to the Greeks that the right interpretation of Holy Scripture could not be found with the Roman clergy, who had to work with their hands for their support. They could do no more than preserve the traditions handed down from the ancient councils and Popes.

Pope Gregory II, fifty years later, speaks just as modestly.

Otho of Vercelli, in the tenth century, and Gerbert, in the eleventh, say the same, very strongly: "Hardly one but was illiterate, simoniac, or living with a concubine."

John V, 685, was the first to be consecrated without the sanction of the emperor.

Sergius I, 687—701, was made Pope by the force of the soldiers of the politicians, and he pawned church treasures to pay the hundred pounds of gold demanded by the Exarch John of Ravenna. This Pope introduced the *Agnus Dei* into the mass liturgy, which was then sung by the people as well as the clergy.

About 691 the Quinisext, or Trullan, Council at Constantinople condemned many Roman practises, signed by the Roman resident representatives. Pope Sergius said he would never consent to them.

John VII, 705—707, demanded that English clerics wear the Roman garb.

When Mahomet arose, the Eastern emperors had troubles of their own and could not trouble about Italy, and so the Pope had to guard that country against the Lombards, and the Romans looked more and more to their powerful bishops as their rulers than to the distant and helpless emperors.

In 720 Ina, King of Wessex, visited Rome and promised a penny a year from every householder in his kingdom to maintain an English school in Rome. This Peter's pence was extended to Mercia by King Offa in 792. In 870 Ethelwulf, King of Wessex, and his son Alfred the Great on a visit to Rome confirmed the gift of Peter's pence and promised other annual payments.

In time the Popes demanded the Peter's pence as a right. It was discontinued under Edward I and Edward II and abolished under Henry VIII.

"The last Peter's pence sent by England amounted to forty thousand pounds sterling." (Father Keenan, in *Grafton's Correspondence*, p. 15.)

Gregory II, 714—731, permitted every one to take a second wife if the first was frail and could not bear children. (Schick, 241.) He got Luitprand the Lombard to restore Peter's patrimony at Genoa and Sutri. Eudo of Aquitaine announced the victory over the Arabs was due to the three sponges, relics, sent by the Pope, who said the Germanic and Romanic peoples of the West "adored the successor of Peter as a god."

In 726 the emperor Leo III, the Isaurian, forbade the worship of images, which had become idolatry. The "Holy Father" called his sovereign a simpleton, a fool, at whose head the schoolchildren, who have more sense than he, would throw their tablets. Leo ordered his arrest four times, but the troops refused to obey. Gregory died soon after, but he paved the way for the separation of Italy from the empire half a century later.

The Saxon noble Winfrid of Exeter became Boniface, "the Apostle of the Germans." In 717, with a few monks, he left London for Frisia to take up Willibrord's work, which had been destroyed by the backsliding Radbod. He forbade preaching, and Boniface returned to England. In 718 he went to Rome, and in 719, Gregory II sent him to Thuringia and Bavaria to bring them under Rome rule. On Radbod's death, in 719, Boniface labored in Frisia with Willibrord, who had also returned. In 722 Boniface went to Hessen and converted two chiefs, with many thousands of their followers. In 723 the Pope made Boniface missionary bishop, with an introduction to Karl Martel. "Without the protection of the prince of the Franks I could neither rule the people of the Church nor defend the priests or clerks, the monks or handmaidens of God; nor have I the power to restrain pagan rites and idolatry in Germany without his mandate and the awe of his name." Hessen and Thuringen refused Rome rule. Boniface chopped down the giant sacred oak at Geismar. The people were awed and accepted Rome rule. The oak made a chapel to St. Peter. Martel converted the Friesians by force.

Gregory III, 731—741, was the last to have his election confirmed by the emperor.

When the Lombard Liutprand stood on Nero's Field before Rome, in 739, the Pope sent the consecrated keys of St. Peter's tomb and rust from Peter's chains to Karl Martel and begged for help as he would be saved. The Hammer returned like gifts, but sent no help, for the Lombards had helped against the Arabs in 732. This is the first Pope to lead a political movement and shake off the ties that bound him to his rightful sovereign.

In 732 Gregory III made Boniface missionary archbishop. In

739 he organized the churches in Bavaria and created the archbishoprics of Salzburg, Friesingen, Passau, and Regensburg. In Central Germany he created the bishoprics of Wuerzburg, Buraburg, Erfurt, and Eichstaett.

In 747 Karlmann, son of Karl Martel, became a monk. In 749 King Ratchis, wife, and daughter entered a cloister.

As the price for the Pope's help, King Liutprand of Lombardy "gave back" to Zachary four cities in Tuscany, and the Pope accepted this "donation," though the property of the Emperor of Constantinople. This is the first time that the Pope is recognized as a political ruler.

In 751 Pepin chucked the Merovingian king Childeric III into a cloister and crowned himself king of the Franks "*Dei gratia*," by the grace of God—the first time it was used in connection with a king's crown; hitherto it had been used only by the bishops. He asked the Pope: "Is it right or not that the kings of the Franks should not possess the royal power?" "No, it is not right."

This is the first time the Pope was invoked as an international power. The Pope confirmed the usurper and had his legate Boniface, at Soissons, in 752, crown the rebel as king of the Franks—the first time since the kings of Israel and Judah had been anointed. From this act, Gregory VII, Innocent III, and Boniface VIII claimed the right of deposing princes.

Boniface was made Archbishop of Mainz in 743, and he tried to enforce celibacy. In 744 he founded Fulda; in 755 he returned to Friesland and was slain.

Boniface induced all German and Frank bishops to vow implicit obedience to the Bishop of Rome. After this no metropolitan went into office without the pallium from Rome authorizing him to do so.

"Even the deep-seated reverence of St. Boniface for the Holy See could not restrain him from complaining to Pope Zachary of the obstruction to which his reformatory efforts were subjected because prelates convicted of the grossest offenses came back from Rome armed with papal letters restoring them to their functions." *S. Bonifacii Epist.* XLIX. C. H. Lea, *Papal Penitentiary*, p. V.

In 751 King Aistulph of the Lombards drove Exarch Eutychus of Ravenna to Constantinople and demanded submission of Rome as part of the conquered province. Having troubles of his own with the Saracens, Emperor Constantine could not help Pope Stephen II, who vainly appealed to the Virgin Mary, Peter, Paul, and other saints, carrying their images in solemn procession, and then wrote a letter in the name of the Apostle Peter to Pepin for help. He even crossed the Alps in winter to beg the protection of the king at Ponthieu. Pepin led the Pope's palfrey, promised protection and also the territory to be won from the Lombards, to take the title of Patrician of

Rome and therewith the position of protector to the Pope. Stephen anointed Pepin again.

Pepin overthrew Aistulph. When the envoys came to demand the land for the emperor at Constantinople, the rightful owner, Pepin coolly replied he had made war on the Lombards not to please men, but for the forgiveness of sins and love of St. Peter, to whom he gave the exarchate of Ravenna, "with all the cities, castles, and territories thereto belonging, to be forever held and possessed by the most holy Pope Stephen and his successors in the apostolic see of St. Peter." This "donation" of Pepin in 755 tightened the Pope's grip on the temporal power.

Rome was now a province of the Frank empire, and ancient Latium was now the patrimony of Peter, who was now quite a king. Times change! How was the king led to make this "Donation of Pepin"?

Jerome writes Bishop Eusebius of Nicomedia baptized Constantine the Great on his death-bed in that Asiatic city. Yet in the fifth century a fable, invented at Rome, has Pope Sylvester by baptism cure Constantine of leprosy; and this falsehood is read by every priest on every December 31 in the Roman *Breviary*. The fable grew. Four days after baptism Constantine made up his mind to forsake Rome and live in Constantinople lest he cramp the freedom of the Pope. According to one document, Emperor Constantine gave to "Blessed Sylvester" and his successors, to the end of time, the Lateran palace, crown, miter, escort, couriers, and horsemen, in short, all the retinue, or courtly luster, of an empire. It also confers on Blessed Father Sylvester and his successors the city of Rome, all Italy, and the provinces, places, and cities of the Western region with jurisdiction over Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Jerusalem. The reason for this "donation" of Constantine is that "it is not right that the earthly emperor have power where the 'Prince of Priests and Head of the Christian Religion' has been installed by the Heavenly Emperor." Here we have it expressed for the first time that the Roman bishop is independent of the secular power.

This forged "Donation of Constantine" was successfully palmed off on the Frank king, and it led him to make the "Donation of Pepin." Peter received his *miter* as Universal Bishop from the usurper Phocas; he now received his *crown* as a temporal sovereign from the usurper Pepin!

This "donation" was supposed to have been made when Constantinople was built, 328—330. But the first writer distinctly to mention the "donation" is Bishop Aeneas of Paris, about 868, and the earliest Greek writer showing knowledge of it is the canonist Balsamon, who died in 1180.

As early as the time of Otto III, his chancellor Leo of Vercelli

denounced this "donation" as a forgery; so did Arnold of Brescia, in 1152; so did Nikolaus von Kues, in 1432; so did Laurentius Valla, in 1440, and Reginald Pecock, in 1450, and Cardinal Baronius, in 1592. Now most Catholic historians admit the forgery. (*Realencyc.*; Robertson, "Growth," p. 157.) On reading Valla, Luther's eyes blazed with indignation at what James Bryce calls "a portentous forgery." Fleury calls this "an artifice without parallel before or since church history."

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## Zwei Punkte aus Luthers Pastoraltheologie.<sup>1)</sup>

1. Ob ein Diener des Wortes Zeugnis geben möge, was er in der Beichte gehört hat? Einer fragte D. Martin Luther: Wenn ein Pfarrherr oder Beichtvater ein Weib absolvierte, das ihr Kind hätte ermürdet, und solches würde durch andere Leute offenbaret und ruchbar, ob auch ein Pfarrherr, so er darum gefragt würde, beim Richter müßte Zeugnis geben? Da antwortet er: Mitnichten nicht; denn man muß Kirche und weltliches Regiment unterscheiden, fintemal sie mir nichts gebeichtet hat, sondern dem HErrn Christo, und weil es Christus heimlich hält, soll ich's auch heimlich halten und stracks sagen: Ich habe nichts gehört; hat Christus etwas gehört, so sage er's. Ich wollte aber diemeil heimlich zu ihr sagen: Du Sure, hüte dich, tue es nicht mehr. Wenn sie aber sagte, sie wäre von uns absolvieret, und wollte sich damit also schützen und erretten, weil sie Christus hätte losgelassen, darum könnte der weltliche Richter über sie nicht mehr richten und urteilen, und ich würde darin zitieret, gefordert und gefragt, so wollte ich's aber verneinen, denn ich bin nicht der Mann, der da sollte vor dem Gerichte in Welthändeln reden, sondern nur allein, was die Gewissen belanget, die soll ich schrecken mit Gottes Zorn wider die Sünde durchs Gesetz, aber die ihre Sünde erkennen und bekennen, soll ich wiederum aufrichten durch die Predigt des Evangelii. Darum soll ich sagen: Ist sie absolvieret, da weiß ich, D. Martin, nichts um, sondern Christus weiß es, mit welchem sie geredet hat; denn ich höre nicht Beichte, absolviere auch nicht, sondern Christus. Sie sollen uns nicht an ihre Gerichtsstühle und Gadermärkte ziehen; darum haben wir bisher über dem Kirchenrechte und Gerechtigkeit gehalten und noch immerdar, und wollen dem weltlichen Gerichte nichts mehr lassen gut sein in Sachen, so die Lehre und Gewissen belangen, noch ihnen etwas darin einräumen, auch im Allergeringsten nicht; sie warten ihres Befehls, da haben sie genug mit zu tun, und lassen uns unser Amt führen, wie Christus befohlen hat; des und keines andern.

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1) Nach Porta, *Pastorale Lutheri*, Rördlingen 1842.